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FRIEDRICH JUSTIN BERTUCH'S "LONDON UND PARIS"
THE PORTRAYAL OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH
CARICATURES FROM THE GERMAN PERSPECTIVE

presented by

Michael Thomas Albert

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M.A. degree in German Studies

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**FRIEDRICH JUSTIN BERTUCH'S "LONDON UND PARIS"
THE PORTRAYAL OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH CARICATURES FROM THE
GERMAN PERSPECTIVE**

By

Michael Thomas Albert

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ABSTRACT

FRIEDRICH JUSTIN BERTUCH'S "LONDON UND PARIS" THE PORTRAYAL OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH CARICATURES FROM THE GERMAN PERSPECTIVE

By

Michael Thomas Albert

Friedrich Justin Bertuch was a very prominent publisher living in Weimar during the second half of the 18th and early part of the 19th centuries. His contemporaries and personal acquaintances included many of Germany's most renowned and respected philosophical and literary minds. Bertuch used his influence as a publisher in an attempt to educate, inform, and shape the opinions of his readers, the upper classes of German society. Among his most influential projects were the periodicals published under his direction. One such periodical was the journal London und Paris, published between 1798 and 1815. The journal focused on the two most powerful and influential nations in Europe and reported on changing social and political trends, technological advancements, and new forms of entertainment which were taking place in their respective capital cities. Bertuch recognized the importance of the use of imagery in his endeavors, and an essential part of the journal's efforts focused on French and English caricatures which were included in every issue. Detailed commentaries to the caricatures were provided so that German readers could better interpret the images. The caricatures and accompanying commentaries worked closely together in order to encompass all aspects of the journal's stated goals of informing and entertaining. Of course, such images could also be used as a powerful means of influencing opinion. This thesis attempts to examine the relationship between these caricatures, their commentaries and their audience.

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1. Introduction

In the 18th century, a new genre of art, the caricature, was developed and refined. As happens with most new art forms, a debate quickly ensued as to the validity and seriousness of such work. It was thought by many that such caricatures could not even legitimately be considered art; however, these caricatures became immensely popular not only in the countries where they were produced, but also ended up acquiring an international audience who appreciated the work of the artists who produced them, because the caricatures introduced them to social, political, and cultural events from other parts of Europe and had a significant influence on the formation of people's attitudes towards other nations and cultures.

In Germany, one of the individuals who was most influential in the introduction, and circulation of caricatures was Friedrich Justin Bertuch. He established a publishing enterprise which became one of the most powerful businesses in Europe due to its ability to influence the tastes and attitudes of the social elite in Germany as well as many other parts of the continent.

Up until now, there has been a fair amount of research conducted into the development of caricature as an art form and there has been a limited number of works produced which look at Bertuch's contributions to the publishing world, but very little research has taken into account the value of the caricatures from England and France which were reproduced under his direction for the consumption of a German speaking audience. Furthermore, almost none of this information is currently available in the English language. Also, the research has tended to focus on more detailed aspects of the relationship of caricature to London und Paris, the journal in which they were published

by Bertuch, without any attempts to put them into the greater context of their role in both reporting on and influencing European political and social affairs.

This paper will attempt to establish the historical and social context which led to the development and rapid spread of the caricature as a legitimate form of art and which had a substantial influence on German speaking Europe and thus indirectly the rest of the European continent during a period in which it was undergoing dramatic social, political, and economic change. Secondly, it will be shown how Bertuch's publishing empire was established in this historical context and why it was interested in providing German readers with such detailed accounts of life and events outside of Germany. Finally, specific examples of caricatures will be considered more closely in an effort to show how they were used, explained, and sometimes manipulated in an effort to form the opinions of an audience for which the caricatures were not originally intended.

2. The Late Enlightenment Period

The eighteenth century has become known as the age of Enlightenment and was a time when long held philosophical and religious positions began to be questioned. The great debates that were raging across Europe were focused on such issues as the role of religion in society and on the divine gift of self consciousness that mankind had been given which allowed for the mysteries of the universe to be freely explored. Virtue and the pursuit of self improvement were considered essential characteristics required for humanity. The greatest minds in Europe focused much of their energy not only on scientific discovery, but also on such questions as the nature of love and its role in the religious and secular aspects of society, the burden of nobility to govern justly, and on the supreme right of all mankind for self determination. It was a defining period in European history which contributed greatly to establishing the cornerstones of modern western society, including basic human rights, scientific discovery, and democratic ideals.

One of the most significant themes of the Enlightenment period was the notion of self improvement through expanding one's understanding of the world. According to the *Aufklärer* (Enlightenment philosophers), it was every individual's obligation to take advantage of his individual ability to observe and draw conclusions regarding the nature of God, mankind, and the world around him. The dramatic increase in the production of literature and periodicals during the period played a significant role in this process, by radically increasing the amount of information readily available to people.

There existed for the first time the opportunity for Enlightenment philosophers, authors, and poets to join together with the new, yet rapidly expanding publishing industry in order to spread information and ideas on a scale previously unknown. The

hunger for new books and information from the far flung corners of the world became insatiable, and this demand created great opportunity. The fact that someone could publish and sell so many works and be assured of an audience with an unquenchable appetite for entertainment, educational information, and news about the massive amount of technological and scientific discoveries then taking place in conjunction with world shaping events meant that a person could become not only very wealthy, but also highly influential. This was exactly the situation in which Friedrich Justin Bertuch found himself in the latter part of the 18th century.

The concept of Enlightenment was in part to call into question the commonly held philosophies of previous centuries and, in essence, pose the question of whether or not humanity had developed any further. Ancient western philosophies such as stoicism and Epicureanism were now found lacking in any ability to fundamentally explain humanity and its role in the world. Additionally, the themes of nature and compassion repeatedly began to appear at the forefront of the most significant literature produced during the century, and the function of these concepts in relation to the Enlightenment is essential in understanding both how Bertuch was a product of this period, as well as how his personal views differed from his contemporaries and thus directly influenced the literature which was produced and published under his direction.

3. Europe's Political Situation and its Importance for Journal Publications

The name chosen for Bertuch's journal London und Paris has its roots in the importance that they had for the Enlightenment. England and France were considered to be the nations where advancements in the philosophical thinking of the time had begun and seen the most development, and this is something Bertuch acknowledges in "Plan und Ankündigung", the first article to appear in London und Paris which establishes the justification and intentions of the Journal. This article will be discussed later in more detail. However, there were significant differences between the countries in terms of their approach towards world affairs, personal freedoms, and social customs. Even so, educated individuals from the rest of the world looked towards these two nations as models for the advancement of their own societies. Although these two nations were competing for influence on the world stage and were, during the entire length of Publication of London und Paris, either actively at war or under a very tenuous peace, there existed a great interest and often a genuine admiration for the social and political developments taking place within both of these countries.

A significant cause for the hostility between France and England during the late 18th and early 19th centuries can be traced directly to the French Revolution which began in the summer of 1789. The French monarchy under Louis XVI found itself in an extremely difficult situation. The country's economy was foundering, the government had no money, and the people were starving. In order to help find a financial solution, the king assembled the Estates-General. With popular support from the discontented middle class and calls for "liberty, equality, and fraternity", cornerstones of Enlightenment thinking, the Estates-General formed a new National Assembly (*Assemblée nationale*),

overthrew the monarchy, and established a new government through a series of Assemblies and finally created the National Convention. This new government was plagued by internal strife and was generally unsuccessful at effectively governing the country. It did, however, imprison or execute thousands of French nobility, including the executions of the King and his wife Marie Antoinette in 1793. These executions reached a high point between the fall of 1793 and the summer of 1794 when, during the “Reign of Terror”, the Jacobins under the leadership of Maximilien de Robespierre took over control of the French Government in a concerted and brutal effort to eliminate foreign as well as domestic threats that were both real and perceived. The revolt led by Robespierre was successful in averting a military disaster for France by raising a substantial army through forced conscription. With this army in place, France was able to defeat the Austrians, Prussians, Spanish, and the English who had all allied against France after the king’s execution. Much of Europe was deeply concerned about the spread of revolution to their own countries after these executions and thus ended up at war with France. This conflict lasted from 1791 until 1802 when the British signed the Treaty of Amiens. French territorial gains were officially recognized and Napoleon became emperor of France. However, peace did not last long. Hostilities began anew in 1803 and the Napoleonic Wars continued unabated until Napoleon’s final defeat at Waterloo in the summer of 1815.¹

In contrast to the unpredictable and violent revolution occurring in France, England appeared as an island of stability in a sea of revolutionary upheaval. Over a long period of time, England had slowly introduced a series of institutions such as the parliamentary system and documents such as the English Bill of Rights of 1689 which

¹<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Revolution>

established the country as a constitutional monarchy. There existed in England an evolutionary approach to the same ideals of liberty and equality that were being demanded by the citizens of France. These were, quite simply, the basic tenets of Enlightenment thinking. The rest of Europe, including Germany, were, in general, supportive of these concepts, but were not as progressive as England in their adoption for fear of undergoing the same unrest that was rampant in France. In fact, at the time Germany only existed as a loosely held together conglomeration of small principalities still based on an older form of absolutist monarchy was thus reluctant to introduce reforms too quickly. During the entire length of publication of London und Paris, from 1798 to 1815, these political upheavals, revolutions, and wars resulting from demands for individual freedoms were at the center of Europe's attention. Subsequently, they also heavily influenced the content of, and opinions expressed by the journal.

Furthermore, differences existed in the tendencies of the interpretations of Enlightenment within the countries of England and France. While in England there appeared to be greater personal and political freedom, as well as freedoms granted to the press, the moral conventions tended to be more stringent. On the other hand, with regard to France there existed a feeling that the people were much more relaxed concerning social freedoms in terms of sexuality, morality, and religion, but that the government was much more restrictive in terms of political freedoms permitted to the citizenry. This can be directly attributed to French fears of continuous political conspiracy and rebellion as had occurred through much of the 1790's.

Because of the leading roles played by England and France in European politics and reform, many Germans were naturally interested in finding out as much as possible

about all aspects of events taking place in these nations as well as learning more about the personalities who were the driving forces behind so much change, upheaval and controversy. For Germans, these nations represented the heart of Enlightenment thinking. Furthermore, due to their importance, it was the desire of many Germans to have the opportunity to travel to these countries and experience for themselves the things that they could often only read about. Thus much literature of the period was devoted to the idea of individuals traveling in order expand their horizons and open themselves up to new ideas, customs, and experiences.

Traveling was, however, not always possible for the typical, well educated, upper or upper-middle class individual located in Germany, far away from the heart of the Enlightenment. "Since travel restrictions were frequently imposed on their subjects by the rulers of German states, many educated Germans had become 'armchair travelers' addicted to the exploration of other countries through the medium of books, periodicals and prints."²

This intense interest in England and France naturally led to a desire to learn about the most significant places in these countries, their respective capital cities. In fact, according to Karl Riha, it is this fascination with the people and events of these major cultural centers which can be directly attributed to the creation of periodicals in the form of newspapers and journals in the first place due to the constant exchange of letters from merchants who were interested in the latest news from large cities in relation to business and social opportunities. This development of periodicals began much earlier, but had reached a critical mass by the end of the 18th century and is in this way directly related to the massive expansion of the publishing industry during the period. Riha further goes on

² Banerji, Gillray Observed, 8.

to say that the modern idea of the news correspondent is something that was already very well developed by the time that London und Paris was being published, and this is evident when one looks closer at who was producing the articles and providing the caricatures for the journals publication.

Ganz im traditionellen Sinn definiert Zedlers „Universal Lexikon“ ‚correspondiren‘ dahin, daß es sich hierbei um das Wechseln von Briefen handle; doch gilt als ‚Correspondent‘ auch derjenige „bey den Kaufleuten [...] welcher mit einem andern sowohl in Waaren als Wechsel negotiiret, und welchen sie meistens nur ihren Freund nennen“ Damit ist auf die Anfänge der Zeitung aus der Kaufmanns-Korrespondenz hingewiesen, – ein vertrautes Faktum der Zeitungsgeschichte! Noch nicht festgehalten ist hingegen, daß ‚Correspondent‘ zu eben diesem Zeitpunkt auch schon die ganz moderne medienspezifische Bedeutung eines „festgestellten oder freiberuflichen Mitarbeiters einer Zeitung oder Nachrichtenagentur“ anzunehmen beginnt, und dieser Umsprung des Terminus hat für unser Thema besonderes Gewicht.³

The letters and publications coming from the major urban centers of Europe (*Großstadtkorrespondenz*) thusly gave impulse to an entire industry of travel literature which was a phenomenon that began long before Bertuch's involvement in Publishing, but the ever-increasing demand for such news and the desire for the it to be timely and therefore still of value and interest made the publication of London und Paris not only possible, but also assured its success. In addition to the publication of literature and information, there grew up a significant demand in Germany for products from England and France. These included not only items of men's and women's fashion, but also a great variety of domestic goods such as fashionable tea services, writing podiums, and even heating stoves, which were all associated with the latest advances in both aesthetic appeal as well as technological achievement. Because of this demand, Bertuch saw an opportunity to provide the public with information about, and access to such goods. This was the reason for his publishing the Journal des Luxus und der Mode (often referred to

³ Riha, Großstadt-Korrespondenz, 107.

as the *Modejournal*). This journal was a predecessor to London und Paris and continued publication long after the latter journal ceased to exist. All told, the *Modejournal* was published under a variety of similar names between the years of 1786 and 1827. It played an important role in the development of London und Paris in that this later journal was intended from its very inception to be a compliment to the *Modejournal*. It was to focus on issues that were related and of interest to the *Modejournal's* readers but outside of the fashion journal's scope in terms of content. Bertuch's publishing activities therefore made him quite powerful, but also controversial.

4. Bertuch's Life

Friedrich Justin Bertuch was born neither to a well known nor exceptionally wealthy family. However, before his death in 1822, he would become one of the wealthiest and most influential businessmen in all of Europe. Bertuch was born in Weimar on September 30th, 1747. His father was the doctor for the local military garrison and his mother was the daughter of a civil servant. Four years after his birth, Bertuch's father died and he was thus raised by his mother until her death in 1762. At the age of 15, Friedrich Bertuch moved in with his uncle and lived happily there, until he left to study first theology and then law at the University in Jena. Neither of these professions really held much interest for him though, and while at the university, Bertuch took a much greater interest in literature and natural history. These interests would in fact go on to play a significant role in the rest of his life and led directly to his burgeoning fortune and influence. At the time, Bertuch wished to become an author and, at the age of twenty two, broke off his studies in order to pursue his literary ambitions. In 1769 he received a position as private tutor to the sons of the former Danish ambassador to Madrid, Baron Ludwig Heinrich Bachoff von Echt. It was during his employment with the Baron, that Bertuch learned to speak fluent Spanish and also wrote his first works. However, his literary achievements were not received with the highest regard. One critic wrote the following regarding Bertuch's work. "Gewollt hat der Verfasser freilich wohl gute Verse zu machen, aber geworden sind sie es gewiß nicht."⁴

Bertuch was finally able to achieve literary acclaim, but this praise did not come from his skills as an author but rather as a translator. While still employed by von Echt, Bertuch began working on a translation of Cervantes's famous work Don Quixote, but

⁴ P. Kaiser, Das Haus am Baumgarten, 4.

this effort was not completed until 1775, two years after Bertuch had left his position as private tutor and returned to his home town of Weimar. Bertuch's Translation was widely regarded by critics as the finest example of Cervantes's work then available in the German language. One such critic had the following to say.

Er ist einer von unseren wachern Übersetzern, die nicht... Haut und Knochen ihres Originals, sondern Geist und Stärke und Leben desselben liefern... Wer kennt seinen ‚Don Quichote‘ nicht gegen welchen alle die vorigen Übersetzungen Stroh und Stoppeln waren?⁵

The translation of Cervantes's work had significant consequences for the course of Bertuch's life. While the financial reward was indeed substantial, 2000 *Taler* by 1780, it was the resulting personal connections and publishing experience that would prove most meaningful, but it is also somewhat foretelling that he gained his initial fame and fortune by translating this particular work, as the story is essentially about a man who does not quite fit into the time in which he is living. At the time, there was a great interest in Cervantes's novel because it focused on a problem that concerned the Enlightenment philosophers and authors of the period. Cervantes's Don Quixote embodied the juxtaposition of outdated philosophical beliefs against a more modern world. It essentially posed the question of, how does one uphold a particular philosophy or code of behavior when there are no longer any dragons to be slain or princesses to be rescued. Metaphorically, Bertuch and his contemporaries found themselves in a similar situation as the world slowly transitioned towards the very beginnings of the industrial revolution. Christoph Martin Wieland dealt with this very issue and approached it in much the same way in his work Musarion where he looked at the Greek epicurean and stoic schools of philosophy and how they were relevant in the age of Enlightenment. He was well aware

⁵ P. Kaiser, Das Haus am Baumgarten, 4.

of the significance of Cervantes's work, and it was thus not coincidental that he would look favorably on the young man who provided such an accurate and insightful translation of this work. In some respects, Wieland was a very significant personal connection for Bertuch early in his career. Wieland was the most widely read German poet of his time and the first of what would later come to be known as the *Weimarer Klassiker*.

In Weimar, Wieland was the personal tutor and later advisor to Duke Carl August. While there he finally had the opportunity to realize his personal ambition of publishing a cultural journal, Der Teutsche Merkur. Its purpose was to provide readers with cultural and literary news as well as serve as a forum for the circulation and defense of Enlightenment concepts and ideals. It was through Wieland's Merkur that Bertuch had the opportunity to publish his first works as well as form his initial concepts regarding journal production. As previously mentioned, his initial works were not greeted all too favorably by literary critics, but it did introduce him to important contacts.

Wieland was initially responsible for recommending Bertuch for a position as advisor and administrator to the court of Carl August in Weimar when he took over the regency in 1775. For the next decade Bertuch worked in this position and had numerous and ever increasing responsibilities within the court administration. He also continued his publishing endeavours, but more from the business side. He worked with Wieland on his Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung as well as Der Teutsche Merkur and other publications such as the Magazin der Spanischen und Portugiesischen Literatur. In 1786, Bertuch began publication of Das Journal des Luxus und der Moden which, as previously mentioned, tied in very well with many of his other business ventures. In addition to his publishing

activities, Bertuch had, for example, established a small company in 1782 to produce artificial flowers. Situated on the grounds of his home in Weimar, the factory employed a number of young women and created a very progressive working atmosphere in which the women were even encouraged to establish savings accounts from their wages. Among the first women working there was Christiane Vulpius who would later marry Goethe. Eventually, this small flower manufacturing firm would turn into a substantial industry for importing foreign goods into Germany while also encouraging the export of locally manufactured luxury items such as porcelain, textiles, and delicacies like chocolate and fine wines. Through all of these activities Bertuch continued to add substantially to his personal fortune. By 1791 Bertuch finally managed to establish a sort of parent company for his many endeavours. With the permission of Duke Carl August, he established the Industrie-Comptoir (renamed Landes-Industrie-Comptoir in 1802). Bertuch then resigned from serving the Dukes court in 1796 and was able to completely devote himself to his other business ventures. He had established himself by this time as the most important employer in Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, and before even beginning the publication of London und Paris, he had become a wealthy man whose influence was felt throughout Europe. Bertuch's name was more widely known in Europe than even the literary and intellectual giants assembled around the court in Weimar. Of course, his wealth and influence also created resentment.

Bertuch was a classically educated man, but he diverged from the thinking of his contemporaries in his approach towards progress and change.

Bertuchs Aufklärungsbegriff rangiert keineswegs auf der vertrauten gedanklichen Höhe der Zeit und ist weder im philosophischen noch im politischen Sinn emphatisch, vielmehr praktisch und pragmatisch gestimmt.⁶

⁶ Diers, Bertuchs Bilderwelt, 433.

He was a highly progressive man who sincerely believed in the practical application of acquired knowledge. Like many of his contemporaries, Bertuch was interested in the natural sciences and in scientific discovery. However, he was interested in seeing this knowledge put to use. In this regard, he was fascinated with the large metropolitan cities of Europe, especially London and Paris. Bertuch may have appreciated the notion of nature and "*das Leben auf dem Land*", but it was the thriving bustle and contagious excitement of the city that appealed to him on a more basic level. Bertuch believed not only in scientific and technological change, but also in progressive social change.

Many of Bertuch's contemporaries criticized him for his affection to these cities and to the ever-changing technology which was being developed there. Even renowned individuals such as Wieland and Goethe offered these criticisms against Bertuch because they still regarded the ideas of a life in accordance with nature as more meaningful.

Die großen Dichter Weimars finden freilich nicht viel Gutes am Journal [des Luxus und der Moden] ,Aber welcher Mann von Gefühl und Ehre wird von den Lasten und Torheiten seines Zeitalters leben wollen', wirft Wieland Bertuch vor. Doch er bleibt ungerührt.⁷

In addition, Bertuch regarded knowledge simply for the sake of knowledge as something quite useless. His ambition was to make more possible the spread of knowledge, technology, and practical advancements in social thinking through his publications. Bertuch expressed these ideas quite explicitly in 1793 by the publication of a treatise called "Über die Wichtigkeit der Landes-Industrie-Institute für Deutschland".

Wissenschaft hat nur dann erst ihre hohe edle Bestimmung erreicht, wenn sie ihre Wohltaten über das gemeine Leben verbreitet, das wissenschaftliche Gewand auszieht und ihre kostbaren Schätze dem Laien in die Hände legt; wenn dieser ihre Resultate für sein Leben benutzen und sich dadurch glücklicher machen kann.⁸

⁷ P. Kaiser, *Das Haus am Baumgarten*, 24.

⁸ Diers, *Bertuchs Bilderwelt*, 434.

Bertuch referred to this conversion of knowledge from the theoretical to the practical as “Popularization”. Even the use of so many illustrations in his publications was quite revolutionary as it represented a break from the traditional belief that text alone sufficed in order to provide someone with an accurate description of an object or event. According to Michael Diers, Bertuch’s employment of imagery as a tool for education as well as entertainment was highly refined, and actually instrumental in giving the use of imagery not only validity but also a new level of prestige.

Aufklärung und Popularisierung gehören für Bertuch wie Theorie und Praxis aufs engste zusammen. Dem Programm einer gemeinverständlichen Unterrichtung und Maßvollen Aufklärung („nicht Vielwisserey“, „nicht Verfeinerung“, „nicht Neuerungs sucht“, „nicht Empörungsggeist“) seiner Zeitgenossen hat Bertuch seine verlegerischen und publizistischen Unternehmungen gewidmet. In diesem Kontext kommt dem Bild als Medium der Darstellung, Information und Unterhaltung größte Bedeutung zu. Pointiert gesagt lässt sich davon sprechen, daß Bertuch durch sein Wirken der Illustration als dem angewandten Bild nicht nur hinsichtlich der Quantität und der Qualität der technischen und künstlerischen Gestaltung, sondern auch im Hinblick auf die allgemeine Validität zu einem bis dahin ungewohnten Prestige verholfen hat.⁹

An example of his idea for progressive social change is the picture books for children which he published. They showed in great detail the discoveries being made in the natural sciences with the idea of popularizing the knowledge. The use of imagery in this context was by far the most effective means of accomplishing his goal for the dissemination and popularization of new scientific knowledge. However, these books went against the conventional wisdom of the time which insisted that only an accurate textual description was appropriate for the scientific mind. Conventional wisdom held that anyone interested in mere pictures was simply a dilettante.

Bertuch was also highly involved in efforts to get rid of the old Germanic Fraktur typeface in favor of Antiqua, a much more legible typeface that would be more

⁹ Diers, Bertuchs Bilderwelt, 434.

commonly accepted and understood throughout the rest of Europe. The development of this typeface is credited to Justus Erich Walbaum. He had established a type foundry and book press in Goslar and later Weimar and worked under contract for Bertuch's Industrie-Comptoir. His Antiqua typeface was to be used in the production of Bertuch's picture books so that children would begin learning to read a more progressive print that would permit them to later interact more easily with the rest of the western world.

Bertuch wrote the following to this theme in a letter dated 16th April, 1790.

Ich habe ferner den Text des Bilderbuchs mit lateinischen Lettern drucken lassen, weil ich herzlich wünschte, daß wir endlich unserer altfränkischen widrigen teutschen Mönchsschrift loswerden, und in teutschen Werken auf die lateinischen weit schöneren Typen aller abendländischen Völker von Europa allgemein übergehen könnten, wie es England und Frankreich schon vor etlichen Jahrhunderten gethan haben. Ich weiß, daß sich hierin kein rascher Schritt thun läßt, und daß wir den Übergang erst in den Schulen lange vorbereiten müssen, um das Auge der neuen Generation, gleich vom Anfange an, an neue Formen der Buchstaben zu gewöhnen. Da ich nun gerade ein Buch für Kinder schreibe, so halte ich es für Pflicht, mein Scherflein zum Ganzen mit beyzutragen. Thun 5000 bis 6000 Schriftsteller dieß eben so wie ich in Teutschland, so wird die Reforme bald bewürkt seyn.¹⁰

Bertuch was also a pragmatist. He fully intended to profit from the pursuit of facilitating the advances in human knowledge and scientific discovery, and the combination of his immense wealth and ability to widely distribute his views through his publishing business meant that Bertuch became highly influential. This also led to further rapprochements of Bertuch's business practices on the part of his contemporaries, but Bertuch was a firm believer in mercantilism, which was the prevailing economic force in the 18th and early 19th centuries, and which would later lead to the industrialization of Europe. In this regard, he was quite aware of the rather backward status of Germany in comparison with economic developments in England, France, and even the newly formed United States of America. Bertuch was also well aware of the economic writings of

¹⁰ P. Kaiser, Das Haus am Baumgarten, 49.

individuals such as Adam Smith and later David Ricardo. Smith's most renowned work, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations was published in London in 1776, and had far reaching effects on economic principles throughout Europe and North America. As an educated man, Bertuch was most certainly well versed in the economic theories of his time, and Bertuch found himself in a position to take advantage of this knowledge.

Entbehrliche Luxusgüter wandelten sich in Massenbedarf, der die Erweiterung und Intensivierung der Marktwirtschaft mächtig ankurbelte. Indem sich das Verhältnis sowohl nach der Menge wie nach der Mannigfaltigkeit der Erzeugnisse zugunsten der Marktwirtschaft verschob, ergab sich aus der Vermehrung gewerblicher und kaufmännischer Tätigkeit und der dazu erforderlichen Kapitalien eben die Veränderung, die gemeinhin als der Durchbruch des Kapitalismus angesehen wird'. In diesem Sinne erweist sich Bertuch als ein Frühkapitalist, und das in einem Umfeld, das progressivem, wirtschaftlichem Denken nicht aufgeschlossen war. Er war, selbst kontinental gesehen, ein Pionier.¹¹

Bertuch's *Modejournal* and its sister publication London und Paris fit very well within his overall business plan in terms of being the vehicle not only for providing readers with information about the latest news and developments, but also for generating interest in, and thus sales for the products provided through his Landes-Industrie-Comptoir.

¹¹ Hohenstein, Bertuch, bewundert, beneidet, umstritten, 17.

5. “London und Paris”

London und Paris was in print under various names during the course of its publication, and the journal, initially published in Weimar, was later moved to the town of Halle and finally to Rudolstadt. The reasons for these name changes and relocations were purely practical and necessitated by the ongoing political problems between France and England which, for much of the time, were at a state of war. This strenuous relationship between the countries whose capital cities lent not only their names to the Journal but also comprised their content often caused difficulties on a variety of levels which affected not only the name and location of publication, but would also come to have a serious affect on the journal’s content.

London und Paris first appeared in May, 1798 and would continue an uninterrupted publication through Bertuch's Landes-Industrie-Comptoir, his publishing house located in Weimar, from that time until 1803. These first six years comprise the primary focus of this study. In 1804, Bertuch was inclined to move the publishing of London und Paris to Halle (at the time part of Prussia) due to the publication of caricatures that were highly critical of France. Duke Karl August had as a result of these caricatures ordered that Weimar no longer be associated with a journal in which such politically significant topics or individuals were so openly ridiculed.¹² The journal remained in Halle until 1807 and was published there by the *Neue Sozietäts-, Buch- und Kunsthandlung*. In 1808, the political situation resulting from the Napoleon's defeat of Prussia necessitated yet another move to the nearby city of Rudolstadt. Here the Journal was published by the *Hof-, Buch, und Kunsthandlung* and remained until its final publication in 1815.

¹² G. Kaiser, Bertuchs Zeitschrift London und Paris, 566-567.

More significant than the occasional requirements to move the journal's place of publication are the name changes that occurred during this same period. These name changes were also the result of the tumultuous relationship between England and France which often made it difficult for the Journal to have access to the latest information coming out of London. The first 20 volumes (1798 – 1807) which were produced in large part in Weimar and partially in Halle have articles about London in every issue, but in 1807 France initiated an economic war against England and introduced the Continental System which resulted in a blockade being placed around England. The idea was to completely prohibit trade with England by France, her allies, and any neutral nations. Napoleon expected that the unfavorable balance of trade would destroy England's banking system and cause English industry to collapse.¹³ The prevention of trade with England naturally cut off the supply of current information from England making its way to the continent and seriously affected the content of the Journal. Beginning in 1808, articles about London were of limited interest to readers because they had to rely on second-hand information, or they were based upon excerpts from older letters originating from England. The journal attempted to maintain its originally intended format and produce articles about both London and Paris in every issue, but there was simply not enough information and the articles from London began to appear at irregular intervals. Then in 1809 the journal was not produced at all due to the continued political uncertainty resulting from the French occupation of Prussia. In 1810 there was a continued effort to publish articles about London, but the material available was simply not up to the previous standards set by earlier issues of the journal, and a substitute had to be found. Therefore, the publishers began including articles about Vienna and renamed

¹³<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Continental_System>

the Journal Paris, Wien und London. In 1812 London was given up altogether and the journal was again renamed Paris und Wien. Furthermore, the journal was forced to continue moving away from its original concept due to the France's control of much of Germany.

Die Jahrgänge 1811, 1812, und 1813, in denen die Berichterstattung aus Wien hinzukam und London weiter zurücktrat, um schließlich gar nicht mehr berücksichtigt zu werden, bringen zugunsten von Herrscherporträts, Wappen und Orden bzw. unverfänglichen, gelegentlich geradezu läppischen Bildern aus den Metropolen, wie dem des „Kiosks des [gerade geborenen] Königs von Rom auf der Terrasse des Gartens der Tuileries, nur noch sehr wenige – unpolitische – Karikaturen, womit auch die ausführlichen Erklärungen entfallen. Für die spärlichen London-Texte des Jahrgangs 1811 wurde auf Übersetzungen „aus einem französischen, in London gedruckten Journal“ sowie dem „Monthly Repertory“ und der Zeitschrift „Panorama“ bzw. auf längst veraltete Berichte Johanna Schopenhauers aus dem Jahr 1804 zurückgegriffen. Informationen aus dem „Almanach impérial“ der Jahre 1812 und 1813 gibt „Paris und London“ völlig unkritisch wieder und Napoleon erscheint nun in ganz anderem Licht als in den Jahren 1800 bis 1806.¹⁴

In 1814, Paris und Wien was not published, but there were plans to reintroduce the Journal as London, Paris und Wien for 1815; however, only the first issue was published under this new title and then the journal completely ceased production. The main contributing factors to the end of the journal were likely the early death of Bertuch's son Carl in 1815 who had become the journal's editor, and the dramatic change in the political landscape of Europe after the defeat of Napoleon which very likely led people to look for a new source of Entertainment not so closely associated with the political strife of the previous two decades. On the inside cover of the last issue was the following message indicating that London would once again become an integral part of the publication, but for the reasons outlined above, this was not to be.

Nachricht. die Zeitschrift „Paris und Wien“, welche von Januar 1811 ihren Anfang nahm, war die ununterbrochene Fortsetzung von „London und Paris“, doch durch den interessanten Artikel „Wien“ vermehrt. Jetzt, nach Befreiung Deutschlands vom

¹⁴ G. Kaiser, Bertuchs Zeitschrift London und Paris, 568.

Tyrannenjoche, und aufgehobener Seesperre, hat dieselbe nun wieder ihre alten Artikel „London“ erhalten und behält ihren neuen schönen Artikel „Wien“ fortwährend bei.¹⁵

The Journal itself has a very consistent structure that only changes later in conjunction with the above mentioned name and publishing location changes which necessitated an alteration in subject material. Thus, the years 1798 through 1807 reflect most accurately the original intentions of the publishers in terms of layout and content. Gerhard Kaiser describes how it was really an ideal structure which served the journal well throughout the years by directly addressing people's requirements for entertainment and current, reliable information while at the same time maintaining a distance from political issues and more or less openly expressing a preference for the English point of view.

Die Konzentration auf London und Paris, die zugleich parallelisierende und polarisierende Zuordnung beider Metropolen und die mehr oder weniger offene Parteinahme für die englisch-evolutionäre gegen die französisch-revolutionäre Option bei gleichzeitig beteuert politisch-wertender Enthaltensamkeit und in Verbindung mit aktuellen, verlässlichen Informationen, die auch das Unterhaltungsbedürfnis befriedigten, waren so gut durchdacht, daß für „London und Paris“ vom ersten Heft des Ersten Jahrgangs an eine Form gefunden werden konnte, die sich über Jahre bewährte.¹⁶

I would also agree that this is for the most part true, because it would be absurd to say that London und Paris was particularly successful at remaining uninvolved and objective regarding the political issues of the period. Rather it would be more accurate to say that the journal was, for the most part, merely good at remaining just on the border of being acceptable in terms of not becoming too openly involved and biased. I would also argue the journal had, from the very beginning, every intention of influencing opinion with respect to European politics. It is rather contradictory to say that the journal could express a preference for the English without really taking sides in the political arguments.

¹⁵ Riggert, Die Zeitschrift „London und Paris“ als Quelle englischer Zeitverhältnisse, 10-11.

¹⁶ G. Kaiser, Bertuchs Zeitschrift London und Paris, 557.

It should also be noted that the journal was from its very beginning intended to have a wide readership, and not only within Germany. This was not an unrealistic expectation based upon the tremendous success of Bertuch's previous journal effort Das Journal des Luxus und der Moden which had already succeeded in gaining a very large number of subscribers from all over Europe. With this in mind, the publishers emphasized from the very beginning that London und Paris would be available in all bookstores and at post offices throughout the continent, and the price was thusly listed in several different currencies.

Man abonniert sich darauf bey allen löblichen Postämtern in und außer Deutschland, bey allen Intelligenz- und Zeitungscomptoiren, so wie bey allen guten in- und ausländischen Buchhandlungen, welche davon ihre gewöhnliche Provision erhalten, hingegen den Preiß davon nicht erhoben werden...Das Abonnement ist für den ganzen Jahrgang, oder 8 Stücke, ein Carolin, oder 6 Rthlr. [Reichsthaler] 8 gr. [Groschen] oder 11 Gulden Reichsgeld durch ganz Deutschland.¹⁷

5.1 Appearance of the Journal

The cover of London und Paris is deceptively simple in overall appearance, but it is complex in its detail. On the orange background of the cover page is a very elaborate hand drawn border consisting of repeated dark and light lines going around the outside cover. These are interspaced with small squares and points filling in the space between. The lines and squares are drawn to give the appearance of an offset shadow, and this is all bordered on the outside by repeated hatch marks. Centered at the top is the Title "London und Paris" followed by the journal's motto in Latin. "Quicquid, quos Tamisia nutrit, quos Sequana, rident, Gaudia, discursus nostril est farrago libelli."¹⁸ Below the motto is the

¹⁷ London und Paris, I 1798, inside cover.

¹⁸ "Everything that approaches the Themes, about which the Sein laughs, the spreeds, the distractions. These are the mixed contents of our little book.

publication year, “erster...”, “zweyter Jahrgang”, etc., followed by the place of publication, the publishing company and the year shown centered at the bottom.

Each *Jahrgang* (publication year) consisted of 8 *Stücke* (issues) where every four issues made up a *Band* (volume). The four issues of each volume are numbered consecutively so that the first issue begins at page one while the second issue then begins page numbering where the previous issue left off. At the end of every four issues there is a complete index covering the entire volume. Issues tend to be approximately one hundred pages in length, and each issue contains first a lengthy article focusing on England accordingly entitled “London”, followed by a second article dealing with France and consequently entitled “Paris”. For both articles, the material is rather random in terms of what is discussed and in what order the information appears, but the predominant focus in each article is a general theme, such as social events currently available only in these cities, the latest fashions for men and women, or recent museum and artistic attractions. The third section of each issue contains detailed commentaries on the included caricatures that are very reminiscent of Georg Christoph Lichtenberg in terms of style and content, and will be dealt with in chapter nine in much greater detail as they play an essential part in the overall content, opinion, and mood established in each issue.

Finally, the caricatures themselves are provided at the very back of each issue and typically include three caricatures which are large format and folded neatly inside the back cover. Normally the caricatures consist of two hand colored English caricatures and one black and white caricature of French origin. However, there are sometimes other items of interest such as the music and accompanying text to popular vaudevilles as well

as highly detailed city maps or plans for significant areas such as large gardens or important buildings.

6. Significant Contributors to “London und Paris”

Although Bertuch may be considered ultimately responsible for the success of his publications, it would not have been possible without the help of numerous other individuals. In the case of London und Paris, there are several people who contributed greatly to the journal. In fact, they actually had more to do with the issue by issue content than Bertuch who primarily maintained editorial control. The three most important individuals in terms of literary contributions were Johann Christian Hüttner, Gottlieb-Friedrich Winckler, and Karl August Böttiger. Hüttner and Winckler worked as correspondents reporting directly from their respective host countries of England and France. Hüttner knew Böttiger personally as they had met in 1784 when Böttiger was working as the headmaster at a school in Hüttner’s home town of Guben. Hüttner later went on to the University in Leipzig and after his studies became a private tutor to the son of English diplomat George Staunton and moved to London in 1791. He then accompanied Staunton on a long diplomatic expedition taking them as far away as China before finally returning to England where Hüttner continued working as a correspondent for not only London und Paris but also the Neuen Teutschen Merkur as well as his own publications. He finally took on a position as translator for the English Foreign Ministry and by 1808 was no longer reporting for London und Paris which also had a significant effect on the “London” portion of the journal’s content.¹⁹ The second most prolific writer was a woman by the name of Jana Wynandina Gertraud von Engelbronner d’Aubigny who insisted upon anonymity in order to be able to write more freely.²⁰ While in England, she wrote various letters to London und Paris and signed them as either “O., N.

¹⁹ G. Kaiser, Bertuchs Zeitschrift „London und Paris“, 549-550.

²⁰ Banerji, Gillray Observed, 20.

v. E., or Nina”.²¹ Like Hüttner, she included a substantial number of caricatures in her communications with Böttiger. Several other authors sometimes contributed to the journal, but to a much lesser extent. Two of these occasional contributors were clergymen. One was Karl Gottlieb Horstig, the brother-in-law of d’Aubigny, who wrote articles for both the “London” and “Paris” sections. The other was a Lutheran pastor from London’s East End by the name of Schwabe.²²

The most important correspondent for the “Paris” section of the Journal was Gottlieb-Friedrich (Théophile-Frédéric) Winckler. He was born in 1770 in Straßburg, where he also completed his studies before moving to France. While in France, he wrote articles on language, literature, and music for the Magasin encyclopédique, in addition to translating numerous works from German into French. He also took a position in the Cabinet of the médailles der Bibliothèque impérial from 1804 until his untimely death in 1807.²³ In addition to Winkler, Carl Bertuch, and Wilhelmina Christiane von Hastfer von Chézy also worked as correspondents from Paris. Carl Bertuch later took over the position of editor for the journal in 1806 and held this post until his death in 1815.

Karl August Böttiger worked as the editor for London und Paris. He had originally come to Weimar in 1791 to take the position of headmaster at the *Gymnasium*. He was well known as an intellectual man with a deep knowledge of classical history and literature. As a result, he naturally became part of the salon culture of the upper social circles in Weimar and worked as editor for both Wieland’s Der deutsche Merkur and Bertuch’s Journal des Luxus und der Moden. Böttiger was primarily responsible for the commentaries to the caricatures. Although, as a foreigner attempting to interpret the

²¹ Riggert, Die Zeitschrift „London und Paris“ als Quelle englischer Zeitverhältnisse, 14-15.

²² Banerji, Gillray Observed, 19-20.

²³ G. Kaiser, Bertuchs Zeitschrift „London und Paris“, 550.

intentions and humor of English and French art, it was likely necessary for him to receive often detailed explanations from outside sources such as the correspondents working in those respective countries or additional help provided by natives from those lands who were living in Weimar.

The balance of likelihood is, therefore, that Böttiger in Weimar worked up or at least polished the texts sent to him by Hüttner and the other correspondents. In fact, the internal evidence of the commentaries themselves frequently suggests such joint authorship; they read as graphic accounts of political affairs and ephemeral news and gossip in London which were given shape, thematic coherence and a range of literary references by a writer of considerable erudition, such as Böttiger was. The many digressions on Greek and Roman archaeology and philology are certainly his, and indeed his contemporaries often accused him of pedantry.²⁴

For the purpose of this study, only Hüttner and to a lesser extent Winckler play a significant role, as they contributed the overwhelming majority of articles during the first nine years of London und Paris' publication, and it is during this period of time that the journal most accurately reflects the opinions and original intentions of Bertuch and his colleagues, especially with regards to the publication of caricatures and the information being submitted from London.

²⁴ Banerji, Gillray Observed, 21.

7. Audience

The target audience for Bertuch's London und Paris was the upper and upper-middle classes of German society and included not only the social and intellectual elite from Germany's nobility, but also the German bourgeoisie; members of families with wealth acquired through banking or mercantile trade as well as respected members of the medical profession and theologians. From these classes came those individuals who had the level of education to which the journal spoke. At the same time, the journal also served the function of furthering these individuals' education. Readers of London und Paris needed to be well aware of classical history and mythology, the arts, music, and other aspects of high culture in order to really understand the full meaning behind much of what was discussed in the articles. Based on the literary style and detailed explanation of references appearing in the articles and commentaries, one also notices an attempt on the part of the publishers of London und Paris to educate readers by introducing subjects to them on a level that is more fundamental than what would have appeared in German high literature of the period, such as Wieland's Musarion or Goethe's Faust. That is not to say however, that London und Paris focused only on aspects of high culture. There are a great deal of articles and caricatures dealing with crime, political corruption, scandal, and issues of morality, but they are presented in a way that often requires a certain level of education in addition to knowledge of [then] current events in order to fully appreciate.

Therefore in terms of potential readers, the numbers in Germany and throughout the rest of Europe were actually quite limited. One must keep in mind that the majority of people living during the period of the 18th century were illiterate, and of those that could read, there was still a rather significant educational and economic gap to bridge before a

Journal such as Bertuch's *Modejournal* or London und Paris would be of much interest or use.

8. Role of the Journal, “Plan und Ankündigung”

Bertuch's Journal London und Paris served a valuable function in the upper classes of German society by providing an often otherwise unobtainable link to the outside world, to events and ideas outside of readers' immediate social circles. While one might presume that their interest primarily took the form of entertainment derived through experiencing far away lands and cultures, it would be a rather short sighted analysis of the intended purposes of Bertuch's publications in general and London und Paris specifically.

In order to have a good foundational understanding of Bertuch's intentions with London und Paris, one only need read “Plan und Ankündigung”, which was written as the first article in the premier issue from 1798. Presumably the article was written by Bertuch, but there is a conscious effort on the part of the journal to not reveal the names of the individuals contributing to the articles or commentaries. In this article, the editors provide insight into Germany's preoccupation with both England and France as well as the fascination with the culture of the western world's largest and most sophisticated cities.

The fact that London and Paris were the two most important cities to which the educated elite turned for the latest and most important information is something that is freely admitted to in “Plan und Ankündigung” in that it is acknowledged that there was an enormous amount of published information being generated in both cities.

Das papierne Zeitalter erstickt fast unter allen Journalen und Zeitungsblättern. Und alle diese Welt- und Zeitkunde, die sich in so viele größere und kleinere Canäle ergießt, strömt eigentlich nur aus zwey Hauptquellen... Was Wunder, daß nun auch auf diese zwey Mittelpunkte, um welche sich in entgegengesetzter Richtung alle Welthandel drehen, alle, die Augen zu sehen, und Hände zu schreiben haben, ihre Blicke eben so

unverwandt heften als jene Königscandidaten den ersten Sonnenstral bewachten, dessen frühester Anblick dem Späher eine Crone brachte.²⁵

Therefore, there was no need to justify the reasoning behind producing literature devoted solely to the events transpiring in these distant capitals as it was a phenomenon that had already been occurring for a great deal of time. Instead, “Plan und Ankündigung” makes the justification for a periodical journal devoted to the subject of current trends and events in England and France. Simply put, travel literature was already widely read and very popular at the time, but there was a constant desire for the latest information. Part of the very nature of entertainment comes in the form of experiencing something new. There is the constant desire for change in this regard and London und Paris speaks directly to this desire in that it is critical of that fact that lengthy books offering to describe these cities, the fashions to be found there, or the popular events that make up the character and culture of these places can only be accurate for a limited period of time. The editors refer to several works covering London and Paris and remark that they were hugely successful in the German speaking states; however, they question the accuracy of these works given the constantly changing situations in the respective countries.²⁶ A periodical publication on the other hand would always remain current and thus relevant.

Aber wer könnte dieses Gähren und Brausen verpuffen und verkohlen, Pracipitiren und Sublimiren der ungleichartigsten Stoffe in diesem ungeheueren Retorten durch eine gestehende Beschreibung und eine geschlossene Schilderung festzuhalten sich einfallen lassen? Ich kann sagen: so ist es heute. Aber in wenigen Wochen sind oft Schauspieler, Decorationen und Zuschauer neu, und das alte Stück wird mit neuen Umgebungen vor neuen Zuschauern neu aufgeführt. Wer ein Buch darüber schreibt, setzt nur Grabsteine. Aber eine regelmäßig wiederkehrende periodische Schrift verjüngt sich mit dem verjüngenden, fliegt mit dem fliegenden Genius der Zeit, und liefert stets frische

²⁵ London und Paris, I 1798, 3-4.

²⁶ Two works briefly mentioned in “Plan und Ankündigung “ are Wendeborn’s London and Archenholz’ Länder- und Völkerkunde. Neither work is accompanied by a footnote or similar reference which would seem to indicate that the works were already extremely well known and likely considered to be dated and of limited value.

Gemälde, so wie sie selbst frisch ist. Eine solche Zeitschrift soll von nun an unter Aufschrift London und Paris erscheinen.²⁷

In this first article, reference is also made to the lack of reliability offered by other periodical publications. Here they were referring mostly to the foreign press, which naturally expressed a bias in favor of their countries. Essentially, London und Paris claimed to be an attempt to dissect and interpret the propaganda war between England and France in an unbiased manner by fulfilling the role of conciliator. It was, from the very beginning, the announced intention of Bertuch and his editorial staff to present the view of a disinterested third party looking in on the philosophical, social, and political happenings in England and France, and Bertuch was well aware that there were certain limitations as to how far they could go in freely expressing opinions, especially with regards to political issues and persons of political significance. In this respect, there existed the need for a degree of self-censorship.

Ihr sind keine langen Ankündigungen vorausgegangen. Sie erfüllt den Wunsch vieler Einzelnen. Sie steht keinem andern Journale im Wege. Sie schließt sich an alle an, die statistischen, politischen, oder weltbürgerlichen Inhalts sind. Sie will bloß vergnügen, scherzen, erzählen, was heute in Paris, gestern in London zu sehen war. Sie hütet sich vor der Politik, als vor einer Sphinx, die Täglich die Söhne und Töchter der Buotier frißt. Alle Staatsverhandlungen, alle politischer Raisonsments, alles, was in die zwei großen Hauptrubriken, Krieg, und Frieden, gehört, liegt auf immer außer ihrem Plane, Aber was oft schon die geheime Triebfeder einer Kriegserklärung oder eines Friedensbruches wurde, die geheimere Anecdote,, und wie sich der Volksgeist bey Kriegs- und Friedensbegebenheiten, bey Wahlen und Zurüstungen, bey Siegen und Niederlagen, Charakteristisch ausdrückt, dieses wird sie gern berichten.²⁸

At times the journal did make changes or decide not to publish particular caricatures, but there were instances when things went just a little too far. This censorship will be looked at later in more detail when considering the caricatures, but from the very first issue it is clear that there existed substantial bias in favor of the English evolutionary rather than the

²⁷ London und Paris, I 1798, 4.

²⁸ London und Paris, I 1798, 7-8.

French revolutionary approach to social and political reform, even though this bias went against the stated goals of journal as outlined in “Plan und Ankündigung.”

It was Bertuch’s further intention to provide not only a clearer more unbiased interpretation of events for his readers but also to delve deeper into the initial causes and backgrounds of reported events. This was something that he accused official news sources of failing to do.

Nur ist das was gesehen und geschrieben wird, oft sehr zweydeutiger Natur. Gaukelspiele der Fee Morgana; politische Truggestalten, leere Tonnen, vom Redacteur oder dem Star zur Belustigung der gaffenden Menge hingeworfen; um das geheime Spiel desto sicherer spielen zu können. Selbst die glaubwürdigsten Berichte officieller Tageblätter, wie unbefriedigend und abgerissen sind sie, da sie höchstens nur den letzten Erfolg, selten oder nie das eigentliche Warum? Und Wodurch? Angeben.²⁹

In essence, like any person of Enlightenment education, his intention was to seek the truth.

Sie macht nur einen Anspruch, aber auf diesen Hält sie auch, wie das arme Rosenmädchen zu Salancy auf ihren Kranz. Sie will wahr sein. Sie will treu geben, was ein paar gesunde und nicht ganz ungeübte Augen an Ort und Stelle selbst, täglich wo anders herumgetragen sehen können.³⁰

However, in the case of London und Paris, the truth meant a decidedly German interpretation of events and the people involved in them. In order to reassure the public that they would be reading the truth, one aspect of the journal’s production received particular emphasis. Readers were promised that the articles appearing in London und Paris would be provided by authors who were themselves witnesses to the events described. And should they not be able to see events for themselves, the correspondents would use only accounts provided by reliable eye witnesses of unquestionable reputation

²⁹ London und Paris, I 1798, 4.

³⁰ London und Paris, I 1798, 9.

who possessed relevant knowledge. It was widely accepted that second or third hand information was of little value, and the journal was also clearly of this opinion.

“Wie hastig greift man im Journale Frankreich zuerst nach den Briefen deutscher Männer aus Paris, weil sie den Stempel an der Stirn tragen, daß sie in keiner deutschen Studierstube geschrieben sind?”³¹

This attitude is also revealed in the dramatic decline of the “London” section of the Journal after 1807. Had there been a continued effort to publish information regarding London but only by providing information second hand through France, the reputation of the Journal would have suffered severely. Bertuch further assured his readers that the two foreign correspondents working for London und Paris were Germans with extensive knowledge of, and years of experience living in their respective host countries.

Zwey Männer, beyde Teutsche, beyde nicht seit heute oder gestern in jenen Tummelplätzen der weltbeherrschenden Mode, haben sich vereinigt, treue Berichte regelmäßig einzuschicken, und wo ihnen selbst die Allgegenwart versagt ist, sich durch Wohlunterrichtete zu vervielfältigen.³²

Although he does not reveal them by name, Bertuch was most certainly referring to Hüttner and Winckler.

³¹ London und Paris, I 1798, 5.

³² London und Paris, I 1798, 9.

9. Development of Caricatures

Although the foreign correspondents were paid for writing articles and occasionally for descriptions of caricatures, they were also reimbursed the costs of purchasing prints in the shops of London and Paris. It is clear that, from the very beginning, the caricatures were not merely an afterthought to provide the journal with an added element of light hearted humor and a little bit of color, but rather this artwork was to play a central role in the goals of the journal. However, London und Paris did not set the precedent for taking an interest in caricatures or for providing commentaries on them. The journal had in fact taken direct inspiration from the previous work of Georg Chistoph Lichtenberg who had spent time in England and was very much intrigued by the work of one English artist in particular, William Hogarth.

Hogarth was born in 1697. Before his death in 1764, he would establish a new genre in art.³³ As a young engraver's apprentice he had amused himself and refined his artistic skills by sketching the metropolitan life and events of his home town of London. By 1720 Hogarth was working as an engraver and also began producing small book illustrations, prints and oil paintings. He was a relatively unknown artist producing high quality if not somewhat traditional and unremarkable works. This was however, the height of the Enlightenment and the idea of commercial art was beginning to flourish. Much in the same way that the Enlightenment fostered the prodigious production of novels, prints were becoming increasingly popular for a public with an insatiable appetite for new things. Hogarth then hit on the idea of painting and engraving modern moral subjects and treating them in the very same way that an author would present them in a

³³ <http://www.wordiq.com/definition/William_Hogarth>. See also "The Site for Research on William Hogarth (1697-1764)" http://come.to/William_Hogarth/.

tragedy for the stage. The ground of his images became the stage for developing a tale of morality. In 1731 he painted "a Harlot's Progress" which was a series of six scenes depicting the tragic life of a simple country girl seduced into prostitution and eventually perishing as a result of venereal disease and being buried in accordance to the unkind circumstances for such women deemed unsuitable for a Christian burial by the church. This was followed in 1735 by the sequel "A Rake's Progress", the eight piece story depicting a wealthy merchant's son who lives a life of luxury, gambling, and debauchery until he is ultimately ruined.

Hogarth went on to achieve great success with portraiture and also continued making prints and paintings based on morality, and in these works, he very often parodied imagery from notable religious scenes by artists such as Albrecht Dürer and Leonardo da Vinci. Also, in order to add satire, he would emphasize particular aspects or character traits, which is a feature essential to caricature. His work is considered by many to be the very beginnings of caricature.

The primary goal of caricature is to clearly express a point of view. This is accomplished by exaggerating already apparent details in order to provide images with an obvious focal point for the purpose concentrating on a basic idea. This is often implied through simple metaphors and juxtaposition. Of course, the concept behind making caricatures was not without controversy for a number of reasons. Most significant among these were the merits behind the notion of using imagery to convey ideas when text would be considered a more appropriate medium, the worthiness of the caricature as a legitimate art form, and the obvious problems that could arise from the satirical nature of such images, for example when used to ridicule powerful political figures.

9.1 Lichtenberg's Commentaries

Lichtenberg made a name for himself by writing commentaries to Hogarth's works so that they could be enjoyed and appreciated by a German speaking audience. His commentaries along with reprints of Hogarth's work appeared regularly in the "Göttinger Taschen Kalender", and Lichtenberg's commentaries became as well known in Germany as the artwork they described. They were not mere descriptions of the action taking place within the frame. Instead, he developed a theory of commentary writing that would later be adopted and expanded on by Böttiger, who then applied it to the caricatures in London und Paris.

Das immer wieder zitierte Vorbild für die in London und Paris vorgelegten Karikaturbeschreibungen ist Georg Christoph Lichtenbergs „Ausführliche Erklärung der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche“. Schon von 1784 bis 1796 waren im „Göttinger Taschen-Kalender“ seine Erläuterungen zu Hogarths Stichen erschienen, die der Autor in der 1794 bis 1799 in Göttingen publizierten „Ausführlichen Erklärung“ erweiterte. Durch sie wurden nicht nur Hogarths Werke in Deutschland populär gemacht, auch die von Lichtenberg ‚erfundene‘ Gattung der Karikaturbeschreibung fand in deutschen literarischen Kreisen Anklang.³⁴

Lauterbach describes in detail two ways that Lichtenberg considered for providing descriptions to Hogarth's work and which could naturally be applied to other artists working with caricature as well. The first method was to simply provide explanations of references made by the artist and to then clarify the intended meanings of elements within the work. Lauterbach describes this as the prosaic method. It was a method that would serve the purposes of informing the viewer as to how to understand the work, but it does not add to the enjoyment or in any way really supplement the work of art. In this sense, such a description lacks, in my opinion, any entertainment value beyond what the work itself could provide. In fact, by providing such a prosaic description, I believe the

³⁴ Lauterbach, "London und Paris" in Weimar, 213.

artwork's value in terms of entertainment is actually diminished. A prosaic description removes any sense of surprise that a viewer, otherwise familiar with the references, exaggerations, and satirical elements inherent within a caricature, would find in the work. It is the element of finding something unexpected through juxtaposition and exaggeration that imbues caricature with its humor. Put simply, an academic description of elements being juxtaposed and references to the parody within a work remove the element of the unexpected causing the satire to be lost. For an educated Londoner, it is not especially difficult to understand many of the references which make the satire or parody possible, because they are an inherent part of the viewers own culture, and these explanations were thus not necessary. However, in order to introduce a foreign audience to a work of art, there is a necessity to explain aspects of the culture from which the art comes. Otherwise, the meaning and therefore the value of the artwork is diminished or simply lost to the audience. Of course, this has always been an obvious concept in terms of high art. Without a solid foundational understanding of Greek and Roman cultures, the 18th century enlightened individual would have been at a loss to understand the significance of changes in Greek vase painting from the early geometric period to later Black and finally Red figure painting styles. They may have looked at Roman sculpture as something merely interesting without understanding the significant differences between the Greek idealized and later Roman realist sculptural styles which were fundamentally intertwined with cultural precepts. Caricature from a modern culture required the same sort of background understanding by a foreign audience in order for them to properly appreciate the artist's message. The only difference is that no 18th century *Aufklärer* would have argued that it was not necessary to be classically educated, and that Roman

and Greek art had little to offer the modern world, so why attempt to understand the culture that produced it. This was a period universally admired by Enlightenment philosophers, writers, and artists. Caricature was, on the other hand, a contemporary art form, and did not, in the opinion of many people, merit the same kind of attention or admiration. However, that did not mean that viewers outside of the original cultural context in which the caricatures were produced did not require an “education” in order to understand meaning. Lichtenberg recognized this and developed a way to simply make it more interesting for the viewer to gain the required cultural knowledge in order to appreciate the artwork. For this he employed what has been called the poetic method.

The poetic method still involved giving the audience the required cultural information to interpret the artwork, but it also meant doing so in a much more creative way. The goal of writing commentaries to artwork using the poetic method was to establish a mood through the style of writing that matched that of the artwork itself. The commentary was intended to be a companion piece to work in conjunction with the artwork. The intent by Lichtenberg was to create a textual reference that contained the same mood und humor, in essence, the same kinds of surprises or insights which were present in the artwork. This allowed the reader to be entertained through the description as well. Both the description and the work of art were then to be enjoyed concurrently which allowed the artwork to retain its freshness. Simply stated, Lichtenberg attempted to recreate the print using the written word, and that required a tremendous amount of creativity. His commentary was intended to be a literary work of art. He stated this intention in the forward to his work Ausführliche Erklärung der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche; “Was der Künstler da gezeichnet hat, müßte nun auch so gesagt werden,

wie er es vielleicht würde gesagt haben, wenn er die Feder so hätte führen können, wie er den Grabstichel geführt hat.”³⁵

³⁵ Lauterbach, “London und Paris“ in Weimar, 213.

10. Role of Caricatures in “London und Paris”

As mentioned previously, the purpose for the inclusion of imagery in the journal was to entertain, educate, and persuade readers. Using imagery was naturally a highly efficient means of accomplishing this goal, but in order to better understand how this was achieved and to what ends, one must first consider why the journal concentrated on showing works from particular genres and specific artists. Regarding the genre, the type of caricatures depicted depended predominantly on whether they originally came from England or France. The vast majority of English caricatures were of a political nature and tended towards blatant ridicule, while the caricatures of French origin tended to focus more on social issues in the realm of fashion, customs, and morality wherein the humor relied heavily on accompanying explanatory words from the artist. However, this choice of different genres from the different cultures was not necessarily so much dictated by the editors of London und Paris or the correspondents working in the foreign capitals as by the content being produced in these respective countries. It has been suggested by Iris Lauterbach, that the differing nature of the caricatures from France and England was primarily a direct result of culture rather than any sort of difference in the comparative level of freedom enjoyed by the English or French press, even though this difference in freedom was indeed a factor. An analysis of French caricatures in the 5th issue, volume XX (1807) of London und Paris dealt specifically with this issue from which Lauterbach quotes.

Zwei Gründe verhindern also – so „London und Paris“ –, daß Franzosen gute Karikaturen machen: Der in gesellschaftlichen Verhaltensvorstellungen verankerte mangelnde Sinn für das Komische im Individuum und ein bestimmter, relativ rigide angewandter Geschmacksbegriff. Der „bienséance“ und „convenance“, der Wohlangemessenheit als einem wichtigen Maßstab gesellschaftlichen Verhaltens und künstlerischer Produktion,

widerspricht Karikatur, indem sie die der künstlerischen Darstellung im Namen des „bon goût“ gezogenen Grenzen bewusst überschreiten muß, um zu wirken.³⁶

Essentially, it was maintained by London und Paris that the French were unable to produce the same sort of caricatures as the English because the customs of their society prevented them from overstepping the bounds of what was considered appropriate humor in public, and it was this exact form of humor upon which these sorts of caricatures steeped in ridicule depended. To so openly deride and satirize using imagery as the medium was to flaunt the societal conventions that the French believed held them above their rather unsophisticated and base neighbors across the channel. However, it was this very mind-set in France that led to the formation of attitudes in England that would come to define the positions so often expressed in their media and thereby eventually appearing in Germany as well where they were often just as eagerly accepted. In this regard, London und Paris exhibits a clear prejudice in favor of the English, which shows up in a variety of ways and will be discussed at length in chapter twelve. As will be shown, it was also not, as was believed, a lack of French humor, rather it was a different attitude towards humor that determined their approach towards caricature. This different sense of humor is readily evident in the French caricatures in terms of both style and subject matter, but it was not as eagerly accepted by London und Paris or, in all probability, the majority of its readers.

10.1 A Contrast in French and English Styles

In terms of style, the figures in French caricature are portrayed in a typically realistic manner. Thus, with respect to artistic technique the French prints appearing in

³⁶ Lauterbach, "London und Paris" in Weimar, 212.

London und Paris only fall within the category of caricature in a very understated way. Simply put, they do not attempt to overly exaggerate a particular subject's features or characteristics in order to produce a comic effect. The figures and the situations in which they find themselves would better be described as plausible. Plausible does not, however, imply realistic. The imagery is instead created in a manner that corresponds roughly with reality, but may depict a situation that can only be fictitious. For example, an image might include inventions which are simply impossible or completely impractical for the period, or figures might be included who are completely fictional such as a Greek god or a female figure representing Liberty. Their representation does however correspond to what one would realistically imagine such objects or individuals to look like. Although there may be an ever so slight alteration, exaggeration, or warping in order to achieve a desired effect or emotional response, these are always kept within the realm of plausible.

This contrasts dramatically with typical English caricatures which often portray ridiculous situations such as figures carving up the world for consumption at the dinner table or individuals partially taking on an animal form to accentuate particular attributes. The English, as will be seen, were more direct in their approach, but not necessarily more effective as there were some valid criticisms of English caricature, such as oversimplification for propaganda purposes, which must also be taken into consideration. However, due to the biased approach of the editors and writers of London und Paris, such criticisms were predominately ignored. By comparison, the French artwork in the journal is often subject to rather harsh condemnation.

The humor in the French images appears in a much less obvious form which is most often derived through subtle implication of particular behaviors or not so apparent

contrasts in appearance or attitude among the depicted figures. Essentially, the French caricatures do not fall into the same category as that of the English in terms of using exaggeration and literal interpretation to create metaphors. Because of the methods used by the French artists whose caricatures appear in London und Paris, it becomes much more difficult to supply a commentary using Lichtenberg's poetic methodology. In order for the viewer to properly interpret the image, he or she needed a rather thorough understanding of French customs, attitudes, and current events. Due to the necessity for this extensive background knowledge, it becomes difficult to provide a meticulous commentary set in the mood of the original artwork. It ends up being far more prosaic and explanatory. In order to describe the extremely subtle humor of such imagery the author of the commentary had to provide the necessarily detailed information. Commentaries of this sort tend to eliminate the surprise because it becomes more of a description of the picture rather than an accompanying text which paints the same or similar image with words rather than with an artists brush. From this perspective, it is understandable as to why, purely for stylistic and entertainment reasons, there was a preference for publishing English caricatures.

It is not that that the French images are somehow less humorous. It is merely that they are a different style which does not lend itself as easily to a poetic form of commentary outside of the culture which produced it. One could argue that this is also completely acceptable since the images were likely never really intended to be viewed outside of the context of their own culture. On the other hand, it does introduce certain difficulties in publishing such images to fit within a specific style and format, in this case, that of London und Paris.

10.2 The Significance of the Use of Color

Color also plays an important role in understanding the function of images, and this is equally true for the caricatures appearing in London und Paris. The use of color for mass publication prints of the time was not only very costly, but also labor intensive, but it provides a much more dramatic quality to elements within an image. Bertuch recognized that color was a very powerful aspect of design. It was also during this period that many intellectuals began to seriously explore aspects of color theory and asked questions including what produces color, and how individuals respond to it. Color essentially functions based on its ability to generate an emotive response which tends to give a work of art more impact and thus observers naturally tend to react more strongly to color as opposed to black and white images. This can work in both positive and negative ways. For example, an analogous color scheme can establish a sedated mood while a discordant scheme can create feelings of unease. These qualities were naturally very important when producing images of the latest fashions when one wished to convince people that these fashions offered something otherwise unobtainable. This form of mass produced artwork from the time was labor intensive, and the use of color therefore strongly indicates a level of importance given to a particular work of art. Thus coloring a print was always a deliberate decision. In later issues this tends to lend more importance, and meaning to the English caricatures which are nearly always produced in color, and it functions on an almost subconscious level to imply that the English images should be given more attention. The commentaries often further reinforced this by implying on occasion that the French were simply incapable of producing caricatures that were as sophisticated as the English, which was quite contradictory given the fact that the French

were consistently portrayed as far more cunning than their rather simple if not honest English counterparts.

10.3 James Gillray, the Defining Artist for “London und Paris”

The journal's affinity for the English perspective led to a very deliberate choice by Bertuch in terms of which artist's work to publish for the German public. It was not only a matter of what artwork to portray, but also a matter of defining the perspective for the commentaries to the caricatures published in London und Paris. The most prevalent Caricatures to appear in London und Paris were produced by the English artist James Gillray, who lived from 1756 to 1815. Many of the English caricatures which appear in the journal are signed by Gillray and of those lacking a signature, many more can be traced directly to him by direct attribution to the author in the accompanying commentary. A majority of anonymous English caricatures are also almost certainly from Gillray, as they match his characteristic style and typical subject matter. In addition to Gillray, other artists such as George M. Woodward and Isaac Cruikshank do appear; however, none of these individuals achieved the notoriety of James Gillray, who, even by his contemporaries, was very well known. Gillray's notoriety took all forms from admiration to loathing depending on one's political views, but his famously sharp wit and biting sarcasm likely caused some people much aggravation after becoming the subject of his work. Gillray's fame as a caricaturist did not necessarily mean though that he was universally respected, even by those who agreed with the views expressed in his art.

According to London und Paris, Gillray was the undisputed master of this form of caricature art, and the journal really goes out of its way to bill him as the one true

successor to Hogarth and as an artist of consummate ability who possesses the perfect balance of wit, sympathy, and intelligence to be able to produce caricatures that, within a single frame, capture the true nature of the subject and present it in a readily understandable way. In the second issue of London und Paris from 1798, the following description appears as an introduction of Gillray to the readers. It points out not only his artistic ability and intellectual aptitude, but also good nature going so far as to mention that he is a perfect son who generously supports his aging father.

Er studierte fleißig in der Mahleracademie in Sommersethouse und stach, ätzte und mahlte viele Sachen mit Beyfall. Er ist ein trefflich unterrichteter, äusserst belesener und in Gesellschaft angenehmer Mann. Er sprudelt vor Witz über, und wenn geringere Künstler den unbeschreiblichen Überfluß seiner neuen Ideen nützen könnten so würden sie noch glänzen können. Zu alledem nehme man noch, daß Gilrey ein einfacher, grundehrlicher Mann und ein musterhafter Sohn ist, der seinen alten Vater alle weise unterstützt.³⁷

There was a determined effort to present him as a nearly flawless individual, but the description of Gillray outlined by the journal does not really correspond to reality based on what little historical evidence that exists from contemporaries who knew him personally. Initially Gillray was interested in becoming a serious artist; however, he felt that his work was underappreciated and unfairly criticized. As a result of this perceived mistreatment, Gillray was said to have become cynical, depressive, and rather dry. Therefore, “the idea of treating him as a second Hogarth, and giving his works such expansive and admiring critical attention, must have been some solace for the slights he felt he had suffered in his own country.”³⁸

Naturally, there was an ulterior motive for the tremendous amount of praise from the journal on Gillray’s behalf. On one level there existed the benefits of nurturing the

³⁷ London und Paris, II 1798, 195-196.

³⁸ Banerji, Gillray Observed, 29.

personal acquaintance that existed between Gillray and Hüttner, the journal's correspondent in England. Their relationship ensured a level of access to the English caricatures which could not have been achieved in any other way. When attempting to interpret caricatures, it would have been immensely helpful to have access to the artist in order to provide further clarification. Furthermore, it fit with the political aims of the journal in that "the portrayal of him in London und Paris gave the German readers an impression which corresponded more closely to the satires they admired..."³⁹ The German readers had certain preconceptions regarding the English way of life as well as the English interpretation of Enlightenment ideas, and, because of its opposition to the political situation in France, the journal often explicitly attempted to reinforce such notions.

10.4 Cultural Bias Reflected in the Journal

In "Bertuchs Zeitschrift 'London und Paris'", Gerhard Kaiser gives an excellent overview of German preconceptions and prejudices regarding England and France during the turn of the 18th to the 19th century. He provides a summary of the descriptions about both the English and the French taken from the first couple years of London und Paris' publication. In the first two years, the typical Englishman is repeatedly portrayed in a highly positive way. He is described in articles and shown in caricatures as generally being rather unsophisticated and socially inept, but as a person of genuine sincerity and trustworthiness. According to the journal, the English are a people with whom one can negotiate and speak freely. They are a people of business and trade and not of aggression and revolution. In contrast to the English, Gerhard Kaiser shows how London und Paris

³⁹ Banerji, Gillray Observed, 35.

portrayed the French as being highly unpredictable, sensationalistic, and unstable with a tendency to be hypocritically devout one moment and openly atheistic the next. They are even described as having a tendency towards uncleanness and sexual deviancy. Finally, the basic character of the Frenchman is depicted as that of a revolutionary.

Der wahre Brite sei selbstbewußt, „rau“, aber bieder, „hart“ und „unverzärtelt“, „ungesellig“, „verschlossen“, doch durchaus zu commonsinnigem Handeln fähig, „ernst“, „dankbar“, frei von Mißtrauen, auf die Unabhängigkeit seiner Person, „Selbstdenken“ und „freies Sprechen“ bedacht, ein Mann des Handelns, nicht des Krieges. Diese positiven Merkmale werden dadurch verstärkt, dass England und die Engländer mehrfach gegen negative deutsche Urteile und Schutz genommen werden...Die gelegentliche Verteidigung der Franzosen gegen deutsche Vorurteile ist deutlich zurückhaltender, ja die Betonung des eifersüchtigen Zusammenhaltens französischer Künstler und Handwerker gegen unliebsame deutsche Konkurrenten arbeitet geradezu im Sinne einer gegensätzlichen Voreingenommenheit. Die Franzosen seien „vifs“, quecksilbrig, sensationslüstern, leichtgläubig, leichtsinnig, zu Unsauberkeit neigend, von gesteigerter Sinnlichkeit, frivol-leichtfertig, ohne tieferes Gefühl für Naturschönheit und Kunst. Typisch für sie seien „glitzerdünner Auftrag“, „Opernkleister“. Sie schwankten zwischen Extremen wie bigotter Frömmigkeit und Atheismus; gelegentlich verwandelten sie sich in reißende Bestien; Veränderung, Revolution lägen in ihrem Charakter.⁴⁰

Kaiser further points out that many of the qualities that the German readers associated with the English were characteristics that they also considered part of being German. These were the perceived English tendencies towards hard work, honesty, cleanliness, and piety. The journal worked to reinforce these concepts among its readers while also presenting other positive traits from the English as examples that the German people would do well to emulate.

Unverkennbar sind in die angeblich typischen Merkmale des Engländers Elemente stereotyper deutscher Selbstzuschreibungen eingegangen, wie sie sich zumal in der antithetischen Abgrenzung vom vermeintlich sinnlich-leichtsinnigen Franzosen herausgebildet hatten. Gleichwohl verliert die Imago des Engländers ihre Orientierungsfunktion nicht, denn die freie Individualität, das ausgeprägte Bewusstsein der eigenen Würde, das Selbstdenken und entschieden praktische Handeln werden dem deutschen Leser als vorbildlich vor Augen geführt und sollen gerade wegen der

⁴⁰ G. Kaiser, Bertuchs Zeitschrift London und Paris, 562.

unterstellten Verwandtschaft beider „Nationalcharaktere“ die ihnen zuge dachte Wirkung entfalten.⁴¹

Under these circumstances, it was desirable to portray an English artist who embodied the qualities of the English that the Germans so admired. James Gillray fulfilled this role.

⁴¹ G. Kaiser, Bertuchs Zeitschrift „London und Paris“, 562-563.

11. French Caricatures

The first issue of London und Paris establishes several trends that continue to appear throughout the publication for the next six years. Namely these include the previously mentioned bias in favor of the English, and the inclusion of French caricatures which tend to focus predominantly on moral behavior as opposed to the English caricatures which are generally of a political nature. However, there are some unique aspects to the first two caricatures published by London und Paris. Both of them are of French origin and deserve some explanation in order to show not only how they establish typical patterns that are then apparent for the next six years, but also how they are remarkable in their treatment when compared to later French caricatures. In these early examples, the journal still exhibits a clear bias, but it is far more restrained in its criticism and apathy towards the French. There is an effort to provide a livelier commentary as well as a more balanced political outlook; however, there is still a notable difference in treatment when compared to the English works of art.

11.1 The Comet

Essentially, this first caricature establishes a precedent for the typical French caricature regarding subject matter and how it is treated. Additionally, it represents a tie in with Bertuch's *Modejournal* in that it focuses on French fashion and society as opposed to political issues. This print is also highly unusual in that it is a hand colored French caricature. This is significant because the majority of French caricatures were reproduced as black and white prints. In fact there are only two colored French caricatures to appear in the entire first year of publication. In 1799 just one colored

French caricature was published. All told, there are typically only one or two colored French caricatures to appear in any given publication year for the first six years. Later this changes simply due to the lack of information available for the “London” section of the journal. In comparison, well over a dozen English colored caricatures appear in any given year.

This first caricature is entitled “Venus ou la pretendue Comète” (Venus or the alleged comet). It informs readers, especially women, of recent trends that they would do well to follow should they wish to be considered fashionably sophisticated. This print is an excellent introduction in that it reveals the origins of London und Paris as being an extension of Bertuch’s *Modejournal*. The caricature relates the story of a comet recently sighted in France and uses it as an occasion to look at how such events had an influence on French fashion. In doing so, the artist is also poking fun at the phenomenon that seemingly any occasion could be used as the justification for a new fashion trend. Of course, this is an aspect of fashion that still exists today and finds its roots in the fundamental notion that entertainment, also in terms of fashion, is derived through ever new and unexpected experiences. As soon as something becomes expected, it achieves the status of passé. Therefore men as well as women who had the disposable income and free time to concern themselves with fashion trends would have naturally always been looking for a new occasion to inspire a new trend in fashion. Bertuch’s *Modejournal* naturally fulfilled the role of providing these individuals with information on such trends, and the journal London und Paris functions here in a complimentary way by acknowledging in light hearted way that following such trends can often provide some

humor in retrospect. The commentator is however very careful to not be too mocking or derisive, and that is revealed in his treatment of the depicted figures.

It is a contrast of changing styles from the beginning of the century, when a previous comet sighting had created a flurry of interest and, in the words of the commentary, fashion foolishness at the trendy court of Louis XIV and the most recent sighting at century's end. According to the commentary, any such event was an occasion from which women of status and taste could find inspiration for fashion.

The individuals on the right represent the fashions from the earlier period. Most notable is the hat called a fontange being worn by the woman seated in the chair. A fontange was an accessory consisting of several layers of ribbon and lace repeatedly folded to form a small arched shape going across the top of the head. Attached to the back was often a sort of lace veil with ribbons extending down the back. The fontange pictured here differs in that it has two exceptionally large horn-like structures extending upward from the top of the woman's head. These represented the basic shape of the comet that had been observed. According to the article, a fan made of peacock feathers was also often included which depicted the falling comet in the middle. The style of this fontange was known as the *à la Comete*. The man standing behind her is also representative of the comet's influences on men's fashion from the period. Most notable is the wig which he is wearing. Above the forehead one can see the repeated theme of two horn-like structures reflecting the comet's influence. They are however markedly smaller than what appears on the woman's fontange.

The figures standing on the left are representative of the contemporary fashions from Paris. The author shows here how the women have become much more

sophisticated and discriminating in terms of fashion sense. “Gegenüber stehen die Agréables du jour des neuesten Paris, und liefern uns, was besonders die Damenkleidungen anlangt, die neuesten Musterkarten der Pariserinnen, so wie sie sich bey der beliebtesten Modehändlerin haben ankleiden lassen.”⁴² The end of this sentence is marked with a footnote that appears at the bottom of the page. When such references are made, they are extremely important and show where Bertuch felt it was necessary to essentially interrupt the articles for the purposes of providing what he considered exceedingly relevant or important information that would have otherwise taken away from the concept of writing a commentary with the same mood and artistic sensibilities used by the original artist who created the caricature. These footnotes typically provide very detailed information and are very revealing in the attitude or the stance that the journal takes regarding a particular person or event. They are also frequently used to provide educational information for such things as Greek mythological references in the article. Finally these footnotes will sometimes serve to closely tie the commentary to the Journal des Luxus und der Mode. This footnote to the first caricature for example offers this connection between London und Paris and the *Modejournal*. It points out how the truly most fashionable women would no longer dress themselves, but rather they would go to their personal fashion dealer and be dressed there for special occasions such as the opera or a ball. Bertuch makes this suggestion in such a way that addresses these women on two levels. In keeping with the idea that it is only the most sophisticated women who would not dress themselves at home, he puts this behavior in the context of classical Greece which would appeal to these educated women. To go to a fashion dealer or retailer is the equivalent of going to a temple. It is also implied that the innermost

⁴² London und Paris, I 1798, 88.

sanctuary of this temple is reserved for such refined women who would then be dressed by a priestess with the deepest knowledge of proper fashion. The use of such metaphors is intended to communicate with these educated, upper class women on a level that only they can properly appreciate. However, at the same time he refers to the practical side effect of thus saving money on personal hairdressers and servants which would have been in line with the efforts of the *Modejournal* to teach women how to properly manage a household.

“Es ist nemlich jetzt gewöhnlich, daß sich die Damen von bestem Ton im größten Negligée zu ihrer Modehändlerin hinfahren und dort im Innersten des Tempels sogleich von der Kunstverständigsten Priesterin der Göttin nach dem neuesten Geschmack zum Bal oder Oper anputzen lassen, So erspart man Friseurs und Kammermädchen.”⁴³

The women portrayed on the left in this caricature are therefore not treated in quite the same jesting tone as with the figures on the right. They are admired for their taste in fashion and the qualities of each woman's costume and hairstyle is addressed where necessary.

As a final note, the author mentions that fact that all of these women are holding their dresses in a particular manner. This is done as a conscious effort to reveal as much of the figure as possible while still retaining a certain level of propriety. It points out that it is not only the particular style, but also the associated behavior that determines fashion. Naturally if a woman wished to wear a particular style of dress, she had to also be aware of the behavior and gestures that were included which in total determined a particular fashion trend.

However, the journal generally never misses an opportunity to insert undertones of an anti-French sentiment even when simultaneously admiring the highly developed

⁴³ London und Paris, I 1798, 88.

tastes of the French. Such remarks typically take the form of condemning negative attributes such as greed or frivolousness that are traits generally assigned to the French as opposed the English.

Here the author refers to the woman pointing up towards Venus and wearing a leopard print shawl. Under these spots could also be a creature that hungers after gold rather than blood. "Ihr Schaal gleicht einer Tigerhaut, und man will bemerkt haben, daß nicht immer blutgierige, aber wohl goldgierige Herzen unter diesen Tigerfellen schlagen."⁴⁴

11.2 Landing in England

The second caricature from the first issue of 1798 is also of French origin. It is relatively rare in that its subject is of political significance. However, at this early stage, the journal remains true to its goal of not overtly expressing opinion with regard to possible political ramifications and merely comments on the humorous aspects of events. This black and white caricature entitled "Divers Projets sur la descente an Angleterre" (Various projects about the invasion of England) details different methods that could be employed for crossing the English Channel. This was something that many French and English military thinkers concerned themselves with at the time. There were serious debates in France in 1798 as to the best way to invade England, and the logistical concerns for making an opposed landing from across a large body of open water would have been a military operation of immense difficulty. The inclusion of this print depicts the hostile condition of Franco-English relations at the time, but commentary avoids the

⁴⁴ London und Paris, I 1798, 88.

overt and accusatory tone of later issues. It does however establish the trend of portraying the French as the militant aggressors in Europe.

As is typical for the work from French artists, the term caricature can only be very loosely applied to this image in that the objects and figures presented are entirely plausible in both form and concept. The characteristic subtle exaggeration occurs here by combining the various suggestions for invasion into a single image which the artist considers ridiculous or simply impossible. In the foreground, French troops are shown crossing the English Channel via a large tunnel. No one today can argue the implausibility of the concept as it is possible to now make this crossing via the Chunnel; however, the reality of the time suggested to any reasonable person that, while an idea may be theoretically possible, it can also be that it is simply not technologically feasible or practical. Additional suggestions depicted include sending over countless small rowboats that could overwhelm the English fleet with sheer weight of numbers, or using hot air balloons to ferry troops across the channel that would then be able to drop bombs on the English defenses. To defend against such an aerial assault from balloons, the English have sent up a large number of kites with sharpshooters tied to their tails. Also interspersed among the boats are French soldiers. They are attempting to swim across the channel undetected by the English defenses.

The ideas depicted here are clearly a stretch for reality, but in every case there are currently modern equivalents to these basic concepts in military technology. Thus this print is a particularly good example of the fundamental difference in the way that French and English artists approached the concept of humor, satire, and exaggeration in caricature with the French much preferring subtlety in contrast to the English

employment of overly exaggerated form to point out the ridiculousness of certain real situations.

Another interesting and important aspect of the journal that is revealed in this caricature is the important relationship between the artwork and the accompanying commentary. In this case, the caricature is used as an occasion to tell a series of stories which are only indirectly related to the artwork in that they concern similar concepts for crossing the English Channel which are not depicted in the print.

For example, the commentary refers to an individual by the name of Thilorier, who offered up two of his own inventions for enabling an army to invade England. The first was a single hot air balloon that could be used to transport a large force over to the island in a single trip, while the second was a method for moving an entire army over to England by traveling under the water. French journalists made fun of the man and ridiculed his claims. According to the commentary, Thilorier insisted however that his inventions were completely viable and that it was merely a matter of obtaining the permission from the French government in order to make his plans a reality. Journalists then announced a demonstration was to be given; however, Thilorier never appeared at the appointed time. In the commentary, the author provides much greater detail of this story involving Thilorier and only summarizes the caricature at the end of the commentary by simply listing many of the other suggestions which can then be found depicted in the image. This leaves the image open for interpretation by the viewer and preserves much of the “unexpected” within the piece, by not having revealed too many details in the commentary.

In fact, the telling of other, similar events provides a clever solution to the problem that many of the commentaries have in explaining the subtle nature of the French caricatures without giving too much away. A related story helps the viewer to interpret the work by providing appropriate background knowledge and context without diminishing the entertainment value of the print by removing the subtlety through detailed explanation of what is actually visible. In essence, the element of the unexpected within the artwork remains intact and allows the viewer free range to explore the image and discover the humor without having first been exposed to lengthy prose describing in detail elements that would be readily apparent to an individual intimately familiar with the culture and the events depicted, in this case, an individual who is part of the French culture. It holds with Lichtenberg's ideas of writing a commentary which maintains the mood and intent of the original print while allowing the viewer to also become familiar with elements and references foreign to his or her own culture. The text and the image have to complement one another. With the French caricatures relying so much on subtlety there is a necessary difference in how best to complement the image with text when compared with the English caricatures.

11.3 Bastringue

Having looked at the above examples from the first issue of 1798 in which precedents were established for the handling of French caricatures, it is now worth looking at a later caricature that embodies the typical treatment given to French caricatures in London und Paris. This work entitled "Bastringue" is from the seventh issue of 1800. It depicts a typical scene from a lower class dance hall. One sees examples

of rather vulgar behavior including clumsy attempts at seducing women and drunken individuals unable to control themselves. One immediately sees that these figures are all drawn with relatively realistic proportions and features. Furthermore, the actions of the figures are not implausible. This print could neither be classified as highly artistic in terms of technical achievement nor in terms of being a sensitive and artistic interpretation of moral depravity. As a result, the work here neither meets the commonly accepted standards of caricature nor of high art. One can safely say that it is a work of art though which best fits under the description of illustration. The effectiveness and thus value of art can however be measured in terms of its affect on its audience, and, in this regard, the French caricatures are still very much a worthwhile object of study. If this were not the case, they would have neither appeared in the journal nor been so popular among the French viewers. As previously mentioned, the main reliance of the French artists was on subtlety of message to convey ideas by entertaining the viewer by allowing them to explore and look for the “unexpected”.

The commentary provided for this caricature is treated by the journal much in the same way as the caricature itself. That is to say, there is a certain predisposition towards the French works of art as something of only very limited value for consideration and discussion. At the beginning of the description, the author points out that much of the action is as seen and not really worthy of comment beyond some very basic indication of the individuals present.

Sie sehen hier Lastträger und Soldaten aller Art, unter andern einen Fort de la halle, der an seinem großen runden Huth kenntlich ist; die zärtlichen Liebkosungen, von denen Mercier spricht, mitunter auch einige Szenen, deren Anblick der Zeichner uns vielleicht hätte ersparen können, die aber um des Charakteristischen willen nicht gut fehlen konnten.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ London und Paris, VII 1800, 255.

This is not really a very creative attempt at interpreting the image in Lichtenberg's sense of maintaining the same mood as established by the work of art. Instead, the majority of the commentary is devoted to the etymology of the word "Bastringue" which had come to mean a dance hall of the lowest social class. Finally, at the end, there is brief mention of a song and melody which had also been given the name "L'eloge du Bastringue" and had become very popular. It was often sung by commoners in the streets of Paris. Here the author also provides the words to the song. All told, the commentary barely acknowledges the content of the illustration and makes no efforts to provide any kind of endorsement of either the artist or of the French in general. It is merely a factual statement of the sorts of dance halls that can be found in Paris and of what one might hear while walking down the Elysée. This contrasts sharply with the often gushing praise given to the English caricatures.

12. English Caricatures

Whereas the French caricatures rely on subtlety in order to entertain by allowing the viewer to explore an image and discover the humor and the message of the artist buried within, the English approach is dramatically different. Rather than the “unexpected” being hidden within a plausible situation, it is created through extreme exaggeration intended to capture the essence of an individual or of a situation and completely surprise the viewer with such outrageous or ridiculous forms that one requires time to simply take in the work.

Much like the French caricatures, the English caricatures tended to focus predominantly on particular themes; however, whereas the French caricatures focused mostly on issues related to trends in society, in essence, morality, fashion, and social behavior, the caricatures from England were , as previously mentioned, almost exclusively devoted to political issues. Interestingly, the political issues dealt with in the English caricatures also tended to deal more frequently with internal political problems than directly with the ever present conflict with France. That is not to say though that France did not play an important role in these political caricatures, because the object of criticism was typically associated with France in some way. For example, an individual would be depicted wearing the symbol of the Jacobins (a cockade of red, white, and blue ribbons), who had initiated the “Reign of Terror” during the French Revolution and were noted for being revolutionaries of a particularly ruthless, suspicious, and unforgiving nature. By associating someone from the political opposition with such revolutionaries in a foreign land, it automatically implied that such individuals supported dangerous ideas and methods that would fundamentally threaten the peace and stability of England.

In contrasting English virtues with perceived French deficiencies of character as well as the lack of peace, freedom, and stability that would exist in a Europe dominated by French influence, there is one particular figure who makes repeated appearances during the first six years of the journal's publication. He is the fictitious figure of John Bull who represented the typical Englishman. Between 1798 and 1803, he appeared in more than a dozen different caricatures. John Bull embodied the positive traits of the English while generally lacking in those characteristics which could be considered unnecessary for a virtuous life. For example, John Bull dresses simply, and possesses an equally simple intellect, but he is also depicted as being honest, and close to nature in that he is often shown as a farmer. He is a man with a fundamental understanding of right and wrong, and of justice and injustice. He is also peaceful, modest, and equally loyal to the English crown and to the principles of the basic freedoms espoused by Enlightenment ideals. John Bull may not be a philosopher with the ability to explain the Enlightenment, but he does not need to be. He possesses an intrinsic understanding of these principles without having to work them out through ponderous philosophical thought. This figure is presented to the German reading public as an example worthy of admiration, because he also represents much of what Germans wanted to see in themselves.

Another aspect of the English caricatures which tended to distinguish them from those produced by the French, was the inclusion of characters, settings, and events that were much closer to the common man. They tend to present a much wider picture of life by considering a greater variety of common cultural references. Karl Riha explains this by referring to James Gillray and his contemporaries as "realists" of a sort who accurately

reflected the true nature of their society through their caricatures by exposing through exaggeration the truth behind the objects of their artwork.

In der Tat beschränken sich Gillray und seine satirischen Kupferstich-Genossen nicht auf die simple Illustrierung politischer Ereignisse oder die bloß deformierende Porträtzeichnung der Berühmten und Mächtigen ihrer Zeit, sondern suchen ihren Effekt gerade darin, daß sie konsequent auf die verschiedensten Momente der aktuellen Londoner Alltagswirklichkeit zurückgreifen und sie – ganz im Sinne des Zitats – konsequent als konkrete karikaturistische Erklärungsmetaphern einsetzen; ohne es ausdrücklich zu intendieren, werden sie auf diese Weise zu „großen Realisten“ ihrer Zeit.⁴⁶

12.1 The Tree of Liberty

A good example of the John Bull that incorporates many of the recurring themes of the English caricatures is “The Tree of Liberty with the Devil Tempting John Bull” which is also a work of Gillray. It appeared in the second issue of 1798 and embodies, from the English perspective, the differing viewpoints of France and England towards Enlightenment thinking and towards the countries respective constitutions.

John Bull, the simple farmer, is seen passing by the Tree of Liberty, which, like any object offered as a temptation by the devil, is made to look deceptively appealing. The Serpent in the Tree is the embodiment of the devil but actually has the face of Charles James Fox, the leader of the opposition party in England, and he offers “Reform” to John Bull. From the artist’s perspective, reform is essentially a complete change to the parliament and to the constitution. The meaning of this reform can be seen by the makeup of the rest of the tree. Thomas Paine’s Book, The Rights of Man makes up the central stem, while a cap symbolising the French Jacobins is the crown of the tree. The Whig club (described as traitors), and the London Corresponding Society are depicted as fruits not too distant from the cap. Among the fruits of “democracy”, “revolution”, and the “age

⁴⁶ Riha, Großstadt-Korrespondenz, 117.

of reform”, one can also find “conspiracy”, “slavery”, “atheism”, “murder”, and “treason”. The roots of these terrible problems are quite literally depicted as “envy”, “ambition”, and “disappointment”. As is the common practice with caricature, a literal interpretation is the usual and preferred method of depicting ideas. Its goal is often to take concepts and give them visual form. This tree is thus the ideal representation for this caricature, and, from an artistic perspective, embodies one of the most common criticisms of caricature as an art form. This is due to the simplicity of the design which is reduced to the visual equivalent of a pun. However, it is this very simplicity in making visual the complexities of ideas wherein caricature achieves its success and thereby its appeal. Such things are intended to be obvious to the viewer in the form of a visual metaphor. The commentary makes note of this when discussing the fruits hanging from the tree.

Niemand wird hierbey den Sinn übersehen, welchen der Künstler in die doppelseitige Form dieser Früchte zu legen suchte. Sie locken von der einen Seite durch eine schön geröthete süßen Wohlgeschmack versprechende Schaale, während sie auf der andern Fäulniß und Wurmfraß verrathen.⁴⁷

With his pockets already full of apples plucked from tree in the background, the virtuous John Bull is perfectly content to continue on his way without falling for the devil’s ruse. He recognizes the rottenness within the apples offered to him and wants nothing of it. The tree in the background is of course the representation of the British government. Its roots are the House of Commons, House of Lords, and the King. The British parliamentary government provides John Bull with “freedom”, “happiness”, and “security”. Of course, there is no room in the caricature for a detailed explanation of just how these fruits of the British parliamentary system are to be achieved. In this way, Critics of Gillray could argue that his caricatures, including this particular example,

⁴⁷ London und Paris, II 1798, 207.

function more as propaganda than as a genuine effort to communicate difficult to understand concepts. This propaganda function is a significant criticism simply because caricature often relies on exaggeration and simplification in order to communicate its message. In this respect, Gillray's critics could argue that his caricatures were not at all a "realist" reflection of the world.

The commentary for this caricature is also revealing in the aspect of how London und Paris fulfills its role as a complementary publication to Bertuch's Journal des Luxus und der Mode in terms of influencing readers future purchasing decisions. When discussing the virtuous nature of the English, the author mentions Milton's Paradise Lost as an essential book to own for anyone with a measure of common sense. Naturally, prices are provided and it is implied that owning such a work can be seen as a status symbol.

Neben der Bibel hat jeder rechtliche Hausvater in England jetzt wenigstens noch seinen Milton und Shakespeare auf dem Schranke stehn. Milton's verlornes Paradies ist als ein heiliges Nationalgedicht allen im Munde und Herzen. Man hat Ausgaben davon von 1 schilling bis zu 20 Guineen.⁴⁸

In the footnotes to the commentaries it is also typical for the journal to provide additional publishing information to such works for the convenience of people wishing to find or purchase them.

⁴⁸ London und Paris, II 1798, 205.

12.2 The Flying Sword Gone Mad

The fifth issue of 1803 can be considered the point at which the journal finally pushed its political views too far in being overly critical of France. Gillray's caricature which appeared in this issue directly led to the publication of the journal being forced to move from Weimar to Halle. Even so, the caricature which appears in London und Paris is actually an edited version created in a not too successful attempt to avoid going too far in overtly criticizing the French and Napoleon in particular. The figure of Napoleon was removed from the caricature and replaced by the depiction of a sword which was intended to represent Napoleon.⁴⁹ Because of his personal relationship with London und Paris, it is also not unrealistic to assume that Gillray was likely personally involved in editing the caricature and provided the information regarding the inspiration for depicting the sword.

The first part of the commentary is also noteworthy because the appearance of the sword needed to be addressed. Böttiger, the senior editor and author of the commentaries during the early years of the journal's publication, is forced in the commentary to provide some logic for the symbolism of the sword which replaced the figure of Napoleon. Here his classical education is very apparent in his explanation. He begins by relating the story of a knife made by the forger Barriol in commemoration of Napoleon which symbolically honors him by depicting him in the same manner as a Roman Consul and referring to him as the "savior of France." The sword in the caricature is intended to draw parallels to this knife, and since the original caricature did not depict a sword, it was necessary to create such a parallel.

⁴⁹ For a visual comparison of the version of this caricature created for London und Paris and Gillray's original, see pages 12 and 13 (Plates 1 and 2 respectively) of Banerji's Gillray Observed.

Like in many other instances in the commentaries, Böttiger uses this “classical” design of the sword as an opportunity to educate his readers about the mythological and literary history of inanimate objects springing to life. He provides several footnotes when discussing the design of the sword with its extended wings and makes comparisons to the Greek origins of the oriental Cherub, the griffon, and other objects from mythology such as the winged chariot of Triptolemus. The commentaries throughout the journal are very often liberally interspersed with historical and mythological references to classical Greece and Rome, and as part of the journal’s educational function, these references are typically explained quite thoroughly in the commentary to the caricatures or in detailed footnotes. On one level, it could be safely assumed that the readers of London und Paris were educated in the classics and such references could thus generally be understood, but it also provided an opportunity for readers to receive a further education in the classical period and to be referred to detailed scholarly or literary works. This provided an entertaining setting for readers where they could be given such information in a straightforward and easy to comprehend manner, whereas the high literature of the period, such as Goethe’s Faust or Wieland’s Musarion, would frequently make subtle references to classical history and mythology and simply expect that the reader had the requisite education in order to understand them. It can therefore be seen here how London und Paris acted as a general guide for providing readers with basic information as well as sources for furthering their classical education.

Böttiger provides more than just references to classical history in this and his other commentaries. He uses the caricatures to inform readers about more recent trends, and, in so doing, shows how the journal endeavored to stay current in not only changing

fashion and technology, but also in philosophy, art, and literature. For example, the sword coming to life is a fantastic event and thus occasion to mention other wondrous aspects of the then current literary and philosophical thinking. Reference is made in this case to Goethe's Zauberlehrling.

Wir leben trotz allem, was die neueste Aufklärerei gegen die Wunder vorzubringen wagt, in einem Zeitalter der größten Wunder. Goethes Zauberer macht aus einem bloßen, einfältigen Besenstiel einen geschäftigen Wassertrager; ein Magisterdiplom berührt einen Kaurtkopf, und augenblicklich fühlt er sich ein einen wohlmöblirten Doctorkopf verwandelt.⁵⁰

There was a conscious effort to refer to such things on a regular basis in order to tie them together with the caricatures. In so doing, the caricatures were associated with serious works of art, literature, and philosophy from various periods in history. This lent the caricatures a degree of legitimacy, by showing that the artists who created them were classically educated intellectuals who were capable of creating such art because they possessed a fundamental understanding of human nature along with the obligatory knowledge of contemporary political and social problems.

Finally, it is necessary to consider why this caricature created such a controversy for the journal. The commentary to this caricature begins immediately by establishing a contemptuous attitude towards the French by referring to their caricatures and the people who created them as being absolutely humorless. In addition the journal deliberately refers to French caricaturists as nothing more than “dilettanti whose pictures merely distort reality” rather than artists, and declares them to essentially be devoid of any talent at all in comparison with the great Gillray.

Während die Französischen Zerrbildpinsler (sie Zeichner oder Maler zu nennen, wäre Todsünde, da sie auch nicht den geringsten Witz in Hirnschale oder an ihren Fingerspitzen haben) sich in den abgeschmacktesten und ungesalzensten

⁵⁰ London und Paris, V 1803, 71.

Caricaturesdeleien herumtreiben, die nur einem Pariser Badaud einiges Lächeln abgewinnen können: schwingt Gilray regelmäßig seine Geißel zweimal in jedem Monat und nie fällt diese herab, ohne ihren Gegenstand wirklich auf dem empfindlichsten Theil zu treffen und zu verwunden.⁵¹

The Commentary then shifts to attacking Napoleon. Naturally, none of the readers at the time would have missed the symbolism of what the sword truly represented. This figure of Napoleon is seen as having become a raving lunatic and it represents a personal attack against a very powerful individual who had substantial influence within the borders of Germany. This caricature thus went too far since it put German nobility (specifically Duke Carl August of Weimar) in the awkward position of having allowed the publication of such a caricature and thereby potentially incurring the wrath of the French emperor.

The sword is screaming about the British interference in Egypt, as well as the freedom of British press which, unlike their French contemporaries, is able to report the truth about Napoleon's actions and ambitions. The sword is also possessed by the idea of revenge and wants to lead an army of 480,000 Frenchman in a cross-channel invasion of England. Lying scattered on the floor around this figure are plans for future military conquests as well as critical articles from the British press.

Lastly, the commentary includes an addendum. It is satirical poem based on Hamlet's monologue of "To be or not be" and it concerns Napoleon's contemplations of attacking England, which is an effort that he decides would, in the end, be futile. It was apparently written by a man named Cobbet who was editor of the Weekly Register in London and personal acquaintance of Gillray. This particular piece is entitled "Bonaparte's Soliloquy at Calais." Böttiger points out here that such satirical poems were

⁵¹ London und Paris, V 1803, 67-68.

something that the French had begun doing first. He presents as an example a satirical work called "Goddam" by the French poet Evariste Parny which ridiculed the British Royal Family. In essence, the gloves came off because of such satirical poetry from the French, and the English now felt permitted to return the favor, ten fold according to Böttiger.

Nach solchen Angriffen dürfen sich auch die Engländer alles für erlaubt halten, und sie hielten sich in der That auch schon früher dazu berichtigt. Spottgedichte wetteiferten mit den Zerrbildern in den Caricaturläden, und Goddam wurde zehnfach verstärkt den Franzosen wieder zurückgegeben.⁵²

This caricature is therefore a prime example of just how biased the opinions of the journal had become shortly after the turn of the century. The journal would have likely continued with this line of argument against the French had political circumstances not forced the dramatic reduction of English content in the Journal after 1807 and, due to French occupation of Germany, forced the editors to take a much more benign tone with regards to France.

⁵² London und Paris, V 1803, 78-79.

13. Conclusion

The caricatures collected from sources in France and England and reprinted in London und Paris are not only revealing of contemporary trends in art, politics, social problems, but they were also instrumental in forming opinions at the time. The power of imagery was something that Bertuch recognized very early in his career. While others debated whether the use of pictures, especially color images, could in any way effectively supplement text in fields such as the natural sciences, Bertuch embraced these concepts very early and very eagerly. He not only saw a use for them in educational applications such as the development of his picture books for children, or other scientific and educational works published under his direction, but he saw a use for images in also informing readers of trends in technology and fashion being produced in other parts of the world. This led to the tremendous success and longevity of his Journal des Luxus und der Mode. It was only natural that he would see that the intense demand for information about other parts of Europe, specifically England and France, could best be satisfied by supplementing traditional textual descriptions with imagery. Something that can be seen is brought to life in way that textual description simply cannot do, and when attempting to show people aspects of something that is unfamiliar to them, a picture truly is worth a thousand words. The power of images to inform and influence people is therefore something that cannot be denied. Consequently, such deliberate use of imagery lent his journal London und Paris a tremendous amount influence. However, a picture alone leaves open a lot of room for a variety of interpretations. By supplementing images with text, one can clarify aspects of what is visually presented. One can direct the viewer's attention and present ideas to be considered in relation to what is seen. This interaction

between image and text is an aspect of Bertuch's London und Paris which made the journal revolutionary in its design. A long history of using text to supplement and describe visual information had existed prior to the publication of Bertuch's journal, but this was one of the first times that caricature was considered as a legitimate form of art and deliberately used in conjunction with commentary not only to entertain, but also to inform and to shape opinion, and Friedrich Justin Bertuch could thus be viewed as one of the founders of the modern concept of mass media where the lines between entertainment, news, and propaganda become increasingly less clear.

APPENDIX

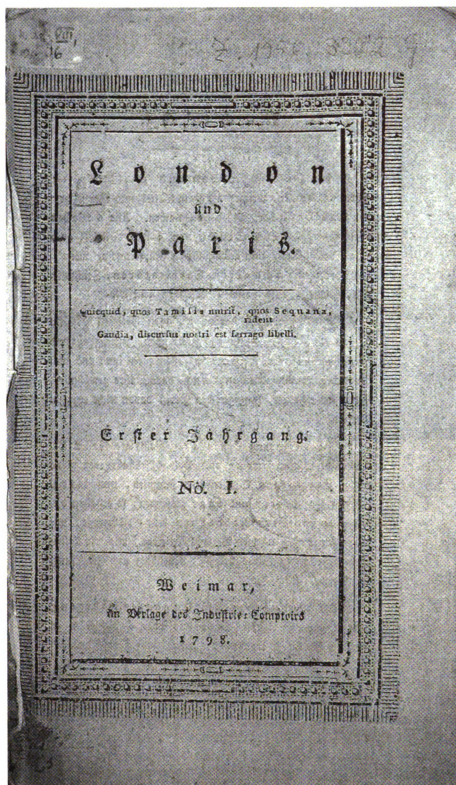


Figure 1. Cover page of London und Paris



Figure 2. Venus ou la prétendue Comète

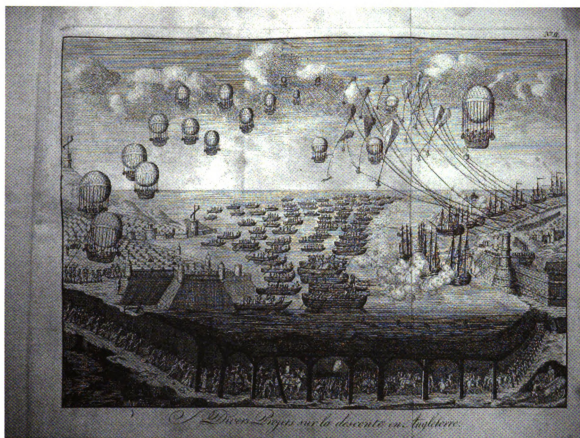


Figure 3. Divers Projets sur la descente en Angleterre



Figure 4. Bastringue



Figure 5. The Tree of Liberty with the Devil Tempting John Bull



Figure 6. The Flying Sword Gone Mad

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