Korte, Barbara / Sylvia Paletschek,

Nineteenth-Century Magazines and Historical Cultures in Britain and Germany

Exploratory Notes on a Comparative Approach

BARBARA KORTE AND SYLVIA PALETSCHEK

THE MAGAZINE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY HISTORICAL CULTURE(S) – BRITAIN AND GERMANY

The rise of periodical literature is a hallmark of mid-nineteenth-century media culture. As has been shown before, the period’s revolution on the print market was the result of advanced technologies coupled with increased literacy throughout the population. Since around 1850, the number of newspapers and magazines increased continually, and magazines soon came to serve all major and many minor societal interests, groups and institutions – from parties to confessions, and from landmark reforms to such special concerns as temperance or spiritualism. Britain was in the van of this development, with a proliferation and diversification of publications at first unmatched by countries on the Continent.¹ However, with a slight delay, the output in Germany was also significant as the number of German mass-market periodicals grew continually and reached a high point in the years between 1850 and 1880 (cf. Stöber 2005: 266-269).

¹ Cf. Altick’s pioneering study (1998 [1957]) and later ones such as Vann/VanArsdel (1994).
It is unsurprising that the booming magazine market converged with another hallmark of nineteenth-century culture: its unprecedented, widespread interest in history and the orientation it could provide for societies challenged by accelerated industrialisation and urbanisation, revolutions in transport and communication, or the advance of secularisation.\(^2\) While other factors of nineteenth-century historical culture(s) have already been looked into, the presentation of history in magazines for a general audience is still widely unconsidered.\(^3\) Such magazines had a strong interest in present-day topics because they were of immediate concern for the intended readerships and were an incentive for subscribers and buyers. But they also regularly included articles with historical content and were thus an important means for creating and disseminating knowledge and opinions about the past. Furthermore, they observed and advertised other facets of historical culture: Even popular magazines reviewed (popular) history books and biographies, directed their readers to exhibitions, panoramic shows and lectures about past worlds, pointed out historical sights in cities, the country and abroad, and depicted for their readers the opening of monuments and historical festivals. Magazines are thus a rich source for the study of nineteenth-century historical consciousness, and they suggest themselves as objects for a comparison of national historical cultures.\(^4\)

\(^2\) Cf. such influential studies as Bann (1984), Mitchell (2000) and Melman (2006). Billie Melman defines (English) historical culture as »the productions of segments of the past, or rather pasts, the multiplicity of their representations, and the myriad ways in which the English – as individuals and in groups – looked at this past (sometimes in the most literal sense of ›looking‹) and made use of it, or did not, both in a social and material world and in their imaginary« (Melman 2006: 4).

\(^3\) The research group from which this book developed has therefore embarked on a study of history in German and British family magazines. The respective projects are conducted by the authors of the present contribution as well as Nina Reusch and Doris Lechner, whom we would like to thank for their support and helpful comments. Thanks are also due to Christiane Hadamitzky for assembling material from the British periodicals.

\(^4\) For a discussion of comparative approaches to history cf., among others, Haupt/Kocka (1996) and Kaelble/Schriewer (2003). The development of history as an academic discipline has been discussed in national comparison by Conrad
Rewarding as they may potentially be for this purpose, however, their comparison also raises a number of practical and conceptual problems.

It is the aim of this contribution to sketch some of the opportunities and difficulties which a comparative look at magazines from different national contexts and cultures entails. An initial and substantial problem is caused by the enormous diversity of publications even within a single context and especially between nations. In both Britain and Germany magazines were published by institutions and editors with different ideological outlooks and interests, who tailored their publications to the needs and interests of various sectors of their countries’ readerships, that is, people of different genders, age groups, classes, regional and religious backgrounds and, again, ideological sympathies. Not only was there an overwhelming proliferation of magazines, but each publication had its specific agenda. One also has to consider that the British and German print markets were embedded in different national historical cultures with specific traditions and lines of development. This diversity, between nations and also within nations, is an asset for the study of historical cultures in so far as it indicates precisely how multi-faceted such cultures were and still are. But it also makes it practically impossible to study the relationship between magazines and history even for a single national culture. The only feasible approach to this question seems to be through case studies – also where a comparison across national cultures is attempted.

Our exploratory discussion therefore studies two such cases in comparison: a German magazine, Die Gartenlaube (1853-1944), and the British Household Words (1850-59), which was continued in All the Year Round. Both English magazines were edited by Charles Dickens, the latter until Dickens’s death in 1870. Our examination will refer to the years from (2002); there are also comparative investigations of certain aspects of commemorative culture, such as monuments (cf. Tacke 1995). Studies with a comparative approach to popular history are scarce to date, but cf. Berger/Lorenz/Melman (2012).

5 We have conducted preliminary explorations of these magazines elsewhere (cf. Paletschek 2011, which also includes comments on issues of the Gartenlaube after 1870, and Korte 2012).

6 It was continued by Dickens’s son and others, but the most notable years of the magazine were those of Dickens’s editorship.
1853 to 1870, during which the appearance of the Gartenlaube and Household Words/All the Year Round overlapped. The magazines in question were among the most popular reading matter of their day. They were addressed at a family audience, and regularly featured pieces with a historical focus. For the purpose of our discussion we count as 'historical' only factual pieces (of at least a page length) dealing centrally with periods, events and historical characters of the past, from classical antiquity onwards. There is a floating gap between what is called contemporary history and the present, and it is impossible to draw a sharp borderline. We therefore decided to adopt the judgement of the magazines' contemporary readers and counted what they labelled as 'historical' in the near past, or what they commemorated as 'history' on the return of anniversaries – even where the respective events had only happened five years previously. Our criteria exclude historically themed fiction and poetry as well as the great number

7 Depending on what pieces are counted as related to 'history', the percentage for the three magazines considered here ranges between roughly 10 and 20 per cent per issue.

8 We do not consider articles concerned with archaeology and prehistory, which also, of course, shaped contemporary readers' images of the past. They feature regularly in the two English magazines, since Britain was a culture in which amateur archaeology (or antiquarianism) and fossil-hunting were popular pursuits and in which the results of professional archaeology (at home, in Egypt and Mesopotamia) as well as scholarly discussions about the age of the world and issues of human evolution were widely disseminated. Household Words, for instance, included an article on 'Old Bones' (24 September 1853), and All the Year Round featured articles such as 'England, Long and Long Ago' (7 April 1860), 'Opening a Barrow' (21 July 1860), 'How Old Are We?' (7 March 1863), 'Latest News from the Dead' (11 July 1863, on ancient buried cities) and 'Before the Deluge' (13 January 1866). In the Gartenlaube, by contrast, archaeology and prehistory play no role during the 1850s and 60s; it appears that the topic was only taken up with Heinrich Schliemann's great excavations since 1870. On the reception of Schliemann in the German press also cf. Samida (2009).

9 All the Year Round serialised Dickens's A Tale of Two Cities, a novel set in London and Paris during the time of the French Revolution. The Gartenlaube featured many historical novellas, such as 'Leyer und Schwert: Historische
of factual articles that refer to history in passing but which also, of course, react and contribute to the period's historical consciousness. In the pages to come, we will first profile the respective magazines' take on history, and then attempt to draw some preliminary conclusions as to the possibility of comparing them.

**Die Gartenlaube**

Founded in 1853 by the former 1848 revolutionary Ernst Keil in Leipzig, the Gartenlaube was both the most successful and most popular German family magazine in the second half of the nineteenth century. It has been identified as the first periodical mass publication in Germany (cf. Belgum 1998: 187). As one of its outstanding hallmarks, the weekly featured numerous elaborate illustrations. Based on a liberal political programme and endowed with the impetus of enlightened ideas and education, the magazine strove for the implementation of the nation state and the individual's civil rights. The Gartenlaube popularised the German nation and thus contributed to the so-called *innere Nationsbildung* (internal nation-building) as well as to the emergence of a nation-based communicative space (cf. Koch 2003; Zaumseil 2007). Its primary goal was »to entertain and to teach in an entertaining way«, and this included the realm of history. The address to readers (»An unsere Freunde und Leser«) in the Gartenlaube's first issue in 1853 promised that, »through genuine, well-written narratives, we want to introduce you to the history of the human heart and of peoples, to the strug-
gles of human passions and of past times« (1853: 1). About half of the contributions in the Gartenlaube were fiction, while the other half covered what we now call factual issues: natural history and the natural sciences, medicine, economic issues, travel, mixed news – and history. Indeed, history provided the largest category among the factual topics (between 10 to 20 per cent). It was most frequently presented through the biographies of historical figures, while more general political and cultural contributions and articles on cultural history came second.

Recent historical work on the Gartenlaube stresses its significant contribution to nation building, its liberal potential (which has been under-valued in previous research) and its significance in negotiating a modern identity by coping with insecurity and conflicts experienced in the process of modernisation (cf. Belgu 1998: 188). It was particularly the Gartenlaube’s historical contributions that served the shaping of a national and modern identity and provided suspenseful entertainment and instructive enlightenment. What, then, were the historical issues and periods covered by this periodical, and how were they depicted? The presentation of history in the Gartenlaube has not been systematically analysed to date, and the following observations only result from a first cursory analysis and thus need to be substantiated by further investigations.

Most strikingly, the majority of the Gartenlaube’s historically orientated contributions were devoted to the history of the preceding century, i.e. to recent and contemporary history. Accordingly, one column in the annual index of contents is identified as »Beschreibende und geschichtliche Aufsätze/Zeitgeschichtliches« (descriptive and historical articles/matters of contemporary history). Articles under this rubric related predominantly to

12 Since the Gartenlaube, in contrast to Household Words and All the Year Round, has not been digitised to date, all page references for this magazine refer to the published volumes rather than issues. Citations from the Gartenlaube in English were translated by Sylvia Paletschek. The Dickens magazines are cited from the issues available in the British Periodicals online database (http://britishperiodicals.chadwyck.co.uk/home.do).

13 This assessment is based on the evaluation of the Gartenlaube’s »Inhaltsanalytische Bibliographie« for the years 1853 to 1880 (based on Estermann 1995) and of the Vollständiges Generalregister der Gartenlaube 1853-1902 (1903, reprinted 1978).
historical facts and events pertaining to what Jan Assmann has termed "communicative memory" (J. Assmann 1995: 125-133). It comprises the last three generations and a time span of about 80 to 100 years, is marked by informal structures and oral communication, and overlaps significantly with familial memory. As part of the culture of remembrance, communicative memory is of major importance for identity formation, with regard to both individuals and social groups. This also implies its significance in the formation of nations and political movements.

The Gartenlaube’s presentation of history during our period of investigation, the 1850s and 1860s, had a clear focus on the Napoleonic Wars, especially the so-called Befreiungskriege (Wars of Liberation against Napoleon) in 1813-14, and the Revolution of 1848-49. These historical events had an important function for internal nation-building, not least because they were warlike occurrences in which family history, the history of the nation and world history converged. Moreover, the war events were excellently suited to personalising, dramatising and emotionalising the historical depictions, i.e. aesthetic elements that have been associated with popular representation up until today. Readers’ individual access to these historical events was facilitated both through family members’ involvement in them and via identification with well-known heroes and heroines such as the stubborn officer Schill and his frantireurs, or the young Eleonore Prochaska, who were model achievers in “Germany’s most arduous years” between 1809 and 1814, and/or had an unusual, adventurous life story. By recollecting these events and characters, the Gartenlaube also established a dialogue with its readership, which it actively strove to involve.

Despite the Gartenlaube’s clear focus on national contemporary history, we must not overlook its policy of depicting national events in their concrete regional specificity. The individual German states and regions provided another self-evident issue which the Gartenlaube frequently ad-

14 From the 1870s and 1880s onwards, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 was a central topic.
15 Cf., for example, the article “Ein deutsches Heldenmädchen“ (A German Girl-Heroine, 1863: 596-600).
16 Cf. also the article series “Aus den Zeiten der schweren Noth“ (From the Times of Arduous Adversity, 1863: nos. 3, 8, 9).
dressed. What recent research now refers to as the »federal nation« also crops up in the Gartenlaube's historical contributions: The concept of the nation was made acceptable and comprehensible by giving it a regional slant, and by synthesising a broader and a narrower sense of the nation, an engeres und weiteres Vaterland, as it was termed in contemporary parlance. The striking number of articles detailing various aspects of the lives of the poet-heroes Schiller and Goethe, often supported by illustrations, played an important role in the creation of a national sense of identity. Such articles contributed to the manifestation of a kind of national pride regarding the achievements of the German cultural nation.

Simultaneously, it should be noted that the Gartenlaube also directed the attention of its readers to historical events outside the German territories, particularly to the national histories of other European states (with an emphasis on France, Austria, Britain and Russia, but also in historical articles about Belgium, Spain, Italy, Serbia or Greece). However, while contemporary history was clearly disposed towards national interests, it was by no means narrowly constricted to national events. The Gartenlaube practiced a surprisingly broad, European and almost international access to history. Non-European history was preferably presented as cultural history, and engagement with US-American, Chinese, Arabic or African history was often related to overseas German minorities. Depictions of non-German and extra-European territories, especially in the context of cultural-historical contributions, nurtured the contemporary longing for the exotic and the fabulous, even though, from the 1880s onwards, they also revealed the transnational entwinements of the late Kaiserreich.

18 Cf. »Goethe, den Schädel Schillers suchend« (Goethe Searching for Schiller's Skull, 1859: 197); »Goethe, beide Humboldt und Schiller in Jena« (Goethe, the Humboldts and Schiller in Jena, 1860: 229); »Goethe im Giebelzimmer des Elternhauses« (Goethe in His Parents' Attic, 1867: 85); »Schiller liest seinen Kameraden die Räuber vor« (Schiller Reading the Robbers to His Comrades, 1864: 629); »Schiller's Triumph in Leipzig« (1859: 665); »Schiller's Eltern« (Schiller's Parents, 1855: 511; 1859: 672); »Schiller und Goethe im Lengefeld'schen Garten in Rudolstadt« (Schiller and Goethe in the Lengefeld's Garden in Rudolstadt, 1865: 181).
It is striking that there is a scarcity of articles on ancient and medieval history in the *Gartenlaube*. This is, arguably, owed to the fact that ancient history was less suited to supporting the formation of a national identity in the second half of the nineteenth century. Another reason may have been that the significant portion of petit bourgeois readers among the magazine’s clientele did not possess any prior knowledge of ancient history – in contrast to the bourgeois contingent of readers who had enjoyed a higher education and were acquainted with the classics. An exception, however, would have been such events and personalities of antiquity which could be related to Germanic history (cf. Belgum 1998: 172-176). Contributions dedicated to Hermann/Arminius, chief of the Cherusci who defeated the Romans in the Teutoburg Forest in 9 AD, are a case in point. The mythification and monumentalisation of such figures, however, was usually not accomplished through the written text, but through large and lavishly designed illustrations that were only marginally commented. The most striking characteristic of this »mythic monumentalism« (ibid.: 174) was its de-contextualised nature: The illustrations picked up national stereotypes and popularised a mythical national past.

Topics of medieval history had a somewhat stronger presence in the *Gartenlaube*, even though it was again the scarcely contextualised, monumental illustrations of »great individuals« that caught the eye. Furthermore, the magazine also featured more unspecific scenes taken from cultural history which can be conceived as a tribute to an apparently »simpler«, romantic era of national life (cf. ibid.: 172). Concerning the history of early-modern times, great attention was devoted to the reformation and singular heroic figures such as Luther or Frederick the Great.20

19 Cf. »Otto von Wittelsbach und die päpstlichen Legaten« (Otto von Wittelsbach and the Papal Legates, 1860: 421); »Konradin’s Abschied von seinen Lieben in Hohenschwangau« (Konradin Farewells His Loved Ones in Hohenschwangau, 1868: 37).

20 Cf. »Luther’s Ankunft auf der Wartburg« (Luther’s Arrival at Wartburg Castle, 1875: 221); »Luther am Sarge seines Töchterleins« (Luther by his Daughter’s Coffin, 1860: 12); »Friedrich der Große auf dem Manöver bei Spandau« (Frederick the Great at Maneuvers near Spandau, 1861: 389); »Friedrich’s des Großen Versöhnung mit seinem Vater« (Frederick the Great’s Reconciliation with His Father, 1855: 567).
In accordance with an enlightened tradition, the usefulness of the historical contributions was very much in the foreground in the Gartenlaube. »Usefulness« included the promotion of national identity and the shaping of a modern, bourgeois mentality, but also a critical assessment of politics and society and – last but not least – entertainment value. History was a means for criticising the existing political and social status quo and for assessing one’s own position in the present. This is particularly apparent in the contributions on cultural history, for which unresolved contemporary problems and orientation needs often provided the point of departure. Thus, the first episode of the eight-part series »Culturgeschichtliche Bilder« (Images of Cultural History) by Karl Biedermann, which started in 1854,21 states that the observation of cultural history is unlikely to produce the kind of immediate usefulness provided by the natural sciences. Yet, the author argues, even though it does not provide direct instruction for action, the observation of cultural history is equally instructive in many respects. According to Biedermann, the engagement with historical progress in commerce, science, art and technology reveals »the potential of the human mind [...] and, thus, incites us to a suitable use, to the diligent development of our manifold mental dispositions and abilities« (1854: 377). At the same time, cultural history is said to teach »modesty by pointing out how earlier generations also conceived of themselves as having arrived at a high level of perfection which, in part, was actually true, although they were outdistanced by far by their offspring« (ibid.). Thus, the author tells his readers that they must assume their collective fate to be a similar one in the future. Cultural history is characterised as a preserver from despair when, in the present, much does not appear as one would like to have it, since it teaches the lesson that in former, even in not too distant times, circumstances were far more unsatisfying and that much has improved since. This legitimates the hope that circumstances will become even better and more satisfactory in the future. However, cultural history is also seen to correct erroneous assessments by historical comparison. The engagement with history indirectly

stimulates new ideas and constitutes faith in progress, while at the same time it teaches humility and qualifies current problems or puts them into perspective.

For the most part, the contributions on cultural history in the Gartenlaube take their start from contemporary problems, as in the article on »Theure Zeiten« in Biedermann’s series, which addresses the »now dominant issue of price increase« and introduces the notion that in the past, bread used to be cheaper and the middle classes used to be better off (ibid.: 378). However, the article then proceeds to criticise false generalisations and idealisations of the past and, instead, stresses the accomplished progress; it thus demonstrates how historical reflection can produce a qualified view of the past. This example illustrates the function of popular historical depictions to provide orientation with regard to everyday problems and current social issues, looking at them from a different perspective.

It is the cultural- and social-historical contributions in particular which take up issues of everyday history – a history frequently coded as female even in our time and emphasising household, beauty, consumption, fashion, lifestyle and related issues. All in all, the Gartenlaube covers a spectrum of issues of everyday life that is both broad and colourful. Topics such as the history of beer, male hair or beard styles and practices of shaving indicate that the magazine also nurtured the cultural-historical interests of a male readership and that the politics of gendering issues – e.g. political

22 A similar approach is chosen for the next article in Biedermann’s series, which was devoted to the supposedly increasing phenomenon of begging and a greater altruism in the past. It concludes: »And yet in general nothing is more inaccurate than degrading the present and praising a former, supposedly better time.« (1854: 446)

23 On cultural history in the Gartenlaube also cf. the titles listed in Estermann (1995: 277-288), such as »Damentoilette sonst und jetzt« (Ladies' Toilet Then and Now, 1855: 590) and »Urbilder unserer Frauenmode« (Origins of Our Ladies' Fashion, 1867: 726-727).

history as 'male' and cultural history as 'female' – made its input felt but was also in part disrupted. This also applies to incidents in which political and national history are depicted with a focus on female protagonists – women rulers, freedom fighters, and, of course, the mother who sacrifices herself for the nation. This ensured the appeal to, and therefore the inclusion of, a female readership.²⁵

Anniversaries and jubilees functioned as major points of reference for the Gartenlaube's popular depictions of history. Similar to present-day practice, articles dedicated to such events tended to be published some time in advance of the actual jubilee. Thus media coverage was designed to draw the national audience's attention to the coming event and to provide an informed interpretive framework for its reception. This kind of celebratory practice of anniversaries ensured their periodic recurrence, their consolidation and their transmission through established social practice.

Recent research considers anniversaries or jubilees as »memorials in time« (A. Assmann 2005: 313). As representatives of periodic time, anniversaries are situated between linear historical time and the kind of cyclical time attached to myth and nature which symbolises the eternal return of the same. According to Aleida Assmann, the increasing acceleration of linear time is inextricably related to a growing significance of periodic time with its firmly recurring points of reference. Anniversaries allow for periodic remembrance, they are »memory activists« (Gluck 2007), i.e. authorities for activating collective memory. Depending on temporal circumstances, such activations either facilitate new interpretations of the actual historical event or make for its further consolidation as myth. Anniversaries stabilise recollection through repetition, offer a formation of meaning and a future-directed promise of action.

²⁵ There are many articles on famous women, including rulers, noblewomen, female poets and artists, or freedom fighters. Cf. »Louise Dorothee, Herzogin von Gotha und Franziska Buchwald: Eine seltene Frauenfreundschaft«, by Ludwig Storch (A Rare Friendship Among Women, 1858: 585); »Seine Ehre gebrochen! Eine Erinnerung an Johanna Kinkel« (»His Honour Broken!« A Memory of Johanna Kinkel, 1860: 313); »Angelika Kaufmann [sic]: Die Malerin der Grazien«, by Max Ring (Angelika Kaufmann: The Painter of the Graces, 1865: 238).
Returning to the _Gartenlaube_, anniversaries, regardless of their particular rhythm or periodisation, were consistently and almost excessively used for presenting historical issues. For example, the volume for the year 1863 offered a broad retrospection to the *Befreiungskrieg* (1813-14), which had taken place fifty years earlier, but also featured several articles on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the 1848 Revolution.\(^{26}\) Anniversaries were covered by comprehensive and short articles as well as full-page, elaborate illustrations. Equally popular were historical articles composed as multipart series which covered a jubilee topic. A good example is the series »Aus den Zeiten der schweren Noth« (>From the Times of Arduous Adversity<) which was published over several years, depicting the heroic deeds of well-known as well as unknown figures of the Napoleonic Wars. The series featured the storming of the *Crimmaische Thor* in Leipzig, but also the fates of a shepherd, a second lieutenant, a book-seller and a peasant of that time.\(^{27}\)

Also en vogue was the connection of an anniversary with a topical current event via historical analogy. Thus, an article published in 1864 criticised the contemporary political situation by comparing the lack of rights found in an assembly of delegates who convened in Frankfurt on 21 December with the far-reaching authorisation of the Parliament which had met in the Frankfurt Paulskirche fifteen years earlier (1864: 93-96). The recourse to contemporary history was, thus, used to critically hold up a mirror to the present political situation. However, such recourse could also celebrate past successes in an affirmative way and, by doing so, consolidate the status quo. The _Gartenlaube_ reported on public commemorations occasioned by such anniversaries, such as the construction of a memorial or the

\(^{26}\) Cf. the series »Aus den Zeiten schwerer Not« (From the Times of Arduous Adversity, 1863: nos. 3, 8, 9), articles dedicated to the recollection of the Battle of Leipzig (1863: 672; 688) or the articles on Eleonore Prochaska (1863: 596-600). The revolutionary period of 1848-49 was the subject of articles on »Kinkels Befreiung« (Kinkel’s Liberation, 1863: 194) and Gustav Struve (1863: 208) and a relatively long article by Moritz Hartmann entitled »Die letzten Tage des deutschen Parlaments« (The Last Days of the German Parliament, 1863: 40-44).

\(^{27}\) On the storming cf. the _Gartenlaube_ (1862: 649-654); on the fates of the various characters cf. the volume for 1861 (500-504).
inauguration of a monument, a wreath-laying ceremony or a commemorative speech.\textsuperscript{28} The meaning of the event in question was, thus, consolidated via the interconnection of different media, also when popular historical bestsellers (such as the works of Wilhelm Zimmermann or Johannes Scherr) were reviewed in the \textit{Gartenlaube}.\textsuperscript{29}

\textbf{HOUSEHOLD WORDS AND ALL THE YEAR ROUND}

\textit{Household Words} was a weekly publication sold at two pennies per issue; an issue normally had 24 pages printed in double columns, without illustrations, and featured six to seven full-length pieces, whose writers were normally anonymous.\textsuperscript{30} Its price made the individual issue affordable to families with a lower income, since Dickens had a cross-class audience in mind which, apart from the middle classes, also included a working-class readership. \textit{Household Words} sold well with roughly 40,000 copies per week (cf. Lohrli 1973: 23), and its profit certainly benefited from Dickens’s insistence that pieces of a predominantly informative nature should never be boring and dry: »Dickens’s policy in the handling of non-fiction prose was that such material be treated in some distinctive manner – not in literal, matter-of-fact, »encyclopaedical« fashion. Factual, informative, instructional, didactic material was to be presented in a »fanciful«, »imaginative«, »picturesque«, »quaint« way.« (Lohrli 1973: 9) \textit{Household Words}’ miscellany of instruction and entertainment was, quite typically of Dickens, strongly committed to social reform and often addressed urgent social issues of the time, especially the plight of the urban poor and the situation of labourers. The Preliminary Word to the first issue (30 March 1850) expressed Dickens’s hope that the social evils exposed in the magazine’s

\textsuperscript{28} Cf. the reference to the commemorations on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig which took place from 16 to 20 October 1863 (1863: 596).

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. several enthusiastic reviews and articles on Zimmermann’s \textit{Allgemeine Geschichte des großen Bauernkrieges} (1841-1843, General History of the Great Peasant War), such as »Ein Geschichtsschreiber der Wahrheit« (A Historian of the Truth, 1869: 292-294).

\textsuperscript{30} For a description and the history of \textit{Household Words} cf. Lohrli (1973).
pages should not render any of us [...] less faithful in the progress of mankind, less thankful for the privilege of living in this summer-dawn of time«. While *Household Words*’ focus was thus strongly on the present and the future to which it might lead, Dickens’s instinct for popular interests explains why history was also explicitly announced as part of the magazine’s programme: »Our Household Words will not be echoes of the present time alone, but of the past too.«

Dickens conducted *All the Year Round* with a different publisher but on the same principles and as successfully as *Household Words*. Both magazines’ take on history was generously eclectic; they did not have an overall historical programme or even politics apart from the fact that their editor believed that the present, its obvious social flaws notwithstanding, was preferable to the past. Despite this belief, however, both magazines offered their readers not only articles on diverse historical events and personages; they also frequently alerted them to the various means and media through which they might explore history themselves. They offered accounts of historical city walks, especially of London, and descriptions of what one could see in museums, exhibitions and national monuments. In some instances, topography and biography were combined, for instance when articles on London sights provided readers with precise directions as to where historical people once lived. They also repeatedly mentioned that histor-

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32 Apart from the British Museum and the Paris Louvre, wax museums are repeatedly mentioned: »History in Wax« (*HW*, 18 February 1854), »Our Eye-Witness in Great Company« (*AYR*, 7 January 1860, referring to Mme Tussaud’s); the sights of »Westminister Abbey« were depicted in *AYR* (25 April 1868).
33 Cf. a series of articles on Kensington in *Household Words* – »Kensington« (3 September 1853), »Kensington Church« (19 November 1853) and »Kensington Worthies« (3 December 1853). Such connections of biography and topography are also found in the *Gartenlaube*. Cf., among others, an article on »Turnvater Jahn’s Haus in Freiburg« (Turnvater Jahn’s House in Freiburg, i.e. today’s Freyburg on Unstrut in Saxony, 1860: 251-252); »Die Luisenburg bei Wunsiedel: Erinnerungen an die Königin Luise von Preußen« by Ludwig Storch (Luisenburg near Wunsiedel: Memories of Queen Louise of Prussia, 1860: 442); »Die Judengasse in Frankfurt und die Familie Rothschild« (Jew’s Alley in
knowledge and entertainment might be derived from old books, newspapers and magazines, which are, in the following extract, explicitly noted for the vivid insights they permit into the everyday lifeworlds of past times and the connection they therefore provide between history and the present:

»There is something, we think, strangely interesting in those old records which bring us into close and vital connexion with our predecessors in their daily life. To be informed of the great events of any era, however distant, seems to be of course: but to be able to rescue the trivialities of an hour from utter extinction; to live with our ancestors whom we never knew, and to see them, not on the public stage of history, but in their private and familiar ways; to be able to fix and perpetuate what might have seemed as evanescent as a breath, as quickly-fading as the hues of sunset; – this is the true association of our own humanities with those of perished generations. We see the sparkle of eyes, and hear the sound of voices, that had faded into the great Eternity before ourselves were born. Surely these things have their interest. They are the electric telegraphs of Time, which link the living and the dead in a common brotherhood.« [emphases added]36

Frankfurt and the Rothschild Family, 1865: 564). Verbal and visual depictions of famous people’s graves were a favourite subject matter, such as »Die Asche Napoleons und deren Grabmal in Paris« (Napoleon’s Ashes and Tomb in Paris, 1855: 519) or »Humboldt’s Ruhestätte« (Humboldt’s Final Resting Place, 1859: 364-365).

34 Cf. »A Marvellous Journey with the Old Geographer« (HW, 22 April 1854), which praises a work by Peter Heylyn, »clerk, of the reigns of Charles the First and Second«; »London in Books« (AYR, 14 October 1865); or a description of »Ancient Guides to Service« found in a publication of the Early English Text Society, which is identified as »a busy printing-club which is laying down, with good metal, a broad and easy highway of communication between us and our forefathers« (AYR, 29 February 1868).

35 »Old Domestic Intelligence« (HW, 9 September 1854).

36 »Ghostly Pantomimes« (HW, 24 December 1853). The value of magazines for later generations is also acknowledged in an article about the pleasure of perusing a magazine from the year 1798: »So I lay by my Mag. for the present. Years hence perhaps our grandchildren may take up some exploded magazine for this present year; and, as they turn it cursorily over, wonder how such things, therein
Some of the historical pieces in Dickens's magazines constitute historiography in a more narrow sense. For the years investigated one can name the final instalments of Dickens's own *Child's History of England* in *Household Words*, which stands in the tradition of earlier nineteenth-century history books for young readers and narrates the history of the nation from ancient times to the present. Dickens used his overview specifically «to provide a variety of antidotes to nostalgic idealization of the past» (Jann 1978: 200), frequently exposing the cruelty of English monarchs in the past, such as Henry VIII in the issues of 8 January and 12 February 1853. Surveys are also sometimes given for aspects of history from other parts of the world, and often they held a special interest for the Victorian English. Accounts of the persecution of the Huguenots in France, for instance, related the history of a migrant group with significant impact on the English economy; Haiti bore a relation to Britain's own history of slavery (and its abolition) and was a neighbour to English possessions in the Caribbean; the history of the Aztecs was relevant as an aspect of the wider European project of colonisation. As in the *Gartenlaube*, however, a far greater amount of historical pieces in Dickens's magazines consists of biographies, more informal anecdotes and information on cultural history — material which was likely to engage the reader's interest through personalisation, emotionalisation and links to his or her own, present-day lifeworld. Not rarely, the history presented was curious and imaginative — and thus particularly entertaining — in accordance with Dickens's general agenda for factual pieces. A case in point is a history of famous storms and their consequences. Another is *All the Year Round*'s series «Old Stories Retold», which focused on elements of a sensational and scandalous history that

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37 Cf. Leslie Howsam's contribution to this book.
38 «Traits and Stories of the Huguenots» (*HW*, 10 December 1853) and «Convicts for Their Faith» (*AYR*, 12 January 1867).
40 «The Land of Montezuma» (*AYR*, 17 September 1864).
41 «Glass Points to Stormy» (*AYR*, 10 December 1859).
people might be vaguely familiar with but would like to hear more about. Its purpose was explained at the beginning of the first piece:

»There are many events of the past and present century – murders, wrecks, riots, trials, famines, insurrections – familiar by name, but the details of which are unknown to the younger men of this generation. Every one has heard something of the Luddites and their outrages; of Thurtell the gambler, and the cruel murder he committed; of that agonising event the burning of the Kent East Indiaman; of the savage execution of the Cato-street conspirators; of the trickeries of old Patch; of the tragedy of Spafields; but there are few who have had either time or opportunity to collect, compare, and read at full length, the newspapers, pamphlets, and street ballads which refer to them. [...] It is only by reading interesting or vivifying details, that the real nature of the social catastrophes and remarkable occurrences of the past century can be ascertained. Some of these pages of old Time’s chronicle we would present for reperusal.« 42

With its focus on the history of the »past century«, the series of »Old Stories« overlaps with the large group of articles that evoke a past within living or at least communicative memory. With this emphasis, they were especially suited for recording an impression of change, that is, an impression many readers would have had in the second half of the nineteenth century. Articles on city history were a particularly suitable vehicle for this kind of historical observation since they pointed out alterations in the material culture and their social effects by which readers were surrounded in their everyday lives. A piece on »Birmingham a Century Ago«, for instance, observed explicitly that

»Local history, carefully done, is as interesting in its own way as individual biography. On looking back into the condition of past times we can trace how the

42 »The Two Great Murders in Ratcliff-Highway (1811)« (AYR, 20 October 1866); many articles in the series refer to events of earlier decades of the nineteenth century (including Trafalgar and the so-called Peterloo massacre in 1819, when a demonstration in Manchester demanding parliamentary reform was violently dispersed by troops), but characters and events of the eighteenth century are also evoked (such as the famous highwayman Dick Turpin, or the Battle of Culloden in 1746, in which the supporters of the last Stuart rebellion were defeated).
changes in modes of life and thought have been brought about by the discoveries characteristic of the last two or three generations. We can see how gas has diminished the number of street robberies; how railroads have all but put an end to highwaymen, how free trade has altered the course of industrial discontent [...]« [emphasis added]43

All the Year Round on 22 June 1861 featured an article entitled »My Young Remembrance« that begins with a remark in the same spirit:

»I am barely a middle-aged man; yet I have a distinct recollection of Thirty Years Ago. Looking back to that period – say to the years 1830-31 – I find so many and such strange alterations in this native London of mine, that I am tempted to recall [sic] a few of the old characteristics of those old times, for the edification of young ladies and gentlemen who, having been born ten or fifteen years later than the era I speak of, know little else than the London of the present moment.«

Outside of local history one also repeatedly comes across articles that reflect on the immense changes of English society within a Victorian contemporary's personal memory.44 Even the colonials in India had an opportunity to observe the march of progress since the transgression to direct rule by the Crown in 1858.45 »Links in the Chain« (AYR, 17 January 1863) touches on a related issue – how sometimes one comes into contact with »anachronous« survivors from the past.46 As the article states initially:

43 »Birmingham a Century Ago« (AYR, 17 April 1869). A similar piece is »When London Was Little« (HW, 27 January 1855), which states initially that »Londoners of to-day, and more than Londoners, are easily amused by recollections of the Town as it was once«. Also cf. »Forty Years in London« (AYR, 8 April 1865), »Exeter Sixty Years Ago« (AYR, 28 October 1865), »Salisbury Forty-Five Years Ago« (AYR, 24 March 1866)«, »Old Salisbury« (AYR, 13 October 1866).

44 Also cf. »Since this Old Cap Was New« (AYR, 19 November 1859).

45 »Yesterday and Today in India« (AYR, 17 October 1863).

46 Another of the »quaint« history pieces in HW, »Stepping Stones« (24 October 1857), presents its narrator as jumping backwards from one period (»step«) to another, until he reaches 1542. Here, too, the leaps always cover the scope of communicative memory, varying between twenty and sixty years.
There is something in the progress of successive ages, very analogous to the links of a chain. Occasionally we come in contact with an individual still living, and are startled to find ourselves in the presence of an extinct age. When Thomas Moore met old Mrs. Piozzi, two years before her death in 1821, he appeared to be brought eye to eye with the great spirits of the eighteenth century.

Later, the article ruminates about the last survivors of Napoleon’s Imperial Guard:

It is sad to think of the days (now not far distant) when that impressive troop will sink to six – to three – to one. What will that one man do when he represents the re-doubtable Guard? [...] The Bonaparte period, however, is still sufficiently near, to leave us several remaining links with it.

One of these links to which All the Year Round introduced its readers on 18 August 1866 was a participant of the Battle of Waterloo who found himself in poor circumstances as an old man. The authenticity of »Waterloo and the Workhouse« as a witness report is affirmed at the beginning of the article:

The following memoir was not actually written down on paper with pen and ink by the narrator himself, but it is a transcript of notes made during the old man’s narration, and is in truth what it professes to be: – the real uninterpolated history of a genuine soldier of the 18th of June, ’15, given as nearly as possible in the veteran’s own vernacular.

Among the many biographies and biographical anecdotes of the great and famous in Dickens’s magazines, a clear majority refers to men. Like in


48 They include articles on prominent musicians, actors, writers and painters such as »Handel«, whose portrait ends with an announcement of the upcoming cele-
the *Gartenlaube*, however, some women were also portrayed, such as Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi (prominent in the mid-eighteenth century’s Bluestocking circle), the painter Angelika Kauffmann, Queen Christina of Sweden, Hannah Woolley, a seventeenth-century philanthropist who wrote a book on the education of gentlewomen, and the fossil collector Mary Anning of the early nineteenth century. Like the biographies of the soldiers of the Napoleonic period, Anning’s portrait indicates that attention to the history of simple people and their contribution to society was also granted in Dickens’s magazines. Not only does Anning induce the writer of her biography to reflect about the (marginalised) status of women in the natural sciences, but she also brings him to comment on the contribution of her class to that area of study: >Her history shows what humble people may do, if they have just purpose and courage enough, towards promoting the cause of science.<

Stories of female life in a family magazine may have

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49 >The Queen of the Blue Stockings« (*AYR*, 20 April 1861).
50 >Poor Angelica« (*HW*, 25 August 1855); Kauffmann was also portrayed in the *Gartenlaube*; cf. note 25 above.
51 >A Queen’s Revenge« (*HW*, 15 August 1857).
52 >Mistress Hannah Woolley« (*HW*, 4 August 1855). She is introduced as >a lady who in the turbulent days of the parliament, kept a ladies’ school, and then became waiting-gentlewoman to a person of quality; and who, during the Protectorate, kept, with her husband, a large school at Hackney, and initiated young ladies into all the mysteries of the still and stewpan, together with the more pleasant arts of making rock-work, wax-work, cabinet-work, bugle-work, upon wires or otherwise, together with marvellous flowers of various colours, made of wire and isinglass.<
53 >Mary Anning, the Fossil Finder« (*AYR*, 11 February 1865). Other women-related articles include a piece on >Historic Doubt« in connection with Joan of Arc (*HW*, 25 September 1858), and >The Light of Other Days« (*HW*, 29 September 1855), on the history of the belief in witches.
been of specific interest to female readers, as were articles on certain areas of cultural history, such as the diet of former periods.\footnote{54} However, social and cultural history was a staple of the Dickens magazines in general, and a series in \textit{All the Year Round}, »Small-Beer Chronicles«, seems to programmatically assert this fact. »Where is the historian of our social life?«, it asked at the beginning of its first article and continued:

»While the great events of the History of Europe are duly recorded; while the diplomatic struggles, the commercial transactions, the political progress, of the civilised world, are discussed, reviewed, and commemorated; does any one note down the social changes which follow the progress of those greater developments, which are in some sort brought about by them, which may perhaps help to elucidate them, and which, even if they do not, are in themselves sufficiently interesting to have an historian of their own? Where is the Registrar-General who shall from time to time furnish a report how the great nation whose public doings are so adequately recorded, behave in the seclusion of private life? Where, in a word, is the Chronicler of the Country’s Small-Beer? Here he is, at the reader’s service.«\footnote{55}

In a society obsessed with material things (cf. Briggs 1988), a major group of cultural-historical articles introduced readers to the history of objects and consumer goods in their everyday lives. They observed changes in food (as already mentioned), fashion\footnote{56} or means of transport.\footnote{57} Other articles pointed

\footnote{54} »Meat and Drink in Shakespeare’s Time« (\textit{HW}, 13 March 1858), »The Growth of Our Gardens« (\textit{HW}, 19 June 1858, with notes on the importation to England of such vegetables as potatoes and tomatoes), »Obsolete Cookery« (\textit{HW}, 3 February 1855), »Metamorphoses of Food« (\textit{AYR}, 30 March 1861).

\footnote{55} »Small-Beer Chronicles« (\textit{AYR}, 30 August 1862). A later part of the series deals, for instance, with the history of such a small but important subject of everyday life as the doorknocker (27 September 1862).

\footnote{56} »Old Clothes and New Clothes« (\textit{HW}, 28 October 1854).

\footnote{57} »Flying Coaches« (\textit{HW}, 2 August 1854, about coaches in the seventeenth century), and »An Excursion Train, Before Steam« (\textit{HW}, 30 September 1850, about travel in the age »of our great-grandfathers«). The fascination with the materiality and concrete lifeworld of earlier periods is also expressed in an article im-
out changes in manners and beliefs, and in social institutions from clubs to the law.

In terms of period, emphases are also quite apparent. The attention given to communicative memory explains in part why the long eighteenth century, including the period of the French Revolution and the succeeding wars, features prominently both in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. But the eighteenth century was also an age to which Victorian Britons could look back with pride, as a period in which parliamentary monarchy was consolidated and confessional troubles came under control, and an age in which the arts and sciences flourished. However, the seventeenth century is almost of equal interest – as a time in which the country experienced the trauma of a civil war, the succeeding restoration of the Stuart monarchy and its final deposition in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which re-defined the powers of Crown and Parliament. In our sample years, pieces that can be assigned to the seventeenth century, the long eighteenth century and the short phase between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the present far outweigh the number of articles on classical antiquity, the middle ages and even the sixteenth century. For the latter, Queen Elizabeth (whose gender and power invited comparison to Queen Victoria), her courtiers (including Sir Walter Raleigh as an early coloniser) and Shakespeare (the 300th anniversary of whose birth sparked numerous articles in 1864) are at the centre of interest. Classical antiquity and the middle ages are presented with a focus on literary history and cultural history, that is,


61 Cf. articles on Apuleius’s »A Golden Ass« (*HW*, 5 April 1856), »A Primitive Old Epic« (*HW*, 1 May 1858, about *Beowulf*), »Celtic Bards« (*HW*, 3 April 1858), »Havelok the Dane« (*HW*, 22 May 1858). The publication of a volume of Ibn Battuta’s travels gave rise to the article »The Black Sea Five Centuries Ago« (*HW*, 17 February 1855). *AYR* included a biography of the late-medieval scholar
aspects with which Victorian middle-class readers might still feel some connection.

In terms of geographical region, the history presented in the Dickens magazines is most frequently a national one. However, other countries are also presented with facets of their past, most notably France (not only in connection with Napoleon). As might be expected, there is some interest in the past of colonial areas and other destinations of contemporary emigration, including the United States. The histories of Russia and Italy gained interest with contemporary political events that concerned and interested the British: the frictions with Russia leading to the Crimean War (1854-56), and the Italian movement for unification and independence.

Roger Bacon (Friar Bacon, 29 June 1861) and a description of the Bayeux Tapestry (A Chronicle in Worsted, 28 December 1867).

62 Cf. Latin London (AYR, 5 May 1860), Dining with an Ancient Roman (AYR, 11 July 1868), Very Old News (AYR, 29 June 1867, about Julius Caesar’s Acta Diurna as a predecessor of the modern newspaper); Five Hundred Years Ago (AYR, 6 October 1860, with a focus on London in the fourteenth century).

63 And here primarily an English one; the so-called Celtic fringe of the British Isles is given only minimal attention, at least in historical perspective.

64 Apart from topics already mentioned, articles were devoted to the Mongolfiers and their famous balloon (A Royal Pilot-Balloon. HW, 30 January 1858), the philosopher Ramus (A Forgotten Notability. HW, 11 April 1857) and the French piano maker Pierre Erard (HW, 6 October 1855).

65 The First Sack of Delhi (HW, 19 September 1857); Unfortunate James Daley (HW, 21 July 1855, about a convict sent to Australia).

66 Old Settlers of Tennessee (HW, 22 October 1853).

67 Czar Peter the First of Russia received attention not least because he had visited England (Peter the Great in England. HW, 6 October 1855); Italian history of the sixteenth century was told in a nine-part series about Vittoria Accoramboni (AYR, 21 January to 11 February 1860); it ended with an explicit reference to the contemporary situation: And so ends the history of the marvellously beautiful Vittoria Accoramboni and her two husbands; a striking, but by no means unique or abnormal sample of a state of society produced and fashioned, according to the certain and invariable operation of God’s moral laws, by the same evil influences, lay and spiritual – absolutely the same in kind, if some-
German history appears to have been less of an interest; in the period investigated, only Frederick the Great received an article, and this was due in the first place to the publication of the first half of Thomas Macaulay’s biography of the Prussian king, which was widely talked about. The turmoil of Germany’s recent experience of a revolution and its aftermath was hardly noted, although an earlier number of Household Words at least introduced its readers to one of the leading figures of the revolution, Gottfried Kinkel, for whose liberation from prison it pleaded in 1850.

All in all, Household Words and All the Year Round presented their readers with many facets of and possible attitudes towards the past. Their main emphasis was on aspects of history to which their readers might easily relate and by which they might also be entertained. Dickens’s magazines, due to the prominence of their editor, had strongly idiosyncratic features – a focus on the fanciful and quaint – that set them apart in tone from other contemporary family magazines in Britain (for instance The Leisure Hour, which was published by the Religious Tract Society). Nevertheless, they also exemplify general features of the Victorian (family) magazine’s approach to history. Most notable was an effort to make history interesting and significant to readers of a modern world: by focusing on cultural history, by personalising history through biography and anecdote, by pointing out connections between the present and the past (and laying a special emphasis on communicative memory), by casting history in the light of contemporary ideologies and values and, last but not least, by pointing out how readers might actively engage themselves with history.

**Steps Towards a Comparative Approach**

A comparative look at the contents of the Gartenlaube and Household Words/All the Year Round yields some obvious similarities and differences which shed a spotlight on the popular historical cultures in Germany and Britain. Regarding the similarities, our case studies display a parallel narra-

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68 »Apprenticeship of Frederick the Great« (HW, 9 October 1858).
69 »Gottfried Kinkel: A Life in Three Pictures« (HW, 2 November 1850).
tive of historical progress. Also, the German and British cases both show a marked preference for presenting history through biography and cultural history, through the everyday life of the past, and they tend to relate history to the lifeworlds of their readers. Contemporary history and events, developments or persons within communicative memory are at centre stage. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars received significant attention in Germany and Britain since they were historical events of a cataclysmic nature for Europe and the world beyond; furthermore, they still reverberated in the communicative memory of both cultures. Also, like the Gartenlaube, the British publications pay least attention to classical antiquity and the middle ages; where they do, they tend to emphasise a cultural history to which one could relate without the benefit of an education in the classics or knowledge about the complexities of medieval dynastic and clerical history.

Differences in content, the preference for certain spaces and historical events or developments are partly explained by the different political contexts of the two countries. Victorian Britain was not in the process of building a nation state as fragmented Germany still was until 1871, and it was therefore less pertinent in Britain to functionalise history for the purpose of political reform. Arguably, this explains why the revolution of 1848-49 does not play a very significant role in either Household Words or All the Year Round, while it is an important topic in the Gartenlaube. Although 1848 was not ignored in Britain (and some German 48ers were granted political exile in Britain), it was most of all a Continental affair that Britain witnessed from across the Channel, especially after it had become history. In Germany, by contrast, the revolution of 1848 was firmly inscribed in the ongoing process of nation-building and the formation of national and oppositional liberal-democratic movements. Mid-century Britain was more involved in a colonial project that would expand into an imperialist one later in the century. In the two Dickens magazines, a certain interest in colonial history and the history of colonisation is to be noted, if much less strongly than it would be in British magazines of the late nineteenth century. When the Gartenlaube was concerned with non-European history, it normally took as its departure point German minorities abroad. It devoted far more attention to state and regional history, which can be accounted for by the federal nature of German nationalism.
Rather than promoting nationalism, *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* seem to employ history in order to support a patriotic spirit that is proud, for instance, of British achievements since the late seventeenth century and especially in the arts and sciences of the eighteenth century. The significant attention given to the late seventeenth century in the British magazines (as compared to the Gartenlaube) is explained by the formative importance of that period for the modern English/British nation: From the trauma of the English Civil War and the danger of re-strengthening Roman Catholicism during the Restoration, it emerged as a consolidated nation after 1688, when the Glorious Revolution placed the crown firmly in Protestant hands and secured for parliament the power granted in a constitutional monarchy. In the Gartenlaube early-modern history is not absent – the Reformation, Luther, the Peasants’ War, Frederick the Great and the uprising of Prussia are important subjects – but the time span from the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century seems less prominent than in the British case.

That Britain had its Anglican state religion arguably also explains why confessional history appears to be less of an issue in *Household Words/All the Year Round*. Articles with an explicit interest in religion in the Dickens magazines are relatively rare, although an anti-Popish attitude can occasionally be identified. A secular and anti-Popish impregnation also characterised the historical articles in the Gartenlaube in the 1850s and 1860s, while other magazines, such as Daheim, chose a Protestant perspective on history. In a country which was still strongly divided along confessional lines between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, this divide was deeply imprinted in historical culture (and also in print and reading culture). To study the religious impetus on historical pieces, not only the historical presentations of Christian but also of Dissident, Jewish, or other world religions, would be an interesting topic for further comparisons.

70 In the nineteenth century, this religion could afford to tolerate Roman Catholicism. The Emancipation Act of 1829 removed most forms of discrimination against Roman Catholics.

71 This is the case for instance in Dickens’s *Child’s History of England*, the Victoria Accoramboni series, or such articles as »Roman Sheep-Shearing« and »Phases of Papal Faith«, both in *Ayr* (11 August 1860 and 25 February 1860 respectively).
While many differences and similarities in historical content can be explained by variations in political and societal backgrounds and were to be expected, the magazines we have investigated compare less conveniently in other respects. Outwardly, their make-up appears to be similar: Both the Gartenlaube and Household Words/All the Year Round were family magazines and offered miscellaneous contents that were meant to appeal to a cross-age and cross-gender readership which was largely comprised of members of the middle classes. They were also not too remote from each other in terms of political and ideological sympathies, both being predominantly secular in outlook and propagating liberalism or social reform. But the Gartenlaube was illustrated and complemented its texts with images, while the Dickens magazines did not have any pictures. This picture-text relation should be taken much more into account in the case of the Gartenlaube and it would be useful to ask whether this made a difference in the historical statements when compared to articles without illustrations. Furthermore, there is a marked difference in tone between the Gartenlaube and the Dickens magazines: The presentation of history in Household Words and All the Year Round is often humorous and fanciful, looking for original ways of presenting history and dragging the readers with all their senses into history, linking »the living and the dead« through »the electric telegraphs of Time«, as Dickens phrased it masterfully. Because of Dickens’s editorship, his magazines may be extreme in this respect, but they are not entirely untypical within the British context. Although the Gartenlaube too professed an intention to entertain as well as instruct, its tone is more sober and didactic (it also seems to focus less on scandal and crime in history than its British counterparts), and one might speculate as to whether this is due to a difference in national taste and mentality.

Differences in style and tone can only be discovered in an analysis that is not only focused on content and theme (as was our exploratory probe), but also takes modes of writing and style into account, i.e. qualities of a literary nature. Comparisons of magazines should therefore be conducted not only in terms of historical content, but also in terms of presentation and literary quality, and this calls for an interdisciplinary approach and exchange of methods between History and Literary Studies.

To achieve more reliable results in all the areas addressed in this contribution, one requires a much broader basis for comparison than just two national cases. What also calls for a broader basis is the great number and var-
iety of magazines that makes it difficult to find perfect matches for comparison. We will need many case studies which can then be combined into a composite picture that will be more reliable in its tendencies than our preliminary exploration here. One also has to take into account processes of transfer and entanglement. Nineteenth-century magazines did not exist in isolation but observed and reacted to each other within national markets. The extent to which they also did this cross-nationally (for instance through translations or the reports of correspondents in other countries) is still to be explored. It would also be interesting, in a comparative and transnational perspective, to compare how magazines deal with the national history of their counterparts from other countries. German history seems to be less important in British magazines of the mid-nineteenth century than British history in the German ones (though less interesting than French history, which was an important point of historical reference in both national contexts). The interrelation of academic historiography and popular historical representations in the magazines could be another important question in further comparative and transnational studies. What we need in light of all these objectives for further research, and to advance the cross-national study of the role of magazines in historical culture(s), is a concerted, interdisciplinary and collaborative effort, and we would like to finish our discussion here with an invitation to other scholars to join us in that effort.

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72 This is apparent, for instance, where magazines quote or review each other.
73 The newly founded European Society for Periodical Research (ESPRit) might provide an ideal forum for such efforts. Cf. http://www.ru.nl/esprit/.


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