



Iver Tangen Stensrud

THE MAGAZINE AND THE CITY

Architecture, urban life and the illustrated press
in nineteenth-century Christiania

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press in nineteenth-century Christiania

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Contents

List of Illustrations	v
Acknowledgements	ix
Introduction	1
The magazine in the city and the city in the magazine	8
Geographies of print	12
The illustrated press and urban visual culture	17
Sources, literature and approach	20
Outline of the thesis	26
PART I. THE MAGAZINE IN THE CITY	
Chapter 1. Print culture and the urban public	33
Urbanization and the reading public	34
Wood engraving and the illustration revolution	37
Paper, presses and stereotypes	41
The <i>Penny Magazine</i> and “the march of intellect”	48
Illustrated news	52
Speaking to the eye	56
Chapter 2. Public life and geographies of print in Christiania	59
Public life in the capital	60
Printers and printing technology	68
Bookshops and distribution	77
The smallness of the world	83
Literacy, education and “the cultivation of the masses”	85
Chapter 3. Diffusing Useful Knowledge: <i>Skilling-Magazin</i>	91
<i>Skilling-Magazin</i> and its publishers	94
Common presses and imported engravings	98
Storgata 27	104
Xylography or lithography? Winther’s <i>Norsk Penning Magazin</i>	108
A house library?	111
Virtual travel	116
Chapter 4. <i>Illustreret Nyhedsblad</i>	123
Adam Alexander Dzwonkowski	126
Paul Botten-Hansen and the “learned Holland”	132
Compared to its models: printers and engravers	142
Jonas Lie and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson	147

PART II. THE CITY IN THE MAGAZINE

Chapter 5. The city as spectacle.

The student meeting in 1852	161
The Pan-Scandinavian student meetings	166
A mass of people	169
The romance of gaslights: Studenterlunden and Klingenberg	176
Media events and the urban spectacle	181

Chapter 6. Christiania, the old and the new.

The fire of 1858 and the city's rebuilding in the press	185
The disaster genre	187
Ruins	191
Rebuilding I: infrastructure	195
Rebuilding II: Christiania's new quarters	200
Christiania, the old and the new	207

Chapter 7. "The soul of a constitutional society."

The parliament and the public	217
The old Storting in the city	219
"Urbanity and decency." The old Storting in the illustrated press	223
Two debates: the building and the proceedings	229
The whole nation at the gallery	242

Paul Botten-Hansen goes to his printer: a conclusion

251

Appendix

259

Periodicals, newspapers, archival material and other resources	259
Bibliography	262

List of illustrations

- p. 2 *Figure 1.* Front page of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad (IN)* 3 January 1853
- p. 4 *Figure 2.* Front page of *Penny Magazine (PM)* 26 January 1833
Figure 3. Front page of *Magasin Pittoresque* from 1835
Figure 4. Front page of *Das Pfennig Magazin* 3 September 1836
Figure 5. Front page of *Skilling Magazin (SM)* 22 August 1835
- p. 6 *Figure 6.* Mastheads from *Illustrated London New (ILN)*,
l'Illustration, *Illustrierte Zeitung* and *Illustreret Tidende*
- p. 39 *Figure 1.1.* A wood engraver at work, *ILN*
- p. 43 *Figure 1.2.* Paper-making machine, *PM*
- p. 45 *Figure 1.3.* Appelgath and Cowpers double cylinder press, *SM*
- p. 47 *Figure 1.4.* *ILN's* printing machine at the Great Exhibition, *ILN*
Figure 1.5. Inside a stereotype foundry, *SM*
- p. 50 *Figure 1.6.* "Reading for all." Front page of the first issue of *PM*
- p. 53 *Figure 1.7.* Front page of the first issue of *ILN*
- p. 54 *Figure 1.8.* Wood block from the first issue of *ILN*
- p. 56 *Figure 1.9.* Scene from outside the offices of *ILN*
- p. 61 *Figure 2.1.* Map of urban expansion in Christiania
- p. 64 *Figure 2.2.* Map of Christiania in 1848
Figure 2.3. View of Christiania with notable public buildings
- p. 72 *Figure 2.4.* The *Morgenbladet* building
Figure 2.5. The machine hall at Grøndahl & søn's printing house
- p. 74 *Figure 2.6.* Map of printers, booksellers, lending libraries and
bookbinders in Christiania in 1837
- p. 75 *Figure 2.7.* Map of printers, booksellers, lending libraries and
bookbinders in Christiania, 1856
- p. 81 *Figure 2.8.* The Cappelen building in Kirkegata.
Figure 2.9. Jacob Dybwad's bookstore at Karl Johan.
- p. 92 *Figure 3.1.* Front page of *Skilling Magazin's* first issue
- p. 97 *Figure 3.2.* Portrait of C.A. Guldberg, *SM*
Figure 3.3. Advertisement for Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's
bookstore, *SM*
- p. 99 *Figure 3.4.* Interiors from the Fabritius printing house, *SM*
- p. 102 *Figure 3.5.* Portraits of Crown Prince Oscar and Princess Josphine,
SM
- p. 103 *Figure 3.6.* King Karl Johan's arrival in Christiania, *SM*
Figure 3.7. Sverresborg in Trondheim, *SM*
- p. 105 *Figure 3.8.* Storgata and Youngs løkke from C.H. Grosch's 1833
map of Christiania
Figure 3.9. Grosch's plan for new street layout at Youngs løkke

- p. 107 *Figure 3.10.* Storgata looking north-east from Stortorget
- p. 109 *Figure 3.11.* Title page for the first volume of *Norsk Penning Magazin*
Figure 3.12. Front page of *Norsk Penning Magazin* for April 1839
- p. 113 *Figure 3.13.* The brothers Forseth with an issue of *SM*
- p. 118 *Figure 3.14.* The city of Edinburgh, *SM*
Figure 3.15. Florence Cathedral, *SM*
- p. 119 *Figure 3.16.* Saint Cloud in Paris, *SM*
Figure 3.17. Grey Street, Newcastle, *SM*
- p. 124 *Figure 4.1.* Front page of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*'s first issue
- p. 127 *Figure 4.2.* Advertisement for *Christiania Illustrerede Nyhedsblad*
- p. 134 *Figure 4.3.* Boulevard Sebastopol in Paris, *IN*
Figure 4.4. Section of a street in London, *IN*
- p. 137 *Figure 4.5.* Front page of the periodical *Manden*'s first issue
- p. 140 *Figure 4.6.* Map of Botten Hansen's print world
Figure 4.7. Portrait of Paul Botten Hansen and Rådhusgata 15, the location of his apartment
- p. 145 *Figure 4.8.* Advertisement for H. Nissen's xylographic workshop, *IN*
- p. 149 *Figure 4.9.* Page with advertisements, *IN*
- p. 151 *Figure 4.10.* Christiania art carnival, 1863, *IN*
- p. 154 *Figure 4.11.* Front page of *Norsk Folkeblad*, 5 January 1867
- p. 162 *Figure 5.1.* Uppsala students arriving in Christiania, *IN*
- p. 171 *Figure 5.2.* The student parade down Karl Johan, *SM*
- p. 173 *Figure 5.3.* H.D.F. Linstow's proposal for Karl Johans gate
- p. 174 *Figure 5.4.* The "robber-states" and the royal palace
Figure 5.5. Karl Johans gate, lithograph by F. Loos
- p. 177 *Figure 5.6.* The student party at Studenterlunden, *IN*
Figure 5.7. The student part at Klingenberg, *IN*
- p. 183 *Figure 5.8.* The university buildings illuminated, *IN*
Figure 5.9. The illumination in Christiania 4 November 1864, *IN*
- p. 188 *Figure 6.1.* The fire in Christiania 14 April 1858, *IN*
- p. 192 *Figure 6.2.* Ruins after the fire in Christiania, *IN*
- p. 193 *Figure 6.3.* Ruins of Peter Petersen's building, *IN*
- p. 195 *Figure 6.4.* Ruins of the Credit Bank building, *SM*
- p. 199 *Figure 6.5.* The new fountain at Christiania Torv, *IN*
- p. 202 *Figure 6.6.* The new Credit Bank building, *IN*
- p. 203 *Figure 6.7.* Peter Petersen's new building, *IN*
- p. 206 *Figure 6.8.* Hoppe's building from Stortorget, *IN*
- p. 210 *Figure 6.9.* Christiania butcher stalls in 1834, *IN*
- p. 211 *Figure 6.10.* Christiania's bazars (butcher stalls) and fire house, *IN*

- p. 213 *Figure 6.11.* View from the corner of Nedre Slottsgate and Prinsensgate, *IN*
- p. 215 *Figure 6.12.* Old building in Øvre Slottsgate, *IN*
- p. 218 *Figure 7.1.* The new “Storthing house,” Christiania, *ILN*
- p. 221 *Figure 7.2.* The procession of the Herald’s proclaiming the opening of the Storting, *IN*
- p. 224 *Figure 7.3.* Interior of the parliament chamber, *SM*
- p. 228 *Figure 7.4.* The fifteenth ordinary Storting, gathered, *IN*
- p. 232 *Figure 7.5.* *Storthings-Efterretninger* no. 1-2 1836
Figure 7.6. *Storthingstidende* no. 1, 1857
- p. 236 *Figure 7.7.* Schirmer and von Hanno’s project for a new parliament building, with tower, *IN*
Figure 7.8. Schirmer and von Hanno’s project for a new parliament building, without tower, *IN*
- p. 239 *Figure 7.9.* Langlet’s parliament building, façade towards the royal palace, *IN*
Figure 7.10. Langlet’s parliament building. The façade towards Østre gate, *IN*
- p. 240 *Figure 7.11.* Chr. Hansen’s draft for a parliament building, *IN*
- p. 245 *Figure 7.12.* View and plan of the new Storting building, *Norsk Folkeblad*
- p. 248 *Figure 7.13.* Invitation to subscribe to *Storthingstidende*, *IN*
- p. 253 Map of Paul Botten Hansen’s route to his printer

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Introduction

In 1858, the Christiania-based illustrated periodical *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* adopted a view of the city's new and fashionable boulevard, Karl Johans gate, as its masthead (*figure 1*).¹ The editor of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, Paul Botten-Hansen, hoped that his readers in Christiania would recognize the scene:

You all stroll about here daily, either to see or to be seen, or for the sake of exercise. Half of the distinguished citizens in our city walk past here, the other half sits and watches. Mutual enjoyment! – But when both these respective halves of our aristocracy go to the theatre or to a get-together, another populace takes over the scene. The servants stroll in the footsteps of their masters, up and down. ‘Can I offer you my arm?’ – ‘Thank you kindly’ ... To walk arm in arm is always remarkably lovely, although it is loveliest here, where the flickering gaslights stare perpetually at the lovers with ‘the longing look of the white moon’: not a single dislocated cobblestone as a reminder of ‘simple reality.’ On these fourfold rows of sanded foreign stones, glittering in the sun and lamplight like they were made of some precious metal, couples can easily stroll past one another, without offence, even when a crinoline is used.²

The passage puts us in the middle of the new city centre of Christiania in 1858. Speaking directly to his fellow urbanites, Botten-Hansen evokes their new favorite parade. With its gaslights, sanded cobblestones, historicist apartment buildings, with the new university buildings on one side, the royal palace with its palace park at the end and, after 1866, the new parliament building, Karl Johan had become the epicenter of urban culture in Christiania.

Botten-Hansen's description and the accompanying wood engraving (*figure 1*) of the Karl Johan quarter offer a way into the urban culture of

¹ Christiania was the name of the Norwegian capital from 1624 until 1925, when it was renamed Oslo. The name Christiania came from the Danish king Christian IV who had moved the city from its medieval to its present location and named it after himself. In the nineteenth century, “Oslo” was generally used as a name for an eastern suburb (incorporated into the city in 1859) located where the mediaeval city had once been. The more “Norwegian” spelling Kristiania gradually gained ground in the second half of the nineteenth century, and was introduced in the land registry and state calendar from 1877, and as official spelling by the local municipality from 1897. Unless quoted sources use other spellings, I will use Christiania.

² *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 1, 3 January 1858, 1. Unless otherwise noted, translation is by author. Longer quotes and important phrases will be provided in the original in the notes. “Vi haabe at vore Byesbørn ville gjenkjende Scenen, uden et: ‘Dette skal være Troja!’ I vandre der jo alle dagligdags, enten for at see eller for at sees, eller ogsaa for Motionens Skyld. Halvparten af vor Byes fornemme Verden spadserer herforbi, den anden Halvdeel sidder og seer paa. Gjensidig Fornøjelse! – Men naar begge disse respektive herskabelige Halvdele sidde i Theatre eller Selskaber, da optages Scenen af en anden Befolkning. Tyendet vandrer i Herskabets Fodspor, op og ned. ‘Maa jeg byde min Arm?’ – ‘Mange Tak!’ ... Det er altid overmaade deiligt at gaa Arm i Arm, men dog deiligst her, hvor de vxlende Gasflammer idelig seer paa Elskerparret med ‘den blege Maanes længselsfulde Blikke’: ikke en eneste fremstaaende Brosteen minder om ‘den slette Virkelighed.’ Selv om Krinoliner bruges, kunne Par om Par, uden Anstød, drage hinanden forbi paa disse fiirdobbelte Rader af slebne, udenlandske Heller, glindsende i Sol- og Lampeskinnet ligesom af ædelt Metal.”

Illustreret Nyhedsblad.



Nr. 1. Udgivet den 3de Januar 1858. Mandag den 3de Januar 1858. 7. Marg.

Sabbot.

Et Mennekeses (Kvindes) i Livet. — Gennem Gade — Gadehjørner for mig den 3de af Gaderne. — Ensomhed i Gade (af Hver Gade). — Skilsmisse og den 3de. — Mennekeses i Gade (af Hver Gade). — Skilsmisse og den 3de. — Mennekeses i Gade (af Hver Gade). — Skilsmisse og den 3de.



I flere dag var Aftensopstilling ved Bænkene med et nyt Zestfuldt. Maatte det skildre lydeligt for det og kaldte for hans Bøstati. Maatte han kun leve de første sig, hver lede og sænke disse Gude ere og have Bøstati net til at træde sig som Bøstati af dem eller til sig af bygge Bøstati! Jeg lever Dagligt, med Maatte for sig Kærlig, velkommen og forsigtigt vedtætte med disse "Kvindes Gadehjørner", hede flere Jernstænger paa Bøstatiens Bøstati. Det er Bøstati sigre længe Bøstatiens Bøstati, længe de smukkeste til. Sa selvst! Skilsmisse Bøstatiens? Det er maatte draget sig i Bøstati af nogle Bøstatiens Bøstati. Nei, det er det der fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens og Kærligheden, fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens, fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens og Kærligheden. Det er Bøstati sigre længe Bøstatiens Bøstati, længe de smukkeste til. Sa selvst! Skilsmisse Bøstatiens? Det er maatte draget sig i Bøstati af nogle Bøstatiens Bøstati. Nei, det er det der fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens og Kærligheden, fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens, fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens og Kærligheden.

mange hjemlige Gadehjørner. . . Ja, den Bøstatiens Bøstati, og i disse Bøstati mere og mere. . . Det er Bøstati sigre længe Bøstatiens Bøstati, længe de smukkeste til. Sa selvst! Skilsmisse Bøstatiens? Det er maatte draget sig i Bøstati af nogle Bøstatiens Bøstati. Nei, det er det der fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens og Kærligheden, fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens, fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens og Kærligheden.

for de fleste kommer til at hedde: "Ja, den Bøstatiens Bøstati, og i disse Bøstati mere og mere. . . Det er Bøstati sigre længe Bøstatiens Bøstati, længe de smukkeste til. Sa selvst! Skilsmisse Bøstatiens? Det er maatte draget sig i Bøstati af nogle Bøstatiens Bøstati. Nei, det er det der fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens og Kærligheden, fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens, fremgaa Gadehjørner i Bøstatiens og Kærligheden.



Figure 1. Front page of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* 3 January 1858 with the new masthead of Karl Johans gate and a portrait of the sculptor Chr. Borch.

Christiania in the period. This thesis is about images and texts like these. It is about where, how and by whom they were made, about how they were distributed and read. The illustrated press was produced, distributed and read in the city, its editors, writers, engravers and printers being part of a developing urban culture. At the same time, its texts and images helped constitute the urban environment and engender an urban culture. The press, including the illustrated press, lobbied for and promoted specific projects in the city. It provided guides for how to read and understand the increasingly complex urban environment, and provided its readers with models for ways to behave in the city. To the citizens of Christiania, a small capital on the periphery of Europe, the illustrated press provided a connection to and a sense of shared experience with other centers of urban culture.

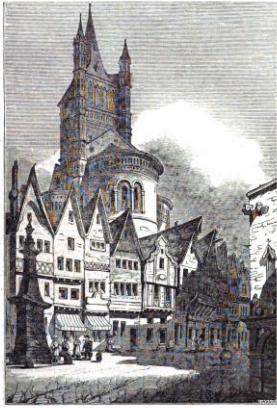
In this thesis I explore the relationships between the city and the magazine from two perspectives, investigating the magazine in the city and the city in the magazine. I first locate the printers, publishers, editors and image makers in the changing urban environment of Christiania. I discuss printing and publishing practices and enquire where, how and by whom these periodicals were produced, distributed and read. I then turn my attention to the representations of the city in the magazine, looking at the modern city as it was represented in texts and images published in the illustrated press. Through case studies of the coverage of specific events and sites in the city, I discuss the city as a spectacle, the renewal of the inner-city quarters and the changing nature of the political public.

My focus is on two major Norwegian illustrated periodicals in the period between the 1830s and the mid-1860s, *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. I have chosen these two publications for several reasons. *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were the two most long-lived, popular and influential illustrated periodicals in Norway in the period when the illustrated press became established in Norway and Christiania. There were other illustrated periodicals in the period, including *Norsk Penning Magazin* (1833-1842), *Billed-Magasin for Børn* (1838-1839), *Almuevennen* (1849-1892), *Illustreret Folkeblad* (1856-1858), *Illustreret Dametidende* (1862) and *Illustreret Norsk Folkeblad* (1862-1863).³ But many of these were short-lived, predominantly aimed at particular groups such as children, had a predominantly rural readership or the illustrations were only a secondary consideration. In *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, illustrations were the main attraction, and it was in these periodicals that the urbanization processes in Christiania became visible in print for the first time.

³ *Norsk Folkeblad* (1866-1873) and *Ny Illustreret Tidende* (1874-1890) were the two leading illustrated newspapers after *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and many more appeared in the period after 1870. See: Harald L. Tveterås, *Norske tidsskrifter: bibliografi over periodiske skrifter i Norge inntil 1920*. Kronologisk utg. (Oslo: Universitetsbiblioteket, 1984).

THE PENNY MAGAZINE

Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.
 PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. [JANUARY 26, 1833.]
 COLOGNE.



[Church of St. Martin, Cologne.]
 Cologne, called by the Germans Köln, is situated in a district of the same name, which is one of the two divisions of the Prussian province of Rhine-Craie there, so called from its containing the three old dioceses of Bielefeld, Aachen, Cleves, and Bonn. Cologne is the capital of the same province, and stands on the left or west bank of the Rhine, N. E. lat. 50° 37', E. L. 6° 45', forming a kind of peninsula, the city is fortified, and with its numerous spires and large buildings makes a good show from the opposite side of the river. It is about one hundred and seven miles east by north from Brussels. Cologne was an old Roman station often mentioned in Tacitus, and the words Colonia and Augusta in the name of Colonia Claudia Agrippinensium, or the City of Claudia and Agrippina, from Agrippina the Younger.

Figure 2. Front page of Penny Magazine 26 January 1833 with an engraving of the Church of St. Martin, Cologne.

MAGASIN PITTORESQUE,

A DEUX SOUS PAR LIVRAISON.
 PREMIERE LIVRAISON — 1833.
 MUSÉE DU LOUVRE
 ÉCOLE FLAMANDE — DAVID TENIERS



[Musée de la Marine — La Rangée, par David Teniers, peintre, et gravé par Teniers.]

Figure 3. Front page of Magasin Pittoresque from 1835 with engraving of David Teniers' The Knife Grinder.

Das Pfennig-Magazin

Beitrag zur Verbreitung gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse.
 179. Herausgegeben von Johann Gessner. [September 3, 1836]

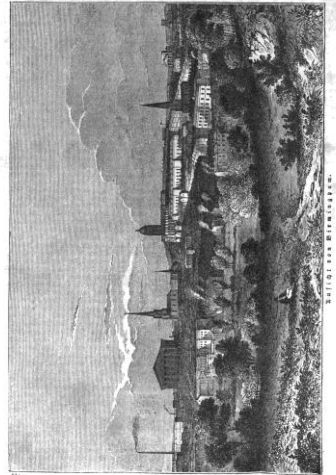
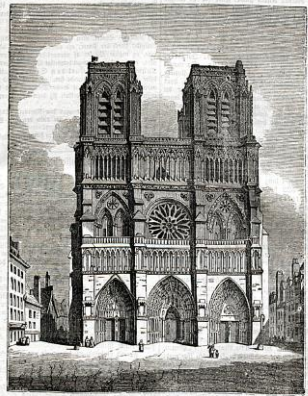


Figure 4. Das Pfennig-Magazin for 3 September 1836 with a view of Birmingham.

Skilling-Magazin

til Udbrøedse af almenyttige Kundskab.
 16. Udkommet hver Uge. [August 22, 1835.]



Notre-Dame de la Vierge à Paris.

Figure 5. Skilling-Magazin for 22 August 1835 with an engraving of Notre Dame in Paris.

Importantly, they were also connected to a wider network of periodicals published all over Europe in the same period.

Like all periodization, my focus on the period between the 1830s and the mid-1860s is partly a pragmatic consideration dictated by my sources – *Skilling-Magazin* was first published in 1835 and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* ceased in 1866. Nevertheless, the period between the 1830s and the mid-1860s was not only the period where the illustrated press came to Norway and Christiania, it was equally a period that saw important developments in Norway's new capital.⁴ As Jan Eivind Myhre has argued, 1830 is in many ways a useful divide when discussing urbanization in Norway. The 1830s was the beginning a period of planned liberal modernization driven by civil servants holding key government positions.⁵ Christiania's population exploded between the 1870s and 1890s, yet the period between the 1830s and the mid-1860s was one in which many important prerequisites for urban development were laid down. Most of the important public institutions were constructed during this period and the area around Karl Johans gate, which totally transformed central Christiania, was developed during this period. The period between the late 1830s and 1870 can be described as the golden age of the period known in Norwegian historiography as “embedsmannsstaten” – the civil servant state.⁶ The university educated civil servants were the political, administrative, cultural and social elite in the period. The images of the city in the illustrated press were therefore caught up in a process of urban renewal largely driven by an urban elite of government officials.

Skilling-Magazin, published between 1835 and 1891, was initially a Norwegian variety of the English *Penny Magazine*, the currency being changed from the English penny to the Norwegian skilling. It had a similar form and purpose as other publishing endeavors across Europe such as the French *Magazin Pittoresque*, the German *Pfenning Magazin* and *Heller Magazin*, the Swedish *Lördags-Magasin* and the Danish *Dansk Penning Magazin* to name just a few (figure 2-5).⁷ *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, published between 1851 and 1866, was part of a wave of illustrated weekly newspapers that followed the *Illustrated London News*, first published in 1842. The Paris-

⁴ 1814 is obviously the most used dividing point in Norwegian historiography. However, in more recent general histories, the 1830s or 40s has become more common. Aschehoug's general history of Norway from the 1990s uses 1830-1870, so does the website www.norgeshistorie.no; the most recent multi-volume history, *Norvgr*, uses 1840 to 1914.

⁵ Jan Eivind Myhre, “Den eksplorative byutviklingen 1830-1920,” in *Norsk byhistorie. Urbanisering gjennom 1300 år*, by Knut Helle et al. (Oslo: Pax, 2006), 254. The 1830s was also the start of a long period of economic upswing after a longer period of economic stagnation following the Napoleonic wars.

⁶ For the historiographical concept Embedsmannsstaten, see: Jens Arup Seip, *Utsikt over Norges historie: Tidsrommet 1814-ca. 1860*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1974); *Utsikt over Norges historie: Tidsrommet ca. 1850-1884*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1981); Rune Slagstad, *De nasjonale strateger* (Oslo: Pax, 1998).

⁷ For the Penny Magazine and its imitators, see: Patricia J. Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).



Figure 6. Mastheads of (from the top) *Illustrated London News*, *l'illustration*, *Illustrirte Zeitung* and the Danish *Illustreret Tidende*. All with views of the city in which they were published.

based *l'Illustration*, the Leipzig-based *Illustrierte Zeitung*, the Stockholm and Copenhagen papers *Illustrerad Tidning* and *Illustreret Tidende* are examples of similar publishing endeavors (figure 6).⁸ Viewing all these periodicals in relation to each other is vital. It places *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* as nodes in a transnational network of magazines that not only shared the same form and general purpose, forming recognizable brands in the eyes of their readers and publishers, but engaged in a lively exchange of texts and images.

Skilling-Magazin and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were very different publications in form, intentions and content. *Skilling-Magazin* was a small quarto (27 x 17,5 cm) publication intended, like its British role model, to diffuse useful knowledge to people of all classes across the country. It published mostly educational articles in a variety of subjects. Natural history, geography and travel, architecture, arts, technical instruction and a range of other subjects. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* had a folio format (38 x 27,5 cm), and following the *Illustrated London News*, was intended as a more high-brow publication focusing on the most important events and personalities of the day, public life, science and art. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, however, with its book reviews and biographical articles written by its editor Paul Botten-Hansen, also became one of the most important literary journals in Norway. An important platform for a new generation of Norwegian authors, Henrik Ibsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, and Camilla Collett all publishing in the magazine. What the two publications had in common was the extensive use of wood engravings or xylography.⁹ As such, both magazines were

⁸ For general accounts of the *Illustrated London News*, see e.g.: Christopher Hibbert, *The Illustrated London News' Social History of Victorian Britain* (London: Angus and Robertson, 1975); Peter W. Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998). On the French *l'Illustration*, see e.g.: Thierry Gervais, "Imaging the World. *l'Illustration*: The Birth of the French Illustrated Press and the Introduction of Photojournalism in the Mid-19th Century," *Medicographia* 27, no. 1 (2005): 97–106. On the Danish *Illustreret Tidende*, see: Claus M. Smidt, *En storby bliver til: København og københavnere set af "Illustreret Tidende" 1859-74* (Strandberg, 1980). On wood engraving and the illustrated press in Sweden, see: Lena Johannesson, *Xylografi och pressbild: bidrag till trägravyrens och till den svenska bildjournalistikens historia* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982); Lena Johannesson, "Pictures as News, News as Pictures: A Survey of Mass-Reproduced Images in 19th Century Sweden," in *Visual Paraphrases: Studies in Mass Media Imagery*, ed. Alan Ellenius, FIGURA. Uppsala Studies in the History of Art. New Series 21 (Uppsala: Universitetet i Uppsala, 1984), 9–68.

⁹ In English, there is a clear distinction between woodcuts and wood engravings, woodcut being a technique used from at least the 15th century of cutting an image with a knife on soft side wood. Wood engraving, usually attributed to Thomas Bewick in the late 18th century, used the tools of copper engravers on hard end-wood. Less used in modern English, "xylograph" or "xylography" or "xylographic print" was used in the nineteenth century to denote wood engraving and woodcuts. It is derived from the Greek *xylo*, meaning wood, and *graph*, generally expressing a sense of "that which writes, portrays or records." In Norwegian, xylography (*xylografi*) generally meant wood engraving in the nineteenth century, and a "xylograf" was a wood engraver. The Norwegian "tresnitt" or "trædsnit" could mean both a wood engraving and a woodcut. On the complex use of the concepts wood engraving and xylography in different languages, including Scandinavia, see: Johannesson, *Xylografi och pressbild*, 20–22.

important in making printed images available to large numbers of people in Christiania and across the country.

Across Europe, illustrated periodicals that used wood engraved images were a vital part of what the printing historian Michael Twyman has called the illustration revolution of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Illustrated periodicals, with increasingly effective presses powered by steam, reached an unprecedented number of readers. Charles Knight, proprietor of the *Penny Magazine*, could claim a circulation of 200,000 as early as 1832, something which according to Knight meant at least a million readers. Other periodicals soon reached figures of 400,000 and more.¹¹ The illustrated press in Norway did not even come close to such figures, *Skilling-Magazin* boasting a, for Norway, substantial 2000 subscribers when it was launched in 1835. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, being a more expensive publication, probably never had much more than 1500 subscribers. In comparison, the leading daily newspaper *Morgenbladet* had about 850 subscribers in the early 1830s, reaching 1500 in the 1840s.¹²

The magazine in the city and the city in the magazine

The relationships between the city and the magazine is a fundamental concern in this thesis. Exploring these relationships, I draw on different scholarly traditions from book history, media history and periodical studies, to urban history and visual culture. However, perhaps the most important strategy for discussing this relationship is to place the magazines in the city and then to discuss the way the city appears in the magazines.

Placing the magazine in the city and the city in the magazine is an attempt to highlight what Louis Montrose has called the “dynamic, unstable, and reciprocal relationship between the discursive and material domains,” in my case between the city of Christiania and the illustrated press.¹³ The

¹⁰ Michael Twyman, “The Illustration Revolution,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: 1830-1914*, ed. David McKitterick, vol. 6 (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 117–43.

¹¹ Charles Knight, “Preface” to *Penny Magazine* 1832. See also: Anderson, *The Printed Image*.

¹² The lack of any substantial archival material for these publications makes pinning down the number of subscribers hard. I must trust what the papers are saying or base it on evidence such as lottery numbers published in the magazine. For more on this see chapters 3 and 4. The figures for *Morgenbladet* are based on: C.J. Hambro, “Pressen,” in *Kristiania forretningsstand i 300 aar: jubileumsaaret 1924*, ed. Jacob Riege (Kristiania: Helge Erichsens forlag, 1924), 124; Yngvar Hauge, *Morgenbladets historie: 1819-1854*, vol. 1 (Oslo: Morgenbladets forlag, 1963). With about 22,000 subscribers in the early 1870s – most of them on the countryside – the partially illustrated popular periodical *Almuevennen* probably reached the highest numbers in Norway in the period. See: Bjørn Jarl Langseth, “Christian Johnsens ‘Almuevennen’: en analyse av ukebladets innholds- og utbredelsesstruktur i tidsrommet 1849-1873” (Universitetet i Oslo, 1975).

¹³ Louis Montrose, “Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture,” in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veesser (New York; London: Routledge, 1989), 23. On new historicism, see: Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); H. Aram Veesser, ed., *The New Historicism* (New York; London: Routledge, 1989). Practitioners of new historicism has

reciprocal, mutual, even chiasmic concern with the historicity of texts and the textuality of history is something which Montrose saw as fundamental to the new historicism of the 1980s and 1990s. According to Montrose, representations of the world in written discourse are

engaged in constructing the world, in shaping the modalities of social reality, and in accommodating their writers, performers, readers and audiences to multiple and shifting subject positions within the world they both constitute and inhabit.¹⁴

I do not share all the concerns of the new historicism, whose practitioners were mainly concerned with literature and the connection between literature and more mundane texts. This thesis is mainly concerned with the images and texts of the illustrated press. The main point remains similar, however: representations of the world, whether written or in the form of wood engravings, whether they purport to be factual or fictional, whether they are deemed to be good or bad constitute and are a part of material reality. As the geographer David Harvey has stated: “materiality, representation, and imagination are not separate worlds,” the city as material reality, as represented in the magazine and as it is imagined by people are all intermingled, constitutive of each other.¹⁵

The text and images of the illustrated press and their circulation in space were a part of such an interrelationship. The American communications scholar James W. Carey offers an anthropological definition of communication as a “symbolic process whereby reality is produced, repaired, maintained and transformed.”¹⁶ For Carey, this process involves the content of communication, the texts and images of the illustrated press, but also rituals of production, circulation, reading and discussing. Of course, the illustrated press was only a small part of a larger landscape of print in Christiania, where the production, repairing, maintaining and transformation of the city took place. The illustrated press was, nevertheless, one of the most important sites for making the city visible. As I will discuss in the following, it was a key part of an urban visual culture in the nineteenth century.

received criticism both for not being historical enough and for being too sloppy with theory, for a critical review from the point of view of history, see: John H. Zammito, “Are We Being Theoretical Yet? The New Historicism, the New Philosophy of History, and ‘Practicing Historians,’” *The Journal of Modern History* 65, no. 4 (1993): 783–814.

¹⁴ Montrose, “Professing the Renaissance,” 16.

¹⁵ David Harvey, “From Space to Place and Back Again,” in *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996), 322. Harvey here draws on the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, see: *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, US.: Blackwell, 1991). Both Harvey and Lefebvre has been important for what has sometimes been called the “spatial turn” in the humanities and social sciences. For relevance within history, see e.g. Angelo Torre, “A ‘Spatial Turn’ in History? Landscapes, Visions, Resources,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 63, no. 5 (October 1, 2008): 1127–44; Ralph Kingston, “Mind Over Matter? History and the Spatial Turn,” *Cultural and Social History* 7, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 111–21, <https://doi.org/10.2752/147800410X477368>.

¹⁶ James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (London: Routledge, 1989), 19.

When Montrose pointed to the textuality of history, he pointed to history as a practice which is itself textual. Our understandings proceed from our own historical, social and institutional vantage points, the quest to recover meanings that are in any final or absolute sense authentic, correct, and complete being illusory.¹⁷ With regards to my particular material, this means that we can never recover the frame of reference in which the illustrated press was originally made and conceived. All we can do, in Jerome McGann's words "is to make imaginative attempts at reconstituting or approximating it for later persons living under other skies."¹⁸

One possible such "sky" is the idea of the public, or the public sphere. For Jürgen Habermas, the public sphere is the space where private persons come together to form a public.¹⁹ The bourgeois public sphere was essentially an eighteenth-century construct, born in the coffeehouses, discussion clubs and gentleman magazines of the enlightenment. Mass media was beginning to develop in the nineteenth century and the public sphere, formerly open to a limited number of bourgeois people, was radically enlarged. In this enlargement, Habermas located a critical source of the structural transformation of the public sphere which went from being "culture debating" to becoming "culture consuming."²⁰ The capacity for reasoned discourse was challenged by an expansion in scale and an increasing reliance on bureaucratic organizations and the manipulation of public relations and mass media. Habermas with this argues that the public sphere became more commercialized and thus less reliant on reasoned discourse.

Habermas' theory of the public sphere has been influential in Norwegian historiography, the historian Francis Sejersted being an early adopter of the theory. The period from 1814 to the 1850s, was in Sejersted's account, a period in which the social life of the well-to-do was increasingly de-privatized. Places such as Klingenberg in Christiania and the new restaurants and coffee houses were places where private people could gather as a public. Newspapers and periodicals were vital to the development of this public sphere.²¹ Moreover, recent scholarship has shown that there was a

¹⁷ Montrose, "Professing the Renaissance."

¹⁸ Jerome McGann, "The Socialization of Texts," in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, Second edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 73.

¹⁹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 141ff. Habermas' book has been discussed endlessly since it was first published in English in 1989. A good place to start is the essays in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1993). For good historical account of the rise of the public sphere in the eighteenth century, see: James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

²⁰ Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 158.

²¹ Francis Sejersted, *Den vanskelige frihet: 1814-1851* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1978); "Byen som arena for samhandling og kommunikasjon," in *Teknologipolitikk, Teknologi og kultur* (Oslo: Universitetsforl, 1998), 86–110; "Den gamle og den nye kommunikasjonsstat," in *Norsk idyll?* (Oslo: Pax, 2000), 55–70. Habermas' work was translated to Norwegian in 1971, before the

thriving public sphere already in eighteenth-century Norway, based in particular on periodicals and the theatre. In Christiania, Bergen, and Trondheim, periodicals modelled on the English spectator journals were published and read, and the theater and a variety of clubs allowed a lively public life to unfold.²² Yet this was a Danish-Norwegian public sphere and its undisputed centre was Copenhagen. After Norway's emancipation from the Danish crown in 1814 there was a sense that one needed to start over.

Historians of nineteenth-century Norway have, in recent years, been preoccupied with nation building, state building and nationalism. The modernization of infrastructure by means of the railway, the steamship and the postal system as well as the development of the press, have generally been seen as efforts to bind the nation together, creating what Benedict Anderson called an "imagined community."²³ Similarly, the construction of public buildings and the modernization of Christiania can be seen as providing the capital of the new nation with its necessary institutions and monuments. This perspective is important and is very much present throughout the period. However, it is not the only perspective available. Considering the local urban context is important. Residents of Christiania had a sense of urban identity and could relate to people in other cities of Europe just as easily as they could relate to the Norwegian nation.

By directing attention at the social and cultural preconditions of the public sphere, Habermas remind us to look at forces outside the domain of political ideology, law and state action to explain how large collectives are constructed, transformed and experienced. Habermas, nonetheless, defines the public sphere too narrowly and privileges an enlightenment ideal of critical and disinterested debate.²⁴ Absent from both Habermas' and Anderson's communities is, moreover, any notion of the public being located

French (1978) or English (1991) translation appeared, see: *Borgerlig offentlighet: dens fremvekst og forfall. Henimot en teori om det borgerlige samfunn*, trans. Elling Schwabe-Hansen, Helge Høibraaten, and Jon Øien, Gyldendal fakkeltøker (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1971). The Norwegian word "offentlighet" which was in use in the nineteenth century, is related the German "öffentlichkeit," which was the word Habermas used to describe the public sphere. "Offentlighet" has the same connotations of publicness and publicity as "öffentlichkeit" and none of the spatial connotations of the English "public sphere." See also the recent history of the Norwegian public sphere covering a large variety of subjects from the seventeenth century to the present: Jostein Gripsrud, ed., *Allmenningen: historien om norsk offentlighet* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2017).

²² Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej, *En pokkers skrivesyge: 1700- tallets dansk-norske tidsskrifter mellom sensur og ytringsfrihet* (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2014); Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Periodicals as Agents of Change: Perspectives on Northern Enlightenment* (Leiden; Boston: BRILL, 2015). On the theater in the Norwegian public sphere, see: Anette Storli Andersen, "Deus ex machina?: Henrik Ibsen og teatret i norsk offentlighet 1780-1864" (Universitetet i Oslo, Det humanistiske fakultet, 2010).

²³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition (London; New York: Verso, 2006).

²⁴ On popular culture and the public sphere, see e.g. Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*; James M. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

and interacting in physical space. Despite its spatial overtones, Habermas' public sphere (and Anderson's imagined communities) are abstract and immaterial, not only in construction but also in their day to day operation.²⁵ One of the aims of this thesis is to try to root the urban public in a specific physical space, and in the day to day experiences of the city.

Geographies of print

Connected to this attempt to ground the public sphere in physical space is a concern with the practices of printers, publishers, editors, writers and readers of the illustrated press. This is a concern I share with expanding fields of research often called book history and periodical studies.²⁶ In the last 30 years or so there has been a growing interest in the history of printing and publishing, the physical form of books and periodicals and practices of reading. As Finkelstein and McCleery argue in their introduction to the field, the main argument of book history is that transmission of texts is not as straightforward a process as people might think. We can learn a lot about circulation of information in history by tracing the movement of books, periodicals and pamphlets from creator to consumer, by accounting for production, marketing structures and reading practices and by studying the relationships between print and culture.²⁷ One way to do this is to follow

²⁵ A similar argument is found in: David Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 10. Harold Mah has accused historians of "spatializing the public sphere," this is, however, also very much an abstract space, with no grounding in the physical world: Harold Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians," *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 1 (March 2000): 153–82, <https://doi.org/10.1086/315932>. On architecture and the public sphere, see: Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, The Classical Tradition in Architecture (New York: Routledge, 2007).

²⁶ Although often called "book history", this field concerns itself with the creation, dissemination, reception, and use of script, print, and mediacy. This is reflected in the name of the society which publishes the journal *Book History: The Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing* (SHARP). On the term book history, see: Joan Shelley Rubin, "What Is the History of the History of Books?," *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (September 1, 2003): 555–75, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3659444>. For a good introduction to the field, see: David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *Introduction to Book History*, 2 edition (Routledge, 2012). For a collection of defining texts, see: David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, eds., *The Book History Reader*, Second edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2006). Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds., *The Book: A Global History*, Kindle ed. (Oxford University Press, 2013) is a useful reference work. In a Norwegian context the best introduction is Tore Rem, ed., *Bokhistorie*, Fakkell (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2003). Periodical studies is more specifically concerned with the study of periodicals. The field expanded out of specific English concerns with nineteenth century periodicals. The journal *Victorian Periodicals Review* is a good resource, as is the recently initiated *Journal of European Periodical Studies*. For a reference work useful for the study of periodicals outside Britain as well, see: Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton, eds., *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, New edition (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2016).

²⁷ The term "print culture" is generally attributed to Elisabeth Eisenstein and her work *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). At least this work made the term popular among historians, especially historians of the early modern period. Eisenstein's notion of a "print culture" that developed in the west after the introduction of printing with movable type has received criticism for technological determinism and not taking into account the importance of local contexts and practices. In this thesis, I use "print

what the American historian Robert Darnton has called the communications circuit, following the printed product through stages from writing to printing, to selling and distribution to the reader.²⁸

One of the main lessons to be learned from book history is the insistence that printed texts and images are material artefacts. As Roger Chartier has put it, “there is no text outside the material structure in which it is given to be read or heard.”²⁹ From its type, to its paragraphs, to its format and size and its use of illustration, the material form that a text was transmitted in can tell us something about how it was read and who read it.³⁰ The most obvious material feature of the illustrated periodicals was the fact that they were illustrated. Illustrations may have signalled their readership. As Aasmund Olavsson Vinje put it, the illustrations in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were mainly there for “women and children,” but, he had to admit, portraits and technical illustrations could be useful “for adults as well.”³¹ This did not mean that the illustrations were not taken seriously. Publishers and editors put much effort into providing the public with high quality engravings and their quality, the resemblance of portraits and scenes and the content of the images were passionately debated in the press. The size of the publications, the quality of ink and paper, were also taken into consideration and deemed important for reaching the right kind of audience.

The fact that texts and images always come to us in some material form means that they have a geography. They were produced, distributed and read *somewhere*. In this thesis I place the production, circulation and reception of the illustrated magazines in the local context of the city of

culture” more to name a “contexture of social and industrial relationships arising from, on the one hand, the everyday activities of printing, publishing and distribution, and on the other, the consumption of printed material by their users”, quoted from: Harold Love, “Early Modern Print Culture: Assessing the Models,” *Parergon* 20, no. 1 (2003): 45–64, <https://doi.org/10.1353/pgn.2003.0071>. Many have argued for disbanding the term print culture altogether, e.g. Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Eve Patten and Jason McElligott, eds., *The Perils of Print Culture: Book, Print and Publishing History in Theory and Practice* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

²⁸ Robert Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?,” *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65–83. Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker has argued that Darnton’s approach to the book was too centered on how society influences the printed product, see: “A New Model for the Study of the Book,” in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 2 edition (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge, 2006). See also: Robert Darnton, “What Is the History of Books? Revisited,” *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 3 (2007): 495–508.

²⁹ Roger Chartier, “Laborers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader,” trans. J. A. González, *Diacritics* 22 (1992): 53. See also: Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994) especially chapter 1.

³⁰ Perhaps the most defining work here is D. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge University Press, 1999). The work of the French annales school historian Roger Chartier has also been important, see e.g. the note above and the essays his most recent collection *The Author’s Hand and the Printer’s Mind: Transformations of the Written Word in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).

³¹ A.O Vinje, “Bladsjaa”, *Dølen. Eit Vikublad* no. 8, 12 December 1858, 30. “[S]like kjeldringar ere for Kvenufolk, og Smaaborn, og mange, sosom Mannslik (Portræter) og Reidskper, for vaxne Folk og.”

Christiania. In doing this, I draw on a field of inquiry which might be called the “geography of the book” or “geography of print.” As Charles Withers and Miles Ogburn have argued:

thinking about the geography of the book serves to highlight the importance of place, to signal the differences that space makes to what a book was or was thought to be, and to show how issues of scale – of local meaning, national frames of reference or questions of transnational reception – matter to what we take books to be and to do.³²

Thinking spatially about print means thinking about local practices of print production, about distribution and translation, about how printed texts and images travelled and were read and perceived differently in different places.³³

Tracing the geography of print has long been a concern within the field of book history. In one of the defining texts of the field, *The Coming of The Book* first published in 1958, Lucien Febvre and Henry-Jean Martin traced the movement of printers and printing presses across Europe.³⁴ Their attention to the changing geographical locations of printers tells us much about what one might call the “impact of print.” However, Febvre and Martin’s account is essentially about the diffusion of a fixed technology that is already fully formed. Another approach to thinking about the geography of the book is found in Adrian Johns’ *The Nature of the Book*. Johns looks at the local “social geography” of London’s print culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁵ His main concern, approaching print culture from the history of science, is the print production of the scientific revolution, and questions of trust and civility within the scientific community of London. He outlines the cultural geography of London’s print culture, arguing that the character of the locations in which books were produced and sold, and even of individual printing houses, mattered for the “perceived epistemic status” of the works that were published. “Whether a book contained safe, reliable knowledge could be questioned by asking whether it had been produced in conditions of propriety, or affirmed by asserting that it had,” Johns argues.³⁶ As we will see, knowledge of the local geography of print production and publication was important in Christiania as well. Individual printing houses

³² Charles W. J. Withers and Miles Ogborn, “Book Geography, Book History,” in *Geographies of the Book*, ed. Charles W. J. Withers and Miles Ogborn (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 25.

³³ See the essays in: Charles W. J. Withers and Miles Ogborn, eds., *Geographies of the Book* (New York and London: Routledge, 2012). See also: Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically About the Age of Reason* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 50ff; Innes M. Keighren, “Bringing Geography to the Book: Charting the Reception of Influences of Geographic Environment,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31, no. 4 (2006): 525–540; Rosa Salzberg, *Ephemeral City: Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

³⁴ Lucien Febvre and Henry-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London; New York: Verso, 1997) especially chap. 6 “The geography of the book.”

³⁵ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2000), chap. 2.

³⁶ Johns, 73; 128.

and publishers were known by their specific locations, and the value of a publication could sometimes be brought into question by associating it with its location in the city.

Location was also important for booksellers and publishers. James Raven has used unusual sources such as land tax evaluations and other property specific civic sources to map the geography of the London book trade in the eighteenth century.³⁷ He finds that the distribution of the book trade was diffuse, with a few marked concentrations around major thoroughfares, churches, monasteries, the inns of court and the stationers' company. London had different centres for the "high" and "low" trade. Of course, the Christiania book trade was of a totally different scale. Nonetheless, Christiania's geography of print is an interesting and hitherto little studied topic.

Christiania's book trade was located mainly in the inner-city quarters, in the "city proper" where trade was allowed and craftsmen could practice. A central location secured access to larger markets and closeness to power, and could be related to issues of trust and civility. It also meant being a part of a local community of writers, publishers, printers, booksellers and readers. An important precedent for this thesis is Mary L. Shannon's study of Charles Dickens, G.W.M. Reynolds and Henry Mayhew on London's Wellington Street in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁸ Coming from the field of periodical studies, Shannon argues that the familial and professional ties between these publishers, editors and writers and their physical closeness meant that they could conceive of themselves as part of a "coherent print culture." The readers in London in the mid-nineteenth century were, furthermore, not only part of an "imagined community" of dispersed individuals who read silently and in private, they were equally active members of a network of readers that sometimes punctured the anonymity of the teeming metropolis. The reading public, she argues, was not just an abstract entity imagined in the heads of readers, but could be imagined as such precisely because writers, editors, publishers and readers encountered each other every day on the streets and in the theatres of Wellington street. I draw on Shannon's study and make a similar argument about writers, editors and publishers in Christiania.

The story of urbanization in the nineteenth century is often one of increased anonymity and increased speed of communication. The world

³⁷ James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (Yale University Press, 2007), 154–92; James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London Before 1800*, The Panizzi Lecture 2010 (London: The British Library, 2014). On the geography of the London book-trade, see also: Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote, eds., *The London Book Trade: Topographies of Print in the Metropolis from the Sixteenth Century* (New Castle, DE; London: Oak Knoll ; British Library, 2003).

³⁸ Mary L. Shannon, *Dickens, Reynolds, and Mayhew on Wellington Street: The Print Culture of a Victorian Street* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).

through steamships, the railway, and the telegraph became smaller and the distance information travelled in space was no longer necessarily proportional to increase in time.³⁹ However, as Shannon's study of Wellington street reminds us, the growth of cities, the increased speed of communication and the increased anonymity of the cities in the nineteenth century did not mean that local geography ceased to matter. Even in London, one of the centers of modern urban culture, people were tied to specific places in the city in their everyday life. Christiania, even though it witnessed massive changes in the period between the 1830s and the mid-1860s, was still a small capital on the periphery of Europe where, according to the art historian Lorentz Dietrichson, "everyone of a certain level of society knew each other."⁴⁰

The focus on the local aspects of print culture has been important to me. At the same time, I am aware that focusing on one place can be limiting. It misses one of the important aspects of print, namely that it can be circulated and transported over large distances. The biggest challenge, historian of science James Secord has argued, is "creating a history that keeps the virtues of the local but operates at a unit of analysis larger than a single country" – or a single city in my case. For Secord it is not enough to study each country separately for a history to be truly transnational. What is important is to study different kinds of interactions, transactions and translations across borders.⁴¹ When studying the illustrated press within the local context of Christiania, I have tried to keep in mind that the texts and images were not always read in the same way in other places in Norway, the country being made up of relatively culturally autonomous regions. My focus is on Christiania, but I also discuss the illustrated press in Christiania in relation to the illustrated press in England, France and Germany. I show how the bulk of the images in *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were imported stereotypes bought from other magazines and discuss what this meant for the status of the magazines. At the same time, the images of the Norwegian illustrated press were not always constrained to the national context. They travelled, were reprinted in other magazines where they spurred new debates, were sent out of the country and came back again.

³⁹ What the geographer David Harvey has called "time-space compression": *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, Mass.; Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991), 260ff.

⁴⁰ Lorentz Dietrichson, *Svundne tider: af en Forfatters Ungdomserindringer. Bergen og Christiania i 40- og 50-årene. Med Forfatterens Portræt og 164 Illustrationer.*, vol. 1, 4 vols. (Christiania: Cappelen, 1896).

⁴¹ James A. Secord, "Knowledge in Transit," *Isis* 95, no. 4 (December 1, 2004): 654–72, <https://doi.org/10.1086/430657>.

The illustrated press and urban visual culture

The illustrated press was part of a technical transformation of the printing industry in the nineteenth century. New methods for printing, first the iron press, then the cylindrical and rotary steam driven presses, made it possible to print faster, cheaper and in larger quantities. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw, in addition to the introduction of steam and iron into the printing house, a development in new ways of printing images most notably lithography and new wood engraving techniques.⁴² The new form of end grain wood engraving is usually attributed to the English engraver Thomas Bewick. The new techniques made possible relatively cheap and high-quality illustrations that could be printed along with the text.⁴³

This flood of images was important to the development of an urban visual culture. As Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski have argued, “the very notion of ‘visual culture’ was made possible by many of the changes in image production in the nineteenth century.”⁴⁴ A modern visual culture can be traced back to the fifteenth century invention of the printing press, to the scientific revolution or the enlightenment. Yet Schwartz and Przyblyski suggest that modernity is an especially meaningful concept to apply in the nineteenth century. The distinctly “modern” mode of perceptual and cognitive experience that has shaped the field of study known as visual culture, can trace its lineage in the “reality-based entertainment and information technologies of nineteenth-century panoramas, wax museums, illustrated newspapers and the like.”⁴⁵

The circulation figures alone tell us that the illustrated press was a vital, if often overlooked, part of the visual culture of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ The focus of research on nineteenth-century visual culture has

⁴² On the development of printing technology and image-making techniques in the nineteenth century, see: Michael Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970: An Illustrated History of Its Development and Uses in England*, New Ed. (London: British Library, 1998). On illustrations and illustration techniques in general see: Twyman, “The Illustration Revolution”; Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁴³ The development and practices of xylography is discussed further in chap 1. There has been a great interest in English wood engravings from a collector’s market, especially those of the period around the 1860s. Examples of this literature include: Gleeson White, *English Illustration: “the Sixties” 1855-1870* (Echo Library, 2009); Geoffrey Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration: The Technical Revolution* (Newton Abbot, Devon UK: David & Charles, 1973). Recent scholarly accounts include: Paul Goldman and Simon Cooke, eds., *Reading Victorian Illustration, 1855-1875: Spoils of the Lumber Room* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016); Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Brian Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints 1790-1870* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2001); Celina Fox, *Graphic Journalism in England During the 1830s and 1840s* (Garland Pub., 1988).

⁴⁴ Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, “Visual Culture’s History: Twenty-First Century Interdisciplinarity and Its Nineteenth-Century Objects,” in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (New York: Routledge, 2004), 3.

⁴⁵ Schwartz and Przyblyski, 3.

⁴⁶ While a number of studies now takes the illustrated press and wood engravings seriously, many studies of nineteenth century visual culture has focused on the development of

traditionally been on the development of lithography, photography and the beginning of what Walter Benjamin called the “age of mechanical reproduction.”⁴⁷ For Benjamin, as for many later historians, nineteenth-century wood-engraving techniques were overshadowed and soon replaced by photography. In the 1950s, William Ivins pointed to the importance of the printed image for the development of western science, technology and culture. He adopted a functional view of the printed image, what he calls the “exactly repeatable pictorial statement.” Ivins argued that far from being minor works of art, printed images were “among the most important tools of modern life and thought.”⁴⁸ Even so, Ivins, like Benjamin, tends to subordinate wood engraving to photography.

Stephen Bann has taken up Ivins’ invitation to take the pictorial representations found in the illustrated press seriously. Bann, however, does not want to “go with the flow of evolutionary current” but rather “examine the resistances that it provoked along the way, and to negotiate some of its many cross-currents.”⁴⁹ As the work of Bann and others has shown, wood engraving had a complex relationship with other reproductive techniques in the period. Photography was important, yet wood engraving remained the main source of popular printed imagery for almost the entire nineteenth century. Gerry Beegan furthermore shows that the development of photography in the press was closely linked to wood engraving. Chemical processes for photomechanical reproduction in newspapers and magazines were not widespread until the 1880s and 1890s and, even then, press photography built on the syntax of wood engraved images.⁵⁰

The nineteenth century was “the golden age of the book in the west,” and the expansion of print culture was intimately connected to the growth of cities.⁵¹ Newspapers and periodicals were distributed at a greater and greater scale and were sold and distributed in shops, on street corners, railway stations, read in railway carts, omnibuses, subways, cafés, restaurants, libraries, reading clubs and on the streets. The modern city was at

photography, lithography, painting, as well as urban visual spectacles such as the panorama, the museum and the city itself. The articles collected in Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, eds., *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004) is a case in point.

⁴⁷ Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 217–52.

⁴⁸ William M. Ivins Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 3.

⁴⁹ Stephen Bann, *Distinguished Images: Prints and the Visual Economy in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

⁵⁰ Beegan, *The Mass Image*.

⁵¹ Martyn Lyons, “New Readers in the Nineteenth Century,” in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Roger Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 314.

the same time what Peter Fritzsche has called a “word city.”⁵² Not only mass circulation newspapers and magazines contributed to this. As David M. Henkin shows, the urban population was increasingly bombarded with a variety of texts.⁵³

Representations of urban life were an essential part of the urbanization process and seeing the city and seeing in the city became an important part of the urban experience.⁵⁴ Wood engraving was perhaps the primary medium for making the processes of urbanization visible. The illustrated newspapers themselves signaled an urban culture. The *Illustrated London News* featured a panorama of London as its masthead and throughout Europe other illustrated newspapers, including *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, followed its example (see *figure 6*).⁵⁵ It has been pointed out that the built environment in general and the urban environment specifically had a central place in the illustrated periodicals of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ However, it is also important to consider the images of the illustrated press within a wider urban visual culture. The work of Walter Benjamin has been fundamental to providing an agenda for research on urban visual culture in the nineteenth century. It is telling that Walter Benjamin’s notes for his unfinished *Arcades project* are filled with references to the periodical press and to the illustrated periodicals and journals of Paris.⁵⁷ Urban historians such as Simon Gunn have pointed to the importance of visual images in urban renewal processes and in the construction of urban identities in the nineteenth century.⁵⁸ Art

⁵² Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996). The literature on the boulevard press of the late nineteenth century, has grown quite substantial, in addition to Fritzsche, see: Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Nathaniel D. Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan: Urban Selfhood and the Making of Modern Cracow* (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010); Erik Edoff, “Storstadens dagbok: Boulevardpressen och mediasystemet i det sena 1800-talets Stockholm” (Lunds Universitet, 2016), http://portal.research.lu.se/ws/files/18219944/Storstadens_dagbok.pdf.

⁵³ Henkin, *City Reading*.

⁵⁴ Schwartz and Przyblyski, *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, 165.

⁵⁵ On mastheads in illustrated newspapers, see: Anne Hultzsich, “Masthead,” in *The Printed and the Built*, ed. Mari Hvattum and Anne Hultzsich (London: Bloomsbury [Forthcoming], 2018).

⁵⁶ Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of News: A History* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2002), 119; Beegan, *The Mass Image*; Paul Dobraszczyk, “Sewers, Wood Engraving and the Sublime: Picturing London’s Main Drainage System in the Illustrated London News, 1859–62,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 38, no. 4 (2005): 349–78, <https://doi.org/10.1353/vpr.2006.0005>. See also: Barry Bergdoll, “‘The Public Square of the Modern Age’: Architecture and the Rise of the Illustrated Press in the Early Nineteenth Century,” in *The Printed and the Built*, ed. Mari Hvattum and Anne Hultzsich (London: Bloomsbury [Forthcoming], 2018). According to Scott Bennett architecture and urban scenes together made up about 15 percent of the engravings in the *Penny Magazine*, see: “The Editorial Character and Readership of ‘The Penny Magazine’: An Analysis,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 17, no. 4 (1984): 140.

⁵⁷ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1999). See also: Graeme Gilloch, *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997); Vanessa R. Schwartz, “Walter Benjamin for Historians,” *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (2001): 1721–43, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2692744>.

⁵⁸ Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City 1840–1914* (Manchester University Press, 2007). See also e.g.: Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840–*

historians such as Lynda Nead have examined the visual culture of urban modernity.⁵⁹ Studies such as these point to images of the city as an important source of understanding the connections between the city as represented in art, prints and illustrated magazines and lived urban experience.

Christiania became the capital of the independent Norwegian nation in 1814 and had from the 1830s through to the 1860s a rapidly growing population. But it was not Paris or London, nor can Christiania's experience be compared to the "shock cities" of industrial England or other industrial centers in Europe. Nonetheless, urbanization undeniably shaped everyday experience in Christiania in the period between the 1830s and the mid-1860s. As Nathaniel Wood has argued about Cracow (another city on the outskirts of Europe), more and more of its inhabitants could identify themselves as part of an "interurban matrix."⁶⁰ For Christianians, as for Cracowians, the fact that they lived in a city meant that they increasingly could identify themselves with other people living in cities. They shared many of the same experiences of urban growth, industrialization, crowds (although mainly on special occasions), of urban renewal, concentrated poverty and wealth and adopted many of the same habits. The illustrated papers of Christiania, building on and translating the conventions of illustrated papers in England, France and Germany, was a medium in which this urban culture became visible and where it was negotiated and produced.

Sources, literature and approach

In this thesis I draw on a range of contemporary sources and a vast secondary literature on the local history of Christiania and the Norwegian press. Yet, by far the most important source has been the periodicals themselves, *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. They provide the bulk of the texts and images I analyze and contain much information on their printers, publishers and editors; clues to editorial practices and how these publications were read and regarded by contemporaries. Paratexts such as editorial comments,

1930 (Cambridge University Press, 2008); Katy Layton-Jones, *Beyond the Metropolis: The Changing Image of Urban Britain, 1780-1880* (Manchester University Press, 2016).

⁵⁹ Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000). Other investigations of urban visual culture in the nineteenth century include: Caroline Arscott, "The Representation of the City in the Visual Arts," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain 1840-1950*, ed. Martin Daunton and Peter Clark, vol. 3 (Cambridge University Press, 2000); Dana Arnold, *Re-Presenting the Metropolis: Architecture, Urban Experience, and Social Life in London, 1800-1840* (Ashgate, 2000); Nicolas Taylor, "The Awful Sublimity of the Victorian City," in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. Harold James Dyos and Michael Wolff, vol. II (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 431-47; T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984); Aruna D'Souza and Tom McDonough, eds., *The Invisible Flâneuse?: Gender, Public Space, and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

⁶⁰ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*.

advertisements, lotteries and printers' marks have also been of vital importance in building up a picture of the larger world in which these periodicals were produced and read.⁶¹

The illustrated periodicals (which have not yet been systematically digitized) have been available to me in the form of well-worn, bound volumes on the shelves of the National Library of Norway. This has deprived me of useful functions such as full text search, but has at the same time allowed me to appreciate the full range of material available in these publications.⁶² Adams and Barker have pointed out that if we start with the premise of the book or periodical as a physical object, the circumstances of its survival to the present day becomes as "important a part of understanding the subject as are the circumstances which brought it into existence in the first place."⁶³ The fact that they are now available as bound volumes underscore the fact that periodicals such as these were never simply ephemeral products to be read and discarded, although they often have been portrayed that way. Title pages and contents were issued to subscribers at the end of each volume. They were meant to be bound and collected in public and private libraries, and the publishers and booksellers in Christiania often had several volumes from different years for sale.⁶⁴ The wear shown on the bound volumes at the national library attest to the fact that they have, over the years, been mined for their illustrations and as containers of information about the period. In other words, these are not hidden sources extracted from an inaccessible archive. Illustrations from *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* have been widely used in general histories of Norway, local histories of Christiania and other places, biographies, cultural histories and architectural histories and their articles have been cited and used in many different contexts.⁶⁵

Despite this, there has been extraordinarily little scholarly interest in the nineteenth-century illustrated press as such.⁶⁶ The recently published

⁶¹ On the concept of paratexts, see: Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁶² As Laurel Brake has argued, the interfaces of digital resources are often more focused on searching than browsing: "London Letter: Researching the Historical Press, Now and Here," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 2 (July 6, 2015): 245–53, <https://doi.org/10.1353/vpr.2015.0028>.

⁶³ Adams and Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," 61.

⁶⁴ For this general point, see: Laurel Brake, "The Longevity of 'Ephemera,'" *Media History* 18, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 7–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2011.632192>.

⁶⁵ General histories which rely heavily on the illustrated press for illustrations include, Sejersted, *Den vanskelige frihet*; Tore Pryser, *Norsk historie 1800-1870: frå standssamfunn mot klassesamfunn* (Samlaget, 1985). For architectural history and biography, see e.g.: Mari Hvattum, *Heinrich Ernst Schirmer: kosmopolittenes arkitekt* (Oslo: Pax, 2014).

⁶⁶ Jan Askeland's contention that "no graphic art of consequence was created in Norway before the end of the 19th century" has been typical, see Askeland's *Norwegian Printmakers: A Hundred Years of Graphic Arts* (Oslo: Tanum-Norli, 1978). However, there are some examples of books and articles where wood engravings and the illustrated press is part of the subject. Marius Hauge, *Gamle Norge på trykk: grafikken og historien* (Oslo: Andresen & Butenschøn, 1998); Kåre Olsen, "Fotografi, Xylografi Og Den Illustrerte Presse," in *Norsk Fotohistorisk*

histories of Norwegian media and the Norwegian press, for example, are mostly concerned with the development of newspapers and the establishment of journalism and only briefly mention the nineteenth-century illustrated press.⁶⁷ An exception is the work of Erik Henning Edvardsen, who has provided a good account of the illustrated press in the introduction to his collection of texts on folk-tales and legends.⁶⁸ In a Nordic context, Lena Johannesson's thesis on wood engraving and the press image is a valuable contribution.⁶⁹ There is a substantial literature on techniques for wood engraving and production of illustrated journals. I have, in addition to this, used various contemporary sources such as treatises and autobiographies of publishers and engravers.⁷⁰

There are few archival traces from the printing houses and publishers of *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. I have not found any subscription lists, financial or other systematic business records, only a few scattered contracts and letters.⁷¹ I have used, in addition to the periodicals themselves, contemporary sources such as newspapers, letters and books from the period. The digitized newspaper and book archives of the National Library of Norway has been especially useful.⁷² Most nineteenth-century periodicals are yet to be digitized. However, newspapers and books

Årbok 1985/86 (Oslo: C. Huitfeldt Forlag A.S., 1987), 61–79; Sigurd Heiestad, *Bildet i boken: fra illustrasjonskunstens barndom i Norge* (Oslo: Halvorsens Bokhandel og Antikvariat, 1945); Nils-Jørgen Johnsen, *Døler og troll: fra norsk illustrasjonskunstns historie* (Oslo: Forening for norsk bokkunst, 1935).

⁶⁷ Henrik Grue Bastiansen and Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Norsk mediehistorie*, 2. utg. (Oslo: Universitetsforl, 2008); Kjell Lars Berge et al., *Norsk presses historie: En samfunnsmakt blir til 1660-1880*, ed. Martin Eide, vol. 1, 4 vols. (Oslo: Universitetsforl, 2010). See also: Rune Ottosen, Lars Arve Røssland, and Helge Østbye, *Norsk pressehistorie*, 2. utg. (Oslo: Samlaget, 2012); Svennik Høyer, *Pressen mellom teknologi og samfunn: norske og internasjonale perspektiver på pressehistorien fra Gutenberg til vår tid* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1995).

⁶⁸ Erik Henning Edvardsen, "Den tidligste ukepresse i Norge," in *Gammelt nytt i våre tidligste ukeblader: aktstykker om folketro og sagn i Illustreret Nyhedsblad og Norsk Folkeblad*, ed. Erik Henning Edvardsen (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1997), 7–59. Edvardsen has also collected brief biographies of the most important wood engravers active in Norway during the nineteenth century: *Utkast til kortfattet bibliografi over xylografer virksomme i norsk presse ca. 1835-1880* (E.H. Edvardsen, 1987).

⁶⁹ Johannesson, *Xylografi och pressbild*; Lena Johannesson, *Den massproducerade bilden: ur bildindustrialismens historia* (Stockholm: Carlssons bokförlag, 1997).

⁷⁰ Contemporary biographies and treatises include: John Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving: Historical and Practical* (London: C. Knight, 1839) (with a second edition in 1861); Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1885); Charles Knight, *Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century: With a Prelude of Early Reminiscences*, vol. I-III (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1864); Henry Vizetelly, *Glances Back through Seventy Years: Autobiographical and Other Reminiscences*, vol. I (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & co., Ltd., 1893). The treatises and writings of the English-born American engraver William James Linton must also be mentioned here, see his: *Some Practical Hints on Wood Engraving for the Instruction of Reviewers and the Public* (Boston; New York: Lee and Shepard; C.T. Dillingham, 1879); *The Masters of Wood-Engraving* (W. J. Linton, 1889); *Threescore and Ten Years, 1820-1890. Recollections by W. J. Linton* (New York: C. Scribner's sons, 1894).

⁷¹ Some material after Guldberg & Dzwonkowski are available in the Fabritius archives at the National Archives of Norway (Riksarkivet). I have consulted the papers of Paul Botten-Hansen at the National archives as well as at the Gunnerus library in Trondheim, in addition to a number of letter collections at the National library of Norway.

⁷² Available at www.nb.no.

published in the period are available for text search. The text search function is useful for tracing the way the illustrated press was discussed, debated and viewed at the time. This online resource has also made it much more convenient to double check, look up, and expand upon the sources mentioned in secondary literature.

Using newspapers and illustrated periodicals as my main sources has left me with a largely top-down view of the periodicals. The editors, master printers and proprietors of the magazines, in addition to some notable engravers and writers of the period are the main protagonists of this thesis. There were probably many more people involved in the production of these magazines, from printing house apprentices and clerks to anonymous writers and draftsmen, but they remain largely hidden in the material. This invisibility is heightened by the fact that throughout the period, most articles in the press were published either completely anonymously or with only initials providing authorship.⁷³

I have found dealing with the visual material one of the more challenging parts of the work on the thesis. As a historian, I am trained as Roy Porter has put it, “to assume the primacy of the written record in terms of both reliability and representativeness.”⁷⁴ Urban historians, rather than being interested in visual representation for its own sake, have long used visual material as clues to reconstruct historical cities or visual representations of the city as an indirect route to social, economic, and political realities. Even though there is often a tension between the research practices of history and visual culture studies, they have much to offer each other. Engaging with art history and visual culture can provide historians with a larger range of tools which will allow them to distinguish more subtly between different practices and meaning within visual culture.⁷⁵ At the same time, as Michael L. Wilson argues, scholarship on visual culture, at its least convincing, “posits an iron cage of visuality in which universalized persons are subjects to regimes of seeing over which they can exercise no significant influence.”⁷⁶

In my attempt to escape this iron cage, I have relied on several inspiring scholars. The art historian Michael Ann Holly describes the interpretation of images as a hermeneutical process. The act of interpretation

⁷³ In some cases authorship can be traced by using reference works such as J.B. Halvorsen’s *Norsk forfatterlexikon* published in 6 volumes between 1885 and 1908 or Hjalmar Pettersen, *Norsk anonym- og pseudonymlexikon = Dictionary of anonyms and pseudonyms in Norwegian literature* (Kristiania: Steenske, 1924).

⁷⁴ Roy Porter, “Seeing the Past,” *Past & Present*, no. 118 (February 1988): 188. A useful take on visual material from a prominent cultural historian can be found in: Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008).

⁷⁵ See: Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 84ff; Michael L. Wilson, “Visual Culture: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?,” in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (New York: Routledge, 2004), 26–33.

⁷⁶ Wilson, “Visual Culture,” 29.

is always an appropriation, a forcing of the image to fit the interpreter. Yet the interpreter, in that very act of appropriation, is altered by the encounter. Any viewer, Holly argues, has a “mind of her or his own, a situatedness in history, context for understanding that ultimately shapes what she or he chooses to see.” On the other hand, the historian as well as the historic actor is “compelled to repeat, or at least react to, the conceits of spatial and temporal positioning, the logic of figuration, in his or her account” of an image. To totally ignore these “shaping impulses of images” is to deny images their power.⁷⁷

My focus is on placing the images of the illustrated press in a local urban context of Christiania. The work of people such as Lynda Nead has, here, been an important inspiration. Nead, in *Victorian Babylon*, looks at urban visual culture in London in the mid-nineteenth century and relates it to specific processes of urban renewal and new urban technologies such as gas, sewers and the railway.⁷⁸ Images of the city were responses to and a part of these processes. The urban images in the illustrated press were not exact reflections of urban reality. They testify to a variety of ways in which those involved with the illustrated press responded to and viewed their urban world. By representing the city in particular ways, the images changed that urban environment, providing the readers of the illustrated press with ways of seeing and experiencing the urban world. Without adopting any single interpretive methodology, I look for what the images show and what they leave out, explicit symbolism and more formal aspects such as composition and points of view; features that all contribute to what Holly calls the rhetoric of the image.

The images of the illustrated press must also be seen in relation to other images of the time. Images in the illustrated press drew upon a variety of pictorial genres and aesthetic conventions.⁷⁹ At the same time, the illustrated press was recognized as a genre or type of publication in its own right, and periodicals in France, Germany, England and indeed Norway relied on common conventions for representing urban phenomenon such as fires and disasters, mass spectacles and modern buildings. This was not something that was inherent in the medium of wood engraving or in the illustrated press as such, but a result of very specific processes of transaction and translation. As I will describe in more detail later, the illustrated press in Christiania relied on stereotyped wood engravings bought from England, France and Germany. The images of Europe’s urban centres printed in, and bought from,

⁷⁷ Michael Ann Holly, *Past Looking: Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image* (Cornell University Press, 1996), 12–26.

⁷⁸ Nead, *Victorian Babylon*.

⁷⁹ On this point, see: Tom Gretton, “Difference and Competition: The Imitation and Reproduction of Fine Art in a Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Weekly News Magazine,” *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 2 (2000): 145–62.

periodicals abroad were vital to providing models for representing Christiania in the Norwegian illustrated press.

Images are vital. It is nonetheless impossible to view the images of the illustrated press without the text. The point of wood engravings was that images could be printed with text.⁸⁰ Texts and images were graphically presented in one package and the illustrated newspapers of the 1850s and 1860s found ever more interesting ways of juxtaposing text and images on the page. The relationship between text and image ranged from mutual dependence, to the image subordinating the texts or the image providing examples or illustrations for the text.⁸¹ Yet, in the Norwegian periodicals at least, the image surprisingly often came first. Images were hard to obtain and texts were often written or translated to accompany the images. This alone indicates the need to take images seriously.

Studying only one type of publication, the illustrated periodicals of Christiania, provides me with just one view of the processes I am discussing. I acknowledge that issues of poverty, gender and social control are all vital parts of the processes of urbanization and all deserve to be given greater attention than I have given them in this thesis. However, following the footprints left by the illustrated press has left me with a largely “middle-class” view of the city, the negative sides of urban life only sometimes seeping through. What I largely have found is unashamed enthusiasm for the new and modern city.

I have, in addition to contemporary sources, utilized a wide range of secondary literature on the Norwegian print industry and the local history of Christiania. Two people deserve special mention with regard to printers, publishers and bookstores. The work of former national librarian Harald Tveterås, the most notable being his four-volume history of the Norwegian book-trade, and the printer August Mortensen’s series of articles on Norwegian printers. Tveterås’ rags to riches narrative of how Norway gained its own national book trade can be questioned, even so his work does contain a vast amount of useful information on printers, publishers and writers in Christiania in the period.⁸² Mortensen’s account is often sloppy when it

⁸⁰ Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints 1790-1870*; Brian Maidment, “Illustration,” in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton, New edition (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2016).

⁸¹ Tom Gretton, “The Pragmatics of Page Design in Nineteenth-Century General-Interest Weekly Illustrated News Magazines in London and Paris,” *Art History* 33, no. 4 (September 2010): 680–709, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8365.2010.00766.x>; Anne Hultsch, “‘To the Great Public’: The Architectural Image in the Early Illustrated London News,” *Architectural Histories* 5 (December 28, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.5334/ah.268>.

⁸² Harald L. Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie: Forlag og bokhandel inntil 1850*, vol. 1 (Oslo: Norsk bokhandler-medhjelper-forening; Cappelen, 1950); *Norske forfattere på danske forlag 1850-1890*, vol. 2 (Oslo: Norsk bokhandler-medhjelper-forening, 1964); *Bokens kulturhistorie: formet av forfattere, forleggere, bokhandlere og lesere. 1850-1900*, vol. 3 (Oslo: Den norske bokhandlerforening; Den norske forleggerforening; Norske bok- og papiransattes

comes to stating his sources. Still, he undoubtedly did have access to many of the people he writes about as well as to personal papers and correspondence that are now sometimes lost.⁸³

There have been two multi-volume histories on the urban and local history of Christiania, Jan Eivind Myhre's third volume of the history of the city of Oslo being the most important recent publication.⁸⁴ It is largely a social history, written in the style of the "new urban history" and is an important and valuable resource even though its main concerns remain different from mine. Myhre's main interest is in explaining urbanization and patterns of social differentiation. My main interest is in exploring the relationship between a developing print culture and urban culture in the context of Christiania in the period. In addition, local historical journals and accounts, newspapers, letters and memoirs have been important in providing specific details, and a local historical context.⁸⁵

Outline of the thesis

This thesis places the illustrated magazines in the city, then looks for the city in the magazines, describing the illustrated press as a part of an expanding print culture in Christiania between the 1830s and the mid-1860s. The thesis is divided into two parts. Part I, "the magazine in the city," places the illustrated press in Christiania's geography of print and discusses its printers, publishers and to some extent its readers. It places the illustrated press in the urban context of Christiania and in the context of similar magazines in Europe. Part II, "the city in the magazine," discusses how the modern city was imagined, visualized, and fashioned on the pages of the illustrated magazines.

forbund; Cappelen, 1986). Tvetervås has also published a bibliography of Norwegian periodicals up to 1920, see: Tvetervås, *Norske tidsskrifter*.

⁸³ August Mortensen's articles were published in the professional journal *Nordisk Trykkeritidende* from 1898 to 1905 as "Bogtrykkerkunstens ræpresentanter i Norge I-XXXII." In addition to this, August Mortensen has written an account of Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, the first publishers and printers of *Skilling-Magazin*, see: "Bogtrykkerkunstens Indførelse i Norge: Kritiske bemærkninger væsentlig paa grundlag av bibliotekar J.C. Tellefsens efterlattede manuskripter.," in *Mindeskrift i anledning Fabritius' boktrykkeris 75-aars jubilæum 1844 - 1. januar - 1919* (Kristiania: Fabritius, 1919), 9–26. An account of Norwegian printers can be found in Gunnar Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier gjennom fire århundrer 1640-1940* (Oslo: Den norske boktrykkerforening, 1983). There are also a substantial amount of "house histories" written in a more or less celebratory manner on the printing and publishing houses of Christiania.

⁸⁴ Jan Eivind Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania: Fra 1814 Til 1900*, Oslo Bys Historie vol. 3 (Oslo: Cappelen, 1990). The other relevant volume is: S. C. Hammer, *Kristianias historie. 1814-1877*, vol. IV, V vols. (Kristiania: Cappelen, 1923).

⁸⁵ The journal *St. Halvard* (<https://www.oslobyesvel.no/skt-hallvard/>) has been published by the organization Oslo Byes Vel since 1911, *Byminner* (<http://www.oslomuseum.no/om-oslo-museum/byminner>) is the journal of the Oslo Museum and has been published since 1955. The journal of the Oslo City Archives *Tobias* (<https://www.oslo.kommune.no/OBA/tobias.asp>) is also an important journal on the local history of Oslo.

Part I opens with two chapters which establish the larger European and the local background for the thesis. Chapter 1, *Print Culture and the Urban Public*, takes a broad view of processes of urbanization, the expansion of the reading public and the industrialization of printing and image making in the nineteenth century, thus providing a background for the rest of the thesis. I discuss the two most important models for the development of the illustrated press, namely the *Penny Magazine* and the *Illustrated London News*. The large expansion of readership represented by magazines such as the *Penny Magazine* and the new ways of depicting urban life represented by the *Illustrated London News* was also something the Christiania public was aware of, a point I hope to demonstrate in this and the following chapters.

Chapter 2, *Public Culture and Geographies of Print in Christiania*, looks more closely at the local site of Christiania, investigating the development of an urban culture from the 1830s and mapping the geography of print in the city. I argue that bookstores, printing houses and newspaper offices were not only places where print was produced and distributed, but also important places in the development of an urban and more public way of life in the city. Most printers, publishers and booksellers were located in the inner-city quarters. I argue that a central location was important for a number of reasons, most importantly that this meant being part of a local community of printers, publishers, writers and readers. This local community had close personal and professional ties, which were heightened by their proximity in urban space.

Chapter 3 discusses *Skilling-Magazin* and the diffusion of useful knowledge in the 1830s and 1840s. *Skilling-Magazin* was part of a movement toward the education of the masses, and the printing press was seen as a key technology. I discuss the partnership between the theology student Carl August Guldberg and the polish nobleman and refugee Adam Alexander Dzwonkowski, one of the more curious alliances in Norwegian print history. Guldberg and Dzwonkowski, in addition to publishing and printing the *Skilling-Magazin*, were one of the more prominent printers and publishers in Christiania in the late 1830s and early 1840s. I also discuss the reception and reading of *Skilling-Magazin* and its urban images.

The story of Dzwonkowski is pursued further in chapter 4, which discusses the *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in Christiania in the 1850s and 1860s. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, initiated by Dzwonkowski in 1851, was both a serious literary, artistic and scientific publication and a popular illustrated journal. The chapter furthermore places its editor Paul Botten-Hansen and his circle of friends in the print culture of Christiania. This circle, sometimes known as the “learned Holland,” included people who would later become prominent figures in Norwegian literature, most notably Henrik Ibsen. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* thus encompasses both the “high” and the “low,” and shows that

what is often considered to be serious literature has close ties with supposedly more lowbrow or popular culture.

Part II consists of three case studies, which are used to discuss different aspects of the city as presented in the illustrated press. The cases are the student meeting in 1852 and their parades and festivities in the new Karl Johan quarters; the fire of 1858 and the subsequent rebuilding of the inner-city quarters; and the long debate about the new parliament building. There are countless other cases which could have illuminated the relationship between the magazine and city.⁸⁶ I have chosen cases that demonstrate in particularly poignant ways the way urban life and urban environments were mediated in the illustrated press. Furthermore, I focus on cases related to central Christiania, where the bulk of the printers, engravers, and publishers of the illustrated press were located, thus highlighting the connections between the city as a physical space, the space of Christiania's print culture and the spaces represented in the illustrated press. The cases point to a wide range of themes that are typical of the illustrated press in the period. They present the city as a spectacle, explore the nineteenth-century fascination with destruction and ruins, with infrastructure, with the brand new and modern and with the old. The last chapter also focuses on the relationship between the press and the development of democracy, returning me to the introductory discussions of the public sphere and public debate.

Images of gatherings and masses of people were one of the principal ways in which the city was conceived in the illustrated press. Chapter 6 looks closely at one such spectacle, namely the Norwegian-Swedish student meeting of 1852. The chapter places the meeting within the context of the pan-Scandinavian movement and argues that spectacles such as these were vital to establish the newly constructed Karl Johan area as a representational center of the modern city. The illustrated papers played a vital role in this, helping to create the student meeting as a media event.

Another instance of urban renewal is followed in chapter 7, which looks at the fire of 1858 and the rebuilding of the inner-city quarters in the late 1850s and early 1860s. The fire destroyed one of the more prominent areas of Christiania, and its coverage followed a well-established disaster genre in the illustrated press where the past, present and future city were brought together in the image of smoldering ruins. The chapter looks at the role played by the press and the illustrated press in rebuilding the quarters destroyed by the fire. The illustrated press promoted modernity and improvement, at the same time the urban renewal process spurred an interest in the past, in the "old Christiania" that was rapidly disappearing.

⁸⁶ New institutions, like the penitentiary at Grønland and the asylum at Gaustad, new industrial developments along the Aker river, the railway, church architecture, the renewal of the fortress at Akershus, are all themes which were closely followed in the illustrated press.

While chapter 6 and 7 both look at relatively brief moments of urban renewal, chapter 8 follows one institution in the city over a longer time span. The chapter discusses the relationship between parliament and the public by looking at the images and connections between the parliament and the illustrated press from the 1830s to the opening of the new parliament building in 1866. The illustrated press was not only important in conveying images of the parliament building and the parliament chambers, but played an important role in the long debate about a new parliament building. The printers of the illustrated press were, furthermore, vital to the efforts to publish parliament proceedings, an initiative that had interesting links to the debate about the parliament building.

This thesis aims, in addition to illuminating the relationship between the city and the magazine, the printed and the built, to shed new light on the Norwegian illustrated press and the print culture of Christiania in the nineteenth century. I also hope this thesis will provide some new perspectives on the urban history of Christiania. Processes of urbanization and the development of the press in the nineteenth century have often been studied with a focus on the centres of urban culture. The bulk of the urban population in the nineteenth century did not, however, live in London, Paris, Berlin or New York. I hope that through studying the illustrated press in a relatively small and peripheral capital, I can contribute to the broadening of the geographical horizon in which these processes are understood.

The magazine and the city

Part I

The magazine in the city

The magazine and the city

Chapter 1

Print culture and the urban public

The British illustrated *Penny Magazine*, which was first published in 1832 by Charles Knight and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in 1833 started a four-part series called “The commercial history of a Penny Magazine.” They thought a “popular account of all the processes necessary for its production would be of very general interest.” This interest was assumed not only because of “the almost universal circulation of our ‘Penny Magazine’ in the United Kingdom” but also because of its republication in the United States, the establishment of similar publications in France, Belgium, Germany and Russia and announced plans for extending such publications to Italy, Holland, Poland and Brazil.¹ By 1835, that list included Norway, Sweden and Denmark and a host of other countries. The series continued to provide an account of all the processes necessary to publish the magazine from paper making, wood engraving and type founding, compositors’ work and stereotyping, to the new printing machines.

The success of the *Penny Magazine* not only attested to the power of new printing technologies, but also to a significant rise of the reading public. As described in the preface to the first volume:

It was considered by Edmund Burke, about forty years ago, that there were eighty thousand *readers* in this country. In the present year [1832] it has been shown [...] that there are two hundred thousand *purchasers* of one periodical work. It may be fairly calculated that the number of readers of that single periodical work amounts to a million.²

Burke’s estimate was probably far too conservative. Richard Altick has estimated that two of the most popular religious periodicals in Britain had a circulation as high as 18,000 in the early nineteenth century.³ It is nevertheless irrefutable that *Penny Magazine* and its imitators tapped into a new market of readers. Both the *Penny Magazine* and the technologies necessary for its production will be accounted for in this chapter. However, it may first be useful to briefly sketch the processes of urbanization and the expansion of the reading public in the nineteenth century.

¹ “The commercial history of a Penny Magazine”, *Penny Magazine* no, 96, vol II, 30 September 1833, 378.

² “Preface” to vol. I of the *Penny Magazine*, 1832. At the end of each year, title pages and contents were delivered with the magazine. For volume 1, for 1832, a preface to volume magazine was written as well, this preface is usually attributed to the publisher Charles Knight.

³ Richard D. Altick, *English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, Second edition (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 318.

Urbanization and the reading public

One of the most remarkable developments of the nineteenth century was the concentration of people into cities. London, the only city with a million inhabitants before 1800, grew from 1,117,000 inhabitants in 1800 to 4,770,000 in 1880. In the same period, Paris grew from 547,000 to 2,269,000 inhabitants and Berlin from 172,000 to 1,122,000. The number of large cities (cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more) in Europe grew from 21 to 143 in the period between 1800 and 1900. Cities not only grew at a rapid rate, more and more of the total population in Europe was also living in cities. In 1800 about 12 percent of Europe's population lived in cities, in 1850 about 19 percent and in 1910 about 41 percent of the population lived in urban areas. In Britain, the most urbanized country in Europe, about 50 percent of the population lived in a city in 1851.⁴ Norway was not a particularly urbanized country compared with other countries in Europe, but was urbanizing at a rate comparable to other European countries. Only 10.9 percent of the population lived in a city in 1825, 13.3 percent living in a city in 1855, 16.4 percent if we include densely populated areas outside the cities. By 1900 that number had increased to 28 percent, 35.3 percent including densely populated areas.⁵

Christiania became the most important city in Norway during the nineteenth century. It became the capital of the new Norwegian state in 1814 after emancipation from Denmark and the subsequent incorporation of Norway under the Swedish crown. Christiania grew at rapid rate throughout most of the nineteenth century. The growth of the city and its populace in the first half of the nineteenth century has generally been attributed to its newfound function as the capital of the Norwegian state within the common Swedish-Norwegian kingdom. The increase in population after 1850 has been attributed to industrial developments along the Aker river.⁶ From 1815 to 1835, the population within the city limits increased from 11,000 to 18,000 and from 14,000 to 25,000 if we include the suburbs. The number of inhabitants continued to increase throughout the nineteenth century, Christiania from the 1840s becoming the definitive industrial and commercial centre of Norway. The city's populace had increased to about 42,000 by 1855 including the suburbs, reaching 66,000 in 1865, 100,000 in 1875 and around

⁴ Andrew Lees and Lynn Hollen Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 5. Europe pertain to the area west of the Russian Empire. The numbers refer to municipalities or other administrative units that numbered 5,000 or more.

⁵ Myhre, "Den eksplosive byutviklingen," 256.

⁶ On the causes for Christiania's growth, see: Knut Mykland, "Hovedstadsfunksjonen: Christiania som eksempel," in *Städer i utveckling: tolv studier kring stadsförändringar tillägnade Ingrid Hammarström*, ed. Thomas Hall (Stockholm: Stadshistoriska institutet, 1984), 49–58; Jan Eivind Myhre, "Fra småby til storby: Kristianias vekst i det nittende århundre," in *Städer i utveckling: tolv studier kring stadsförändringar tillägnade Ingrid Hammarström*, ed. Thomas Hall (Stockholm: Stadshistoriska institutet, 1984), 78–94. See also: Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 33. When Christiania became the capital Norway it was not the biggest city in Norway. In terms of population it only surpassed Bergen in the late 1830s.

250,000 in 1900.⁷ In 1845, 17 percent of the total urban population in Norway lived in Christiania, 24 percent in 1875 and 32 percent by 1900.⁸

Cities were both a means and an end in the Norwegian modernization process. The project of modernization was run from the cities, first and foremost by civil servants (embedsmenn) in Christiania. This elite considered a network of interconnected cities to be a prerequisite for economic and industrial development.⁹ Christiania became the center of this network, the first railway line connecting Christiania and Eidsvoll in 1854, the bulk of the Norwegian railway network being built around Christiania. Modernization was, even more significantly, something that took place in the city. The leading modernizers saw cities as drivers of economic modernization, the main marketplaces for an expanding economy and developing industry. Cities also provided the infrastructures of civil society and were, all across the country, the sites of the development of associations, local democracy and the press. Christiania, however, became the centre of this development. The spread of newspapers and periodicals and the increased activity in the Christiania book trades from the 1830s to the mid-1860s was, as in Europe, very much connected to the expansion of the city. In Norway and Christiania, increasing volumes of newspapers, periodicals and books were produced and distributed from the city, catering to new urban markets and readers in the countryside.

There was a continuous increase in literacy rates throughout Europe and the western world in the nineteenth century. In revolutionary France, it has been calculated that about half the male population and about 30 percent of women could read. In Britain, where literacy rates were higher, male literacy was about 70 percent in the 1850s and about 55 percent for woman. In the German states about 88 percent of the population were literate in 1871. Literacy rates were generally higher in large cities than in the countryside. In Paris, on the eve of the French revolution, around 90 percent of men and 80 percent of women could sign their names.¹⁰ This seems to be the opposite of the situation in Norway, at least during the first half of the nineteenth century. There is general agreement among literacy scholars that the peasant population of Norway, and the Nordic countries in general, were mostly

⁷ Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 237. What was considered suburbs in 1855 was gradually incorporated into the city in two major expansions in 1859 and 1879.

⁸ Myhre, "Den eksplosive byutviklingen," 338. After 1900, the percentage of the total urban population of Norway living in Christiania started falling, reaching 29 percent by 1920.

⁹ Myhre, 273ff.

¹⁰ Figures are based on: Lyons, "New Readers in the Nineteenth Century," 313. On literacy in nineteenth century Europe, see: David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2000). Coming up with accurate historical figures for literacy is notoriously difficult. This is partly because there is no general agreement of what literacy means. The ability to sign their name has generally been considered a good measure for literacy. However, this does not necessarily mean that they could read, or understand new text. Moreover, people who could read and understand unknown text could not necessarily write.

literate by the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹¹ Literacy rates in the cities and in Christiania in particular are, as I will discuss more in the next chapter, more uncertain. But in Norway, as in Europe generally, the nineteenth century taken as a whole was one of a steady progression towards literacy for all. By the 1890s, 90 percent literacy was almost universally achieved across Europe for men and woman alike.¹²

The history of reading has sometimes been depicted as a process of increasing privatization. If there was, as some scholars argue, a reading revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, then this was a movement towards increasingly private and introspective reading and extensive reading of useful books.¹³ Novels and serialized fiction encouraged retreat into the domestic space and the search for more spare-time to read. The habit of silent reading, which had been cultivated among the upper and middle classes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, nonetheless took time to find its way into the laboring classes. Neither the school system, general living conditions, nor aspects such as availability of light sources encouraged private reading among the working classes.¹⁴

The image of the private reader in the nineteenth century is a powerful one. However, as David Henkin has argued, this model relegates reading into the “periphery of urban life.” The model of the private reader locates reading indoors and in seclusion, reading appearing to be more a means of escape from or coping with urban life rather than a constitutive component of it. Scholars often stress that newspapers and magazines could provide city dwellers with symbolic tools with which to organize their relationship with the city. The act of reading itself has, however, often been removed from the realm of urban experience despite being very much a part of public life. As Henkin points out, the model of the private reader places much weight on the novel as a paradigmatic object of literate consumption, when prose fiction only accounted for a fraction of the reading matter of everyday life.¹⁵

Print became an everyday object of consumption in cities during the nineteenth century. Some sections of the peasantry were only partially integrated into this reading public. In late-nineteenth century France, newspapers were bought by all white-collar workers, 80 percent of

¹¹ For an overview of the literacy research in Norway, see: Lis Byberg, “Leseferdighet og skolevesen 1740-1830 pietister, ‘potetprester’ og et ungt norsk Storting,” *Heimen* 45, no. 4 (2008), <https://oda.hio.no/jspui/handle/10642/888>. Also Chapter 2 below.

¹² Lyons, “New Readers in the Nineteenth Century.”

¹³ On the reading revolution, see: Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900*, 51; Reinhard Wittman, “Was There a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?,” in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Roger Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 284–312.

¹⁴ Stephen Colclough and David Vincent, “Reading,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: 1830-1914*, ed. David McKitterick, vol. 6 (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 301.

¹⁵ Henkin, *City Reading*, 6.

shopkeepers, two-thirds of urban workers, but only one in five of the peasantry.¹⁶ Forms of oral reading persisted in the countryside as well as in the cities. Henry Mayhew described how street sellers would pursue people to read them sections of the latest illustrated or Sunday papers and how young boys were hired to recite the most popular sections of Shakespeare at pubs and inns. Street literature could be heard on the streets proclaimed by song-sellers and chaunters selling songs and ballads and other hawkers offering satires, parodies and “gallows literature.” Much of this literature was meant to be recited or sung out loud. Public readings and lectures by well-known authors were a popular past time for the middle-classes. So were forms of communal reading for entertainment and as a social activity, such as poetry readings and singing.¹⁷

Print, whether it was consumed in public or in private, read out loud or silently, was advertised, hawked or sold on the streets, at railway stations and in public places. It was available in reading clubs, mechanic’s institutes, public libraries, commercial libraries and circulating libraries. The number of places where people could buy, borrow and read books, newspapers and periodicals was increasing not only for the middle classes, but also for the working classes. As the journalist Angus Reach argued in 1844: “the working man, at least in towns, is becoming more and more a reading man.” This new urban reader had access to “cheap schools, cheap publications, cheap lectures and last, but not least, cheap coffee and reading rooms.”¹⁸ Not only the printed word, but the printed image became increasingly available to all classes of society and large sectors of the population were, in the first half of the nineteenth century, given access to pictorial illustrations for the first time.

Wood engraving and the illustration revolution

The artist and wood engraver Thomas Bewick described, in his memoirs, that when he was a child in Northumbria in the 1760s, his only sources of pictorial information were inn signs and the local church. Less than a hundred years later, the color printing pioneer George Baxter claimed that he had sold 500,000 copies of his color print of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert and, even more astonishingly, 20 million copies of his miniature album illustrations and 100 million of his album series.¹⁹ Although Baxter was probably overstating the figures, it is safe to say that the spread of the printed image was one of the major developments of the nineteenth century printing industry.

¹⁶ Lyons, “New Readers in the Nineteenth Century,” 342.

¹⁷ Lyons, 342–44.

¹⁸ Reach, “The coffeehouses of London,” quoted from: Colclough and Vincent, “Reading,” 303.

¹⁹ Twyman, “The Illustration Revolution,” 117–18.

One of the main new sources of cheap illustration was the illustrated magazine. One of the earliest illustrated magazines, the *Mirror of Literature* founded in 1822, was published for many years with only one wood engraving on the front page of its sixteen pages. Ten years later, the *Penny Magazine* had wood engravings scattered throughout its eight pages, the format being twice as large as the *Mirror of Literature*. Ten years later again, the *Illustrated London News* had wood engravings of different shapes and sizes throughout its sixteen pages and a format that was double that of the *Penny Magazine*.²⁰

There were two basic methods for printing images in the mid-1700s. Intaglio printing and relief woodcuts. Intaglio was mostly used for more refined images. The image was incised into a printing plate, usually made of copper. Ink was applied and wiped off leaving ink in the grooves. Paper was then pressed on and compressed, usually under a roller. There were many techniques for making the incisions on the plate, including engraving, etching, mezzotint, crayon engraving and stipple engraving.²¹ Relief printing was the basic printing technique for printing text using movable type. The only way to print an image with movable type was by using woodcuts. The art of printing from woodblocks, which was used in China and Japan from the ninth century, arrived in Europe in around the thirteenth century. Woodcuts became, from the late fifteenth century onwards, linked with the new book trade. The fact that woodcuts could be printed along with movable type on the same press made them an economic choice in book production. However, the woodcut tradition had, by the seventeenth century, largely collapsed across Europe, replaced by copper engraving and etching techniques. Woodcut illustrations, while still used for decorative letterheads and borders, became synonymous with low quality images in cheap broadsheets and pamphlets.²²

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a period of great experimentation with a whole range of new graphic processes. Lithography and photography were obviously two of the most notable new processes developed in the period, but many processes have since fallen into obscurity. J.D. Stannard's *The Art Exemplar*, a kind of encyclopedia of printing processes issued in only ten copies in 1859, lists 156 different processes. Some of these processes were extremely novel and, taken together, tend to overturn any tidy definition of printing.²³

²⁰ Twyman, 118. For a discussion of the early illustrated magazines, see: Brian Maidment, "Dinners or Desserts?: Miscellaneity, Illustration, and the Periodical Press 1820–1840," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, no. 4 (January 14, 2011): 353–87.

²¹ Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking*. From the 1820s, steel began to rival copper as the most important medium used for intaglio engravings. Although engravings on steel were usually a mix of etching and engraving directly on the plate.

²² Griffiths, 16–21.

²³ Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970*, 24.

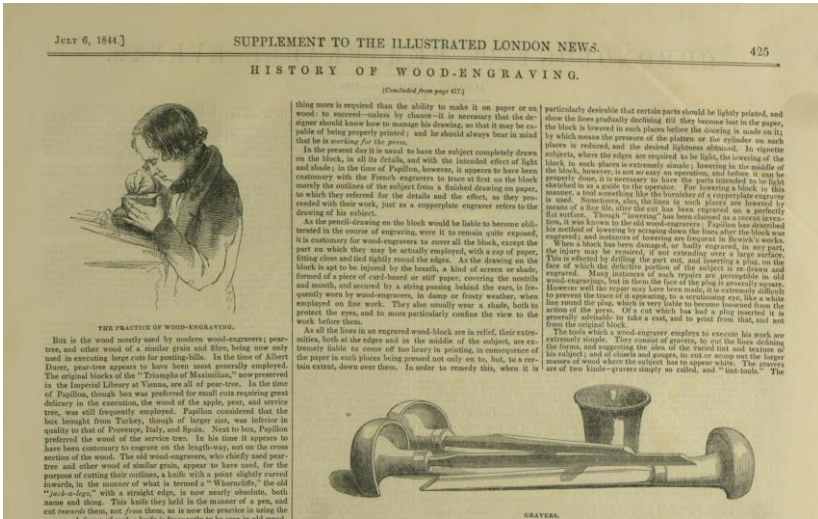


Figure 1.1 The practice of wood engraving. Showing an engraver at work and his tools. From the article series “History of Wood-Engraving”, *Illustrated London News*, 6 July 1844.

The most important figure in the development of wood engraving was the Newcastle engraver Thomas Bewick. Traditionally, woodcuts were cut by knife on the side of a softwood board. Bewick’s innovation was to apply sharp tools, similar to those used in metal engraving, on the end grain of hardwood blocks, preferably boxwood.²⁴ The compact end-grain allowed the engraver to cut very fine lines, producing work with far greater detail than traditional woodcuts. Bewick’s method also relied on the development of smoother paper, which allowed the detail to come through. By varying the pressure used to cut the lines, varying the distance between lines, creating different patterns of parallel and cross-hatched lines and lowering parts of the surface with scrapers so that they would print more lightly, the skilled wood engraver could produce tonal effects.²⁵

A number of Bewick’s apprentices had, by the 1830s, established themselves in London, producing elaborate engravings which shared the syntax and style of copper and steel engraving.²⁶ Wood engraving, whilst it could be printed faster and in larger numbers than copper or steel engravings,

²⁴ According to Mason Jackson, what was called “Turkey-boxwood” growing in the forests of the Caucasus was the preferred kind, see: Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, 315. On Bewick, see e.g. Jenny Uglow, *Nature’s Engraver: A Life of Thomas Bewick* (University Of Chicago Press, 2009).

²⁵ Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking*, 22ff. The techniques of wood engraving is also explained in a number of treatises published during the nineteenth century, the most extensive of which is: Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*. Compared to lithography, relatively few treatises on wood engraving were published, this indicates that the trade of wood engraving was generally learned by apprenticeship.

²⁶ Beegan, *The Mass Image*, 50; Celina Fox, “Wood Engravers and the City,” in *Victorian Artists and the City: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Ira Bruce Nadel and F. S Schwarzbach (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980).

was still a labor-intensive process. Every white line and white space in the image had to be cut out by hand. Larger images required multiple blocks that had to be glued or stitched together. An 1842 panorama of London distributed with the *Illustrated London News* in January 1843 was made up of over sixty boxwood blocks and was engraved by eighteen men.²⁷

The *Illustrated London News* played a crucial role in the development of the wood engraving trade into an industry.²⁸ Large workshops of wood engravers, such as of the Dalziel brothers, were set up to supply the magazine with images. Demand for images was phenomenal, particularly before and during the Great Exhibition. The work of the engraver, which relied on a large workforce of semi-skilled apprentices, became increasingly mechanized. Bewick and his students had controlled the whole work process, from drawing to finished engraving. Wood engravers in large workshops were more specialized. Apprentices were often trained to engrave specific subject matter: some cut people, some sky and clouds, others specialized in machinery or indeed buildings.²⁹ The practice of facsimile engraving made the process more repetitive and time consuming. A facsimile engraving was an exact copy of a drawing, the drawing made exclusively of lines, reducing the interpretive work of the engraver and limiting it to cutting out the parts not drawn on the woodblock.³⁰ Making elaborate images became less a question of skill and more a question of having a large workforce.

Several innovations from the 1840s onwards contributed to the mechanization of the wood engraving trade. New ways of assembling and disassembling blocks were developed, enabling workshops to produce large engravings more quickly. Blocks were now fitted together before the image was drawn, then taken apart and worked on by several engravers in parallel.³¹ New ways of developing photographs directly on the woodblock gradually eliminated the need for a person to translate drawings or photographs on to the wood. According to Mason Jackson, this technique was generally used for portraits, sculpture, architecture and other subjects where there was “a picture or finished drawing on paper to work from.”³²

²⁷ Patrick Leary, “A Brief History of The Illustrated London News,” *Illustrated London News Historical Archive. Essays.*, 2011, <http://find.galegroup.com/iln/>.

²⁸ The increased mechanization and industrialization of the wood engraving industry is described in: Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970*, 92ff; Beegan, *The Mass Image*, 47–71. For the development of wood engravers workshops, see: Michèle Martin, “Nineteenth Century Wood Engravers at Work: Mass Production of Illustrated Periodicals (1840–1880).” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 27, no. 1 (March 1, 2014): 132–50, <https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12005>.

²⁹ Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, 320–24.

³⁰ On facsimile engraving see: Linton, *Some Practical Hints on Wood Engraving for the Instruction of Reviewers and the Public*, 27ff.

³¹ According to Mason Jackson this innovation happened just about the time when the *Illustrated London News* started publishing. In the days of the *Penny Magazine*, blocks were glued together, or fastened by a bolt running through the whole block. Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, 317.

³² Jackson, 321.

The main advantage of wood engraving over techniques such as lithography or steel engraving was that it could be printed along with movable type. This not only made it easier to print text and images on the same page, but also meant that wood engraved images could be printed on new, mechanized presses. We need, before I provide a brief overview of the two most important and influential illustrated periodicals, a grasp of the technological changes that occurred in the printing industry during this period.

Paper, presses and stereotypes

The basic technologies of print, with the exception of some minor developments and local differences, did not change much between around 1480 and 1800. Paper was made using a manual process and the sheets could not be larger than the length of a workers' arm span, usually about 76 cm. Type was made and set by hand into words, lines and pages. Printing was a manual process that could not comfortably exceed limits set by the human body – printers were usually paid for 250 sheets an hour or 2,500 sheets for a 10-hour working day.³³

The early nineteenth century was a time of major change in the printing industry and can be described as a movement toward the industrialization of the printing trades. Mechanization was the dominant trend. There were, however, large differences within the printing industry, and much remained unchanged. Many smaller printing houses and newspapers had no need to employ new presses. Improvements in typesetting were made, but type was still set by hand until the very end of the nineteenth century. While experiments with a typesetting machine were made in the 1840s, they did not become mainstream until the invention of the linotype machine in the 1880s.³⁴

There were few opportunities for significant growth in the printing industry without a corresponding increase in the production of paper. Mechanical papermaking was introduced in the early nineteenth century, and the first paper-making machine was patented in France by L ger Didot in 1799. The basic process was essentially the same as it had been for many years but paper pulp was, instead of being scooped up manually, fed on to a continuous agitating web of wire mesh (*figure 1.2*). Paper production

³³ A good overview of the history of printing technologies from Gutenberg to the present can be found in: James Mosley, "The Technologies of Print," in *The Book: A Global History*, ed. Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, Kindle ed. (Oxford University Press, 2013), 130–52.

³⁴ Mosley, 147–49. On the "pianotype", the first typesetting machine, see: "Young & Delcambre's 'Pianotype': The First Composing Machine That Was Actually Used, and the First Books Printed from Its Typesetting (1840 – 1842)," Jeremy Norman's History of Information, March 11, 2016, <http://www.historyofinformation.com/expanded.php?id=3646>.

increased substantially in the early nineteenth century. From 1800 to 1860 the output of paper in England increased nine-fold.³⁵

Norway had a paper industry as well, but could in no way support the increasing demand for printing paper or for writing paper from a growing bureaucracy and increasing number of letter writers. The first paper-making machine was introduced at the Bentse Brug paper mill in Christiania in 1838.³⁶ Despite some mills mechanising their production, paper production in Norway actually decreased before 1850. In 1835, there were 7 paper mills in the country producing around 35,000 reams of writing paper. In 1850 Norwegian production of writing paper amounted to no more than 20,000 reams.³⁷ Production did increase somewhat in the following years, but imported paper remained more important. Norway in 1850 imported 110,000 pounds of writing paper, this volume had more than doubled ten years later to 261,000 pounds. The import of printing paper in Norway increased nine-fold between 1835 and 1860.³⁸

Paper, despite this significant increase in output, remained the most expensive part of making a publication. This was at least partly due to raw materials being hard to source. Rags, that is recycled cloth from linen or cotton, were still the main component of paper far into the nineteenth century. The supply of raw materials could keep pace with the rise of paper production only because clothing was changed more frequently.³⁹ Other sources of pulp, most notably wood pulp, were developed in the 1840s and onwards. Yet wood pulp did not become the dominant raw material for papermaking until the end of the nineteenth century.

Rags had to be collected in the streets and sold to paper makers. This was the work of ragpickers, one of Walter Benjamin's archetypes of nineteenth-century Paris. For Benjamin, the ragpicker represented the bottom of society: "the most provocative figure of human misery. 'Ragtag' in a double sense, occupied with rags and dressed in rags."⁴⁰ Ragpickers were, although not a prominent figure in Norwegian literature, probably a feature of Christiania's streets. In his sketches of the life of the people, the police chief of Christiania, Harald Meltzer, wrote about the various small ways in which people could make a living, some picking seaweed, others catching birds to

³⁵ 11,000 tons were produced in 1800, about 100,000 in 1860, and 652,000 tons in 1900, see: Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970*, 10. On paper manufacturing see e.g. Daven Christopher Chamberlain, "Paper," in *The Book: A Global History*, ed. Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, Kindle ed. (Oxford University Press, 2013), 116–19.

³⁶ Haakon M. Fiskaa, *Norske papirmøller og deres vannmerker 1695-1870*, Skrifter (Universitetsbiblioteket i Oslo, 1973).

³⁷ A ream is a standard measurement of paper quantity. 1 ream of writing paper equals 500 sheets.

³⁸ Fiskaa, *Norske papirmøller*, 101.

³⁹ Lothar Müller, *White Magic: The Age of Paper*, trans. Jessica Spengler, Kindle ed. (Cambridge, U.K: Polity, 2016), 139.

⁴⁰ Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 349 [J68,4].

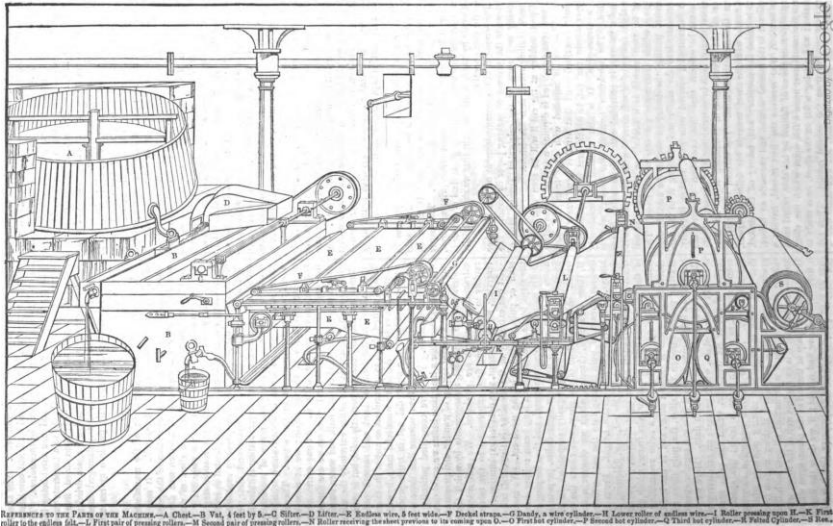


Figure 1.2 Paper-making machine. Illustration from the series “The commercial history of a Penny Magazine,” *Supplement to Penny Magazine* no. 96, 1833. The engraving was republished in *Skilling-Magazin* no. 8, 1837, p. 59.

sell as pets, some picking leftover rope at the wharf to sell to the ropewalk. The paper historian Haakon Fiskaa has noted that a paper mill which started near Trondheim in 1830 had difficulties in sourcing raw materials because the local population was sceptical of ragpickers⁴¹

The ragpicker was only one of several involved in the circulation of paper. As Lothar Müller has argued, increased circulation made paper “a fundamental motif in the self-interpretation of the nineteenth century.”⁴² For Dickens and Balzac, the circulation of paper in the big city bound together every social sphere of the city and contained the secrets of London and Paris itself. Scribes, paper merchants, rag sellers and ragpickers were products of the late middle ages and early modern period and had long populated folk songs, books of trades and writers’ satires. But as characters of the big city, they outgrew their traditional genres and found a new home in serialized novels as they “moved into the realm of the sinister.”⁴³ Nineteenth-century literature addressed the advance of unprinted, unbound paper in private correspondence and the exchange of documents. At the same time, literature reflected upon the rapid expansion of printed paper, the periodical press, placards and advertisements. For writers such as Thomas Carlyle and Balzac,

⁴¹ Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 211. See: Harald Meltzer, “Smaa Næringskilder i og omkring Christiania” in *Smaabilleder Af Folkelivet: Skizzer* (Christiania: Cammermeyer, 1875), 1–136; Nicolai Heiestad, *En liten gutt ifra Vaterland: minner fra 80-årenes Christiania* (Oslo: Tiden, 1950), 80. The mill was Forsøkets paper mill in Selsbakk: Fiskaa, *Norske papirmøller*, 172.

⁴² Müller, *White Magic*, 162.

⁴³ Müller, 163.

the increase in paper production equalled a decrease in literary and intellectual quality.⁴⁴

The most important technological development in the increased production of print was the development of new mechanized printing presses. The first major development in printing technology after Gutenberg was the iron press, the first iron press being developed by Earl Stanhope in around 1800. Iron presses worked essentially on the same principle as the common press, the main difference being that they were made of cast iron. Stanhope also introduced a system of levers, which considerably increased the pressure the press could exert. This allowed the Stanhope press to print a single sheet on one pull, whereas the common press needed two pulls to print one full sheet.⁴⁵

The most popular of the new iron presses was the Columbian press, the first iron press to be manufactured in large numbers. It was developed by Ernst Clymer of Philadelphia between 1812 and 1814. His most significant innovation was to adapt a pumping engine, or Newcomen engine, to the printing press. The Columbian press, even though it was a bit slower, was easier to work than the Stanhope or Albion press (two of its main competitors). What made the Columbian press popular was also that Clymer was an eminent publicist. He published many accounts by printers that testified to the superiority of the Columbian press, many claiming that a boy of fifteen could easily work it.⁴⁶

Iron presses of many different designs were manufactured throughout the nineteenth century. The new iron presses were easier and quicker to work than the old common press and, once printers got used to them, probably gave better results. But the introduction of the iron press probably did not alter the work of book and job printers and they were not fast enough for newspapers. The Stanhope, the Albion and the Columbian press were, like the old common press, all platen presses. This meant that the impression was made by two flat surfaces being pushed together, the upper surface applying pressure, the lower holding the inked type. The idea of using a cylinder to overcome the extensive manual strain of printing was put forward as early as the seventeenth century. Cylinders were also used for intaglio printing, the plate and the paper being pushed through two cylinders. However, the first steam driven cylinder machine for relief printing was developed in the early nineteenth century by the Saxon Friedrich König.

The sheet was, in König's press, placed on a rotating iron cylinder, under which the flatbed carrying the type and inked automatically with

⁴⁴ Müller, 139–67.

⁴⁵ On the Stanhope press, see: James Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 49ff.

⁴⁶ Moran, 59–69.

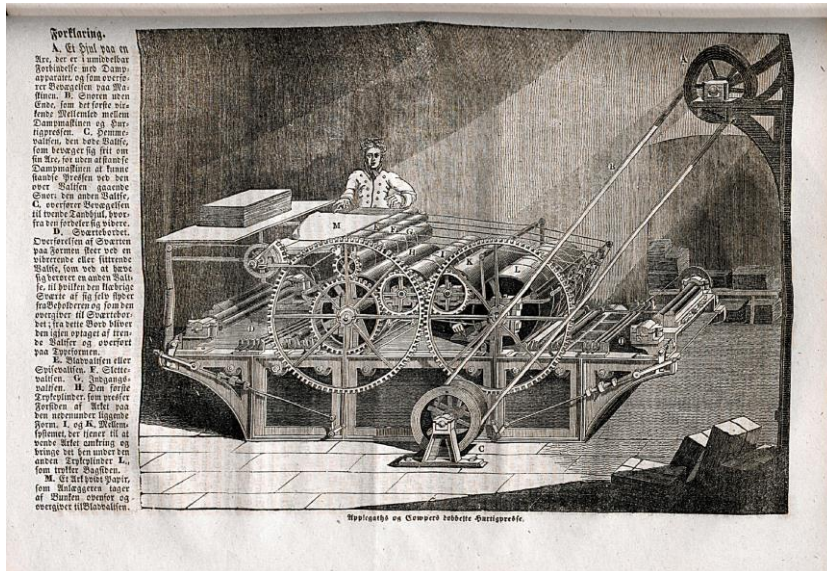


Figure 1.3. Appelgath and Cowpers double cylinder press. *Skilling-Magazin* no. 38, 27 November 1841. The image was first printed in the “commercial history”-series, *Monthly supplement to the Penny Magazine* no. 112, 30 Nov. 1833.

rollers, was guided to and fro.⁴⁷ König had left his native Saxony for London to develop his machine with British venture capital. He and his partner Andreas Bauer sold the machine to John Walter of the *Times* newspaper, who secretly installed the machine in his printing office. On 29 November 1814 the *Times* could proudly present to the public “the practical result of the greatest improvement connected with printing, since the discovery of the art itself.”⁴⁸ The initial speed of impression was 1000 copies an hour.

König and Bauer returned to Germany to set up their own factory after disagreements with their English investors. König’s design was further developed in England during the 1820s, most notably by the English engineers Appelgath and Cowper who introduced the principle of printing a second impression, thus delivering a sheet printed on both sides.⁴⁹ The König machine, despite representing a significant step toward mechanisation of printing, was not for everyone. While a Stanhope iron press cost 95 pounds, the cheapest König machine cost 900.⁵⁰ The cylinder press required, in addition to its high cost, more careful handling than a hand press and had to be operated by men with mechanical skills. Among pressmen there was a degree of prejudice against the cylinder press, not only because it was a threat

⁴⁷ Mosley, “The Technologies of Print,” 144.

⁴⁸ The announcement in the *Times* is quoted from Moran, *Printing Presses*, 108.

⁴⁹ Mosley, “The Technologies of Print,” 145.

⁵⁰ Moran, *Printing Presses*, 110. This was the single cylinder, non-register machine. A double cylinder cost £1400, with a registering device it cost £2000. Added to that was the yearly cost of £250, £350 and £500 respectively while the patent lasted.

to their profession, but also because it could not print the quality required by more expensive books.⁵¹

The large circulation and requirements for daily editions meant that it was the newspaper industry that pioneered the use of steam powered presses, its use for many years being confined to newspaper and periodical printing. Further improvements on the cylinder printing machine continued, most taking place in the United States. Firms also provided new designs, such as hand operated cylinder presses. In 1842, the *Illustrated London News* could proudly present its new steam printing machine. It was essentially two cylinder machines on top of each other and could print around 2000 perfected impressions an hour. The *Times*, at the same, time introduced a four-feeder cylinder machine developed by Middleton and Appelgath that printed up to 4000 sheets an hour.⁵²

The next major step in press technology was the rotary press. The cylinder press used a cylinder that rotated over a flat moving bed, and even though several presses could be operated simultaneously and two-sided printing was introduced, it had certain limitations of speed. In the rotary press, the sheet rolled through two continuously rolling cylinders. The problem for rotary printing was to convert the flat surface of the typeset text to the curved surface of the cylinder. A crude compromise to the problem was to fix the type onto the cylinder that had a radius that was so large that the lack of curvature was less of an impediment to obtaining a good impression. This approach was used on a press designed for the *Illustrated London News* in the late 1840s and exhibited at the great exhibition in 1851 (*figure 1.4*).⁵³ A more lasting solution, however, required developments in the process of stereotyping.

Stereotyping was a technique for casting copies of printing plates. The stereotyping process is sometimes attributed to William Ged in 1725. It is probably older than this, but stereotypes were not widely used until the nineteenth century. A form was cast of the printing plate, either in metal or some other material and then used to cast metal copies of the printing plate itself. The copy was then used on the press instead of the original printing plate. The advantages of this process were obvious. Stereotypes were more durable and allowed printers to print on several machines simultaneously or to print additional runs or reprints without having to reset the entire plate. It was the development of the so-called “papier maché-process” of stereotyping which provided a solution for making curved printing plates. A flexible mould could be cast from papier maché, bent to the right form and a printing plate then cast from it. This process was known in the 1830s, yet it was not

⁵¹ Moran, 110–14.

⁵² Moran, 130.

⁵³ Mosley, “The Technologies of Print,” 147.

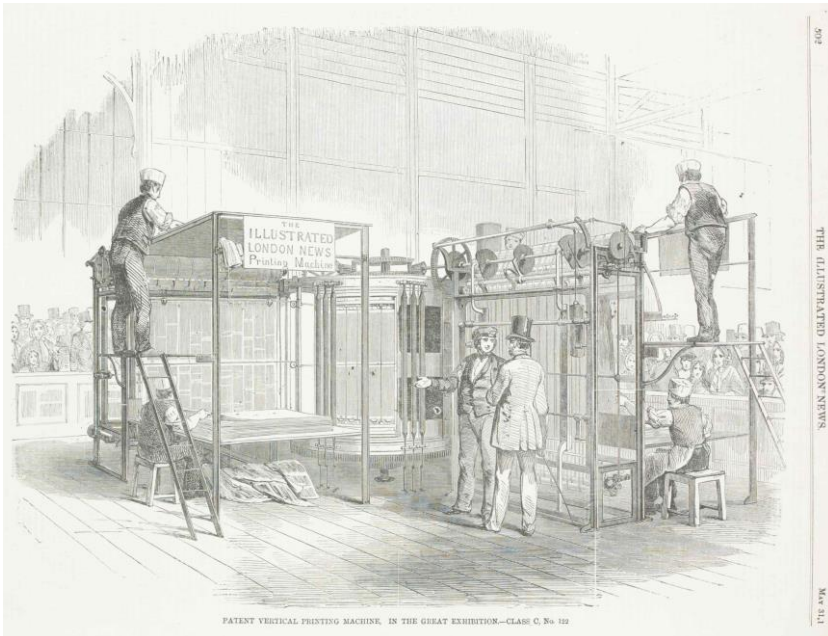


Figure 1.4. The *Illustrated London News*' vertical printing machine exhibited at the Great Exhibition. Some pages of the papers' exhibition supplements were stated to be printed at the Crystal Palace. However, because of its construction the press could only print text, not images. *Illustrated London News*, 31 May 1851.

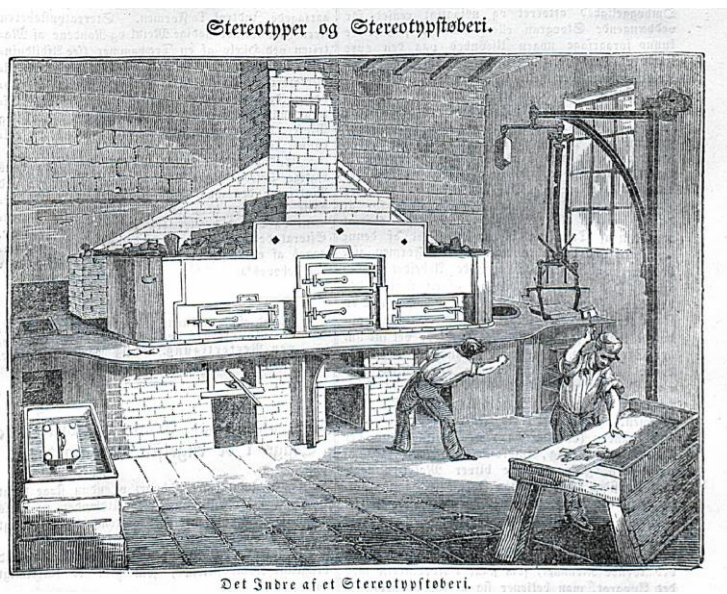


Figure 1.5. Inside a stereotype foundry, *Skilling-Magazin* no. 169, 28 July 1838.

used in a rotary printing machine until fifteen years later. The French journal *Le Presse* was, in the early 1850s, reportedly the first to purchase a rotary machine that could print 15,000 sheets an hour. Soon rotary presses could easily print up to 20,000 sheets an hour.⁵⁴

The process of electrotyping, which was developed in the 1840s, would for many purposes soon supersede the cast stereotype. A wax impression was taken from the surface that was to be duplicated, coated with fine graphite to make the surface conduct, immersed in a copper sulphate solution, particles of copper gradually building up as an electric current was passed through it. Electrotyping could produce very fine copies in comparison with stereotyping. This made it particularly useful for fine wood engravings. It soon became standard practice for publishers to keep the original wood engravings and to send the electrotypes or stereotypes to the printer.⁵⁵

The success of wood engraving relied, to a large extent, on technologies for casting printing plates. It was the *Penny Magazine* in the 1830s that tied stereotyping to wood engraving. Stereotyping allowed the *Penny Magazine* to use several presses simultaneously and protected the woodblocks from wear. A bonus of stereotyping was that it allowed the magazine to sell engravings across Europe and USA, prompting a vigorous international circulation of images. “The art of wood engraving is imperfectly understood in France and Germany,” proclaimed Charles Knight. Selling wood engraving casts “at a tenth of the price of having them re-engraved” could therefore assist “foreign nations in the production of ‘Penny Magazines.’”⁵⁶ The trade in wood engravings, whether stereotyped or electrotyped, was important not least to the establishment of illustrated magazines in places that could not support a large wood engraving trade. The early illustrated press was, in Norway for example, based exclusively on images bought from abroad. As in many countries, not only the illustrations but also the concept of *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were imported from Britain.

The *Penny Magazine* and “the march of intellect”

The *Penny Magazine* was published from 1832 to 1845 in London by Charles Knight and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK).⁵⁷

The *Penny Magazine* combined the new wood engraving techniques (many

⁵⁴ Moran, *Printing Presses*, 182ff.

⁵⁵ Mosley, “The Technologies of Print,” 147.

⁵⁶ “The commercial history of a Penny Magazine,” *Penny Magazine*, Vol. II (1833), Issue 107, 471.

⁵⁷ In 1846, a periodical called *Knight’s Penny Magazine* appeared, but it only lasted about 6 months.

of Bewick's students were engraving images for the magazine) with cylinder presses and stereotype techniques. Charles Knight, in addition to using the latest technology, built up a large network of distributors all over the British Isles and the magazine became one of the first examples of what one might call a mass market publication. As the title of the society that published it implies, the content of the *Penny Magazine* was largely educational. Its content was described as being "all ramble-scramble," but as Knight explained, "it was meant to be so – to touch rapidly and lightly upon many subjects."⁵⁸ It contained articles and illustrations on a whole range of subjects, architecture, modern and ancient history, biographies, travel, topography of cities and rural landscapes, technology, science and the arts, with no special emphasis on any.⁵⁹

The *Penny Magazine* and the other publications of the Society can be seen as being part of a movement that has been characterized as "the march of intellect." The "march of intellect" or the "march of mind" became a rallying cry for the technologically and scientifically optimistic reform movement in early nineteenth century Britain. In the words of Alice Jenkins, this represented the "extraordinary conjunction of enormous elite scientific progress and convulsive movements towards mass education."⁶⁰ The phrase can be traced to the industrialist and philanthropist Robert Owen, and a remark he made in a letter to the *Times* in 1824. In recent years, he stated, "the human mind has made the most rapid and extensive strides in the knowledge of human nature, and in general knowledge." He called this "the march of intellect."⁶¹

Changes in science in the early nineteenth century have sometimes been compared with the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. Old institutions and methods of understanding were recast and new ones developed. These were the groundwork for what we now see as fundamental institutions and methods for the practice of science.⁶² There was, together with a utopian belief in the progress of science and industry, a fundamental need to educate the hordes of people crowding into British cities. As Richard Altick noted, enthusiasm for the printing press was almost universal in early nineteenth century England:

⁵⁸ Charles Knight, *Passages of a Working*, 1864, II, 182.

⁵⁹ See Bennett, "The Editorial Character and Readership of" *The Penny Magazine*."

⁶⁰ Alice Jenkins, *Space and the "March of Mind": Literature and the Physical Sciences in Britain 1815-1850* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 9; See also: Alan Rauch, *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2001).

⁶¹ Quoted from Mike Ashley, "Inventing the Future," *The British Library - Discovering Literature: Romantics and Victorians*, May 15, 2014, <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/inventing-the-future>.

⁶² James A. Secord, *Visions of Science: Books and Readers at the Dawn of the Victorian Age* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 4–5.

THE PENNY MAGAZINE

OF THE

Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

[.]

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

[MARCH 31, 1832.]

READING FOR ALL.

IN a book upon the Poor, published in 1673, called 'The Grand Concern of England explained,' we find the following singular proposal:—"that the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans, now travelling upon the roads, may all, or most of them, be suppressed, especially those within forty, fifty, or sixty miles of London." The evil of the stage-coaches is somewhat difficult to be perceived at the present day; but this ingenious author had no doubt whatever on the matter, "for," says he, "will any man keep a horse for himself and another for his man, all the year, for to ride one or two journeys, that at pleasure, when he hath occasion, can step to any place where his business lies, for two, three, or four shillings, if within twenty miles of London, and so proportionally into any part of England?"

We laugh at the lamentation over the evil of stage-coaches, because we daily see or experience the benefits of the thousands of public conveyances carrying forward the personal intercourse of a busy population, and equally useful whether they run from Paddington to the Bank, or from the General Post-Office to Edinburgh. Some, however, who acknowledge the fallacy of putting down long and short stages, that horses may be kept all the year, "for to ride one or two journeys," may fall into the very same mistake with regard to knowledge that was thus applied to communication. They may desire to retain a monopoly of literature for those who can buy expensive books; they may think a five-guinea quarto (like the horse for one or two journeys) a public benefit, and look upon a shilling duodecimo to be used by every one "at pleasure, when he hath occasion," (like the stage-coach,) as a public evil.

What the stage-coach has become to the middle classes, we hope our Penny Magazine will be to all classes—a universal convenience and enjoyment. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge have considered it proper to commence this publication, from the belief that many persons, whose time and whose means are equally limited, may be induced to purchase and to read it. The various works already published by the Society are principally adapted to diligent readers,—to those who are anxiously desirous to obtain knowledge in a condensed, and, in most cases, systematic form. But there are a very great number of persons who can spare half an hour for the reading of a newspaper, who are sometimes disinclined to open a book. For these we shall endeavour to prepare a useful and entertaining Weekly Magazine, that may be taken up and laid down without requiring any considerable effort; and that may tend to fix the mind upon calmer, and, it may be, purer subjects of thought than the violence of party discussion, or the stimulating details of crime and suffering. We have, however, no expectation of superseding the newspaper, and no desire to supersede it. We hope only to share some portion of the attention which is now almost exclusively bestowed upon "the folio of four pages," by those who read little and seldom. We consider it the duty of every man to make himself acquainted with the events that are passing in the world,—with the progress of legislation, and the administration of the laws; for every man is deeply interested in all the great questions of government. Every man, however, may not be qualified to understand them; but the more he knows, the less hasty and the less violent will be his opinions. The false judgments which are sometimes formed by the people upon public

Vol. I.

events, can only be corrected by the diffusion of sound knowledge. Whatever tends to enlarge the range of observation, to add to the store of facts, to awaken the reason, and to lead the imagination into agreeable and innocent trains of thought, may assist in the establishment of a sincere and ardent desire for information; and in this point of view our little Miscellany may prepare the way for the reception of more elaborate and precise knowledge, and be as the small optic-glass called "the finder," which is placed by the side of a large telescope, to enable the observer to discover the star which is afterwards to be carefully examined by the more perfect instrument

CHARING CROSS.



THIS place has been recently greatly improved by clearing away decaying houses, and enlarging the space for the public convenience, and for the display of newly-erected handsome buildings. It derives its name from having been anciently a village detached from London, called *Charing*, and from a stately *Cross* erected there by order of Edward I., to commemorate his affection for Eleanor, his deceased queen. The cross occupied the last spot on which her body rested in its progress to sepulture in Westminster Abbey. The other resting-places of her sumptuous funeral were dignified by similar edifices.

Two centuries and a half ago, Charing Cross was within bow-shot of the open country, all the way to Hampstead and Highgate. North of the Cross there were only a few houses in front of the Mews, where the King's falcons were kept. The Hay-market was a country road, with hedges on each side, running between pastures. St. Martin's lane was bounded on the west side by the high walls of the Mews, and on the other side by a few houses and by old St. Martin's church, where the present church stands. From these buildings it was a quiet country lane, leading to St. Giles's, then a pleasant village, situated among fine trees. Holborn was a mere road between open meadow-land, with a green hedge on the north side. In the Strand, opposite to St. Martin's lane, stood the hospital and gardens of St. Mary Rouncival, a religious establishment founded and endowed by William Earl of Pembroke, in the reign of Henry III. In the middle of the road leading to the Abbey, and opposite to Charing Cross, stood a hermitage and chapel dedicated to St. Catherine.

Charing Cross is represented in the above engraving. It was of an octagonal form and built of stone, and in an upper stage contained eight figures. In 1643 it was pulled down and destroyed by the populace, in their zeal against superstitious edifices. Upon the ground of similar zeal, Henry VIII. suppressed the religious houses of the kingdom, and seized their estates and revenues to his own use: the hospital of St. Mary Rouncival was included in this fate. On its ancient site stands the palace of the Duke of Northumberland. It was built in the reign of

Figure 1.6 "Reading for all." Front page of Penny Magazine no. 1, 31 March 1832.

Radical or conservative, laissez faire liberal or Owenite, evangelical or skeptic, everyone seemed to share this faith in a machine that could usher in the social millennium just as surely as the power of steam was transforming the outward face of English life.⁶³

Henry Brougham, based on his faith in the idea that the printing press could diffuse useful knowledge to the masses, established the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) in 1826. The society published a number of journals, serials and books such as Brougham's own *Discourse of the Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Science*, the *Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge* and many others. They were all cheap and aimed to diffuse knowledge to the lower middle and working classes.

The SDUK was part of a larger scientific and utilitarian spirit which made its mark on British intellectual life in the early nineteenth century. Brougham and his followers possessed an almost religious faith in the economic and social laws formulated by Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, Bentham and Mill. "Useful knowledge" was, to the utilitarians, the good, solid, employable facts of mechanics and chemistry, metallurgy and hydraulics, facts that could be applied in the workshop and on the railway line, to produce goods cheaply and efficiently, to communicate and transport more swiftly.⁶⁴ But facts had to be presented in a way that made them accessible, even entertaining. Here, the *Penny Magazine* provided an important novelty, namely the use of cheap and relatively high-quality wood engravings to illustrate its articles. The success of the *Penny Magazine* was imminent and, at the end of its first year, it reached a circulation of 200,000.⁶⁵ Competitors such as the Anglican *Saturday Magazine*, published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, soon appeared.

Competitors, seeing the opportunity to make money on cheap illustrated magazines, meant that the novelty of the *Penny Magazine's* use of wood engraved images did not last long. Illustrated periodicals such as the *London Journal*, *Reynold's Miscellany* and *Castell's Illustrated Family Paper* included content that was more suited to the wants of the mass market, the relatively serious and educational tone of *Penny Magazine* appearing dry and boring in comparison.⁶⁶ SDUK, when it disbanded in 1846, had become an object of ridicule and criticism from all sides; its high rhetoric seemed both anachronistic and disingenuous.⁶⁷ Radical leaders warned against complacency, while Tories feared that the wide dissemination of knowledge would cause revolution and atheism. It is certainly true that SDUK and the leaders of "the march of intellect" targeted the working and artisan classes at

⁶³ Altick, *English Common Reader*, 130.

⁶⁴ Altick, 130–31.

⁶⁵ Knight, *Passages of a Working Life*, 1864, II:184.

⁶⁶ See: Anderson, *The Printed Image*.

⁶⁷ Rauch, *Useful Knowledge*.

least partly to keep them from direct political action. But, as James Secord argues, although the utopian aspirations of the 1820s and 1830s failed, they fed into a deeper and longer lasting belief in progress.⁶⁸ Even though its success was short lived and it was soon replaced by other publications that spoke more to the tastes of the new mass public, the *Penny Magazine* was enormously influential and set the standard for illustrated periodicals across Europe. Educational illustrated periodicals all over the world used the same formula as the *Penny Magazine*: wood engraved images to diffuse useful knowledge.

Illustrated news

The next step for wood engraved images was to use them to illustrate current events. This was pioneered by the *Illustrated London News (ILN)*, which was started in 1842 by the British journalist and politician Herbert Ingram. Ingram's innovation was taking the format of the penny weeklies such as the *Penny Magazine* and turning it into something that both in form and content looked more like a newspaper. The *ILN*, in addition to covering current events, was also pricier, costing a sixpence and larger than the penny weeklies, appealing more to a middle-class audience. The *ILN* quickly gained a large circulation, becoming the leading illustrated newspaper in England. From an initial circulation of 26,000, it quickly grew to 40,000 then to 60,000. Circulation when the paper published Joseph Paxton's initial designs for Crystal Palace in 1851 reached 120,000, its issues reporting the duke of Wellington's funeral reaching 150,000.⁶⁹ The *ILN*'s format was quickly copied both in England, across Europe and in America.⁷⁰

Many of these periodicals, according to Peter Sinnema, not only borrowed the format of the *ILN*, but also implicitly borrowed its ethos and success.⁷¹ Ingram, as was apparent from the address to the reader in the very first issue, had very high aspirations for his illustrated newspaper. "For the past ten years we have watched with admiration the progress of illustrative art, and the vast revolution which it has wrought in the world of publishing" it was stated, referring to the *Penny Magazine* and similar publications. With the publication of the *Illustrated London News*, they were

launching the giant vessel of illustration into a channel the broadest and the widest that it has ever dared to stem. We bound at once over the billows of a new ocean – we sail into the very heart and focus of public life – we take the world of newspapers by storm, and flaunt a banner on which the words

⁶⁸ Secord, *Visions of Science*, 238.

⁶⁹ Hibbert, *The Illustrated London News' Social History of Victorian Britain*, 11–13. The success of the *ILN* was also due to the fact that Ingram quickly bought up competing papers.

⁷⁰ Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page*, 19.

⁷¹ Sinnema, 19.

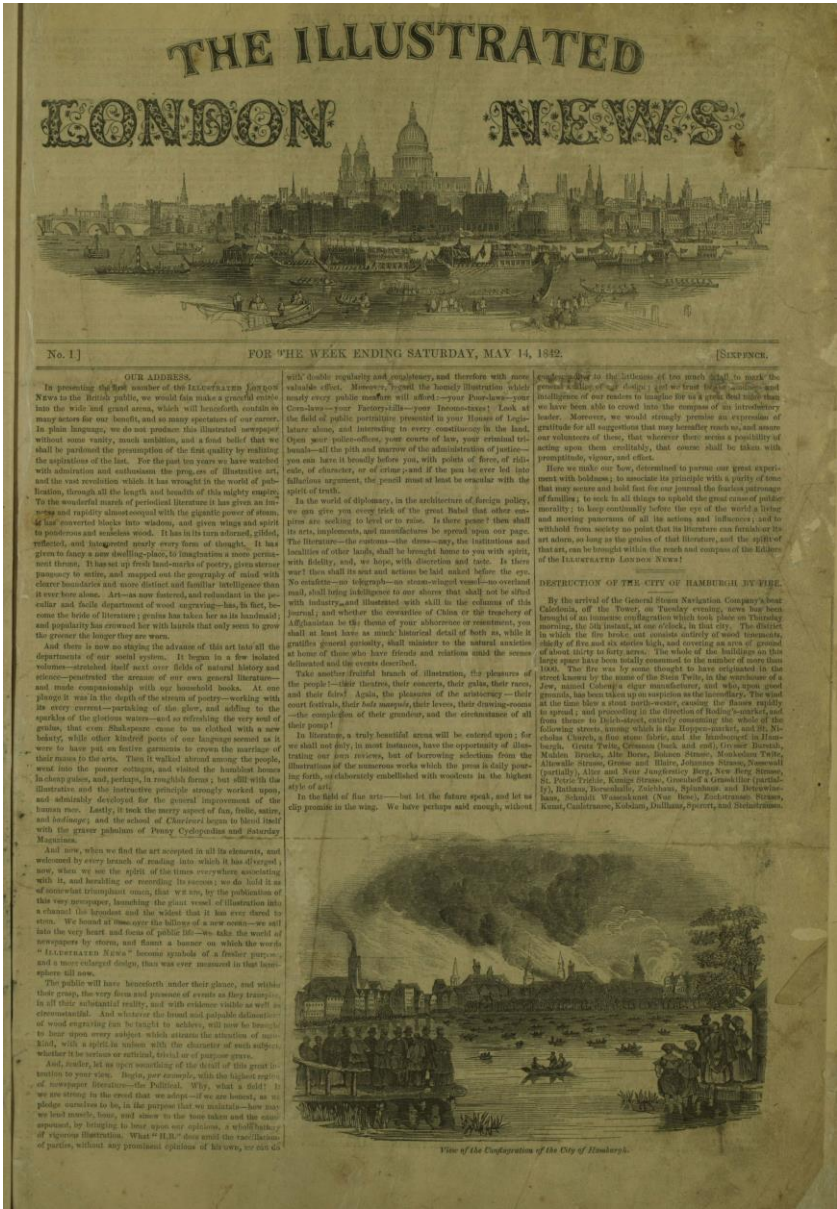


Figure 1.7. Front page of the first issue of the Illustrated London News published on 14 May 1842. The image shows a view of the conflagration of the city of Hamburg.



Figure 1.8. Wood block of the fire of Hamburg from the first issue of *Illustrated London News*. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

‘ILLUSTRATED NEWS’ become symbols of a fresher purpose, and a more enlarged design, than was ever measured in that hemisphere till now.⁷²

From now on, the paper proclaimed, the public would have “under their glance, and within their grasp, the very form and presence of events as they transpire.” Events would be depicted in “all their substantial reality, and with evidence visible as well as circumstantial.”⁷³

The front page of the first issue featured an engraving of a great fire in Hamburg (figure 1.7 and 1.8). Henry Vizetelly, wood engraver for the *ILN* and later proprietor of the competitor *Pictorial Times*, explained in his autobiography how the image was made:

A few days before the first number of the new paper made its appearance, a considerable portion of the city of Hamburg, comprising some two thousand houses and public buildings, was destroyed by fire, the loss of property amounting to more than seven millions sterling. This event furnished a telling subject for the first page of the paper, but Mr. C.N. Williamson errs in stating in his "Illustrated Journalism in England," that an old woodcut of Hamburg was routed out and had flames and rolling clouds of smoke engraved in the sky. Any wood-engraver will recognise the impossibility of producing dark clouds of smoke by the means suggested, to say nothing to the crowd of boats and people that fill the river and occupy the foreground of the subject. The view of the city was engraved by one of my assistants and was copied, I remember, from a print in the British Museum, the artist, in drawing the subject upon the wood, having added the necessary flames

⁷² “Our Address,” *Illustrated London News* no. 1, 14 May 1842, 1

⁷³ “Our Address”

and volumes of smoke, as well as the crowd of people, in boats and on the river bank, supposed to have been attracted by the conflagration.⁷⁴

This practice was, according to Vizitelly, not uncommon. In fact, despite its proprietors' bombastic claims to represent the events exactly as they transpired, "not even a single engraving in the opening number derived from an authentic source!"⁷⁵

As Celina Wolff and Michael Fox pointed out, one of the principal prerequisites if news illustration was to provide an authentic record of the events of the day, was speed. Images had to be published as soon after the event as possible. The time-lags inherent in the medium of wood engraving meant as many short cuts as possible had to be taken. Stock blocks were widely used at least until the 1890s and engravings were often reused with changed subtitles. Planned events, such as royal visits, weddings or funerals could be illustrated beforehand. This was not, however, possible with news events such as fires or disasters.⁷⁶ One of the most common methods used to produce engravings of current events was to scan the morning papers, cut out those events that would make good illustrations and send them with the necessary boxwood blocks to the draftsman. John Gilbert, one of the principle draftsmen employed by the *Illustrated London News* in its first years, could complete a sketch on wood in an hour.⁷⁷

The *Illustrated London News* by mid-century relied more and more on the "special artist" who would travel to the event and send back drawings as it happened. The paper used both methods during the revolution in Paris in 1848. Constantin Guys, Charles Baudelaire's painter of modern life, produced sketches on location in Paris, while Gilbert drew other scenes in his London studio.⁷⁸ The "special artist" emerged, according to Mason Jackson, during the Crimean war (1854-1856) as the unsung hero of illustrated reportage. "Wherever there is any 'moving accident by flood or field' the 'special artist' of the illustrated newspaper is found 'takin' notes." Mason Jackson argued that the special artist underwent "fatigues, overcomes formidable difficulties, and often personal danger in fulfilling his mission."⁷⁹ The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was the first war that could be followed in daily news reports and weekly illustrations in the papers and the *Illustrated London News*, covering the conflict on both sides, had no less than five artists covering it.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Vizitelly, *Glances Back through Seventy Years*, I:234.

⁷⁵ Vizitelly, I:237.

⁷⁶ Michael Wolff and Celina Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines," in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. Harold James Dyos and Michael Wolff, vol. II (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 562–63.

⁷⁷ Vizitelly, *Glances Back through Seventy Years*, I:232.

⁷⁸ Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, "Illustration," in *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 109.

⁷⁹ Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, 328.

⁸⁰ Kooistra, "Illustration," 110; Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, 338.

Speaking to the eye

On 24 May 1851, the *Illustrated London News* republished an article from the *Economist*. “Our great authors are now artists” the article proclaimed, “they speak to the eye and their language is fascinating and impressive.” Pictures spoke to the public in a universal language, the article claimed. They had “the great advantage over words, in that they convey much new knowledge to the mind” and, if perfectly executed, could be equivalent “to seeing the objects themselves.” The Great Exhibition, which had opened a little less than one month before, was part of the same progress, “performing the office of a large illustrated paper.”⁸¹ The article championed the role of the illustrated press as the medium of the modern city. It described how crowds of people gathered in front of the offices of the *ILN* every week. The *ILN*, following up on the role designated by the *Economist*, published an engraving of the scene outside its offices filled with people wanting to see the modern world in pictures (*figure 1.9*).

The *Economist* article can, as Lynda Nead has argued, be read as an example of how the modern urban experience was primarily a visual one. The defining character of the city was, even though it was filled with noise and smells, captured in the sense of sight. The spectacles of urban life seemed to demand new modes of representation and new skills of description, and the

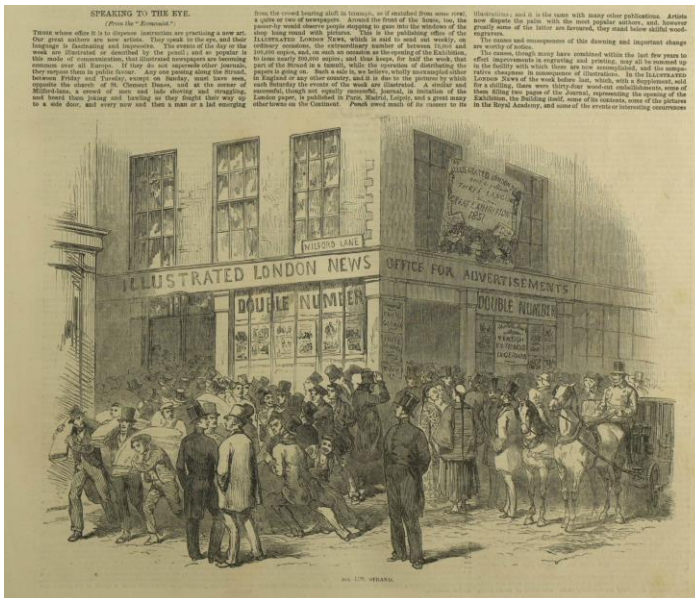


Figure 1.9. Scene outside the offices of *Illustrated London News*, 198 Strand, London. *Illustrated London News*, 24 May 1851.

⁸¹ “Speaking to the Eye (from the *Economist*),” *Illustrated London News*, no. 487, 24 May 1851.

Illustrated London News took every opportunity to champion its own role in providing such new modes.⁸² There were a host of new types of urban imagery not only in the *Illustrated London News*, but in illustrated papers across Europe: news images; engravings of major urban events such as royal arrivals and processions; new urban institutional buildings such as schools, workers' housing projects and prisons; engravings of major infrastructure projects in the city, the building of railways and sewage systems. The sheer number of novel urban images would have overwhelmed a reader following the paper from Christiania.

Illustrated periodicals and cheap newspapers were, by the 1870s and 1880s, a staple of daily life in the city. Mason Jackson, in the introduction to his history of the pictorial press, provided a depiction of the daily commute in 1880s London:

In London, and in all our great centres of population, the newspaper has become the unfailing accompaniment of the City man's journey to business. At the railway stations journals of every kind tempt the loitering passenger, while the illustrated papers appeal to him in a language of their own. Whether in the railway carriage, the omnibus, or the steam-boat, the newspaper is eagerly conned, and its contents form the food of conversation.⁸³

This is as powerful an image of reading in the modern city as one can find, one that also provides a both fine contrast and some interesting similarities to the situation we are about to encounter in Christiania.

⁸² Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, 57.

⁸³ Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, 2.

Chapter 2

Public life and geographies of print in Christiania

In this chapter, I provide a geography of the Christiania printing industry and the publishing and book trade from the 1830s to the 1860s. The location of printers and bookshops within the city can tell us much about the print culture in Christiania at the time. Mapping printers, booksellers and lending libraries and gaining an overview of the development of the print culture and urban culture in Christiania will provide an important background to the following chapters, in which I will take a closer look at the printers, publishers, and editors of the illustrated press in Christiania.

The crux of this chapter is the mapping of the sites where print was produced and distributed at two moments in history: in 1837 and 1856. The locations in *figures 2.6* and *2.7* are based on the Christiania address books and the two moments were chosen out of necessity as only two address books were published in the early nineteenth century.¹ However, they capture a 20-year interval that happen to be key to the development of the book trade in the city.

I first go through some aspects of the development of the city of Christiania, emphasizing what we can call its public and literary life in the early nineteenth century. I then go on to look at the development of the printing trade and the book trade in the city and at where printers, bookshops and lending libraries were located. In the last part, I briefly discuss literacy, reading and education. The main questions I address are: In what ways were print produced and distributed within the city? What were the most important places where these activities occurred? And what did this mean for how the booksellers, publishers, printers and authors of Christiania conceived of themselves and their public?

¹ *Christiania Veiviser* (Christiania, 1838); *Christianias Adresse-Bog Eller Person- Og Bopæl-Veiviser for 1857* (Christiania: Johan Dahl, 1857). As there were no large censuses in Norway between 1801 and 1865, the address books, initially a guide to institutions, craftsmen and merchants in the city (much like a phone book), provides us with snapshots of where the book trade was located in the city in these moments. They were based on voluntary submission of addresses, and did not include everyone in the city. However, as this was a key publication for finding and corresponding with merchants and craftsmen we can assume that it was in their interest to provide accurate locations so that people could find them. The addresses were gathered the year preceding their publication and we can therefore assume that the addresses are valid for the year before publication. To supplement the address books I have also used the tax reports available at: Oslo byarkiv, "Christiania-folk 1845," digitale kilder, accessed 1 April, 2016: <https://www.oslo.kommune.no/OBA/searchpage.asp?table=lign1845&language=nor>.

Public life in the capital

Christiania was, prior to 1859, a patchwork of different legal codes and administrative units. It is most relevant here to distinguish between the “city proper” (den egentlige byen) and the suburbs.² The city proper was the part of the city that was granted trade and commerce privileges and included the city that was established in 1624 by Christian IV, usually called the inner-city quarters (“kvarterene” or later “kvadraturen”). This was where most of the cultural, political and economic institutions were located (see *figures 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3*).

Outside of the city proper, there were many suburbs. Some as old or older than the city itself, some established due to strict building policies (all buildings had to be of brick) and trade privileges within the city.³ The suburbs had, by the late eighteenth century, grown to become larger and more populous than the inner-city quarters. Legally all craftsmen and merchants had to be located in the city proper, but by the eighteenth century many small-time merchants, hawkers and artisans had established in the suburbs without much involvement from the authorities. Several of the closest eastern and northern suburbs were therefore, from the late eighteenth century, included into the city proper.⁴ Two major city expansions in 1859 and 1879 would include more of the ever-growing suburbs, adding to the inclusion of what had become developing industrial areas along the Aker river. The city expansion of 1859 brought together the amalgam of different administrative units into one (see *figure 2.1*).

Despite a great influx of people from 1814 to the 1830s, one did not need to be particularly urban to find Christiania in the 1830s a quiet town. Growing up in Copenhagen or even Bergen would probably have been enough to make Christiania seem provincial.⁵ The British naval officer William Henry Breton, on a tour of Norway in 1834, found its situation in the landscape pleasant. But there was, he stated, “nothing in its appearance that

² Based on different ways to define the city - legally, administratively and statistically - Jan Eivind Myhre argues that one can speak of 9 different cities in the period before 1859. Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 37–44.

³ Grønland and Leiret to the east had been an old settlement between the medieval city of Oslo and the fortress. Pipervika to the west, was a small community of fishermen and day laborers. There had been some houses in Vaterland, and the Sagene area where the lumber mills of the old city were located. As its name indicates, Grensen (the border) was established in the seventeenth century on the new borders of Christiania. Urban settlements in Møllergata, Grubbegata, Akersgata and Pilestredet grew from Grensen. Storgata, Fjeringen, Hammersborg, Bergjerdingen, Telthusbakken and Lakkegata were all settlements established before 1814. By 1850, the suburbs of Enerhaugen and Nordbygata to the east, and Ruseløkkbakken and Tjuvholmen to the west had also been established. Myhre, 36–37.

⁴ In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the suburbs Grensen to the north, Storgata to the northeast and parts of Vaterland to the east were included into the city. In 1839, the whole of Vaterland in addition to Fjeringen together with large areas to the north of the city and a small area on the edge north western edge of the inner-city quarters were included into the city proper. After the new artisan law in 1839 (see below), some legal difference between the city and the suburbs disappeared. See: Myhre, 40–41.

⁵ Myhre, 158.

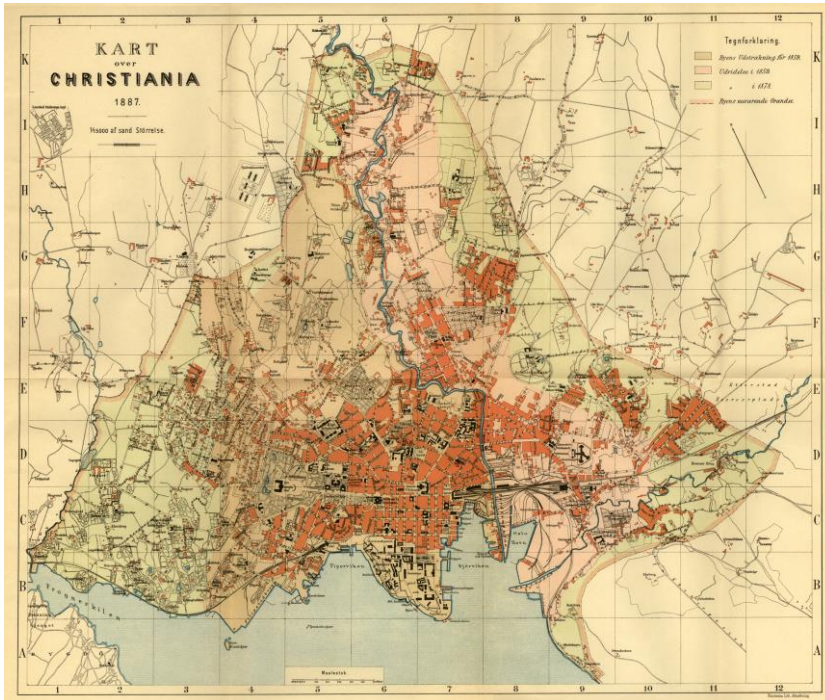


Figure 2.1 Urban expansion in Christiania. Showing the city limits before 1859 in yellow, after 1859 in pink and the city limits after the 1878 expansion in green. Lithography, Christiania Lith. Aktiebolag, 1887. Oslo Byarkiv, kartsamling.

indicates the metropolis of an extensive country.” Breton did not find Christiania particularly interesting, and his advice to travelers was to get out fast:

The tourist will find no inducement to prolong his stay in the Norwegian capital beyond a day or two, for a place more dull or uninteresting I have rarely beheld; and when we consider the deserted state of the streets, the want of that animation so common to other sea-ports, and the entire absence, in summer, of public amusements, we are no longer surprised at visitors [sic] quitting it as soon as they have made their necessary arrangements.⁶

In short, Christiania resembled a quiet town more than a capital.

Not only English tourists, but also Christiania’s residents complained about the lack of public amusements and public life in the 1830s. Johan Sebastian Welhaven, in an 1834 article, criticized the lack of public and cultural life in the city. Welhaven had left his native Bergen, then the largest city in Norway, to study at the university in Christiania in the late

⁶ William Henry Breton, *Scandinavian Sketches. Or a Tour in Norway*, (London: J. Bohn, 1835), 42–43; 49.

1820s.⁷ He argued that during both the summer and winter, the finer citizens of Christiania seemed to be in a state of hibernation. At the outbreak of summer, they moved out and “rusticated themselves” in their rural summer villas (løkker) outside the city. This made winter the real social season. There were, however, a lack of cultural institutions and both the dramatic and the musical arts were, according to Welhaven, “exclusively in the hands of dilettantes.” What Christiania needed, he argued, was a “proper facility for public summer amusements,” a place where people of different classes and social backgrounds could intermingle.⁸ This would have a double function. It would educate the common people and liven up the social life of the elites. For Welhaven, who was very much a cosmopolite, what Christiania lacked was a more urban way of life.

A more urban way of life was already beginning to take shape at the point in time at which Welhaven wrote his assessment. One of Welhaven’s complaints was that the social life of the elite concentrated around private clubs and private parties, secluded away during summer in their rural summer residences. Private parties and gatherings still played an important role, but social life in the city began to take on a new and more public appearance in the late 1830s and 1840s.⁹ Cafés, pastry shops and restaurants started to appear and in 1837 the Christiania theater opened in a new theater building at Bankplassen. King Carl Johan in the same year bought the royal estate at Bygdøy (then called Ladegaardsøen), a peninsula to the west of the city and opened the park to the public. He gave the restaurateur H.J. Lorange permission to build a pavilion and a restaurant in the park, and the following year three to four omnibuses and a small steam ship conveyed passengers from the city to Bygdøy. Klingenberg, closer to the city, had been a popular place of amusement from the seventeenth century and in the 1830s several attempts were made to convert it into a more respectable pleasure garden.¹⁰

Promenading at the old fortress ramparts (festningsvullen) had also become a favourite past-time. Kirkegata, including Bankplassen and its

⁷ On Welhaven, see: Anne-Lise Seip, *Demringstid: Johan Sebastian Welhaven og nasjonen* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2007).

⁸ J.S. Welhaven “Christianias Vinter- og Sommerdvale [I-III]” originally published in the journal *Vidar* in 1834, here quoted from *Samlede verker: Prosa*, vol. 3 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1991), 193–205. “[...] hvad [Christiania] skammelig mangler: ordentlige Anlæg for offentlig Sommerforlystelse [...] Lyset maa her, som overalt, komme ovenfra. Og det finere Publikum vilde derved vinde Nydelser af en ganske anden, ægte Natur end disse halvdøde Glæder, som en unaturlig, ængstende selskabelig Tvang formaar at give.”

⁹ See e.g.: Sejersted, “Byen som arena for samhandling og kommunikasjon,” 93–95; Sejersted, *Den vanskelige frihet*, 302–27. See also: Anne-Lise Seip, “Jakten på nasjonal identitet: Kultur, politikk og nasjonsbygging i Norge i årene rundt ‘det nasjonale gjennombrudd’ 1830-1870,” in *Veier til byen: en antologi*, ed. Magne Malmanger, Bjarne Hodne, and Karin Gundersen (Det historisk-filosofiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo, 1996).

¹⁰ Else Boye, “Bevertnings- og forlystelsessteder på Bygdøy,” in *Bygdøy: drømmen om Arkadia*, Byminner, 2/3 (Oslo: Oslo bymuseum, 1994), 32–43. On changes in the social life of the city, see also: Hammer, *Kristianias historie 1814-1877*, IV:280ff. On Klingenberg, see Chapter 5 of this thesis. Lorange’s restaurant at Bygdøy closed in 1840, but several restaurants and dance halls were established at Bygdøy in the following years.

continuation toward what was once the city's defences, was the "‘Carl Johan’ of its day."¹¹ The poet Andreas Munch described, in an 1836 poem from his student days, how he left his study room to go for a stroll at the fortress ramparts. People waited here for the steam ships to come in and, on Sundays, a band played music for the "adorned people of the middle class."¹² The more adventurous of the student population ventured out to the suburbs of Grønland or Vaterland. The dance halls and taverns of Grønland, Vaterland and Vika were popular, particularly during Christmas and the February Market. Dancing and brawling with the population of the suburbs of Grønland to the east or Vika to the west was a popular past-time among students, at least in the 1820s and 1830s.¹³

Building activity in the city was substantial from the 1830s. The newfound capital needed new buildings to house government functions and cultural institutions, the Stock Exchange building (1829), the building for the National Bank of Norway (1830) and the Christiania Theater (1837) all built by the city architect Christian Heinrich Grosch and placed in the inner-city quarters (see *figures* 2.2 and 2.3).¹⁴ The parliament and the ministries were also housed in older buildings in these quarters. The decision to place the royal palace on a hill west of the city was, however, the most important decision for the development of the city. The royal palace decision prompted plans to expand the city to the west, towards the palace. As I will describe in more detail in later chapters, Karl Johans gate gradually replaced the inner-city quarters as the center of public life. The new university buildings were placed on the north side of Karl Johans gate, Studenterlunden, Klíngenberg and a new parliament building which opened in 1866 were all on the south side of the street.

The building of the new royal palace also brought the first respectable villa suburb in the west, "bak slottet" (behind the royal palace) as it was known at the time. The old rural summer resorts that enraged Welhaven in the 1830s, were gradually converted into permanent residences from the 1860s onwards. This moved the center of the respectable city westward and created what was described as Christiania's "west end."¹⁵ Spurred by industrial developments along the Aker river, the old eastern

¹¹ Edv. Mørch, *Da Kristiania var Smaaby: erindringer* (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1901), 33.

¹² Andreas Munch, "Spadseergang paa Fæstningvolden" in *Ephemer* (Christiania: Johan Dahl, 1836), 51–54. "Hvor damestadsen og Byenoblessen / Glimrer i Solen heel og holden; / Spadserer rundt om den gamle Muur, / Seer / fornemt ud i den lyse Natur, / Og spørge Uhret om Tiden er omme, / Om ikke Dampskibet snart vil komme [...] pyntede Folk af Middeleklassen / Om Musikanterne rolig staae / I tætte Klynger og see derpaa. / Musikken er vel kun saa som saa - / Hvad den mangler i Kunsten, den har i Kraften / Men klinger dog smukt i den stille Aften / Og taber sig fjernt i det rene Blaa [...]" See also: Henning Junghans Thue, "Skizzer af Hovedstadslivet. IV Fæstningen" *Morgenbladet*, 14 March 1841.

¹³ Mørch, *Da Kristiania var Smaaby*, 47–52.

¹⁴ On Grosch, see: Elisabeth Seip, ed., *Chr. H. Grosch: arkitekten som ga form til det nye Norge* (Oslo: Peter Hammers forlag, 2001).

¹⁵ "Et Billede fra Kristiania," *Skilling-Magazin* no 38, 22 September 1866, 594.



Figure 2.2. Map of Christiania in 1848 with the most important institutions. Most of them located within the inner-city quarters. Lithography after drawing by B. Hielm, E.M. Bærentzen & co. Lith. Anst. Statens Kartverk, historisk kartsamling.

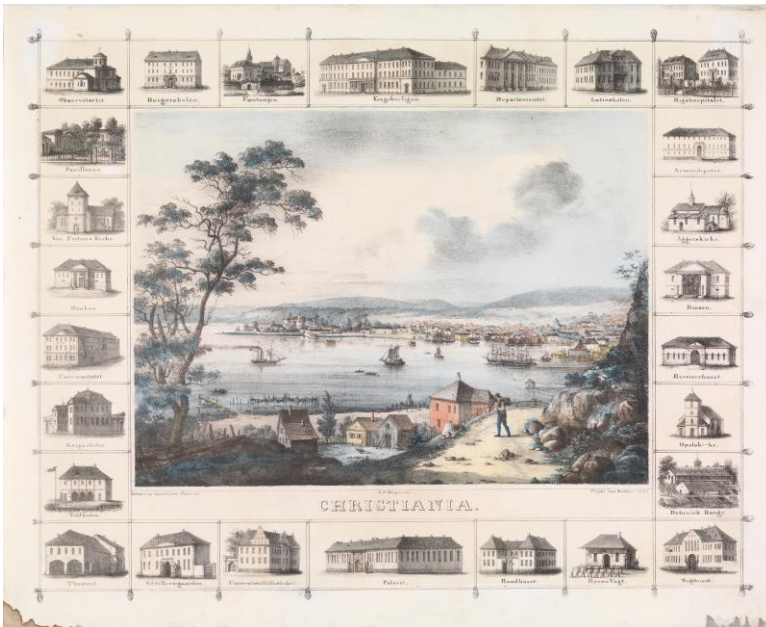


Figure 2.3. View of Christiania with notable public buildings and memorials. P.F. Wergemann hand colored lithography, 1835, printed at H.T. Winther. 402 x 492mm. Nasjonalmuseet, arkitektursamlingene.

suburbs developed more and more into working class neighborhoods, with new tenement buildings going up in greater numbers from the 1860s, particularly at Grünerløkka. New working-class suburbs largely built of wood outside the new 1859 city limits also went up in places such as Kampen, Vålerenga and Enerhaugen.

The rapid change was experienced and eagerly commented on by the inhabitants of the capital. The philologist and literary historian Henning Junghans Thue noted, in a series of sketches of life in the capital originally published in the *Morgenbladet* newspaper in 1841, that Christiania was no longer a small town. In fact, it was “amazing how much the city has changed in just the last dozen years.” With an ever-growing population, with new buildings constantly rising and contributing to the “beautification” of the city, life in the capital became more and more interesting. Its role as the center of administration and the university had made Christiania the center of Norway’s “spiritual” and cultural life.¹⁶ In short, Thue stated, Christiania was on its way to become for Norway

what Paris and London are for France and England – *si parva componere magnis fas est* [if I can compare great things with small] –, the middle point from which the seeds of education and enlightenment will scatter and fertilize the rest of the country.¹⁷

An important component of this was the press, the “mighty agitator” as Thue called it. Copenhagen had been the center of a Danish-Norwegian public sphere during the Danish-Norwegian union.¹⁸ After Norway’s independence in 1814, Christiania became the center of a Norwegian public sphere, the center for newspapers and periodicals and the most important place for printing and publishing in Norway.¹⁹

However, Danish literature and the Danish book trade, centered on Copenhagen, still very much loomed in the background. The written language was still Danish and much of the literature sold and read in Norway was still published in Copenhagen. The theater was Danish, with Danish actors, and many of the more successful and prominent booksellers and

¹⁶ Henning Junghans Thue, “Skizzer af Hovedstadslivet” *Morgenbladet* 12 February 1841. The five-part series has also been republished as: Henning Junghans Thue, *Skizzer af Hovedstadslivet* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1974). “Christiania er ikke længer den Smaastad som den var for ikke ret mange Aar tilbage [...] Det er utroligt hvor meget Christiania har forandret sig blot i et Snees Aar. Medens dens Omfang og Folkemængde Aar for Aar tiltager i en betydelig Grad, medens den ene Gade efter den anden slutter sig til de forrige, medens jævnlig nye og smukke Bygninger reise sig og bidrage til dens Forskjønnelse, bliver ogsaa med hver Aar Livet i den indholdsrigere og bevæger sig i stedse større og større Kredse. Den bliver mere og mere Centret for det hele Lands aandelige Liv, ligesom den er Centret for dets Administration.”

¹⁷ Thue, “Skizzer af Hovedstadslivet.” “Kort sagt, Christiania synes mere og mere at ville blive for Norge hvad Paris og London er for Frankrig og England – *si parva componere magnis fas est* –, det Middelpunkt, hvorfra Dannelsens og Oplysningens Sæd skal udstrøes over og befrugte det hele Land.”

¹⁸ On periodicals and print culture in eighteenth century Norway and Denmark, see: Krefting, Nøding, and Ringvej, *En pokkers skrivesyge*.

¹⁹ Berge et al., *Norsk presses historie*, 1:195; Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 153ff.

printers in Christiania were Danish or of Danish descent. Booksellers in Christiania became dependent on being commissioners for the Danish booksellers' association after it was established in 1837, to be able to sell Danish books in the Norwegian market.²⁰ This dependency on the Danish book trade only increased during the century, and the new generation of Norwegian authors, led by Henrik Ibsen and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, in the 1860s left Norwegian publishers in favor of the Danish Gyldendal. There were a number of reasons why Gyldendal could provide better terms for Norwegian authors than Norwegian publishers. Their greater financial muscle and a larger apparatus meant that Gyldendal could provide better advances and reach larger markets than publishers in Christiania.²¹

The Norwegian public, then, read Danish books and watched Danish actors in the theater. Many however, wanted to free themselves of the Danish influence. In the 1830s and later in the 1850s, the Danish theater became a topic of heated discussion and sometimes violent confrontation. There were, at the same time, numerous complaints in the press about the state of the Norwegian book trade and Norwegian literature. Most blamed the Danish book trade. Some, however, could also find other reasons for the state of Norwegian literature. The later to be national archivist Christian A. Lange wrote a series of articles on the Norwegian book trade and Norwegian literature between 1839 and 1841. Whilst admitting that Norwegian literature and the Norwegian book trade witnessed remarkable progress in later years, he stated that there was still much to do. The reliance on the Danish booksellers' association did not help. Other causes were harder to remove: a small population, an even smaller reading public, difficult and costly connections between the different parts of the country and high printing expenses were some of the reasons he pointed out.²²

While there were many complaints about the sorry state of the Norwegian book trade throughout the nineteenth century, newspapers and the periodical press were important part of public life in the capital. In Henning Junghans Thue's *Morgenbladet* articles, he complained about Norwegian literature, theater, and the arts, but celebrated the newspapers as the favored reading material. At least three papers, *Morgenbladet*, *Den Constitutionelle* and *Grandskeren*, were at this time

read regularly by all cultivated people. One does not go to one's business before one has seen what the papers are saying. Its contents are among the

²⁰ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1950, 1:151–61.

²¹ On Norwegian authors on Gyldendal and other Danish publishers, see: Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1964.

²² Lange's article is summed up in: Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1950, 1:151–56.

most common topics of conversation and the questions they bring up are discussed, both *pro* and *contra*, in public and private places.²³

These papers were the favored reading among the “upper classes,” while the middle and artisan classes preferred *Christiania Intelligentssedler*.²⁴ This, the oldest newspaper in Christiania, was “the comfort of all the old ladies, the honest tradesman’s dearest reading material and the organ for all auction holders, rent seekers and rent providers.”²⁵ All these papers were published daily and, in addition to covering the most important news and notices of the day, also published stories, poems and longer pieces on science, politics and the arts.

Newspapers and magazines were not only the favored reading material, but also formed an important part of the public life of the city. They still relied mostly on subscription and were therefore not sold on the street or in newsstands. Nonetheless, newspapers and magazines were available in public spaces, in the city’s cafes, restaurants, hotels, ale houses and in libraries and reading clubs. Newspapers provided topics of discussion, domestic and foreign news and were vital to the functioning of the social and economic life of the city. On the back pages of the Christiania papers were advertised books, periodicals and other goods for sale; announcement of auctions; market prices for goods such as meat, grain and milk; wanted and vacant positions; houses and accommodation for sale and rent; and lists of new arrivals to the city.

The expansion of newspapers and periodicals was, as in the rest of Europe, closely linked to the expansion of the printing industry. There were printers in Norway and Christiania before 1814 and journals and newspapers had been published in Norwegian cities from the seventeenth century. Even so, Copenhagen had been the undisputed center of print production. The printing industry of Christiania, unlike that of London, Paris, Stockholm or

²³ Thue, “Skizzer af Hovedstadslivet. III Litteraire forhold,” *Tillægg til Morgenbladet* no 61, 2 March 1841. “Christianias Indvanere have megen Sands for Avislæsning. De tre førstnævnte Blade [*Morgenbladet, Den Constitutionelle og Grandskeren*] læses fast af enhver Dannet; man gaer ikke gjerne til sine Forretninger førend man har seet hvad Bladene sige til Godt, deres Indhold er et af de almindeligste Konversationsæmner, og de Spørgsmaal, de bringe paa Bane, drøftes paa offentlige og private Steder baade *pro* og *contra*.” Italics in original.

²⁴ Upper classes are here used to evoke what at the time was often called “de kondisjonerte” (literally: the conditioned). In mid-nineteenth century Norway “de kondisjonerte” gave an association to a fine, learned culture of educated civil servants, but could also include the upper part of the merchant classes and the country’s very few landowners. Since there were no aristocracy, the civil servants and rich merchant classes were the highest position in society, culturally, socially as well as in terms of political influence. Norwegian urban society above the working classes can be divided into two: a higher bourgeois (including the highly educated civil servants), and a middle class of merchants and artisans. On social hierarchy in nineteenth-century Norway, see e.g. Jan Eivind Myhre, “Århundredskiftet som sosialt vannskille: Borgerkap og middelstand,” in *Norge anno 1900: kulturhistoriske glimt fra et århundreskifte*, ed. Bjarne Rogan (Oslo: Pax, 1999).

²⁵ Thue, “Skizzer af Hovedstadslivet. III Litteraire forhold.” “[...] alle gamle Kjærringers Trøst, de ærlige næringsdrivende Borgeres kjæreste Lektüre og Organet for alle Auktionsholdere Leiesøgende og Leietilbydende osv.”

Copenhagen where national centers of print production were established from the early modern period, developed almost from scratch.

Printers and printing technology

The development of the printing industry in Christiania in the immediate years after 1814 was in many ways staggering. The first printer arrived in Christiania in 1647, there being no more than one printer in the city from then until 1809. In the late eighteenth-century there were only four printers in Norway, one in each major city. The development of a self-sustained printing industry in Christiania was in many ways spurred by the necessities of war and the British blockade of Denmark-Norway. During the Napoleonic wars, in 1809, the priest Niels Wulfsberg opened the second printing house in Christiania to print his journal *Tiden*. By 1817, three printers had set up in Christiania.²⁶

A relatively substantial printing industry had developed in the city by the end of the 1830s. Christiania was in 1819, according to a topographic-statistic description of Norway by Jens Kraft, home to 5 printers with 9 presses, employing 34 workers. In 1839 the number of printers had increased to 15, with 35 presses (although only 28 were in use), employing 95 workers. Kraft also lists in 1839 three lithographic presses and one “copper press.”²⁷ A decade later the number of printing houses had become fewer. However, the size of the printing houses had increased, and some printers were now employing new technology. Christiania in 1849 had 14 printers with 4 cylinder presses and with 30 hand presses, employing in total 141 workers. In the entire country there were, at the same time, about 53 printing houses spread across 30 towns.²⁸

The growth in the number of periodicals and books published reflected the increased activity in the printing trades. In 1814 there were 6 newspapers in the entire country, 3 of them coming out in Christiania. By 1848, 40 newspapers were published in Norway, only 5 of them in Christiania.²⁹ Many printing houses publishing local papers were established from the 1830s around the country.³⁰ Small local newspapers were started to

²⁶ See e.g. Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier*.

²⁷ Jens Kraft, *Topographisk-statistisk Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge: Det søndenfjeldske Norge*, Anden omarbejdede Udgave, vol. 1 (Christiania: Chr. Grøndahl, 1840), 140.

²⁸ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1950, 1:182.

²⁹ Tveterås, *Norske tidsskrifter*; Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1950, 1:179–84.

³⁰ It is unclear whether the printing houses were started to print newspapers or if the newspapers were a result of printers needing something to print, probably the causes varied from case to case. See: Tor Are Johansen, “*Trangen til læsning stiger, selv oppe i Ultima Thule*”: aviser, ekspansjon og teknologisk endring ca. 1763-1880, *Pressehistoriske skrifter* 7 (Oslo: Norsk pressehistorisk forening, 2006), 62–63; Ottosen, Røsland, and Østbye, *Norsk pressehistorie*, 36. On the local press and printing houses, see also: Haakon M. Fiskaa, *Den norske presse før 1850*, Ny utg. ved Helge Giverholt., Norsk pressemuseums skrifter 3 (Fredrikstad: Institutt for

challenge Christiania as Norway's supplier of news. However, the most important papers were still the Christiania papers. These were read widely outside of the city as well as within. "In the country, the papers of this city [Christiania] are read with more attention than here", the linguist Ivar Aasen wrote to his friend back home in Ørsta in 1848. According to Aasen, people in the countryside read the Christiania papers with care and consideration, while Christiania newspaper readers would now and then visit "a restaurant to glance at the headlines and the most important pieces."³¹ Local papers, where they existed, in many cases received the bulk of their content on parliament and the ministries and, in many cases, also their foreign news, from the Christiania papers.³² The capital remained the most important city for book and periodical publishing.

Well into the 1850s there were no clear boundaries between being a printer, bookseller and publisher. The printer, publisher and the establishment that sold you a book would, in many cases, be one and the same. Most printers would occasionally venture into publishing and bookselling, and it was normal that apprentices in printing shops obtained a few extra copies to sell on the side. The function of publisher was not yet established as a specialized part of the book trade and printers, booksellers, bookbinders and in many cases the author himself would often be listed as a publisher of a work.³³

The printers who started up in Christiania before 1850 were a diverse group with different objectives and backgrounds. Tor Are Johansen has carried out a survey of printers and printing technologies in Norway in the nineteenth century. He divides the Christiania printers into three groups. The first group were booksellers who established printing shops to expand their business. The second were trained typographers who were educated at other printing houses and wanted to start on their own. The third group were newspaper and periodical publishers who established printing houses to print their publications.³⁴ Almost all the printers in Norway before the nineteenth century were Danish and certainly had received their education abroad, by the 1830s, many printers were Norwegian born. Six of the 11 printers

journalistikk, 1985), 45ff; Arne Arnesen, *Våre provinstrykkerier 1814-1875: deres grunnleggelse og første trykk* (Oslo: Damm, 1943).

³¹ Ivar Aasen to Marius Aarflot, Kristiania 13 January 1848 in Ivar Aasen, *Brev til vener i heimbygda*, ed. Maurits Aarflot (Volda: Aarflots Prenteverkers Forlag, 1950), 89. "Thi paa Landet læses denne Byes Aviser med en langt anden Opmærksomhed end her i Byen, hvor man kun en og anden Gang gaar ind paa en Restauration og seer paa de viktigste Stykker eller Overskrifter i Aviserne."

³² News in the newspapers was presented in "geographical packages" from the place they arrived. There was, until a telegraph service was established from the mid-1850s, also a considerable time-lag for news from the provinces in Christiania. See: Narve Fulsås, *Havet, døden og været: kulturell modernisering i kyst-Noreg 1850-1950*, Samlagets bøker for høgare utdanning (Oslo: Samlaget, 2003), 89–101.

³³ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1950, 1:221–22.

³⁴ Johansen, *Trangen til læsning stiger*, 56–57.

included in *figure 2.6* were born in Norway (two in Christiania and four outside of Christiania). Two of the printers were Danish and three were born outside Norway and Denmark (Kiel, Germany, Strömstad, Sweden and Warsaw, Poland).

The relatively few printers in Norway in the seventeenth and eighteenth century also meant no guild of printers was established in Christiania. Attempts were, however, made to organize printers in the period before 1850. The printer Rasmuss Hviid initiated, in 1819, a sick fund for the printers in the city. The sick fund was reorganized in 1840 and attempts were made to start an organization of printers and book traders in the city, though not very successful. In 1851 an organization of publishers and booksellers was established (Norsk Bokhandlerforening). Printers did not, however, organize until a typographic union was established in 1872.³⁵

A person who wanted to start a printing house prior to 1839 needed a royal privilege (a legacy from the Danish absolute monarchy) and have completed a recognized education as a typographer or printer. A master printer with the necessary skills could, alternatively, be hired to take care of daily operation. The printer also had to apply for citizenship in the city he intended to start practicing in.³⁶ A new artisan law was passed in 1839. The government initially intended to end guild privileges, but pressure from the guilds made it more of a transitional law.³⁷ The guilds were not entirely abolished, but printers (and other crafts that were not organized in guilds) were now free to establish themselves in the craft by applying for citizenship and submitting two certificates from credible men on their capabilities as printers.³⁸

Figure 2.6 provides a snapshot of printers and booksellers active in Christiania in 1837. It shows that most of the Christiania printers were located centrally in the inner-city quarters.³⁹ Four of the eleven printing houses were located in Toldbugata, a street that formed the central east-west connection within the quarters.⁴⁰ The street ran from the tollbooth and west to

³⁵ See: Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1986, 3:44ff; Trond Hegna, *Oslo typografiske forening 100 år* (Oslo: Oslo typografiske forening, 1972), 37ff; Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier*, 131–32.

³⁶ Johansen, *Trangen til læsning stiger*, 64–65.

³⁷ See e.g. Sejersted, *Den vanskelige frihet*, 211–13.

³⁸ Johansen, *Trangen til læsning stiger*, 64–65.

³⁹ From the 1845 tax records, we can find the location of some additions to the landscape of print in the city: Oslo byarkiv, “Christiania-folk 1845,” digitale kilder accessed 1 April, 2016:

<https://www.oslo.kommune.no/OBA/searchpage.asp?table=lign1845&language=nor>. After he parted ways with Hviid’s widow in 1837, Christian August Wulfsberg, the son of Niels Wulfsberg, opened a printing house to print the newspaper *Den Norske Rigtstidende*, he is listed in Drammensveien 63 A. A figure that would become quite notable was Christian Schibsted who had started a printing house in Dronningensgate. Schibsted started his shop together with Johan Jørgen Krohn, but Krohn would later withdraw from the shop. Schibsted is most famous as the founder of the newspaper *Aftenposten*, one of the most important conservative dailies in the latter half of the century.

⁴⁰ From east to west we find the printing houses of Abelsted, Lemahn’s widow, Roshauw and Grøndahl in the street. None of the printers in Toldbugata ran newspapers or periodicals, but,

Nedre Vollgate, its location in the middle of the grid meant that it was close to all official and cultural institutions. The parliament, the ministries, the theater, the Latin school, the military academy and the civic school were all located in the inner-city quarters. None of them, however, were in Tollbugata, which is probably a factor contributing to printers setting up there. Kirkegata, which crossed Tollbugata in the center of the inner-city quarters, was Christiania's "main street." Kirkegata was an important north-south crossing of the inner-city quarters from the main square to Bankplassen, and the street housed some of the city's most respectable shops and bookshops.⁴¹

A location within the inner-city quarters was obviously important, only two printing houses being located outside of grid in 1837. Centrally located in the quarters we find the printer Steen in Dronningens gate and, right in the middle of the cultural center at Bankplassen was the printing house of the Christiania Waisenhus.⁴² We also find a cluster of printing houses on the western edge of the inner-city quarters. The street names of Øvre and Nedre vollgate indicate that these streets had been the location of the western part of the old ramparts, which were demolished in the late seventeenth century. The strict building policies of the city were less practiced here and it was an area for small time merchants and craftsmen, consisting mostly of one and at most two-storey wooden or half-timbered houses.

A printing house was, throughout Europe in the early modern period, generally located on the same premises as the master printer's private house.⁴³ This juxtaposition of domestic and vocational quarters was also common in Christiania, at least in the period up to the 1850s. An example of this is Hviid's printing house. The master printer and owner of *Morgenbladet*, Rasmuss Hviid, bought a one-storey building in Nedre Vollgate in 1826, a building which housed the newspaper until 1903 (see figure 2.4). The left wing of the building housed the setting room, printing room, newspaper offices and the apprentices sleeping quarters. The right

like many printers in Christiania at the time they occasionally ventured into publishing and bookselling. They sold the books they published, but also occasionally other books from their printing shops.

⁴¹ Knut Are Tvedt, ed., *Oslo byleksikon*, 4. utg. (Oslo: Kunnskapsforl., 2000), 234.

⁴² The Waisenhus was an orphanage for "legitimate children" from respectable backgrounds. The orphanage in 1815 bought a press, equipment and the rights to print the *Christiania Intelligentsedler* from N.J. Berg, and continued to print the paper until 1882. The Waisenhus printing house, in addition to printing the paper, also printed bibles and psalm books. Many printers received their education at the Waisenhus, some later becoming significant printers in the Christiania printing industry, most notably Christian Schibsted. See: Jakob Keyser Berle, *Christiania Opfostringshus gjennom 150 år* (Oslo: I kommission hos Cappelen, 1928), 43–44.

⁴³ For a discussion of this, see e.g. Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 75ff.



Figure 2.4. The Morgenbladet building in Øvre Vollgate ca. 1880-1910. Photograph by Severin Worm Petersen. Norsk Teknisk Museum/NTM UWP 08764.



Figure 2.5. From the machine hall at Grøndal & Søn ca. 1890. Unknown photographer. Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek/0037850.

wing housed Rasmuss Hviid's and later his widow Else Marie's private apartment.⁴⁴

Newspapers in European cities were beginning to employ more efficient iron presses and steam driven cylindrical presses in specially built newspaper printing houses from the 1820s. Norwegian printers, however, continued to use wooden hand presses far into the mid-century. Books, newspapers, periodicals, letterheads, invitations and other job printing articles were printed on the same presses, using the same basic technology. It took around 30 years from the first usable cylinder presses were sold in England to the technology was applied in Christiania. Yet, the volume of newspapers, periodicals and books published in Norway and Christiania grew significantly in these 30 years. An aspect that was more important than the availability of technology was a market that was large enough to justify the significant investments in mechanized presses. Until the mid-nineteenth century, hardly any Norwegian publication achieved a circulation that could not be met by employing an extra hand press or two. Wooden hand presses were not a hindrance to printers in Christiania, but a useful tool. They were versatile, small and most importantly they were cheap, particularly from the 1820s when they were made in the city.

A carpenter (mekanikus) named Hansen, in the 1820s, started making wooden presses in Christiania, which he sold to printers within and outside of the capital. Norwegian printers had, until then, bought and imported (mostly pre-used) presses from Copenhagen or Germany. There are several indications that Hansen was, between the mid-1820s and the 1840s, the main supplier of printing presses to the Christiania printing industry. Hansen's presses were used in many printing houses in the capital up to the 1850s, and were probably used for internal tasks at printing houses long after that.⁴⁵

Most printers in the fifteenth and sixteenth century made their equipment themselves. Ink, balls to apply the ink to the form, and even type, were often made in-house. Danish printers started buying type from German type foundries in the 1650s, other equipment continuing to be made in-house. With rapid industrialisation, these products were increasingly bought from outside suppliers. The production of ink is a good example. Boiling printers' ink became a separate industry from about 1750 onwards, but many printers in Norway, Denmark and Germany continued to boil ink well into the nineteenth century. Good printers' ink was vital to printing and the process of boiling ink was difficult. Boiling ink was often, in early modern European

⁴⁴ In the 1840s Else Marie Hviid added an extra storey to the building. On *Morgenbladet*, see: Hauge, *Morgenbladets historie*. On Hviid's printing house, see also: Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier*, 130–32. Mortensen, "Bogtrykkerkunstens repræsentanter XI."

⁴⁵ On Hansen, see: Johansen, *Trangen til læsning stiger*, 65ff.

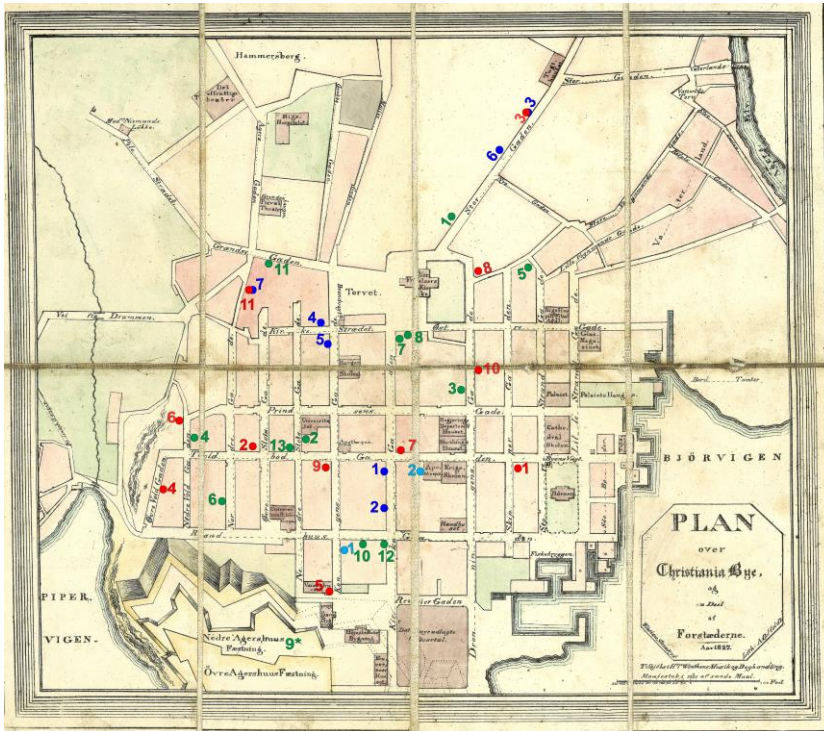


Figure 2.6. Printers, booksellers, lending libraries and bookbinders in Christiania in 1837.

Printers (red): 1. J.C. Abelsted 2. Chr. Grøndahl 3. Guldberg & Dzwonkowski 4. Madame Hviid 5. Jensen 6. Krohn 7. Madame Lehmann 8. L. Risum 9. C.L. Roshauw 10. F.C. Steen 11. H.T. Winther

Booksellers (blue): 1. J.W. Cappelen 2. J. Dahl 3. Guldberg & Dzwonkowski 4. Hartmann 5. P.J. Hoppe 6. J. Schiwe 7. H.T. Winther

Bookbinders (green): 1. A. Barlien 2. C. Berg 3. J.D. Campe 4. Duffra 5. K. Fougner 6. Fredrichsen 7. J. Chr. Hoppe 8. Johannesen 9. Kjeller 10. Rude 11. Sanne 12. Sindsen 13. Wibye

Lending libraries (bright blue): 1. Madame Pettersen 2. Tøttrup

Map: H.T. Winther, 1827. Kart over Christiania bye. Litography. Online at: www.x-kart.no.

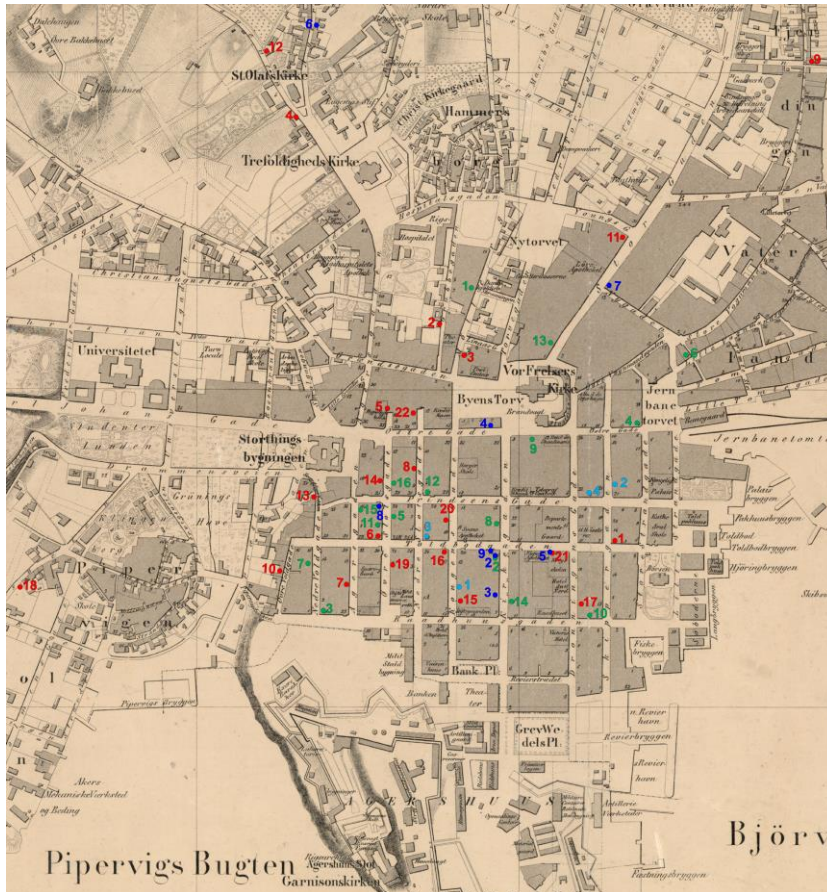


Figure 2.7 Printers, booksellers, lending libraries and bookbinders in Christiania, 1856.

Printers (red): 1. J.C. Abelsted 2. Bergh 3. Brøgger & Christie 4. Dirchs 5. W.C. Fabritius 6. Chr. Grøndhal 6. Halvorsen 8. Hansen 9. Hendriksen 10. Hviids Enke 11. H.J. Jensen 12. Madsen 13. P.T. Mallings 14. B. Møller 15. Nissen 16. C.L. Roshauw 17. Chr. Schibsted 18. Shive 19. Steens Enke 20. Fru Tøttrup 21. Werner & co. 22. Guldbrandsen

Booksellers (blue): 1. Benthians enke 2. J.W. Cappelen 3. J. Dahl 4. Jac. Dybwad 5. Failberg & Landmark 6. Gram 7. B.A. Hartmann 8. Hjelm 9. P.F. Steensballe

Bookbinders (green): 1. J. Aars 2. Berg 3. Bjørg 4. Clausen 5. N.W. Damm 6. Duffra 7. Thorboe 8. Hendriksens enke 9. J. Hoppe 10. Krogh 11. Suerzaph 12. Strand 13. Thorboe 14. J. Fr. Wibye 15. Winger 16. S. Berg

Lending libraries (bright blue): 1. Athenæum 2. Beck 3. Michaelsen 4. Frøken M. Treschow

Map section: I.W.G. Næser, 1861. Kart over Christiania opptaget ifølge communebestyrelsens foranstaltning i aaret 1858. Oslo byarkiv, kartsamling.

printing houses, one of many ritualised practices around which there was much mystique, ceremony and festivities, and it is said that in Christiania, the printers gathered on St. Hanshaugen to boil ink once a year.⁴⁶ But the old practice of printers making ink gradually disappeared from the 1830s, some printers in Christiania beginning to import printers' ink from Sweden. Printing presses and ink were imported to Norway from Germany and Britain from 1835, the bulk going to Christiania. The first iron presses and cylindrical presses were also imported into the country at this time. The import of ink and import of presses increased steadily from 1835 to 1850.⁴⁷

The most technically forward-thinking printer in Christiania was Christopher Grøndahl. Grøndahl was the first printer to employ the iron hand press and the cylinder press. He brought the first iron press to Christiania in 1830, and in 1840 he took home the first cylinder press from Hüttemeier in Copenhagen. In 1854 he bought a double cylinder press from Napier & Son in London and introduced steam power to drive the press.⁴⁸ Grøndahl was also interested in other ways of improving his printing house and the printing industry in Christiania in general. He led the way in replacing the old, time-consuming ink balls with the more modern rollers to apply ink. Ink rollers became common in England and Germany between 1810 and 1820. Grøndahl played a vital role in introducing them to the Christiania printing industry by inviting a German roller maker to teach the Christiania printers how to manufacture them.⁴⁹

Many of the printers that were active in the 1830s and 1840s were also active in the 1850s. Some had moved, others stayed put, many printing houses continuing under different owners. There was, nevertheless, a significant increase in the number of printing houses, 21 as opposed to 11 in 1837. As *figure 2.7* shows, some printers had established themselves outside

⁴⁶ Johansen, 32–33. St. Hans is the Norwegian name for John the Baptist (Johannes), which again could be connected to Johannes Gutenberg. The choice of location could have had some symbolic significance. But the accounts of this vary, some claim that printers often just boiled the ink in the yard outside their shops. However, as boiling ink was extremely fire hazardous, the location of St. Hanshaugen, some way outside the urban settlement was probably a good location for the activity. Johansen also points to the fact that in many German towns, ink boiling was restricted to outside the city walls.

⁴⁷ Johansen, *Trangen til læsning stiger*. In *Statistiske Tabeller for Kongeriget Norge. Tredie Række, Inneholdende Tabeller, Vedkommende Norges Handel Og Skibsfart i Aaret 1835* (Christiania, 1839). Printers' ink and printing presses are listed as separate categories. Printing presses for a total of 133 speciedaler (spd.) was imported to the country, of the presses imported 125 spd. worth went to Christiania. This was probably one press imported from Altona. In total 1040 pounds of ink was imported to Norway, about half from Germany and half from Britain in addition to 6 pounds from Sweden. Of these, 764 pounds was imported to Christiania. From 1835 to 1850 there was a steady amount of printing presses imported, and an increasing amount of ink. In 1850, 3229 pounds of ink was imported, mostly from Germany, of this 2974 pounds went to Christiania.

⁴⁸ Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier*, 198.

⁴⁹ On Grøndahl, see: W.P. Sommerfeldt, *Grøndahl & Søn's Boktrykkeri Og Bokhandel i Hundrede Aar: 1812-1912* (Kristiania: Grøndahl & Søn, 1912); Johansen, *Trangen til læsning stiger*.

the borders of the city proper, but most printers remained centrally located.⁵⁰ What we also can notice is that central Christiania had been significantly enlarged. We find that the bulk of the printing houses were located inside the rectangular grid in 1837, but that by 1856 more printers were found in places such as Storgata, Møllergata and Grensen. It might seem odd that the increasing use of new technology and large new presses did not lead to more printing houses moving out of the central city to more spacious locations. However, as we will discuss in Chapter 6, central Christiania was developing as a city centre and trade, institutions and service functions were displacing living quarters. It was not so much the printing houses but people that moved out of the inner city quarters. Printing and newspaper offices were one of the businesses that needed a central location and closeness to bookstores, cultural and political institutions and to services and connections to the outside world.

Bookshops and distribution

The Norwegian publisher William Nygaard recalled that when he arrived in the Norwegian capital in the 1880s, the first thing that struck him was the “prominent place that bookstores held in the physiognomy of the city.” He recalled the dignified atmosphere in the shops, the distinguished managers of the stores and the equally distinguished clerks. Some of these clerks could remember back to the mid-nineteenth century and told stories about how the bookstores were the centre of the literary conflict at the time:

How the leading figures in the battle were frequent guests at the bookstores, where the current issues were under lively discussion, and how the clerks were all ears, eagerly joining one side or the other. And they told about the excitement and curiosity with which the large packages of books, which arrived every other or third week from Copenhagen or Leipzig, were opened, about the solemnity with which the senior clerk opened these packages – often in the presence of an audience of interested costumers that wanted to be the first to see what news the packages contained. [...] This ritual was repeated month after month, a tradition from the previous generation that continued down through the times.⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Christianias Adresse-Bog*. Steen’s printing house, for example, was now owned by his widow and ran by his son and moved from Dronningensgate to Øvre Slottsgate 7. Tøttrup, previously listed as a lending library and bookstore in Toldbodgaten at the crossing of Kirkegaten, is now listed as a printing house located in Kongensgate Except for Jørgen Schiwe in Pipervika. I have not found much information about the printers established outside the inner-city quarters. I think we can assume that these were relatively small operations and the most important places for printing was still in or close to the inner-city quarters.

⁵¹ William Nygaard, “Bokhandelens ånd. Tale holdt ved Bokhandlerskolens avslutning, 25. mai 1935.” in *I bokens tjeneste. Utgitt i anledning av Bokhandlerskolens 50 års jubileum*, ed. Sigmund Carlsen (Oslo: Norsk bokhandler-medhjelper-forening, 1965), 8–9. “Hvorledes stridens forgrunnsfigurer var stadige gjester i bokladene, hvor de aktuelle spørsmål var under livlig diskusjon, og hvorledes medhjelperne var lutter øre, ivrig med på den ene eller andre siden. Og likeså gjerne fortalte de om den spenning og nysgjerrighet hvormed de imøteså de store bokpakker, som hver annen eller tredje uke kom fra København eller Leipzig, og om den høitidelighet hvormed senior-medhjelperen gikk til å åpne pakkene - gjerne i nærvær av et

Bookshops were places where print was published, sold and distributed. But, as William Nygaard points out, they were also places where authors, printers, publishers, booksellers and the general reading public came together. Bookshops, in short, were an important part of urban and public life in Christiania.

Harald Tveterås sees the 1830s as a turning point in the Christiania book trade. Bookshops with wide selections of books in-stock and shops on the ground floor with windows out onto the street were beginning to appear.⁵² Regardless of this, the old ways of distributing and selling books were probably still quite common in Christiania until well into the 1850s, perhaps particularly in the suburbs of the city. One of the most substantial forms of bookselling from the eighteenth century had been sales from bookbinders' shops. This was still the practice in small places well into the 1850s, and probably also in Christiania. Some who received their education as bookbinders, such as N.W. Damm or A. Barlien, had become significant booksellers and publishers by the mid-century. Printers also sold and published books to varying extents, as described above. Post offices and teachers were, in addition to this, important distributors of print around the country. This was also partly true in Christiania. One example was Peder Benthien, a teacher at Christiania Civic School (borgerskolen). He bought up schoolbooks in large numbers and took orders for scientific books. Benthien's business became so substantial that for a time, at the end of the 1840s, he was the main bookseller for the University Library.⁵³

A substantial amount of the traditional book trade was mobile. Peddlers and colporteurs had walked, and continued to walk from house to house, market to market and town to town selling books. Some were independent, buying up a couple of books or pamphlets and selling them around the city and countryside. However, booksellers such as N.W. Damm or J.W. Cappelen sent out peddlers to small places around the country and probably also into the suburbs of Christiania.⁵⁴ Other merchants of different kinds also sold printed material, and psalm books, catechisms and biblical explanations could be found alongside sugar, coffee and other goods. Books

publikum av interesserte kunder, som vilde være de første til å se hvad det var for noget nytt om pakkene inneholdt. [...] Dette gjentok sig måned efter måned; det var tradisjon fra generasjonen før, og den fortsattes videre nedover i tidene.”

⁵² Tveterås *Den norske bokhandel*, 1950, 1:376ff.

⁵³ Tveterås, 1:378.

⁵⁴ Tveterås, 1:376–77. Sofonias Krag was a curious example of a well-known peddler and “Christiania figure.” A hack writer and oddball figure, Krag would frequent Klingenberg and other public places and sell his self-published, sometimes handwritten, pamphlets and periodicals, containing his own musings and stories that he often combined with material from other sources. According to Lorentz Dietrichson, he was a well-known figure among the student population in the early 1850s. On Sofonias Krag, see: Dietrichson, *Svundne tider*, 1:259ff; Carl Just's introduction in Sophonias Christian Krag, *Nogle faae Kjærminder fra Sommeren og Vinteren*, Småskrifter for bokvenner 41 (Oslo: Damm, 1944).

could also be found in stalls in the main square and at the annual February market.

The bookstores appearing from the 1830s with display windows and advertisements written over the door, very much visible from the street, reflect a larger shift in trade. William Henry Breton, on his visit to the city in 1834, was unimpressed by the commercial life in the city. Christiania “has not even any respectable-looking shops; and it is in vain that the stranger seeks to discover one unless aided by a guide” he wrote. On inquiring for a saddler, Breton was shown to the house of one. He was “ushered upstairs into a furnished apartment where two [saddles] lying on a sofa were the only indications of the profession of the owner.”⁵⁵ We can imagine that similar situations were common in the print trade, print, books, periodicals and pamphlets being sold from private homes, printers or bookbinders’ workshops.

This was, however, starting to change. Not only saddle makers, but also booksellers, and other retailers were moving out of private spaces and into public ones. Or perhaps more accurately, private and public spaces which previously had been intermingled, were increasingly beginning to become separate spheres. The Swedish customs inspector C.A. Brodmann, writing a diary of his visit in 1846, had the same first impression as Breton. On first arriving, his impression of Christiania was of a quiet, small and provincial town, but after a while he started to explore the city from his hotel room at Hotel du Nord. If Breton could not find any shops of interest, Brodmann was impressed by Christiania’s commercial life. On one of his walks he noted the “elegant shops” with large windows occupying the ground floor of entire buildings. He even admitted that the shops of Christiania gave a favourable impression compared to those of his native Stockholm.⁵⁶

Kirkegata had, by the late 1830s, become established as the main center for the trade in books, at least in its more organized form. The bookshops on the street were very much tied to the street’s central place in the public life of the city. Going to Cappelen’s bookstore in Kirkegata to look at the copper engravings (kobberne) was one of the young Camilla Collett’s favorite past-times.⁵⁷ Booksellers seem to have been a prominent feature of the street. The author Henrik Wergeland, Camilla Collett’s brother, wrote in 1843 that Kirkegata “might as well be renamed the booksellers street,

⁵⁵ Breton, *Scandinavian Sketches*, 42–43.

⁵⁶ C.A. Bodman, “To måneder på hotell i Christiania for 100 år siden. Utdrag av Tolloversinspektør C.A. Bodmans dagbok,” ed. Arno Berg, *St. Hallvard. Organ for selskabet for Oslo bys vel* 28; 29 (1951–1950): 269–70.

⁵⁷ Camilla Collett, *Opptegnelser fra ungdomsaarene*, ed. Leiv Amundsen, Camilla Collett og Peter Jonas Collett. *Dagbøker og Breve 1* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1926), 5. Although the presence of her love interest J.S. Welhaven made it even more preferable (“Hans veldsignede nærhed bidrog mere [til min fornøyelse] end en af mine Yndlingsaktiviteter.”)

considering all the bookstores that have sought it out for their speculations.”⁵⁸ Johan Dahl and J.W. Cappelen, the most prominent bookshops in the city and the bookbinder J. Chr. Hoppe were, in 1837, all located in the street. There were probably more bookshops here later, although Wergeland’s estimate that there were at least seven or eight bookshops in the street in 1843 was probably an overstatement.⁵⁹

No matter how many bookstores were located in Kirkegata, Johan Dahl and Jørgen Wright Cappelen were the two most important. Johan Dahl is credited with being one of the more adventurous and important publishers of literature and scholarly books, whereas Cappelen built up a great publishing venture based on publishing psalm books and Christian books in large numbers. Cappelen, after ending his career as a missionary, set up a bookstore in 1829. By 1836 he was located at the so-called Collett building (later nicknamed the Cappelen building, see *figure 2.8*), which he purchased in the early 1840s.⁶⁰ Johan Dahl was born in Copenhagen and worked in Gyldendal’s bookstore, the most important bookstore and publisher in Scandinavia at the time. He came to Norway and began working at Cappelen’s bookstore in 1829. With support from Jacob Deichman, the head of Gyldendal, Johan Dahl started his own bookshop in 1832 just a couple of houses down from Cappelen.

Dahl was the most important publisher in Norway in the 1830s, in the 1840s. His bookshop became a meeting place for the so-called “intelligence circle.” The circle was concentrated around Johan Sebastian Welhaven and supported by the governor count Wedel. Dahl was the publisher of their paper *Den Constitutionelle*, colloquially known as *Nella*, from 1836. Hartvig Lassen, in his biography of their main rival Henrik Wergeland, described that it was in these circles in the 1830s and 1840s that we find “the first seeds of dandyism” in Norway. Lassen argued the social life of Christiania was remade on a “Parisian” model in the “intelligence circle.” The “sordid Kirkegata was remade into a Bond-Street,” Bygdøy becoming the “Champs-Élysées” of the city, all being documented in “beautiful feuilleton’s” in their paper *Den Constitutionelle*.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Wergeland, “Christiania 23de Oktober. Lillehammer Tilskuer 3. november 1843” *Samlede skrifter: trykt og utrykt. 3 B. 3 Artikler og småstykker: polemiske og andre 1836-1845* (Oslo: Steenske Forlag, 1934), 561.

⁵⁹ Wergeland, “Christiania 23de Oktober.” We know that Guldberg & Dzwonkowski also moved their bookshop to Kirkegata in the early 1840s, see chapter 3. In addition, there were a number of printing houses and bookbinders close by that probably also sold books.

⁶⁰ Harald L. Tvetterås, *I pakt med tiden: Cappelen gjennom 150 år: 1829-1979* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1979). The oldest part of the Collett/Cappelen-building was built in the mid-seventeenth century. The building was added on numerous times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (most notably in the 1760s). It was demolished and transferred to Norsk Folkemuseum in 1838 and was reconstructed at the museum in 1993.

⁶¹ Hartvig Lassen, *Henrik Wergeland Og Hans Samtid* (Christiania: Malling, 1866), 160–61.



Figure 2.8. The Cappelen building in Kirkegata 15, 1890. Photograph by Olaf Martin Peder Væring. Oslo Museum/OB.F01779



Figure 2.9. Jacob Dybwad's bookstore at Stortorget 2 (facade to Karl Johans gate) ca. 1875. Unkown photographer. Oslo Museum/OB.Z03444.

As *Figure 2.6* shows there were in total five bookshops scattered around the inner-city quarters and two in Storgata in 1837.⁶² We also find a couple of locations listed as lending libraries. Haakon Fiskaa has written that “of all the businesses associated with books, none has received as little attention as the old private lending libraries.”⁶³ In 1825 there were two lending libraries in Christiania, in 1850 there were six, and between the 1850s and 1900 there were seven to eight in the city at any time. Most of the private lending libraries were connected to bookshops. They were, according to Fiskaa, probably established to provide an extra source of income for booksellers, but some were also connected to other kinds of shops. The lending libraries typically required an annual fee and a deposit for loans. Much of the literature available in them in the late eighteenth century was factual. By the 1820s, however, most libraries stocked mostly entertaining literature and novels. Many lending libraries were sold as the book trade began to demand more of book traders and publishers and were bought up by women, typically single or widowed women, who needed an income. Run out of private apartments these were, according to Tveterås, one of the most important sources of books for women readers.⁶⁴

Having a bookshop centrally located in the inner-city quarters was important for many reasons. The inner-city quarters and its immediate surroundings were, from the 1830s to the 1860s, what today’s urban planners might call mixed use. It was where the people who bought books lived, worked and played and was the location of the most important political and cultural institutions. Access to the market and power was one reason for a central location. However, a location in the inner-city quarters could also be related to issues of trust. As mentioned in the introduction, Adrian Johns has argued that where books were sold in London in the seventeenth and eighteenth century could tell people about their truth value and something about their nature.⁶⁵ Similar issues were at stake in Christiania. The bookbinder N.W. Damm, for example, started selling books and pamphlets in

⁶² To the east we find Morten Paul Bøckmann Hartman who had sold books in the city from at least 1808, and who, in the years after 1814, had the best selection of books in the city. By the 1830s, however, his shop had faded. Across the street on the corner of Østre Gate and Kongens Gate we find P.J. Hoppe who had taken over the bookshop of F.W. Keyser and John Messel; two professors who had started a bookshop in 1826. From the 1845 tax records, we can find the location of some additions to the landscape of print in the city, the most notable being Christian Tønsberg in Kongens Gate 10. For a brief period in the mid nineteenth century he was one of the most important and innovative publishers in the city. He is perhaps most famous for his elegant illustrated works. After Henrik Wergeland died in 1845, he published the poet’s collected works, in addition to legal books and scholarly works on history.

⁶³ Haakon M. Fiskaa, “De gamle leiebibliotekene,” in *N.W. Damm & søn 1843-1943: et firmas historie*, ed. Carl Just (Oslo: Damm, 1947), 126.

⁶⁴ Fiskaa, “De gamle leiebibliotekene”; Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1986, 3:128–29. See also: Elisabeth S. Eide, “Reading Societies and Lending Libraries in Nineteenth-Century Norway,” *Library & Information History* 26, no. 2 (June 2010): 121–38, <https://doi.org/10.1179/175834910X12651249039244>.

⁶⁵ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*.

1843 in the suburb of Grønland. By 1844, Henrik Wergeland had noticed the advertisements from Damm's bookstore in the papers:

What is one to believe about the progress of the education of the common man, when one sees advertised in the daily papers that a bookshop out in Grønland can exist almost single-handedly by selling the most ridiculous filth.⁶⁶

Most of the “respectable” and organized trade was located in the inner-city quarters. There was, however, probably a network of print distribution in the suburbs as well. Although many suburbs were included into the city proper from the 1830s and in the great city expansion in 1859, they were not of the same standard as the quarters. “The quarters and the suburbs were essentially two different worlds”, writes Christiania historian Jan Eivind Myhre: “Brick as opposed to wood, cobbled as opposed to dirt roads, order as opposed to disorder, straight as opposed to crooked streets, clean as opposed to filthy, rich as opposed to poor.”⁶⁷

To be a respectable bookseller, then, meant being in the most respectable parts of the city. We find N.W. Damm, not long after Wergeland commented on him and the ridiculous filth he sold, in the inner-city quarters. Damm was established by 1845 and had a book bindery, lending library, stationary shop and antiquarian book store in Øvre Slottsgate. In *figure 2.7* we see this pattern continues. The new bookstores located outside of the inner-city quarters (Gram and B.A. Hartmann) were probably not that prominent. It is, at least, hard to find any information about them. Booksellers such as Jacob Dybwad (see *figure 2.9*), Steensballe and Feilberg & Landmark were all respectable booksellers and publishers who had their shops in the inner-city quarters.

The smallness of the world

The printers, publishers and bookstores of Christiania were mostly located in the inner city-quarters. It was a small community, with strong professional and personal links. Mary L. Shannon, in her study of Wellington street print culture in mid-nineteenth century London, suggests that the writers, editors and publishers located in Wellington Street perceived themselves as a part of a “coherent print culture.” This included figures such as Henry Mayhew, George W.M. Reynolds and Charles Dickens who were all located in

⁶⁶ Wergeland, “Korrespondence, Christiania, 16de februar. Lillehammer Tildskuer 20. febr. 1844” *Artikler og småstykker 1836-45*, 561. In Norwegian all the titles W. mentions are: *De 64 en morsom Historie paa Vers om den kræsne Frier Hr. Gregorius Vragenfeldt og de 64 feilende Piger; En meget morsom Historie om Tjeneren Jan, som brugte et Spil Kort til sin Almanak- og Bønnebog; Fulstændig Drømmebog*; and the best, according to Wergeland: *Den store Kunst at være lykkelig ved Kortspil*.

⁶⁷ Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 37.

different parts of the street. Describing the networks of editors in Wellington street as part of a coherent print culture emphasizes their connections, personal and professional, and their physical proximity.

It can be argued that the railway, steamships and the telegraph increasingly made local geography irrelevant during the nineteenth century. As Charles Knight wrote in the preface to the *Penny Magazine* “ready and cheap communication breaks down the obstacles of time and space.”⁶⁸ Shannon however contends that local geography still mattered, even in the age of the railway. When Charles Dickens stood at the window of his *Household Words* office at eight o’clock in the morning, he would have

looked out at the offices of people with whom he had collaborated, at his competitors, and at premises such as the Lyceum and Lacy’s bookshop, which represented leisure industries that competed with printed matter for the leisure hours of the middle and the working classes.⁶⁹

I would suggest that a similar point can be made with regards to the printers, publishers, booksellers and editors of Christiania. The myriad of personal and professional connections between printers, publishers, booksellers and writers and their location close to each other in the inner-city quarters mattered to how they perceived themselves as part of the Christiania print culture. A central location meant being a part of a local community of writers, publishers, printers, booksellers and readers. Christiania, while witnessing massive changes in the period between the 1830s and the mid-1860s, was a small capital on the periphery of Europe. The close professional and family ties between the people involved in Christiania print culture was heightened by their physical proximity in urban space.

The places where print was produced and published would also have been known to readers in the city. Advertisements published in the Christiania newspapers, whether for a new periodical, a newly published book or new arrivals at a bookstore, would often feature the address of the bookstore or printing house where one could obtain it. Bookshops and newspaper offices and places such as the Christiania theatre, Klingenberg and Bygdøy, were places where readers, writers and publishers would regularly encounter each other. The reading public was not just an abstract entity imagined in the heads of readers, but could be imagined as such precisely because writers, editors, publishers and readers encountered each other every day. As Shannon argues about the writers and editors on Wellington street, their understanding of their larger network of readers was at least partially shaped by their local and specific urban space.⁷⁰ Encountering each other

⁶⁸ “Preface,” *Penny Magazine* vol I, quoted from Shannon, *Dickens, Reynolds, and Mayhew on Wellington Street*, 49.

⁶⁹ Shannon, 56.

⁷⁰ Shannon, 113ff.

every day on the streets, in the theatre, in public spaces, as well as in the book shops, newspaper offices and printing houses, writers, editors, publishers and readers would have been aware of each other. This awareness of their potential connections would allow these participants in Christiania's print culture to have a sense of a real public.

Literacy, education and “the cultivation of the masses”

Skilling-Magazin, like the *Penny Magazine* in Britain, was primarily aimed at what in Norway in the nineteenth-century was called “allmuen,” the common people. Questions of readership of a publication such as the *Skilling-Magazin* ultimately raises questions of literacy. Before I discuss the publishers, printers and the making of the images of *Skilling-Magazin*, it would be useful to look briefly at literacy among Norwegian “commoners”. To what degree could the Norwegian common people read? And what was the literacy of Christiania?

The historian Ludvig L. Daae, in a lecture to the Norwegian academy of sciences in 1869, asked at what point in time Norwegian commoners had learned to read “internally.”⁷¹ Daae's somewhat arcane distinction between “internal” (indvortes) and “external” (utvortes) reading resembles concepts that are still often used in the history of reading. It is a distinction between, on the one hand, reading and understanding what one reads and, on the other, recognizing, memorizing and reciting (mostly bible or religious) text. For Daae, the school reform of 1737-39, which established the common schools (allmueskolene), was essential. The reform made schooling mandatory for all Norwegian children from the age of 7 to confirmation (usually around the age of 15). Confirmation required the citing of passages from the bible which in turn required a certain understanding of the written word.

The prevailing opinion among historians for a long time was that the Norwegian common people could not read, and if they could read, then it was only “externally.”⁷² Historians of reading and literary culture have, more recently, started to question these claims. People living in the Norwegian

⁷¹ Ludvig Daae, “Naar Lærte Den Norske Almue at Læse Indenad?,” in *Norske Bygdesagn: Første Samling*, 2. omarb. og forøget. utg. (Christiania: Cappelen, 1881), 213–28.

⁷² The literary critic and historian Willy Dahl wrote in his book on popular literature, that in the early nineteenth century Norway was a developing country and like in other developing countries it was “necessary to lead a battle against illiteracy.” Willy Dahl, “*Dårlig lesning under parafinlampen*,” Gyldendals Fakkeltbøker 275 (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1974), 12. In his investigation of schools in the county of Akershus, the pedagogue Knut Tveit argues that although illiteracy had largely been wiped out in the country by the beginning of the nineteenth century, until mid-century literacy was limited to reading known texts, mostly bible text, psalms, catechisms and other religious text that had been memorized for confirmation. Knut Tveit, *Allmugeskolen på Austlandsbygdene 1730-1830*, Studier i jus og samfunnsvitenskap 6 (Oslo: Rådet for samfunnsvitenskapelig forskning, NAVF; Universitetsforlaget, 1990), 121–22.

countryside were more literate, owned and bought more books, both religious and secular, than has previously been thought.⁷³ All in all there is now a consensus among historians of literacy that the Norwegian peasant population was largely literate by the beginning of the nineteenth century and that a literary culture had developed at least in some parts of the Norwegian countryside.⁷⁴

The literature on reading and literary culture in Norway has mostly focused on the peasant population. The picture was, in many ways, more complex in the cities. We can gain a picture of the different segments of literacy and literary culture by looking at the school system. There was no special law concerning schools in Norwegian cities. However, the educational law passed in 1739 made basic schooling obligatory for all children, including in the cities. Most children went to the common schools (Almueskolen), which were run locally and founded through the poor relief budget. All pupils of the common schools learned to read and write and basic mathematics.⁷⁵ At the middle end there was the civic school (Borgerskolen) and on the higher level the Latin school or the “Cathedral school” (Katedralskolen) as it was called. Many children also received private education, either from teachers that provided elementary education (comparable to the common schools) or education comparable to the higher education of the civic school or the Latin school.

The outlines of an urban proletariat were starting to form in the suburbs of Christiania in the 1830s.⁷⁶ According to official statistics, 18% of children living in Norwegian cities had no schooling in 1837, in the countryside the figure was just 5%. This lack of schooling in the cities was mostly due to too few schools. Children were also excluded because of

⁷³ The seminal study here, is: Jostein Fet, *Lesande bønder: litterær kultur i norske allmugesamfunn før 1840* (Oslo: Universitetsforl., 1995). Fet studied literary culture on the Norwegian countryside through inheritance settlements (skifteprotokoller) and other sources. Summing the work of Fet and recent literature on literacy in Norway, Lis Byberg concludes that literacy, in the sense of being able to read and understand unknown text, was more widespread than what had previously been claimed. She attributes this to the commitment by rationalistic and pietistic clergymen in the first and latter half of the eighteenth century, movements such as the lay Christian Haugianer movement, concerned parents, and home schooling. Byberg, “Leseferdighet og skolevesen 1740-1830 pietister, ‘potetprester’ og et ungt norsk Storting.”

⁷⁴ Perhaps the most cited example of literary culture on the countryside is Sivert Aarflot’s printing house at Ekset in Volda. Here, Aarflot printed among other things the periodical *Norsk Landboerblad* from 1810-1816. It is also estimated the writings of the lay Christian preacher Hans Nilsen Hauge was distributed in as much as 200,000 copies around the country in the early years of the nineteenth century.

⁷⁵ A few students also had classes in history, geography and Norwegian grammar, and a few had singing classes.

⁷⁶ See e.g. Sejersted, *Den vanskelige frihet*, 164–67. An official statistical publication on Norwegian Schools published in 1840, stated that the decreased state of the schools in the cities in recent years was because of increased burdens on the poor relief system, caused by an increase of idle persons (næringsløse) in the cities. This meant that the common schools or pauper schools were neglected as the least intrusive part of the poor relief budget: Christian Holst and Den kongl. Norske Departement for Kirke og Utdanningsvæsenet, *Statistiske Tabeller Vedkommende Undervisningsvæsenets Tilstand i Norge Ved Utgangen Av Aaret 1837* (Christiania: Chr. Grøndahl, 1840), 5.

“poverty” or a “lack of interest.”⁷⁷ Of the 2544 eligible primary school pupils in Christiania in 1837, 1287 were in the common schools, 118 were enrolled in the civic school, while the learned school had 96 pupils. A further 129 pupils received private elementary tutoring, while 534 received higher education in private schools or from tutors. The statistics recorded 200 eligible pupils in the Christiania common schools that did not receive schooling because of lack of space.⁷⁸

At a first glance, the picture painted by the official statistics is not all bad. However, on closer inspection, we find that the common schools were not very good. The common schools in Christiania had an average of around 200 children per teacher. Each pupil went to school only 2 days a week, absence could be as high as 50 percent and children would regularly not show up to school because they had to work or because of a lack of clothes.⁷⁹ Massive problems were beginning to show in the city school system by the 1840s, and in 1848, a new school law for the cities was passed which regulated the school system and set limits for the number of teachers per pupil.⁸⁰

The development of an urban proletariat in the suburbs of Christiania had been noted by Henrik Wergeland, who through his journal *For Almuen* (For the Common Man), had focused his educational work in the early 1830s on the peasant population. His periodical *For Arbeidsklassen* (For the working classes), published between 1839 and 1845, was aimed at the urban day laboring class and distributed free of charge in book collections he set up in the suburbs of Christiania. In *For Arbeidsklassen*, Wergeland published many highly moralizing pieces, asserting that the working classes should refrain from alcohol, cursing and idleness. Yet Wergeland also sought to raise the self-respect of working people. The journal contains sketches of life among the working classes, snapshots from the suburbs of Enerhaugen, Grønland and Vika, from prisons, brothels and workplaces. Even though this journal was printed in as many as 2000 and 3000 copies, both Yngvar Ustved and Didrik Arup Seip has argued that Wergeland overestimated the interest: *For Arbeidsklassen* was probably not that widely read.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Holst and Den kongl. Norske Departement for Kirke og Utdanningsvæsenet, *Statistiske Tabeller Vedkommende Undervisningsvæsenet*, 6; Reidar Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 8. utg. (Oslo: Ad notam Gyldendal, 1998), 31.

⁷⁸ The rest of the students belonged to educational facilities at institutions, such as the orphanage, the asylum, the slavery or the prison school. Holst and Den kongl. Norske Departement for Kirke og Utdanningsvæsenet, *Statistiske Tabeller Vedkommende Undervisningsvæsenet*, 56–57.

⁷⁹ Holst and Den kongl. Norske Departement for Kirke og Utdanningsvæsenet, 1; Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 31.

⁸⁰ Myhre, *Den norske skoles utvikling*, 32–33. The new law stated that there were to be at least one permanent school in each city, the teachers were required education (lærerseminar) and no teacher should teach more than 60 students at the same time.

⁸¹ Wergeland had regular sites around the city, where he distributed new issues of his magazine, at post offices, steamship expeditions, or besides certain trees. On Wergeland as educator, see: Yngvar Ustvedt, “Henrik Wergeland som folkeopplyser,” in *Norsk litteraturhistorie: sakprosa fra 1750 til 1995: 1750-1920*, ed. Egil Børre Johnsen, Trond Berg Eriksen, and Knut Ljøgdott,

Many followed Wergeland's lead in trying to educate the population. One was the priest and pioneering social scientist Eilert Sundt. Sundt not only wrote moral tales that would educate the common people, but employed the methods of the developing social sciences to try to understand the common man.⁸² An important part of Sundt's project was to increase interest in obtaining useful knowledge by the working classes. Sundt and Selskabet for folkeopplysningens fremme (The society of the promotion of common education) to that end published the journal *Folkevennen* (The friend of the people) from 1852. Sundt, in his work on the Christiania working class neighborhoods of Ruseløkkbakken and Pipervika in 1855, also investigated literary interest in the working class population. His investigations mainly consisted of counting how many books, newspapers and periodicals the households had. Out of the 288 households he investigated, fifteen did not have any printed texts of any kind in their homes. Most families had two periodical titles or books. He found in total 558 books and 112 newspaper and periodical titles in his investigation. The most numerous periodicals were the educational journal *Nordmannen* (found in 44 families), the Christian journal *For Fattig og Rig* (23 families) and the labor movement leader Marcus Thrane's *Arbeider-Foreningernes blad* (found in 15 families).⁸³ There were fewer illustrated or partly illustrated periodicals, *Skilling-Magazin* being found in three families, Christian Johnsen's partially illustrated *Almuevennen* found in four and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in only one family.

Sundt was disappointed in his findings. Particularly that he found "almost no books of a general educational or entertaining nature" and none on Norwegian history and geography, natural history or technical instruction. He also did not find any copies of Henrik Wergeland's publications for the working classes or, perhaps most importantly for Sundt, hardly any of his own organization's publications. The cause of this lack of useful reading material he speculated was that there were many who could not "read so that

vol. 1 (Oslo: Universitetsforl, 1998), 215–24; Didrik Arup Seip, "Henrik Wergelands arbeid for folkeopplysning," in *Fire foregangsmænd: Peder Hansen, Henrik Wergeland, Eilert Sundt, H. Tambs Lyche*, Norsk bibliotekforenings småskrifter 3 (Kristiania: I kommission hos Cammermeyer, 1917), 19–41. See also: Sejersted, *Den vanskelige frihet*, 164ff.

⁸² On Eilert Sundt, see e.g. Anne-Lise Seip, *Eilert Sundt: Fire Studier* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1983); Martin S. Allwood, *Eilert Sundt: A Pioneer in Sociology and Social Anthropology* (Oslo: Norli, 1957).

⁸³ *Nordmannen* (The Norwegian) with the subtitle "et skillingsblad for almennopplysning" (a skillings-magazine for popular education) was only published during 1855. *Arbeider-Foreningernes Blad* (The magazine of the workers associations) was published from 1849 to 1855. It was edited by the radical workers leader Marcus Thrane from its beginning in 1849 to his arrest in 1851. Later it had several editors, among them Thrane's wife, Josefine. *For fattig og rig* (For poor and rich) was the journal of the domestic Norwegian lutheran missionary (Norsk-luthersk indremissionsselskap), published from 1848 to 1908. From 1848 to 1855 it was edited by the Christian workers organizer Horatius Halling, who started a Christian worker's community (Samfundet paa Enerhougen) as a response to Thrane's radical worker's associations. On these, see: Tveterås, *Norske tidsskrifter*.

they with ease could perceive the content and thereby derive use or pleasure thereof.” Many people talked about how good the Norwegian school system was and how, more than in other countries, it taught all children to read. For the learned classes however, it was hard to understand how it was “possible to have forgotten by the age of eighteen the few reading skills one had at the age of fifteen.”⁸⁴

For Sundt, the problem was not primarily the lack of schooling but the lack of practice. He therefore found it encouraging that there were a significant number of newspapers in the families that he investigated:

Newspapers are to adults what the ABC books are to children – they are useful reading exercises for the more advanced [...]. While the psalm book gathers dust on the shelf in most homes, newspapers can be found in families where there is a desire and interest in reading.⁸⁵

Henrik Wergeland and Eilert Sundt were in many ways typical of the period. The slogan of the period was “the cultivation of the masses.”⁸⁶ It was argued that the common people, to be able to participate in the new democratic society, needed to raise their levels of knowledge and education. The relatively democratic constitution gave everyone who owned land or had a certain income the right to vote. This was quite a considerable number considering all the small-time peasants, merchant and craftsmen who had their own little piece of property. As the later prime-minister Fredrik Stang said “the will of the common people, chastened and moderated, should be the driving force of the workings of the state.”⁸⁷ Disseminating knowledge about history, science, technology, arts and moral and religious texts were seen as key to building the new nation. *Skilling-Magazin* must, as we will see in the next chapter, be viewed in this context. *Skilling-Magazin* and its printers and

⁸⁴ Eilert Sundt, *Om Piperviken og Ruseløkbakken: Undersøgelser om Arbejdsklassens Kaar og Sæder i Christiania* (Christiania: Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme, 1858). “Årsagen til, at der er så fattigt på dette slags bøger, er vist simpelthen den, at der er å mange, rigtig mange af våre folk, som ikke kunne læse i bog, ikke læse således, at de med lethed opfatte meningen, så de have nytte og fornøjelse deraf. Vante som vi ere til den behagelige tale om skolevæsenet i vort land, at Norge fremfor i mange andre lande har ethvert barn lært at læse, vil det for mange falde helt vanskeligt at sætte sig ind i, hvor vidt det går med denne bedrøvelige læsefærdighed blandt voxne folk. Man må nogle gange have hørt, hvorledes almuesfolk stave og stamme sig frem i bogen, for at man tilfulde skal fatte - hvad der falder underligt for den, som idelig sysler med bøger -, at det går an i 18 års alderen at glemme størstedelen af den smule læsekunst, som man havde i 15 års alderen.” Quoted from a transcribed version at: Registreringscentral for historiske data (UiT), http://www.rhd.uit.no/sundt/bind3/eilert_sundt_bd3b.html. Last accessed 5 December 2017.

⁸⁵ Sundt. “Aviserne ere for voxne folk af almuen, hvad Abc-bøgerne ere for børn - de ere nyttige læseøvelser for viderekomne, og det tør nok gå så med mangen en, at når han først har arbejdet sig igjennem en årgang af aviser, så finder han det siden overkommeligt at læse en årgang af prædikener. Men det kan man ialfald skjønne, at medens måske psalmebogen i mangt et hus ligger støvet på sin hylde, så komme aviserne i regelen kun ind i sådanne familier, hvor der er læselyst, og oftest tør vel denne læselyst skrive sig fra en noget større færdighed og vane i at omgæes med bøger fra ungdommen af.”

⁸⁶ “Massens kultiveren,” see: Sejersted, *Den vanskelige frihet*, 198ff.

⁸⁷ The quote is from a tract published in 1835. Here quoted from Slagstad, *De nasjonale strateger*, 33. “Almeenviljen, lutret og modereret [...] skal være den bevægende Kraft I alle Statsorganismens Retninger.”

The magazine and the city

publishers Guldberg & Dzwonkowski were, however, also a part of a community of printers, editors and writers in Christiania.

Chapter 3

Diffusing useful knowledge: *Skilling-Magazin*

Around 180 printers, booksellers, writers and other interested people gathered on 24 June 1840 for a grand celebration in Christiania. The occasion was the four-hundredth anniversary of the invention of the art of printing, a day celebrated with ceremony across Europe. Celebrations such as these had been held on every anniversary in Germany and in centres of printing in Europe and were important in cementing and celebrating Gutenberg as the inventor of printing. This, however, was the first time such a celebration had been held in Norway and Christiania. The initiative came from an article in the *Morgenbladet* newspaper signed “a printer.” While the celebration in Norway may be insignificant compared with festivals held in other countries, “I do not in any way doubt” it stated, “that every printer in the country would see it as appropriate that Norway, the freest country in Europe” would join the celebrations.¹

The centenary celebration of Gutenberg’s invention was a confirmation that Christiania and Norway now had a printing industry to be reckoned with. The Christiania papers, in the days around the celebrations, were filled with reports of the celebration in other countries and tributes to Gutenberg. Norway was one of the last countries in Europe in which the art of printing had been introduced, yet now the development of the art went hand in hand with “the free progressive life which now moves all around the country” as editor of *Skilling-Magazin*, C.A. Guldberg, wrote in his history of printing published for the occasion.² Henrik Wergeland’s cantata “be light!” (vord lys!) was performed at the mass held in the Church of Our Savior at the main square in Christiania. Wergeland depicted the printing press as a light that would diffuse knowledge and education to all classes of society. In his sermon for the occasion, the bishop of Akershus, Christian Sørensen, on the whole agreed with Wergeland, Gutenberg’s art was given to mankind to drive out darkness, to promote enlightenment, truth and brotherly love. But the bishop also provided some warnings. The most dangerous products of the

¹ *Morgenbladet*, 12 May 1840. See also: *Beretning om Sekularfesten i Christiania den 24. Juni 1840 i Anledning af Bogtrykkerkunstens Opfindelse* (Christiania: Chr. Grøndahl, 1840); O. A. Øverland, *Den Norske bogtrykkerforening 1884-1909: med træk af boghaandverkets historie og arbeidskaar i Norge* (Kristiania: Den Norske bogtrykkerforening, 1909), 54ff.

² C. A. Guldberg, *Historisk Udsigt over Bogtrykkerkonsten fra dens Begyndelse til nærværende Tid: et Indbydelsesskrift til Sekularfesten i Christiania d. 24 Juni 1840* (Christiania: Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, 1840), 24.

Skilling-Magazin

til Udbredelse af almennyttige Kundskaber.

I.]

Udkommer hver Løvedag

[Mai 9, 1835.

Til Læseren.

I det Skilling-Magazinet endelig træder frem for Lyser, sker dette ikke uden Frøgt for alt for meget at have trættet vore Subskribenters Taalmodighed, og Red. troer derfor at skøde Læseren nogen Oplysning om de Aarsager, der hidtil have forhindret Skiftets Udgivelse. Uden at vilde give nogen detailleret Fremstilling, der her neppe vilde være passende, vilke vi kun anføre, at uagtet de Hindringer, der fra Begyndelsen mødte Foretagendet, saavel i pecuniær Henseende, som forbi Mangelen paa gode artistiske Anstalter gjorde det umuligt for Red. at faae Bladet nogenledes taalsligt udført, oggaa man dog ikke Haabet om engang at kunne udgive Magazinet i en efter Tidens Forbringer mere passende Form, end den, det udkomme Proveblad havde. I den Anledning foretog den daværende Forlægger en Reise til Kjøbenhavn og Hamburg, for at erholde Afsløiningerne trætte, og Red. nærede Haab om at kunne udgive Bladet i Juli Maaned forrige Aar, da Forlæggerens pludselige Afsætte til Ulandet paa gangen standse det temmelig vidtspændte Foretagende. Forand han forlede Merg, havde han imidlertid overtaget Forlagstretten til de nærværende Udgivere, der ogsaa strax gjorde Foranstaltninger til Bladets hurtige Udgivelse.

Man henvendte sig desaaarsag til Udgiveren af et engelsk Magazin for at erholde de nødvendige Raader, hvilke ogsaa under visse Betingelser blev tilfaede. Red. ser sig atfaa nu istand til at lade Magazinet udkomme regelmæssig og usforbrudt, saange den tør nære Haab om at Nationen selv ikke indtager det sin Gunst. Paa den betoer det, om ete Anstrængelse og vor Moie skal bare Frugter, in vort Haab og vor Tillid ei skal stufkes. Med Haab maae vi tilfaae, at den Deeltagelse, vi have naet fra saa mange Sidre, have været os ligesaa kjær, om overraskende. Subskribenternes Antal udgjorde allerede ved forrige Aars Udlob henimod 2000, — Noget, som maalkke neppe i saa kort Tid er bleven saget andet Skrift til Del her i Landet. Dette er saameget mere forbausende, som det udkomme Prove- nummer i flere Henseender led Meget tiltage at ønske, g vi maae saaledes antage, at den blotte Idee om et Foretagendes Værd og gavnlige Indvirkelse paa folkets Dannelse, har været Aarsag til en saa gunstigt Modtagelse. Uagtet enhver Læser, ved at samvirkende nærværende Nummer med det først udkomne Proveblad, sikker, som vi haabe, vil tilfaae t vi have helbt Merz, end vi havde lovet, er det dog nyttigt at vi ønske vort Arbeide fuldkomment; tvært- ned vil vor bestandige Bestrævelse gaae ud paa, saae i Form som Materie at udføre det alt bedre og mere. Men for at denne vor Bestrævelse kan lykkes,

maae vi ogsaa kunne gjøre Regning paa Nationens Understøttelse. Et Skrift som dette, der skal tværes til en saa lav Pris, kan ei bestaa uden et forholds- mæssigt stort Antal Kjøbere. Endvder, der interessere sig for Oplysningens Fremme i vort Land, vil derfor sikker, som vi haabe, bidrage Et til at vort Foretagende maae have Fremgang og dære de Frugter, som vi vente os deraf, at det ei, som saa mange andre skal døe i Høstet. Vi ønske ogsaa Alle og Enhver, som bestode Kundskaber og Evne til at virke paa Folkets Dannelse, og som ei nægte at Oplysning og Kultur er et Gode, der bør vordre Alle til Del, haabe Høie og Lav, Rige og Fattige, at staae os deres Bistand. Enhvert Bidrag, der omfatter dette Maal, vil af os vordre modtaget med Taknemmelig- hed. — Saalseds lade vi da vort Magazin drage ud blandt Folket med de bedste Ønsker for dets Held. Maatte det sidste den Nøtte, som vi haabe; maatte det vordre en Hjælp for den fattige, men vidbegjærlige Læser; maatte det skænke dem en gavnlig Udbredelse, som af Kjøbsføndede og Liden med unyttige eller son- dige Beskæftigelse; maatte det vordre til Held og Vel- signelse for Enhver, som tager det ihaand — og vor Moie er rigtigsten lønnet.



Benjamin Franklin.

Figure 3.1. Front page of the first issue of *Skilling-Magazin*, published 9 May 1835. With an address to the reader and an engraving of Benjamin Franklin.

press were “those publications that endanger innocence and morality,” he argued. Mainly:

the countless army of novels, many of which must be understood to be a terrible nuisance, as their reading leads to reverie and a distaste for useful activities, fills the brain with overwrought ideas and opens the heart to dangerous temptation.³

The Gutenberg centennial on the whole expressed a general belief in the power of the printing press to change society. However, as Bishop Sørensen reminded the printers and booksellers gathered in the church that day, not all products of the press were useful. A way to combat the reading of immoral novels or dangerous political texts was to provide the public with useful, entertaining knowledge.

One of the main organizers of the event was Carl August Guldberg, who in addition to writing and publishing a historical account of printing for the event, was one of the initiators of a new organization for printers in Christiania. Guldberg was also the co-publisher and editor of *Skilling-Magazin*. First published in 1835 and published almost every Saturday until 1891, *Skilling-Magazin* became an institution of periodical publishing in nineteenth-century Norway. It not only drew on the format of the *Penny Magazine*, but most of its articles in its first years of publication were translations and adaptations of articles published in the *Penny Magazine*, the *Saturday Magazine*, the German *Heller Magazin* or other similar periodicals. While most of the content was translated, it occasionally published original articles as well, much of it written by well-known authors of the time.⁴ This chapter looks closely at *Skilling-Magazin* and its efforts to diffuse useful knowledge in the 1830s and 1840s. The belief in Norway, as in England, in the power of the printing press was tremendous in the 1830s and 1840s and *Skilling-Magazin* must be seen as part of a larger European wide effort to diffuse useful knowledge.

³ Sørensen’s sermon is quoted from Øverland, *Den Norske bogtrykkerforening 1884-1909*, 62.

“Langt farligere have ufeilbar de Skrifter været, som have været til Skade for Uskyld og Sædelighed, den talløse Hær af Romaner nemlig, hvoraf mange maa ansees som en frygtelig Plage, da deres Læsning forvilder Forstanden, leder til Sværmeri og Afsmag for gavnlig Virksomhed, fylder Hjernen med overspændte Ideer, ophidser Indbildningskraften og aabner Hjertet for farlige fristelser.”

⁴ In the first volume, we find a couple of poems by Henrik Wergeland, two articles on tanning by professor in geology Jens Esmark and an article on the poet and playwright Ludvig Holdberg by Maurits Hansen. Other regular contributors in the first couple of volumes include Andreas Faye (A. Faye), Jørgen Hansen (J.H.), Johan Georg Ræder (G.R and r.r.), Peter Treschow Hanson (P.T.H.). Most of the articles in *Skilling-Magazin* were not signed, or only signed with initials. Finding out who actually wrote for the magazine is therefore not easy, but the bulk of the articles were most probably translated by the editor from English, French or German magazines.

***Skilling-Magazin* and its publishers**

The first issue of *Skilling-Magazin* was published on 9 May 1835. A “trial-issue” was, however, announced in January 1834 in the Christiania papers. A subscription plan was included with the trial issue, and the public could sign up as subscribers to the new magazine at Hoppe’s, Cappelen’s and Dahls’s bookstores and at Lundh’s printing house. The trial-issue itself is lost, all we have is an advertisement which explained the general content and purpose of the magazine.⁵ The magazine was, to the best of the publishers’ knowledge, “the first instance of typography, lithography and autography united in one and the same magazine.” The magazine was not, as *Skilling-Magazin* later would be, illustrated by xylographic illustrations with the text, but rather by separate lithographic plates. Regarding autography, the publishers believed that this would contribute to the general cause of benefiting the common man, namely by training the “less versed to read different handwritings.” The advertisement also made clear that its low price meant that the magazine’s existence would depend on a greater number of subscribers than was normal at the time.⁶

The man behind this advertisement was Peter Andreas Brandt. Born in Trondheim in 1791 into a family of German merchants, Brandt was educated as a clerk and originally followed in his father’s footsteps, receiving trade privileges in Trondheim and Bergen. He led a somewhat nomadic life and pursued many interests before arriving in Christiania sometime in 1831 or 1832.⁷ A talented draftsman, he in 1831 started publishing a lithographic children’s series. He planned a series of issues containing 12 lithographic plates which depicted objects of natural history, portraits of famous men, Norwegian national costumes, maps and other subjects, only two issues were published – the second a year after the first.⁸ In 1832, Brandt worked as

⁵ See e.g. Advertisement for *Skilling-Magazin*, in *Tillægg til Den Norske Rigstidende* no 6, Sunday 19 Jan. 1834. According to August Mortensen the issue was printed on a thin greenish paper. August Mortensen mentions that one issue was sold at an auction of the estate after the xylographer Haakon Andelsteen Lunde in 1901 as an inlay of the 1839 volume of the *Skilling-Magazin*: Mortensen, “Bogtrykkerkunstens repræsentanter I Norge XL”, 16

⁶ Advertisement for *Skilling-Magazin*, *Tillægg til Den Norske Rigstidende* no 6, 1834, Sunday 19 Jan. 1834. “Det afgiver, idetmindste hos os, det første Exempel paa Typographie, Lithographie, og Autographie forenede i eet og samme Blad [...] Med hensyn til den Sidste, troer Redactionen at burde gjøre opmærksom paa, at, ligesom det hele er beregnet paa at stifte Gavn, har ogsaa det Autographerede en dermed fremmede Hensigt, den nemlig, at tjene den mindre Bevante til Øvelse i at læse forskjellige Haandskrifter.”

⁷ Birgitte Holten, Michael Sterll, and Jon Fjeldså, *Den Forsvundne maler: P.W. Lund og P.A. Brandt i Brasilien* (København: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2004). In September 1831, he published a note in a Trondheim paper where he announced his services as a lithographer, a teacher of drawing, English, Italian bookkeeping and other subjects. *Trondhjems borgerlige Realskoles alene-privilegerede Adressecontoirs-Efterretninger*, 27. Sept. 1831. The note is cited from Mortensen, “Bogtrykkerkunstens repræsentanter I Norge XXXV”

⁸ *Billedsamling for Ungdommen og dens Venner, indeholdende: et Udvalg af de interessanteste Femstillinger af Historie, Geografi og Naturhistorie*, published by H.T. Winther in 1831. See: Kari Skjonesberg, “At skrive for Børn er en vanskelig Opgave,” in *Norsk litteraturhistorie: sakprosa fra 1750 til 1995: 1750-1920*, ed. Egil Børre Johnsen, Trond Berg Eriksen, and Knut Ljøgdodt, vol. 1 (Oslo: Universitetsforl, 1998), 282–83.

editor of *Troms og Findmarkens Amtstidende*, a newspaper published in Christiania for the northernmost part of Norway.⁹

Brandt sometime during 1833 came upon the idea to start a magazine like the *Penny Magazine*. Through the help of a creditor in Copenhagen, he acquired the funding to establish a magazine and bought a lithographic press. He also enlisted theological candidate Carl August Guldberg to edit the magazine. It was decided that, due to the lack of technical and artistic know-how in Christiania, the magazine would be printed in Copenhagen. However, Brandt had exclusive rights to the magazine and the equipment and materials involved could be moved to Christiania at any time.¹⁰

The magazine had acquired around 2000 subscribers by the end of 1834. This was considered to be an extraordinary success and it was later stated that so many subscribers “perhaps never in such a short time had been reached by any other publication in this country.”¹¹ Despite the initial success of *Skilling-Magazin*, Brandt soon found himself in trouble with his creditor in Copenhagen.¹² He had probably acquired quite a substantial debt acquiring the equipment he needed.

At the same time as the number of subscribers for *Skilling-Magazin* increased, a Danish version of the *Penny Magazine* was in planning. The man behind the endeavor was Edvard Ludvig Thaarup who had worked his way up in the Danish book industry and in the powerful Gyldendal’s bookstore. Thaarup’s father, Fredrik Thaarup, was a high-ranking civil servant and former professor at the university in Copenhagen. It seems that Edvard Ludvig and Fredrik Thaarup had an interest in stopping Brandt’s magazine. In one of his letters, Brandt states that:

cowardice, vileness, intrigues and carelessness have put a stop to even the best enterprises, and thus I was forced to flee the battleground. I did not dare stand up to the snares that councilor [etatsråd] Thaarup and son’s intrigues put up for me. It was no longer just a probability, but a certainty that they would force me to act against my convictions and the interests of the ‘Magazine’ and in favor of the Danish enterprise.¹³

⁹ *Troms og Findmarkens Amtstidende* was initiated by General Paul Hansen Birch, who in addition to being general in the Swedish-Norwegian army, was a philanthropist and teacher at the military academy in Christiania. Brandt must have been quite close to the family, for Birch’s son the later deputy Christian Birch-Reichenwald later became Brandt’s confidant. See: Holten, Sterll, and Fjeldså, *Den Forsvundne maler*, 15.

¹⁰ The agreement between Brandt and his Danish creditor Jens Jørgen Hoppe is available in “Tillegg. Dokument vedrørende Skilling-Magazinets overdragelse til Guldberg,” National Library (NB), Brevs. 50. See also: Mortensen “Boktrykkerkunstens repræsentanter i Norge XL”

¹¹ “Til Læseren,” *Skilling-Magazin* no. 1, May 9th 1835, 1.

¹² Apparently, the trouble started when one of his patrons, General Birch had mentioned Brandt in an “unfavorable way” in a letter to Copenhagen.

¹³ Cited and translated from Mortensen, “Boktrykkerkunstens repræsentanter i Norge XL,” 15-17. The letter was addressed to one of Brandt’s patrons, manager of the arsenal Roshauw, the father of the printer Carl Laurentius Roshauw. See also, P.A. Brandt to C.A. Guldberg 30 Aug. 1830, NB, Brevs. 50

Brandt's debts must, even so, have been quite substantial, as he fled his creditors and ended up in Brazil. In Brazil, he met the Danish natural scientist P.W. Lund and became his draftsman. In letters back home he states that he always planned to go back to Christiania once his debts had been settled. He had, after all, left a wife and children behind. Peter Andreas Brandt never went back to Christiania, he died in Brazil in 1862.¹⁴

The fate of *Skilling-Magazin* was, after Brandt absconded abroad, in the hands of its editor Carl August Guldberg. Born in the Swedish border town of Strömstad, Guldberg had grown up in Fredrikstad and came to Christiania to study in 1829. He took his philosophical exam in 1833, achieving good results, and became a theological candidate.¹⁵ In 1834 Brandt approached him with the editorship of his magazine and Guldberg took, after Brandt had left, over the magazine and its debt. According to August Mortensen, it was while Guldberg was in Copenhagen to settle an agreement with Brandt's creditor that he ran into a Polish refugee named Adam Alexander Dzwonkowski. Dzwonkowski came from a Polish noble family and participated in the Polish uprisings against Russia in 1832, during which he was inflicted with a sword wound to the neck. He was forced to flee, first to Prussia and then to Copenhagen. To make a long story short, he ended up in Christiania, where he married the daughter of a French consul and partnered up with Guldberg to start a bookshop, publishing house and printing house.¹⁶

The *Skilling-Magazin*'s trial-issue may have recruited many subscribers, yet Guldberg did not consider it an artistic success. The lack of "artistic establishments" in Christiania meant they had difficulties publishing the magazine in a "form suitable to the times," as it was stated in the address to the reader in the first issue. To achieve this more suitable form, Guldberg contacted Charles Knight in London to source some stereotyped wood engravings for the magazine. *Skilling-Magazin* relied, in the first years, on images bought from abroad; from the *Penny Magazine*, but also from Germany and France. Together with Dzwonkowski, Guldberg published *Skilling-Magazin* until 1844, when he left the firm to start a career as a priest. Guldberg would continue to edit the magazine until 1856, when Hartvig Lassen took over.

¹⁴ Holten, Sterll, and Fjeldså, *Den Forsvundne maler*.

¹⁵ Johan Grundt Tanum, "Guldberg, Carl August," ed. Edvard Bull, Anders Krogvig, and Gerhard Gran, *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1931).

¹⁶ According to August Mortensen Dzwonkowski had originally planned to go to South America after encountering Guldberg in Copenhagen. His ship went by Larvik, where he on Guldberg's recommendation sought out the local vicar. The vicar convinced him to stay in Norway over the winter, and on 31 October 1834, he arrived in Christiania. Dzwonkowski is on the list of arrivals to Christiania for 31 October in *Morgenbladet*, 2 Nov. 1834. See: Mortensen, "Boktrykkerkunstens Indførelse i Norge.," A.A. Dzwonkowski to C.A. Guldberg, [1834]. NB, Brevs. 50.

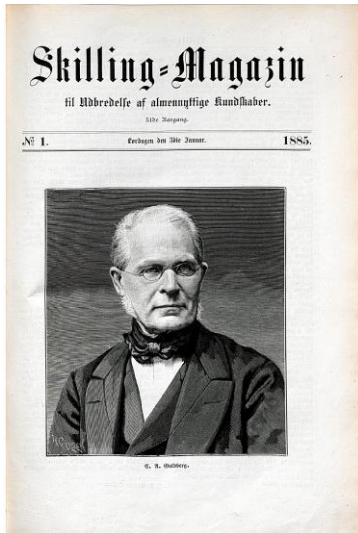


Figure 3.2 C.A. Guldberg in *Skilling-Magazin* no. 1 1885. Published as the magazine celebrated its fiftieth volume.



Figure 3.3 New books. Advertisement for Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's bookstore. Published as *Tillæg til Skilling-Magazin* no. 4, 24 January 1837

Guldberg & Dzwonkowski quickly expanded the bookstore and publishing business, becoming one of the most active publishers in Christiania between 1835 and 1844. The bookstore was first located in Kongens gate, moving to the town square in 1836, Storgata 27 in 1837 and back to the inner-city quarters in Kirkegata in 1841. C.A. Dybwad took over Guldberg's right to *Skilling-Magazin* and, in partnership with Dzwonkowski (under the name C.A. Dybwad & comp.), they published the the magazine until 1847 when it was sold to the printer W.C. Fabritius.

With an emphasis on similar content as *Skilling-Magazin*, Guldberg & Dzwonkowski published educational literature, school books, books and periodicals for children, illustrated works and practical guides and some historical, legal and medical literature. In 1836 they acquired the rights to publish *Stortingstidende*, a review of the proceedings of parliament published as a weekly paper while the parliament was in session (more on this in chapter 8). A catalogue (figure 3.3) published as a supplement to *Skilling-Magazin* in January 1837 lists 18 titles published during 1835 and 1836, issued subscriptions to 6 new titles that would be published during 1837, announced that Guldberg & Dzwonkowski had bought the rights to four publications and listed 21 "useful publications" that were available at their bookstore. In addition to this we find, sheet music and musical textbooks, a selection of copper and steel engravings, lithographic prints and embroidered

wallpapers from Paris.¹⁷ The bookstore and publishing business continued to expand, numerous advertisements being found for the firm in the newspapers as well as in *Skilling-Magazin*. In 1843 alone they published 30 titles, a catalog from the same year listing a total of 170 titles published by their firm.¹⁸

Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's bookstore was sold in 1842 to a student named Tobieson, who would continue to run it for some years, while C.A. Dybwad and Dzwonkowski bought most of the publishing rights when Guldberg withdrew from the firm in 1844.¹⁹ Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's bookstore and publishing house only lasted a couple of years. Yet they had set a mark on the Christiania book trade. *Skilling-Magazin* was their main publication, and out of it grew a large flora of periodicals and illustrated books, many of which reused engravings from *Skilling-Magazin*.

Common presses and imported engravings

The printer's mark on the first issue of *Skilling-Magazin* says "Printed at the Lundhske printing house by C.L. Roschauw." Professor of economics Gregers Fougner Lundh, who had been one of the driving forces of Selskabet for Norges Vel (Royal Norwegian Society for Development established in 1809) from 1822 as secretary and later as literary director, had started a printing house in 1832. In 1831 he started an economic enlightenment journal, but with only 71 subscribers he gave it up after three months.²⁰ In his application to establish a printing house, he justified his reasons for going into the printing trade. He believed printing played an important role in the intellectual and political education of the nation, and therefore thought that it would be of the utmost importance to the government that their literary productions were not left to "the often one sided and greedy arbitrariness" of printers and booksellers. His printing house, he stated, would combine "cheap services" based on an "interest for something other than mere monetary gain." Lundh's printing house, besides printing most of the first volume of *Skilling-Magazin*, printed works by Wergeland, Welhaven,

¹⁷ *Tillæg til Skilling-Magazinet no. 4*, 24 Jan 1837. A subscription to a series of lithographic prints by Prah in Bergen was also issued, a series of prints which contained the Norwegian constitution, a prospect of parliament, a series of six prints of the Cathedral in Trondheim and an "Atlas of Norway."

¹⁸ See: Harald L. Tveterås, "Norsk bokhandel gjennom 100 år," in *N.W. Damm & søn 1843-1943: et firmas historie*, ed. Carl Just (Oslo: Damm, 1947), 105. The bookstore soon branched out and began selling musical equipment as well as sheet music.

¹⁹ Their legal literature was bought by Christian Tønsberg at an auction, forming the basis of his publishing business in the years to come. For C.A. Dybwad, see Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1950, 1:306–12; For Chr. Tønsberg, see Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1986, 3:248ff.

²⁰ *Den Norske Nærings- og Politiven. Et Ugeblad for almeen læsning*. First published by Lundh alone, then together with the later *Morgenbladet* editor Adolf Bredo Stabell. It was published from 3 February to 29 April 1831: Tveterås, *Norske tidsskrifter*, 98.

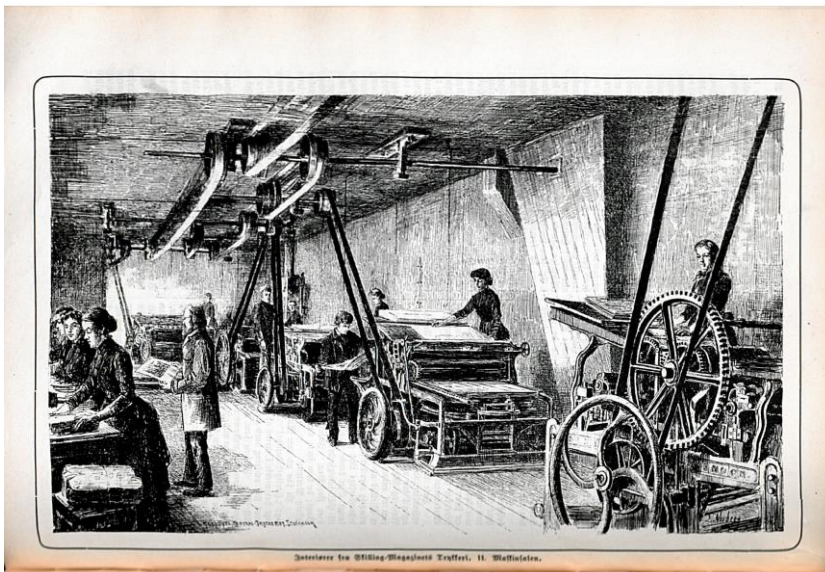
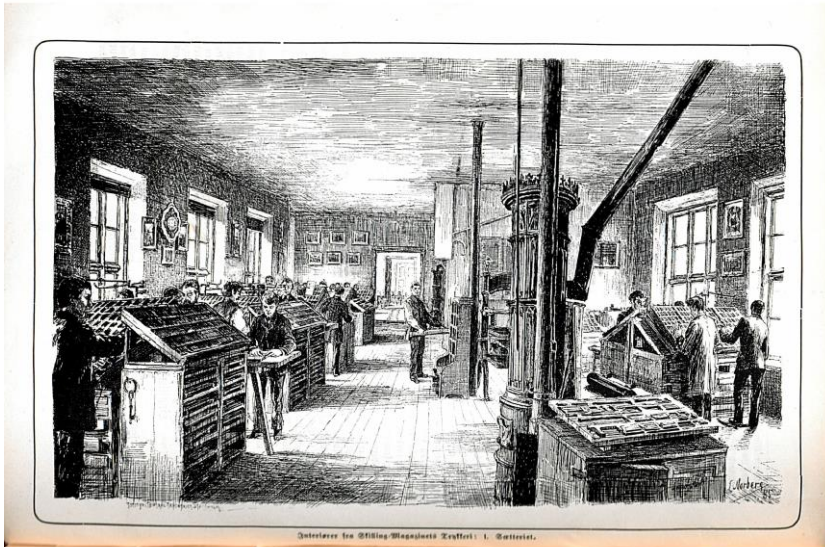


Figure 3.4. Interiors from the Fabritius printing house (the printer of *Skilling-Magazin* from 1847 to 1891) in 1885. Above we see the typesetters room, below the machine hall. By 1885 the printer had multiple steam driven cylinder presses, but the type was still set by hand. Both images were printed in the issue commemorating the magazine's fiftieth anniversary, *Skilling-Magazin* no. 19, 9 May 1885.

Guldberg's short-lived journal *Bondevennen* and Sylvester Syvertsson's oppositional paper *Den Frimodige*. When Lundh died in 1836, his printing house was taken over by his master printer C.L. Roschauw.²¹

Guldberg & Dzwonkowski had by then already applied to the King to start their own printing house. In their application dated August 1835, they stressed the mission of the magazine "to diffuse enlightenment to the middle and lower classes." However, the costs of printing were high, and they argued that starting a printing house would put them in a position where they would be able to bear the great expenses of the magazine. A printing house would also, in the future, allow the firm to publish more publications of a similar type.²² The application was successful, and they started up their printing house in Rådhusgata 28 in 1836 with P.T. Malling recruited to run it. Malling had experience with illustrated journals and had been responsible for printing *Norsk Penning Magazin* for H.T. Winther (see below).

The equipment was not very advanced. The wooden press used at Lundh's printing house was probably made by carpenter Hansen (see chapter 2).²³ The printing house in Rådhusgata 28 ("Røverborgen") had two wooden hand presses, probably also made by Hansen. Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, after moving their printing house to Storgata 27 in 1837, started printing and publishing an illustrated bible on an acquired iron press.²⁴ When W.C. Fabritius bought Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's printing equipment in 1844, it consisted of four hand presses, one of them an iron press.²⁵

The images in *Skilling-Magazin* were mostly stereotypes bought from other magazines such as the *Penny Magazine*, the German *Heller*

²¹ The application is cited from Mortensen, "Boktrykkerkunstens repræsentanter XXXIV." See also: Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1950, 1:241–42; Anton Fr. Andresen, "Gregers Lundh," *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, September 28, 2014, http://nbl.snl.no/Gregers_Lundh.

²² The application was transcribed for the 100-year anniversary of the Fabritius & Co printing and publishing house and can be found in the Fabritius archives: RA, Fabritius, Z-L0011, 100-års-jubileet.

²³ August Mortensen writes that the press used to print the first volume in Lund's printing house had an unusual construction: The body of the press was large enough to take two pages, but the press itself (digelen) was so small that one only could print one page at the time. The cart was first pushed half-way so that one page could be printed, and then pushed in to print another page. Mortensen claims that this meant that for one issue, which consisted of 8 pages, with a 2000 run one had to make 16 000 impressions. This seems a bit unlikely, probably the press needed two pulls to print the sheet properly, as was common with the common press. See:

"Bogtrykkerkunstens repræsentanter I Norge XLI." Hansen's presses were still in use in the early 1850s. When Dzwonkowski sold his printing presses to the printers Anton Wilhelm Brøgger and Jacob Christie in 1852, the contract stated that Brøgger & Christie was responsible for all unpaid claims, for example those of carpenter Hansen: Johansen, *Trangen til læsning stiger*, 69; Halvor Durban-Hansen, *Trykkeriet i vitenskapens tjeneste: A.W. Brøggers boktrykkeri A/S 1851-25. oktober-1951* (Oslo: Brøgger & Christie, 1951), 6.

²⁴ This is based on an interview with a former apprentice, C.P. Mordt in *Nordisk Trykkeritidende* no. 11, 1907. According to the former apprentice, Ole Steen, who later started a printing house in Drammen, had the honourable task of printing the bible on this press. See also: Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier*, 224.

²⁵ Mortensen, "Bogtrykkerkunstens repræsentanter i Norge XLVIII." This is later mentioned in: Carl Just and Øivind Seip Berggrav, *Fabritius & sønner: institusjonen Scheibler: i Gutenbergs tjeneste gjennom 125 år* (Oslo: Fabritius & sønner, 1969), 61–62; Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier*, 207. Probably Mortensen's article's is the source for both.

Magasin, the French *Magasin Pittoresque* or other publications.²⁶ But Guldberg & Dzwonkowski also made efforts to incorporate more original material in the first years of publication. They promised, when summing up the first five years of publishing in 1839, more Norwegian material for the 1840 volume. They mention a description of Norwegian fisheries, several descriptions of Norwegian towns and places and portraits of the family of the Crown Prince. All the illustrations had already been cut by the firm Andrew, Best and Leloir in Paris.²⁷ In addition to the Parisian firm, some “original” images were cut in London (*figure 3.6*), and some by the Danish xylographer A.C.F. Finch. Finch was initially a goldsmith who, during his time at the art academy in Copenhagen in 1832-38, reeducated himself as a xylographer. He did not establish himself as a wood engraver until 1840, his mark, however, was visible in the *Skilling-Magazin* prior to this (see *figure 3.7*).

It was expensive to have images cut in wood abroad. In 1838 it was mentioned that 800 subscribers were needed to pay for a single series of engravings, 1400 if the cost of paper, printing and office hours were accounted for.²⁸ King Karl Johan in some cases offered direct help from the royal treasury to have public buildings and works cut in wood. One was of a new road in Verdal, the so-called Karl Johan road, which king Karl Johan contributed 50 speciedaler to have cut in wood. The King contributed the same amount for and engraving of the parliament chambers (see chapter 8).²⁹ The man responsible for these royal commissions was probably the chamberlain Christian Holst. Holst, in addition to being the royal chamberlain, was secretary of the University and took a keen interest in promoting Norwegian culture. He was perhaps also involved in the financing of an engraving of Karl Johan arriving in Christiania in December 1838. The image (*figure 3.6*) was drawn by the painter Johannes Flintoe and cut by one of “best wood engravers” in London, but not published in *Skilling-Magazin* until August 1839, eight months after the visit. According to Erik Henning Edvardsen, Christian Holst continued to fund Norwegian prospects, illustrations of antiquarian objects and illustrations of national paintings that could be freely used by the illustrated press with government funds well into the 1870s.³⁰

Sending images to be engraved in London or Paris was, as the image of Karl Johan’s arrival is an example of, a logistical challenge. It took months, years even, between ordering an image and publishing it in the

²⁶ Mortensen, “Bogtrykkerkunstens repræsentanter XLIII; XLVII.”

²⁷ “Til Læseren.” *Skilling-Magazin* no. 47, 28 Dec. 1839.

²⁸ “Svar fra Skilling-Magazinets Redaction til Indsenderen i Morgenbladet No. 295,” *Tillæg til Morgenbladet* no. 23, 23 January 1839.

²⁹ “Bogtrykkerkunstens repræsentanter I Norge XLVI”; Edvardsen, “Den tidligste ukepresse i Norge,” 10.

³⁰ Edvardsen, 10.

magazine. In April 1839, Guldberg wrote a letter to Holst asking for a suitable text for the engravings of the Crown Prince and his wife, the portrait of Prince Oscar having been finished.³¹ Yet Oscar's portrait was not printed in the magazine until almost a year later, in June 1840, the image of Princess Josephine not being published until September (*figure 3.5*). The publishers were not pleased with the images and it was stated that the engraving of crown prince Oscar did not "satisfy the expectations we had, when we entrusted the work to one of Paris' foremost artists."³² This was not the only time the work of Andrew, Best and Leloir disappointed the editors of *Skilling-Magazin*. An 1838 image of the interior of the parliament chambers (see chapter 7) was issued with an apology that the author of the article could not guarantee the accuracy of the engraving. The orator in particular was not recognizable to a Norwegian audience and it was speculated that perhaps he was speaking to the parliament in a "French manner."³³



Figure 3.5 Crown Prince Oscar and Princess Josephine. The Portrait of Oscar is from *Skilling-Magazin* no. 29, 18 July 1840. Josephine is from no. 39, 26 September 1840. Both images were engraved by Andrew, Best and Leloir in Paris.

³¹ C.A. Guldberg to C. Holst, 3 April 1839. NB, Brevs. 93

³² The portrait of the crown prince is in *Skilling-Magazin* no. 29, 18 July 1840. That of the crown princess is in *Skilling-Magazin* no. 39, 26 Sept., 1840. "[Vi] maac beklage [at portrættet] ei fulkommen tilfredstille de Fordringer, vi nærede ved at overdrage dette Arbeide til en af Parises første Kunstnere."

³³ "Storthingssalen," *Skilling-Magazin* no. 16, 19 August 1837.

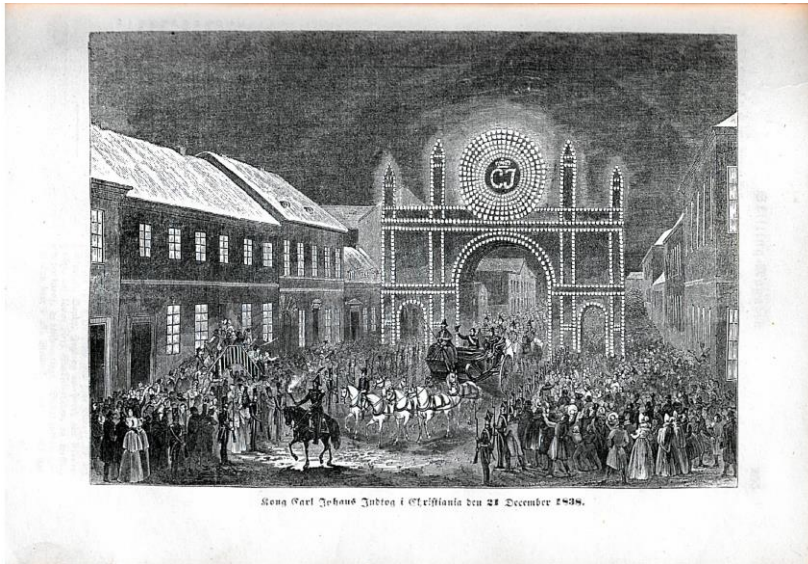


Figure 3.6 King Karl Johan's arrival in Christiania 21 December 1838. Wood engraving by "one of the best engravers in London" after drawing by J. Flintoe. *Skilling-Magazin* no. 32, 10 August 1839.



Figure 3.7 Sverresborg in Trondheim. Wood engraving by the Danish engraver A.C.F. Finch. *Skilling-Magazin* no. 18, 5 September 1835.

Sending images to have them engraved abroad was obviously not ideal. The logistics and high cost were a challenge, and the engravers were not always familiar with the subjects they engraved. The problem, however, was that Christiania did not have any wood engravers. Some lithographic workshops, most notably Winther's and Fehr's, started up in the 1820s, but it took a long time before xylographers set up workshops in the city. A few xylographers did come to Christiania in the early 1840s, encouraged by Guldberg & Dzwonkowski. A Swedish xylographer named Bondé arrived in Christiania around 1840 and after completing some work for *Skilling-Magazin*, he was offered financial support for an education abroad by Guldberg & Dzwonkowski. He left, but never returned. The first xylographer to settle permanently in Christiania was the Danish born Hans Peter Hansen who came to the city with a Danish acting company. Hansen engraved a number of images in *Skilling-Magazin* and other of Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's publications, among them Henrik Wergeland's posthumously published autobiography. Before he left, he also served as a teacher for Haakon Adelsten Lunde, the first native born xylographer in Norway.³⁴ Despite these efforts, Guldberg & Dzwonkowski largely based *Skilling-Magazin* on illustrations bought from abroad, a practice which would, despite more xylographers establishing in Christiania, continue into the 1850s and 60s.

Storgata 27

Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's building in Storgata 27 played an important role in the history of the illustrated press in Christiania.³⁵ The printing houses and offices of *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were at different times located in the building. It is therefore useful here to look a little more closely at Storgata and the building itself. Storgata is one of the oldest streets in the city and for many years the main road into the city from the north-east. The area around Storgata and Brugata was originally known for tanneries, and hawkers and other small-scale "peasant-traders" (bondehandlere) established in the area in the eighteenth-century. Storgata was known until 1827 as Vaterlands Storgate, the main traffic into the city crossing the bridge at

³⁴ Edvardsen, "Den tidligste ukepresse i Norge"; Heiestad, *Bildet i boken*.

³⁵ Guldberg & Dzwonkowski bought Storgata 27 for 18 000 spd. in March 1838. The building was bought from Malling and Seidelin, probably land speculators who had bought the land in 1836. Property sales were listed monthly in the Christiania newspapers. For the March 1838 listing, see: *Morgenbladet*, no 108, 18. April 1838. The different owners of the building is based on a document found in Byantikvarens arkiv, "Rødmappe" Storgata. Thanks to Mathilde Sprovin for tracking this down for me. Malling and Seidelin was a master carpenter and master bricklayer. Malling was probably Christian Malling (1804-1874) who had an education in architectural drawing from the Christiania Royal Drawing School (1820 and 1822) and worked as a carpenter on the royal palace: Mathilde Sprovin, "Tegneskolen i Christiania - en nasjonal arkitekturutdannelse tar form" (Arkitektur- og designhøgskolen i Oslo, 2017), 260 (appendix).



Figure 3.8. Storgata and Youngs løkke from C.H. Grosch's 1833 hand drawn map of Christiania. Oslo Byarkiv. kartsamling.

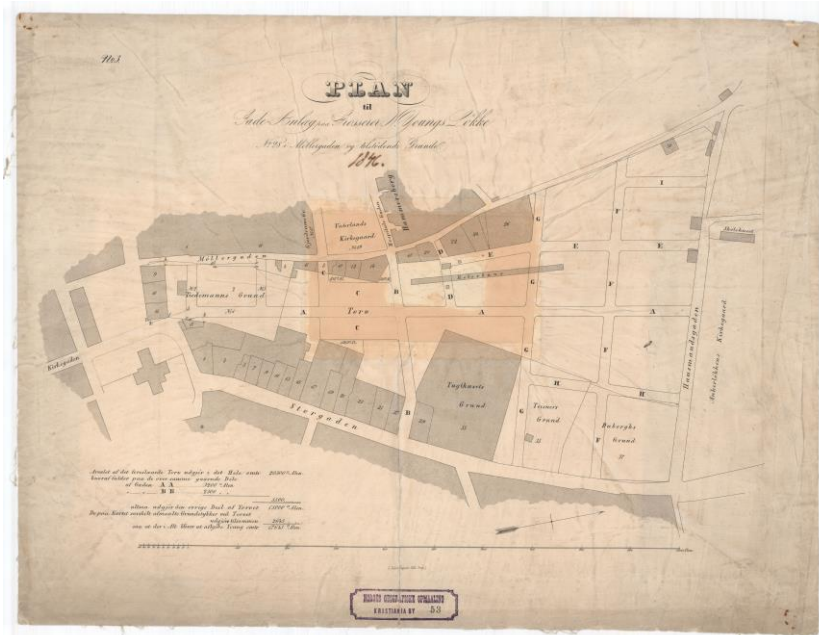


Figure 3.9. Grosch's plan for the new street layout at Youngs løkke, 1848. Lithography. Fedor Tegnér's Lith. Inst. Statens Kartverk, historiske kart.

Vaterland. When a new bridge (Nybrua) was completed in 1827, Storgata was extended north to it. The stretch to Brugata was included into the city proper in a 1784 expansion, and the extension north to Nybrua was included in a large northward expansion in 1839.³⁶ According to Bernt Moe's *Description of Christiania*, there were 953 inhabitants in the suburb of Storgata in 1835.³⁷ In the 1845 tax report, we find only three people with connections to the book trade in the street, two of them (Guldberg & Dzwonkowski and W.C. Fabritius) were located at number 27.

The area around Storgata was, with the large northward expansion in 1839, one of the areas of planned development in Christiania. The population of the city had, since the last expansion of the city proper in the late eighteenth century, doubled and trading activity had increased significantly. Properties suitable for stores and merchant houses were highly attractive and expensive. In 1837, the merchant Jørgen Young sold to the city his land which is now Torggata and the Youngstorget square. The city architect Christian Grosch in 1839 developed a plan for the area, a plan that was adopted with changes in 1846. The plan included a new square (Nytorget, now Youngstorget) and a network of new streets that would connect the new square with already existing streets and thoroughfares (see *figure 3.9*).³⁸

High property prices in the inner-city quarters, the expansion of the city proper to the north and the plans to develop the area were probably all factors that contributed to Guldberg & Dzwonkowski moving their bookstore and printing house to the brand-new three-storey brick building in Storgata 27. When they bought the building in 1838, there had been no street to the north of the building and a high fence ran from the northern side of the building up to the city prison (tukthuset). Between 1838 and 1844 Youngsgata was established to the north of the building. When Guldberg & Dzwonkowski unsuccessfully tried to sell the building in 1844, they advertised that the building had “gained much by the new street” and suggested that a “fine corner store” could be established on the ground floor.³⁹

Guldberg & Dzwonkowski probably had set up their printing room on the ground floor of the building, their bookstore being on the first floor. However, Storgata was not in the inner-city quarters, the most major urban

³⁶ Tvedt, *Oslo byleksikon*, 412–13; Aksel Arstal, *Oslo byleksikon: stedleksikon over Oslo og nærmeste omegn* (Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum, 1938), 186–87.

³⁷ Bernt Moe, *Beskrivelse over Christiania, i Omrids* (Christiania: Gulberg & Dzwonkowski, 1838), 13.

³⁸ On the northward expansion and Youngstorget, see: Truls Aslaksby, *Slik ble det: Christianias bebyggelseshistorie på 1800-tallet* (Oslo: Ad notam, 2017), 67–72.

³⁹ When Guldberg left the partnership in 1844, they tried to sell the building. The building was listed for sale several times in *Morgenbladet* and *Den Constitutionelle* during February and March 1844. However, the attempts were unsuccessful, and Guldberg sold his part in the building to Dzwonkowski for 7500 spd. Dzwonkowski continued a publishing business, and for a short time, attempted to re-establish a bookstore in the Storgata building in the early 1850s.



Figure 3.10. Storgata looking north-east from Stortorget some time between 1863 and 1883. Photograph by Ole Tobias Olsen. Oslo Museum/OB.OT355

development was taking place not to the north of the city, but to the west. As we saw in the previous chapter, a central location was important. It provided closeness to the book buying public and to the city's cultural and political institutions, it could be related to questions of trust and civility and meant being a part of the community of booksellers, publishers and printers. The area around Storgata and the new square remained somewhat dubious compared to the central quarters, and all these factors probably contributed to Guldberg & Dzwonkowski moving their bookstore back to the inner-city quarters in the early 1840s (the printing house remained in Storgata). Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's bookstore was by 1842 located in Kirkegata, the rooms on the first floor of their Storgata building being used as a temporary chapel for the newly established Catholic Church in Christiania.⁴⁰

Storgata 27 still was well known as the site of Guldberg and Dzwonkowski's and later Fabritius' printing house. Bookstores, printing houses and newspaper and periodical offices were important to the public life of Christiania, and Guldberg & Dzwonkoski were one of the most productive publishers and printers in the city. The address is mentioned several times in newspaper advertisements and in *Skilling-Magazin* and readers in Christiania would have been familiar with the site as the office of *Skilling-Magazin* and

⁴⁰ Mortensen, "Bogtrykkerkunstens repræsentanter i Norge XLIII"

Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's other publications. The building would have been familiar to writers as well and *Skilling-Magazin* recruited a wide range of writers who would probably have gone in and out of the building. Henrik Wergeland had, at times, a close relationship with Guldberg & Dzwonkowski and Storgata 27 was most likely a gathering place for the radical circle around Wergeland. In his biography of Wergeland, Yngvar Ustvedt mentions Dzwonkowski as one of a small group of social revolutionaries that Wergeland had close contact with in the late 1830s, a group which included the German radical, anticlerical republican Georg Fein.⁴¹ The building was also well known as the location of the first catholic congregation in the city established in 1843, a congregation that Dzwonkowski was key in helping establish.⁴²

Xylography or lithography? Winther's *Norsk Penning Magazin*

A review of *Skilling-Magazin* published in *Morgenbladet* in June 1835, warned against confusing *Skilling-Magazin* with a "magazine called Penning-Magazin, published from Winther's bookstore." The anonymous authors accused Winther of stealing the idea. Hans Thøger Winther was born in Thisted on Jylland, Denmark in 1787. He came to Christiania in 1801, finished his legal education in 1806 and became a solicitor, from 1816 working in the highest solicitor's office in the country. He soon, however, started activities that had little to do with law. In 1822 he started a book and music shop in his house in Øvre Slottsgate and, late in 1826, set up a printing house, with a lithographic press in the basement. Winther was a great lover of music and his home, bookshop and printing house in Øvre Slottsgate 25 became a meeting point for musicians and artists. He was also a pioneering figure in the development of photography in Norway.⁴³

⁴¹ Yngvar Ustvedt, *Henrik Wergeland: en biografi* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1994), 309. In addition to Wergeland publishing some of his poems in *Skilling-Magazin*, Guldberg & Dzwonkowski also published some of his books. On Wergeland's relationship with Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, see: Didrik Arup Seip, *Henrik Wergeland og boktrykkerne* (Oslo boktrykkerforening, 1958), 94–108.

⁴² Karl Kjelstrup, *Norvegia Catholica: moderkirkens gjenreisning i Norge: et tilbakeblikk i anledning av 100-årsminnet for opprettelsen av St. Olavs menighet i Oslo, 1843-1943* (Oslo: Apostoliske vikariat, 1942), 42ff.

⁴³ H.T. Winther had published several periodicals before starting *Norsk Penning Magazin* in 1834, the most important being: *Anmeldelser, Literatur og Kunst vedkommende* (1827–29) and *Bien. Et Maanedsskrift for Moerskabslæsning* (1832–38). He also published plays, fiction, religious tracts, an illustrated bible and associated books of practical instruction. Winther was a pioneer in photographic techniques, not only key in introducing Daguerre's invention to Norway, but he experimented with novel ways to print photographs on paper, see his: *Anviisning til paa trende forskjellige Veie at frembringe og fastholde Lysbilleder paa papir: som Portraitter af levende Personer... en Opfindelse* (Christiania: H. T. Winther, 1845). On Winther, see: Rolf A. Strom, "Hans Thøger Winther: Norges første fotograf og grunnleggeren av den norske illustrerte presse," *Volund* 1958 (1958): 131–150; On Winther as music publisher, see: Kari Michelsen, *Musikkhandel i Norge fra begynnelsen til 1909*, Utskriftsbar versjon fra digitalversjonen. (Norsk musikkhistorisk arkiv, Universitetet i Oslo, 2010).

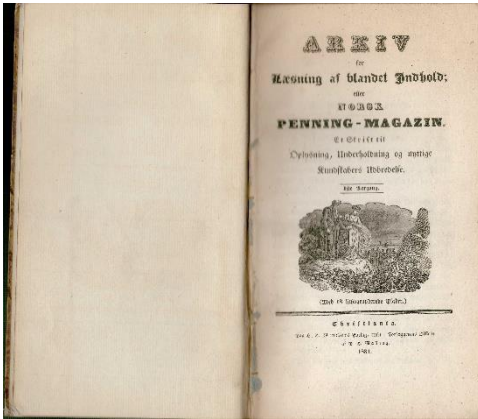


Figure 3.11. Title page for the first volume of *Norsk Penning Magazin*, 1834.



Figure 3.12. Front page of *Norsk Penning Magazin* for April 1839 with a wood engraving of Place de la Concorde (Endrægtighedspladsen) in Paris.

Winther soon began to publish more or less short-lived periodicals and printed and published large amounts of music from his lithographic press. He issued a subscription for his *Archiv for Læsning af blandet Indhold* (archive for the reading of mixed content) in December 1833. The magazine was published monthly from 1834-42 with an inlay of lithographic prints. In 1835 it added *Norsk Penning Magazin* to its name and in 1836 increased the format of the magazine and incorporated xylographic images on its cover pages. Lithography, invented by Alois Senefelder in Munich around 1798, was an entirely novel printing process. The technique rested on two basic principles: that grease and water do not mix and that both are absorbed by a porous substance. Greasy marks drawn on stone will therefore repel water, but the water will be absorbed by the stone. A subsequent application of greasy printing ink will adhere to the marks, and not to the damped stone. Lithography, unlike xylography or intaglio techniques, was printed from a flat surface. It was relatively easy to master and an extremely versatile technique, but could not be printed together with movable type.⁴⁴

A rivalry quickly developed between *Skilling-Magazin* and Winther's *Penning Magazin*. Winther used lithographs made in his own workshop to illustrate its articles, arguing the superiority of this technique compared to the wood engravings of *Skilling-Magazin*. Winther, in an article published in his *Penning Magazin*, stabbed into *Skilling-Magazin* with accusations of the magazine slavishly copying and lacking originality. His main argument was his lithographs which, when compared with the

⁴⁴ See e.g. Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970*, 25–26.

xylographic stereotypes of the *Skilling-Magazin*, were more delicate, original and better suited to the Norwegian situation. Most “Penning Magazines” that used xylographic illustrations contained the same drawings and the publishers were tied to subjects that did not necessarily interest the public, he argued.⁴⁵ However, an anonymous contributor in *Morgenbladet* took Guldberg & Dzwonkowski’s side and accused Winther of elevating himself at the expense of *Skilling-Magazin*.⁴⁶

Guldberg & Dzwonkowski answered the accusations in the foreword to their magazine’s first volume. They stated that it was because of the lack of homegrown xylographers that the images had to be cut abroad and that it had not occurred to them that they were less national than Winther’s lithographic stones. Winther’s images, they argued, were often simply lithographic copies of wood engravings taken from the same magazines as those used by *Skilling-Magazin*. Guldberg & Dzwonkowski could also inform the public that they now had obtained an agreement with an “qualified foreign artist” and that in the following volume there would be more images of domestic scenes.⁴⁷

Nonetheless, it was not just Winther that complained about the use of foreign material in *Skilling-Magazin*. In October 1838 a “guardian of all endeavors for the education of the common man” wrote to *Morgenbladet* to air his discontent. It seemed that the content of *Skilling-Magazin* all too often was guided by the stereotypes that were available, rather than by its “appropriateness to our great audience.” This meant that some unfortunate political opinions were uttered in the magazine. According to the contributor, it was not only inappropriate but harmful “for the mindset of our people” to, verbatim and without comment, republish articles from publications such as the “Tory Penny Cyclopedia,” the German *Heller Magazin* or the “despicable” Danish *Dansk Penning Magazin*. The “guardian” argued that *Skilling-Magazin*, besides being practical and educational, should be “liberally leading.”⁴⁸

The editors of *Skilling-Magazin* published, at the end of January 1839, a long response to the accusations. They were not aware that the

⁴⁵ “Den indianske Palankin,” *Norsk Penning Magazin* vol 2, 1835, 138-39. See also: the preface to the 1835 volume of *Norsk Penning Magazin*

⁴⁶ “Skilling-Magazin (indsendt)” *Morgenbladet* June 4. 1835

⁴⁷ “Fordord,” *Skilling-Magazin* first volume 1835-36

⁴⁸ “Til Skillingmagazinets Redaction (Indsendt),” *Morgenbladet*, 22 October 1838. “en Ynder af alle Foretagender til Menigmands Oplysning.” “Det forekommer Inds. Sosom der er Spor af at dettes (*Skilling-Magazinets*) Indhold altfor ofte bliver mere bestemt efter de Stereotypplader, som tilfældigvis kunde erholdes fra Udlandet, end efter Indholdets Hensigtsmæssighed for vort store Publicum. Man kan gjøre Fordring paa at see det Ubrugelige og for vort Folks Tænkemaade Fordærlige i en fremmed Opsats fra det toryiske Penny Cyclopedia, det tydske Hellermagazin eller det afskyelige danske Penningmagazin enten bortstrøget eller i Anmærkninger paaapeget og rettet i det norske Skillingmagazin. Man kunde i det Hele vente at see Spor af en Redaction, som ikke blot var skjønnsom i sit Valg, men noget selvvirksom og som vidste at give sit Blad nogen Holdning.”

magazine should be liberal, in fact they had always believed and still believed that politics had no place in the magazine. There were enough publications that dealt with political questions, “that demigod of the day.” According to the editors, it was “only when events are acquired by history, or at least when so much time has passed that the events with some certainty can be perceived from an historical standpoint, that they can find their place in ‘a Skilling-Magazin.’”⁴⁹ The public moreover had to consider the resources and time required to edit and publish the magazine. It would be strange, they claimed, if the magazine could not build on the numerous publications of a similar kind that were published all over Europe. There were already many original articles in *Skilling-Magazin*. And if the public expected as many original illustrations as in similar magazines abroad, then their expectations were simply too high. With a circulation of up to 200,000, the *Penny Magazine* could afford different level of original illustrations. If the public expected the same level of original illustrations as the English magazines, then the number of subscribers to *Skilling-Magazin* must increase significantly.⁵⁰ If an article or image was good enough for millions of readers in Europe and in Britain then, it was argued, it had to be good enough for a few thousand readers in Norway.

A house library?

The initial reception of *Skilling-Magazin* seems, despite some complaints about lack of domestic and national content, to have been positive. A review submitted to *Morgenbladet* and published about a month after the first issue, praised the efforts of the magazine. Despite a few typographical errors and a couple of short articles that clearly were not “meant for our country” it was as one would want it.⁵¹ Henrik Wergeland, an avid supporter of all educational efforts, also embraced *Skilling-Magazin*. Its editors did a good job, the articles were well chosen and, best of all, it was cheap. In the future, Wergeland argued, the magazine had the potential to become a “house library,” a “comfort for the peasant to take up and read out loud in the winter nights when he comes home from work.” *Skilling-Magazin* would be “ranked after the Bible and the Psalm book and could be put beside Snorro, since its usefulness in daily life will always be felt.”⁵²

⁴⁹ “Svar fra Skilling-Magazinets Redaction til Indsenderen i Morgenbladet No. 295,” *Tillægg til Morgenbladet no. 23*, 23 January 1839 “Det ere Blade nok, som kunne beskæftige sig med denne Dagens Afgud; først naar Historien har tilegnet sig Begivenhederne eller idemindste saa lang Tid er gaaet hen, at de med nogen Sikkerhed kunne opfattes fra det historiske Standpunkt, have de Ret til at finde Plads i et Skilling-Magazin.”

⁵⁰ “Svar fra Skilling-Magazinets Redaction til Indsenderen i Morgenbladet No. 295,” *Tillægg til Morgenbladet no. 23*, 23 January 1839

⁵¹ “Skilling-Magazin (indsændt),” *Morgenbladet* 4 June 1835

⁵² Henrik Wergeland “Om Skilling-Magazin (Indsendt),” *Statsborgeren* 25 Oct. 1835, in *Samlede skrifter: trykt og utrykt. 3 B. 2 Artikler og småstykker: polemiske og andre 1833-1836*

There are a couple of things we can note about Wergeland's assessment. Firstly, the passage acknowledges that oral reading was still a widespread practice. He envisaged reading as a social activity within the household, the father gathering the family and reading out loud to them in the evenings. Secondly, the magazine was not a magazine that was bought, read and thrown away. It was intended to be bound, put on the shelf and taken down again. A title page and contents were distributed to subscribers after every volume, and we find numerous advertisements from bookstores and private individuals selling old bound volumes of *Skilling-Magazin*. As we have seen, the editors argued that the day to day political struggles had no place in the magazine, the longevity of the content being an important aspect.

But how widespread was the magazine and who subscribed to it? The lack of surviving subscription lists or other indications of readership makes it hard to determine exactly who and how many subscribed. As we have seen, *Skilling-Magazin* was initially considered a success, boasting 2000 subscribers in 1835, a substantial number for Norway at the time. However, it seems that the initial novelty soon faded. The number of subscribers probably decreased slowly, probably to somewhere between 1500 and 1600 in 1838.⁵³ By the early 1860s the number of subscribers had increased again. In 1863 and 1866 around 2000 subscriptions of *Skilling-Magazin* were sent by post, half of them to the eastern part of Norway.⁵⁴

Dybwad and Dzwonkowski started, from 1845, to hold lotteries to boost subscription numbers. Every subscriber who had paid the annual fee by the end of the year was eligible to win cash prizes, and the prizes would increase if the number of subscribers reached 2000. The winners were selected at an event at the masonic lodge, another occasion where readers and publishers came together. The winners of the lottery in 1846 and 1847 were announced in the magazine with their full names and titles. These can at least give some indication of who subscribed to *Skilling-Magazin*. Among the winners we find many subscribers at post offices around the country, an indication that many of the subscribers were people outside Christiania and its nearest surroundings. Among subscribers in Christiania and its nearest surroundings we find carpenters, booksellers, printers, clerks, teachers and a

(Oslo: Steenske Forlag, 1933), 246–47. “[...] bliver [Skilling-Magazinet] og eengang i Tiden, eftersom det gaar fremad et Huusbibliothek, der bliver en Vederqvægelse for Bonden at tage for sig og læse høit af i Vinterqvellene, naar han kommer ind fra sit Arbeide, og det kan blive en nyttig Haandbog, hvori han kan kaste op om nyttige Tings Tilberedelse o. s. v. Skillingsmagazinet faaer altsaa Rang efter Bibelen og Psalmebogen, og kan lægges ved Siden af Snorro, da Nyttens af Skillingen i daglig Liv altid føles.”

⁵³ This number is mentioned by the Guldberg & Dzwonkowski in an article in *Morgenbladet*. “Svar fra Skilling-Magazinets Redaction til Indsenderen i Morgenbladet No. 295,” *Tillægg til Morgenbladet* no. 23, 23 January 1839.

⁵⁴ Langseth, “Christian Johnsens ‘Almuevennen,’” 144–46. Langseth's figures are based on an overview of journals and newspapers sent by post found in the archives of the main post office in Christiania. Probably, the actual circulation figures were higher, as many would subscribe within the city of Christiania or its immediate surroundings.



Figure 3.13. The brothers Forseth, portrayed with an issue of *Skillings-Magazin*. Painting on canvas by Matthias Stoltenberg (1799-1871), 1850, 52x44cm. Photo by Anne-Lise Reinsfelt. Norsk Folkemuseum/NF.32395-001.

professor. This information is not conclusive, but it indicates that subscribers to the magazine were a mix of educated craftsmen, middle class merchants and more educated people of the “upper classes.”⁵⁵

Literary historian Patricia Anderson has looked at the readership of mass market illustrated magazines such as the *Penny Magazine*, the *London Journal*, *Reynold's Miscellany* and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* by looking at who wrote in to them. Her findings show a similar trend to the winners of the *Skillings-Magazin* lotteries: “those who wrote to and, by extension, all those who read the magazines came from several social, occupational and economic levels – with perhaps a majority comprising clerks, shopkeepers and the more prosperous strata of the working class.”⁵⁶ The editors of *Skillings-Magazin* stated in 1838 that it was a common misconception among the public that the main target for the magazine was the peasant classes. It was rather aimed at all who wanted to obtain useful knowledge, “whether peasant or bourgeoisie.” In fact, they argued, most of

⁵⁵ Among the winners of the 1846 lottery, we find two carpenters (among them one was master carpenter), one shopkeeper, one sergeant, one clerk (fuldmæktig) one printer (Wulfsberg in Drammen). Among the 1847 winners we find one broker, one higher teacher, three booksellers and one professor (C. Holmboe of Christiania). *Skillings-Magazin*, 1846, p. 416; 1847 p. From his meticulous diaries, we also know that Ivar Aasen read *Skillings-Magazin* in the 1830s and was a subscriber in the 1860s. Ivar Aasen, *Brev og dagbøger: Dagbøger 1830-1896*, vol. 3, 3 vols. (Oslo: Samlaget, 1960).

⁵⁶ Patricia J. Anderson, “‘Factory Girl, Apprentice and Clerk’: The Readership of Mass-Market Magazines, 1830-60,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25, no. 2 (1992): 65.

the people who subscribed to the magazine were people of the “so-called middle classes.”⁵⁷

It seems that some of the initial support was as much support for the cause of diffusing useful knowledge as it was a genuine interest in the magazine’s content. It was mentioned in the *Morgenbladet* review in 1835 that “the goodwill with which several of Christiania’s better citizens have met this beneficent endeavor deserves the nation’s highest gratitude.”⁵⁸ The support of the diffusion of useful knowledge went to the highest levels of government. *Skilling-Magazin* was granted reduced postage (portomoderasjon) from the beginning, something that was granted by the King to publications of an especially useful character. After a new postage act was passed in 1837, *Skilling-Magazin* was the first publication to be granted reduced postage by parliament.⁵⁹ In addition, the Storting decided that 97 volumes every year should be distributed to particularly gifted students in the common schools at the government’s expense.⁶⁰

Subscriptions were important, but the number of subscribers does not tell the whole story. There was a widespread practice of sharing subscriptions, within a single household, and between several households, as many as six households sometimes sharing a subscription to a newspaper such as *Morgenbladet*.⁶¹ *Skilling-Magazin* could also be read in Christiania and across the country at reading clubs and commercial lending libraries or in book collections.⁶² Henrik Wergeland had played an important role in establishing book collections aimed at common people around the country from the 1840s and *Skilling-Magazin* became a favored item. *Skilling-Magazin* and *Almuevennen* were, in 33 of the 88 book collections Eilert Sundt investigated in the 1860s, the most loaned out items.⁶³

⁵⁷ “Svar fra Skilling-Magazinets Redaction til Indsenderen i Morgenbladet No. 295” *Tillægg til Morgenbladet no. 23*, 23 January 1839

⁵⁸ “Skilling-Magazin (indsænt),” *Morgenbladet* June 4, 1835.

⁵⁹ Finn Erhard Johannessen, *Alltid underveis: Postverkets historie gjennom 350 år: 1647-1920*, vol. 1 (Oslo: Elanders forl./Posten, 1997), 152–56. Postage exemption (portofrihet) was granted to letters from state and public institutions, schools and the poor relief system. Reduced postage (portomoderasjon) was granted to newspapers and magazines of an especially useful character. Postage was a controversial topic in the 1820s and 30s. Many argued that Karl Johan removed right to reduced postage to actively to censor unwanted publications. The new postage act of 1837 granted the right to grant reduced postage to the parliament.

⁶⁰ Mortensen, “Bogtrykkerkunstens Ræpresentanter XLIII,” This was stated in a Royal Assent of 1839 (Kgl. Res. no. 97 1839).

⁶¹ Hauge, *Morgenbladets historie*, 1:136.

⁶² See e.g. Elisabeth S. Eide, *Bøker i Norge: boksamlinger, leseselskap og bibliotek på 1800-tallet* (Oslo: Pax, 2013); Eide, “Reading Societies and Lending Libraries in Nineteenth-Century Norway.” The high-society reading club Athenæum subscribed to the *Skilling-Magazin* in 1838, but ten years later we do not find it among the newspapers and journals available.

⁶³ Arne Arnesen, “Eilert Sundt,” in *Fire foregangsmænd: Peder Hansen, Henrik Wergeland, Eilert Sundt, H. Tambs Lyche*, Norsk bibliotekforenings småskrifter 3 (Kristiania: I kommission hos Cammermeyer, 1917), 52. *Skilling-Magazin* was the most popular item in the book collection in Verdal from 1848 to 1851. In Volda the first volume of the *Skilling-Magazin* (bought in 1848) was loaned out eight times in 1853, a relatively high number compared to other periodicals available at the library. Eli Kristoffersen and Anders Bendiksen, *Bygda og biblioteket: Verdal bibliotek 1848-1998: jubileumsberetning* (Verdal: Verdal kommune,

Skilling-Magazin, like *Penny Magazine* and other similar endeavors across Europe, must be seen as a part of and a continuation of an enlightenment project. As Michel de Certeau has argued, the ideology of enlightenment claimed that printed texts could “transform manners and costumes, that an elite’s products could, if they were sufficiently widespread, remodel a whole nation.”⁶⁴ This belief in the diffusion of knowledge was, as we have seen, widespread among the elites of nineteenth-century Norway. The images of *Skilling-Magazin* were seen partly as a way to “lure the people in” and to make them interested.

The French historian Roger Chartier, building on de Certeau, has pointed out that the materiality of a text can designate it for a certain audience.⁶⁵ The most obvious material fact about *Skilling-Magazin* was that it was richly illustrated. This extensive use of illustrations implied a particular audience to the learned elite. As noted earlier, A.O. Vinje stated that the images in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were mostly for woman and children. In a more elaborate article on wood engraving as a tool of popular education, the art historian Lorentz Dietrichson argued that wood engravings were important for teaching the common people a sense of form and aesthetics. The cold Norwegian climate meant that urban spaces were not as much used as in southern countries. Adornments on buildings and public spaces could therefore not play the same role as they did in places such as Italy or southern Germany. This made wood engravings even more important in the Nordic countries, Dietrichson argued.⁶⁶ The press was, for the French Saint-Simonian literary historian and critic Hippolyte Fournier, the “public square of the great nations of the modern age, of the nineteenth century.”⁶⁷ For Dietrichson, the illustrated press could be a public square that taught commoners in the cold climate of the north an aesthetic sense, a sense of form.

For Wergeland, as for Dietrichson, images were not only a tool to get people to read the articles but played an important educational role. He argued that images could give a “new liveliness” to the imagination of the common people, they might awake an until now dormant capacity among the common people, namely fantasy. As an example of this, Wergeland claimed to have seen a peasant draw a picture of a leopard from memory after the first issue of *Skilling-Magazin*. Wergeland’s joke was that the peasant could not

Bygdeboknemnda, 1998), 57; Johan Olaisen, *Volda folkebibliotek 1797-1900: lokal kulturhistorisk sammenheng, organisasjon, økonomi, bokbestand og utlån* (Trondheim: J.L. Olaisen, 1978), 140–41.

⁶⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 166.

⁶⁵ Chartier, “Laborers and Voyagers”; Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

⁶⁶ Lorentz Dietrichson, “Træsnettets Betydning Som Folkedannelsesmiddel Med Specielt Hensyn Til de Nordiske Nationer,” *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Literatur Og Kunst* Første bind (1863): 309–16.

⁶⁷ Quoted from Bergdoll, “The Public Square of the Modern Age.”

finish the drawing, and his cat had to help him out in the end. The story still this showed, to Wergeland, how this new capability was in full swing.⁶⁸

Wergeland's observations point us to the notion of reading as a creative practice. Publications such as *Skilling-Magazin* can easily be discarded as attempts of the more powerful to impose their values and ideology on the less powerful. However, as Michel de Certeau reminds us, the "strategies" of those in power are met with the "tactics" of those that power is asserted upon. Readers are like travelers, de Certeau states, they "move across lands belonging to someone else."⁶⁹ In moving across those lands, they always reshape the landscape. Writing, for de Certeau, is conservative, durable and fixed, while reading is always in the order of the ephemeral.⁷⁰ This allows the reader a freedom, but the ephemerality also makes historical reading practices extremely hard to capture. One of the strategies of the elites in the 1830s for diffusing what they considered useful knowledge among the populace, was to provide them with images. We simply do not know much about how these publications were read. In de Certeau's language, we don't know very much about which "tactics" the readers of *Skilling-Magazin* used to reshape its texts and images to their own wants and needs.

Virtual travel

Michel de Certeau's image of readers as travelers is a good reminder of reading as a creative practice. But the readers of *Skilling-Magazin* could travel in other ways as well. Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, in their study of the form of news in America, noted that the built environment was one of the favorite themes of the illustrated press. This, they argue, fits in with a sense of the mission of illustration to "effect the virtual travel" of their readers.⁷¹ Readers could tour the great buildings and cities of the world on the pages of *Harper's Magazine*, *Illustrated London News*, *Penny Magazine*, or indeed *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*.

If one of the missions of the illustrated press was to "effect the virtual travel" of their readers, then *Skilling-Magazin's* readers were, in the 1840s and into the 1850s, transported to all kinds of urban environments, both ancient and modern. In a number of articles, all with titles such as "the city of Edinburgh" "the city of Barcelona" "the city of Lintz in Austria" and so on, readers could learn about the great and small cities of the world (*figure 3.14*). These "the city of" articles followed a similar pattern, describing the respective cities in their landscape, notable buildings and streets, their

⁶⁸ Henrik Wergeland "Træk af den periodiske Litteraturs Indflytelse paa Almuesmand," *Morgenbladet* 20 Aug. 1835 in *Artikler og småstykker 1833-38*, 232-33.

⁶⁹ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

⁷⁰ Chartier, "Laborers and Voyagers."

⁷¹ Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 119.

historical development and other notable facts such as their main source of income and so on. The urban centres of Europe were also described in travel accounts and one could find images of urban institutions such as the London University, the Hamburg Stock Exchange, Pentonville Prison and read about new inventions such as gas lightning for city streets, the railway and the telegraph on the pages of *Skilling-Magazin*.

The German romantic writer and poet Heinrich Heine, when he visited London in the 1820s, was awestruck. He published a series of sketches from his English travels in a German periodical where he described his encounter with the city:

I have seen the greatest wonder which the world can show to the astonished spirit; I have seen it, and am more astonished then ever—and still there remains fixed in my memory that stone forest of houses, and amid them the rushing stream of faces, of living human faces, with all their motley passions, all their terrible impulses of love, of hunger, and of hate—I am speaking of London.⁷²

This passage can stand as an example of a writer's responses to the urban environment encountered in Britain in the early nineteenth century. Similar responses can be found, for example, in the writings of the Norwegian romantic poet Andreas Munch.⁷³ Earlier travel accounts rather dryly recorded topographical details and industrial developments. However, from the 1820s, Europeans visiting Britain provided their readers with more penetrating views of urban society in a country whose cities, they realized, far surpassed those of continental Europe both in its size and dynamism.⁷⁴

The response of visual artists to the city in the early years of the nineteenth century was in many ways more limited. A flourishing tradition of printed topographical views of towns and cities was inherited from the eighteenth century and, if anything, gained momentum in the early nineteenth century. Conventional picturesque motifs, including parkland and river scenery, played a dominant role. While romantic painters such as J.M.W. Turner often evoked movement and spectacle in landscape painting, their subject matter was rarely urban.⁷⁵

⁷² "London" in Heinrich Heine, *The Prose Writings of Heinrich Heine*, ed. Havelock Ellis (London: Walter Scott, 1887), <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/37478>.

⁷³ Henning Howlid Wærp, *Diktet Natur: Natur Og Landskap Hos Andreas Munch, Vilhelm Krag Og Hans Børli* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1997), 134ff.

⁷⁴ Andrew Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940*, reprint (Brattleboro, Vermont: Echo Point Books & Media, 2014), 58.

⁷⁵ Alex Potts, "Picturing the Modern Metropolis: Images of London in the Nineteenth Century," *History Workshop*, no. 26 (1988): 29–30. On the absence of urban imagery among early Victorian artists, see: E.D.H. Johnson, "Victorian Artists and the Urban Milieu," in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. Harold James Dyos and Michael Wolff, vol. II (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 449–74; Ira Bruce Nadel and F. S. Schwarzbach, eds., *Victorian Artists and the City: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980).

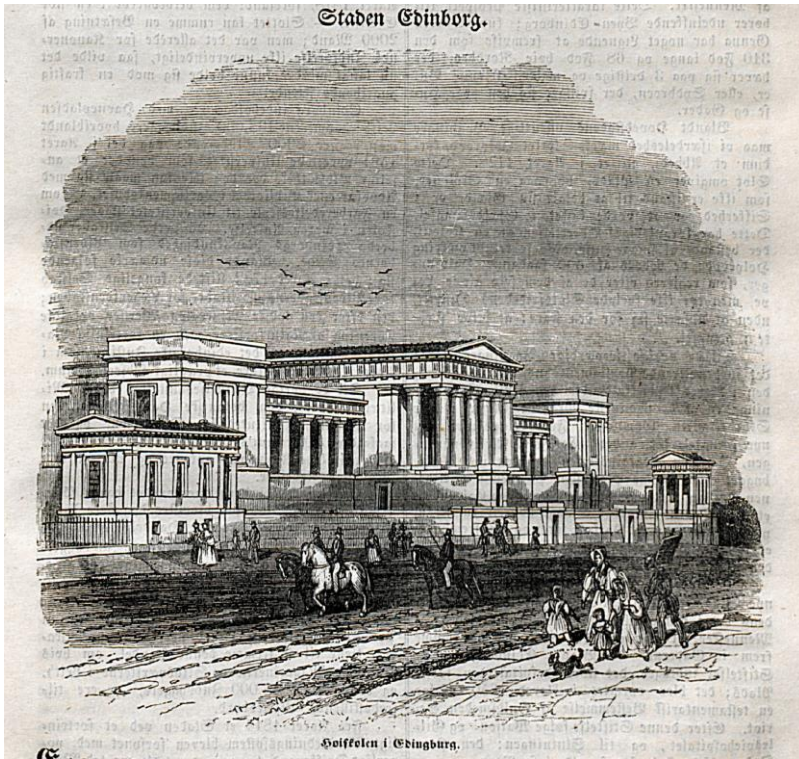
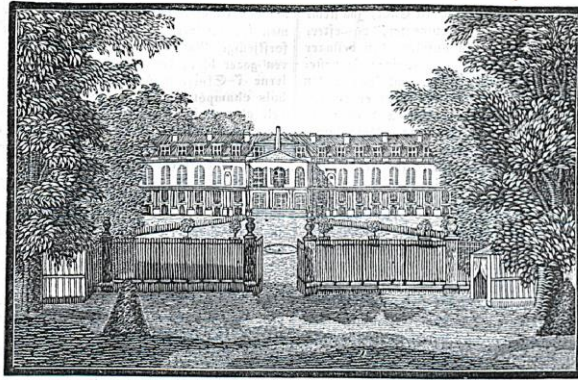


Figure 3.14. The city of Edinburgh. *Skilling-Magazin* no. 6, 5 February 1842.



Figure 3.15. Florence Cathedral. *Skilling-Magazin* no. 86, 24 December 1836.



Saint Cloud.

Figure 3.16. Saint Cloud. *Silling-Magazin* no. 18, 1 Septemeber 1838.



Greygaden i Newcastle.

Figure 3.17. Grey Street, Newcastle. *Skilling-Magazin* no. 26, 25 June 1842.

Browsing through the pages of *Skilling-Magazin* of the 1830s and 1840s, we often find images of towns situated in the landscape, notable buildings such as churches and town halls, stock exchange buildings and the like. Nonetheless, the images themselves rarely give any indication of the bustle and flow of urban life. A case in point is an article in *Skilling-Magazin* depicting Paris on a summer Sunday published in 1838 (*figure 3.16*). Paris on a Sunday, unlike Christiania, was like Paris on any other day of the week, at least from morning to late afternoon. Busy streets were filled with omnibuses and carriages and with fruit sellers and other merchants exhibiting their goods on the street. But then something happened:

In the afternoon, the tumultuous streets quiet down; the shops close. By the doors of the ones that are still open one can see dressed up Demoiselles de comptoir impatiently looking up and down the streets. The omnibuses fill up; cabriolets and cabbies rustle in a wild gallop past each other; this is followed by an onset of sudden silence.⁷⁶

The vivid description of the bustling crowds and lively trade that, in the afternoon, suddenly ceases to move out to the parklands outside the city, forms a contrast to the rather static and lifeless engraving of the Chateau de Saint Cloud which, we learn, was one of the most popular places of amusement for the citizens of Paris on a summer Sunday evening.

Many of the urban images printed in *Skilling-Magazin* in the 1830s and 1840s either depicted cityscapes or single buildings. But we do also find examples of street views where urban improvement projects are depicted. The magazine printed, in 1842, an image of the newly constructed Grey Street in Newcastle (*figure 3.17*). The image shows a busy street, with fine modern buildings populated by mostly elegant people. Goods being transported and brought into the stores indicate the commercial nature of the newly redeveloped street. The builder and speculative developer Richard Grainger was responsible, in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s, for a planned development of the commercial center of Newcastle. Of the nine streets in the project, Grey Street was the grandest and according to *Skilling-Magazin* “by far the most beautiful,” it even exceeded the “famous Regent Street in London, both with regards to construction methods and materials applied.”⁷⁷

⁷⁶ “Søndagen i Paris om Sommeren,” *Skilling-Magazin* no 18, 1 Septemeber 1838, 140. “Om Eftermiddagen lægger Tummelen sig efterhaanden; Boderne lukkes. Ved Dørene af de ennu aabenstaaende seer man de pyntede Demoiselles de comptoir utaalmodig at see op og ned ad Gaderne. Omnibusvognene fyldes mere og mere: Kabrioletter og Fiakrer rasle i vild Galop imellem hindanden, snart indtræder en pludselig Stilhed.”

⁷⁷ “Newcastle”, *Skilling-Magazin*, no 26, 25 June 1842, 202. After a long period of demise, the area developed by Grainger was rebranded as Grainger Town in the 1990s and has received some attention as an early example of “conservation-led redevelopment.” See: John Pendlebury, “Conservation and Regeneration: Complementary or Conflicting Processes? The Case of Grainger Town, Newcastle upon Tyne,” *Planning Practice and Research* 17, no. 2 (2002): 145–158. On Regent Street, see e.g. Arnold, *Re-Presenting the Metropolis*, 35ff.

The urban images in *Skilling-Magazin* in the 1830s and 1840s drew on a long tradition of topographical urban images. As the art historian Alex Potts has argued, the advent of illustrated periodicals in the 1830s did not result in an immediate change in the visual rhetoric of urban imagery. Most of the city views published in the educational magazines in the early years of the nineteenth century departed little from the inherited norms of topographic depiction and featured very traditional subjects – fine new buildings and picturesque old ones. But a markedly new approach to depicting the urban landscape becomes ever more evident in newspapers such as the *Illustrated London News* from the mid-1840s, to the point where a modern “urban sublime” was established as a distinctive visual approach.⁷⁸ As we will see in the next chapter, the Christiania public was familiar with the advent of illustrated news in England, Germany and France in the 1840s and into the 1850s. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* not only printed images from these magazines but, as I will demonstrate in part II (particularly chapters 5 and 6), some of the conventions used in the illustrated press abroad would also be translated to the local context of Christiania in the 1850s and into the 1860s.

⁷⁸ Potts, “Picturing the Modern Metropolis,” 42. A similar argument is made in: Layton-Jones, *Beyond the Metropolis*. On the urban sublime, see: Taylor, “The Awful Sublimity of the Victorian City.”

Chapter 4

Illustreret Nyhedsblad

The first issue of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* was published on 25 October 1851. An issue consisted of four folio pages and contained, as was stated in its subtitle, “weekly accounts of the most important events and personalities of the time, the news of the day, public and society life and the sciences and arts.”¹ *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, published on Saturday evening and from 1857 on Sunday, covered a variety of subjects and included illustrated articles on architecture, engineering, history, arts, literature and brief summaries of the news.

The first double issue exemplified the variety of content. On the front page was an engraving of the yacht *America*, which had sensationally beat the fast, British yachts at a regatta around the Isle of Wight in August. The main attraction, however, was the first of a two-part article on the great exhibition in London by Ole Jacob Broch, an event which became one of the chief preoccupations of the magazine in its first months of publication. The double issue also featured the first of a series on moose and moose hunting by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen; a poem by Henrik Ibsen; a short biographical article on the American writer James Fennimore Cooper translated from *l'Illustration*; a eulogy for General Narciso Lopez, a recently deceased Venezuelan adventurer and soldier known for his expeditions to liberate Cuba; a portrait of Emile de Girardin, a French journalist and proprietor of the popular cheap newspaper *Le Presse* (an article was published in the subsequent issue); and a short illustrated piece on gold mines in New South Wales Australia. In addition to this, there were columns on foreign and domestic news, a review of the previous week's Norwegian newspapers and magazines and of the 1851 parliament. In short, a mix of weekly reviews and miscellaneous content on the arts, science, culture, industry and important personalities and events.

The urban context in which *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* was published in 1851 was different from that of *Skilling-Magazin* in the 1830s. Christiania had, by the early 1850s, begun to really assert itself as the capital of Norway. It had become established as by far the largest and most influential city in Norway, culturally, economically and politically. The new royal palace

¹ *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, vol 1 (1851-52). “Ugentlige Efterretninger om Nutidens vigtigste Begivenheder og Personligheder, samt Dagens Nyheder, offentligt og selskabeligt Liv, Videnskab og Kunst etc.” This subtitle was probably inspired by the German *Illustrirte Zeitung*, which contained “Wöchentliche Nachrichten über alle Ereignisss, Bustände und Persönlichkeiten der Egenwart.”



Figure 4.1. Illustreret Nyhedsblad's first issue, 25 October 1851. The masthead depicting a view of Christiania from Ekeberg, the engraving is of the yacht America.

opened in 1849, the new university buildings in 1851 and the first Norwegian railway from Christiania to Eidsvoll was under construction. The city had, with the building of the royal palace and the university, begun to expand westwards.²

The 1850s and 1860s were, with the construction of new institutional buildings and a burgeoning industrial development, a period of rapid change in Christiania. Norway's first art historian Lorentz Dietrichson evoked a sense of living in two worlds, the modern city and the old renaissance city. In his autobiography, he described the changes he experienced between his first visit to the city as a child and as a student in 1853:

It cannot be denied that Christiania has expanded much since my first visit as a child in 1841. Then, in 1841, the city extended no further than to the few houses located just above where the parliament building now rises. Beyond here were the gardens [...] Now it was completely different. A beautiful row of houses extends all the way to the university, although the view over to the other side of Carl Johansgade was marred by an ugly wooden fence towards the "house owners-site" ("huseiertomten"), the present-day Eidsvoldsplads.³

The relative splendor of the new quarters up to the university and the royal palace would have given you a sense of being in a European capital. But Christiania was still a small town. Urban settlement stopped almost completely west of the new university and there were still almost no houses of more than two storeys except in the new quarters in Karl Johans gate. In summer evenings, Dietrichson wrote, one could still enjoy the sight of "cattle wandering home from pastures and drinking from the large wooden basins which were found on almost every street corner, often surrounded by luxuriant grass."⁴ Livestock was still a feature of even the most central parts of the city and most drinking water was still provided by open water posts on street corners.

The social life of the higher professional and learned classes resembled more that of a small town than a European capital. According to Dietrichson, almost all people belonging to "a certain level of society" knew each other. This was, in one way, a benefit to young university students like

² In 1838, the palace architect Linstow published a plan to connect the royal palace to the city. While his plan was never executed in detail it nevertheless had a great influence on the development of the area, see: Hans Ditlev Frants Linstow, *Forslag angaaende en Forbindelse mellem Kongeboligen og Christiania Bye* (Christiania: Johan Dahl, 1838).

³ Dietrichson, *Svundne tider*, 1:252–53. "Ja, som den i 1853 ligger her for os, kan det ikke negtes at Christiania jo havde udvidet sig stærkt, siden jeg besøgte den første Gang som Barn i 1841. Den gang – i 1841 – strakte Byen sig ikke længere end til den Husklynge, der laa her ligeoverfor, hvor nu Storhingsbygningen reiser sig; der begyndte Haverne [...] Nu var det jo helt annerledes. En prægtig Husrække strakte sig helt op til Universitetet, skjønt den anden Side af Carl Johansgade begrænsedes af et stygt Plankeværk, mod 'Huseiertomten', den nuværende Eidsvoldsplads."

⁴ Dietrichson, 1:253.

Dietrichson. The geographic and social distance between a student and the people holding the highest positions in society was short. On the other hand, there was little room for maneuver and there were few places to hide for people who deviated from the norm. In this chapter we will see both sides of Christiania's social life. People coming to Christiania from the provinces, such as *Illustreret Nyhedsblad's* editor Paul Botten-Hansen, could rapidly rise in literary society. Others such as *Nyhedsbladet's* publisher Adam Alexander Dzwonkowski, with modern ideas in publishing and bookselling, quickly became the ridicule of the town.

Adam Alexander Dzwonkowski

Storgata 27 had, as described in the previous chapter, become a center for the illustrated magazines in Christiania. Both Fabritius and Dzwonkowski remained in Storgata 27 after Alexander Dzwonkowski and Jacob Dybwad sold *Skilling-Magazin* to the printer W.C. Fabritius in 1847. W.C. Fabritius continued to run his printing house and publish *Skilling-Magazin* from the building, Dzwonkowski (now the sole owner of the building) ran his publishing business from here and from the autumn of 1851 Storgata 27 housed the offices of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*.

Dzwonkowski continued in the early 1850s to focus his publishing endeavors on illustrated magazines and books. He published a quite successful illustrated Christmas collection of fairytales by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen, half of Asbjørnsen and Moe well known for their collections of Norwegian folk and fairytales; an illustrated world history in 1851 by the historian Peter Andreas Munch; and a new illustrated monthly magazine, *Illustreret Maanedblad for Moerskabslæsning*, in 1850. *Illustreret Maanedblad* was a small monthly 24 page magazine that mostly contained translations of foreign literature and other miscellaneous content including riddles, jokes and amusing images. It was edited by and contained original wood engravings by Haakon Adelsten Lunde. Judging by the number of issues, it was not very successful. Only five issues were published, 3 in 1850 and 2 in 1851.

In June 1851 Dzwonkowski published an advertisement for a new periodical called *Christiania Illustrerede Nyhedsblad*. Illustrated newspapers such as *Illustrated London News*, *Illustrirte Zeitung* and *l'Illustration* were well known among the Christiania literary public, many being available at the high society reading club Athenæum.⁵ According to Aasmund Olavson Vinje,

⁵ The catalogues of the Athenæum reading club lists the German *Illustrirte Zeitung* among the magazines it subscribed to in 1847. In 1849, *l'Illustration* is included, and in 1850 *Illustrated London News: Catalog over Athenæums Bøger: den 1ste Marts 1847* (Christiania: sn, 1847), 76; *Catalog over Athenæums Bøger: (Første Fortsættelse): den 20de Februar 1849* (Christiania,

All subscribers who signed up before 1 July were eligible for prizes. Dzwonkowski had used similar marketing strategies for his previous publications, *Skilling-Magazin*, as noted in the previous chapter, introduced lotteries with cash prizes to boost subscriptions. In 1850, he had sent out tin soldiers as holiday gifts together with Asbjørnsen's annual collection of fairytales, *Juletræet*. Dzwonkowski's marketing strategies were not always well received, Ludvig L. Daae thought that they "scarcely benefited the enterprise." The rewards for subscribers, large types and marketing images were "attacked and ridiculed" in the press.⁷ The satirical weekly *Krydseren*, after the first advertisement, dubbed *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* "an illustrated Noah's ark," in reference to the amount of content Dzwonkowski promised.⁸ Paul Botten-Hansen, later editor of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, also commented on Dzwonkowski's marketing strategies, stating that the Pole had gained quite a "name for his arts and inventions." Dzwonkowski was ironically praised as being the "first genius of the Norwegian book trade."⁹

The liberal Trondheim paper *Den Frimodige* was more openly hostile to Dzwonkowski. The paper complained about his marketing campaign, but mostly the poor quality of the engravings in a trial-issue that had been published. "If all the illustrations are to be of the same taste and style as the caricature-like portraits or portrait-like caricatures of a number of parliament members in the trial issue," he would gain a "dangerous rival in this paper" they stated.¹⁰ However, the main complaint in Trondheim was not receiving Asbjørnsen's *Juletræet* at Christmas. Dzwonkowski had promoted *Juletræet* as a Christmas gift, but subscribers in Trondheim had, according to *Den Frimodige*, received it in July. The paper argued that fairytales were ill-suited reading for the long Trondheim summers in which "the sun virtually never goes down." The name Dzwonkowski had, they claimed, after the *Juletræet* fiasco "gained an ugly ring in people's ears, at least outside Christiania and its near surroundings."¹¹

The burgeoning nineteenth-century mass media such as the periodical press, advertising and newspapers became important in establishing patterns of everyday life. Daily newspapers, weekly, monthly and quarterly magazines, annual volumes and Christmas and New Year's gifts were important in establishing what Mark W. Turner has called

⁷ Ludvig Daae, *Paul Botten Hansen* (Kristiania: Norsk forening for bokkunst, 1917), 50.

⁸ "Den illustrerte Noah ark." Fredrik Ording, *Henrik Ibsens vennekreds Det lærde Holland: et kapitel av norsk kulturliv* (Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn, 1927), 47.

⁹ "Korrespondentartikler for Provindspressen, Kristiania 17 May 1851," *Anhrinner* ("Manden") no. 7, 18 May 1851, 111-112. "Dzwonkowky [sic] ere af de Mænd som have erhvervet sig et saare berømmelig Navn ved Kunster og Opfindelser blandt os, hvilket dog ikke udelukkende tilhører gamle Norge, da han desværre er Udlænder. I Boghandelen have vi aldrig havt noget andet Geni end denne Mand, med mindre salg Winther, som ofte paastaet, var saadant."

¹⁰ *Den Frimodige*, 21 July 1851.

¹¹ *Den Frimodige*, 21 July 1851. "Hr. Dzwonkowskis Navn har derhos en styg Klang i Folks Øren, idemindste udenfor Kristiania og dennes nærmeste Omegn."

“periodical time” in the nineteenth century. If, as Turner argues, the media provided “the rhythms of modernity,” then in Norway these rhythms were not always in sync.¹² What made sense to the Christiania public did not necessarily make sense to readers outside of the city. As Elise Aubert wrote in her diary from the vicarage in Lom, in Gudbrandsdalen in 1858

I have almost thought, if only I had the power of words, to write to the priest [Peter Andreas] Jensen to most humbly ask him to find a more fitting place for his otherwise beautiful, psalms than the dirty columns of *Morgenbladet*. It might be acceptable to the people of Christiania, they receive their newspaper on Sunday morning when they might be in the mood to read psalms. But for those of us who receive 12-16 newspapers at once and then, after having plowed through feuds and debates, scarcity and monetary crises, artificial fish breeding and Peruvian guano and many more all too worldly pieces, to suddenly come to psalms and passages of scripture. One cannot imagine how unpleasant it is.¹³

P.A. Jensen’s Sunday psalms in *Morgenbladet* would have made sense to the Christiania public and even be a part of their weekly routines. They could, however, seem to be misplaced to readers outside of the city, when encountered at the wrong time and among all the other content of the newspaper. Dzwonkowski was a publisher with many modern ideas. He used special occasions such as Christmas to advertise and boost the sale of his publications. This worked in Christiania, where readers could go to their nearest bookstore to pick up their Christmas gift book. But his marketing strategies proved less successful throughout the country, a slow postal service and no railway connections meant it was not easy for Dzwonkowski to get his Christmas books to Trondheim by Christmas.

Dzwonkowski had, by October 1851, recruited Paul Botten-Hansen to edit *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. The publisher was clearly inspired by the illustrated newspapers in Europe, he had, after all, had originally called it *Christiania Illustrerede Nyhedsblad* echoing *Illustrated London News*. Like illustrated newspapers across Europe and America, its masthead showed a view of the city. In the first volume (1851-52) the masthead featured the classic view of Christiania, the view from Ekeberg.¹⁴ The following years

¹² Mark W. Turner, “Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century,” *Media History* 8, no. 2 (December 1, 2002): 183–96, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1368880022000030540>.

¹³ Elise Aubert, *Fra Krinoline-Tiden: Elise Auberts Ungdomsbreve Og Dagbøger* (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1921), 44. “Jeg har næsten tænkt paa - hvis jeg blot havde Ordet i min Magt at indgaa til Præsten Jensen om ydmygst og underdanigst Opfordring til at finde et mere passende Sted for sine, forresten vakre Psalmer end Morgenbladets snavsede Spalter. For Christianiaboere kan det maaske enda gaa an; de faa Aviserne Søndag Morgen naar man kan være i Stemning til at læse Psalme; men for os der faar en 12-16 Aviser paa een Gang og da efter at have pløiet igjennem Pennefeider og Debatter - Dyrtid og Pengekriste - kunstig Fiskeavl og peruviansk Guano og mange andre kun altfor verdslige Opsaetser pludselig at støde paa Bibelsprog og Psalmevers - man kan ikke tænke sig hvor ubehageligt det er.”

¹⁴ For some examples of the view from Ekeberg see e.g. Gunnar Bolstad’s series “Utsikten fra Ekeberg” on the website “oslohistorie.no”: <http://oslohistorie.no/category/folkeliv/kultur/utsikten-fra-ekeberg/>, last accessed 13 December 2017.

(1853-1855) it featured a view of Christiania from the fjord, with the iconic Akershus fortress in the foreground, Paleet (one of the city's most fashionable buildings) to the right, and the new royal palace towering over the city in the background. In 1858 its masthead changed again, this time with a view of the city's fashionable boulevard, Karl Johan. These mastheads not only placed *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in the company of other illustrated newspapers, but, as architectural historian Anne Hultzsck has argued, they turned the city into an icon of the news.¹⁵ The different scenes also point to an evolution in how the city was imagined, from the topographic convention of placing of the city in the landscape, to an emphasis on the waterway, the port – the connection to the outside world – and important buildings, to the new central boulevard.

The publisher clearly wanted to highlight the connection to illustrated newspapers abroad. Botten-Hansen, however, was very aware that he could not offer the same product. We find, in the address to reader in the first issue, an editor who showed caution and urged the Norwegian public not to expect too much. This was, after all, a comparatively small publication in a comparatively small city: "If any reader expects the richness and extensiveness with which our foreign role-models cover the events of our time," then she or he would be disappointed, as all these magazines had "a European or even a world audience at their disposal." But if the reader sought "only the most interesting in the areas of art and industry and daily events treated briefly and frankly," then it was the editor's hope that the reader "not too often would put away the magazine with a sense of dissatisfaction."¹⁶

Dzwonkowski was listed as the publisher of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* until the end of the 1854 volume, when both his financial and personal situation had begun to decline.¹⁷ In February 1852 his wife, Marie Therese de Serre, died. In the spring of 1852 he moved his bookshop from Storgata 27 to Østre gate 17, perhaps in an attempt to acquire a more central location.¹⁸ Dzwonkowski probably needed to branch out. We find, from 1852 onwards, an increasing number of advertisements in the Christiania papers in which he advertises things other than books and periodicals, including tobacco and cigars, rings and necklaces to help arthritis, perfume and rubber galoshes.¹⁹ Dzwonkowski still managed to run his bookshop for a few more years and still owned the building in Storgata 27 which he rented out to tenants that

¹⁵ Hultzsck, "Masthead."

¹⁶ *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, no 1-2, 25 Oct. 1851, 1.

¹⁷ In *Den Frimodige*, 11 Aug. 1851 Dzwonkowski wrote that he was not the "publisher" [forlægger] of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, but only the "commissioner" [kommissionær].

¹⁸ Mortensen, "Bogtrykkerkunstens Repræsentanter i Norge XLVII"; In *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 28, 10 Apr. 1852, Dzwonkowski is listed in Storgata 27, in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 34, 10 May 1852 he is listed in Østre gate 17.

¹⁹ In *Christiania Intelligentssedler*, 4 May 1852, for example, Dzwonkowski advertised Goldberger's Arthritis necklaces, rings and ear magnets for sale at factory prices in his store in Østregate 17.

included the printers of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. In 1854 forced to sell the building and we find him in 1855 with a new shop in Prinsens gate. He left Christiania the following year, probably going to France where he stayed with his brother in law. Dzwonkowski later returned to his native Warsaw where he ran a small bookshop.²⁰

This was a publisher with big ideas, perhaps too big for the conservative Christiania public. Vinje believed Dzwonkowski was “a man who was too big for us” and that was why he had to leave the city. According to Vinje, he had acquired a substantial debt that he could not repay. He saw Dzwonkowski as a speculator, as a representative of an “American form of speculation” that was previously unknown in the Norwegian publishing business. Dzwonkowski’s speculative practices were, according to Vinje, common in large European cities where people could hide in the masses, but in a city as “narrow and confined” as Christiania, a speculator like Dzwonkowski had nowhere to hide.²¹

The future of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* was uncertain after Dzwonkowski left. In November 1855 there were rumors in the press that it would cease publishing after the new year. *Morgenbladet* wrote that the main reason for its problems was not so much that “Dzwonkowski had turned his hand against it and left the country” but that the number of subscribers were too few to support the costs.²² It seems that Dzwonkowski had, as early as 1853, sold shares in the magazine, the magazine by 1855 being owned by a company of interested partners (interesseselskab). Vinje, commenting in his regular Christiania correspondence in *Drammens Tidende*, stated that it would be a shame if *Nyhedsbladet* folded. The magazine published a lot of good content and had “hardly been sufficiently rewarded for it.” The book reviews were, according to Vinje, “more learned” than that usually found in the Christiania papers at the time. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*’s collapse would, despite this, partly be of its own making. The magazine’s main error, argued Vinje, was that it spoke mostly to an “educated public.” As a “news magazine” it also had to be “popular and light,” the wood engravings

²⁰ Mortensen, “Bogtrykkerkunstens Repræsentanter i Norge XLVII.” According to Mortensen, a Christiania pharmacist claimed that he encountered Dzwonkowski as a cicerone (guide) in Switzerland, but he argues that he later went back to Warsaw.

²¹ O.A. Vinje, “Bladsjå,” *Dølen. Eit vikublad*, no. 8, 12 Dec. 1858. “Det var i Speculation (Fedragd) han var so ovstor, i den Speculation, som vi so litit vita af, og som ligger i at skjøyta og ljuga, og lova og ikki halda, men briska seg for at halda uppe Crediten (Betruselen). Det var denne amerikanske Speculation, som Dzwonkowski dreiv paa med, og som brukas so mykit i Europas storri Byar, hvor Folk ikke so snart verdit kjende. Men her er det so smalt og trøngt, at ein slik Speculant ikki kan aalboga seg. Derfor gekk det ille med Dzwonkowski og ‘Nyhedsbladet’ og hans Utloddingar og Præmier og Joletré og Joletrøll. Det var ein god Speculationstanki, at kalla Bladet eit Nyhedsblad og ‘illustreret’ (utskjeldrat) ataat: for Nytt vilja Alle vita, og slike Afskjeldringar ere for Kvennfolk, og Smaaborn, og mange, sosom Mannslik (Portræter) og Reidskaper, for vaxne Folk og.”

²² *Morgenbladet*, 3 Nov. 1855.

showing that this was something it wanted to be. Illustrations were, after all, “mostly for children and the common people.”²³

On 16 November Botten-Hansen published a statement rejecting rumors that the magazine would stop publishing.²⁴ There was no doubt that the magazine had been in trouble and Botten-Hansen applied both to the ministry of justice to receive reduced postage and to Selskabet for Norges Vel (The Royal Norwegian Society for Development) for financial support. Both applications were unsuccessful. It was, however, decided at a meeting of the company of interested partners on the 9 November 1855, that the magazine would continue.²⁵

The magazine, with Dzownkowski gone and a shaky financial situation, focused less on illustrations from the 1856 volume. It was published in 1856 and 1857 without its characteristic masthead and Dzownkowski's lotteries were gone from 1857. As explained in an address to the reader, Botten-Hansen had heeded the advice of the newspapers and of many “reasonable people.” He hoped that readers would subscribe to the magazine for its own sake and not because of the “dubious prospect of winning a prize.” The magazine would, instead of lotteries, publish a double issue each month. Printing and paper alone cost 18 speciedaler for each issue, and it was argued that 12 more sheets a year would easily compensate for the lottery prizes.²⁶ With double issues and later with new year gifts to subscribers, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* became leading in showcasing a new generation of Norwegian writers.

Paul Botten-Hansen and the “learned Holland”

Toward the end of the 1850s *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* increasingly became an outlet for its editor Paul Botten-Hansen's literary interests. We have already seen that Vinje mentioned his book reviews. Botten-Hansen, with his literary articles on the back pages of *Nyhedsbladet* from 1851 and from 1867 in *Skilling-Magazin*, mediated between authors, publishers and the public and

²³ A.O. Vinje, “Djærv, norsk og endog lidt 'raa',” *Drammens Tidende*, 13 November 1855 in *Skrifter i samling: Bladstykke i Andhrimmer, Drammens Tidende og Dølen*, vol. 6 (Oslo: Samlaget, 1993), 80–82. “Thi Nyhedsbladet har havt mange grove Sager, der neppe tilstrækkelige ere blevene paaskjønnede. Der leveres især Bogkritiker imellem, som virkelig ere mere lærde end vanligt. Men dette tror jeg just er Nyhetsbladets Feil, at det holder sig til 'de Dannede', som der stod i Morgenbladet. Som Nyhedsblad maa det være folkeligt og let, hvilket også Træsnettene vise, at det igrunder vil være, da det i Regelen blot er Børn og Almuesfolk, som ser paa 'Skilderier’.”

²⁴ In Botten-Hansen's papers there is a share in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* issued by Dzownkowski to Botten-Hansen in August 1853. The share is of 1/30 of the publishing rights and inventory of the magazine. This and the meeting of the company (Interesseselskab) is in: NTNU, Gunnerusbiblioteket, Spesialsamlingene XA Fol. 695. The meeting is also reported in *Aftenbladet*, 13 Nov. 1855. Botten-Hansen's statement is in *Morgenbladet*, 16 Nov. 1855

²⁵ Both applications can be found in NTNU, Gunnerusbiblioteket, Spesialsamlingene XA Fol. 695. See also *Morgenbladet*, 16 Nov. 1855.

²⁶ *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, no. 50, 13 December 1856, 208.

helped establish the institution of literary criticism in Norway.²⁷ He was one of the first, and one of the most important, literary critics in Norway in a time where Norwegian literature was in full bloom. Three of Henrik Ibsen's early plays were published in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, serialized or as New Year's gifts to subscribers. Many of the authors responsible for "the modern breakthrough" in Norwegian literature published regularly in the magazine, including, in addition to Ibsen, figures such as Camilla Collett, Aasmund Olavsson Vinje, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Jonas Lie. At the same time the magazine was an outlet many historians and scientists as well as for an older generation of writers including J.S. Welhaven and Andreas Munch. Botten-Hansen's apartment and library in Rådhusgata 15 became a meeting place for Christiania's literary elite, particularly in the late 1850s and early 1860s.

Literature was an important part of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, but its editor was a man with a huge variety of interests, and architecture was undoubtedly one of the arts closest to his heart.²⁸ In *Nyhedsbladet* we find illustrated articles and series including "healthy and airy houses for the common man," taken from the doctor D.C. Danielssen's book on leprosy.²⁹ A translated extract from the introduction of the Scottish architectural historian James Fergusson's *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (1855) was published under the heading "the architecture of the future" on the front page of two subsequent issues in the spring of 1859.³⁰ Particularly ambitious was the Norwegian architect Fredrik von der Lippe's series on German architecture in the nineteenth century, published in January and February 1860. Each of the four instalments were presented with lavish wood engravings of German projects, at least one of them engraved by the Norwegian xylographer H.A. Lunde.³¹ Exhibitions was an important topic,

²⁷ Arild Linneberg, *Norsk Litteraturkritikk historie: 1848-1870*, ed. Arild Linneberg et al., vol. 2 (Oslo: Universitetsforl., 1992), 61. For a thorough review of Botten-Hansen's book reviews, see: Anne S. Tveitan, "Mannen og litteraturkritikeren Paul Botten Hansen" (Universitetet i Oslo, 1982).

²⁸ Another important category of content, connected to both architecture and literature, was history (see: P.B. Hansen's review of Mommsen's *History of Rome* in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 22, 1856). We also find articles on everything from forestry, cultivation of marshlands, inland fishing (all by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen), botany and gardening (by Fredrik Christian Shübler), to several short notices on horse breeding (among them the entire pedigree of a race horse called Fernando) and illustrated articles of animal shows. On this and much more, see: Halvard Grude Forfang, *Paul Botten Hansen og hollenderkretsen: litterat og boksamler i en nasjonal grotid: et etterlatt manuskript*, Skriftserien 84 (Lillehammer: Oppland distriktshøgskole, 1990), 58–70.

²⁹ "Sunde og luftige Boliger for Almuen (Efter overlege Danielssen's folkeskrift om den spedalske Sygdom)," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 27, 8 July 1854. Danielssen was a physician at St. Jørgen lepra hospital in Bergen and, together with his assistant C.W. Boeck, was pioneers in leprosy research and established Bergen as a research centre on leprosy in Europe.

³⁰ "Fremtidens Architektur I-II," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 17; 18, 24 April; 1 May, 1859.

³¹ Fredrik von der Lippe, "Den tyske arkitektoniske Kunst i vort Aarhundrede" I-IV, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 2; 3; 5; 8. 8th, 15th, 29th January and 19th February 1860, pp. 11-12; 15-16; 22-23 and 38. Both von der Lippe and Fergusson's pieces was presented as educational endeavours in connection with the debate over the new parliament building (see chapter 7). On Fergusson and von der Lippe's series, see: Mari Hvattum, "'Set Free the Great Models'. Architectural History in the Popular Press," in *World Histories of Architecture. The Emergence of a Genre*, ed. Petra Brouwer, Martin Bressani, and Christopher Drew (Forthcoming, 2018).



Figure 4.3 Boulevard Sebastopol in Paris. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 26, 30 June 1861.

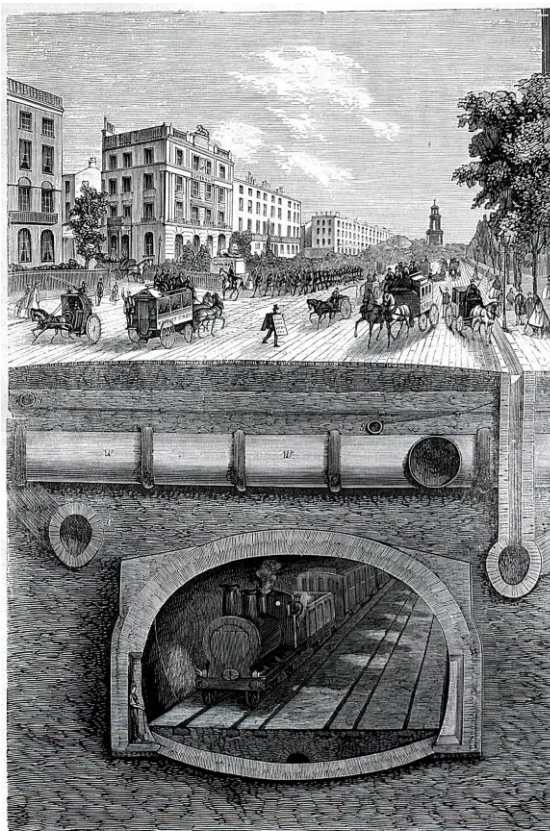


Figure 4.4. Section of a street in London. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 44, 30 October 1864.

and so were images of urban major urban development projects, such as the new Parisian boulevards and the London underground (figures 4.3 and 4.4). As we will see in part II, the editor also had a good understanding of current architectural thinking, and a great interest in Christiania's development.

Paul Botten-Hansen was born out of wedlock in 1824 in Sel, a small peasant community in Gudbrandsdalen. He grew up with his mother's parents at a small farm called Botten.³² He did not grow up in poverty, although the farmhouse at Botten was a long way from the life he would later lead in Christiania. Botten-Hansen was a gifted child, his abilities discovered and encouraged by the county teacher Hans Pillarviken and the vicar of nearby Vågå. At fifteen, Botten-Hansen was sent to Lillehammer, working for the next eight years in offices and stores while reading and preparing to take the Examen Artium university entrance qualification that was mandatory for studying at the University of Christiania.

He had a number of teachers during his years in Lillehammer, one being Marcus Thrane who together with his wife ran a private school in Lillehammer. Inspired by the events in Europe in 1848, Thrane initiated and became the leader of a radical movement that centered on workers' associations and the weekly paper *Arbeider-Foreningernes Blad*. Thrane's worker's associations had a large membership and are often considered to be the first modern mass political movement in Norway. In 1851, Thrane and a number of other movement leaders were arrested and convicted for expressing revolutionary ideas. Botten-Hansen and many of his friends, including Henrik Ibsen, wrote for and were involved in *Arbeider-Foreningernes Blad*. Like many at the time, Botten-Hansen defended Thrane on the pages of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* during his trial. There is, however, no evidence that Botten-Hansen had any deeper involvement in the movement.³³

In the spring of 1847, Botten-Hansen came to Christiania to take the Artium exam. He had, by then, already published a few articles and poems in the local *Lillehammer Tilskuere* paper. During the spring of 1848 he also wrote correspondent articles for the paper, reflecting on the journalistic situation in the capital and describing his visits to what he calls the "lions dens" cafés or "places of refreshment" where politics and daily events were discussed. According to one of his biographers, these articles show a respectable political and historical insight into the situation in Christiania.³⁴

³² Two short biographies have been written about Paul Botten-Hansen, see: Daae, *Paul Botten Hansen*; Forfang, *Paul Botten Hansen og hollenderkretsen*; For his complete bibliography, see J. B. Halvorsen, "Botten-Hansen, Paul," *Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon 1814-1880: paa Grundlag af J.E. Krafts og Chr. Langes "Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon 1814-1856"* (Kristiania: Den Norske Forlagsforening, 1885); See also: Leiv Amundsen, "Botten-Hansen, Paul," ed. Edvard Bull, Anders Krogvig, and Gerhard Gran, *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1925).

³³ On Botten-Hansen's relationship with Thrane, see: Forfang, *Paul Botten Hansen og hollenderkretsen*, 29–36. On Thrane and *Arbeider-Foreningernes Blad*: Mona Ringvej, *Marcus Thrane: forbrytelse og straff* (Oslo: Pax, 2014).

³⁴ Forfang, *Paul Botten Hansen og hollenderkretsen*, 33.

After a brief period as a private tutor outside the city, he returned to Christiania in 1848, and soon to inserted himself into the city's "academic public sphere."³⁵ He quickly became a member of the Athenæum reading club, where the literary classes met, discussed and read periodicals, newspapers and books. He joined the student literary association founded in 1849, and became the editor of the handwritten student paper *Samfundsbladet*. The student literary association was where he most probably ran into many of the people who would form the core of his social circle. Michael Birkeland, one of the core members of the "learned Holland" was one of the founders of the literary association, and Henrik Ibsen and Aasmund Olavsson Vinje were active members as well.³⁶

In addition to publishing some poems in *Morgenbladet* during his first two years in Christiania, Botten-Hansen edited the short-lived weekly *Magazin for Ungdommen*.³⁷ Both this magazine and his translation of *Thousand and one nights* was published by A. Th. Nissen. Nissen, who had served his apprenticeship at J.W. Cappelen's bookstore, had started a bookstore and publishing business in 1846, setting up his own printing house soon afterwards.³⁸ In September 1850, Botten-Hansen was approached by Nissen's master printer, Nils Fredrik Axelsen, who acted as a publisher in his own right in addition to running Nissen's printing house. In a letter dated 24 September 1850, Axelsen refers to a promise Botten-Hansen made to recruit a friend to draw the illustrations for a magazine Axelsen planned to publish. It seems, from the letter, that Axelsen had a clear idea of what he wanted the magazine to be. It would have no title, only the drawing of a man on the cover page. The man had to be a humorous figure which would act both as a distinguishing feature and speak to the reader. The friend in question was Henrik Ibsen, who came to provide the drawings for the magazine.³⁹

The magazine, first colloquially known as *Manden* (the Man) after the man on its front page and later known as *Andhrimmer* after the cook in Valhalla, was published from January to September 1851. It was edited anonymously by Botten-Hansen, Henrik Ibsen and Aasmund Olavsson Vinje.

³⁵ Forfang, 33–34.

³⁶ Forfang, 36–37.

³⁷ The whole title was *Magazin for Ungdommen. Et Uge-skrift til almennyttige Kundskabers Udbredelse samt til opmuntrende Adspredelse for den tænkende Ungdom blandt alle klasser.* (Magazine for the youth. A weekly journal for the diffusion of useful knowledge and encouraging recreation for thinking youths of all classes) 24 issues was published during 1850. Tveterås, *Norske tidsskrifter*, 84.

³⁸ On A Th. Nissen, see: Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandel*, 1986, 3:276–77.

³⁹ The letter, together with a contract Botten-Hansen, Vinje and Ibsen signed with Axelsen on 1 June 1851, can be found in: NTNU, Gunnerusbiblioteket, Spesialsamlingene, XA Qv. 714. N.F. Axelsen, the publisher of *Manden/Andhrimmer* is said to be the role model of Ibsen's printer Aslaksen, who appears in both *De Unges Forbund* (The league of youth, 1869) and *En Folkefiende* (An Enemy of the People, 1882). However, later scholars have argued that the real N.F. Axelsen was not fairly treated, especially as he was portrayed in *De Unges Forbund*. See: Thor M. Andresen, "'Andhrimmer' og boktrykker N.F. Axelsen: 2 aktstykker.," *Årbok for Det Kgl. Norske Videnskabers Selskab*, 1957, 55–58.



Figure 4.5. “Oh, is it that ‘man’ running there.” First issue of *Manden* with “the man” running across Stortorget. In the background is the Church of our savior which had recently been remodeled by the French architect Alexis de Chateauneuf.

Manden/Anhrimmer was not widely read. Only 39 issues were published, and it probably never had as many as 100 subscribers. The editors were clearly inspired by the Danish periodical *Cosaren* which, under the leadership of Anton Meir Goldschmidt from 1840 to 1844, was a witty oppositional paper and the first Danish satirical magazine.

Manden/Andhrimener was characterized by irony and satirized politics and current events. It contained poems, plays and stories, pseudonymously or anonymously written by its editors, and the magazine later gained fame for Ibsen's and Vinje's contributions. Henrik Ibsen's first poems were published in the periodical under the pseudonym Brynjar Barne. Ibsen also published theater and book reviews, served as a parliament correspondent and provided the drawings for the magazine. Vinje was responsible for the political content and parliament reviews. It was Botten-Hansen, however, who was general editor and provided most of the magazine's content. In addition, he published his first and only novel, the partly autobiographical *Norske Mysterier* (Norwegian Mysteries) and the play *Hulderbryllupet* (the Hulder Wedding) in the magazine.⁴⁰

Dzwonkowski approached Botten-Hansen to become the editor of his new magazine after Axelsen gave up on *Andhrimmer*. As editor of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, Botten-Hansen was responsible for collecting material for the magazine, writing overview articles on Norwegian and foreign news and articles on literature and the arts.⁴¹ According to his biographer and friend Ludvig Ludvigsen Daae, several notable authors provided free content to the magazine "either out of friendship or because of their interest in its editor, whose personality appealed to them."⁴²

His appealing personality was perhaps partly why Botten-Hansen's apartment and library became a central place where Christiania's literary class came together in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Henrik Ibsen, later national archivist Michael Birkeland, Jacob Løkke and Ludvig L. Daae were the most frequent visitors and the core members of a group known as "det lærde Holland" (the learned Holland). More established literates such as Johan Sebastian Welhaven, Peter Andreas Munch and Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and people such as Bjørnstjerne Bjørnsson, Aasmund Olavson Vinje and the later historian Ernst Sars were also frequent guests.⁴³

⁴⁰ On *Manden/Andhrimmer*, see: Halvdan Koht, *Henrik Ibsen i "Manden"* (Oslo: i kommisjon hos Dybwad, 1928); Ivo de Figueiredo, *Henrik Ibsen: mennesket og masken* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2010), 84–88. The name was changed after a contest, which the editors won. See also: Vinje to Botten-Hansen, Winje den 11te Juli 1851 in A. O. Vinje, *Brev*, ed. Olav Midttun (Oslo: Samlaget, 1969), 76. Ibsen also published a play in the periodical, *Norma eller en politikers kjærlighet* (Norma or a politician's love) an opera parody, satirizing politics and the parliament.

⁴¹ Contract between Dzwonkowski and Paul Botten Hansen in NTNU, Gunnerusbiblioteket, Spesialsamlingene, XA Fol. 695

⁴² Daae, *Paul Botten Hansen*, 52.

⁴³ On the learned Holland, see: Ording, *Det lærde Holland*; Narve Fulsås, *Historie og nasjon: Ernst Sars og striden om norsk kultur*, Det Blå bibliotek (Oslo: Universitetsforl, 1999), 46ff.

During this time, Botten-Hansen lived in the so-called Piper-building in Rådhusgata 15, on the corner of Rådhusgata and Kongens Gate. An avid book collector, he had a collection of up to 14 000 volumes. Ludvig Daae describes how his book collection took up most of the three rooms he had at the third floor:

Entering the hallway, there being no entrance halls in the old buildings, one saw a number of books. Naturally these were ones which their owner did not see as being particularly valuable, as they were placed there open to everyone. Inside [the apartment] there were bookshelves everywhere, even the bed being enclosed in them like a bibliographic alcove. The Danish-Norwegian literature was best represented. But there was valuable material in foreign and antique literature as well, although its acquisition was more a product of random luck than a specific plan.⁴⁴

In addition to his well-stocked library, Botten-Hansen's apartment in Rådhusgata 15 was ideally located in the middle of the print culture of nineteenth century Christiania (see *figure 4.6*). Opposite the apartment was the Athenæum reading club, one of the most important social gathering places of Christiania's learned elites. One block to the east was Kirkegata, Christiania's "booksellers' street." The printing house and offices of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were in Storgata 27, about a 10-minute stroll to the north east. One can imagine Botten-Hansen walking to his printer, going through Kirkegata, past Johan Dahl, J.W. Cappelen and numerous other booksellers, publishing houses and printers. As we saw in Chapter 2, the bookshops, printing shops and newspaper offices would not have only been places from which print was produced and distributed, but meeting places where the reading public, writers, editors and publishers came together. This closeness in the urban space could also lead to random encounters in the streets that would later lead to other engagements and plans.⁴⁵

Arild Linneberg puts, in the history of Norwegian literary criticism, the learned Holland into a context of a number of literary circles or clubs in Christiania. Lindeberg draws on Habermas' discussion of coffeehouses as a precursor of a bourgeois public sphere, particularly in the French and English context of the eighteenth century. "Café culture and the literary clubs were essentially two sides of the same coin," Lindeberg argues. Clubs like the learned Holland formed a small public in themselves, and through publications such as *Manden/Andhrimner* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* they initiated others into that public. For Habermas, the discussions in coffeehouses, saloons and literary clubs was a precursor of the public sphere,

⁴⁴ Daae, *Paul Botten Hansen*, 77. Daae wrongly states that his address was Rådhusgata 27.

⁴⁵ An example of these random encounters has been mentioned by Fredrik Ording. He notes that after a random encounter outside J. Chr. Hoppe's bookstore in Kirkebakken, Birkeland invited Botten-Hansen to join him in cataloguing the library of J. Chr. Berg. For the 265-page catalogue they received 90 spd. Botten-Hansen allegedly used more than his share on books from the collection. Ording, *Det lærde Holland*, 6.

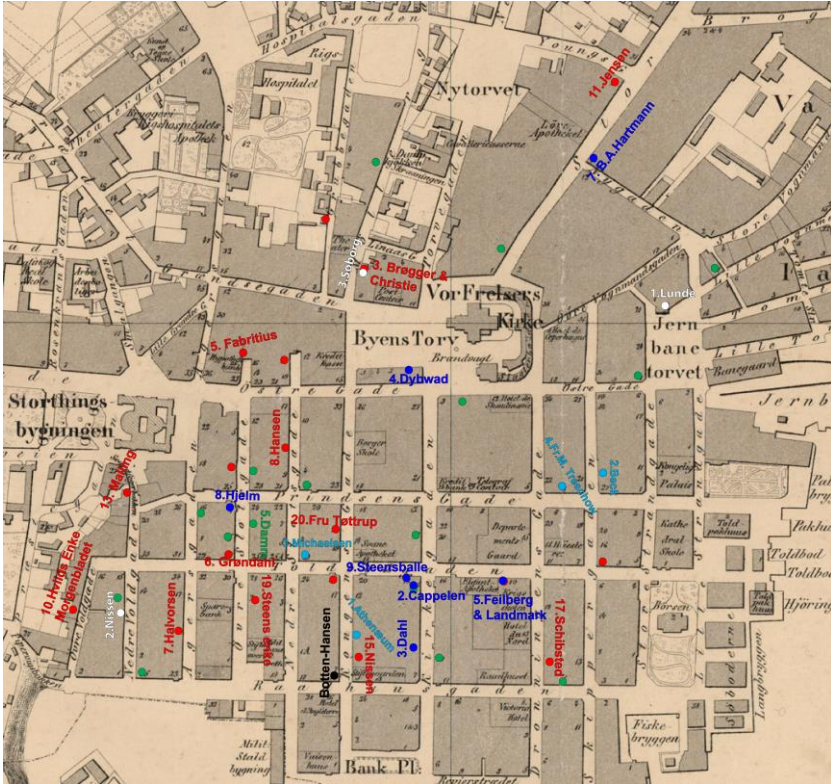


Figure 4.6. Printers (red), booksellers (blue), bookbinders (green), lending libraries (light blue) and xylographers (white) in Christiania in 1856. Paul Botten-Hansen's apartment is in black.

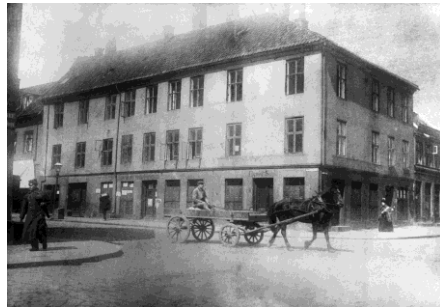
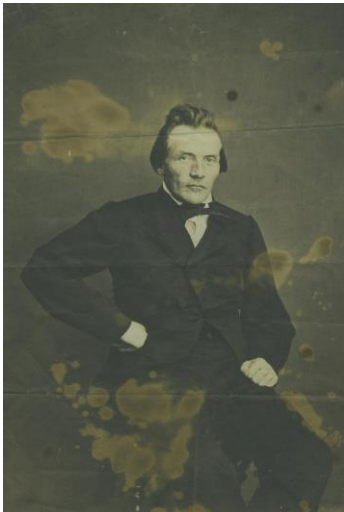


Figure 4.7. On the left, Paul Botten-Hansen. Photo: Peter Petersen, sometime before 1869. Wikimedia ommons. On the right, Pipergården (Rådhusgata 15) ca. 1890. Unknown photographer. Oslo Museum/OB.Z02215.

these clubs being “held together” and forming a literary public sphere through reasoned criticism in the press. In the 1850s and 1860s there were many literary circles and groups other than the learned Holland. There was the Thue-trupe led by Marcus Monrad and Henning Junghans Thue, the circle around Ditmar Meidell and his witty magazine *Krydsersen* and later the newspaper *Aftenbladet*, which included Hartvig Lassen, the editor of *Skilling-Magazin* from 1856. In 1859, Bjørnson, Ibsen and Lorenz Dietrichson initiated a club where interested men met to exchange opinions and later Bjørnson initiated a club that met on Mondays.⁴⁶

The most active period of the learned Holland was during the winter of 1859-60. During this period there were proper meetings in “Holland” every Monday, while Birkeland, Ibsen and Botten-Hansen met every day. The meetings were often characterized by an ironic tone, and can be described as being a group for the initiated. Often Botten-Hansen’s apartment and library was the meeting place, before they later moved to a café or restaurant, their most favored places being Nibbes kafé, Hotel d’Angleterre and Engebret Christoffersen.⁴⁷

Botten-Hansen recruited many of his friends to write for *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, but he wrote most of the texts in the magazine himself. As a writer, he had a characteristic, ironic style with many literary references and puns scattered around his texts. “If only I could trade some of my excess fervor with your ironic style” Jonas Lie wrote to Botten-Hansen in 1862.⁴⁸ In his eulogy, Vinje called Botten-Hansen a “language ‘artist’” and said that even though he “dragged a lot of artificial words into his style” it was “still so clear, easy and likeable” that there was nothing he would rather read.⁴⁹ Botten-Hansen’s ironic style extended beyond his writing. One of his closest friends, Michael Birkeland, wrote in a letter to his fiancé in 1859 that many of Christiania’s ladies seemed to have a dislike for Botten-Hansen. The problem, Birkeland suggested, was that he was always ironic and that this was something they did not understand. He often behaved towards woman “like an actor,” yet when he did not amuse himself by ironic comments and self-presentation he was, Birkeland said, “the most lovable and good-hearted person one ever can meet; he is, at bottom, rather more sentimental than ironic.”⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Linneberg, *Norsk Litteraturkritikks historie*, 2:55–58.

⁴⁷ At least according to Fredrik Ording, *Det lærde Holland*, 11.

⁴⁸ Jonas Lie to Botten-Hansen, no. 66 (before) 20.8.1862 in Jonas Lie, *Brev*, ed. Anne Grete Holm-Olsen, vol. 1 (Oslo: Novus, 2009), 80. “Gud give jeg kunde bytte noget af min overflødige Ild med Din Ironiske Stil.”

⁴⁹ A.O. Vinje, “Paul Botten-Hansen.” *Dølen* VII. No. 15 11te Juli 1869 *Skrifter i Samling: Bladstykke i Dølen II-VIII*, vol. 2 (Oslo: Samlaget, 1993), 349–53. “[...] han var ein spraaekleg ‘Artist’ eller Kunning. Han drog vel mange Kunstord in i Stilen sin, men den var endaa so klaar og greid og fangande, at eg las ingenting so gjerne som det, han skreiv.”

⁵⁰ M. Birkeland, *Breve Fra Riksarkivar Birkeland (1848-1879)*, ed. Fredrik Ording (Kristiania: Steen, 1920), 77–79. “[...] han er ofte ironisk, og det er Ulykken; thi det er Noget, som Damerne

Paul Botten-Hansen married Johanne (Hanna) Stang the daughter of a priest from Romedalen in Hedmark in 1861, after that the meetings in the learned Holland became less frequent, the members continuing to meet at small gatherings in the members houses or in more “club-like” gatherings in cafés and restaurants around the city.⁵¹ Botten-Hansen never solely relied on his income as editor of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. In 1856, he took the job of assistant at the national archives, in 1860 he was recruited as amanuensis at the university library and in 1864 he was named university librarian. In 1865, we find Paul Botten-Hansen, his wife and three children at Hegdehaugen in Aker.⁵² They had moved out to the developing middle-class suburbs in the western part of the city. Christiania’s west end, Homansbyen, was populated by the higher middle-classes, Hegdehaugen by the class just below.⁵³ However, the family idyll did not last long. Paul Botten-Hansen died in July 1869 just 45 years old. He had contracted pneumonia during a trip to Uppsala to attend the Nordic student meetings, one of his very few trips outside of Christiania.

Compared to its models: printers and engravers

It was clear from the start that Dzwonkowski wanted *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* to look like its international models. This meant high quality engravings, but also the right ink and paper quality. The magazine was first printed by the printer Johan Anton Brøgger, who established a partnership with Dzwonkowski to print the magazine through a contract between Dzwonkowski and the printing house which Brøgger had started in 1852 with his partner Jacob Arnoldus Koren Christie. The contract stated that Brøgger & Christie had to use the “finest English ink,” quality paper and wood engravings of a quality “used by similar magazines abroad.” In short, Brøgger & Christie were contractually required to print *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in such a way that it could “compare to its foreign models.”⁵⁴

Illustreret Nyhedsblad’s printer’s mark from May 1856 read “printed with cylinder press at H.J. Jensen in Storgata 27.”⁵⁵ Hans Jacob Jensen, a native of Christiania, had experience from both Guldberg &

aldrig kan forsone sig med. [...] Ligeoverfor Damer agerer han gjerne som Skuespiller; har han engang taget Masken af, saa gaar man lettelig ind paa Spøgen. Naar han ikke for Fornøielsen Skyld bruger Ironien, saa er han det elskværdigste og godmodigste Menneske, man kan see for sine Øine; han er i Grunden snarere sentimental enn ironisk.”

⁵¹ Daae, *Paul Botten Hansen*, 83.

⁵² P. Botten-Hansen, Folketelling 1865 for 0218aP Vestre Aker prestegjeld, Digitalarkivet.no, <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/person/pf01038011009980> accessed 15 June 2017

⁵³ Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 307.

⁵⁴ The contract is printed in and quoted from, Durban-Hansen, *Trykkeriet i vetenskapens tjeneste*, 6–7. Brøgger & Christie’s printing house later became the most important printer of scientific books and journals in Christiania.

⁵⁵ “Trykket med hurtigpresse hos H.J. Jensen i Storgata 27.”

Dzwonkowski's printing house and from W.C. Fabritius.⁵⁶ In 1855 Jensen encountered Carl Johnsen, a printer who had just returned to Christiania after a five-year stay in Boston. Johnsen had saved some money, and he and Jensen started a printing house together. First, they rented equipment from A Th. Nissen's printing house in Lille Grensegate 5. The presses and the type were old and worn out, so Johnsen put up 1200 spd. to buy new type. When Johnsen in 1856 was drafted for military service, Jensen ordered new type and a Shopp's cylinder press. In April, he advertised himself as a printing house with a cylinder press located in "the former location of the catholic chapel" in Storgata 27.⁵⁷

As noted in chapter two, the first cylinder press had been brought to Christiania by the printer Christopher Grøndahl in 1840. Fabritius, who had taken over the printing of *Skilling-Magazin* in 1844, had bought a hand powered cylinder press in 1848. He moved out of Storgata 27 in 1855 to a newly constructed building in Øvre Slottsgate, where H.T. Winther's printing house and bookshop had once been. He also bought a double cylinder press and installed steam power to drive it. A cylinder press or "hurtigpresse" (speed press) as they were called at the time, was still in 1856 relatively remarkable. So much so that Hans Jacob Jensen could boast about *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* being printed on one.

H.J. Jensen was an innovator in the Christiania printing industry and in 1859, he received a state stipend and went to Vienna to study the art of printing. With Jensen, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* clearly had a printer who was interested in delivering the magazine in a form that compared favorably with similar foreign publications. He was a capable printer, but Botten-Hansen and Jonas Lie were not always happy with his work. There were many complaints, particularly during the autumn of 1862. Lie wrote to Botten-Hansen that no less than three times in the past few months Jensen had "prostituted the magazine" by messing up the engravings. By December, though, they were satisfied again.⁵⁸

Jensen was involved in many notable publications from the period in addition to *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, many edited or published by Botten-Hansen's friends. From 1858 to 1866 he printed Aasmund Olavson Vinje's weekly magazine *Dølen*. Later he was involved in the printing of the illustrated periodical *Norsk Folkeblad* (1866-73) and as printer and publisher of *Ny Illustreret Tidende* (1874-1890). Jensen went bankrupt twice, in 1864 and 1879, perhaps because of his enthusiasm for innovations and type

⁵⁶ He had his apprenticeship as a typesetter at Guldberg & Dzwonkowski. He was then employed by W.C. Fabritius as make-up man (ombrekker) for *Christiania-Posten*, a newspaper printed by Fabritius at the time.

⁵⁷ Jacobsen quotes an advertisement dated 19 April 1856, I have not managed to find the original. On H.J. Jensen, see: Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier*, 216–17.

⁵⁸ Jonas Lie to Paul Botten-Hansen, no. 69 7.10.1862; no 73. 12.11.1862 in Lie, *Brev*.

material.⁵⁹ In 1871, Henrik Ibsen sued him over the ownership of two of his plays which had been printed in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in 1857 and 1858. The lawsuit actualized the question of an author's right to their own work in Norway. Prior to this lawsuit, the practice had been that the publisher held the rights to republish a work. Henrik Ibsen's victory went a long way in establishing modern principles of copyright for authors.⁶⁰

The quality of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad's* engravings soon surpassed those of *Skilling-Magazin*. One contributor to the *Aftenbladet* newspaper wrote in 1855 that "when you compare the French, English and German illustrated magazines with our *Skilling-Magazin* it must, even by the magazine's editors, be admitted that the art of wood engraving in our country is still in its infancy." The art of wood engraving in Europe had, according to the author, reached such a high level that it compared favorably in terms of "force and delicacy" with steel engraving. The images published in *Skilling-Magazin* did not live up to this standard. Worst of all were the landscapes which contained "generally no light or shadow," all being "gray and more gray." A number of examples of good engravings had, however, been recently published in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. This showed that Norway did have capable wood engravers "if only one was willing to use them."⁶¹

The most important of these capable engravers was Haakon Adelsteen Lunde, often called the first Norwegian xylographer. As we have seen, there had been wood engravers in Norway before Lunde, but he was the first to set up a studio permanently in Christiania and had a great impact on the development of the art in Norway. Lunde was, in the 1840s, a student of the Danish xylographer Hans Peter Hansen who, settled in Christiania in the early 1840s. After Hansen returned to Denmark in the late 1840s Lunde was his replacement in *Skilling-Magazin*. In the early 1850s, Lunde cut some of the images for the illustrated books published by Dzwonkowski, among them *Illustreret Maanedblad for Moerskabslæsning* which he edited himself.⁶² At the same time, Lunde and his student Harald Nissen cut Henrik Ibsen's illustrations for the periodical *Manden*.

When the art of wood engraving really gained a foothold in Norway and Christiania from the 1850s, this was largely due to Lunde's efforts in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and other publications.⁶³ In 1852 he received a stipend

⁵⁹ H.J. Jensen had a large stock of type and his liberal use of different fonts was mocked in the satirical periodical *Vikingen*. Mortensen, "Boktrykkerkunstens repræsentanter XXXI," november 1905; Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier*, 217.

⁶⁰ See: Ståle Dingstad, "Saken Mot Boktrykker H.J. Jensen," Henrik Ibsens skrifter: Brev: innledning: eksil, forfatterrett og oversettelser – 1870-årene, accessed December 9, 2015, http://ibsen.uio.no/BRINNL_brevInnledning_7.xhtml. The plays were *Fru Inger til Østeraat* (Lady Inger of Osteroot) and *Hærmændene paa Helgeland* (The Vikings at Helgeland)

⁶¹ "Skillingmagasinet," *Aftenbladet* 25 January 1855.

⁶² On H.A. Lunde, see: Mortensen "Boktrykkerkunstens repræsentanter i Norge XLVI"; Edvardsen, *Utkast til kortfattet bibliografi over xylografer*.

⁶³ Edvardsen.



Figure 4.8. Advertisement for H. Nissen's xylographic workshop. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 4, 23 January 1858.

to further his education in the craft in Hamburg and Leipzig. In Leipzig he worked in Eduard Kretzchmar's workshop. Kretzchmar, which employed 30-40 workers in his studio, was responsible for almost all the engravings in *Illustrirte Zeitung* from 1846 to 1858.⁶⁴ On returning to Christiania, Lunde set up a studio and took students of his own, according to Sigurd Heiestad, he had seven students in total,⁶⁵

The first and most important of Lunde's students were Harald Nissen and Andreas Søbørg. Both Nissen and Søbørg cut images for *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and *Skilling-Magazin* in the 1850s and 1860s. Harald Nissen, the brother of the printer and bookseller A. Th. Nissen, had originally intended to be a bookbinder, but instead trained as a wood engraver. While he was studying with Lunde, he contributed to the engravings in the periodical *Manden* and, in 1852, he cut the title page of *Nyhedsbladet*, distributed together with a list of contents at the end of each volume. Like Lunde, Nissen went abroad to further his education, establishing a small workshop in Storgata on his return.⁶⁶ He moved in the autumn of 1861 to Copenhagen where he died a year later. Søbørg was a Danish woodcarver (*billedskjærer*) and the same age as Lunde. Even with only two engravers in town, Lunde

⁶⁴ "Kretschmar, Eduard," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 17, 1., Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (München/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1883), 140, https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Kretschmar,_Eduard.

⁶⁵ Heiestad, *Bildet i boken*, 52; Edvardsen, *Utkast til kortfattet bibliografi over xylografer*. According to Edvardsen, Lunde set up his studio at his home in Munkegata 4 at Bakerengen in Ekeberg. But the 1856 Address book lists him at Jernbanetorget 4, in 1864 he has moved to Brugata.

⁶⁶ In 1852, the same year as Lunde went to Germany, Nissen went to Copenhagen. In 1858, he got a new stipend and traveled to Copenhagen and Germany.

was afraid that he would not get enough work and only agreed to take Sjøborg on as a student for a five-year period providing he moved out of Christiania after he had completed his training.⁶⁷ In 1860 Sjøborg therefore settled in Granlien in Grorud, in the county of Aker. Both Nissen and Sjøborg later took several students of their own. In 1856, Lunde, Sjøborg and Nissen were the only xylographers listed in the Christiania address book. By the mid-1860s there were six xylographers in the city, the number of illustrated periodicals, the volume and the quality of Norwegian engravings increasing significantly in the late 1860s and onwards. By the late nineteenth century, Norwegian wood engravers were renowned and worked for European fine art publications.⁶⁸

Illustreret Nyhedsblad led the way in incorporating Norwegian engravers into the illustrated press. With two regularly published periodicals incorporating wood engravings, it was now feasible to make a living from wood engraving in Christiania. *Skilling-Magazine* and the illustrated books and journals published by Guldberg & Dzwonkowski were, in the 1830s and 1840s, virtually the only publications to incorporate wood engravings in the text. The number of illustrated periodicals, calendars and books increased significantly in the 1850s and 1860s. Other than *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, there was *Norsk Illustreret Kalender* published annually from 1852 to 1855 by Dzwonkowski and edited by Botten-Hansen, *Illustreret Folkeblad* published from 1856 to 1858 edited by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, the woman's magazine *Illustreret Dame-Tidende* published during 1862, the satirical magazine *Vikingen* from 1862 and some attempts at illustrated children's magazines.⁶⁹ Together with more wood engravers came more images of Norwegian landscapes, cityscapes, architecture and people, which were deemed to be important at the time.

There were, despite the increasing number of wood engravers in Christiania, still complaints about the quality of engravings in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. In 1864 Botten-Hansen wrote that *Nyhedsbladet* all too often was forced to present their readers with illustrations that were more interesting with regards to the "subject depicted than their formal perfection." The lack of both artistic and "purely technical" resources in Christiania meant that *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* could not regularly deliver illustrations of a similar "artistic execution" as foreign magazines. The Danish *Illustreret Tidende*, a direct competitor to *Nyhedsbladet*, was according to Botten-Hansen a particularly good example. Botten-Hansen concluded that the lack of artistic and technical development in the Christiania printing industry

⁶⁷ Heiestad, *Bildet i boken*, 52.

⁶⁸ Edvardsen, "Den tidligste ukepresse i Norge." There are six xylographers listed in *Adresse-Kalender for Norges Handel og Industri for 1865* (Christiania: Lehman, 1865), 114.

⁶⁹ Tveterås, *Norske tidsskrifter*.

could not be actively remedied, “only time and the increasing development of the nation” being able to solve the problem.⁷⁰

Jonas Lie and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson

Illustreret Nyhedsblad had ongoing financial problems after Dzwonkowski left the country in 1855. The magazine had, as mentioned, just been saved in 1855 and Botten-Hansen in 1857 published an address to the readers urging more people to subscribe to the magazine. The magazine had “almost died” he stated, “coffin and bell ringer had been ordered.” He was convinced that “*Nyhedsbladet* not only must be the most poorly edited magazine, but that all the articles written by otherwise good authors turned bad by being published in it.” It was saved then, and now the magazine had to increase the number of subscribers if it was to survive. *Nyhedsbladet* was often measured and compared with illustrated magazines from abroad, but Botten-Hansen stated that they did not ask for the subscribers to “become as numerous as the subscribers of the *Lond. News*.” Nonetheless, he did want 2000 subscribers. Some had complained that considering the “significant costs” of the magazine, it could be “more entertaining,” but the editor argued that his choice of articles was always based on the magazine having a “more lasting interest” than mere entertainment. Now, however, he would do anything for his readers, if only there could be more of them: “Readers, do you hear me? I would lie and steal for you. What more can you ask?”⁷¹

Botten-Hansen had edited the magazine anonymously from 1851. By 1857 he had gained some fame as the editor of the magazine and advertisements now often boasted about its editor, highlighted his literature articles and contributions by many of Norway’s foremost writers.⁷² The more “serious” content was, for Botten-Hansen, the most important asset of the magazine, and many articles containing historical, biographical and topographical depictions and scientific and literary dissertations were published in his magazine.⁷³ The magazine was also an important arena for

⁷⁰ The article presented a wood engraving cut by one of the prisoners at Christiania Penitentiary (Bodsfengselet). “En Xylografisk Kuriositet,” *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 44, 30 October 1864, 230. “Naar vi – som dessverre altfor ofte sker – se os nødte til at byde vore Læsere Afbildninger der, mere maa søge sin Interesse i de fremstillede Gjenstande end i den formelle Fuldendthed [...] I Almindelighed kunde vi ellers anfre en hel Del, om ikke til Undskyldning, saa dog til forklaring for, at man forgjæves hos os søger efter den kunstneriske Udførelse, der udmærker Udlandets illustrerede Blae, blant disse først og fremst medregnet vor ærede danske Kollega; vi kunde gjøre opmærksom paa de ringe Kræfter, vort Lands Hoveddstad har at byde over baade i kunstnerisk og i ren teknisk Henseende, vi kunde papege Forholde, som det ikke staar i vor Magt at forandre, og som ene Tiden og Nationens stigende Udvikliing kan rette paa, - kort sagt, vi kunne fremføre en hel Del Forklaringer [...]”

⁷¹ “Abonnerter!” *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no 1, 4 January 1857.

⁷² See e.g. advertisement in *Christiania-Posten*, 24 aug. 1861. But more or less the same statements was printed in numerous advertisements in several papers at least from 1857.

⁷³ See e.g. advertisement in *Christiania-Posten*, 24 aug. 1861.

showing the city's new buildings and projects, both finished and in planning. New institutions like the asylum at Gaustad, a new worker's tenement house (arbeiderbolig), the new city's new common schools, the new soup kitchen (Christiania Dampkjøkken), and several churches were all presented in detail with often lavish wood engravings, many of them made after drawings by the architects.⁷⁴ Infrastructure development was an important topic as well, most notably the railway, which received a massive amount of coverage in the early 1850s.⁷⁵ But *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* had, as noted by Vinje in 1855, a "dual nature."⁷⁶ It was both a serious publication and a popular magazine. This was a necessary survival strategy, the book market in Norway and Christiania was not large enough to support a publication based purely on literature and the arts.

In December 1861 Jonas Lie bought two thirds of the shares in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* from the printer H.J. Jensen. Jonas Lie was an aspiring author who had frequented many of the same circles as Botten-Hansen in the 1850s. Starting in 1859, he had sent some of his poems to Botten-Hansen asking him to publish them in his magazine. Lie had also gone into journalism, some of his political articles in the Christiania papers awakening the attention of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnsson.⁷⁷ Despite some success, there were few prospects of making a good living as an author in Christiania. After finishing his law studies, Lie therefore accepted a position as a solicitor in the city of Kongsvinger near the Swedish border. His main intention in purchasing *Nyhedsbladet* was to "seriously anchor" his literary interests in Christiania, he stated in letter to Botten-Hansen. At the same time, Lie saw

⁷⁴ "Sindsyge-Asylet paa Gaustad ved Christiania," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 24, 17 July 1854; "Arbeiderboligen i Christiania (af A. Schjødt)," no. 52, 25 Sept. 1852; "Christiania Almueskolebygninger," no. 4, 22 Jan. 1860 with an engraving of Møllergata skole (which opened in 1862) after a drawing by the architect Jacob Wilhelm Nordan; "Christiania Dampkjøkken," no. 51, 19 Dec. 1859. For Churches, see e.g. "Christianias Apostelkirke (meddeelt af A. Schjødt)," no. 9, 29 Nov. 1851 with an engraving made after a lithograph by Wilhelm von Hanno, the student and assistant of the main architect Alexis de Chateaufort (the church opened in 1858); "Den paatenkte Kirke paa Ruseløkkbakken," no. 9, 27 February 1859 with engraving after the architects Heinrich Ernst Schirmer and Wilhelm von Hanno's drawings. Von Hanno was a regular contributor to other buildings than just his own (see chapter 6). For an overview of his contributions, see: Ole Petter Bjerke, "Wilhelm von Hanno," *Norsk kunsterleksikon*, February 20, 2017, http://nkl.snl.no/Wilhelm_von_Hanno.

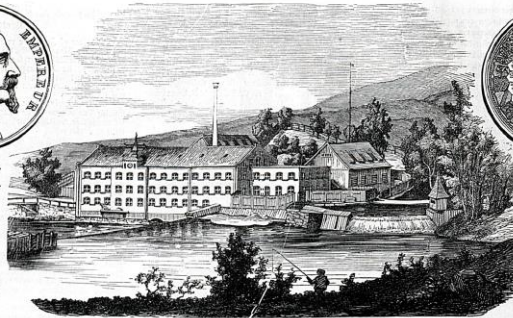
⁷⁵ Coverage of the railway started the autumn 1852 with a long series relating the Norwegian railway to the development of railways more generally: "Om Lokomotiv-Jernbaner ialmindelighed og den Norske isærdeleshed," no. 53; 56; 60, 2; 23 Oct.; 20 nov. 1852. It continued in 1853 with a presentation of a map (no. 1, 1 Jan. 1853) and more on the Norwegian railway (no. 3, 15 Jan; no. 23, 25 Jun.), the test run 4 July (no. 28, 9 July), then came images of the tracks and scenery (no. 30, 23 July; no. 38, 8 Sept.). Then in 1854 came images of the station buildings in Christiania (no. 20, 20 May) and Eidsvoll (no. 45, 11 Nov.). The engraving of Eidsvoll station at the opening had already been printed in *Illustrated London News*, 7 Oct. 1854.

⁷⁶ A.O. Vinje, "Djærv, norsk og endog lidt 'raa,'" *Skrifter i samling*, 1993, 1:80–82. "Der har saaledes vist sig tvende Naturer i 'Nyhedsbladet', som ikke kunde tage nogen god Ende. Skal et Blad, der ikke bygger paa Politik, komme op, saa maa det være greit og endefram ligesom Almuesmanden selv uden Lærdom og Kunst"

⁷⁷ See letter no. 21;27;36;41;43 in Lie, *Brev*. On Jonas Lie, see also: Erik Lie, *Jonas Lie: en livsskildring* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1933).



Erik-, Strøm-,
Post-, Cordus-
og
Pakkepapir
i stort Udvalg
anbefales
Carl E. Petersen,
Christiania.
Torvet No. 6.



Bentze Papirfabrik.



Alle Slags Rinde,
gammelt
Cognack,
Fiskevarn, Smit,
Poltresmel,
fjædes stede af
Carl E. Petersen.
Christiania.
Torvet No. 6.

Utkommet er:
**Skildringer af den Aestvige
Aria 1864,**
ved Fremstilleten. Th. Thorsen.
1ste Deel, med Christningstid og Kirke-
historien, trykt af G. S. Mønstad, samt et
Bilag om de i Aariens, forhistoriske Gjenstande
i Aariens Tid. 12 s. 12. 1/2.
2de Deel, om Kirke og Aariens i ca. 6. del
8 Dele, afholdt af Højskole og Aariens, 11
1/2 s. 12. 1/2.
Ekskursions medtaget i enhver Boghandel
i Norge.
S. S. Cappelen.

Den første er nu kommet utkommet paa
mit Hoesje:
**Læsebog for Folkehølen og Folke-
hjemmet.** Udgiven efter offentlig Hø-
rning, 40 Hef. Svo. Bogen er ind-
bundet i et Hef. for 50 ø og i et Hef.
for 30 ø.
**Tilleg til Læsebogen for Folke-
hølen og Folkehjemmet.** Udgiven
efter offentlig Høring. 10 Hef. Svo.
Pris indt. 24 ø.
S. S. Cappelen.

Paa mit Hoesje er utkommet:
Brevet til de Søbrødre.
Redigeret af Gavn. Aar. Jøns Christensen
25 Hef. Svo. Pris 10 ø.
S. S. Cappelen.

VIVE LA CONCURRENCE!



S. A. SAMUELS MAGAZIN
FÆRDIGE HÆRREKLÆDER.
JERNBANETORVET No. 7.

Fra Pressen er udkommet paa mit Forlag:
LEDETAAID VED UNDERVISING I
GEMASTRIK No. V. udkommet til Brug
ved Skytteklub, Seminarer og Almueskoler,
udgivet ved Premierlieutenant C. J.
ANKER. Gjennemgaaet og anbefalet
af Bestyrelsen for Centralfor-
eningen for Udbredelse af Lægemid-
delstænder og Vandensbrug, 9 Ark ut-
svo med 49 i Tekst og 12 Tavler.
Pris 48 Skilling.
I. W. CAPPELEN.

Paa Hørsingstænder Hoesje er udkommet:
**Amvisning
til
Forsigtigelse af Veitriget.**
Ud-
givet af
Admiral Fitzroy's Barometer Manual
1864.
G. J. Møller,
Gennemgaaet af Hørsingstænder.
Bogen kan erholdes i alle Landets Bogstæ-
der og hos alle i Europa, samt i
Christiania i December 1864.
S. S. Cappelen.

Paa Hørsingstænder Hoesje er udkommet:
Udvalgte norske Ordrebog,
som findes til Samfundet om nye Hørsingstænder
Bogstæder og i alle Landets, samt i
Christiania i December 1864.
S. S. Cappelen.



anbefales til Kirke- og Kurvebøger-Magazin, der stjerke vil være forsynet med alle til Hørsingstænder. Et stort Udvalg af Bøger- og Hoesje-Bogete findes paa Hoesje og anbefales til billigst beregnede Priser.

B. M. BENTZENS BOGTRYKKERI.

Figure 4.9. "Vive la concurrence!" Illustreret Nyhedsblad included more advertising after Jonas Lie became its owner in 1862. This page is from 1864. The image on the top is from Bentze paper factory. The middle image is of S.A. Samuels menswear magazine at Jernbanetorget, advertising their selection of factory made clothes. The image at the bottom is from W. Kyhne's wicker magazine, advertising a large selection of strollers.

the magazine as an opportunity to combine his literary interests with what he believed would be an “advantageous monetary speculation.”⁷⁸

Lie had great ambitions for *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. The key to the success of the magazine was, he argued, to keep it out of the political feuds going on in the press at the time. Lie saw *Nyhedsbladet* as an “aesthetic” magazine, and as an aesthetic magazine it had no business involving itself in politics. He stated that he wanted to keep Botten-Hansen as the editor: “The magazine will be the country’s cultivated garden and with you as the gardener, a true royal garden where the nation can enjoy its time off.”⁷⁹

The magazine had 1443 subscribers when Lie bought it in December 1861 but lost more than 300 in 1862. Around Christmas 1862, “promises, advertisements and improved illustrations” brought back the 300 subscribers they had lost. His main strategy for gaining more subscribers was to distribute free issues with the daily papers, first and foremost *Morgenbladet*. Much attention was given to these free issues, and it was important that they contained good engravings and interesting articles written by the best authors.

No subscription lists survive, but in one of his letters to Botten-Hansen, Lie discusses who the subscribers were:

As the subscriber list show, the bulk of the subscribers are not really literary people. There are only a very few literary people on the list. The list is mainly made up of those for whom the illustrations and the interest in the news are prevailing, people who seeks diversion and a weekly review.

For Lie, the *Nyhedsblad*’s “trait of being a literary magazine” was important. It was what got “the best and most important subscribers” but not the most subscribers. Lie wanted to put more emphasis on the “illustrative side” of the magazine to increase the number of subscribers. “The people are children who want to see the events of the day in pictures” he stated. It was therefore important to choose the right illustrations.⁸⁰

Illustreret Nyhedsblad, with Jonas Lie as its owner, focused more on engravings and entertaining content. “A good wood engraver, a double issue every month [...], and greater emphasis on what I in one word would call the illustrative side of the magazine” was Lie’s recipe.⁸¹ The key to gaining the favor of the public, as he saw it, was “timely” illustrations, and he was particularly pleased with an engraving of the Christiania art carnival

⁷⁸ Lie to Botten-Hansen, no 47. 8.12.1861 in Lie, *Brev*, 1:67–68.

⁷⁹ “Bladet skal blive Landets cultiverede Blomsterhave under Dig som Gardner, rigtig en Slotsark, hvori Nationen kan nyde sine Fristunder.” Lie to Botten-Hansen, 20 Dec. 1861 (ca.) no. 51 in Lie, 1:71. See also Lie to Botten-Hansen 7.1.1862, p 72

⁸⁰ Lie to Botten-Hansen after 22.3.1863, no 90 in Lie, 1:108–9.

⁸¹ “Med en god Træskjærer, en god Trykker, Dobbeltnummer hver Maaned med Ludv. Chr. Daa i, og Vægt lagt paa, hvad jeg vil kalde med eet Ord Bladets illustrative Side, maa det nu kunne komme tilvejs.” Lie, 1:108–9.

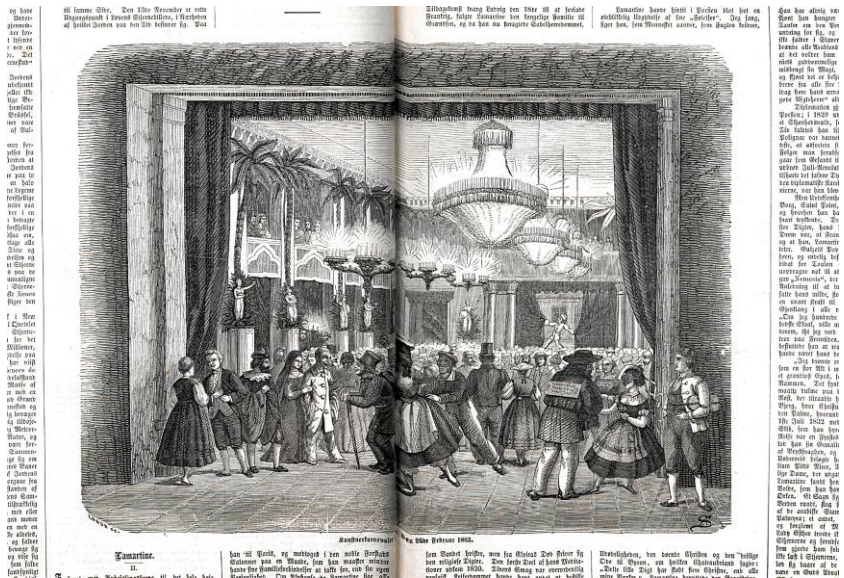


Figure 4.10. Christiania art carnival, 26 February 1863. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, 22 March 1863.

(Christiania kunstkarneval) (figure 4.10) in this regard. A series such as “Norske kriminalhistorier” (Norwegian crime stories) is another example of Lie’s attempts to include more content that he thought owed to the tastes of the public.

It seems that Jonas Lie may have had more sinister plans for *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* than he told Botten-Hansen. In a letter to Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson in January 1863, Lie proudly boasted about its success after he had taken over as owner. The magazine had become “something completely different” from what it was when he had taken over, and he had great plans for its future. He already printed wood engravings from the same workshops as “the best German magazines” and in the summer he would bring a German engraver to Christiania.⁸² He later explained his intentions to Bjørnson. His original plan had been to take over the editorship after Paul-Botten Hansen if he could get the magazine to become economically viable. “Do not say a word about this” Lie wrote in May 1863, if he could not take over the editorship, he had thought that Bjørnson himself would be a fitting man for the job.⁸³

⁸² Lie to Bjørnson, no. 83, *Kongsvinger* 16.1.1863 Lie, 1:93–98. “Nyhedsbladet, som jeg tog som et Thevandsblad er nu noget ganske Andet og skal om 1/2 Aar være meget meget Mere. engang jeg tog det gik Abonnemetet den bagvendte Vei; men nu har Strømmen vendt sig saa jeg alt har vundet flere hundrede Abonnenter og daglig faar Flere. Jeg leverer Portraeter fra det samme xylografiske Anstalter som Gartenlaube og de bedste tyske Ill. Tidng. og Illustrationerne ere hævede i det Hele. Til Sommeren kommer en tysk Cylograf op [...] Det gjælder om at bygge sig ind i Spidsborgeren til man kan bevæge ham fra Fibrene i hans eget Hjærte, commandere ham som hans Egenkjerlighed.”

⁸³ Lie to Bjørnson, 17.5.1863. Lie, 1:111–12.

By 1863 Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson had long been dissatisfied with Paul Botten-Hansen's editorship of *Nyhedsbladet*. Bjørnson had been involved in the same literary circles as Botten-Hansen in the early 1850s, but Bjørnson's earnest style and political agitation did not go over well with the distanced, intellectual environment of "the learned Holland" and he became increasingly dissatisfied with the establishment in Christiania. In an 1867 letter, Bjørnson wrote that Ibsen's "so-called friends" in Christiania, Botten-Hansen, Michael Birkeland and the other members of the learned Holland were a "gang of theoreticians and scoffers" that were "utterly horrendous to be around."⁸⁴

The financial speculation ultimately did not become as fruitful as Jonas Lie had hoped and Lie had sold most of his shares in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* by the end of March 1864. 1/3 was taken over by its new printer, Benzen, and 1/3 by its new editor Fredrik Bætzman. Bætzman was in Rome between 1860 and 1864 serving as secretary and librarian to the Scandinavian Association (Den skandinaviske forening) and had published some articles in *Nyhedsbladet*. On his return to Christiania in 1864, Bætzman gained a position as amanuensis at the university library and took over the editorship of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. His stint as editor of *Nyhedsbladet* was short however. He began in April 1864, Paul Botten-Hansen taking over as editor again in January 1865.⁸⁵

Both Jonas Lie and Fredrik Bætzman were followers of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. Bjørnson had published the first of his so-called "peasant tales" (Bondefortællinger), *Thron* in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, in 1857 and had gotten his first major success with *Synnøve Solbakken* published in the same year, first as a serial in his own periodical *Illustreret Folkeblad* and later as a book.⁸⁶ On being offered the editorship of *Aftenbladet* newspaper, he returned to Christiania in 1859 after two years in Bergen. As editor, he became a leading spokesperson for the left opposition in parliament led by Ole Gabriel Ueland and Johan Sverdrup and became a driving force in the so-called "reform association" (reformforeningen). Party politics was controversial and Bjørnson took controversial stands on many issues. *Morgenbladet*, Vinje in his weekly *Dølen* and his own subscribers turned

⁸⁴ Bjørnson to Ibsen 2.11.1867. In Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, *Gro-Tid: Brev Fra Årene 1857-1870*, ed. Halvdan Koht, vol. II (Kristiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1912), 193-94. "Dine saakaldte Venner heroppe, som nu, det medgives, have arbejdet dygtigt, skjønt just ikke med Takt, ere aldeles forskrækkelige i Omgang [...] Botten-Hansen med sin Prosa og sin Ondskab (sammen med meget Godt og Dygtigt, som vi aldrig skulle glemme ham), [...] Birkeland, som er en Jurist og en Fanatiker, det farligste Udyr, jeg kjender, - de savne tilhobe det Allervæsentligste, sund, grej Menneskelighed. De ere en Bande Theoretikere og Spottere, men uden al Produktivitet, thi den giver kun hin Gemyttets Fedme, hin Menneskets Sundhed og Formue, som er det Næste vort magre Land, med sin tynde Kritik, sin skarpe Nordenvind trænger til."

⁸⁵ S. C. Hammer, "Bætzmann, Samuel Frederik," ed. Edvard Bull, Anders Krogvig, and Gerhard Gran, *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1925).

⁸⁶ Edvard Beyer, *Norges litteraturhistorie: fra Ibsen til Garborg*, 4. utg., vol. 3 (Oslo: Cappelen, 1995), 105. Within two years, *Synnøve Solbakken* had been translated into Swedish, German, English and Dutch.

against him and Bjørnson was forced to leave his position as editor of *Aftenbladet* and went into self-imposed exile for three years.⁸⁷ Through his friend Jonas Lie, he had tried to increase his influence over *Nyhedsbladet* and was probably instrumental in Fredrik Bætzman's short stint as editor in 1864. When Bjørnson took over as editor of the new illustrated periodical *Norsk Folkeblad* in 1866, one of his intentions was probably to damage Botten-Hansen's *Nyhedsblad*.⁸⁸

Norsk Folkeblad quickly became a major success and had gained 6000 subscribers by 1867. The main base of *Norsk Folkeblad* was common school teachers, educated at the teaching seminars and placed at new permanent schools across the country.⁸⁹ Bjørnson obviously had a knack for the public's tastes, and he knew that the only way to win popular appreciation was to have good engravings. In his address to the readers that year, Bjørnson stated his goal was that *Norsk Folkeblad* would be the cheapest illustrated weekly in the country and would only publish original articles and engravings. *Norsk Folkeblad*, he argued with a nod towards *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, was a magazine that not only addressed a small circuit of educated people in Christiania but would address "the great general public."⁹⁰

By then *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* had already stopped publishing. *Norsk Folkeblad* had taken many of its subscribers, and so had the superior Copenhagen-based *Illustreret Tidende*. In December 1866 Paul Botten-Hansen offered some final words to his readers. He not only thanked his "faithful readers" but also gave a nod to his "genuine enemies" who had continually worked against his magazine:

Illusory poets and literates whose products have been rejected, Grundtvigian seminarists, whose literary complacency has been offended, fantastical "maalstrevere" [advocates of the new-Norwegian language] whose linguistic concoctions have been ridiculed, titillating clergymen whose intolerance has been rebutted, cunning politicians whose domineering ways have been exposed - all have had the self-preservation right to hate and work against *Nyhedsbladet*.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Edvard Hoem, *Villskapens år: Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, 1832-1875* (Oslo: Oktober, 2009), 203–45.

⁸⁸ Francis Bull, "Bjørnson, Bjørnstjerne," ed. Edvard Bull, Anders Krogvig, and Gerhard Gran, *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1923), 634.

⁸⁹ The new school law of 1860 established permanent schools as a principle across the country and established stricter requirements for education among teachers. *Norsk Folkeblad* was originally owned by the so-called school teachers meeting (skolelæreremøtet) and was distributed among teachers across the country. After Bjørnson took over as editor after Lorentz Dietrichson, it was agreed that the magazine would own itself, but the surplus would go to a pension fund for teachers. However, Bjørnson's interest in keeping it cheap with high-quality engravings meant that it never made any money. See: Hoem, *Villskapens år*, 389–91.

⁹⁰ "Gode Nytaar," *Norsk Folkeblad*, 5 January 1867.

⁹¹ "Til Læseren," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no 52, 30 December 1866. "Indbildte Poeter og Literater, hvis Produkter er blevet afviste, grundtvigianske seminarister, hvis litterære Selvbehagelighed er blevet saaret, phantastiske Maalstrevere, hvis spraaglige paafund er bleven latteliggjorte, purrelige Geistlige, hvis Intolerance er bleven revset, og bondefule Politikere, hvis



Figure 4.11. “Happy new year!” Norsk Folkeblad no. 1, 5 January 1867. The image is of Panos Koroneos, a Greek general involved in the rebellion against the Turks on the island of Crete in 1866.

Herskesyge er bleven blottet, - alle have havt Selvopholdelsens Drift og Ret til at Hade og modarbejde Nyhedsbladet.”

Many of these groups would form the base for and the alternative elite of a new political alliance that was in the process of being forged. Bjørnson got a nod in this final address as well, and an ironic excuse that his most recent contribution now unfortunately would not be published.

Building on the form of the illustrated newspaper, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* had been pioneering in its literary articles and had managed to increase the quality of its engravings and articles despite continuous financial troubles. Nonetheless, the magazine was, by many in the mid-1860s, seen as being intellectual, exclusive and conservative. It was very much a product of a Christiania-based elite culture. In many ways *Norsk Folkeblad* copied the formula of *Nyhedsbladet*, but at the same time it represented a turn towards a more popular and political direction for the illustrated newspaper. With *Norsk Folkeblad*, Bjørnson spoke directly to many of the groups that Botten-Hansen had dismissed, indeed he explicitly envisaged it as a counterweight to *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and the largely conservative Christiania newspapers.

Part II

The city in the magazine

Part I of this thesis have focused on the publishers, printers and engravers of Skilling-Magazin and Illustreret Nyhedsblad and placed them within the urban context of Christiania in the mid-1800s. I now, in Part II, turn to a discussion of how Christiania was presented in these magazines. We have already discussed some ways in which the city was presented in the illustrated press. Skilling-Magazin and other educational periodicals in the 1830s and early 1840s presented images of cities that drew on the established tradition of topographical views. Current events in the city were, however, rarely covered. With the coming of the illustrated newspapers from the 1840s and into the 1850s came a new concern for visualizing and presenting urban public life. The illustrated newspapers “spoke to the eye” in a whole new way. Illustrated newspapers such as Illustrated London News, L’Illustration and Illustrirte Zeitung had, as we have seen and will describe more in this part of the thesis, a major impact on Nyhedsbladet and on Skilling-Magazin.

The three case studies that follow focus on central Christiania, most notably the new civic centre around Karl Johans gate and the inner-city quarters. The illustrated press in Christiania was located in the heart of the city. The printers and publishers of Skilling-Magazin and Illustreret Nyhedsblad were at various times located in Storgata. This was, however, only a stone’s throw from the centre, allowing for a close relationship with the printers, bookshops, lending libraries and newspaper offices in the inner-city quarters.

The first case, presented in chapter 5, revolves around the student meeting of 1852. Presenting images of Norwegian and Swedish students parading or partaking in festivities in the newly developed areas around Karl Johans gate, Skilling-Magazin and Illustreret Nyhedsblad presented the city as an urban spectacle. It was a presentation that, I will argue, was of itself a vital part of the renewal of this area. Chapter 6 explores the great fire of 1858, an event that spurred great interest among the illustrated papers. Skilling-Magazin and Illustreret Nyhedsblad covered the fire itself, the ruins and the rebuilding in the wake of the fire and through this chronicled and shaped Christiania’s urban development. Chapter 7 looks at the Norwegian parliament as a political institution and as a building, viewed through the illustrated press and its printers. I explore the relationship between

parliament and the public and between buildings and publications through paralleling the long debate about the new parliament building with an equally drawn-out discussion of how parliament should publicize its debates; a dispute that ended in the publication of stenographic Parliament Proceedings in 1857.

Throughout this thesis I contend that the texts and images of the illustrated press were not only responses to or attempts to understand a changing urban environment, but that they also shaped that very environment. The three case studies that follow attempt to illustrate and exemplify this reciprocity. Skilling-Magazin and Illustreret Nyhedsblad lobbied for various projects, demonstrated ways to behave in the city and provided their readers with clues of how to read the changing urban environment. Important in this regard was the illustrated papers' relationship with other illustrated papers in England, France and Germany. Skilling-Magazin and Illustreret Nyhedsblad, I argue, translated the visual and textual conventions of the illustrated press to the context of Christiania, thus providing new ways to understand the local urban environment and instilling a sense that Christiania was part of a transnational urban world.

The magazine and the city

Chapter 5

The city as spectacle. The student meeting in 1852

On the afternoon of 24 June 1852, the entire city of Christiania gathered on the fortress pier. At 6 o'clock the Swedish steamship *Berzelius*, named after the Swedish chemist Jöns Jakob Berzelius, was due to arrive. On board the ship were 288 Swedish university students from Uppsala. Nine days later, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* published a description of the scene:

As soon as 'Berzelius' was spotted alongside Steilene, 3 cannon shots from the Revierbryggen proclaimed the arrival of the ship. When it was just off Vippetangen, it was saluted by a battery placed there and flags were hoisted from the church spire. Meanwhile, a countless mass of people flocked down to the fortress and the pier. The craftsmen walked in procession down to Huustangen with their banners and gathered in facilities there to cheer the guests. The Norwegian students walked in procession from [Studenter] Samfundets building, the old university building, down to the fortress pier, where the hosts had also gathered [the Swedish students were hosted by the citizens of Christiania]. The pier now posed a beautiful sight. Banners had been hung from the fortress walls to the end of the pier. Between them were suspended flower garlands to form a railing. The flags of both realms waved and a beautiful portal stood at the end of the pier. An endless number of ladies formed a picturesque curtain against the green ramparts of the fortress. Boats filled with spectators crossed each other restlessly around the pier. The masts of the ships in the harbor were filled with people. Spectators climbed and hung over each other and the numerous flags waving above their heads provided a festive appearance to the whole scene.¹

This description evokes a feeling of anticipation prior to the arrival of the Swedish students. Salutes fired and hundreds of people marching down from all directions, filling up the increasingly crowded pier. Above this description is an engraving of the scene (*figure 5.1*). We see the Norwegian and Swedish

¹ "Studentermødet i Christiania 1852 I," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 40, 3 July 1852, 162. "Saasart 'Berzelius' kunde øines ved Steilene, fokyndte 3 fra Revierbryggen løsnede Kanonskud Skibets Ankomst. Da det var lige ud for Vippetangen, saluteredes fra et paa samme Sted opstillet Batteri og flaggedes fra Kirketaarnet. Imidlertid strømmede en utallig Menneskemasse til Fæstningen og Bryggerne. Haandverkerne droge i Procession med sine Faner til Huustangen og opstillede sig indenfor en der anbragt Indhegning for at oppedie de Fremmede. De norske Studenter gik i Procession fra sit Samfundsløkkale, det gamle Universitetet, til Fæstningsbryggen. Her mødte ogsaa Værtene. Bryggen frembød nu et smukt Skue. Lige fra Fæstningsmuren til den yderste Ende af Bryggen var anbragt Vimpler, mellem hvilke Blomsterguirlander slyngede sig og dannede etslags Rækværk. Begge Rigers Flag vaiede og en smuk Æresport bæred sig paa Enden af Bryggen. Uoverskuelige Rækker af Damer dannede en malersk Gardinerung til de grønne Fæstningsvolde. Baade, fyldte med Tilskuere, kryssede urolige rundt Bryggen. De i Havnen liggende Skibes Master vare som behængte af Mennesker. Talrige, over de klatrende og hængende Tilskuere viftende Flag gav det Hele et festligt Udseende."

students greeting each other, flags of both nations hanging above the portal at the pier and, most notably, a vast number of people in boats and on the pier.

The arrival of the Swedish students to Christiania that Midsummer's day (St. Hans day in Norway) was part of a series of Nordic student meetings that took place from the 1840s to the 1860s. Christiania had, the previous summer, hosted around 350 Swedish and Danish students from the Universities of Lund and Copenhagen. The Uppsala students, who were unable to partake that year, were invited back to Christiania in 1852.² The visit was part of a longer trip. Their chartered steamship left Stockholm on 17 June, first visiting a number of Swedish towns, then a longer stop in Copenhagen, before leaving for Christiania on the morning of 23 June.³

In Christiania, the Uppsala students had a packed program, taking in the best art and architecture the capital could show. After being welcomed at the pier, the procession of Swedish and Norwegian students, participants and craftsmen continued up through the city, parading through the central street of the inner-city quarters of Kirkegata to Karl Johans gate (the new central promenade), ending at the square in front of the new university buildings. The newly finished penitentiary (Bodsfengslet), the royal palace, the collections of the art association as well as the university collections were opened for the Swedish guests during their visit.

A grand welcoming party was held on the following day at Studentertunden, a park opposite the university buildings.⁴ On the day after, the two steamships Berzelius and Nordkap took the Swedish and Norwegian students to Bygdøy peninsula or Ladegårdsøen as it was known at the time, where they were greeted at the royal estate by the chief of the court, General Wedel. Back in Christiania that evening, they attended a vaudeville performance at the Christiania Theater. On Sunday 27 June, an outing to Sandvika and Kolsås was arranged. Steamships transported the party to Sandvika, and then by foot to Kolsås mountain, a ridge to the west of the city which the students climbed. On the final day, a grand farewell party was held at the Masonic lodge. All this was duly presented in the daily papers, and

² *Studentertog til Christiania 1851 fra Lund og Kjøbenhavn: beretning fra et udvalg av deeltagerne* (Kjøbenhavn: S. Trier, 1853); For a personal account of the meetings in Christiania in 1851, and Lund in 1856, see: Nils Hertzberg, *Fra min barndoms og ungdoms tid: 1827-1856* (Christiania: Aschehoug, 1909), 146–78.

³ The journey is described in the official account, written by some participants and published in 1853: *Studenttåg till Christiania 1852 från Upsala: berättelse af utsedde committerade* (Upsala: A. Leffler, 1854), 1–42.

⁴ Countless speeches were held and songs were sung, the highlight perhaps being a guest appearance by a Christian-conservative workers society, Samfundet paa Enerhaugen, and its choir. See *Studenttåg till Christiania 1852 från Upsala*, 50–80. Samfundet paa Enerhaugen was initiated by the priest Honoratus Halling in 1850 with the purpose of spreading godliness and true education among the common man. Samfundet på Energhaugen can be seen as a reaction to Marcus Thrane's worker's movement and something that was supposed to keep workers away from politics.

later meticulously described and illustrated in both *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and *Skilling-Magazin*.

The illustration of crowds of people was one of the principal types of images in the illustrated newspapers. As Charles Knight noted on the state of illustrated news in his 1864 autobiography:

The staple materials for the steady-going illustrator to work most attractively upon are, Court and Fashion; Civic Processions and Banquets; Political and Religious Demonstrations in crowded halls; Theatrical Novelties; Musical Meetings; Races; Reviews; Ship Launches - every scene, in short, where a crowd of great people and respectable people can be got together.⁵

One of the favored ways of presenting the city in the illustrated newspapers was as a spectacle. Spectacles have long been an important part of urban life. The arrivals of kings, funerals, hangings and other events have played a part in building political legitimacy, maintaining social control and constituting different spaces in the city since the beginning of urban civilization.⁶ Printed media in the form of broadsheets, newspapers and books had been a part of these spectacles long before the mid-nineteenth century. However, the role printed media played in the urban spectacle was intensified by the advent of the illustrated newspapers and the expansion of printed media in the nineteenth century. Illustrated papers such as the *Illustrated London News* were not only observers of major public events such as the Great Exhibition of 1851 or the funeral of the Duke of Wellington in October 1852, they became participants and producers of the historic events themselves.⁷

The student meeting in 1852, seen as a media event, arguably represents something new in Norway and Christiania. Royal visits and events like the Nordic natural science meeting in 1846 had been presented in *Skilling-Magazin* in the 1840s, and the student meeting in 1851 received substantial coverage in the newspapers, but it was not visualized in the same way.⁸ This was the first time the city was pictured as a spectacle on this scale. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* published a five-part article that ran in eight issues in

⁵ Knight, *Passages of a Working Life*, 1864, III, 246.

⁶ See: Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 5ff. On cities and the representative public, see e.g. Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, [1938] (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1996), 64; 88; 267ff. For the city and the representative public (and hangings) in eighteenth century Denmark-Norway, see: Krefting, Nøding, and Ringvej, *En pokkers skrivesyge*, 88–89.

⁷ Mari Hvattum, "'A Triumph in Ink'. Gottfried Semper, The Illustrated London News, and the Duke of Wellington's Funeral Car", in M. Gnehm and S. Hildebrand (eds), *Architectural History and Globalised Knowledge: Gottfried Semper in London*, Zürich: ETH/gta 2018 (forthcoming); See also: Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page*, 180ff; Peter W. Sinnema, *The Wake of Wellington: Englishness in 1852*, Electronic edition (Athens, OH.: Ohio University Press, 2006).

⁸ The Nordic natural science meeting in 1844 was presented with two illustrations in *Skilling-Magazin* at the end of June 1847, three years after the meeting happened. The meeting did, however, receive a substantial amount of coverage in the newspapers, see: Johan L. Tønnesson, "Naturvitenskapens kommunikative landskap: Teksthistorisk blick på det fjerde skandinaviske naturforskermøtet, Christiania 1844," in *Sann opplysning?: naturvitenskap i nordiske offentligheter gjennom fire århundrer*, ed. Merethe Roos and Johan L. Tønnesson (Oslo: Cappelen Damm akademisk, 2017).

July, August and September of 1852 and *Skilling-Magazin* devoted 19 pages over four issues from mid-September to late October to the “student parade” as it was known at the time.⁹ In total 10 wood engravings were published, 3 in *Skilling-Magazin* and 7 in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, one was published in both magazines. In addition, several portraits of prominent people involved in the meeting were published in *Nyhedsbladet*.¹⁰ This was, in the context of the Norwegian printing and publishing at the time, a highly-publicized event. If we take the coverage in *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* combined, this was the most pictured single event in Christiania in the 1850s and 1860s.

We need, to understand this massive coverage, to see the student meeting in the context of the political situation at the time. The early 1850s, following a period of conflict over the flag in the late 1830s and early 1840s, was a period of relative harmony in the Norwegian-Swedish union.¹¹ The event, furthermore, was part of what was known as the Scandinavianist or the Pan-Scandinavian movement, a pan-nationalistic movement working for increased collaboration and in some instances unification between Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Yet the images of the meeting in the illustrated press point us to other important aspects of this meeting. Christiania, after all, was the youngest capital in the Nordic countries. Much of the visual material focused on the newest sections of the city, Karl Johan, Studentlunden and Klingenberg. The new royal palace, which was begun in the 1830s, was finished in 1849. The road to the palace, or Karl Johans gate named in 1852 after the previous Swedish-Norwegian King, was the most impressive urban street in the city. The new university buildings, built on the north side of Karl Johans gate, were finished in 1852. The student meeting showcased the new civic city center not only to the Swedish visitors, but also to the readers and viewers of the illustrated press.

Simon Gunn has, in a study of the public culture of the middle classes in the industrial centers in nineteenth-century England, argued for the importance of the renewal of city centers. He argues that refashioning city centers and creating new civic spaces recast “the industrial city as a spectacle in the later Victorian period.”¹² In this chapter I will argue that something

⁹ “Studentertoget” in Norwegian.

¹⁰ “Studentermødet i Christiania 1852 I,” *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 40, 3 July 1852, 161-163; “Studentermødet i Christiania II,” no. 41, 10 July 1852, 165-166; “Studentermødet i Christiania II (forts.),” no. 43, 24 July 1852, 173-174; “Studentermødet i Christiania III,” no. 44, 31 July 1852, 177-178; “Studentermødet i Christiania IV,” no. 45, 7 August 1852, 182-183; “Studentermødet i Christiania V,” no. 48, 28 August 1852, 193-194; “Upsala-Studenternes Tog til Christiania i Aaret 1852 [I],” *Skilling-Magazin*, no. 38, 18 September 1852, 297-302; “Upsala-Studenternes Tog til Christiania i Aaret 1852 [II],” no. 39, 25 September 1852, 306-310; “Upsala-Studenternes Tog til Christiania i Aaret 1852 [III],” no. 41, 9 October 1852, 323-326; “Upsala-Studenternes Tog til Christiania i Aaret 1852 [IV],” no. 43, 23 October 1852, 338-341.

¹¹ On the Norwegian-Swedish union, see: Bo Stråth, *Union og demokrati: dei sameinte rika Noreg-Sverige 1814-1905*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Oslo: Pax, 2005).

¹² Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*, 51–53.

similar can be said about the area around Karl Johans gate. The area around Karl Johan and the new University was the pride of the city. Its successful transformation into a central civic urban space was, however, neither complete nor entirely obvious in the early 1850s. The student meeting presented an opportunity to showcase this new civic urban center to its visitors and, importantly, to reproduce images of its streets and parks filled with people. In this way, the spectacle of the student meeting and its visualization in the illustrated press was a vehicle of urban renewal.

To put this event into context, I will first look briefly at the Scandinavianist movement. the way the Nordic student meetings in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s were publicized and the way the Pan-Scandinavian meetings used printed media. I will then look closely at the presentation of the meeting in both *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and in *Skilling-Magazin*, focusing particularly on the way these images represented the new area around Karl Johans gate, Studentertunden and Klengenberg. In the last part I briefly discuss the student meeting as a media event, and in put it in the context of other urban events in the illustrated press.

The Pan-Scandinavian student meetings

As explained in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and later in *Skilling-Magazin*, the 1852 student meeting should be seen as a part of the Scandinavian student meetings which had been held in Uppsala in 1843, in Copenhagen in 1845 and in Christiania the year before. There were no Danish students in Christiania in 1852, but the meeting still channeled the same Pan-Scandinavian spirit as those of the years before. For *Nyhedsbladet*, the spirit of this movement was important to the meeting, as it explained in its first article on the meeting, Scandinavianism

brought an element of association to the Nordic student unions that makes the Jutlander not only a Jutlander but a Dane, the Wermländer not only a Wermländer but a Swede and the Bergener not only a Bergener but a Norwegian student and that in turn makes the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian students Scandinavian.¹³

A multitude of local, national and indeed pan-national identities co-existed in this period. As a pan-national movement, the Pan-Scandinavian movement

¹³ "Studentermødet i Christiania 1852 I," 161. "Vi sagde overnfor, at dette Studentermøde er fremgaaet af den same Tanke, som de skandinaviske, og vi gjentage at det ellers neppe vilde kommet istand. Vi indrømme at vi ogsaa i denne Henseende skyldte Skandinavismen meget. Den har bragt det Sammenslutningens Element i Nordens Studenterkoprationer, der gjør Jyden, ikke til jydsk men dansk, Wermländerend ikke til wermlandsk men svensksk og Bergenseren ikke til bergensk, men norsk Student og som atter gjør danske, svenske og norske Studenter til skandinaviske."

could bring together all these identities.¹⁴

A many-faceted movement, that brought together people from different sides of the political spectrum, we can distinguish a more politically oriented form of Scandinavianism from a more culturally oriented movement, which is in line with how the movement was understood at the time. The goal of the political Scandinavianists was a political unity between Denmark, Norway and Sweden, while the cultural Pan-Scandinavians focused more on practical Nordic cooperation within the arts and sciences.¹⁵ Nordic cooperation was not entirely uncontroversial, especially in Norway. Norway had been part of a union with Sweden from 1814, and the memory of the 400-year period under Danish rule was still vivid. Only a few decades earlier, the Nordic countries had been on different sides in the Napoleonic wars, and Sweden and Denmark-Norway had been on opposing sides of a number of wars in the eighteenth century.

The Pan-Scandinavian movement was very much a student driven movement between 1843 and 1864. The students were certainly part of an exclusive elite and were seen as symbols of the future of their nations. But, as Fredrik Nilsson argues, the students were also outsiders of sorts, not adherent to the same social conventions as the rest of elite society.¹⁶ Scandinavianism had, in the early 1840s, been a form of revolt by young students, particularly in Denmark and Sweden. By the 1851 and 1852 meetings in Christiania, however, Scandinavianism had become more accepted. This was partly due to the new Danish liberal constitution signed in 1849 and partly due to the new King, Oscar I, who was crowned in 1844, being more inclined towards Pan-Scandinavian ideas than his father Karl Johan. King Oscar, during the Christiania meetings in 1851 and 1852, showed his support by hosting the students at his country house on Bygdøy.¹⁷

¹⁴ The Scandinavianist movement has often been characterized as merely students wanting an excuse for a party, or a movement that had some influence in the mid-decades of the nineteenth century, but essentially died out after the Danish defeat by the Germans in 1864. While the Pan-Scandinavian movement traditionally has been seen as an interim in the history of nation building in the nineteenth century, it has recently been seen more as one of several competing or complementing identity building projects in the nineteenth century. For the former, see e.g. Seip, *Utsikt over Norges historie 2*, 2:39–44. For the latter interpretation, see e.g. Ruth Hemstad, *Fra Indian summer til nordisk vinter: skandinavisk samarbeid, skandinavisme og unionsoppløsningen* (Oslo: Akademisk publisering, 2008); Magdalena Hillström and Hanne Sanders, eds., *Skandinavism: en rörelse och en idé under 1800-talet*, vol. 32, Centrum för Öresundsstudier (Göteborg: Makadam förlag, 2014).

¹⁵ Dag Thorkildsen, “Skandinavismen - En Historisk Oversikt,” in *Nasjonal Identitet - et Kunstprodukt?*, ed. Øystein Sørensen (Oslo: Norges forskningsråd, 1994), 291–210.

¹⁶ Fredrik Nilsson, *I rörelse: politisk handling under 1800-talets första hälft* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2000), 87–89.

¹⁷ Oskar I’s support for the Pan-Scandinavian movement can at least in part be explained by his more ambitious foreign policy. He supported the Danish against the German-national revolt in Slesvig in 1848 and was more aggressive towards Russia than his father Karl Johan had been. See: Stråth, *Union og demokrati*, 1:194–96; Thorkildsen, “Skandinavismen - En Historisk Oversikt.”

The pomp and pageantry and the countless speeches and songs can easily be seen as a strategy to lead the public into believing that the Pan-Scandinavian movement was more powerful than it really was. Henrik Ullstad has more recently argued that the student meetings can be seen as a series of redressive actions to overcome the borders between Norwegian-ness, Swedish-ness and Danish-ness and thereby create Scandinavians.¹⁸ We can add to Ullstad's argument that pomp, pageantry and parading were important parts of the public culture of the nineteenth century city. Events such as these were not only expressions of an urban community, but its actualization. Urban spectacles offered opportunities for the symbolic display of leadership and authority, embodied and performed through the choreographed spectacle and projected to a larger audience through reports in the press.¹⁹

The Nordic student meetings were saturated by all kinds of printed media that served specific purposes before, during and after the meetings. In Christiania, the participants were given printed songs or poems to recite together and lists were printed of all the participants and their hosts to make it easier for students and hosts to find each other on arrival or to check who was there. The participants were handed printed instructions before the trip to Kolsås on where to meet up and who would travel in which boats, so that the outing would go as smoothly as possible.²⁰ Lists, songs and invitations such as these were an important source of income for Christiania printers.

The participants were also often given books or prints to commemorate their stay. These gifts were, in Christiania, connected to the newest and most impressive architecture the city could show. The Uppsala students, on arriving in Christiania, found at their lodgings a printed description of the new university building with 11 plates and a register of the students enrolled at the university, university professors and a description of the university collections. This was probably Christian Holst's description of the new university buildings published by the university and printed by Brøgger & Christie, the printer of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* at this time.²¹ The students visited, on the trip to Bygdøy, the neo-gothic summer palace of Oscarshall finished in 1852 for King Oscar. Oscarshall, designed by the

¹⁸ Henrik Ullstad, "'Med mjöd och manlig glam på fädrens sätt.' Studentskandinavismen som ideologi og preformativ praktik," in *Skandinavism: en rörelse och en idé under 1800-talet*, ed. Magdalena Hillström and Hanne Sanders, vol. 32, Centrum för Öresundsstudier (Göteborg: Makadam förlag, 2014), 82–113.

¹⁹ See e.g. Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*, 163ff; Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, 166–70.

²⁰ For the lists of the two Christiania meetings in 1851 and 52, see: *Fortegnelse over Deeltagerne i det nordiske Studentermøde i Christiania 1851* ([Christiania], 1851); *Fortegnelse over Deeltagerne i Studentermødet i Christiania 1852* (Christiania: Fabritius, 1852). The instructions for the daytrip to Kolsås is quoted in: *Studentertog til Christiania 1851 fra Lund og Kjøbenhavn*, 85–86.

²¹ "Studentermødet i Christiania 1852 I," 163; Christian Holst, *Beskrivelse over de Nye Universitets-Bygninger* (Christiania: Universitetets Forl., 1852).

architect Johan Henrik Nebelong and with interiors entirely made by Norwegian artists and craftsmen, was one of the most important neogothic buildings in Norway and was a sensation when opened. The students were given a printed prospect of the building as a souvenir.²²

The meetings had an afterlife in print as well, in the form of published semi-official accounts. These provide, in addition to the songs that were sung and the speeches that were held at the meetings, a chronological account of the trip and the events held during the meetings. The accounts were often based on newspaper reports, but sometimes included the more personal thoughts of the author or authors.²³ Ruth Hemstad sees these accounts as part of an effort to make these meetings into historical events.²⁴

The 1852 meeting was the first meeting that was published in the illustrated press. The daily newspapers reported on the events more or less as they happened and published accounts of the meetings were often printed some years later. The accounts in the illustrated papers came out a few weeks or months after the meeting. As in the daily newspapers, we find accounts of the trips, the festivities and the songs that were sung and parts of the speeches. Most important, however, was the way the accounts in the illustrated press visualized the events. The images in the illustrated press were no doubt intended to contribute to the historic significance of these events and to further the cause of the Pan-Scandinavian movement. But the illustrated press, through representing the students parading and partying, also played a key role in the project of establishing the Karl Johan area as Christiania's new civic centre.

A mass of people

Skilling-Magazin, with its first article on the "student parade", printed an image of the parade of students parading down Karl Johans gate to the new university (figure 5.2). The view down Karl Johans gate from Egertorget up to the royal palace is familiar now, almost iconic. The image shows an almost endless mass of people marching down Karl Johans gate. At the front we see figures waving their hats to the crowd, cheering them on the sidewalk, spectators in windows and on balconies throwing flowers upon the marching students. Not far into the scene, however, the parade becomes a unified mass,

²² "Uppsala-Studenternes Tog til Christiania i Aaret 1852 [III]," 323. Oscarshall was also covered in the illustrated press, see: "Oscarshall," *Skilling-Magazin*, no. 38, 28 September 1850. The series on Oscarshall in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* was later published as a pamphlet, see: Paul Botten-Hansen, *Oscarshall* (Christiania: Brögger og Christie's Bogtrykkerie, 1853).

²³ For the "official" reports of the two meetings held in Christiania in 1851 and 1852 were published as: *Studentertog til Christiania 1851 fra Lund og Kjøbenhavn; Studentåg till Christiania 1852 från Upsala*. Paul Botten-Hansen, the editor of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, wrote an account of the student meeting in Uppsala in 1856.

²⁴ Hemstad, *Fra Indian summer til nordisk vinter*.

like a forest of student hats. The spectacle is framed by the Karl Johan quarter, towering over the parade with an exaggerated monumentality.

This image speaks, on the one hand, to the power of the Pan-Scandinavian movement: the ability of the mass of students and craftsmen and the enthusiasm of the crowd to arouse a nationalistic or pan-nationalistic spirit of Nordic brotherhood. On the other hand, the image tells the story of the transformation of the city. The choice of Karl Johans gate for the student parade was not accidental. Karl Johans gate was the result of the architect H.D.F. Linstow's 1838 plan (*figure 5.3*) to connect the city and the royal palace. Linstow's plan was for a linear promenade with prominent apartment buildings on either side and monumental civic buildings forming a square in the middle. And while the plan was only partially realized, Karl Johan would become the most prominent and representational area of the city.²⁵ The image in *Skilling-Magazin* transformed the newly built Karl Johans gate to a stage-set for an urban spectacle. Images like these, seen every year on 17 May at the national day celebrations, may seem familiar to Norwegians now, but at the time this was something new and exciting.

Linstow's proposal to place the royal palace on a hill west of the city in the 1820s had been a bold plan, known as the Bellevue hill, the area was an empty grassland some way outside the urban settlement. The city had grown significantly since the 1820s, the city proper expanding to the north in the 1830s and 1840s and Karl Johans gate connecting to the city in the 1840s. But in the 1850s the royal palace and Karl Johans gate were, in the minds of Christiania's citizens, still far from the inner-city quarters, the commercial and cultural centre of the city. The area had also been a building site almost continuously from the late 1830s, and while most of the buildings that made up the so-called Karl Johan-quarter were finished by the early 1840s, work on street level began late. The street was not paved and finished until 1848, and the royal palace was not officially opened until the summer of 1849.²⁶

To add to that, the new civic center had a less respectable neighbor. The area known as Vika or Pipervika adjacent to the new Karl Johan area was a slum-like suburb of the city. It had probably been a fishermen and laborer settlement before the city was moved and Christiania was established in 1624. When the city attracted more people in the early 1800s, Pipervika expanded up Ruseløkkbakken begetting the infamous so-called "robber-states" ("røverstatene") of Tunis and Algier (*figure 5.4*). By the mid nineteenth century, there were many complaints that this area was an

²⁵ Linstow, *Forslag angaaende en Forbindelse mellem Kongeboligen og Christiania Bye*. On Karl Johan, see: Arne Lie Christensen, *Karl Johans fasader: et kulturhistorisk nærbilde* (Oslo: Pax, 2007); Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, *Karl Johan Kvartalet: Blokkbyggeri Eller Bykunst?* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1970); Carl Just, *Carl Johans gate: Historikk og antologi* (Ernst G. Mortensens Forlag, 1950).

²⁶ Tschudi-Madsen, *Karl Johan Kvartalet*, 9.

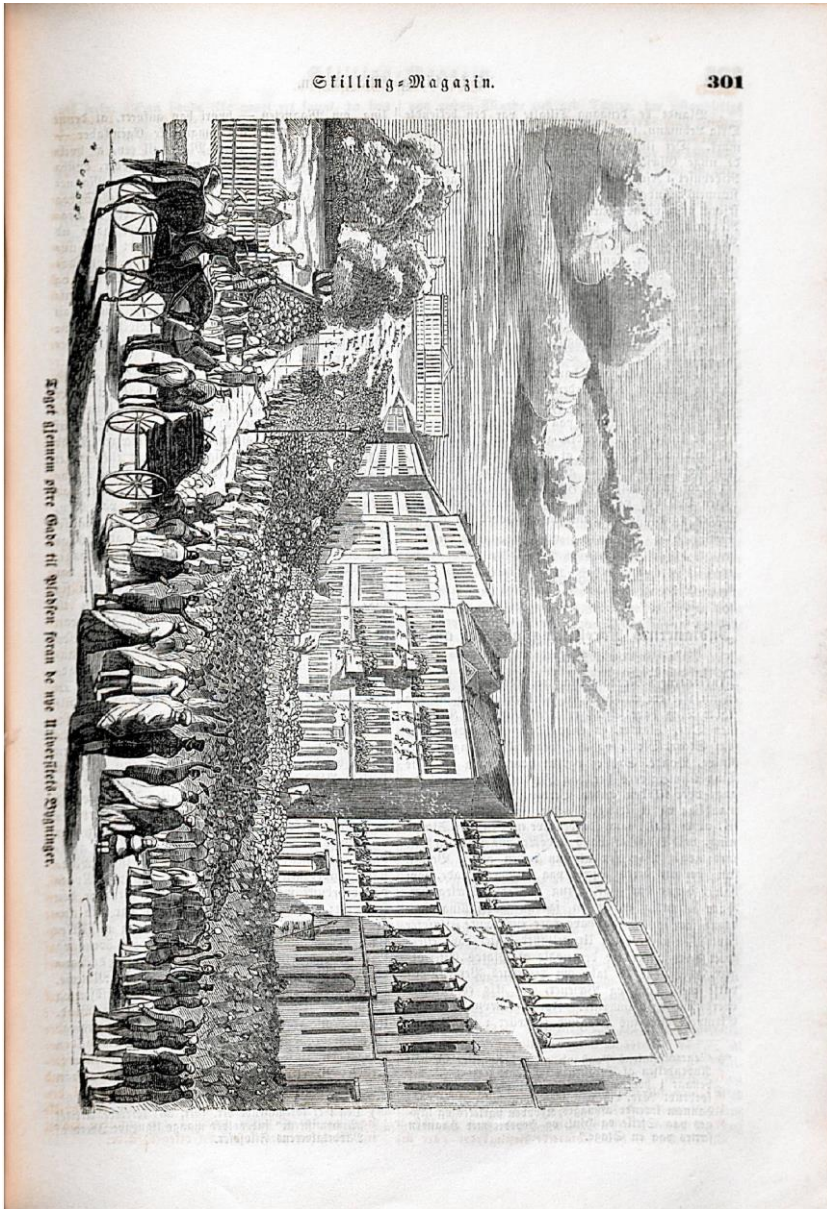


Figure 5.2. “The student parade down Østre gate (Karl Johan) to the square in front of the new university buildings.” *Skilling-Magazin* no 38, 18 September 1852. Wood engraving by H.A. Lunde.

undignified neighbor to the new royal palace, the suggestion was even made to locate the new parliament building here to redevelop it into a more respectable area.²⁷ With slum-like wooden buildings, dubious taverns and prostitutes, this was not an ideal neighbor for the city's new civic center.

The success of the Karl Johan project itself was contested as well. Linstow, the architect, was disappointed that his original plan had not been followed. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* had published at the beginning of May 1852 (two months before the student meeting) two illustrations of the royal palace and an outline of Linstow's description of the construction process which was originally published in 1849. Linstow, who died in a horse-carriage accident during the 1851 student meeting, was given the opportunity to explain himself from beyond the grave, as it were. The "least advantageous" view of the royal palace was from a distance, he argued. The impression of the royal palace was, from within the city, skewed by "the row of buildings on one side of the new street cutting off part of the royal palace and a corresponding row of buildings on the opposite side being missing."²⁸ The land on the south side of Kark Johans gate, the so-called Huseiertomt (‘House-owners’ site’), had been bought up by the owners of the new apartment buildings who did not want their view of the fjord obstructed by a new row of buildings.²⁹ If only Linstow's original plan had been followed, *Nyhedsbladet* hinted, then this problem of the skewed view would not have occurred. Even though this was certainly the most representational area in the city, not everyone was pleased with the result. By republishing Linstow's complaints, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* also endorsed them.

All this point to the fact that was not obvious in the early 1850s that the Karl Johans gate would succeed as a representational boulevard. Work was still needed before the street could become the new public centre of the city. The image of the students marching up Karl Johans gate can thus be taken as being a part of a process of the visual working out of this new section of the city. The first printed view of Karl Johan rising up to the royal palace, with its characteristic hanging shape, was probably a lithograph by F. Loos dated 1850 (*figure 5.5*).³⁰ A number of panoramas of the street were made in the 1850s. The first was a water-colored drawing by Hans Rosenørn

²⁷ "Hvor bør den paatenkte Storthingsbygning opføres?" *Den Norske Rigstidende* 30. august 1854 in Mari Hvattum, ed., *Debatten om Stortingsbygningen 1836-1866* (Oslo: Pax, 2016), 104–8. On the history of Vika, see: Mentz Schulerud, *Piberne Og Pigerne i Vika: Av En Christiania-Forstads Historie* (Oslo: Storebrand; Idun, 1963).

²⁸ "Kongeboligen ved Christiania," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 31, 1 May 1852, 127. The article continues in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 32, 8 May 1852, 129. "Det, som dog fra dette Standpunkt især forstyrrer Indtrykket, er den Skjævhed Bygningen faaer, derved at Huusrækkern paa den ene Side af den nye Gade afskjærer en Deel af Slottet, medens en tilsvarende Huusrække paa den modsatte Side mangler."

²⁹ Tschudi-Madsen, *Karl Johan Kvartalet*, 9.

³⁰ This is at least the earliest representation of the view from Egertorget available in the Oslo image database www.oslobilder.no.

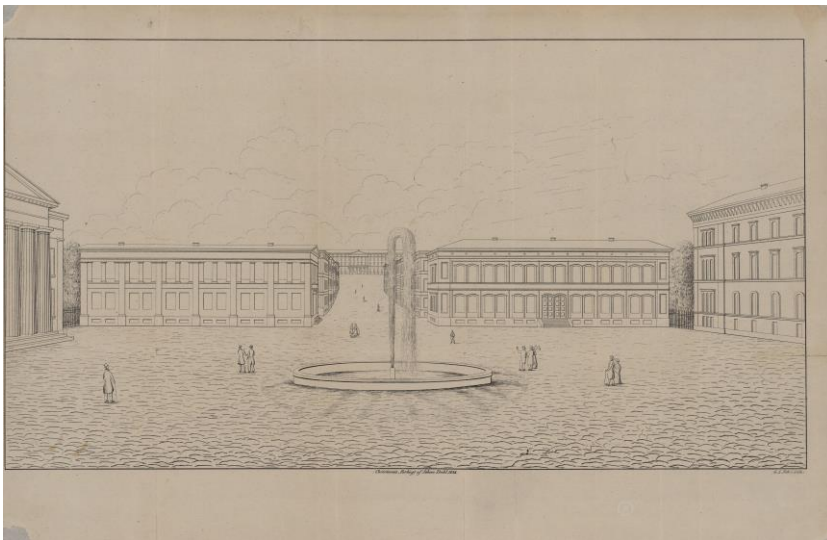


Figure 5.3. Linstow's proposal for Karl Johan. Above, proposed plan for the area. Below, proposed view toward the royal palace from the central square. H.D.F. Linstow, *Forslag angaaende en Forbindelse mellem Kongebølgen og Christiania Bye*, (Christiania: Johan Dahl, 1838). Lithograph, G.L. Fehr.



Figure 5.4. The “robber-states” and the royal palace, ca. 1850-1860. The image is a reproduced daguerrotype and the repo is mirrored. The image has been turned again for correct representation. Unkown photographer. Oslo Museum/OB.F04095a



Figure 5.5. Karl Johans gate. Lithograph, F. Loos, 1850. Oslo Museum/OB.01570

Grüner from 1852, as Loos' lithograph and the image in *Skilling-Magazin*, it displays the view from Egertorget up toward the royal palace.³¹ In contrast to the student parade image, these images show a rather empty, tranquil environment with only a few people and carriages in the streets providing a sense of scale. The image of the students parading down the street was therefore novel. Karl Johans gate had been used for parades and celebrations before, but this was the first time it was visualized in this way.³²

The sheer number of people also made this event notable. As *Skilling-Magazin* explained:

One has probably never seen such a large mass of people in Christiania nor such an enthusiasm. In the ladies this manifested itself as an endless waving of handkerchiefs and a rain of flowers which incessantly brought our Swedish guest out of line.³³

This enthusiasm was not, according to *Skilling-Magazin*, exclusive to the upper strata of society. The mass of people that gathered to cheer on the Swedish students were “of both sexes, of all ages, classes and estates.” This gave a sense of pride and *Skilling-Magazin* enthusiastically wrote that “it was as if the Norwegian people, through the inhabitants of their capital, opened their arms to their Swedish brethren, the best of its youth, to press them to their hearts.” According to *Skilling-Magazin*, the number of people that greeted them led the Swedish students to think “somewhat disappointedly,” that they had arrived in a city of more than a 100,000 people.³⁴ Wherever the Swedish students went, they were greeted with enthusiastic cheers, waving handkerchiefs and were showered with flowers.

This emphasis on turnout can be seen as being part of the legitimation of the event. As Harold Mah has pointed out, emphasizing the particularity of a social group in public would effectively cause it to appear outside the political imaginary of the public sphere. For Mah, the enabling condition of a successfully staged public sphere was the ability of certain groups to render their particular interests’ invisible and make claims to universality.³⁵ Through its emphasis on the generality of the event, *Skilling-*

³¹ On these panoramas, see Jorunn Sanstøl, *Christiania-bilder: hovedstadens billedkunst gjennom 350 år* (Rakkestad: Valdisholm forl, 2004), 68–69.

³² When the royal palace was opened in 1848, a parade was held up Karl Johans gate, ending up at the square in front of the royal palace.

³³ “Uppsala-Studenternes Tog til Christiania i Aaret 1852 [II],” 307 “En saadan Menneskamasse har man nok aldrig seet i Christiania og hellerikke har man nogesinde her været Vidne til en saadan Enthusiasme, hvilken hos Damerne gav sig tilkjende gennem en endelig Viften med Lommeørklæder og en et Blomsterregn, hvilket uophørligt bragte vore Gjæster ud af Linien.”

³⁴ “Uppsala-Studenternes Tog til Christiania i Aaret 1852 [II],” 307. “Disse talrige, af begge Kjøen, af alle Aldre, Klasser og Stænder bestaaende Folkemasser [...] det var som om det norske Folk, gennem Hovedstadens Beolkning aabnede sine Arme for at trykke til sit Hjerte det svenske Broderfolk, repræsenteret ved Blommen af dets Ungdom. [...] denne almindelige Imødekommen, [...] disse mange [u]dstrakte Hænder, hvis Talrighed var saa stor, at den efter vore Gjæsters eget Udsagn bidragte dem den skuffende Forestilling, at være komne til en By paa mindst 100,000 Indvaanere.”

³⁵ Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere,” 167–68.

Magazin effectively makes the student meeting into something that concerns the whole city and ultimately the whole nation. The descriptions in *Skilling-Magazin* cannot, however, be reduced to a rhetorical strategy on behalf of the more powerful. Mass gatherings of this kind were not a usual staple of life in Christiania. The arrival of the King and the opening of the parliament brought people together to watch and celebrate, but this was unparalleled. The student meeting also coincided with the midsummer celebrations, a popular festival which traditionally brought out the whole city. We cannot rule out that there was a genuine enthusiasm that met the Swedish students, even if it was “merely” an excuse to take part in a large party.

The romance of gaslights: Studenterlunden and Klingenberg

If Karl Johan was depicted as the stage for a mass spectacle, other nearby locations were presented as sites for a different type of event. Two images in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* stand out in this respect. The image of the welcome party at Studenterlunden (*figure 5.6*) and an image of the party held at Klingenberg (*figure 5.7*). The history of the Klingenberg area as a gathering place for the residents of Christiania goes back to at least to 1689. Klingenberg was a part of the dubious neighborhood of Vika, its association with something daring and not quite respectable lasting long into the nineteenth century. From the 1830s onwards, after the Klingenberg concert hall was built and a fairground grew up in the area, attempts were made to make it into a more respectable area.³⁶

Elise Aubert gives us a sense of Klingenberg in a letter home to her mother from 1857. Aubert, the daughter of a priest in Gudbrandsdalen, spent time with relatives in a villa outside the city in the spring of 1857. During her stay, she enjoyed “all the amusements the city had to offer,” theatre, concerts and parties. One Sunday they went to Klingenberg:

In the evening, Meyer came home early and took us to Klingenberg where there was a popular festival. We wandered around the garden, looked at the populous that, except for the students, were of the simplest kind, listened to Vinje’s awful speeches and went home. I always enjoy watching such a large mass of people [...].³⁷

³⁶ This section has benefited from discussions with Mathilde Simonsen Dahl, who is currently writing her thesis on Klingenberg and Tivoli in the late nineteenth-century.

³⁷ “Min elskede moder!”, Christiania [Heja] den 20de Mai 1857, in Aubert, *Fra Krinoline-Tiden*, 16–28. “Jeg lever herligt, ak har det saa godt, hos de elskværdigste Mennesker og i den smukkeste Natur og Alt hvad Byen kan byde af Fornøielser, saa deltager jeg deri [...] Om Aftenen [Søndag] kom Meyer hjem tidlig og tog os Alle med paa Klingenberg - der var Folkefest - vi vandrede i Haven, saa lidt paa Populasen, som foruden Studenterne var af simpleste Sort - hørte slette Taler af Vinje og begav os derpaa hjem - jeg morer mig altid ved at se saadan Masse Mennesker saa jeg var vist den som havde størst Udbytte af Touren.”



Figure 5.6 The party at Studenterlund. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no 43, 24 July 1852



Figure 5.7 Scene from the student party at Klingenberg. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 48, 28 August 1852.

Aubert's description gives us a sense of the scene. One of the attractions was watching the populous, the thrill of seeing a large mass of people gathered together.

While Klingenberg had a long history as a gathering place, similar associations linked to Studenterlunden can be said to have begun with the student meeting in 1852.³⁸ The name Studenterlunden – literally “students grove” – became intimately connected with the student meeting of 1852.³⁹ Its location, opposite the new university buildings also made it an ideal location for students to hang out. The area around the new Karl Johans gate, including Studenterlunden, had originally been a part of the suburb of Ruseløkka and was bought by the municipality of Christiania in the 1840s. Studenterlunden and Karl Johans gate later became a favorite place for the finer citizens of Christiania to promenade, a restaurant pavilion being built in Studenterlunden in 1860s and a music pavilion later in the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ But in 1852 it had never been used for events such as these. This is evident from the *Illustreret Nyhedsblad's* description of Studenterlunden as the site for the welcoming party. According to *Nyhedsbladet*, Studenterlunden had been a place where “the nannies of the city hitherto have gathered with their children,” but which they hoped “the students now, and perhaps with the same right, will take as their own.”⁴¹

It is important, when viewing the image of the student parties at Klingenberg and Studenterlunden, to think about what has been left out of the picture. The new university buildings, just opposite Studenterlunden, had opened in 1851 and formed the backdrop for the party. These buildings were perhaps the finest new buildings in Christiania, but we find no images of the university buildings in the coverage of the student meeting. The only monumental buildings present in these images is a small glimpse of the royal palace over the Studenterlunden tree-line. What these images show is not the monumental city represented by the university or the royal palace, buildings

³⁸ See, e.g. “Klingenberg” and “Studenterlunden” in Tvedt, *Oslo byleksikon*, 238; 419.

³⁹ That Studenterlunden got its name during the visit of the Uppsala students is mentioned in an article in *Norsk Folkeblad* no 233, 9 June 1866, 156. A search on the newspaper database at the National Library of Norway (www.nb.no) provides only one hit for the keyword “studenterlund” or “studenterlunden” before 1852 (as of 6 November 2017). In a report on the 17 May celebrations in 1851, the participants “made their way to the already for several years so-called Studenterlund (between the University and Klingenberg)” (“Deeltagerene i Laget bega seg til den allerede i flere aar saakaliede Studenterlund (mellom Universitetet og Klingenberg)”). *Den Norske Rigstidende*, 20 May 1851, 1. The fact that *Rigstidende* feels the need to explain where it was can indicate that it was not widely known as Studenterlunden before 1852. See also Welhaven's speech, in *Studenttåg till Christiania 1852 från Upsala*, 53. “Vi byde Eder velkommen I den friske Lövsal, som Folkemunden har givet et Navn [Studenterlunden], hvortil fra nu af Eders Erindring skal være knyttet.”

⁴⁰ A detailed history of Studenterlunden and its adjacent Eidsvolds plass can be found in: Marius Røhne, *Oslo kommunale parker og grønnanlegg 1810-1948* (Oslo: Myhres papirindustri, 1965), 211–20.

⁴¹ “Studentermødet i Christiania 1852 II,” 165. “Lunden ligeover for det ny [sic] Universitet, under hvis skyggefulde Træer Byens Barnepiger med en Hoden Børn hidtil have pleiet at samles, men som Studenterne nu, og maaske med større Ret, ville tilegne sig [...]”

that had already been accounted for in the illustrated press. What they emphasize is the ephemeral, transient and intimate character of these events. The city becomes a stage set and Studenterlunden and Klingenberg are transformed into theatrical and romantic fairytale spaces.

Both the Studenterlunden and Klingenberg images are depicted as night scenes. One of the most striking aspects of these images is the contrast between light and dark, black and white, which creates a magical atmosphere. Wood engraving lends itself particularly well to images depicting the night, the white space of the image being what is cut out of the woodblock. This is the opposite of intaglio-engraving and etching techniques on copper and steel, where black lines are created by inserting it into the metal. A wood engraver could relatively easily create these effects by simply leaving most of the surface black and cutting out white spaces to let light flow out. Studenterlunden is transformed into an enchanted wood, the glowing tent lighting up the woods outside, creating an effect of an interior space. The light effects at Klingenberg is even more spectacular, what looks like fireworks lighting up the night sky while lamps and interior light gives us the contours of the fairground buildings.

Night-life can be traced back to baroque court culture. This court culture began, at the end of the eighteenth century, to be commercialized by pleasure gardens such as Vauxhall and Ranelagh in London, spawning a middle-class fashion for going out at night. The images of Studenterlunden and Klingenberg bear witness to a radical change in public lighting in the nineteenth century as well. Gaslights had been introduced in major cities such as London in the early 1800s and provided a much stronger and more reliable source of public light than the old linen oil lamps. Lanterns previously had provided an almost private light, the coming of gaslight increasingly spreading light outwards. This flood of light opened the night in nineteenth-century city centres.⁴²

Christiania gasworks, the second gasworks in the Nordic countries, was established in 1848 and gaslight was specially provided for the events at both Studenterlunden and Klingenberg.⁴³ The effect of the light in the images of Studenterlunden and Klingenberg was theatrical, turning these areas into romantic fantasy spaces, a not uncommon urban phenomenon at the time. As

⁴² For cultural histories of gas and electric lights, see: Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Angela Davies (Oxford; New York; Hamburg: Berg, 1988); Joachim Schlor, *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London, 1840-1930*, trans. Matthew Beaumont, Kindle edition (London: Reaktion Books, 2016). On pleasure gardens in eighteenth century London, see: Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680-1780* (Guilford Press, 1998), 116–55.

⁴³ The Gasworks (Christiania Gascompagnie) was established after an initiative by the Brit James Malam, who had already established a gas company in Gothenburg. The first gaslights was lighted in Storgata and as a gift to the city Malam built the “Fiat lux!”, a large four-armed cast iron chandelier at Stortorget. Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 423–26; Tvedt, *Oslo byleksikon*, 129;156.

Simon Gunn has argued, gaslights contributed to the romantic image of the city centre in the English industrial north in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Important public buildings were often illuminated during special occasions. According to Gunn, this emphasis on fantasy and theatricality was primarily conveyed through the local press, and through visual media and paintings.⁴⁴

We can also note the festive mood of the participants. Toasting and raised glasses, Swedish students with white hats and Norwegian students with black hats arm in arm, in enthusiastic discussion in small groups. Alcohol, no doubt, was important and the drinks were served with careful consideration. At Studenterlunden, several smaller tents in which food and drinks were served were set up around the main tent. Punch and Bisp (a Swedish drink made of warm red wine and spices) was served in green containers, at the taps “little boys dressed in Fredman costumes stood and waved to the enjoyment of everyone,” according to *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, “the whole arrangement was particularly tasteful and appropriate.”⁴⁵ At Klingenberg, a fountain was built in the shape of a lion. Out of the lions’ mouth, Punch, Bisp and Lemonade “flowed out” and were served by “young boys dressed as bacchantes.”⁴⁶ As the image shows, the fountains were situated below a large statue of Bacchus (Dionysus) which not only bestowed wine upon the students but also represented the birth of a new Nordic nation. This provides us with some small hints as to the nature of these parties. The festive mood was probably not only due to the spirit of the Scandinavianist idea. As *Nyhedsbladet* dryly noted, the small pond that covered part of Studenterlunden had been covered over in order to keep participants “intoxicated by either speeches or by wine” from falling in.⁴⁷

Illustreret Nyhedsblad meticulously described both the decorations and the practicalities of organizing these parties. “The grandest arrangements had been prepared” for both parties, the decoration of both sites filled with symbols of both the Norwegian-Swedish union and the Pan-Scandinavian movement. One side of the tent set up at Studenterlunden was decorated with the arms of the Swedish-Norwegian union, the other with the arms of the old-Norse kingdoms of Sweden (the Svea and Götha kingdoms), the Norwegian

⁴⁴ Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*, 53. See also: Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, 44ff.

⁴⁵ “Studentermødet i Christiania II,” 165. “Rundt omkring Hovedtellet fandtes flere mindre Telte, under hvilke man kunne spise, og for Drikkevarer var der sørget ved Ankere med Punsch og Bisp, der vare anbragte i grønne Søiler og ved hvis Tappe Smaagutter, klædte i fredmannske kostymer, stode og vinkede til nydelse. Alt var særdeles passende og smagfuldt arrangeret.”

⁴⁶ “Studentermødet i Christiania IV,” 193. “Paa Karrousselpladsen var opført en Fontaine, af hvis Løvesvælg der idelig strømede Punsch, Biskop og Limonade, som serveredes af smaa Dreng, der vare smykkede som Bacchanter.”

⁴⁷ “Studentermødet i Christiania II,” 165. “Dammen inde mellem Træerne var bleven overbredt, for ikke at fange den, som beruset af Taler eller Viin muligens kunde skeie ud fra de slagne Gange.”

and the Danish kingdoms, the coat of arms of the four Nordic universities and the national flags of the Nordic countries. Textiles were hung on the columns on the side of the tent marked with the names of famous Scandinavians. Above the tent flew the flags of Norway and Sweden.⁴⁸

The description of the party at Studenterlunden bears witness to the fact that this was the first time it was used for such a large event. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* was very attentive of how the party was organized. They compared the party to the welcoming party held in the masonic lodge during the student meeting of the previous year, and the tent at Studenterlunden had several benefits over the masonic lodge. One of was that it provided an easy escape “for those who wanted to talk among themselves rather than listen to speeches.” However, the most important aspect was that it allowed “the spectators outside to glance in to the swarm of participants inside,” allowing Christiania’s inhabitants to “partake in the festivities inside,” albeit from a distance.⁴⁹

The images of the student meeting in 1852 presented the city as a stage-set for an urban spectacle. While Karl Johans gate was originally planned to be Christiania’s grand promenade, the spectacle of the students parading down the street and the student parties at Studenterlunden and Klingenberg must be seen as part of the process of making this area into the Christiania’s new civic centre. The images in the illustrated press Karl Johan became a grand promenade and Studenterlunden and Klingenberg became romantic spaces. Lit by gaslights, Klingenberg and Studenterlunden were presented as spaces for recreation, relaxation, entertainment and intermingling, where bourgeois urban life could be lived out and perhaps also transgressed.

Media events and the urban spectacle

Jonas Harvard and Magdalena Hillström used the term “media event” to describe the Nordic student meetings.⁵⁰ The concept of a “media event,” as

⁴⁸ “Studentermødet i Christiania 1852 II,” 165.

⁴⁹ “Studentermødet i Christiania 1852 II,” 165. “Dette store Telt var den egentlige Festivitetsaal, eller gjorde ialfald den samme tjeneste som den store Logesal i fjor. Men denne Sal havde det forud for Logesalen, at den tillbød Tilskuerne udenfor at kaste et Blik ind paa Deeltagerens Vrimmel, hvad enten hine befandt si paa Veien ved det ny Universitetet udenfor den der andbrakte Afspærring, eller paa Drammensveien; og saaledes kunne de i Afstand saa at sigte deeltage i Festligheden. Desuden tilstedede de aabne Sider en letvindt Udflugt for dem, der heller selv vilde tale end høre paa Festtalerne, sa at de ikke behøvede at overdøve disse, hvilken i Logen i fjor tildeels var Tilfældet.”

⁵⁰ Jonas Harvard and Magdalena Hillström, “Media Scandinavianism: Media Events and the Historical Legacy of Pan-Scandinavianism,” in *Communicating the North: Media Structures and Images in the Making of the Nordic Region*, ed. Jonas Harvard and Peter Stadius (Ashgate, 2013), 75–98; The concept of media event, an important and much debated concept in media

developed by Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz, was originally used to designate the more recent phenomenon of the live television broadcasting of historic events and public spectacles. Even though the Nordic student meetings took place more than a hundred years before the advent of live broadcasting, it can be useful to think of them and other mayor public events in the nineteenth century as media events.⁵¹

The Nordic student meetings and the media events described by Dayan and Katz were both celebrations that were announced in advance through the pages of the press and events the audiences were prepared for. The Nordic student meetings also, in a sense, happened “live” as steamships (and later electric telegraphs) distributed reports throughout the Nordic countries. Media events push almost all other news off the agenda. While the student meetings did not push out all other news, it did fill up the pages of the newspapers and illustrated newspapers before, during and after the events. Audiences, through representations in the media, participated from a distance. Newspapers in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and to some extent Finland printed the accounts of other newspapers. In this way, the movement of the students by steamship between the countries and the celebrations that followed were presented in press reports in all the Nordic countries and reached a wide readership.⁵²

The presentation of the student meeting of 1852 in the illustrated press drew on the presentation of similar types of events in England and on the continent, but Christiania was not Paris or London. Its residents had not yet become accustomed to urban spectacles. Thomas Richards has argued that one of the reasons for the great success of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London was that by the late 1840s “the escalation of spectacle had gotten so out of hand that it was evident only a massive collective effort could possibly come close satisfying the well-nigh universal public craving for monster displays of special effects.”⁵³ The pages of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and *Skilling-Magazin*, unlike the *Illustrated London News*, had not already been filled with masses of people parading or massive displays. This probably contributed to the novelty and interest in the event.

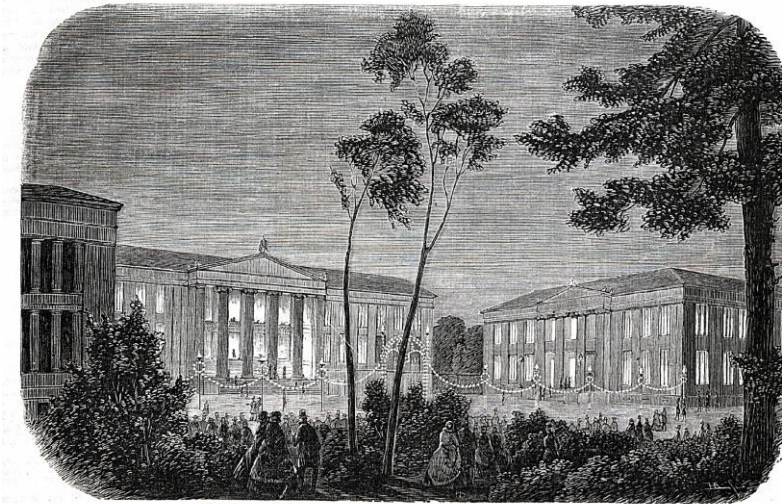
After the student meeting, however, we find several occasions that mimicked those found in other illustrated papers. Anniversaries, such as the 50-year jubilee of the university in September 1861 (*figure 5.8*) and the 50th

theory was first developed in Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz, *Media Events* (Harvard University Press, 1994).

⁵¹ It could be argued that the concept of the media event not only suits more recent phenomena. Events as different as the protestant reformation and the French revolution has also been studied as media events. For an overview of this tradition see Espen Ytreberg, “Towards a Historical Understanding of the Media Event,” *Media, Culture & Society*, April 21, 2016, 1–6.

⁵² Harvard and Hillström, “Media Scandinavianism.”

⁵³ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford University Press, 1991), 57.



Christiania nye Universitetsbygninger, ved Illuminationen den 2den Septbr. (Se for. S.)

Figure 5.8. The university buildings illuminated at its fiftieth jubilee, 2 September 1861. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 37, 15 September 1861.

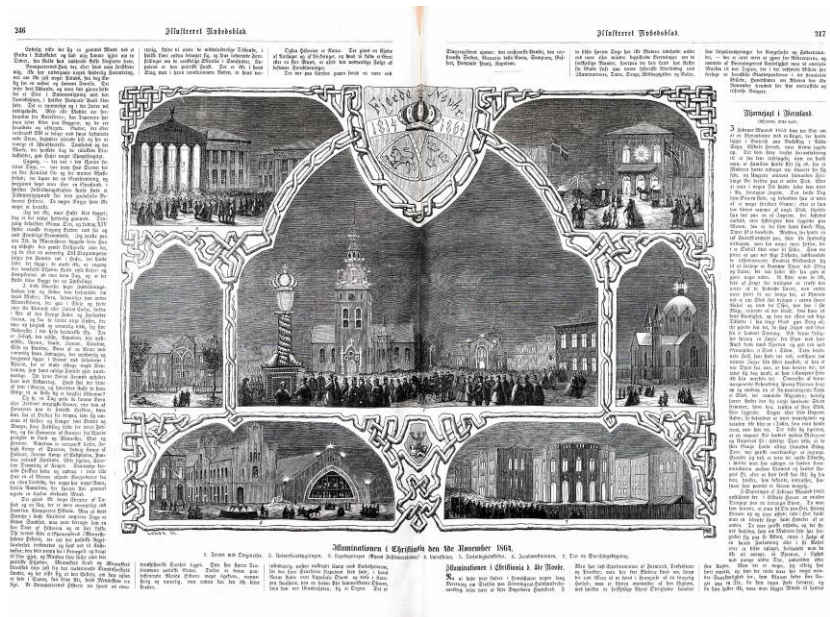


Figure 5.9. The illumination in Christiania 4 November 1864. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 47, 29 November 1864. Wood engraving, H.A. Lunde.

anniversary of the November constitution in 1864 were both celebrated by illuminating public buildings (*figure 5.9*). The University, the Royal Palace, and the Parliament building, then under construction, were illuminated by gaslight. Like the illuminations in London or in the industrial cities of northern England, these illuminations drew large crowds and were highly publicized. Large public processions and celebrations were held every 17 May to mark the constitution. In 1864, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* printed full-page images of celebrations in the new civic center of the city, in front of the royal palace and in front of the University. In the same way as the student meeting in 1852, these events and their presentation in the illustrated press contributed to making the Karl Johan area into the representational centre of the city.

Chapter 6

Christiania, the old and the new. The fire of 1858 and the city's rebuilding in the press

On 14 April 1858, the central quarters of Christiania were struck by fire. The fire broke out in a backyard carpenter's workshop inside the quarter between Karl Johans gate (then Østre gate), Prinsens gate and Kirkegata. After an almost 20-hour struggle with the flames, in which two members of the city fire-corps died, the extent of the damage finally became visible. A total of 41 buildings had burned down, many belonging to the wealthiest and most prominent merchants in the city. The fire completely destroyed two blocks between Prinsensgate, Kirkegata, Østre gate and Skippergata, most of the block to the west and some of the adjacent buildings.¹

The fire left at least two longstanding marks on the city. The first was the building of a new water supply and the reorganization of the fire service. This was a part of an already ongoing process of increased public spending on urban infrastructure. But the fire provided the trigger to accelerate this process and the press played an important role in advocating reform. Secondly, the fire spurred an intense period of renewal in central Christiania, most of Christiania's inner-city quarters being transformed between the late 1850s and 1900. The fire initiated a process in which most one and two storey buildings built during the reign of Christian IV and in the eighteenth century were either demolished or rebuilt. In their place came three to five storey tenements, most with shops or public activities on the ground floor and residential apartments above.

In 1870, the area rebuilt after the fire still stood as a modern contrast to the rest of the city. The author Camilla Collett described in an article in *Morgenbladet* her impressions of a walk through the city. The perspective was of someone familiar with the town, yet also aware of how the city might be experienced by an unfamiliar visitor. Collett expressed a feeling of inferiority on behalf of the city. She found the lack of regularity, plan and monumentality embarrassing – a French tourist had called the city “Ce grand village,” not a compliment for an aspiring European capital. There were some exceptions, however, after passing through the area around the harbor and the south-eastern sections of the inner-city quarters:

[...] suddenly [we arrive at] a brand-new piece of town, as beautiful, as noble, as unified as one will find it anywhere. Where do this piece of

¹ On the fire, see: Børre Nordby, “Storbrannen i 1858: Christiania Brenner,” *St. Hallvard* 58, no. 3 (1980): 158–73; Erik Oluf Melvold, “Den Store Bybrannen,” *St. Hallvard* 85, no. 2 (2007): 34–41; Hammer, *Kristianias historie 1814-1877*, IV:423–38.

Europe come from? Who has built it? May he be blessed, whoever he is! Accident has built this, the fire of 58. In one of these quarters are set a couple of glorious buildings against the town square, as if someone wanted to show [...] how the main square of this city should have been built.²

The fire as a cleansing force and as a force of renewal comes up time and time again in the coverage on the rebuilding, as does implicit and explicit comparisons with European cities.

The illustrated press, particularly *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, followed the fire and the rebuilding carefully. The volumes between 1859 and 1862 are filled with images of new buildings, new developments and with old, soon to be demolished buildings. This chapter takes the fire of 1858 as a starting point to investigate the role of the illustrated press in the making of this modern city. I will first go through the coverage of the fire itself, placing the coverage both in the context of the illustrated press as a medium and in the specific local contexts, and look at how both the visual and textual conventions of the illustrated press were translated into a Christiania context. The predominant point is that the fire, as presented in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and *Skilling-Magazin*, is as much a reflection of aesthetic, visual and journalistic conventions as it is a factual report on what happened during the fire. As we will see, both images and texts were edited to fit these conventions.

I will then go into to how the rebuilding process was mediated through the press. I first describe how *Morgenbladet*, the daily papers and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* launched a successful campaign to reform the city's fire service and water supply. I then look at how the new and rebuilt quarters were presented in the illustrated press. An immense effort was put into publishing images of the new rebuilt quarters. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, in a series of articles and images under the heading "Christiania, the old and the new," also provided their readers with some reflections on the changing city and their own role in preserving the disappearing city in print.

² Camilla Collett, "Christiania - Frognerkilen," *Morgenbladet* 29. april 1870 in Mari Lending and Mari Hvattum, eds., "*Vor tids fordringer*": *norske arkitekturdebatte 1818-1919* (Oslo: Pax, 2012), 273. "Vi ville forsøge at skildre de Indtryk, der paatrænger sig os ved en Vandring gjennem Christiania By, fra man stiger I Land paa Bryggen, indtil man er sluppen vel ud af den – Indtryk, der, idet de idelig vexle, dog samle sig I en eneste Grundfølelse, et vist prikkende Mishag, en pinlig Grunden efter at hvile I Noget. La os forbigaa det første Parti, der møder os, det ældre ærverdige Christiania. Det maa tages for, hvad det er. Man hilser det, som en Braget stakkels gamle Bedstefar, vemodig, med al Pietet, medens man i Stillhed nærer Ønsker for, hvad der her maa ansees for det Bedste og Lykkeligste. Medens disse fromme Tanker endnu beskjeftige os, støde vi pludselig paa et spliternyt stykke By, saa smukt, saa ædelt, saa helstøbt, som man nogensteds vil se det. Hvor kommer dette Stykke Europa fra? Hvem har bygget det? Hvo det end er, velsignet være denne! Tilfeldet har bygget det, Ildebranden fra 58. Et af disse Kvartaler stiller et Par prægtige Bygninger op mod Torvet, som om de vilde vise dette Torv med sin under et umaadeligt Taarn sukkende lille Kirke, hvordan Byens Hovedplads burde være bebygget."

The disaster genre

The fire of 1858 was the worst the city had seen in the last 150 years. As *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* reported: “in less than half a day, two and a half of the biggest and best quarters of the city were reduced to a smoking gravel pit.” It was assumed that property worth a million speciedaler had been destroyed in this short space of time. The threat of destruction still loomed over the city after the fire had died out, but after “after nearly a day of exertion, doubt and anxiety, the elements were mastered to the extent that fear of further danger lessened.”³

The account in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* was dramatic. Readers were told how the fire had reached through ceilings before any fire shots from the fortress were heard. People coming home from a party had been attracted by the light and “by beating on the windows of the threatened buildings, they awoke the inhabitants and notified them of the extreme danger they were in.” The fire had spread fast and many inhabitants only just made it out. Those living in lofts had to escape via the roofs as the staircases had burned. Some were only “half-dressed” and left all behind, “some did not even have the time to save their securities.”⁴

Coverage of fires and disasters was, by 1858, a well-established genre in illustrated periodicals. As we have seen, the first issue of *Illustrated London News* featured a front-page engraving and a long article on a fire in Hamburg.⁵ As Kristine Moruzi notes, this reflected the newspapers’ “initial and longstanding dedication to the illustrated coverage of devastating events from all over the world.”⁶ A search in the *Illustrated London News* online archives gives 200 articles with the word fire in the title between 1842 and 1858. Many of these articles are not illustrated and some do not refer to fires

³ “Branden i Christiania den 14de April,” *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 16, 18 April 1858, 67. “I løbet af mindre end et halvt Døgn blev halv-tredie af Byens største og beste Kvartaler forvandlede til en rygende Gruushob. Værdier, som man vel kan anslaa til en Million Speciedaler, vare i denne korte Tid tilintetgjorte, uden at Ødeleggelsen endda kunde ansees for standet; tvært imot truede den fremdeles med at tage en endnu mere foruroligende Retning; først efter henvend et Døgns Forløb, fuldt af Anstrængelse, Tvivl og Ængstelse, var man saavidt Elementets Herre, at Frygten for videre Farer kunde opgives.”

⁴ “Branden i Christiania den 14de April”, 67. “Endnu inden brandskud gik, slog Luen frem igjennem Tagene, saa at nogle Personer, der kom fra Selskab, tilkaldtes ved Lysningen. Ved at slaae Ruder ind i de truede Gaarde fik disse Beboerne af de brændende Huse vækkede og underrettede om den Fare, hvori de svævede. [...] Et par Beboere af Tagkammerene, hvortil Trapperne brændte, maaatte krybe hen over Huustagene, indtil de naaede en Brandstige. Flere maatte flygte hal paaklædte, og late Alt i Stikken. Selv ikke sine Værdipapirer fik Somme Tid til at redde.”

⁵ *Illustrated London News* no 1, May 14 1842, 1

⁶ Kristine Moruzi, “The ILN and Disasters,” *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*. Essays., 2011, <http://find.galegroup.com/iln/>.

per se, but fire brigades or fire stations, nevertheless this shows that fires were of great concern to the *Illustrated London News* in this period.⁷

The Hamburg fire in the first issue of the *Illustrated London News*, as we saw in chapter 1, has been pointed out as an example of the unreliability of the engravings in the magazine. Despite the editors' often extravagant claims of truth and authenticity, the illustration and had been copied from a print in the British library. The main point that this illustrates, is that the coverage of catastrophes and fires in the illustrated press often followed visual conventions, rather than reflecting the facts of the events depicted. These conventions were later adapted to other illustrated periodicals such as *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*.

One of the most striking features of the images of fires in the *Illustrated London News* is that there are almost always crowds of onlookers, mirroring the viewer of the image and providing a way for the viewer to place her or himself at the scene.⁸ This we also find in the coverage of the fire of 1858 in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. The magazine published two small illustrations on the Sunday after the fire, the first showing a plan of the blocks that were destroyed in the fire and the other a small sketch of the fire with the subtitle "fire in Christiania (Hoppe's building)." The draftsmen and wood engravers of the *Illustrated London News* had perfected the art of fire illustration. The small illustration of the fire in *Nyhedsbladet* has, compared to some of those in the *ILN*, a sketch-like quality to it that gives it a documentary feel. There is, compared to the rather static image of the Hamburg fire for instance, a clearer sense of action. In the foreground we see firefighters, horses with barrels of water and a policeman, in the left corner a lady, holding what appears to be a baby in her arms, looking at her house in flames. In the background there are five buildings on fire. One can guess from the plan and the description that the view of the engraving is from the town square, looking towards Karl Johans gate. However, the bazar buildings in Kirkebakken seem to have been edited out, possibly because they would have blocked the view of the fire.

The texts were dramatic and often included extremely detailed eyewitness accounts. A description of a fire at the New Cross Railway station

⁷ *Illustrated London News*, Historical Archive 1842-2013, accessed September 1, 2016 <http://find.galegroup.com/iln>. In recent research, the focus has been mostly on the coverage of new kinds of disasters, typically railway accidents, and fire has in especially British urban historiography been associated with the early modern period. Paul Fyfe, "Illustrating the Accident: Railways and the Catastrophic Picturesque in The Illustrated London News," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 46, no. 1 (2013): 61-91; On fires in nineteenth-century Britain, see: S. Ewen, *Fighting Fires: Creating the British Fire Service, 1800-1978* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁸ See e.g. "The Great Fire Near London Bridge," *Illustrated London News* no 69, 26 August 1843, 137-138

in 1844 is a case in point.⁹ It has a structure that is very similar to that of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. The reader was firstly told about the destructiveness of the fire and how it resulted in the devastation of property worth an enormous amount of money. We are then told in detail about the progress of the flames and the heroic efforts made by the fire service. The causes for the fire were debated, the reader being provided at the end with a description of the ruins.

The report on the fire in *Nyhedsbladet* was a part of an established European-wide genre in the illustrated newspapers, but the account also echoes the local situation. We find in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* a detailed report on the movement of the fire from house to house, from street to street. Noting which houses were destroyed and who they belonged to was important. The buildings in the inner-city were still mostly denoted by their owners (or previous owners) names, and it would have been hard for readers not immediately familiar with the area to follow the report. No newspaper offices, printing houses or bookshops were directly hit by the fire, yet the fire was just a few blocks from where most of the Christiania printing trade was located. However, the closeness of newspapers and journals to the action did not mean that they did not make mistakes. Rumours and misinformation was widespread, and the newspapers were filled with stories that were more or less accurate. This again led the papers to accuse each other of spreading false information.

Many of the later disputed stories were based on wordplays and puns. *Morgenbladet* reported that the “great fire” had destroyed the offices of the fire insurance company Lillebrand (little fire) in Kirkegata. As it turned out, the insurance company did not have their offices in Kirkegata but in Prinsensgate 9, a building that was not burned down. There were rumours that the towns of Moss, Hafslund, Drammen, Kragerø and Stockholm all had been more or less burned down in the days after the fire.¹⁰ A dramatic account was given in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* of the burning of Madame Treschow’s lending library. This was an apt opportunity for Botten-Hansen to comment on reading habits and particularly the lending libraries: “Eugen Sue and Dumas’ thoughts ravaged through the windows, glowing out to the people on the street. Never had they been rendered in such a symbolic form.”¹¹ Both Eugene Sue and Alexandre Dumas were popular writers at the

⁹ “Destructive fire at the new-cross railway station,” *Illustrated London News*, no 129, 10 October 1844, 253

¹⁰ Børre Nordby and Lasse Dehle, “Fra by til bydel: noen trekk ved nærings- og bosetningsstrukturen i Kristiania-kvadraturen på 1800-tallet” (Universitetet i Oslo, 1978), 472–73. The city of Moss was actually destroyed in a fire, as reported in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* the week after.

¹¹ “Branden i Christiania den 14de April,” 67. “Især opstod i Hjørnet mod Prindsensgade et Ildhav, der truede med at vælte sine Bølger over i de tilstødende Kvartaler. Det var her det Treschowske Leiebibliothek, som forøgede Flammehavet og gav det en utrolig Varighed.

time, writing the kind of thrilling, sensational novels that were popular among those who frequented lending libraries. The problem with Botten-Hansen's account was that Madame Treschow's lending library had not burned down at all. A short notice in *Aftenbladet* pointed this fact out: "Mathilde Treschow's lending library was completely rescued and will open in a few days and until further notice in Stiftsgaarden."¹² This was only one of many notices of wrongful accounts that appeared in the press in the days following the fire, always followed by short statements of apology for reporting false accounts.¹³ Accuracy was, for Botten-Hansen and for the other Christiania papers, not the primary goal of their reporting, it was rather to provide their readers with ironic comments and dramatic scenes.

Ruins

Another staple of the fire genre was images and descriptions of the ruins. The *Illustrated London News* article on the fire at New Cross railway station stated that the ruins after the fire "had a most remarkable appearance" resembling "the fretted pillars of some ancient monastery that had been worn away by the lapse of years."¹⁴ In Christiania too, the ruins recalled something ancient:

The ruins after the fire, on which the sun shone during the fire, present a remarkable sight: countless carcasses of endangered chimneys, dark underground caves from which burning cellars still send clouds of black smoke, alongside walls and columns of such a noble style that they give the impression of the venerable remnants of an ancient city.¹⁵

Two images of the ruins were printed in subsequent issues. One was a view from the corner of Kirkegata and Prinsens gate toward the church and the town square one a week after the fire (*figure 6.2*). The other an image of the ruins of Peter Petersen's building engraved by Harald Nissen and an unknown engraver after a drawing by the architect Willhelm von Hanno two weeks later (*figure 6.3*).¹⁶ The first image is a relatively neutral depiction of

Euugen Sue's og Dumas Tanker væltede igjennem Vinduerne glødeende ud over Folket. Aldrig have de kunnet glæde sig ved en mere symbolsk betegnende form."

¹² *Aftenbladet*, 22 April 1858

¹³ As was pointed out in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in their apology for the mistake "We to got burned [...] we trusted peoples accounts [...] and thereby made a mistake." *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, no. 17, 25 April 1858, 72.

¹⁴ "Destructive fire at the new-cross railway station," *Illustrated London News*, no 129, vol IV (10 October) 1844, 253-254

¹⁵ "Branden i Christiania den 14de April" *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 16 (18 April) 1858, 67.

"Brandtomternes Ruiner, som Solen endnu under selve Branden beskinne, frembyde et mærkelig Skue: utallige Skeletter af truede Skorstene, mørke underjordiske Huler der fra brændende Kjældere endnu udsende sine sorte Røgskyer, ved Siden af Mure og Søiler i en saa ædel Stiil at de give Indtrykket af ærværdige Rester fra en Oldtidsstad"

¹⁶ *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 17 (25 April) 1858, 71; *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. No 19 (9 May) 1858, 79. The first engraving is uncredited, the latter has the subtitle "after drawing by Architect von Hanno." The engraving is based on a water colour which is in von Hanno's archives and

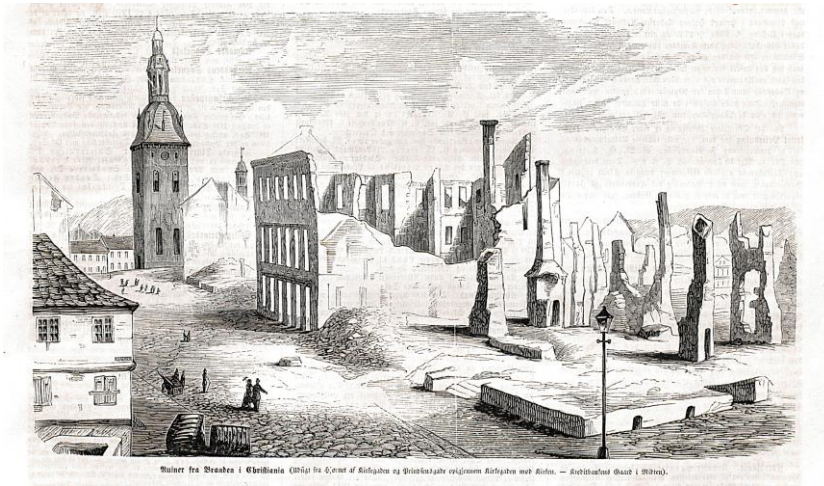


Figure 6.2. Ruins after the fire in Christiania (view from the corner of Kirkegata and Prinsens gate with the credit bank building in the middle). *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 17, 25 April 1858

the ruins, the tilted view giving the viewer an overview of the damage, the church in the background providing a reference point for locating the fire site in the city. The later image of Peter Petersen's building places the viewer in the street, providing an impression of the massive extent of the damage. Viewed with von Hanno's painting of dark colours, smoke and workers removing rubble clearly brings forth the notion of the sublime.

Skilling-Magazin produced images of the ruins as well, printing on Saturday April 17 a sketch of the ruined buildings. The magazine, based on the assumption that most of their readers had read all there was to read about the fire in the daily press, stated that the image would "illustrate the destruction in its full extent."¹⁷ The view was from Skippergata, from where one could see virtually the whole area destroyed by the fire. The double spread engraving shows workers removing the rubble from the ruins, a couple of figures are pointing and discussing the ruins. In the brief text, *Skilling-Magazinet* also marks the resemblance of the ruins to a destroyed ancient city and acknowledges the aesthetic inspiration of the image: "Wondrously drawing on picturesque (malerske) forms, this outline of the extensive neighbourhood that was hit by the worst fire Christiania has seen in

reproduced in Hvattum, *Heinrich Ernst Schirmer*, 157. The illustration has a double engravers mark: "HN" to the left and "HD" to the right. The "HN" signature belonged to Harald Nissen. The mark "HD" is unknown. On Nissen, see: Edvardsen, *Utkast til kortfattet bibliografi over xylografer*. Edvardsen lists some common marks used by Norwegian wood engravers, but the mark «HD» or someone with a name with those initials does not appear in the bibliography.
¹⁷ "Tomterne efter Branden den 14de April," *Skilling-Magazin* no. 17 (24 April), 1858, 131. "Den Tegning, vi i dag meddeler, vil anskueliggjøre Ødelæggelsen i dens hele Udstrækning. Skissen er tagen fra Skippergaden, hvorfra man overskuer saa godt som den hele Brandtomt, gjennem Dronningens Gade og Kirkegaden lige til Kongens Gade."



Figure 6.3. Ruins after the fire. Peter Petersen's building, viewed from within. Engraving by Nissen and HD after drawing by Wilhelm von Hanno. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 19, 9 May 1858.

a very long time, inevitably awakes the notion of a ruined ancient city.” The illustration, however, fell short of the experience of being there and watching the ruins when night fell in the immediate aftermath of the fire:

No drawing can reproduce the magical sight when darkness fell, and the reddish flames were still glowing on all sides, lighting chimneys, brick walls and gables with its torchlight, the hesitant sheen instantly changing as the smoke toppled to and fro between the walls.¹⁸

Skilling-Magazin provided its readers with useful instructions on how the ruins should be read. The engraving drew on the picturesque, the experience of being there and seeing the buildings evaporate in the flames clearly being a sublime experience.

There is a long history in western art of fascination with ruins, but with early romanticism the meaning of ruins changed. Ruins from the mid-eighteenth century became linked with the aesthetic category of the sublime developed in the writings of authors such as Edmund Burke and Denis Diderot. The meaning of ancient ruins in the renaissance had centred on the eternal ideals of classical culture and classical beauty. With romanticism they became expressions of more general human, existential problems relating to

¹⁸ “Tomterne efter Branden den 14de April”, 131. “Dette er Omridsene af det vidtstrakte Strog, hvor den største Ildebrand som i Menneskealdere har rammet Kristiania, har frembragt et Skue, som ved sin forunderlige Vexel af maleriske Former uvilkaarlig vækker Forestillingen om en undergangen Pragby fra Oldtiden. Men ingen Tegning formaar at gjengive det magiske Syn, Tomterne frembød da Mørket faldt paa, og de rødlige Flammer som endnu blussede op paa alle Kanter, belyste Skorstenspiber, Mure og Gavler med sit Fakkelskin, hvis usikre Skjær hvert Øjeblik skiftede, eftersom Røgen væltede sig hid og did mellem Murene.”

life and death, time and transitoriness.¹⁹ Ruins also became a fashionable item of the English romantic garden in the late eighteenth century. If your garden did not have a real ruin, you created one. In his popular work on the theory of garden art, the eighteenth-century German garden theorist C.C.L. Hirschfeld recommended imitations, producing “ruins that are completely like their real models in appearance and thus in effect.” The general effect of these mock ruins was “the recollection of past times and a certain feeling of regret mixed with melancholy.”²⁰ By the 1820s, this romantic appreciation of ruins as an aesthetic object can be found in Norwegian literature, and ruins such as the ruin of the medieval cathedral at Hamar was presented in the 1850s as remnants of a great national past in *Skilling-Magazin* and evoked by poets such as Andreas Munch.²¹

The ruins in the Norwegian illustrated press were presented as aesthetic objects. While they had no ancient origins, they were clearly meant to evoke feelings of the transience of existence, a feeling of regret and melancholy. As such, they were examples of what Paul Fyfe has called the “catastrophic picturesque” in the illustrated press.²² But as Lynda Nead has pointed out, the experience of ruins became a key part of everyday experience in the modern city, especially in times of major urban renewal projects. In London, the image of a ruined city was often evoked as a reminder that all great civilizations end. However, by the 1860s and with the renewal of the city by the Metropolitan Board of Works, the ruins of London were no longer just a rhetorical figure for the cyclical evolution of empires, they had “become a part of the visual vocabulary of the historical present” and a feature of the everyday experience of the metropolis. For Nead, the image of the ruin brought together the past, present and future of the city. The modern city was, quite literally “built upon the image of the ruin.”²³

In Christiania, the images of the ruins after the fire could evoke similar temporal movements. The ruins after the fire in Christiania brought together the past, present and future, albeit on a much smaller scale than the changes brought about by the railway companies and the Metropolitan Board of Works in London. The second image of the ruins after the great fire printed in *Skilling-Magazin*, signals the future, the renewal of the burned down quarters. The image shows ruins of the credit bank building seen from

¹⁹ On the ruin in art and culture, see e.g. Michel Makarius, *Ruins* (Paris: Flammarion, 2004); Christopher Woodward, *In Ruins* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2001).

²⁰ Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 202–3.

²¹ See: “Hamars Domkirke”, *Skilling-Magazin* no. 14, 3 April 1851, 105–107. On the changing meanings of ruins in the Norwegian context, see: Anne Eriksen, *From Antiquities to Heritage: Transformations of Cultural Memory*, Time and the World: Interdisciplinary Studies in Cultural Transformations 1 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 68–80. On Andreas Munch’s use of ruins: Wærp, *Diktet Natur*, 123–31.

²² Fyfe, “Illustrating the Accident.”

²³ Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, 212–15.

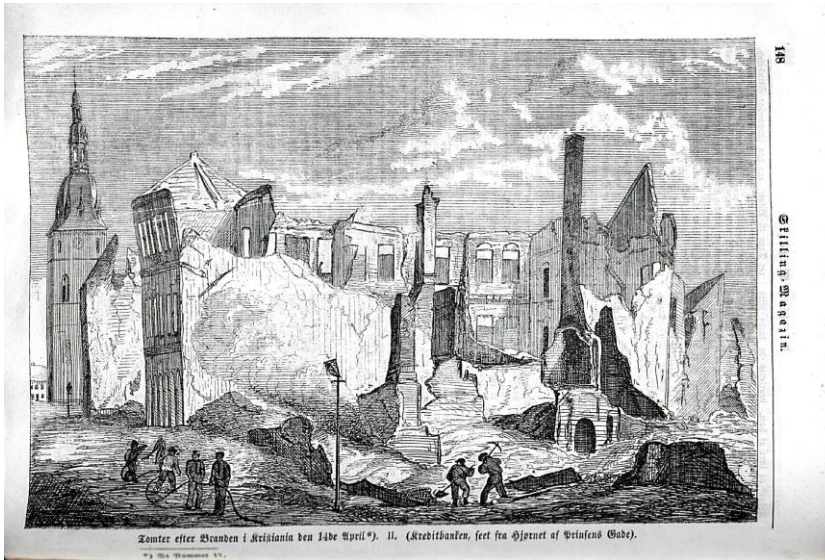


Figure 6.4. The ruins of the Credit Bank, seen from the corner of Prinsens gate. *Skilling-Magazin* no. 19, 19 May 1858

Prinsens gate (figure 6.4).²⁴ It depicts a more active scene of workers digging and removing the rubble, indicating the coming of the future and the renewal of the quarters. By the time this image was published, the process of renewal had begun in the daily press. Rather quickly, the press began to see the fire as an opportunity, not only to rebuild the burned down buildings in a modern way, but also to modernise the city's infrastructure.

Rebuilding I: infrastructure

The fire in April 1858 happened at a crucial point in time in the development of the city. A law was passed in August 1857 that expanded the city limits and required buildings in the new areas of Grünerløkka, Grønland and the lower part of Sagene to be built in brick. A general map of the city had been commissioned in 1855, but the map was not published until 1861, because of the city's expansion. Some weeks before the fire, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* printed a draft version of the map, together with a series by national archivist Christian Lange on the history of the city and its new expansion.²⁵

²⁴ *Skilling-Magazin* no. 19, 19 May 1858, 148.

²⁵ Chr. Lange, "Efterretninger om Christiania," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 7,8,10 and 19, 1858. During this period Botten-Hansen worked as an assistant at the national archives, Lange was in effect Botten-Hansen's boss. Langes work on the history of the city is also acknowledged by Ludvig L. Daae the first book-length history of Christiania from 1871: Ludvig Daae, *Det gamle Christiania (1624-1814)* (Christiania: J.W. Cappelens Forlag, 1871) forord. The map was made by J.W.G. Næser, see: Lars Roede, *Historisk atlas over Oslo: gamle kart forteller* (Oslo: Pax, 2016), 158–59.

In this series, Lange stated one of the prevailing views on the development of the city, namely the lack of regularity and planning in the suburbs. There was hardly a city that “offers such a variegated mixture of regularity and irregularity as Christiania,” he stated. The old inner-city quarters reflected the “most regular of cities, where uniform, wide streets meet each other in straight quarters and where every reasonable regard to beauty, safety and wellbeing are taken.” The suburbs, on the other hand, had for more than 200 years been left to “private speculation and personal willfulness.” The result was “houses heaped together, usually built with miserable materials without any governing hand, without any consideration for health, fire safety, let alone regularity and beauty.”²⁶ These were the prevailing ideas at the time: a good city was a regular, straight, planned city, built in solid brick and stone. A major concern was fires in the suburbs and the less regulated parts of the city, where the shoddy wood and half-timbered houses significantly increased the risk of fire. The expansion of the city limits was an attempt to bring these parts of the city under building regulations. It was therefore somewhat ironic that the fire occurred in the part of the city that was best regulated and adhered most to the ideas of what a good city should look like.

The fire nevertheless was an opportunity to significantly rebuild the infrastructure of the city. Most notably, it spurred a change in the city’s water supply and the organisation of the fire brigade. The fire service of Christiania was, before the fire, organised as a fire commission (brannkommisjonen) led by a fire director, who received a small salary from the city treasury, a common way of organising the public sector in the mid-nineteenth century. The city fire corps itself, which in 1840 was granted 400 speciedaler annually from the city treasury, was made up of the fire chief and his assistant, which were the only paid positions, the remainder being volunteers recruited among the city’s craftsmen and apprentices.²⁷ There had been a constant water shortage in the city since the 1820s. A new water line was built in 1833, but was unable to handle the needs of the rapidly increasing population. The 1850s was a decade in which the municipal government took on more responsibility for law, order and maintenance, and a plan for a new water system was completed by 1855. Difficulties between the municipal

²⁶Lange, “Efterretninger om Chistiania”, 29. “Der gives neppe nogen By, der frombyder en saa broget Blanding af Regelmæssighed og Uregelmæssighed som Christiania. Medens Byens Kjærne, dens fire ældre Kvarterer, hører til de regelretteste Byer, hvor lige og brede Gader skjære hinanden i rette Vinkler, og hvor ethvert rimeligt Hensyn til Skjønhed, Sikkerhed og Velvære fra først af er taget, have byens Forstæder og øvrige Omgivelser nu gennem mere en 200 Aar været overladte til den private Spekulations og den personlige Egeraadigheds frieste Spil. Følgen heraf ligger os alle for Øie i sammendyngede Huusklynger, i Regelen opførte af usselt Material, uden nogen ordnede Haand, uden noget Hensyn til Sundhed eller Brandsikkerhed, endsigte til Regelrethed og Skjønhed.”

²⁷ Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 141–44.

government and the owners of the mills and industry around Akerselva, however, put a stop to the plans.²⁸

The daily newspapers, in the days after the fire, quickly established why the fire had been so devastating. The most important cause was the failure of the water supply. The problem was that pressure in the water pipes was too low for the fire hoses to be of any use. It was widely known that a new water works had been the subject of long discussions in the municipal government but, as *Morgenbladet* wrote just two days after the fire:

The fate of the new water line, long stalled by discussions in the executive committee (formannskapet) [...] is now decided. All deliberations must now cease in the wake of the smoking plots and gravel pits that represent the loss of considerable sums.²⁹

It was understandable that such a large and costly investment in the city's infrastructure had to be debated and deliberated in the executive committee, now the fire had showed that this was a necessary investment. *Morgenbladet* presented a clear message: if the municipality had stalled progress before, it was now time for action.

The problems with the fire service were presented in *Morgenbladet* as two interlinked problems. Firstly, the service's equipment was not adequate. A new fire station had been built in 1855 (*figure 6.10*) and new equipment was bought, yet no clear plan had been made for new investments in equipment and buildings. It was "a patchwork of different models and constructions, bought by the ever-changing fire directors and their beliefs that they know something that was considered worth a try."³⁰ The second problem related to the organisation of the entire fire department. The men did the best they could, but they were not properly trained and lacked organisation. The fire director had only so much time to give to his position, spending most of his time attending to other business. What was needed, *Morgenbladet* argued, was a "thorough reorganisation of the whole fire department."³¹ The paper did not offer any specific suggestions for how this ought to be done, but in the following days it published an article on the "American signalling system in case of fire" and a two-part series on the organisation of the London fire department.³²

²⁸ Myhre, 144-145; 339-341; Hammer, *Kristianias historie 1814-1877*, IV:433.

²⁹ *Morgenbladet*, no. 106 (16 April) 1858 "Den nye Vandlednings Skjæbne, som en tid har været opholdt ved Diskussioner i Formandskabet – hvad der siger sig selv ved et saa stort og kostbart Foretagende – er nu med Et afgjort. Alle overveielser herom maa forsvinde likeoverfor betragtningen av de rykende brandtomter og grushobe, der nu ligger igjen og repræsenterer saa mange værdier"

³⁰ *Morgenbladet*, no. 106 (16 April) 1858 "en broget samling af alleslags Modeller og Konstruktioner, fremkomne under de ofte vekslede Branddirektører, efterhaanden som hver især af dem har troet at have gjort nogle Erfaringer, som man antog at være en Prøve værd."

³¹ *Morgenbladet*, no. 106 (16 April) 1858 "[...] gennemgribende Omorganisation af det hele Brandvæsen"

³² The articles on the London fire department was a reprint from the Danish journalist and editor of the Danish newspaper *Dagbladet*, Carl Steen Andersen Bille's (C.St.A. Bille) "Skitser fra

The daily press had already established the two main reasons for the destructiveness of the fire when *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* published its article:

What contributed to the awful destructiveness of the flames [...] was a badly organised fire service and a shortage of water. This event presumably will contribute to our getting an organised fire corps and a new water line [...].³³

It seems that the calls of the newspapers were heard. The city board of representatives decided, just four weeks after the fire, to allocate 131 000 speciedaler to a new water line. The water works was one of the largest single investments the municipal authorities made in this period.³⁴ The new lines, finished in 1860 with new additions in the following five years, consisted of two main lines on each side of the river Akerselva. It was a reform that was evident on the streets and in people's homes. All water posts and wells that had long been a feature of Christiania's street corners were gone by 1865 and the number of houses with running water increased from 500 in 1860 to 1460 by 1865.³⁵ This was clearly a step towards a more modern age.

The fire service was reorganised in the early 1860s. The reorganisation was, after a long period of preparation, adopted at a meeting of the board of representatives in July 1860. It represented a professionalization of the fire service, the new fire service consisted of a paid staff of 1 fire chief, 2 assistant chiefs, 8 foremen and 25 firemen. There was also a reserve of around 1200 men for large fires. The city had, by 1865, three fire stations: the main station by the town square (Stortorget), one in Grønland and one in Sagene. There were, however, a number of small and large fires between the great fire in 1858 and the reorganisation of the fire service in the early 1860s. Some had, according to Christiania historian S.C. Hammer, a suspicious nature. No less than 13 small and large fires raged in the city in the first eight months of 1859, most of them in the suburbs. Among them was a fire at a pharmacy in Grønland in which 17 people lost their lives.³⁶

In August 1860, one of the new features brought about by the new water lines was presented in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. A fountain given to the

London" (Sketches from London) published in 1857-58. See *Morgenbladet*, 18 April, 1858; 19 April 1858.

³³ "Branden i Christiania den 14de April", 67. "Hvad der bidrog til Ildens frygtelige Udbredelse, trods de gunstige Omstændigheder, hvorunder den bekjæmpedes, var et slet organiseret Brandvæsen i forening med Vandmangel, - Erfaringer, som formodentlig vil bidrage til at skaffe os et organsiseret Brandkorps og en ny Vandledning..."

³⁴ Myhre, *Hovedstaden Christiania*, 338-39.

³⁵ Hammer, *Kristianias historie 1814-1877*, IV:463-64.

³⁶ Hammer, IV:465-66.



Figure 6.5. The new fountain at Christiania Torv. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 39, 19 August 1860.

city by the English company that supplied the city’s water pipes (figure 6.5).³⁷ As the article notes:

Our city does not lack public squares but, as in other larger cities, nothing is done to beautify these spaces other than planting trees in the shadow of which our descendants can seek shelter. We cannot speak of any statues and hardly any other monuments. The city does have some memorials, but none of them are placed in a genuine public space. [...] Not even the less costly form of beautification that fountains offer, have hitherto been provided in any of our public spaces. It should be noted that this adornment probably only became available with the new water line. They who first thought about letting this décor both ‘benefit and be to the amusement’ of our city, however, appears to be the English company that delivered the iron pipes.³⁸

³⁷ British engineers and entrepreneurs played a vital role in the reformation of sanitary systems across Europe in the period. See: Barbara Penner, *Bathroom* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), chap. 2.

³⁸ “Fontaine paa Christiania torv,” *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, no. 34, 19 August 1860, 146. “Vor By har ikke saa faa offentlige Pladse men der er endnu ikke, som i andre større Byer, noget Andet gjort til deres Forskjønnelse, end at der paa enkelte af dem er plantet Træer, i hvis Skygge vore Efterkommere ville kunne søge Ly. Om Billedstøtter er der naturligvis ikke at tale, og næsten ligesaa lidt om andre Monumenter. Byen har vistnok et Par Mindestøtter, men ingen af dem er anbragt paa nogen egentlig offentlig plads. [...] Selv ikke den mindre bekostelige Forskjønnelse, som Fontainer giver, har nogen af vore offentlige Pladse hidtil kunnet glæde ved. Dette var da ogsaa en Pryd, som først vel kunde blive mulig ved den nye Vandledning. Men den, som først

We find a subtle criticism of the city's non-spending policy in this article. While the new fountain was a welcome addition to the city, it had to be built by private initiative. The new water lines, the reorganisation of the fire service, as well as the new sewer system, gas lights, increases in road maintenance and more are all examples of the municipal government taking more responsibility for the wellbeing of its citizens. All these projects were clearly experienced as being a step towards the modernisation of the city's infrastructure. However, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* believed it was time for the municipal government to update the city's public spaces. The press advocated for infrastructure development. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, a more visual medium, was most interested in things that could be easily represented on its pages, renewal that was visible at street level.

Rebuilding II: Christiania's new quarters

In the days after the fire, the remaining belongings of the fire victims were removed from the town square and the debris was taken to the square down by the railway station. Soon there was talk of reconstruction.³⁹ A new series in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* titled "the new quarters of Christiania" presented the rebuilt quarters building by building with lavish illustrations. Presenting these new modern buildings to its readers was clearly seen as an important endeavor. This series was a massive undertaking considering the status of wood engraving in the city and the financial position of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. It required hours if not days of work by a single engraver to make one image. Many of the engravings were made after drawings by the architect Wilhelm von Hanno, who together with his partner Heinrich Ernst Schirmer was responsible for many of the new buildings constructed after the fire.

The series ran between 1859 and 1861, most of the articles being published during 1859.⁴⁰ The new building on the corner of Dronningens gate

har tænkt paa at lade denne Indretning baade 'gavne og fornøie' synes at være det engelske Kompagni, der har leveret Jernrørene til Vandledningen."

³⁹ Already the week after the fire, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* could report that the architect Emil Victor Langlet had sent in a proposal to rebuild the large block between Kirkegata and Dronningens gate as an arcade. Langlet proposed to divide the block in four parts with two large (13 alen) wide passages, with a glass ceiling between them. This proposal was mostly met with skepticism in the press. While the proposal was seen as interesting and very accomplished, it was firstly too expensive, and secondly it was thought that it would be impossible to "gather together the heads of the owners of the buildings under the singular interest of art." See the Christiania-column on the back page of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 17, 25 April 1858.

⁴⁰ "Christianias nye Kvartaler [I]" *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 16, 17 April 1859, 75; "Christianias nye Kvartaler [II]", no. 16, 9 October 1859, 179-180; "Christianias nye Kvartaler. Parti fra Hjørnet af Kirkegaden og Østregade" (image only), no. 44, 30 October 1859, 191; "Christianias nye Kvartaler. Parti fra Hjørnet af Østregade og Dronningensgade (Hotel Scandinavie)" (image only), no. 16, 17 April 1859, 195; "Den norske Kreditbank", no. 47, 18 November 1860, 198-199; "Christianias nye Kvartaler. Parti mod Torvet (image)/Christiania det Gamle og det Nye [V]", no. 40, 6 October 1861, 171-172.

and Karl Johans gate (Østre gate) was presented in the first article, then Peter Petersen's new building on the corner of Kongens gate and Karl Johans gate in the next. This was followed by illustrations of a new building on the corner of Kirkegata and Karl Johan and the new Hotel Scandinavie on the corner of Dronningens gate and Karl Johan. In 1860, the new credit bank building was presented with an illustration by one of its architects, Wilhelm von Hanno, and in 1861 bookbinder Hoppe's new building with the "new quarters" title under the illustration.

The rebuilding of the burned down quarters proceeded remarkably quickly. One year after the fire, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* could report that most of the buildings had roofs and that furnishing had begun. One explanation for this rapid reconstruction was that the buildings that had burned down were owned by some of the most prestigious and wealthiest people in the city. Names such as Peter Petersen, H. Guldbrandsen and Hoppe and institutions such as the Credit Bank, signaled wealth and prestige to *Nyhedsbladet's* readers. This was the new wealthy bourgeoisie who made their money from trade and the new industry developing along the Aker river. Børre Nordby and Lasse Dehle, in a study of the transformation of the inner-city quarters, have argued that the main result of the fire was that the area became wealthier. There were few new owners that came in as a direct result of the fire, yet the concentration of wealth from before the fire intensified. As insurance payments enabled the owners to build new and modern buildings that replaced the old, the area became the wealthiest in the city in the years following the fire.⁴¹

Excitement for these new, tall and solid buildings was the dominant sentiment in the new quarters-series. These quarters would now become "the most solid in the city, whose splendor will, apparently, not be exceeded unless one counts Carl-Johans-Gade." The new buildings would all have a foundation of solid rock and, apart from one, would all be of thick brick ("unheard of in old buildings") and be furnished with fireproof gables. Height was, in addition to solid construction, something that signaled improvement and modernity for *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. All the new buildings, except for a two-storey building in Skippergata, would have three storeys or more. This was in stark contrast to the existing buildings, which were largely half-timbered houses of two or even one storey. The new buildings would not only provide "more elegant amenities" than the old, but also more space. They would therefore, it was speculated, lighten the pressure of the unusually high rents of the previous years.⁴²

⁴¹ Nordby and Dehle, "Fra by til bydel," 478–79.

⁴² "Christianias nye Kvartaler [I]", 75. As an example of increased capacity, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* mentioned that the new Hotel Scandinavie would have 90 rooms, of which over 60 would be lodgings. "Disse Kvartaler ville blive de solideste i Byen og vistnok hellerikke i Pragt overgaaes af noget andet Parti, med mindre det skulde være Karl-Johans-Gade."



Det nye Kreditbankbygning paa Sjovnet af Kirkegaten
 og Prinsens Gade er nu for næsten færdig.

Den gamle Kreditbank
 Den nye Kreditbankbygning paa Sjovnet af Kirkegaten
 og Prinsens Gade er nu for næsten færdig.

Den gamle Kreditbank
 Den nye Kreditbankbygning paa Sjovnet af Kirkegaten
 og Prinsens Gade er nu for næsten færdig.

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Den gamle Kreditbank
 Den nye Kreditbankbygning paa Sjovnet af Kirkegaten
 og Prinsens Gade er nu for næsten færdig.

Figure 6.6. The new Credit Bank building on the corner of Prinsens gate and Kirkegata. Wood engraving by Søborg, after drawing by W. von Hanno. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 47, 18 November 1860.

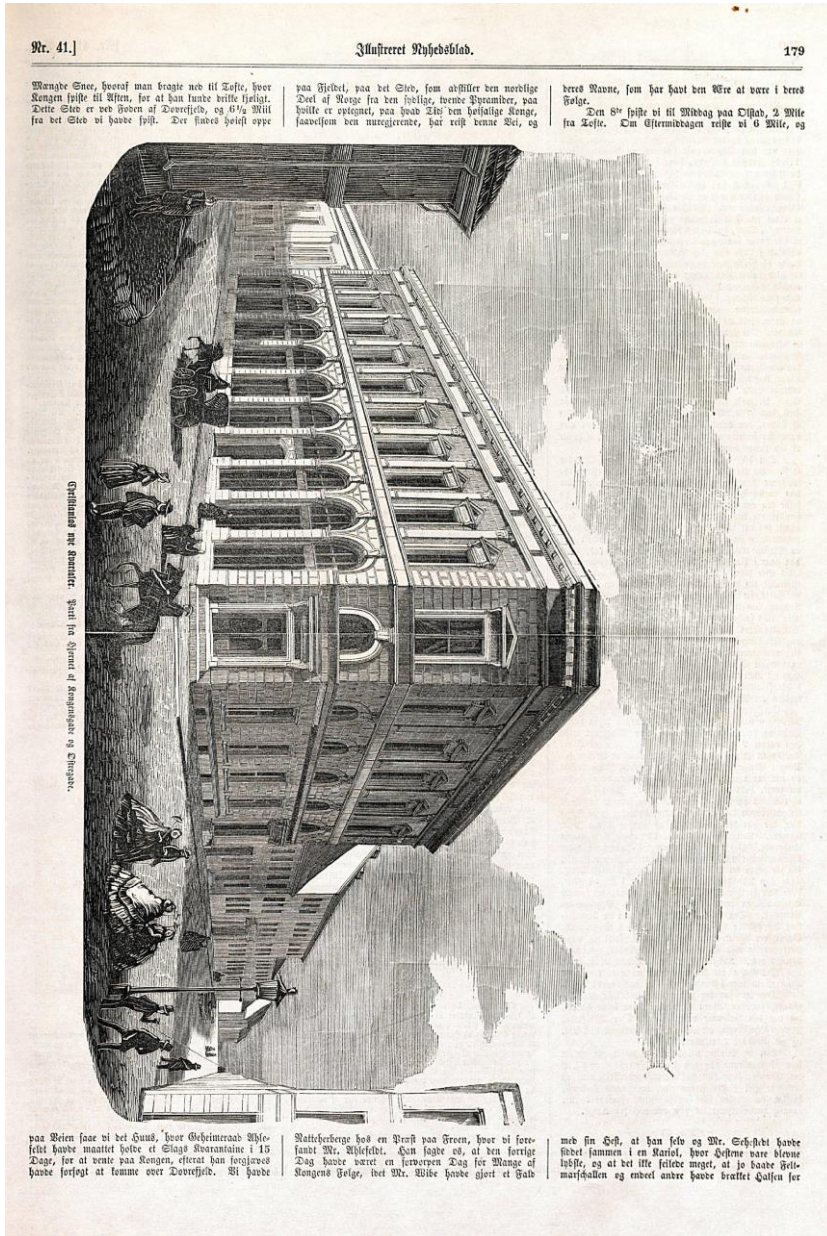


Figure 6.7. Christiania's new quarters. Peter Petersen's new building at the corner of Kongens gate and Østre gate (Karl Johan). *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 41, 9 October 1859.

The images emphasized the monumentality and modernity of the buildings, many being presented from the corner of the street. The corner view combined with the view from below gives an impression of forward movement, like standing before the hull of a ship. The focus is clearly on the buildings, the people in the images are there to give texture, scale and reminding viewers of the urban setting in which these buildings were found.

The architectural office of Heinrich Ernst Schirmer and Wilhelm von Hanno played a decisive role in building and the presentation of the new quarters. The office was behind at least four of the new buildings that went up in the period from 1859 to 1860 and Wilhelm von Hanno presented their projects in the illustrated press. He was an avid contributor of drawings to *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. In this period, he contributed drawings of his and Schirmer's projects at Akershus fortress and several churches he built with and without Schirmer. Of the rebuilt buildings, the image of the new credit bank building stated as being after a drawing by von Hanno, but he probably contributed to more.⁴³

The texts, like the images, unapologetically embraced the new and the modern. Style was important, and in the historicist architectural thinking of the time it was central that the style of the building fit its purpose.⁴⁴ The style of Peter Petersen's new building was described in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* as being a "pure, Italian palace style."⁴⁵ Petersen was one of the leading merchants in the city. The building should therefore be judged with respect to its function as a merchant house. According to Mari Hvattum, the renaissance palace style implied a historic connection to northern Italian renaissance merchant, which, in the architectural language of the nineteenth century, signaled urban wealth built on trade.⁴⁶

It was not so much the style of the new credit bank building but the solidity of construction materials that reflected its purpose. It was described as a "beautiful, impressive building." At the time of the fire, the "old" credit bank building had just been finished, it had been one of the largest and most solid buildings in Christiania. The new Credit Bank building was even larger and more solid than its forerunner, giving an "impression of solidity as perhaps no other building here in Christiania" as *Nyhedsbladet* wrote. It was important that a bank building appeared solid and the interior reflected the overall impression of solidity that the exterior awoke. The whole of the cellar and the ground floor was vaulted, this being where the bank would be housed. Both the outer appearance of the building and its location were fitting for the buildings purpose. The first floor would house the state

⁴³ "Den Norske Kreditbank", 199

⁴⁴ See e.g. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, chap. 2.

⁴⁵ "Christianias Nye Kvartaler [II]", 180. "ren, Italiensk Palæstiil."

⁴⁶ Hvattum, *Heinrich Ernst Schirmer*, 158.

telegraph service and was the perfect location for the telegraph: “in the heart of the city, close to the town square, in the middle of the densest and most populated area, where trade and business will be concentrated more and more.”⁴⁷

Illustreret Nyhedsblad here picks up on something that has later been described as a transformation of the inner-city quarters to a city centre, starting in the 1850s. The result was that central Christiania, the inner-city quarters and its surrounding areas, were transformed from being a place where people lived, worked and made their daily purchases into a central business district, a city centre. The most intense period of this transformation was the period between 1875 and 1900.⁴⁸ However, when we look at the quarters that were struck by fire, we find that some of the tendencies that characterize this transformation happened earlier in these two and half blocks. The primary development was toward more trade and less craftsmen, the merchants and tradesmen already residing in the area quarters also increasing their wealth.⁴⁹ The effect was that new commercial activities, mainly shops and warehouses, now began to take over the ground floors. Residences were moved from the ground floor and up to the added floors, creating a clearer distinction between the public and the private. New industries, mainly storage and small-scale industries, furthermore displaced the old functions of the outhouses, leading to husbandry, hay storage and other traditional functions of the outhouses being displaced from the central city.⁵⁰

The clearer distinction between the public spaces of the shop and the private living quarters was something *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* described most clearly in Peter Petersen’s new building. The top floor of Peter Petersen’s building housed the private living quarters. This floor was furnished and the rooms arranged to a level of comfort that “hardly any building in the city can approach.” The living rooms had plenty of natural light, both in the morning and in the evening and there was an excellent view of the city from the flat roof terrace with cast iron railings.⁵¹ The increased separation of private life and work was an integral part of the nineteenth-century experience of modernity. For Walter Benjamin, it was, famously in the 1830s and under Louis Philippe that “the private individual” made his “entrance on the stage of history.” For this private individual, “the place of dwelling” was “for the

⁴⁷ “Den norske Kreditbank”, 199.

⁴⁸ On this, see: Bjørn Sverre Pedersen, “Gatens arkitekturhistorie,” in *Akersgaten*, ed. Trygve Juul Møller (Oslo: Trygve Juul Møller forlag, 1967), 55; Nordby and Dehle, “Fra by til bydel”; Truls Aslaksby, “Med leiegården som løsning: en materialsamling og kritisk bibliografi til belysning av leiegårdsbebyggelsens fremvekst i større nord- og sentraleuropeiske byer i 2. halvdel av 1800-årene, med særlig henblikk på Christiania” (Universitetet i Oslo, 1998), 84–85.

⁴⁹ Nordby and Dehle, “Fra by til bydel,” 478–79.

⁵⁰ Pedersen, “Gatens arkitekturhistorie,” 55.

⁵¹ “Christianias nye Kvartaler [II]”, 180



Figure 6.8. Christiania's new quarters. Hoppe's building from Stortorget. Wood engraving after photo by Carl Christian Wischman. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 40, 9 October 1861.

first time opposed to the place of work.”⁵² We have already seen how the bookshops in Kirkegata during the 1830s separated their shops from the living quarters. This was taken to a new level in Peter Petersen's building. One of the most important aspects was that private quarters had separate staircases, entirely separating the private living quarters from the business premises.

Peter Petersen's new building also had all sorts of modern amenities which made both business and family life easier. The building had running water, a water closet and hydraulic cranes for the warehouse. The wing towards Østre Gate would house stores and therefore had “colossal windows” to let in as much light as possible and to display the goods available to the public. The wing towards Kongens gate did not have large windows and would house offices and “such accommodations where walls are more useful than superfluous lightning.” Directly connected to the offices and stores was a mezzanine floor, which housed the warehouses. The warehouses were immediately accessible to customers, who avoided having to “trudge out to the outhouses or high up to cumbersome attics” as was common in older buildings. This arrangement was, according to *Illustreret Nyhedsbad*, “very convenient” and was much used abroad, but it was “at least in this city hitherto unknown.”⁵³ Previously, buildings would often house multiple

⁵² Walter Benjamin, “Paris the Capital of the Nineteenth Century <expose of 1935>” in *The Arcades Project*, 8.

⁵³ “Christianias nye Kvartaler [II]”, 180

functions such as living quarters, shops, warehouses and workshops with indistinct boundaries between them. In the new buildings that came up after the fire, different functions and different levels of privacy were more clearly separated. The press commented eagerly on these changes toward a more modern way of life.

The images and articles in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* placed the new quarters in Christiania on a par with recent architectural thinking. They expressed great enthusiasm for new and modern architecture, both the aesthetic and the conveniences it provided. Modern amenities and an increased separation of private and public quarters were part of this development. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* played, in this way, an important role in establishing the new fire quarters as some of the best in the city, these quarters becoming models to be followed for future new buildings. But it was at the same time a one-sided presentation, particularly when Schirmer and von Hanno were involved. However, von Hanno was also involved in a connected series of articles, where his images of the rapidly disappearing old Christiania spurred reflections on the changing city.

Christiania, the old and the new

Just as the new rebuilt quarters were going up, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* began a new series of illustrated articles that reflected on the new, as well as on the disappearing old city. Here we find not only the same enthusiasm for the new, but some interesting reflections on the *Nyhedsblad's* own role in preserving the old city. A preface to the “Christiania, the old and the new” articles was spurred by another fire, this time at the Hotel du Nord in November 1859. While the fire was not nearly as destructive as the April 1858 fire, it did threaten the whole block, something that encouraged Botten-Hansen to write a piece on the nearby buildings.

This block housed several of the large buildings from the “old days,” most notably the old town hall, and the fire had threatened “several old traditions.” It was, however, dryly noted that this did not necessarily mean that “the future appearance of the city would be damaged.” According to Botten-Hansen, the old town hall was “a parody” of what one “otherwise associates with the concept of tradition.”

The fathers of the city have long felt the necessity of a worthier town hall [...]. However, every new construction and every beautification of our fair capital must be done by taking up loans, and these have already reached a substantial size. One must therefore excuse the concerned if they, for a time, put dignity aside for the sake of the economy.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ “Hotel du Nord's Brand,” *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, no. 47, 20 November 1859, 203

We again here find Botten-Hansen as a critic of the city's conservative spending policies. His concern was that the city should look as good as possible, or in this case to at least have a worthy town hall.

This sentiment is very much present in the series on the old and the new city as well. The series ran from 1860 until 1866 with very sporadic installments. The contents of the 1860 volume show seven articles and images listed under the heading "Christiania, the old and the new," though not all had this label when published in the magazine. There were six articles in 1861, the series continuing in 1864 with two engravings of the new courthouse building and the bazars at Youngstorget. Three images were presented in the final 1866 volume under the heading "The old and the new Christiania," a view of Tolbugata after a photograph, the old building for the topographical measurement at Akershus fortress and a view of the Akershus fortress from a photograph.⁵⁵ An assembly of different types of scenes were presented under the heading, new buildings such as the new Hoppe building, the new bazar at Youngstorget and buildings representing the old city such as the old university building. The development of the city was also presented by contrasting the old and the new city, for example the old butcher stalls and the new bazars in a double page spread (*figure 7.9 and 7.10*).

The heading "Christiania, the old and the new" was clearly intended as a series, and a declaration of its purpose was published in the first article. Here it was noted that the buildings that represented Christiania's "original architecture and character" were fast disappearing. Yet it was not *Nyhedsbladet's*

task to lament the disappearance of these old buildings [...]. On the contrary, we find that these dilapidated buildings, like all things in the world which have satisfied the needs of its time but now are outdated and useless, should wilfully give way to the appropriate and new.⁵⁶

Again, we find an unashamed enthusiasm for the new – based, this time, on a familiar historicist sentiment: buildings should be appropriate for and serve the needs of their time. The old buildings had been appropriate in the time when the city was a small and provincial town. The modern capital, however,

⁵⁵ "Christiania, det gamle og det nye I," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 11, 11 March 1860, 50-51; "Christiania, det gamle og det nye [II]," no. 15, 8 April 1860, 66-67; "Christiania, det gamle og det nye [III]," no. 9, 3 March 1861, 39-40; "Christiania, det gamle og det nye [IV]," no. 10, 10 March 1861, 43; "Christiania, det gamle og det nye [V]," no. 40, 6 October 1861, 171-172; "Christiania, det gamle og det nye. De Projekterede Bazarer ved Youngstorvet, samt det nyopførte Retslokalet," no. 3, 17 January 1864, 16-17; "Det gamle og nye Christiania," no. 33, 19 August 1866, 155; "Det gamle og nye Christiania. Det gamle Opmaalingslokale paa Akershuus," no. 44, 4 November 1866, 206-207; "Det gamle og det nye Christiania. Parti fra Akershuus Fæstning," no. 47, 25 November 1866, 219.

⁵⁶ "Christiania det gamle og det nye I," 50-51. "Det er ligesaa lidt vor Agt, at beklage disse gamle Bygningers Forsvinden, som at deeltage i den nationale Begrædelse over de gode norske Røgstuers Endeligt. Tvertimod, vi finde, at hine faldefærdige Bygninger, ligesom Alt her i Verden der vel har fyldestgjort sin Tid, men nu er forældet og ubrugeligt, villigen bør vige Pladsen for det hensigtsmæssigere Nye."

needed appropriate, new and modern buildings that would serve the needs of the time. The old town hall was, again, a good example: “Only 20 years ago” *Nyhedsbladet* noted, the town hall “was seen as a ‘respectable’ building,” but now “it had long outlived itself and its outer appearance reminds us of its predecessors’ fate as a prison and spinnery when Christian VI in 1733 bestowed the city its present building.”⁵⁷ This was the nature of history. What was at one point in history seen as being a building fit to house a town hall, could in another time be demoted to a prison.

Illustreret Nyhedsblad, whilst clarifying that these articles were not based on a concern for the buildings that had disappeared, also reflected upon its role as producers of images of these buildings. Its role, in short, was to preserve the past in print:

What we believe we can say is this, that these relics from the old days of the city deserve to be known by the generations that follow as a part of its history, as a kind of costume play. However, they do not possess much value either as works of art that deserve to be preserved using public means, nor as antiques valuable enough to be displayed under glass domes. All one can reasonably do to prevent their annihilation is to provide true depictions of these honorable remanences from the days of Christian the fourth.⁵⁸

The developing city needed new modern buildings, this meant that the old buildings could not be preserved. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, with the help of drawings mainly made by the architect Wilhelm von Hanno, saw it as its role to preserve the city that was disappearing, not in stone but on paper.

That the illustrated press took on the role of preserver of knowledge was not as uncommon as one might think. Toni Weller has argued, based on an in-depth review of the *Penny Magazine* and the *Illustrated London News* in 1842, that we find in both magazines a strong awareness that they were living in a time of dynamic change. Both magazines embraced the idea of preserving knowledge by themselves becoming a part of the process of preservation, and made a conscious effort to become a part of the historical record. This is, in many ways, contrary to the established idea that these magazines were largely seen as being ephemeral products in the publishing world. With the “Christiania the Old and the New” series, *Nyhedsbladet*’s

⁵⁷ “Hotel du Nords Brand,” 203. “Dette Raadhuus, der endnu for 20 Aar siden fik Prædikat af ‘anseeligt,’ har nu forlængst overlevet sig selv og minder ved sit Ydre stærkt om den Bestemmelse dets forgjænger fik som Tugt- og Spindehuus, idet Christian VI 1733 skjænkede Byen nærverende bygning.”

⁵⁸ “Christiania det gamle og det nye I.” “Men hvad vi her troedde at kunne sige er dette, at hine Relikvier fra Byens ældste Tider dog som et Led af dens Historie, som etslags Kostumestykke fortjener at kjendes endog af de følgende Slægter. Da de imidlertid hverken som Kunstværker have den Interesse, at de skulde fortjene at vedligeholdes paa offentlig Bekostning, og heller ikke som Antikviteter have en Betydning, der skulde gjøre dem skikkede til Udstilling under Glaskupler, er Alt, hvad man billigviis kan foretage for at hindre deres fuldstændige Bortveieren at give troe Afbildninger af disse ærværdigge Levninger fra Christian den Fjerdes Dage.”



Figure 6.9. Christiania butcher stalls in 1834. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 15, 18 April 1860.

project was to preserve the history of the old Christiania, and indeed to preserve the disappearing buildings to future historians.⁵⁹

It was not only in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* that the disappearing “old Christiania” spurred an interest in its history. A new generation of Norwegian historians began, from the 1860s, to show an interest in the history of Christiania during the Danish rule. Among them were many of Botten-Hansen’s student friends including Ludvig L. Daae, Michael Birkeland and Ernst Sars, all regular visitors to Botten-Hansen’s apartment in Rådhusgata. The view held by the dominating Norwegian historians from the 1830s was that the Norwegian people were dormant during the union with Denmark. Daae and Birkeland were, from the 1860s onwards, on the forefront of revising this view. In an article published in *Aftenbladet* in 1866, Daae summed up their view, stating that “despite all external barriers, Norway did have a certain independent existence during the union with Denmark,” and he could therefore confidently claim that Norway, “even in this period, has a history.”⁶⁰ The spirit of the Norwegian nation was, for Daae and Birkeland, held intact by leading bureaucrats who were largely recruited from Norway. The history of Christiania was an important part of their history. Daae started

⁵⁹ Toni Weller, “Preserving Knowledge Through Popular Victorian Periodicals: An Examination of The Penny Magazine and the Illustrated London News, 1842–1843,” *Library History* 24, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 200–207, <https://doi.org/10.1179/174581608X348087>.

⁶⁰ *Aftenbladet*, no 4 1866, quoted from: Ottar Dahl, *Norsk historieforskning i det 19. og 20. århundre* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1990), 136. “[...] at Norge ogsaa under Foreningen med Danmark til Trods for alle udvortes Hindringer i Væsentligste Henseender har ført en vis egen Tilværelse, og at det saaledes ogsaa i dette Tidsrum har en Historie.”



Figure 6.10. Christiania's bazars (butcher stalls) and fire house. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 15, 18 April 1860.

his studies into the history of the city in 1865, leading to a series of articles published in *Morgenbladet*. The first book length history of Christiania was published in 1871, a revised version of the *Morgenbladet* articles, described as a series of “cultural historical depictions.”⁶¹

It was clearly the images of “old Christiania” that were primary in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. Text, when it did accompany the images, was written to explain or as reactions to the images. Many of the texts contain familiar complaints about the city being unplanned, unkempt, lacking beauty and regularity, sometimes with the comment that the present authorities in the municipality did little to rectify the situation. Botten-Hansen usually here repeated the arguments that the city lacked monuments in its public squares, that the municipality had failed to provide regularity in the new areas incorporated in 1858, and done little to remove the ramshackle wooden huts spread around the city. The inner-city quarters had regular, wide streets, while the newly incorporated parts of the city had streets that were laid over old paths and roads, and “architectural anarchy reigned.”⁶² This reinforced the prevailing ideas of what a good city was.

⁶¹ Daae, *Det gamle Christiania*.

⁶² See e.g. an article accompanying an image of the Main Square (Stortorget) as it was in the late eighteenth century: “Christiania, det gamle og det nye [IV],” 43.

Some of the images also spurred commentaries on life in the city. Two images that contrasted the old “butcher stalls” that previously lined the main square with the new bazars (*figures 6.9 and 6.10*), encouraged Botten-Hansen to comment on the quality of meat in Christiania. The new bazars were elegant in comparison with the old ramshackle wooden booths used for selling meat in the 1830s, and the meat one could get there had a “European” look. However, the butcher houses were still “frightening and dirty,” the meat was often carelessly handled on a less than clean counter or piece of cloth:

He who has seen the butcher shops of London or Paris, so neat and clean, the meat served on white marble plates, looking so delicious that one is tempted to enjoy it raw, has to admit that we still have a long way to go.⁶³

If civilization was measured in terms of the quality of meat, Christiania was probably not highest on the list. But this short article can also be read as an ironic comment on the way the better citizens of Christiania constantly compared the city with the centres of urban civilisation. As was noted in *Skilling-Magazin* a few years later:

The native Kristianian considers Kristiania, with its 60,000 inhabitants, to be almost the foremost city in the world. But he who wants to show that he has travelled out of his hometown, and been out to see the great world, finds it a boring, trivial city.⁶⁴

Everything was better abroad, even the meat was served on white marble plates.

Another of Botten-Hansen’s short commentaries contains an astute observation on living in a rapidly changing city. It is again an engraving after a drawing by Wilhelm von Hanno that prompted the observation (*figure 6.11*). It shows the corner of Nedre slottsgate and Prinsensgate, looking down Prinsensgate toward the fjord. The focus of the image is an old run down, wooden house that is contrasted by a modern looking clean house on its left. Yet it was not the buildings that interested Botten-Hansen, but a crew of workmen removing cobblestones in the street. “After the wandering jew, the cobblestones of Christiania are the most outlawed beings in the world” he wrote. Using a pun on the Norwegian word “being” (væsen) that formed the suffix for all the public departments carrying out work in Christiania’s streets – “vandvæsen” being the water department, “gasvæsen” the gas department and so on. He pleaded for the poor, tormented cobblestones that were put

⁶³ “Christiania det gamle og det nye [II],” 66. “Den der har seet Londons eller Paris’s Slagterbutiker, hvor Reenlighed og Ziirlighed er fremherskende, og hvor hvide Marmorplader er bedækket med Kjød af et aa delikat Udseende, at man kunde fristes til at nyde det raat, - han vil vistnok erkjende, at der hos os i den her omhandlede Retning staar endnu meget tilbage at ønske.”

⁶⁴ “Et Billede fra Kristiania,” *Skilling-Magazin* no 38, 22 September 1866, 594. “Den ægte indfødte Kristianienser anser Kristiania med dets 60,000 Indbyggere omtrent for den første By i Verden, medens den, som vil vise, at han er noget mere end en Hjemfødning og at han har været ude og seet den store Verden, finder, at det er en kjedelig, trivial By.”

selfe, der havde koaret faameget rigere Frugter, som kun var i Besiddelse af flere naturlige Øster og en Østergj, som man ikke saa liden Suker hos Næstene i de lige amerikanske Familier. Men lige fra hendes tidlige Ungdom, fra hendes attenårede Aar, har hendes Liv været fuldt af Skjæpsnager som en Følge af hendes Skæffelse med Bonaparte.

Det Fortsat, vi her med Madame Bonapartes Samvittige gjængler, er optegnet efter et Maleri, der er af hendes Zennings, der for Aften liges i Østergjens i Besiddelse; det forestiller hende, som kun (aa ud i 1812). Drægten er skattemæssigt for den Tid, hvori Maleriet er lavet, og som i Næstefølges hændes eller skæffelse. Det er os en Glæde, at kunne meddele, at Madame Bonaparte, trods sin høje Alder, endnu er i fuldstændig Besiddelse af alle sine Hænder; hendes Hænder, Standhaftighed, Kraft og andre lige Hænderarbejder gjør hendes angivelige Opriktige Bred og vilde hove været en Bred for hollandsk Skilling, hvilket hendes angivelige Opriktige maatte have følt hende. (Efter Ill. Lond. News).

Christiania, det gamle og det nye.

At de Billeder, vi allerede have givet af vor Østergjens ældre Partier, lide vi her et nyt, der ligesom de forrige fortæller os, Kreditt von Sæmne. Det fremviser Østergjens af Østergjens og Prinsensgades Østergjens for det gamle Universitet) - men Uelstigt vedes til de nye Skæffelse og Skæffelse. Østergjens skæffelse sig ved visse angivelige Østergjens, som findes paa flere af de mere og mere skæffelse skæffelse fra en ældre Tid, og som gaae betydelig og vis mæderigt Skæffelse, men i Skæffelse al indvæde skæffelse til Østergjens.

I Østergjens har Østergjens anvendt Koll, der ere flere med al sine Østergjens og. Skæffelse er betydelig en skæffelse Skæffelse. Men i saa fald vilde vi bemærke, at Skæffelse Skæffelse skæffelse, vilde der et stort Øst til, for at noget Skæffelse af et større Partii af Christiania kunde udgaae faame. Det Østergjens Østergjens er jo Christiania Skæffelse de freestjette Østergjens i Østergjens. De ere skæffelse til saa mang-

følelse - Skæffelse - Tæner og Østergjens, at de maatte vilde sig hestelligt, om de kunne ligge fra Østergjens i Østergjens. Men de vil ere skæffelse, fremstjette og skæffelse fra Østergjens Østergjens Østergjens. Men der er saa smalt lagte paan, har Østergjens Østergjens for en Østergjens. Et nu ingen af disse Østergjens saa hestelligt, har ligesom at sine Østergjens til at ferstelligt disse skæffelse og langt Østergjens Østergjens, saa fremstjette Østergjens og gjør (aa at lige rent Østergjens i Østergjens hestelligt. Et hestelligt nu indet af disse Østergjens, der som skæffelse naar hestelligt langt hestelligt Østergjens, har isjen hestelligt hestelligt noget Skæffelse til Østergjens, saa er der et endnu flere Østergjens, der i Østergjens af Østergjens kan træde i hestelligt Østergjens Østergjens Østergjens. Men den ene lige Østergjens der (aa at lagge Østergjens ind, som anden lige Østergjens, den tredje en af Østergjens Østergjens, østergjens. Et træer derfor, at ferstelligt en Østergjens, som Østergjens, om de kunne tale, for lange Østergjens vilde ferstelligt med, naar vi leve de skæffelse ferstelligt Østergjens om flere Østergjens og sine Østergjens Østergjens, faameget mere som bette, ferstelligt Østergjens, vil glæde



Christiania. Partii fra Østergjens af Nedre Slotsgate og Prinsensgade. (Efter Tegning af Skildret v. Hanno).

Figure 6.11. Christiania. View from the corner of Nedre Slotsgate and Prinsensgate. Wood engraving by Søborg after drawing by W. von Hanno. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, no. 9, 3 March 1861.

down and torn up again by the gas department one week, the water department the next, the sewage department the third, and the house owners in between.⁶⁵

The presentation of the modernizing of Christiania after the fire focused almost as much on the disappearance of the old as the construction of the new. This was, however, not unique to Christiania or *Nyhedsbladet*. At the same time as *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* ran its series on the old and the new Christiania, *Illustrated London News* provided its readers with pictorial representations and historical descriptions of old buildings removed in the building works of the Metropolitan Board of Works. Lynda Nead has shown how the *ILN* constantly compared the new architecture with old neighboring houses still standing. What she calls “the metropolitan picturesque” came to represent process and change, “the last traces of the past in the present.” The *ILN* in regular columns with titles such as “Nooks and Corners of Old England” and “Archeology of the Month”: “illustrated the disappearing inns and houses of Elizabethan London, creating on its pages a lexicon of the metropolitan picturesque.”⁶⁶ The metropolitan picturesque in the illustrated press provided “signs of modernity” of a changing urban geography and of altered spatial relations.

The implicit comparisons with places such as London was not accidental. There was a concrete cultural translation between the English, German and French illustrated papers and the Norwegian illustrated press. Paul Botten-Hansen and his colleagues in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were aware of the urban transformations taking place in the great centres of Europe, and their visual understanding of these processes was very much based on what was presented in *Illustrated London News* or other illustrated papers. Seeing reprinted images from illustrated papers of England or France in the same periodical (if not on the same page) as the transformations of Christiania, the readers of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* could compare and comprehend the changes they themselves were experiencing.

The fire of 1858 spurred an intense process of renewal in the inner-city quarters and *Nyhedsbladet* provided their readers with ways to read this changing urban environment. Christiania’s new quarters were, as for the Karl

⁶⁵ “Christiania, det gamle og det nye [III],” 39. “Næst Jerusalems skomager er jo Christiania Brostene de fredløseste væsener i Verden. De ere priisgivne til saa mangfoldige ‘Væseners’ Luner og Godtbefindende, at de maa prise sig lykkelige, om de kunne ligge sin Julenat i Fred. Naar de, vel ere ordnede, trampede og stampe fra Brolægningvæsenets Side, kommer Vandvæsenet og bryder dem op igjen. Ere de saa smukt lagte paany, har Gassvæsenet Brug for en Løbegrav. Er nu ingen af disse Væsener saa heldig, strax igjen at finde Paaskud til at forurolige disse taalmodigt og taust lidende Stene, saa kommer Kloakvæsenet og gjør saa at sige reent Bord i Gadens hele Bredder. Og hvis nu intet af disse Væsener, der som officielle gaar kjedeligt langs henad Gaden, strax igjen skulde finde noget Paaskud til Virksomhed, saa er der et endnu større Antal Væsener, der i Form af Huuseiere kan træde i hines Sted som Brosteneenes Plageaander. Thi den ene Uge stikker det En at lægge Gas ind, den anden Uge Vand, den tredie en ny Afløbsrende osv osv.”

⁶⁶ Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, 31.

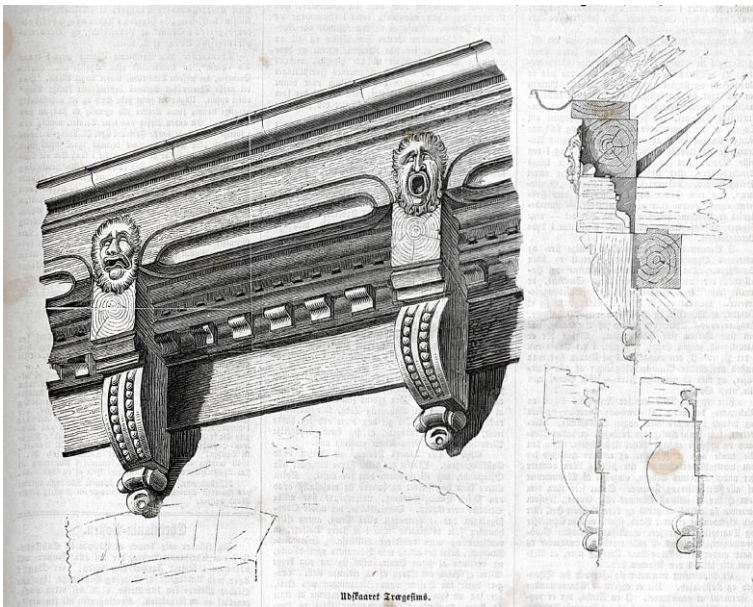


Figure 6.12. Above, old building in Øvre Slottsgate. Wood engraving by Søborg after drawing by W. von Hanno. Below, detail of a wooden cornice from the building above. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 49, 2 December 1860.

Johan area described in the previous chapter, produced as much as reproduced on the pages of the illustrated press. The new quarters that went up after the fire could at least be partially seen as being the city's newest and most modern because they were presented as such in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. As new and more modern buildings replaced the old, a contrast between the old and the new Christiania began to emerge. The fire and the city's rebuilding, as presented in the illustrated press, created not only an image of this part of the city as modern and "European," but also emphasized the contrast between the old and the new. The illustrated press thus contributed both to constructing a new image of the old Christiania, and providing an image of the modern city.

Chapter 7

“The soul of a constitutional society.” The parliament and the public

The new parliament building, the Storting, in Christiania was finished in 1866. It signaled a new political situation in Christiania and strengthened Karl Johan as the centre in the representational geography of the city. With the royal palace and the university in place by the early 1850s, the new parliament was a final step towards erecting the most important institutions of the new Norwegian state in the nineteenth century. The city had now definitively grown out of the confined space of the inner-city quarters.

The new parliament building had received international attention. In November 1861, a little more than a month after the foundation stone had been laid, the *Illustrated London News* devoted half a page to the Norwegian “Storthing House” (figure 7.1). They placed the project in the context of the general beautification of Christiania’s inner city after the fire of 1858:

Few towns have undergone such rapid improvement in later years as the metropolis of Norway. The fire of 1858, by destroying many antiquated and irregularly-shaped buildings, opened a large field for the display of architectural taste, of which the authorities and the inhabitants generally have promptly availed themselves. Indeed, in proportion to its size, there are not many towns in Europe that can present a greater number of handsome buildings. And now a new Storthing House is in the process of being built which, when finished, will form a considerable addition to the growing beauties of Christiania.¹

Receiving attention in the widely distributed *Illustrated London News* and being called “the metropolis of Norway” probably did much to boost the self-confidence of the residents of the capital. However, the new parliament building was not just a product of the fire of 1858, it had a much longer and more complicated history.

A new parliament building was first proposed in 1836, and when it finally opened in 1866 it was after 30 years of heated public debate. Questions about where the new parliament building should be located, about its architectural style, what it should symbolize, and the most cost efficient and practical ways to build it, filled newspapers and magazines for decades. Official reports and propositions were written and discussed in parliament, architectural competitions were held and debated. The illustrated press played

¹ “The new Storthing House, Christiania,” *Illustrated London News*, 30 Nov. 1861, 543.

M. FOULD.

A few grounds more depends results, even a good French proverb, which received a peculiar application by the Emperor Napoleon when, on the 14th July, & which his Imperial decree contains the appointment of M. Fould to the post of Finance Minister. The crisis in the French Empire (to which we allude as though we had not imperceptibly required the employment of the most experienced talent available, and so we all should be expected to understand the politico-commercial course with after chances of success than he who had fully explained the diagnosis of the malady and pointed out some of the remedies for immediate use to check its insidious fatal course. Under present circumstances a few paragraphs into the political and financial situation of the new Minister will not be read without interest.

M. Adolphe Fould was born in Paris on the 5th of October, 1800, and received his education at the Lycée of Charlemagne, one of the most excellent educational institutions of the French capital. The son of a rich Jewish banker who died in 1825, he had an early period of life became familiar into the affairs of his father's establishment, at the same time that he studied the arts of which he is a very able commentator, and went through a course of travel in the south of France, Italy, and in the East. In 1831 he entered upon his public career. Elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies of the Upper Pyrenees, he was in that year elected Deputy for the Seine, and during his term of office in the lower chamber he attracted the attention of his constituents. In the Chamber of Deputies he handled questions of finance and political economy with such peculiar talent that he soon became an authority on all matters relating to customs, taxes, loans, and budgets. One of his favorite themes was the conversion of the national debt into one uniform inscription, a project which he subsequently succeeded in carrying out partially, and which has proved most to power in Italy since completed. In 1844 he was appointed reporter to the Commission on Stocks on Newpapers, and carried out assessments of the Treasury to be reviewed. After this period he supported M. Guizot in his foreign policy, whilst consistently with that Minister's national. After the revolution of 1848, M. Fould offered the services of finance with good grace, and offered the advantage of his advice and experience to the Provisional Government, many of whose members subsequently named him in the National Assembly of having acted upon them the necessity of carrying out the various and desperate financial measures. Notwithstanding these distractions, on the election of the members of the Constituent Assembly in July, 1849, he was named Deputy for the Department of the Seine, and he is mentioned as having raised his life in the cause of order during the terrible days of the preceding month. At this critical period he published, under the title of "No Ambiguity" and "Opinion of M. Fould on Anarchy," two pamphlets, in which he effectually pointed out the danger of the economical principles of which some of the leading men then in power proposed the application. By the sage observations he made in the Chamber on the subjects of savings-banks, exchange bills, the issue of bank notes, and his plan for completing the Lottery, he acquired the confidence and sympathy of the majority of the Assembly.

During the Presidency of Louis Napoleon M. Fould was four times Finance Minister, and laboured hard to restore confidence in the declining capital of that period of commercial impropriety. By the weight of his opinion and experience he caused several propositions relative to taxes upon income, property, and mortgages, to be withdrawn, including, at the same time, on the maintenance of the municipal laws and the tax upon alcoholic drinks. He it was who, for the agency of bankers, selected with consummate ability that of reserves general for paying off, by subscription, opened in the departments, some millions of francs arising from various sources. The success of this measure proved to what advantage a similar operation might be turned for the purpose of raising loans in which recourse has been successfully had on several occasions since the second crisis of the French Empire came into existence. We cannot stop to enumerate a number of other minor measures favourable to the financial policy in which M. Fould has taken part of late years. Suffice it to say that, faithful to the principles that had hitherto generally prevailed in France and the abandonment of which by the Government of that country was principally owing to the energetic will of Napoleon III., Fould advocated the protective system in commercial matters, although admitting the utility of occasional modifications in the tariff to meet the necessities of the times.

The differences, for State reasons, which arose on divers occasions between M. Fould and the President of the Council, and led to his repeated resignations, did not prevent him from being again appointed

to office as Finance Minister on the occasion of the coup-d'état in December, 1851, but he soon more resigned his position on the 15th of January following, in consequence of the views concerning the property of the Orsini family. The same day he was named senator, and returned to power shortly afterwards as Minister of State of the Emperor's Household. In this capacity he superintended the progress of the Great French Exhibition of 1855, the reorganization of the Opera, and the completion of the new Louvre (1857) and consisted one of the most confidential Ministers of Napoleon III. In December of last year, when some calamities befell to which it is said, the Emperor was not altogether a stranger—led to the nomination of his successor, Count Walewski, the present Minister d'Etat.



M. FOULD, THE NEW FINANCE MINISTER OF FRANCE.

M. Fould, although in his sixty-second year, does not bear on his countenance the traces of his age. Of an ordinary height, his thin pale features and somewhat narrow complexion bear but a very slight impress of his Hebrew origin; he has the appearance of a prosaically studious man, possessing all those exterior qualities of polish and refinement which characterize the French gentleman of high condition and liberal education. As to his holdness in respect to his obligations towards the Emperor, the recent state of the French finances there will be little opinion in England as in France, and if it be mentioned in falling an issue from the circulating compilation brought about by the harsh expenditures of the Imperial Government he will earn a right title to the profound gratitude of his country, and will prove himself to have been one of the most faithful servants and ably the most useful emanations of the French empire in these its days of great financial embarrassment.

Our Portrait of M. Fould is from a photograph by Meyer and Pierson.

THE NEW STORTHING HOUSE, CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

Few towns have undergone such rapid improvement of late years as the metropolis of Norway. The city of Hlo, by destroying many of antiquated and irregularly-shaped buildings, opened a large field for the display of architectural taste, of which the authorities and the inhabitants generally have promptly availed themselves. Indeed, in

proportion to size, there are not many towns in Europe that can present a greater number of handsome buildings. And now a new form, a considerable addition to the Storting House was laid on. The foundation-stone of the new Storting House was laid on the 10th July, and during summer from the day on which Christian Chydenius is an anniversary at the beginning of Carl-Johan-Gade, facing Copenhagen for my eye—and some demonstrations, but a brighter October morning never dawned than that which ushered in the 10th. When all was said, the ground was dedicated by the Bishop of Christiania, and the foundation-stone was laid, and the building commenced, whose site he delivered an eloquent and fervid address, briefly sketching the past history of Norway, the progress steps it had made onwards in the march of civilization, and concluding with the words "Herr skal den nation dwelt here shall the nation work, here shall it write its history, here receive its guests; and these guests are the countries of the King—the King himself"—and pointing to the palace, "Yonder is the King's palace, see the nation's house, facing each other, from to front, while midway lies the seat of learning and science, a bridge between the two." After which he offered up a short prayer, when the whole assembly rose as one man, and with bared head and uplifted eye, promptly responded "Amen." Thereupon the first Storting, who, with the other members of the council and presidents of the late Storting, was seated on a dais elevated in front, stepped forward and read a telegram from the King containing expressions of regret at his absence, and good wishes and congratulations to his faithful subjects, and, concluding from the platform and proceeding to the centre of the room, was met by the building commissioners, each bearing the usual highness, and each having deposited a silver box containing coins in a cavity hewn in the block of granite, he adjusted the mortar and tapped the stone three times with the silver hammer, when, simultaneously, the mortar gun fired a salute. The other members of the Storting and high functionaries next approached the spot, and struck the stone three times. The procession left as it had entered.

At two p.m. a procession consisting of the various ecclesiastical, civil, naval, and military functionaries, together with the various departments of the staff offices of State, started from the University (midway between Oslo and Christiania) in a company of perhaps six hundred, the centre of the street having been boarded and covered with cloth from the "Ullstein" to the site of the Storting, and entering the precincts of the site a band struck up the national anthem (which will be the "Vårt Land"), and hastening to the site the carvellers entered the amphitheatre (which will be the building), their varied uniforms and waving plumes flashing and glittering in the sunlight, while the walls were lined rows of elegantly-dressed ladies, adding a pleasant flash to the whole. Thanks to the arrangement of building the ground, one could form an excellent idea of what the dimensions of the grand room will be which they design the names of the different districts represented in the Storting, tastefully arranged round the outside of the building, should it be a chance the shape of the projected edifice.

The accompanying engraving is drawn by Mr. J. Barth of Christiania, and conveys a faithful representation of what the Storting House will be when finished.

TYPES OF TUSCAN PEASANT-WOMEN.

We cannot tell what a few years' more international communication may bring about, but history and the possession of all countries seems to be getting very weary of their primitive costumes, in this respect varieties of the globe are gradually falling into a sort of respect that would gladly derive from the picturesque interest of culture and the variety of the world's productions. Even with countries of the world, the French ladies, the Scotch mountaineers, and the English gentlemen, the Irish farmers, the Scotch mountaineers, and the Welsh surface-people remain indolent or invariable to the needs of modern fashion, and thereby show their real philosophy. At the Paris Exhibition of 1855 we remember having seen a bold British title of the soil who ventured dourly in full snooktrook amongst the French ladies, and at the Paris Exhibition, when he attracted universal attention without for a moment seeming conscious of the sensation he was causing, so long did he wear a respect.



THE NEW STORTHING HOUSE, CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

Figure 7.1. The new "Storting house," Christiania, Norway. The portrait above is of M. Fould, "the new finance minister of France." Illustrated London News, 30 November 1861.

a key role in these debates.

In this chapter I follow the parliament from 1836 to 1866 through the pages of the illustrated press. The illustrated press relates to the history of parliament in at least two ways. Firstly, the illustrated magazines played an important role in the debate over the new building, through printing images both of the old parliament building and new projects. These images were important for how the parliament building was perceived in the period. Secondly, the illustrated press, or rather its printers and publishers, played a significant role in making parliament proceedings available to the public. Both *Skilling-Magazin* through Guldberg & Dzwonkowski and later Fabritius, and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*'s H.J. Jensen at different points in time and in different forms, published parliament proceedings.

Both the parliament building and the parliament proceedings were key to the way the parliament and the political system related to the public. Article 84 of the Norwegian constitution of 1814 states that “the Storting shall meet in an open session, and its proceedings shall be published in print, except in those cases where a majority decides on the contrary.”² This established a principle of openness, publicity and transparency in the political system. As the historian Francis Sejersted has pointed out, this article together with article 100 which established freedom of the press, showed the commitment of the constitutional founders to the idea of what Jürgen Habermas called the public sphere. The fact that the “making of policy” took place in an open public sphere, Sejersted has argued, was as important to the development of democracy as the “semi-democratic” decision-making processes and elections.³ Both the physical parliament building and the printing of parliament proceedings contributed to this.

The old Storting in the city

The old parliament building or Storting was a key location in the public geography of nineteenth century Christiania. As Lorentz Dietrichson remembered from his student days in the 1850s:

One of the gratuitous pleasures we occasionally participated in was the opening of the parliament. To watch the Heralds in their medieval costumes riding through the streets to the sound of trumpets and drums preaching that

² This is one of the few formulations that have remained unchanged from 1814 to today. Translation from the website of the Norwegian Storting: “The Constitution, as Laid down on 17 May 1814 by the Constituent Assembly at Eidsvoll and Subsequently Amended, Most Recently in May 2016,” Stortinget.no, accessed January 27, 2017, <https://www.stortinget.no/globalassets/pdf/english/constitutionenglish.pdf>. In the 1814 constitution this was article 85, in Norwegian the article reads: “Storthinget holdes for aabne Døre og dets Forhandlinger kundgjøres ved Trykken, undtagen i de Tilfælde, hvor det Modsatte besluttes ved Stemmeflerhed.”

³ Sejersted, “Den gamle og den nye kommunikasjonsstat,” 62; “Tekst Og Makt,” in *Norsk Idyll?* (Oslo: Pax, 2000), 75–76; See also: *Den vanskelige frihet*.

‘Norway’s joyous moment has come’, or to go down to parliament, located in the building where the Ministry of Finance is now, where the gallery was so close to the representatives that one easily could show one’s displeasure by poking them in the head with a cane.⁴

The opening of the Storting every three years was an occasion, and the whole city turned out to watch the procession of the Heralds through the city. The Heralds, with roots in the European middle ages, brought an appearance of stately splendor and history to the opening of the young Norwegian parliament.⁵ The crowded parliament chamber, with its spectator gallery so close to the representatives that you could poke them in the head with a stick, stands as a symbol of the tightly knit political public in Christiania in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

Parliament and ministries were originally located in an unassuming building in the middle of the inner-city quarters. Parliament sessions were held from 1814 to 1854 in the large auditorium (festsal) of the Latin School, Christiania Katedralskole in Dronningens gate 15 on the corner of Dronningens gate and Tollbugata. Its neighboring building housed the ministries, meaning that almost the entire Norwegian state after 1814 was housed in the small block between Prinsens gate, Dronningens gate, Tollbugata and Kirkegata. The Latin School building was built in 1718, the large auditorium which later housed the parliament being added in 1800 after a plan by the architect Carl Fredrik Stanley. From 1854 the Storting required more space, and temporarily made use of the aula of the new university before moving into its new building in 1866.⁶ The old Storting building was demolished in 1914 to make space for the new central post office. The large auditorium which housed the Storting and Odelsting, was subsequently reconstructed at Norsk Folkemuseum.

The Norwegian Storting only had one parliamentary chamber, but in legislative matters it was divided into two departments, the Odelsting and the Lagting. A quarter of the members would form the Lagting, the remaining three quarters forming the Odelsting. This “quasi two-chamber system” was initially intended to be an “upper” and a “lower” chamber, the Lagting forming the upper chamber and being made up of the most senior members.

⁴ Dietrichson, *Svundne tider*, 1:266. “Blandt de Gratisfornielser, vi iblandt skaffede os, var naar Storthinget skulde aabnes, at se paa 'Herolderne' der i middelalderiske Dragter red gennem Gaden og til Paukers og Trompeters Lyd forkyndte, at 'Norges Høitidsstund var kommen,' eller at gaa ned i Storthinget, der havde sit Locale i samme Gaard, hvor nu Finantsdepartementet er, og hvis Galeri ikke var høiere, end at man magelig kunde tilkjendegive Repræsentanterne sit mishag ved at dunke dem i Hovedet med sin Spadserstok.”

⁵ In its most lavish form, the procession of the Herald’s lasted until the 1870’s, in 1906 the Herald’s disappeared completely. Sigurd Rødsten, “Heroldene,” *Byminner*, no. 3 (1986).

⁶ Wilhelm Haffner, *Stortingets Hus* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1953), 17–18. When the first Stortings were held in the building, the Latin School had to find a temporary home. It first moved to the so-called Mangelsgården in Storgata, but this was considered too far out of the city, and the school consequently moved to a building in Tollbugata. In 1824 it found a permanent new home in the Treschow building in Store Strandgate, today’s Fred. Olsens gate.



Figure 7.2. The procession of the Herald's proclaiming the opening of the Storting in 1857. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 7, 15 February 1857

The division into the Odelsting and the Lagting was only used in legislative matters and in cases of impeachment. Other matters, such as the national budget and the state finances, were settled by the Storting in plenum.⁷

In the old parliament building, the Storting and Odelsting gathered in the old school auditorium, while the Lagting gathered in the school library. The main parliamentary chamber was in the backyard, with windows facing out towards the courtyard. The benches were arranged in a semicircle, the president seated in the middle of the long wall in front of them, the spectator gallery forming a semicircle above the representatives' seats. The Storting also used a number of other rooms for committee meetings and as lounges for members when assembled.

Parliament assembled every three years until 1871, and sessions were at first held only during the spring, the constitution stating that the

⁷ Alf Kaartvedt, *Det Norske Storting Gjennom 150 År: Fra Riksforsamlingen Til 1869*, vol. I (Oslo: I kommisjon hos Gyldendal, 1964), 280. A new law would always be proposed to the Odelsting and then be sent to the Lagting. If the two chambers disagreed it would be sent back to the Odelsting, and if the two chambers could not agree the second time, it was decided by the Storting in a plenary session. When Parliamentarism became dominant practice after 1884, and a party system developed, the Odelsting and the Lagting rarely disagreed, and the two-chamber system was ultimately discontinued in 2007.

Storting should come together on the first weekday in February.⁸ The National Assembly in 1814 envisaged that sessions should last only three months, but this limit was never really upheld and in 1857 autumn sessions were introduced.⁹ The King could, in special cases, call a so-called extraordinary Storting, held between the ordinary sessions and consisting of the same members as the previous Storting. When parliament met, representatives came to Christiania from all over the country. They often lived in the city, some with relatives or friends, some in lodgings which the local municipality in Christiania (the magistrate) was required to provide.¹⁰

The fact that parliament only met every three years added to the feeling of spectacle. Parliament sessions brought increased social activity, and parties and informal gatherings in and around the city were an important part of the political culture. The arrival of parliament members in early February coincided with the annual Christiania Market, and was described by Vinje in 1857 as the “Christiania fishing season.” Like the herring season along the coast which brought with it whales, birds and fishermen, the arrival of parliament’s members had many side-effects. Many saw it as an opportunity, the hotels, craftsmen, booksellers, newspapers, copyists and authors all wanted “to fish.”¹¹

The constitution stated that parliament proceedings were to be open to the public, there were nevertheless restrictions to the openness. A ticket system was introduced in 1830 to regulate entrance, a total of 255 tickets were issued, almost exclusively to persons belonging to the higher strata of society. The oppositional liberal representative and publicist Ludvig Mariboe complained in the same year that parliament was routinely closed to the public from its constitution to formal opening. Before parliament was formally opened the members met to elect a president, appoint members to various committees and establish rules of procedure for the following session. The fact that parliament was closed to the public during these meetings meant that important issues such as the committee reports on the

⁸ Yearly sessions were introduced in 1869, but the practice was implemented from the 1871 session.

⁹ Kaartvedt, *Det Norske Storting Gjennom 150 Åar*, I:150. According to Kaartvedt the spring sessions were introduced because travel during winter, with sleigh on snow, was much more convenient and faster than traveling on bad roads during summer.

¹⁰ On the housing conditions for the Storting representatives, see: Gunnar Hoff, “Representantenes godtgjørelse og boligforhold,” in *Det Norske Storting gjennom 150 år: Spesialartikler*, vol. 4 (Oslo: I kommisjon hos Gyldendal, 1964), 424ff. The city were required to provide lodgings from 1816 to 1845, but some chose to stay with friends or relatives. After 1845, a new law gave representatives 3 spd. daily to provide food and lodgings.

¹¹ A.O. Vinje, “Christiania Fiske,” *Drammens Tidende* no. 27, 1 February 1857 in Vinje, *Skrifter i samling*, 1993, 6:91–92. “Storthingsmændene er som naar Silden kommer: der følger Hval, Fugl og Fiskere: da skal hver fiske lidt: Hotellerne, Haandverkerne, Boghandlerne, Aviserne, Afskriverne og Forfatterne. Der træffes Kjendinger, som man faar et Maaltid Mad og en Dram af. Det er Christiania Fiske.”

elections (fullmaktskomiteens rapport) were closed to the public eye. This practice was abandoned in 1833, but the ticket system remained.¹²

There were also routines for giving newspapers access to protocols and to the gallery. The newspaper *Morgenbladet* became, in 1824, a kind of official organ for the announcement of the proceedings, and its printer and publisher Rasmus Hviid was given access to the protocols of the Storting and to the gallery. Many were not content and already later in 1824 there were complaints that reports published in *Morgenbladet* were not satisfactory. The situation was taken up again in 1827, when both *Morgenbladet* and the oppositional paper *Patrouillen* were given access to the protocols.¹³ In 1830, three newspapers were given tickets to the gallery. They had to sit with the rest of the spectators in the often-crowded gallery, until a separate lounge for the press was constructed in 1839.¹⁴

Despite its central location, access to the parliament was, in many ways restricted. Only the most prominent members of society were allowed in to the chambers, and reports on parliament was restricted to newspapers in larger cities. The chambers themselves were closed, their windows facing the courtyard, something that in many ways mirrored the parliamentary public at the time. It consisted of a relatively select elite, many of whom were reluctant to accept any attempts to open the parliament to a wider public. I will now, before discussing attempts to open this political public, look at how the old parliament chamber was presented in the illustrated press. The small, cramped, closed off parliament chambers could also paradoxically be seen as an ideal for how public debate should be conducted.

“Urbanity and decency.” The old Storting in the illustrated press

In August 1837, *Skilling-Magazin* printed a wood engraving of the Storting chambers (figure 7.3).¹⁵ As noted in Chapter 3, the French-made engraving was not seen as a satisfactory representation of the parliamentary debates. The image does, however, give us a sense of the intimacy of the room. From

¹² Anders Johansen, “Stortinget for Åpne Dører: ‘En Grundsætning i Vores Statsforfatning,’” *Vox Publica*, June 26, 2015, <http://voxpathica.no/2015/06/stortinget-for-apne-dorer-og-grundsætning-i-vores-statsforfatning/>; Kaartvedt, *Det Norske Storting Gjennom 150 Åar*, I:155–58. All the representatives, ministers and supreme court judges got one ticket each, the governorship (Stattholderskapet) was granted four tickets, the university ten, and several public institutions in the capital were handed from one to three tickets, the mayor of Christiania was given 28 tickets to hand out to the citizens, the military was given 20 tickets.

¹³ Harald Krohn, “Referatet av Stortingets forhandlinger før og efter 1857,” in *Det Norske Storting gjennom 150 år: Spesialartikler*, ed. Alf Kaartvedt, Rolf Danielsen, and Tim Greve, vol. 4 (Oslo: I kommisjon hos Gyldendal, 1964), 291–94.

¹⁴ Vegard Sletten, “Stortinget og pressa,” in *Det Norske Storting gjennom 150 år: Spesialartikler*, ed. Alf Kaartvedt, Rolf Danielsen, and Tim Greve, vol. 4 (Oslo: I kommisjon hos Gyldendal, 1964), 361.

¹⁵ “Storthingssalen,” *Skilling-Magazin* no. 16, 19 August 1837, 121.



Figure 7.3. Interior of the parliament chamber. Engraving by Andrew, Best, Leloir. *Skilling-Magazin* no. 16, 19 August 1837

the viewer's position in the audience gallery, we can see three "audience members from the countryside" standing, watching the debate, the gallery on the opposite side being filled with spectators watching the proceedings. The president sits in front of a draped desk below in the chambers, beside him his secretary with an open book in front of him. Parliament members are arranged in a semicircle around the president, the speaker standing in his seat.

In the accompanying article, Ole Munch Ræder compared the debates in the Storting to the theatre. According to Ræder, "the scenes" that played out in parliament, especially during times of political tension, were "perhaps the most beautiful and elevated of all the dramatic revelations in public life."¹⁶ Those who watched the "play" from the gallery could easily be led into thinking that the intense debates, the witty comments and satirical

¹⁶ "Storthingssalen," *Skilling-Magazin* no. 16 (vol III), 19 Aug 1837. The article, which is signed M.R. is attributed to Ole Munch Ræder by J.B. Halvorsen. Ræder also wrote several articles in the *Skilling-Magazin* that year. He was later the editor of *Storthings-Efterretninger* in 1839, 1842, and together with Guldberg in 1845, see: "Ræder, Ole Munch" in J. B. Halvorsen, *Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon 1814-1880: paa Grundlag af J.E. Krafts og Chr. Langes "Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon 1814-1856": 4: M-R* (Kristiania: Den Norske Forlagsforening, 1896), 650-51.

rebuttals would lead to hostility and discord among persons and families.¹⁷ But this was not the case, Ræder argued, he saw parliament as a kind of ideal for public discussion:

The Storting chambers are far from some institution of constitutional incompatibility; here one has brought down the barriers of narrow mindedness that bourgeois life otherwise has built. Very few hostilities are derived from these public negotiations; one forgets the pettiness of one's own interests for the grand interests of the fatherland.¹⁸

Ræder's description of parliament can easily be compared with the Habermasian ideal of the public sphere. The narrow-mindedness of bourgeois life, or the life of personal and financial interest, are left behind. What was important was not self-interest, but the greater good – the “grand interests of the fatherland.”

This idealized presentation of parliament as a model for the public sphere was perhaps less a reflection of reality and more a reaction to the oppositional press at the time. A number of oppositional periodicals and newspapers had started up in the 1820s and 1830s. In these papers “all kinds of personal and private relations were singled out and ‘boldly’ criticized,” writes the cultural historian Carl Willie Schnitler. A tone that was “bitterly incisive, often petty and envious” was combined with statements of patriotism and high-flown, self-conscious invocations of public opinion.¹⁹ The most scandalous of these papers was *Statsborgeren*, which, under the leadership of Peder Soelvold, sought to reveal and publicize every abuse of power. In his attempts to uproot the status quo, Soelvold was not afraid to publish rumor and gossip. When his paper attacked a minister in 1834, it was deprived of its postage privileges, Soelvold was fined and forced to withdraw from public life.²⁰

Ræder's description of parliament chambers is interesting because it signals some of the ideals which were set for the public sphere at the time. Through emphasizing civility and concern for the common good, Ræder's image of parliament can be seen as being a contrast to contemporary debates in the press. The debates in the Storting were set up as an ideal for how people should interact in the public sphere and for how important questions

¹⁷ “Storthingssalen,” 122. “Den, der frå sit eget Huus spadserer op paa Galleriet og derfra betragter det Skuespil, som udbreder sig nedenfor ham, skulde vist let tro, at den ofte heftige diskussion, hvori Viddets og Satirens Svøber ret kraftigen anvendes for at hufflette formeentlige Fordomme og skjeve Anskuelse skulde lede til alvorlig Tvedbragt og bringe Uvenskaber og Splid imellem Personer og Familier.”

¹⁸ “Storthingssalen,” 122. “Storthingssalen er langt fra ikke nogen konstitutionell Uforligelighedsanstalt; thi der har man vidst at nedrive de Skranker, som det borgelige Livs Bornethed ellers har opført. Kun yderst faa Uvenskaber skrive sig fra disse offentlige Forhandlinger; man glemmer sit eget smaalige Selv over Fædrelandets store Interesser.”

¹⁹ Carl W. Schnitler, *Slegten fra 1814: studier over norsk embedsmanskultur i klassicismens tidsalder, 1814-1840*. Kulturformene (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1911), 33.

²⁰ Berge et al., *Norsk presses historie*, 1:228–30.

should be debated and decided. Ræder was particularly struck by the lack of bodily sounds among the parliament members. There was no

noise or clamor, one does not cough, sneeze, meow, crow or talk; one is never intoxicated, one does not stretch out on the benches [...] opinions are not even met with utterances of endorsement or displeasure; one rarely laughs – silence reigns in the gallery as well.²¹

Parliament was a place of “urbanity and decency.”²² Especially the recreational and assembly rooms which were directly connected to the Storting chamber, provided such an environment. In the recreational rooms, newspapers and magazines were read and issues were prepared. Peasant culture was combined with “higher cultured learning” to form the “nuances of national interest.”²³ Ræder wrote that “in the cleaner air” of these rooms, “a more familiar club life” reigned. Many questions which dissolved in the ordinary debates would later find a “solution with a friendlier conversation” in one of the lounges, or in one of the inns, restaurants or private parties where parliament members would gather in the city.²⁴ This political club life was an important part of the political culture, but it was also exclusive and not particularly transparent.

In the Storting everything was unadorned and simple. There was no pomp or pageantry except for the opening of parliament when the King and ministers were present. Members met in their everyday dress, “without any mark of their distinctive position in the state.” The history of parliament chambers reflected the same simplicity and soberness that parliament members showed. “Our parliament chambers do not have any significant history”, Ræder wrote, while its past was simple, it was nevertheless full of meaning. This history was something to be proud of, it made the Norwegian Storting distinctive. The Norwegian people did not need to “envy the English parliament with all its dilapidated palaces, with a history reaching towards a mystified ancient past.” There was no need to envy the “artistic beauty” of the Palais de Luxembourg or the Palais de Bourbon. The Norwegian Storting was “not marked, as theirs, by raw madness or slavish cowardice.”²⁵

²¹ “Storthingssalen,” 124. The whole quote in Norwegian reads: ”Man hører aldrig Skrig og Skraal, man hverken hoster, nyser, mjauer, galer eller snakker, man er aldrig beruset, man ligger aldrig langs Bænkene saa lang man er; det er ikke Skik at have Hatten paa og endu mindre har det ene Thing noget Privilegium derpaa; man slaaes aldrig; ja Meningerne give sig ikke engang Lust i nogensomhelst Bifalds- eller Mishagsytring; man leer neppe engang, - den samme Stilhed hersker paa Galleriet.”

²² “Storthingssalen,” 123: “Storthingets liv er fuldt af Urbanitet og Anstand [...]”

²³ “Storthingssalen,” 123: “Folkelivet og den høiere selskabelige dannelse Uddannelse blandes med hinanden i Nationale Skatteringer.”

²⁴ “Storthingssalen,” 123: “Rekreations- og Forsamlingsværelsene”; “Herud i den renere Luft og det fortroligere Klubliv medbringes Stof til den livlige Konversation fra Salens bevægede Vrimmel; mangt et Spørsmåal afløser sig fra den almindelige Diskussion, for siden i en venskabelig Samtale at finde sin Løsning.”

²⁵ “Storthingssalen,” 124. “Alting [er] usmykket og simpelt; i vinduerne haves ikke engang Gardiner, og Medlemmerne møde i deres sædvanlige Klededragt, uden noget Tegn paa deres særegne Stilling i Staten.”; “Vor Storthingssal har just ikke nogen betydelig historie [...] Denne

For Ræder, as for many people at the time, the fact that parliament inhabited an unassuming building in the middle of the city symbolized that the members of the parliament were representatives of the people. The closer they were to the people the better, both in their costumes and practices and in their physical location in the city. A deep scepticism towards luxury and splendour was something that would later characterize the debate about the new parliament building, simplicity and austerity were seen as distinctly Norwegian traits and upheld as moral ideals.²⁶ Furthermore, the fact that the three most important institutions (the ministries, the Storting and the university) were located close to each other in the middle of Christiania, symbolized the close relationship between learning and education, the executive power of the King and his ministry and the lawmaking power of the Storting.²⁷

Botten-Hansen's description of the old parliament in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in 1857 was in stark contrast to Ræder's eulogy. The idea of the small and cramped Norwegian parliament hall as somehow fitting the national character had, by 1857 faded, at least for Botten-Hansen and the city's intelligentsia. He wrote that "one shall not be tempted to portray our national assembly on account of its setting; for in its present location it has everything but a beautifying frame."²⁸ *Skilling-Magazin* in the 1830s portrayed the parliament building's lack of artistic beauty as something positive, something reflecting the people it represented. This lack was what Botten-Hansen now saw as its major flaw. Rather than reflecting simple peasant values, Botten-Hansen wanted a parliament that would "represent the aspiring culture of the time."²⁹

Botten-Hansen's self-reflexive satire is far from the romantic idealism of Ræder. In his article, Botten-Hansen envisioned how the old parliament building would be seen in a distant future, when Norway had become "the richest country in the world." For a future reader, finding the engraving of the old parliament would be like finding an old portrait of an ancient relative:

Salens Fortid er simpel; men den er betydningsfuld [...] Vi behøve ikke at missunde det engelske parlament dets gamle brøstfældige Palladser med en Historie rækkende op i en mystisk Old, ikke Luxembourg eller Bourbon deres artistiske Skjønnhed. Vor Sals Historie er aldrig plettet, som hines, ved raa Afsindighed eller slavisk Feighed." The comment about the English parliament is interesting. The old parliament had burned down in 1834, when Ræder's article was published in 1837 the houses of parliament was in the process of being replaced by Pugin and Barry's new neo-gothic complex.

²⁶ Mari Hvattum, "En borgelig Nutids-Skabning," in *Debatten om Stortingsbygningen 1836-1866*, ed. Mari Hvattum (Oslo: Pax, 2016), 30–33.

²⁷ "Storthingssalen," 124-125.

²⁸ "En Korrespondent-Artikel," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 12, 22 March 1857, 85. "Man skal ikke fristes til at give noget Skildreri af vor Nationalforsamling for dens Indfatnings Skyld; thi i sit nærværende Lokale har den alt andet end en glimrende og forskjønnene Ramme."

²⁹ "En Korrespondent-Artikel," 86.



Figure 7.4. The fifteenth ordinary Storting, gathered. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 12, 22 March 1857

When, in the distant future one finds a picture of the Storting and is told the story about its frugal youth, about all the expenditure it saved by honoring ‘principles’ and by shunning ‘analogies.’ Perhaps then this portrait will also become respected and honored. [...] Who knows, if my Vellumbound copy of the *Nyhedsblad* would not exist then and give the countries’ 2305 chosen representatives a great family joy.³⁰

Perhaps in the future, Botten-Hansen envisioned, the old building would stand as a relic of simple beginnings. Now, however, the most important thing was to build a building for the Storting that aspired to something more, that was a symbol of the highest culture of the time.

These two presentations of the Storting in the illustrated press show the complexity of parliament as a symbol. The Storting could represent both an ideal of a cosmopolitan political public and an institution deeply rooted in the Norwegian people. For Botten-Hansen and the dominant elites of the 1850s, parliament should be a leading institution, representing the best of European culture at the time – something which both the parliament’s members and the public could aspire to. For Ræder, as later for Ole Gabriel Ueland, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Johan Sverdrup, parliament should reflect the Norwegian public. The best way to educate the public was not to aspire to

³⁰ “En Korrespondent-Artikel,” 85. “Naar man i den fjerne fremtid finder et Billede af Stortinget og hører Fortællingen om dets Ungdoms Sparsomhed, om alle de Udtællinger, det gik fri for ved at hylde ‘Principer’ og at skyde ‘Analogier’, vil maaske ogsaa dette Portræt komme til Hæder og Værdighed. [...] Hvo veed, om ikke mit Velin-Exemplar af *Nyhedsbladet* vil kunne bestaae hiin Dag og da beree Landets 2305 udkaarede Repræsentanter en stor Familiefyrd.”

be an elite institution, but to represent Norwegian values of austerity and simplicity, to be something the public could relate to.

Two debates: the building and the proceedings

Article 85 of the constitution of 1814 stated that parliament was to be held in “an open session” and that its proceedings were to be “published in print.” The public in theory had access to the visitors’ gallery. However, neither the physical location nor the published proceedings were seen to satisfy this article of the constitution, and both would change radically between the mid-1830s and the 1860s. The parliament building and the proceedings were debated simultaneously in the Storting as well as in newspapers and magazines, both had practical and symbolic implications for how parliament related to the public.

Publishing the parliament proceedings

Both *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were directly associated with the printing and publishing of parliament debates. The *Stortings-Efterretninger* (Parliament Intelligences) and the *Stortingstidende* (Parliament Times), two journals published when parliament was in session, were published at different times as supplements to the magazines. *Stortings-Efterretninger*, published from 1836 to 1854, was a cheap journal, intended to be made available to as many as possible, particularly people outside of Christiania, and to enlighten the “common man” on the debates in parliament. *Stortingstidende*, first published in 1857, published parliament proceedings as full stenographic minutes for the first time.

The publishing of parliament debates was a contested issue, it came up at every Storting from 1814 to 1857. Books containing the committee statements and decisions in parliament were published by the parliament archivist, but not until after the proceedings had ended. The issue under debate was how the public should be given information about proceedings while parliament sat. Parliament debates, and documents were published in different forms from 1814. In 1814 it was decided that the proceedings of parliament were to be printed and published as extracts, edited by a parliamentary editorial committee and published as four-page issues during the proceedings. This journal, called *Efterretninger om Norges ordentlige Stortings Forhandlinger* (Intelligences on the proceedings of the Norwegian Storting) was published as a supplement to the newspaper *Rigstidende* in 1814, 1815 and 1818. It was printed under the same title in 1821, this time at *Morgenbladet* (Rasmuss Hviid’s) printing house.³¹

³¹ Krohn, “Referatet av Stortingets forhandling,” 290–91.

This practice was abandoned in 1824, and *Morgenbladet* and later more papers were instead given access to the parliament protocols and the gallery. The newspapers, most importantly *Morgenbladet*, published extracts of the debates – more or less complete and accurate – based on notes from the gallery, in addition to important committee reports. There were complaints about the reports in the papers as early as 1824 and for many, such as the leader of the peasant opposition Ole Gabriel Ueland, the reports were unfavorable. As an outsider in the capital, he felt particularly vulnerable to biased reporting: a slight distortion, a small omission, could make the weightiest point seem ridiculous.³² At the opening of the Storting in 1836, Ueland therefore proposed that parliament should finance and publish a complete account of the parliament debates, including propositions and hearings. This journal was to be distributed free of charge to the electors (valgmenn) in all electoral districts in the country, who in turn would be obliged to loan the journal when requested.³³

The peasant opposition made its mark on the Storting in the 1830s, especially in 1833 and 1836, and was a revolt against the dominance of the government employed, university educated elites in the Storting. The opposition's main agenda was to keep public spending and taxes low, to strengthen local self-rule and to prevent state bureaucracy from growing. As an oppositional force in parliament, Ueland also had an interest in providing an accurate account of the debates and in spreading it throughout the country.³⁴ As a representative of the provinces, he had seen how little the common man knew about the parliamentary system, arguing that “most of the nation has little knowledge of the form of government under which they have lived for 20 years.” Playing to fears of popular revolt, Ueland stated that if parliament and the government wished “that the present order of things shall continue” it should do everything in its power to spread knowledge of the constitution to the common people.³⁵

It was decided, after some debate and a committee report, that Ueland's proposal would prove too costly, too difficult to implement and that the journal would be too tedious for the common man to have any interest in

³² Johansen, “Stortinget for Åpne Dører”; Arne Bergsgård, *Ole Gabriel Ueland og bondepolitikken*, vol. 1 (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1932), 400–402.

³³ Stortingsforhandling 1836-37, Det 8de Ordentlige Storting, 1. del Stortinget (S) 1 Feb., 9. Bergsgård, *Ole Gabriel Ueland og bondepolitikken*, 1:145. On Ueland and the peasant opposition, see also: Seip, *Utsikt over Norges historie*, 1:148ff.; Øystein Sørensen, *Kampen om Norges sjel*, Norsk idéhistorie, III (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2001), 130–31.

³⁵ *Storthings-Efterretninger*, no. 1-2, 1836. “Den største Deel af Nationen har endnu saa dunkle Begreber om den Statsforfatning, under hvilken den har levet 20 Aar, at den ikke kan vurdere sammes Verd i Sammenligning med andre Landes Statsforfatninger, og derfor heller ikke nære nogen Kjærlighed til denne. Ønskede man, at den bestaaende Tingenes Orden skal vedblive, da bør man ved at udbrede Bekjendtskab til Forfatningen fremkalde og nære en Kjærlighed, som er dens sikreste Grundspiller.”

reading.³⁶ Instead it was proposed to allocate funds to an appropriate publisher to print and publish a popular journal with extracts of the debates. The proposal included an application from Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, who argued that their 2000 subscribers among all classes across the country was greater than any other any newspaper or periodical in the country. Issuing the journal as a supplement to *Skilling-Magazin* would therefore be the best way to spread knowledge of the parliamentary system to the populace. They added that their reports would be written in a way that was both as truthful as possible and in a popular style, so that “those less acquainted with our laws and the workings of the state could get a clear concept of the proceedings.”³⁷

Guldberg & Dzwonkowski were granted 300 speciedaler to publish their journal. The *Storthings-Efterretninger* was published as a supplement to *Skilling-Magazin* with two issues a week, each containing half a sheet (4 pages), the format and type being the same as *Skilling-Magazin*. Each issue cost one skilling and subscription was open to both subscribers of *Skilling-Magazin* and to non-subscribers.³⁸ To edit the journal they recruited Sylvester Sievertson, regarded as one of the pioneers in the history of Norwegian journalism. He was a part of the circle around Henrik Wergeland, was close to the peasant opposition in the Storting and had been employed as a speech writer for Ueland and other peasant representatives. In his periodical *Den Frimodige*, Sievertson had written about the press as a fourth estate and formulated a program to diffuse liberal ideas. He also attacked Soelevold’s *Statsborgeren*, arguing that facts and knowledge, not gossip should be the basis for criticizing the authorities.³⁹

With an editor close to the peasant opposition, *Storthings-Efterretninger* was bound to encounter resistance among the conservative representatives. In 1842, another committee was established to investigate the necessity of granting Guldberg & Dzwonkowski funds to publish *Storthings-Efterretninger* during the year’s session. The committee argued that if the need to obtain knowledge about the political process was as great as some parliamentarians had claimed, it would not be necessary to fund such an

³⁶ Stortingsforhandling 1836-37, Det 8de Ordentlige Storting, 1. del, Stortinget (S) 22 Feb, 124-139; Bergsgård, *Ole Gabriel Ueland og bondepolitikken*, 1:147. Their third argument was that a free journal, as Ueland proposed, would not only prove too costly, but would not serve the purpose. The argument may seem a bit strange, but the basic idea was that printed matter that was handed out for free did not generally generate interest among the common people.

³⁷ Guldberg & Dzwonkowski to Hr. Captain Ridder Foss in Stortingsforhandling 1836-37, Det 8de Ordentlige Storting, 1. del, S 22 Feb., 145-148.

³⁸ Stortingsforhandling 1836-37, Det 8de Ordentlige Storting, 1. del, S 29 Feb, 225-226. In their letter to the Parliament, Guldberg & Dzwonkowski writes that the Parliament Intelligences would not be exactly the same format as the *Skilling-Magazin*. This was because the paper mills in Christiania could not supply enough paper to print the journal, the paper therefore had to be imported from abroad. Presumably this means that *Skilling-Magazin* was printed on Norwegian paper.

³⁹ Berge et al., *Norsk presses historie*, 1:231-33; Hallgeir Elstad, “Sylvester Sivertson,” *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, September 29, 2014, http://nbl.snl.no/Sylvester_Sivertson.



Figure 7.5. *Storthings-Efterretninger* no. 1-2, 1836



Figure 7.6. *Storthings Tidende* no. 1, 1857

endeavor.⁴⁰ In other words, if there was a large enough interest, the market would accommodate this. If the need was not there, the committee argued, it would not be “awoken by easing access to a good that the commoners do not yet appreciate.”⁴¹ These arguments must be seen as part of an elite ideology, where an “enlightened societal will” stood against “the lower instincts of the common people.”⁴² The committee in 1836 had argued in a similar manner, it was “from above that the light emanates its rays” they stated. Education and enlightenment should trickle down from above and it was not in the self-interest of an uneducated public to acquire any knowledge about the proceedings of parliament, which was too complicated for them to understand.⁴³

The 1842 committee majority saw *Storthings-Efterretninger* not as an educational journal, but a journal for those who already had a certain level of education and interest.⁴⁴ Despite the resistance, Guldberg & Dzwonkowski were awarded 300 speciedaler to publish a journal in 1839 and in 1842, albeit

⁴⁰ Stortingsforhandling 1842, Det 10de Ordentlige Storting, 1. del, S 23 Feb., 102-103 “Thi en Forlægger maatte da over det hele land kunne paaregne saa mange Subskribenter, at han, selv for en saare billig Priis vilde see sine Udlæg erstattede og sit Arbeide lønnet.”

⁴¹ Stortingsforhandling 1842, Det 10de Ordentlige Storting, 1. del, S 23 Feb., 103. “Er saadan Trang derimod ikke tilstede, formener Committeens førnevnte Pluralitet, at den ikke vækkes ved at lette Almuerne Adgang til et gode som de endnu ikke sætte Priis paa.”

⁴² Sejersted, *Den vanskelige frihet*, 242. “Den oplyste samfunnsvilje” and “det lavere folkeinstinkt.” See also chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁴³ Indstilling til den specielle committee..., S 22 Februar, Stortingsforhandling, 1836-37, 126

⁴⁴ Stortingsforhandling 1842, Det 10de Ordentlige Storting, 1. del, 6:69;89;102ff. The final decision was made on March 2. See also e.g. advertisement in *Den Constitutionelle*, 14 March 1842.

with different editors. From 1845 the parliament proceedings found a more permanent form, and W.C. Fabrius who had taken over Guldberg & Dzwonkowski's printing house, was awarded funds to print *Storthingss-Efterretninger*.⁴⁵ At the same time the *Efterretninger* ceased being published as supplements to *Skilling-Magazin*.

Yet Ueland was still not satisfied and in 1845 he proposed that the Storting should grant funds to educate stenographers to write the debates out in full. Ueland had just ended a dispute with *Morgenbladet*, which showed the accounts published in the newspapers were often biased in favour of the urban elites.⁴⁶ Now his argumentation had changed, the main point was no longer the educational aspect, but the need for accurate and reliable accounts of the debates. Stenography or shorthand writing was the perfect technology for this.

The history of shorthand writing became bound to the history of parliamentary democracy during the French revolution. As Delphine Gardey has shown, inventors and practitioners in the field of abbreviation claimed to be the only people capable of providing the public with a faithful and exhaustive account of the words of their elected representatives.⁴⁷ The art of stenography had, by the mid nineteenth-century, become well-known and used in many parliaments across Europe. Ueland's proposal was based on a Swedish model in which a stipend was awarded to educate people in the art of stenography. Parliament granted 1000 spd. in 1845 to educate stenographers and to promote the art of shorthand writing in Norway, similar grants were made in 1848, 1851 and 1854, and by 1857 14 people had passed the required test. Despite this, efforts to employ stenographers in the recording of parliamentary debates were thwarted, and the newspapers did not use them to any extent.⁴⁸ At the opening of parliament in 1857, Ueland thought it was time for the Storting to act. After a day of debate, it was decided that parliament should employ the necessary number of stenographers to record and edit the debates. At the same time a printer was to be contracted to print and distribute a journal in at least 1000 copies to be sold at a price not above 1 skilling per sheet. The printed journal was to be

⁴⁵ It was now edited by Ole Munch Ræder, and in 1845 by C.A. Guldberg and Munch Ræder.

⁴⁶ Johansen, "Stortinget for Åpne Dører."

⁴⁷ Delphine Gardey, "Turning Public Discourse into an Authentic Artifact. Shorthand Transcription in the French National Assembly," in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), 836–43.

⁴⁸ For a summary, see: *Anhang til Stortingstidenden, indeholdende et Sammendrag af femtende ordentlige Storthingss Forhandlinger i Februar Maaned*. Trykt og forlagt af H. J. Jensen, VI-VII; Krohn, "Referatet av Stortingets forhandlinger." Attempts to employ stenographers proved unsuccessful in 1848 and 1851. According to Krohn some of the Norwegian Stenographers were employed at the Danish Constitutional Assembly in 1848, and subsequently at the first Rigsforsamling in 1849.

available no more than 24 hours after the finished manuscript had been submitted.⁴⁹

The contract was awarded to H.J. Jensen, printer and owner of the *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. On 11 March the new journal was announced in *Nyhedsbladet*, by then 4 issues had already been published, and a number of issues were published as supplements to *Nyhedsbladet* that spring. *Storthings-Tidende* at first attracted quite a large number of subscribers: according to Anders Johansen, about 1000 subscribers in 1857. Interest soon waned, however, and the number fell to around 350 by the next Storting.⁵⁰ The main reason for this was that the journal simply was not a very good read, the debates were often long and repetitive. A debate on a new jury-law in 1857, for example, took up 90 columns or 45 pages in *Storthings-Tidende*, the speech by Johan Sverdrup taking up over a third.⁵¹ Although this was one of the longer speeches held at parliament, it shows that the *Storthings-Tidende* was not exactly popular reading material.

The new parliament building

At the same time as parliament struggled to find a more reliable way to publish their proceedings, there was talk of building a new parliament building. The first proposal for a new parliament building was made as early as 1836. As the minister Christian Bretteville acknowledged: “for a long time the government has been aware that the present so-called Storting building neither with regard to size nor appearance is an appropriate facility for the national representation.” The background for this proposition was that the number of representatives had increased from 80 to 100 in 1830.⁵² However, nothing was done for the next three Storting sessions. In 1841 a commission presented a proposition to place the new Storting building in Studentertorvet. Linstow, the palace architect, drew a draft plan for the building, but no funds were awarded. In 1848 25,000 speciedaler annually was granted to a new building, but because of the tumultuous political situation in Europe the grant was annulled the same year.

The question of a new building for parliament reappeared in the early 1850s. In 1851 the government again proposed funding for a new building, this time accompanied by a proposal by Heinrich Ernst Schirmer for Christiania Torg. New committees were established and several projects on different plots followed, while Parliament decided to delay the decision. In 1854, parliament finally voted to purchase a plot in the lower part of the

⁴⁹ *Anhang til Stortingstidenden, indeholdende et Sammendrag af femtende ordentlige Storthings Forhandlinger i Februar Maaned, IX*

⁵⁰ Johansen, “Stortinget for Åpne Dører.”

⁵¹ Halvdan Koht, *Johan Sverdrup: 1816-1869*, vol. 1 (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1918), 198.

⁵² Den Norske Regjering v/Christian Bretteville “Regjeringens Proposition No. 3 1836 til Stortinget” (1851), in Hvattum, *Debatten om Stortingsbygningen*, 51.

palace park or the “swamp up by Parkveien” as Paul Botten-Hansen called it later.⁵³ The finance ministry overruled the decision and decided to purchase a plot in what was then Prestegata, where the new Storting building would later be built.

The process of deciding on a new parliament building, like the publishing of parliament proceedings, was long and exhausting. As Paul Botten-Hansen wrote in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in 1857:

Even though the foundation stone is not yet placed, indeed the final decision on where and by whom it is to be placed is not yet made, the building has its history. And it is a verbose history written by the ministry and by committees, corporations of authors who, as we know, speak the broad language of caution, with ‘assumptions’ and introductions to the ‘assumptions’ assumptions in every other sentence.⁵⁴

But now it looked like a decision was imminent. A plot had been purchased, despite this being against parliament’s will, and an open, anonymous, architectural competition was announced in 1856, the first of its kind in Norway.⁵⁵ The invitation was for a building which would house the Storting, the national archives and the national topographic survey office placed either on the plot in the palace park or on Prestegata along Karl Johans gate. Seven projects were submitted to the competition. The jury, led by Johan Sebastian Welhaven, awarded Heinrich Ernst Schirmer and Willhelm von Hanno’s project *Vaterpas* first place. The winning project was a gothic brick building with a tower toward Karl Johans gate. The jury associated the project with late-medieval, free northern European city states, an aspect that linked it to “a society that underlies our present form of government.”⁵⁶

An engraving of Schirmer and von Hanno’s winning project was published in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* on 10 May 1857 (*figure 7.7*). A week later the project was printed again, now without the tower (*figure 7.8*). The people in the scene, the clouds and the rest of the parliament building are the

⁵³ See: “En Korrespondent-Artikel,” *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 12, 22 March 1857, 86.; “Den nye Storthingsbygning I,” *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 19, 10 May, 1857, 92.

⁵⁴ “Den nye Storthingsbygning I,” 92 “Skjønt Grundstenen til den nye Storthingsbygning endnu ikke er lagt, ja ikke endelig Beslutning fattet om hvor og af hvem den skal lægges, saa har dog aligevel Bygningen sin Historie, og det er en vidløftig Historie; thi den er skrevet av Departement og kommiteer, - Forfatterkorporationer, der som bekjent tale Aktmæssighedens brede Sprog, med ‘Formening’ og Formeningers Formening til Intimation ved anden hver setning.”

⁵⁵ There had been several architectural competitions in Christiania before the parliament competition. The difference was that these had not all been open, and none had been anonymous. The open competition for the parliament building allowed both the professional community and the public to discuss it. See: Birgitte Sauge, “Gavnlig kappestrid for nye ideer og nye krefter. Arkitektkonkurransen om stortingsbygningen,” in *Stortingsbygningen 150 år. To arkitektkonkurranser*, Utstillingskatalog (Oslo: Stortinget; Nasjonalmuseet, 2016), 51–59.

⁵⁶ Hvattum, “En borgelig Nutids-Skabning,” 16. The quote is from the jury statement: Johan Henrik Rye et.al., “Betænkning, afgiven af den ved Kongelig Resolution af 13de Juli 1855 nedsatte Commission til Bedømmelse af Tegningerne m.m. til en Storthingsbygning (1857)” in Hvattum, *Debatten om Stortingsbygningen*, 135–39. “[bygningen] er fremstaaet af et Samfundsliv, der ligger til grund for vore nuværende Statsformer.”



Figure 7.7. The new parliament building. Schirmer and von Hanno's project at Prestegata, with tower. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 19, 10 May 1857



Figure 7.8. The new parliament building. Schirmer and von Hanno's project at Prestegata, without tower. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 20, 17 May 1857

same in both images. One can even glimpse a white line on the towerless version, marking where the wood had been removed. This was a practice known as “plugging.” A hole or several holes were usually drilled in the woodblock to remove the parts you wanted to take out, then the parts were re-engraved and reinserted into the woodblock.⁵⁷

The background for these two versions of the winning project can be traced back to the jury. One of its members, the town clerk Johan Henrik Rye, had dissented and suggested that the tower of the building, which in Schirmer and von Hanno’s plan faced Karl Johans gate, should be removed.⁵⁸ Rye’s suggestions received support from the highest level. Crown Prince Carl, the deputy to the King, agreed with Rye, and presented a new proposal with support from the ministry of finance. The Crown Prince admitted that the winning project was particularly well executed, but he thought the tower gave the “building more the appearance of a church, than a parliament building.”⁵⁹

The architectural competition intensified the debate on the parliament building. The Christiania newspapers were full of arguments for and against the tower. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* supported Schirmer and von Hanno’s first project, arguing that the Crown Prince’s intervention was an attack on the artistic integrity of the project. All the competition projects were exhibited in the Stock Exchange building, an exhibition which according to *Christiania-Posten* had attracted “a very large audience,” showing the Christiania public’s interest in the issue.⁶⁰ The project of Swedish architect Emil Victor Langlet, who had recently graduated from Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, was also exhibited in the Stock Exchange building. This was not one of the seven projects submitted to the official competition. The original drawings, although now lost, supposedly showed a somewhat nondescript arched building with a large rotunda towards Karl Johans gate. The jury dismissed the project immediately, arguing that it lacked character.⁶¹

Langlet’s project would, even though he did not participate in the official competition, rise to become the favorite. He was helped by a particularly fierce, provocative and self-confident Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson who

⁵⁷ Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, 646. As Jackson and Chatto explain in their treatise, “when the part remaining blank in the cast is engraved in accordance with the work of the surrounding arts, it is almost impossible to discover any trace of the insertion.” However, when executed badly, the insertion could show as a thin white line on the finished print.

⁵⁸ The tower debate is summed up in Hvattum, *Heinrich Ernst Schirmer*, 178–82.

⁵⁹ Den norske regjering v/ Erik R. Møinichen, “Den Norske Regjerings underdanigste Indstilling af 11te Marts 1857, med Visekongens Anmerkninger” in Hvattum, *Debatten om Stortingsbygningen*, 145. “Hans Kongelig Højhed Vicekongen finder vistnok, at den til høieste Præmies Erholdelse indstillede Tegning til Storthingslocale paa den ved Østregade indkjøbte Tomt er i det hele tageet særdeles vel udført, med skulde dog ønske at det andbragte større Taarn kunde bortfalde, da dette giver Bygningen mere Udseende af en Kirke end af et Locale for en Folkerepræsentation.”

⁶⁰ “Den nye Storthingsbygning,” *Christiania-Posten* 3 May 1857 in Hvattum, 151.

⁶¹ Hvattum, “En borgelig Nutids-Skabning,” 17.

published a four-part article in *Morgenbladet* arguing for Langlet's project. Bjørnson argued that Schirmer and von Hanno's project was too German, its gothic form was dark, heavy and burlesque and thus foreign to the light and airy Nordic spirit. Langlet's project, despite being made by a Swedish aristocrat educated in Paris and characterized as a "Venetian palace style," had a noble simplicity that matched perfectly the Nordic spirit, Bjørnson thought. It was simple and unobtrusive and free of "catholic mysticism" and princely towers that provoked the "stringent and simple royal palace."⁶² Bjørnson's attack on Schirmer and von Hanno's project was at the same time an attack on the "authorities," its foremost representative being the leader of the jury, Johan Sebastian Welhaven. "One cannot go anywhere in the field of arts without meeting Mr. Welhaven," Bjørnson wrote. The city, the government and the Arts Association (Kunstforeningen) all uncritically adopted his judgements. Welhaven's position in the Christiania establishment was prominent, but he also stood for the authorities in a wider sense.

Bjørnson had timed his attack perfectly. The last of his series of articles was published in *Morgenbladet* just days before parliament was due to debate the issue. In parliament he found a supporter in the oppositional politician Johan Sverdrup. If the success of Schirmer and von Hanno's project was, as the jury argued, based on the medieval roots of the parliamentary system, this was a legacy we had struggled to put behind us, Sverdrup argued. The medieval feudal roots of the parliamentary system were something that should be forgotten, not revived. The result of the debate was that parliament appointed yet another committee, which decided upon the plot on Karl Johan and Prestegata and for Langlet's project.⁶³

The end of the long debate, it seemed, was imminent. Yet as an anonymous article in *Aftenbladet* in November 1858 stated, the new parliament building saw "no end to its misfortunes."⁶⁴ Rumors about friction in the relationship between Langlet and the appointed building committee began to flourish in the press and led to doubts about whether Langlet was the right man for the job. The ministry therefore asked Christian Hansen at the academy in Copenhagen to prepare yet another project, and in May 1860, the Christiania public got a chance to compare the two projects. Christian Hansen's project was exhibited at the Christiania Arts Association, while a model of Langlet's project was exhibited for public viewing. At the same time, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* published a wood engraving of Hansen's project, and endorsed it in an accompanying article.

⁶² Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, "Nogle Bemærkninger i Anledning af den paatenkte Stortingsbygning" I-III *Morgenbladet* 8,9 and 11 August 1857 in Hvattum, *Debatten om Stortingsbygningen*, 169–77.

⁶³ See: "Stortingsdebatten 15. og 17. august 1857" in Hvattum, 187–209.

⁶⁴ "Kristiania," *Aftenbladet*, 6 November 1858, in Hvattum, 225.

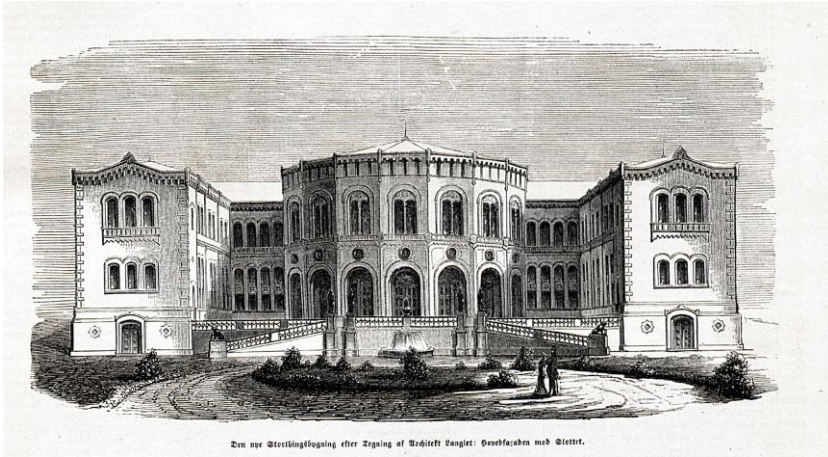


Figure 7.9. Langlet's parliament building. The façade towards the royal palace. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 3, 16 January 1859.

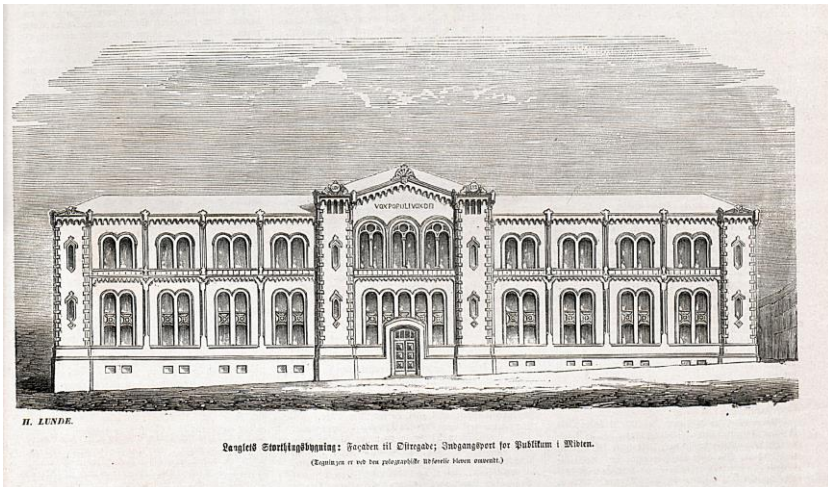


Figure 7.10. Langlet's Parliament building. The façade toward Østre gate; the entrance for the public in the middle. The drawing has been turned during engraving. Engraving by H. Lunde *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no 5, 30 January 1859

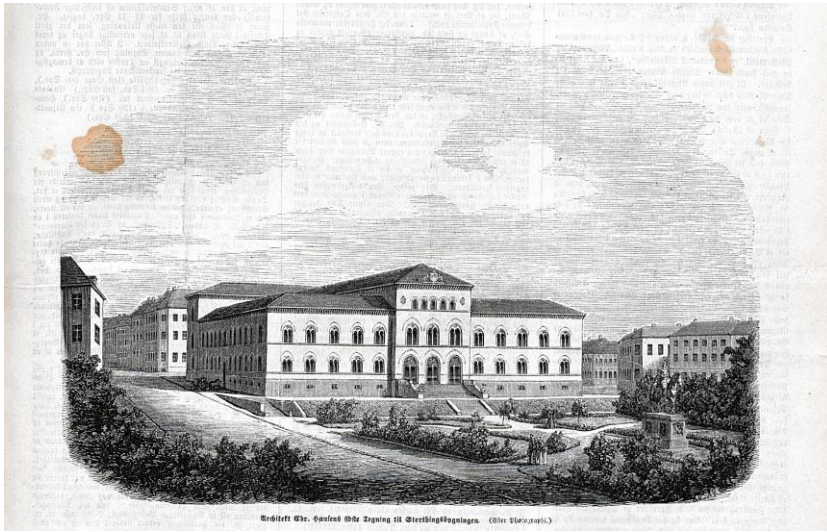


Figure 7.11. “Chr. Hansen’s most recent draft for a parliament building.” The image is stated as being from a photograph. Probably, Hansen’s drawings were photographed and the engraving was made from the photograph (see chapter 1). *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 20, 13 May 1860.

Through the engravings published in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, the debate had by then already traveled to Sweden. In the beginning of February 1860, the Swedish *Illustrerad Tidning* reprinted *Nyhedsbladets* engraving of Langlet’s project, describing the building as “neither pure nor impressive,” looking more like a “pavilion (lusthus)” than a parliament building.⁶⁵ A month later, the major Stockholm daily *Aftonbladet* followed up, publishing a crushing critique of Langlet’s building, apparently written by an anonymous Norwegian contributor.⁶⁶ This article was, in Norway, immediately viewed with suspicion. It was pointed out that the only reason a Norwegian author would publish criticisms in a Swedish paper would be to lure the Norwegian public into thinking that not even his own countrymen supported Langlet’s project.⁶⁷

This was not the only time engravings in *Nyhedsbladet* were used to damage Langlet’s standing. The architect Fredrik von der Lippe, for one, sent the engravings to the German art historian Anton Springer in Bonn. Springer’s biting critique was translated and published in *Morgenbladet* in

⁶⁵ “Det nya Storthings-huset Norge. Efter en ritning af arkitekten Langlet” *Illustrerad Tidning* (Stockholm) 5 February 1859, in Hvattum, 242. The quote is from *Illustrerad Tidning*: “Oss tyckes att stilen havrken är ren eller imponerande. Det tjocka midtskeppet nedtynger sidorna och flyglarne, och det hela tar sig ut som ett lusthus, hvilket blifvit efteråt tillbyggt å ömse sidor. Trappans korsade linier förvirra ögat, och flyglarnes gaflar, med sine dörrar, se både ensformiga och nakna ut.”

⁶⁶ “Om byggenadskonstens ställning i vårt land jemte några ord om storthingsbyggnaden I Kristiania,” *Aftonbladet* (Stockholm) 5 Feb. 1859 in Hvattum, 243–47.

⁶⁷ “Om Storthingsbygningen,” *Christiania-Posten* 26 March 1859, in Hvattum, 248–53.

late August 1860, including the hope that “the real expert opinion will break through to the people and produce a sense of remorse that one did not listen to it in time.”⁶⁸ When von der Lippe was confronted by the fact that Springer’s judgement was based only on one engraving in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, he responded that it was “mere nonsense that Langlet’s building cannot be judged from Nyhedsbladet’s wood engravings.” In fact, the engravings clearly showed the project’s “dispositions and relationships” and the conclusion could only be that Langlet’s project lacked artistic sensibility.⁶⁹

There had been many efforts to convince the public of Hansen’s superiority over Langlet. The art association, spearheaded by Emil Tidemand, arranged an exhibit of Christian Hansen’s earlier work in an attempt to convince the Christiania public of Hansen’s superiority. In addition, Langlet and Hansen’s projects were exhibited in the spring of 1860 at a number of places around the city. But these exhibitions worked against their purpose. Langlet’s project was presented with beautiful coloured and shaded drawings, while Hansen’s only included some abstract drawings, without colour or shading. While public saw Langlet’s building as clearly superior, many of the “authorities” saw his models and drawings as mere populism.⁷⁰ Emil Tidemand argued that Hansen’s intended public was people with a “real knowledge of art,” and he therefore did not think it was necessary to “guard himself against dilettante antics and interventions.” The judgement of art is “not everyman’s business,” Tidemand concluded.⁷¹

Many did not care what the “authorities” in artistic matters thought. One of them was the parliament member Rolf Olsen. Olsen did not believe that art was created to please “the so-called experts,” art was there, rather, to bring “bring happiness to cultured people.”⁷² For Sverdrup, Langlet’s building was not only the better project, it was also the project that the parliament had decided upon, a decision that the ministry had overruled. Sverdrup argued that the ministry’s decision to disregard parliament’s choice of Langlet’s project was “not only unwise, but unconstitutional.” The antagonism towards the authorities in artistic matters paralleled an opposition to the ruling political elites.

The debate about parliament building had been very much a public debate, conducted in and driven by the press. The illustrated press had, by

⁶⁸ Fredrik von der Lippe and Anton Springer, “Christiania den 23de August”, *Morgenbladet* 23 August 1860, in Hvattum, 323–26. “Den virkelig sagkyndige Mening vil efterhaanden trænge igjennem Folkets Omdømme og frembringe Anger over, at man ikke har lyttet til den i tide.”

⁶⁹ Fredrik von der Lippe, “Professor Springers Brev om Storthingsbygningen,” *Morgenbladet* 11 September 1860, in Hvattum, 327–29.

⁷⁰ Hvattum, “En borgelig Nutids-Skabning,” 37–38.

⁷¹ Emil Tidemand, “Storthingsbygningssagen vedkommende I-II,” *Morgenbladet* 12; 16 May 1860, in Hvattum, *Debatten om Stortingsbygningen*, 284–90.

⁷² Rolf Olsen in the parliament debate 18 May 1860, in Hvattum, 298.

providing the public with the opportunity to see the projects for themselves, played a decisive role in the debate. At the same time, the transportability of its engravings enabled the debate to move abroad, to Sweden, or even to allow a German art historian in Switzerland to voice his opinion. The conclusion to the 30-year long debate about the parliament building came in the Storting on 18 May 1860. The issue had now become a question of principles, with the “liberal” group led by Ueland and Sverdrup supporting Langlet’s project on the grounds of parliament’s independence from the King and his ministry. The ministry had overruled parliament’s decision on two occasions, first by changing the location and then by involving Hansen despite parliament’s decision for Langlet. Support of Hansen’s project was now seen as a support of the ministries’ interference with parliament’s role as the power responsible for granting state funds. Langlet’s project was adopted with 59 versus 47 votes.

The whole nation at the gallery

The debate about the new Storting building and the debate about publishing parliament proceedings were in many ways interlinked. To some, the publishing of parliament proceedings could bring the whole nation to the visitor gallery. As the liberal representative, the bailiff in Stavanger Halvor Olaus Christensen stated in parliament in 1836:

If anyone had proposed to grant 300 Spd. to extend the parliament gallery and thus grant more people access to its negotiations, there would not have been any protests; and now there are uncertainties about granting this sum to extend the gallery throughout the Norwegian nation, from Lindesnæs to Nordgap.⁷³

Christensen here shows the widely held belief in the mid-1830s in the ability of print to spread knowledge and education throughout the nation. This was the high-era of the belief in the diffusion of useful knowledge. This highly optimistic attitude on the ability of print to diffuse knowledge had, however, been somewhat curbed by the early 1840s.

Nevertheless, both the question of publishing parliamentary proceedings and the debate about the new parliament building were about openness and transparency. As Ueland famously stated during the debate in 1836, “A public sphere is the soul of a constitutional society, and parliament

⁷³ *Storthings-Efterretninger*, no. 1-2, 1836. “Hvis Nogen hade foreslaaet, at 300 Spd. Skulde anvendes for at faa Storthingets Galleri udvidet og saaledes skaffe Flere Adgang til at bivære Thingets Forhandling, vilde neppe Nogen have invendt noget derimod; - og nu skulde man befinde sig i Tivl ved Bevilgningen af en saadan Sum, for at faa Galleriet udvidet over hele Norges Rige fra Lindesnæs til Nordgap.” On Christensen, see: Halvdan Koht, “Christensen, Halvor Olaus,” ed. Edvard Bull, Anders Krogvig, and Gerhard Gran, *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1925).

should not give the nation any reason to suspect that it covers itself in a fog and does not act openly before the eyes of the nation.”⁷⁴ This attention to openness and transparency was not only the motivation behind finding a way to publish the parliament debates, but was also reflected in the debate on the new building. Particularly with regards to the parliament chamber.

As we saw above, the old parliament chamber, located in the backyard of the old Latin School, was closed off from the city. Parliament debates were still a public event and the visitor’s gallery was important, something that came up several times during the debate about the new parliament building. Some of the foreign architects were criticized for making the visitor’s gallery too small and inconvenient.⁷⁵ “I emphasize that one has to speak publicly” Anton Martin Schweigaard argued and pointed to the gallery as a key part of the publicness of parliament. The Norwegian parliament was unique in this regard, thought Schweigaard, and the whole world could not show a “visitor’s gallery as well attended as ours.”⁷⁶ The visitors’ gallery was equally important to the committee appointed to choose between Langlet and Hansen’s projects. Hansen’s gallery was large enough and provided an adequate number of seats, yet he had placed the gallery at the end of the chamber not along its side, and the committee feared that the audience could not follow the debates.⁷⁷

If there was general agreement that a sizable and comfortable visitor’s gallery was required, the issue of the shape and location of the parliament chamber were more contested. There were symbolic and more pragmatic arguments for a square or semi-circular chamber, for a prominent or a more secluded parliament chamber. An anonymous contributor to *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* shows how important the location and shape of the parliament chamber was. While he supported Hansen’s project, he thought some changes were necessary:

The character of the building is mostly drawn from the Storting chamber and should be clearly visible from the outside. It should, accordingly, not be placed towards the courtyard (Luckow’s and both of Hansen’s projects) but towards the façade (Bull, Hanno-Schirmer, Langlet) so that the main staircase to the chamber can rise from the vestibule or the portico (Bull, Langlet, Luckow, Hansen’s first draft). The Lagthing chamber demands a quiet space. It should therefore not be placed towards Østregade (Hanno-

⁷⁴ *Storthings-Efterretninger*, no. 1-2, 1836. “Offentlighet er sjælen i et Konstitutionelt Samfund, og Stortinget bør ikke give Nationen Grund til Mistanke om, at det vil inhylle sig i en Taage og ikke handle aabenlyst for dets øine.”

⁷⁵ Hvattum, “En borgelig Nutids-Skabning,” 37.

⁷⁶ Sverdrup in the parliament debate 18 May 1860, in Hvattum, *Debatten om Stortingsbygningen*. “Jeg vil blive halv maalløs ved at tale i en fiirkantet Sal [...] Jeg legger megen Vegt paa dette, at man skal tale offentlig, og Galleriet høre til; derfor er der ikke i den hele Verden saa besøgt et Galleri som dette her.”

⁷⁷ Fredrik Stang et. al. “Instilling fra den angaaende Storthingsbygningen nedsatte Komitee dateret 9de Mai 1860,” in Hvattum, 270.

Schirmer) or Sværdfegebakken (Hansen's last draft), but toward the courtyard (Bull, Langlet, Hansen's first draft).⁷⁸

Illustreret Nyhedsblad's arguments were primarily aesthetic and practical. It was important that the parliament chamber was visible from the street to provide a clear visual reading of the building's purpose.

Langlet's project had a semicircular chamber, while Hansen's had an oblong chamber with members seated opposite each other as in the English House of Commons or the Danish National Assembly. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* argued for an oblong chamber as proposed by Schirmer and von Hanno and Hansen. This would be the most convenient solution with respect to acoustics, they argued.⁷⁹ Schweigaard on the other hand, one of the few conservative representatives that supported Langlet's proposal, pointed to the advantages of Langlet's semicircular parliament chamber. Many had pointed to the fact that the speakers spoke to the president. Schweigaard, however, pointed to the importance of contact with all the members and spectators when he spoke. "I would become almost speechless if I had to speak in a square chamber" he stated. Both the university aula and the old parliament in Dronningensgate had a semicircular chamber and this was, according to Schweigaard, the shape of a "true parliamentary chamber."⁸⁰

Acoustics was on the whole an important consideration with respect to positioning of the parliament chamber. Schirmer and von Hanno placed the chamber, in their original competition project, towards the royal palace, pleasing many by emphasizing the symbolic connection between parliament and the King. Jørgen Henrik Rye, in his dissent, was worried about noise from the street and wanted the parliamentary chamber moved so that it faced the courtyard. This was the solution Hansen adopted in his 1859 project as well.⁸¹ The 1860 committee appointed to choose between Hansen's and Langlet's project, also worried about noise from the street. The majority argued that Hansen's placement of the parliament chamber inside the courtyard as a separate building was practical and would lead to "greater calm in proceedings in parliament."⁸²

For others, most notably Johan Sverdrup, Langlet's building with its prominent, semicircular chamber clearly had an advantage. "The arrangement

⁷⁸ "Om Storthingsbygningen," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, 13 May 1860. "Da Bygningen hener sin væsentlige Charakter fra Storthingssalen, bør denne træde frem i det Ydre, følgelig ei lægges til Gaarden (Luckows og begge Hansens Udkast) men til Facaden (Bull, Hanno-Schirmer, Langlet), og saaledes, at Hovedtrappen til Salen gaar op fra Vestibulen eller Forhallen. (Bull, Langlet, Luckow, Hansen's første Udkast). Da ogsaa Lagthingsssalen forlanger et roligt Sted, bør den hverken lægges mot Østregade (Hanno-Schirmer) eller Sværdfegebakken (Hansens siste Udkast), men ind til Gaarden (Bull, Langlet, Hansen's første Udkast)."

⁷⁹ "Om Storthingsbygningen."

⁸⁰ Schweigaard in the parliament debate 18 May 1860. "Dette mit Indtryk om en Rund Sal jeg har faaet bestyrket her [i Universitetets festsal], thi denne Sal er halvrund, og dette er sandelig en parlamentarisk Sal."

⁸¹ Hvattum, "En borgelig Nutids-Skabning," 35–37.

⁸² Fredrik Stang, et. al., "Instilling" Hvattum, *Debatten om Stortingsbygningen*, 269.

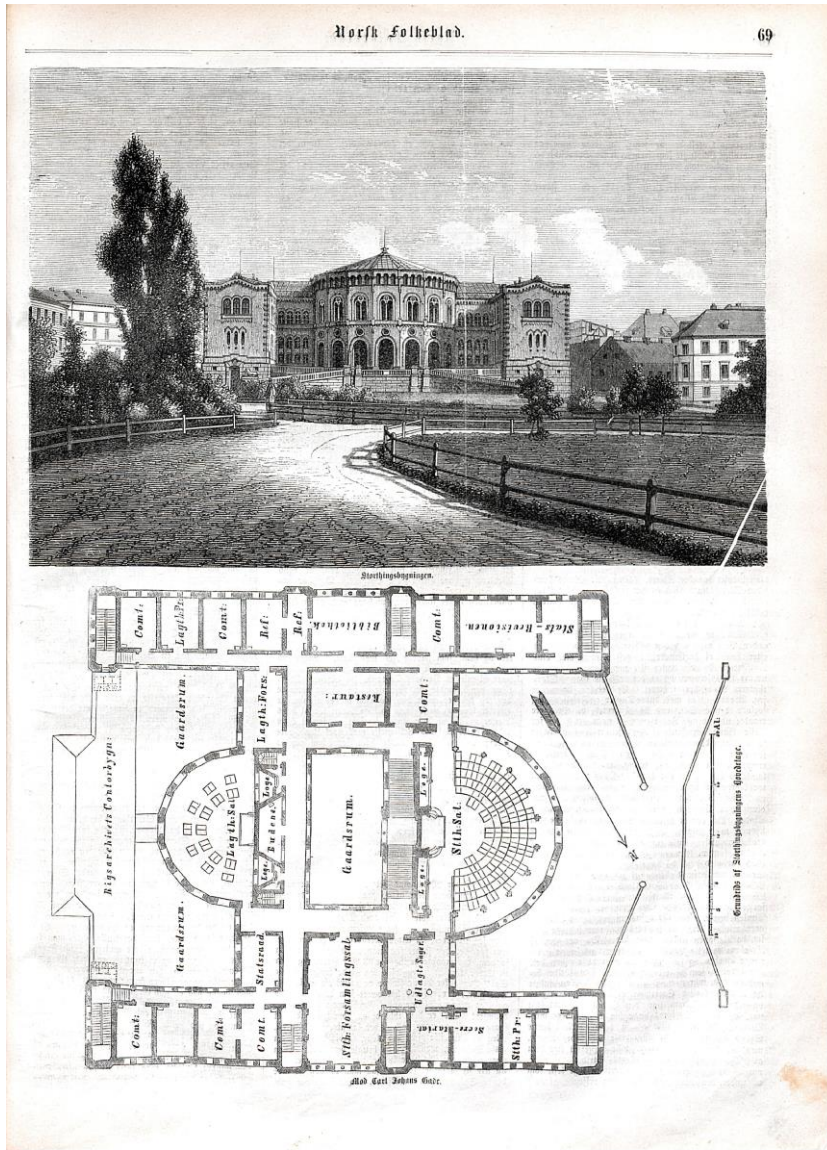


Figure 7.12. View and plan of the new Storting building. *Norsk Folkeblad* no. 10, 10 March 1866

with the rotunda and the vestibule invites the nation to witness the representatives of the people debate the most important affairs of the state,” Sverdrup argued.⁸³ The way in which Langlet’s semicircular, transparent chamber invited the people in was important. After all, the parliament chamber housed the representatives of the people. Sverdrup would rise, from the late 1860s, to become one of the most significant political figures in nineteenth-century Norway. His central issue as a leader of the liberal opposition or left coalition, was to increase the power of parliament. A prominent, highly visible parliament chamber as proposed by Langlet was symbolically important.

The debate over the location and shape of the parliamentary chamber was in many ways analogous with the debate about publishing of parliamentary proceedings. Many of the more conservative representatives expressed fears of what would happen when the public was given access to all the speeches made in the Storting. One was the priest H.L. Bergh who argued that no one would have any interest in reading the debates as they did not concern “European issues.” The members of the Storting would furthermore not appreciate having their speeches rendered in full. Bergh’s fear was that what “had been pleasant to the ear, would not prove to be as pleasant to the eye.” He worried that representatives would be judged on how their speeches looked in print rather than what they had done, and that voters would judge their representatives too soon based on their rhetorical skills.⁸⁴

Openness and transparency were, for Ueland, Sverdrup and many others, important values represented in the constitution. Ueland was had no fear of seeing his words in print and hoped that printing the speeches in full would “grant the debates a turn for the better.” Many conservative representatives supported the proposal as well. U.A. Motzfeld agreed that the debates may not be of “European interest,” but that it had to “be of interest to Norwegians to know what is happening in their own parliament.” What happened in parliament should happen in the “public eye” (offentlighets lys), Motzfeld thought, the proceedings should be a mirror and every representative had to “put up with their reflection, whether they liked it or not.” Schweigaard, for his part, supported the issue on moral grounds. If the members of parliament wanted the debates to be printed in full, then there

⁸³ Sverdrup in the parliament debate 18 May 1860. “Arrangementet med med Rotunden og Vesibulen viser, at man her indbyder Nationen til at træde ind for at høre Folkets Mænd pleie Forhandlinger om Statens vigtigste Anliggender.”

⁸⁴ Stortinget 18 February 1857 in *Anhang til Stortingstidenden, indeholdende et Sammendrag af femtende ordentlige Storthings Forhandlinger i Februar Maaned*. Trykt og forlagt af H. J. Jensen, VII. “Thingets Medlemmer kunde ikke sætte synderlig Priis paa at faa sine Taler saa fuldstændig gjengivne, især da det nok ofte kunde træffe, at det, som havde været behageligt for Øret, ikke vilde være ilgesaa behageligt for Øiet.”

was a moral obligation to do so, it also seemed to be the best way to fulfill the “spirit” of article 84 of the constitution.⁸⁵

Both the parliament chamber and the publishing of proceedings were important. They represented an opening of the parliament to the greater public. But what effect did the stenographic minutes have on political culture at the time? One aspect was that the written word, no matter how accurate, could not replace the public performance.⁸⁶ As historian Halvdan Koht has pointed out with reference to Johan Sverdrup: “A man’s abilities as a public speaker cannot be fully appreciated by reading the minutes, as exact as they may well be. It is the performance that creates the effect in the moment.” Nevertheless, the stenographic minutes probably influenced the rhetoric culture in parliament. Koht has argued that “parliament members now knew that they were talking to more than just an assembly of acquaintances.” The fact that their words were publicly available led to representatives putting more effort into their speeches, particularly among the younger generation of parliament members. This benefited the liberal opposition, Johan Sverdrup perhaps achieving the “highest mastery” as a public speaker.⁸⁷ Stenographic minutes may have influenced the rhetoric culture in parliament, but did not have an instant effect on political debate. Parliament could emphasize speed, but the complete *Storthings-Tidende* was not off the press until days or sometimes weeks after the meetings were held. The demand that a summary should be available by the end of the parliamentary day was not made until the end of the 1880s, again due to dissatisfaction with reports in the newspapers.⁸⁸

The conclusive turn towards parliamentary politics being conducted in the public eye certainly did not take place with the publishing of *Storthings-Tidende* or with opening of the new parliament building. The emergence of what Rune Slagstad calls a “popular-democratic public sphere” was a long and complex process which required more than just making parliament proceedings available to the public.⁸⁹ The outlines of the

⁸⁵ Stortinget 18 February 1857, VIII. Motzfeld: “det maa dog være af Interesse for Nordmænd at kjende til, hvad der afgjøres i deres egen Nationalforsamling.” Ueland: “denne Omstændighed kunde tjene til at give Debatten et Sving til det Bedre.” Although conservative, U.A. Motzfeldt had a liberal bent, “en mann med vyrnad for folkeviljen” as Halvdan Koht has stated (*Johan Sverdrup*, 1:328.)

⁸⁶ Gardey, “Turning Public Discourse into an Authentic Artifact.”

⁸⁷ Koht, *Johan Sverdrup*, 1:510. “En manns evner som taler lar sig aldrig helt ut værdsætte efter referater, de være saa nøiagtige de være vil. Det er framføringen som skaper øieblikkets virkning. Det har sikkert likevel sat merker i vor parlamentariske talekunst, da Stortinget fra 1857 satte hurtigskrivere til aa gjengi ordskiftene. Tingmændene visste fra nu av, at de talte for mer enn bare en forsamling av kjenninger, og iallfall de yngre av dem maatte komme til aa arbeide ut talene sine bedre. Johan Sverdrup var en av dem som la arbeid paa aa naa den størst mulige mesterskap i aa tale [...]”

⁸⁸ Krohn, “Referatet av Stortingets forhandlinger,” 304. This abbreviated report that was distributed to the press was ultimately discontinued in 1925. It was not until the 1950s that the full stenographic minutes were made available by the end of the parliamentary day.

⁸⁹ Slagstad, *De nasjonale strateger*, 150.



Figure 7.13. Invitation to subscribe to *Stortingstidende* published with *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no. 35, 31 August 1862.

development of political organisations, of alternative elites, of the popular public meeting and mass-subscription newspapers began to be visible in the 1870s and 1880s. Anders Johansen has argued that what Ueland fought for was the right of access within a small isolated public sphere centred around a few central institutions of power.⁹⁰ It probably true that *Storthings-Tidende* itself was not much read among the larger public. It was, however, an important document for the press, particularly the provincial press who no longer needed to rely on the Christiania papers for its parliament reports. Ueland was aware of this and stated in 1857 that the stenographic minutes would at least “indirectly benefit the common man” as “the provincial press will publish extracts of it.”⁹¹ Making the voice of the opposition more publicly available was important to the rise of the liberal opposition from the 1860s onwards. A Risør man in a letter to Sverdrup in the 1880s remembered how he, in the 1860s, “was up all night reading your speeches like others read novels.”⁹²

In addition to influencing the rhetorical culture and being important for the provincial press, the publication of parliament debates provided legitimacy to the workings of parliament. As stated in an advertisement for parliamentary proceedings printed in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* (figure 7.13), the stenographic minutes provided the public with a “full and authentic” account of parliament debates. Parliament could, using stenographic techniques,

⁹⁰ Johansen, “Stortinget for Åpne Dører.”

⁹¹ Stortinget 18 February 1857, VIII

⁹² P. Chr. Bjørnsgaard in letter to Sverdrup from 1884, quoted from Koht, *Johan Sverdrup*, 1:401.

provide the public and later historians with a trustworthy and reliable document.⁹³ At the same time, Langlet's parliament building with its sizable gallery and its prominent, semi-circular chamber, opened parliament up to the city, giving it a more prominent, but also a more transparent location in urban space.⁹⁴

The new parliament building was an important symbolic victory for the liberal left opposition represented by Bjørnson, Sverdrup and Ueland. One of the main political struggles from the 1860s onwards was increasing the power of parliament. Key democratic developments such as the introduction of annual parliament sessions in 1869 were logistically made possible by the new building. Being crammed into the old parliament chambers once every three years was bad enough, annual sessions would likely have been unbearable. The opposition's victory came in 1884, when after a long battle over the King's right to veto, Johan Sverdrup was asked to form a government, instigating the principle of parliamentarism in Norway. The fact that this long debate over the role of the parliament took place in a building which was made possible by a democratic and public discussion, did perhaps have some symbolic significance at the time. That the debates over the role of the parliament were available in full was significant as well, not least for historians studying them.

If the publishing of parliament proceedings cannot be said to have literally extended the gallery to the whole nation, both the proceedings and the new building did represent a move towards a more open, transparent and professional practice in parliamentary politics. The stenographic minutes meant that newspapers on all sides of the political spectrum and across the country now had more equal access to the proceedings in parliament. In a similar manner, the new parliament building with its sizable gallery and its open, semi-circular and transparent chamber opened the parliamentary proceedings to the city in a whole new way. The new building and the proceedings thus helped prompt a new relationship between the parliament and the public.

⁹³ "Subskriptions-Indbydelse. Storthings-Tidende," Bilag til *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* no 36, 7 September 1862; Gardey, "Turning Public Discourse into an Authentic Artifact."

⁹⁴ During the French revolution, the semi-circular parliament chamber came to represent criticism and public debate, see: Jean-Philippe Heurtin, "The Circle of Discussion and the Semicircle of Criticism," in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), 751–69.

Paul Botten-Hansen goes to his printer: a conclusion

This thesis has examined the relationship between the magazine and city, the printed and the built. To explore this relationship, I have looked at the illustrated press in the city of Christiania in the mid nineteenth century, focusing on two publications, *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. To shed light on the print world and public life in mid nineteenth-century Christiania, I have located the printers and booksellers of Christiania in the city and explored the publishers, printers and editors of the illustrated press within the physical and social environment of the city. I have discussed the images of the illustrated press, focusing in particular on how the urban environment was presented, mediated, produced and reproduced in its texts and images.

The key issues in this thesis can be summed up in one imaginary walk, that of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*'s editor Paul Botten-Hansen on his way from his home in downtown Christiania to his printer in Storgata 27 sometime towards the end of the 1850s. Botten-Hansen's stroll through Christiania is also a stroll through this thesis. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, Botten-Hansen's articles in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* show a deep consideration for the development of the city, albeit often expressed in an ironic and playful tone. Despite being an outsider, he described the modernization of the city in the 1850s and 1860s better than anyone, rivaled only by his long-time friend Aasmund Olavsson Vinje, another urbanized country-boy. Botten-Hansen not only took part in Christiania's increasingly lively social and literary life, he helped shape it. He was a central node in a network of publishers, editors, engravers and writers that were active in the city during the 1850s and 1860s. Following him on his walk takes us through Christiania's "geography of print," revealing the tight-knit relationship between Christiania's urban landscape and its nineteenth-century print culture.

We start in Botten-Hansen's book-filled apartment in Rådhusgata 15, an important meeting place for Christiania's literary circles in the 1850s and early 1860s. On the other side of the street was the Athenæum reading club, where the literary classes of Christiania gathered to read and discuss newspapers, books and periodicals. Bankplassen with Christiania Theater, the cultural centre of the city from the 1830s and well into the 1850s, was just one block away to the south and the apartment was surrounded by a number of cafes, hotels and taverns which Botten-Hansen and the "Hollender" circle frequented.

Walking up Kirkegata, Botten-Hansen would pass through the centre of Christiania's print world, what Henrik Wergeland in the 1840s

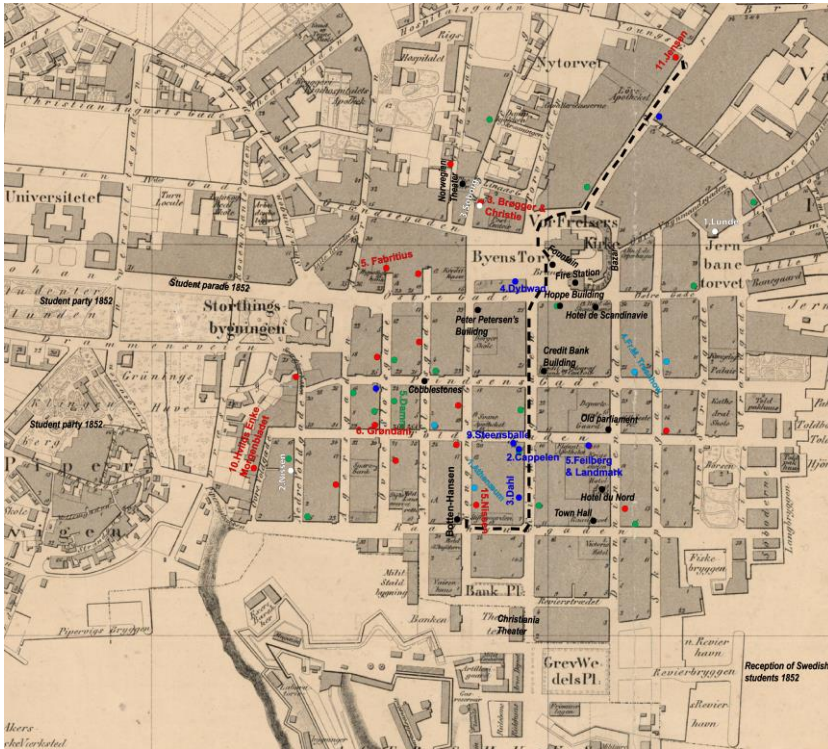
called the city's "booksellers street."¹ The bookstores of Johan Dahl and J.W. Cappelen and a number of bookbinders' workshops were still there in the mid-1850s. Reaching the Cappelen building at the corner of Kirkegata and Tollbugata, he would then have seen the bookshop of Steensballe to the west and Feilberg & Landbark to the east. One block to the east were the government ministries and, until 1854, parliament, and he would probably have encountered bureaucrats and politicians on his way. When parliament was in session, the newspapers of Christiania were filled with reports from the sessions, parliament was full of activity and of reporters, parliamentarians and the interested public gathering in and around the chambers. Botten-Hansen's own journal, while not explicitly political, had often pitched its articles to influence ongoing debates in parliament, the day-to-day proximity with the government was undoubtedly useful.²

Continuing north along Kirkegata, Botten-Hansen would have walked through the area destroyed by the great fire of 1858, perhaps remembering the smoldering ruins that had been so graphically depicted in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and *Skilling-Magazin* that spring. Botten-Hansen's walk to the office of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* would have allowed him to follow rebuilding after the fire carefully, taking him right by the new Credit Bank building on the corner of Kirkegata and Prinsens gate, Peter Petersen's and bookbinder Hoppe's new buildings on Karl Johans gate (Østre gate) as well as the new fountain in Stortorget. These were buildings and quarters Botten-Hansen would describe in great detail in the series "Christiania's new quarters" that ran in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* from 1859 to 1861. A block to the south was the rebuilt Hotel Scandinavie, while further to the west were the offices and printing house of Nyhedsbladet's main competitor, *Skilling-Magazin*. Witnessing the rebuilding process after the fire at close hand might have prompted Botten-Hansen to reflect on the "old Christiania," a city that was disappearing more and more as new and modern buildings were built in its place.

Walking through Kirkegata to Karl Johans gate (arriving at Dybwad's bookstore), Botten-Hansen would have followed the same route as the Scandinavian student parade followed in 1852; an event his magazine covered in detail with lavish wood engravings. Had he made a small detour towards the west, he would have arrived at the Karl Johan quarter, the western section of which in 1858 had become the new subject for *Illustreret*

¹ Wergeland, "Christiania 23de Oktober." *Lillehammer Tilskuer* 3. Nov. 1843 in *Artikler og småstykker 1836-45*, 561.

² The best example was during the parliament building debate, where *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* was on the side of Schirmer and von Hanno.



Printers (red), booksellers (blue), bookbinders (green), lending libraries (bright blue) and wood engravers (white) in Christiania in 1857. Paul Botten-Hansen's proposed route from his apartment to *Illustreret Nyhedsblad's* printer is the stippled line. Several locations depicted in the illustrated press and discussed in this thesis are in black italics.

Nyhedsblad's masthead. The Karl Johan area with the University, Studentlunden, the Royal Palace and (from 1866) the new parliament building, replaced the old "kvadratur" as Christiania's civic and political centre, a shift reflected and corroborated on the pages of the illustrated press.

From Stortorget, Botten-Hansen could have taken a detour up Möllergata, perhaps visiting the workshop of one of his engravers, Nissen, or the printing house of *Nyhedsbladet's* first printers' Brøgger & Christie. Across the street was the Norwegian theatre (Kristiania norske theater), a theater which Botten-Hansen defended in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*.

Reaching Storgata, Botten-Hansen would find himself in a different environment than the straight cobbled streets of the inner-city quarters. Here the streets were crooked and unplanned, many of the low, wooden and half-timbered houses that characterized the suburbs of Christiania remained. Despite its modest surroundings, Storgata 27 was an important location in the history of the illustrated press in Christiania. Bought by *Skilling-Magazin's*

printers and publishers Guldberg & Dzwonkowski in the late 1830s, the address accommodated the magazine's later printer and publisher J.W. Fabritius, as well as the printing house and offices of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in a number of periods. The history of the building and its different occupants highlights the connections between printers, publishers and editors in Christiania's illustrated press.

Botten-Hansen's imaginary walk to the offices of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* not only gives us a condensed impression of Christiania's print culture around the middle of the nineteenth century, but it shows us how the illustrated press was rooted in the everyday life of people in the city. Botten-Hansen, along the way to Storgata, could have encountered many of the people who wrote for the magazine; people who produced images and engravings, and competitors from other magazines and publishing endeavors. He would also, and in great numbers, have encountered his readers, who perhaps in turn would have recognized him. For Botten-Hansen's keen observation of the city was not a one-way gaze. Booksellers, writers, other editors and the reading public would have known him as a public figure, they could even have known the address of the offices of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and of Botten-Hansen's apartment, which were printed on the pages of the magazine. The story of urbanization in the nineteenth century is often told as one of increased anonymity. Late 1850s Christiania was, however, still small and the people you encountered on the streets were in a large part familiar faces.

Following Botten-Hansen on his walk to his printer gives us a view of the public sphere that is very much rooted in a specific urban space. The enlightenment ideal of a public sphere of disinterested and rational debate was, as we saw in Chapter 7, very much alive. Yet the urban public of Christiania was also rooted in physical space and in the day to day experiences of the city. Providing a geography of print has entailed studying the specific cultural and social environment in which the illustrated periodicals were produced. As we have seen, most of Christiania's printing business was concentrated in a small area in the inner-city quarters, forming what Mary L. Shannon called a "coherent print culture."³ Publishers, editors and writers and readers of the illustrated press could partially imagine themselves as part of a public sphere precisely because they encountered each other daily on the streets, in bookshops, printing houses and newspaper offices, in the theatre and in urban spaces such as Karl Johan and Klingenberg.

³ Shannon, *Dickens, Reynolds, and Mayhew on Wellington Street*.

At the heart of this thesis is the notion of a reciprocal relationship between the city and the magazine, an idea of a mutual and even chiasmic relationship. What I have hoped to achieve with this chiasm is to emphasize what Louis Montrose called the “dynamic, unstable, and reciprocal relationship between the discursive and material domains.”⁴ As I have argued throughout this thesis, the texts and images published in *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* were embedded in the specific urban environment of Christiania. The urban environment was, however, not a passive container for culture, the city both shaped the press and was shaped by it. Modern Christiania was described and depicted on the pages of the illustrated press, and these texts and images helped create the city. The city and the magazine were a part of a complex process in which the urban and social environment of Christiania was produced and transformed.

We have seen, throughout this thesis, a number of examples of mutual dependence of the city and the magazine. Newspapers and illustrated magazines were often read and discussed in public and newspapers, broadsheets and periodicals were sold, hawked, read and sung out on the streets of the great cities of Europe and to some extent in Christiania. As Henning Junghans Thue wrote in the 1830s, newspapers and periodicals were important parts of public life in the city, read daily and “discussed in private and public places both *pro* and *contra*.”⁵ Where a publication was produced or sold had implications for how it was read, as illustrated in the Norwegian context by Henrik Wergeland who scorned N.W. Damm’s publications for being issued from the poor suburb of Grønland.

Nineteenth century illustrated newspapers and periodicals were “speaking to the eye” in a whole new way.⁶ They were part of an emerging urban visual culture. Guldberg, Dzwonkowski, Botten-Hansen and his compatriots in Christiania were very much familiar with the illustrated papers of London, Paris, Leipzig, Stockholm and Copenhagen. The illustrated press in Christiania reprinted stereotyped engravings from the workshops in London and Paris and relied on visual conventions from the illustrated newspapers in Europe when presenting Christiania through wood engravings. As the illustrated news grew more popular, the public grew more visually literate and the engravings became larger with less text being needed to explain them. As *Le Journal Illustré* announced in its first issue in 1864 “engraving speaks all languages, it is understood by all nationalities. It is the

⁴ Montrose, “Professing the Renaissance,” 23.

⁵ Thue, “Skizzer af Hovedstadslivet. III Litteraire forhold», *Tillæg til Morgenbladet* no 61, 2 March 1841.

⁶ “Speaking to the Eye (from the Economist),” *Illustrated London News*, 24 May 1851.

authority that captivates; and the text, whatever it is must be but its very humble servant.”⁷

This thesis has attempted to show how Christiania was created as a modern European city on the pages of the illustrated press. It was a process that began with the educational efforts of *Skilling-Magazin* in the 1830s and culminated with *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in the 1850s and 1860s. Of course, this process did not end there. Later illustrated publications such as *Norsk Folkeblad* (1866-1871), *Ny Illustreret Tidende* (1874-1890), as well as *Skilling-Magazin* continued and adapted the format of the illustrated newspaper, providing their readers with images of an ever-expanding and changing city. Into the 1860s, the illustrated magazines in Europe became increasingly image-centric, with publications such as the *Graphic* and *Le Journal Illustré* providing larger, more detailed and elaborate engravings sometimes only accompanied by a caption. The nature of illustrated journalism also changed as photomechanical reproductions became more and more common in the press in the 1880s. This thesis has only described the earliest period in this development. Much work remains to be done on popular visual culture in late-nineteenth-century Christiania and on the illustrated press.

The texts and images of the illustrated press were not only responses and attempts to understand a changing urban environment, but helped shape that very environment. The three case studies presented in Part II illustrate this reciprocity. The images of the student meeting in 1852 re-imagined the new city centre as an urban spectacle. *Skilling-Magazin* and *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, building on conventions established in the illustrated press, visually worked out what this new part of the city could be. In the wake of the fire of 1858, the illustrated press provided their readers with visual cues for understanding the on-going processes of modernization. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, through showing the smoldering ruins being replaced by handsome modern buildings and state-of-the-art infrastructure, presented a vivid image of a modern city in the making and a portrait of the old, fast disappearing Christiania. The press also contributed to situate and interpret political institutions such as the Storting, be it by describing sessions, publishing competition entries for the new parliament building or printing the debates.

We have seen that the illustrated press helped shape the urban environment in at least three ways. First, the press lobbied for and promoted for specific projects in the city. The fire department and the city’s water supply were, in the wake of the fire of 1858, reformed at least partly because

⁷ *Le Journal Illustré*, 14 February 1864, quoted from: Paul Jobling and David Crowley, *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation since 1800*, Studies in Design and Material Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 25.

of pressure exerted in the daily papers. At the same time, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* relentlessly complained about the state of the city and the public authorities' insufficient spending on projects that would make the city more presentable and beautiful. The debate over the new parliament building was perhaps the most potent example of this lobbying, with different newspapers supporting different candidates and solutions, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* ultimately ending up on the "losing side."

A second way in which the illustrated press shaped the city was by demonstrating to its readers, through images and texts, how to behave in the city. The images of students parading up Karl Johan, inhabiting and transforming the spaces at Klingenberg and Studenterlunden, showed the people of Christiania and beyond ways to inhabit and behave in their new urban environments. Karl Johans gate became a representational parade, Klingenberg and Studenterlunden romantic spaces. Lit by gaslight, these spaces were presented as spaces for recreation, relaxation, entertainment and intermingling, where bourgeois urban life could be lived out and perhaps transgressed. In a similar manner, Paul Botten-Hansen's description of Karl Johan that introduced this thesis, evoked Christiania's new boulevard, confirming and playing on by now familiar ways to behave in the urban environment.

Lastly, the illustrated journals provided their readers with clues as to how to read and understand the changing urban environment. The rebuilt fire quarters became the most modern in the city, at least partly because they were presented as such by *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*. The modern amenities and the increasingly clear separation of public and private spaces provided models for the continued process of renewal of the inner-city quarters into a modern city centre. In a similar manner, the new buildings created a new way to read the old city. The "old Christiania" was preserved on the pages of *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, and gained a new significance as it disappeared and was replaced by the new. The debate about the parliament building also shows the extent to which architectural debates, and debates over public buildings in particular, became linked to political and cultural values in the press. Schirmer and von Hanno's parliament buildings represented connections to a wider northern European tradition. Langlet's building, despite being built by a Swedish aristocrat and described as a "Venetian palace style building," came to represent the values of a particularly Norwegian kind of democracy.

Returning to Paul Botten-Hansen, the way he understood the urban environment of Christiania was no doubt influenced by his own place in it. He was not only an observer but a part of the changes that was chronicled and debated in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, embedded in the urban environment he described. The urban environment as described in the illustrated press was, at

the same time, shaped by the medium, by the journalistic and visual conventions of the illustrated press. As objects of print culture, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* and *Skilling-Magazin* were part of a developing transnational urban culture. An educational illustrated periodical and an illustrated newspaper was something every aspiring European capital should have. But the content also shaped the urban environment. Through lobbying for changes in the city, providing readers with new ways of behaving in the city and with new ways of reading their environment, the illustrated press played a vital role in making Christiania into a modern European capital.

Appendix

Periodicals, newspapers, archival material and other resources

The following list contains newspapers and periodicals, archival material and other resources cited in the text (including image captions). Published books, articles etc. is found in the bibliography.

Periodicals and newspapers

Aftenbladet

Archiv for Læsning av Blandet Indhold eller Norsk Penning-Magazin

Christiania Intelligentsedler

Christiania-Posten

Den Constitutionelle

Den Frimodige

Den Norske Rigstidende

Dølen: eit vikublad

Illustreret Nyhedsblad

Manden / Andrhimner

Morgenbladet

Nordisk Trykkeri Tidende

Norsk Folkeblad

Skilling-Magazin

Das Pfennig Magazin

Illustrated London News

Illustrert Tidende

Illustrirte Zeitung

L'Illustration

Magasin Pittoresque

Penny Magazine

Address books

Christiania Veiviser. Christiania, 1838.

Christianias Adresse-Bog Eller Person- Og Bopæl-Veiviser for 1857.

Christiania: Johan Dahl, 1857.

Adresse-Kalender for Norges Handel og Industri for 1865. Christiania:

Lehman, 1865

Book catalogues

Catalog over Athenæums Bøger: den 1ste Marts 1847. Christiania: sn, 1847.

Catalog over Athenæums Bøger: (Første Fortsættelse): den 20de Februar 1849. Christiania, 1849.

Catalog over Athenæums Bøger: (Anden Fortsættelse): den 1ste August 1850. Christiania, 1850.

Parliament

- Stortingsforhandling 1836-37. Det 8de Ordentlige Storting
Storthings-Efterretninger, 1836
Stortingsforhandling 1842. Det 10de Ordentlige Storting
Storthingstidende, 1857
Anhang til Storthingstidenden, indeholdende et Sammendrag af femtende ordentlige Storthings Forhandlinger i Februar Maaned (1857) Trykt og forlagt af H. J. Jensen

Official statistics

- Holst, Christian, and Den kongl. Norske Departement for Kirke og Uddanningsvæsenet. *Statistiske Tabeller Vedkommende Undervisningsvæsenets Tilstand i Norge Ved Utgangen Av Aaret 1837*. Christiania: Chr. Grøndahl, 1840.
Statistiske Tabeller for Kongeriget Norge. Tredie Række, Inneholdende Tabeller, Vedkommende Norges Handel Og Skibsfart i Aaret 1835. Christiania, 1839.

Publications related to the student meetings

- Fortegnelse over Deeltagerne i det nordiske Studentermøde i Christiania 1851*. [Christiania], 1851.
Fortegnelse over Deltagerne i Studentermødet i Christiania 1852. Christiania: Fabritius, 1852.
Studentertog til Christiania 1851 fra Lund og Kjøbenhavn: beretning fra et udvalg av deeltagerne. Kjøbenhavn: S. Trier, 1853.
Studentttåg till Christiania 1852 från Upsala: berättelse af utsedde committerade. Upsala: A. Leffler, 1854.

Archives and collections

- National Archives of Norway (RA)*
Fabritius og sønner - SAO/PAO-0050
Z-L0011 Forlagskontrakter
- National Library, special collections (NB)*
Brevs. 50 Brev til C.A. Guldberg
Brevs. 93 Guldberg, C.A. til Holst, Christian

NTNU, Gunnerusbiblioteket, Spesialsamlingene

- Paul Botten Hansen
XA Fol. 695 Dokumenter vedrørende Nordmanden og Illustreret Nyhedsblad
XA Qv. 714 Dokumenter vedrørende bladet Andhirmner.

Web resources

These are web resources that have been cited. For single articles or web pages, see the bibliography.

Digitalarkivet. Folketelling, 1865 for Vestre Aker prestegjeld (0218aP),
<https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/person/pf01038011009980>

Illustrated London News Historical Archive. Historical Archive 1842-2013
(paywall): <http://find.galegroup.com/iln>

Norwegian Storting. website: www.stortinget.no

National Library of Norway (Nasjonalbiblioteket). digitized books and
newspapers: www.nb.no

Oslobilder. Database with historical images from Oslo with contributions
from several institutions and libraries. www.oslobilder.no.

Oslo byarkiv. "Christiania-folk 1845" (tax reports from 1845):
[https://www.oslo.kommune.no/OBA/searchpage.asp?table=lign1845
&language=nor](https://www.oslo.kommune.no/OBA/searchpage.asp?table=lign1845&language=nor).

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Errata

- p. v-viii List of illustrations added
- p. 5 “(*figure 2*)” changed to “(*figure 2-5*)”
- p. 7 “(*figure 3*)” changed to “(*figure 6*)”
- p. 19 “(see *figure 3*)” changed to “(see *figure 6*)”
- p. 123 “Peder Christen Asbjørnsen” changed to “Peter Christen Asbjørnsen”
- p. 138 “Erns Sars” changed to “Ernst Sars”
- p. 184 “[...] these events and their presentation in the illustrated press contributed to Karl Johan area into the representational centre of the city” changed to “[...] these events and their presentation in the illustrated press contributed to making the Karl Johan area into the representational centre of the city”
- p. 193 in *figure 6.3* caption “No.” removed.
- p. 195 “A general map of the city was had been commissioned in 1855 [...]” changed to “A general map of the city had been commissioned in 1855 [...]”
- p. 206 in *figure 6.8* caption “Car Christian” changed to “Carl Christian”