

## Marie Duval and the Technologies of Periodical Publishing

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## Duval and the Technologies of Periodical Publishing

Simon Grennan

Marie Duval was a professional contributor to periodical journals. She negotiated the elisions of institution, copy and person that generated the idea of the feminised journalist and the idea of the masculinised woman employee. Identifying the processes and business of periodical publishing, in the period when she worked, helps to explain the types of contribution that she made and the technical knowledge that facilitated her employment, in the network of employees that constituted a periodical publishing business or, as Agarwal and Rudolph put it, "( ... ) describing the distributed business processes and ( ... ) functional and non-functional properties of services" (Agarwal and Rudolph 2008: np)

This chapter aims to provide a brief overview of the 'distributed business' of periodical publication in the 1870s and 1880s, in order to describe the role that Duval fulfilled, in making drawings for periodicals, and the significance of this role within such businesses. This description draws upon Davidson's concept of the "( ... ) communications circuit ( ... )" in which types of reading (and the needs of types of readers) are created and fulfilled by mass-produced commodities derived from the carefully orchestrated productive practices of authors, managers, technicians and labourers (Davidson 1988: 7).

More specifically, as Easley, King and Morton point out, in periodical publishing, no employee or owner, neither author nor editor, was the absolute fulcrum of the business, precisely because of the distributed nature of the whole endeavour. Rather, "Individuals contributed to the industry as sub-editors, designers, illustrators, photographers, printers, typesetters, newsboys, purchasers, consumers, readers, proofreaders, printers' assistants, art directors, paper manufacturers and even paper recyclers" (Easley, King and Morton 2018: 4). Beegan further notes "( ... ) the ways in which printed matter emerges as the tangible result of the often intangible labour of many people, including designers, illustrators, photographers, art directors, printers, type-setters, authors, editors, proofreaders, paper manufacturers, reproduction houses and buyers" (Beegan 2018: 115).

These taxonomies of some of the functions of a distributed business of publishing owe a debt to previous in-depth studies of specific aspects of the business. Alexis Weedon, Catherine Seville and Mary Ann Gillies have explored facets of the economic relationships between entrepreneurs, producers and audiences (Weedon 2003, Seville 1999, Gillies 2007). The significance of print technology for the production and reading of mass-produced visual images in the nineteenth century has long been argued by Brian Maidment and Peter Sinnera, alongside work on image/text relationships by Rosemary Mitchell and Lorraine Janzen Kooistra and, from another point of view, detailed descriptions of publishing as part of an expanded and heterogeneous visual culture, made by Vanessa Schwartz and Lynda Nead (Maidment 2011, Sinnera 2019, Mitchell 2000, Kooistra 2002, Schartz 1997, Nead 2005).

However, as Joseph notes, it is important to remember that even those commentators with a focus upon aspects of the economics or technology of periodical print have broadly taken either an "( ... ) arts perspective ( ... )" or have focused upon "( ... ) the outcomes of processes ( ... )" rather than describing the distributed business (Joseph 2019: 19 and 12).

This chapter follows, in impetus if not in method, Hosking and Dachlar's relational approach to the reciprocal impact of individuals and organisations or, as Joseph notes, "( ... ) how organisational processes inform social relations and how taken-for-granted knowledge impacts the relatedness of human life ( ... )" This approach therefore allows for an exploration of the choices and actions made by individuals within the

distributed businesses of, say, periodical publishing, and also highlights how collective social action constructed the organisational field (Joseph 2019:55–56, Hoskings and Dachlar 1995).

In the mid-nineteenth century, there were no comprehensive descriptions of the ways in which a distributed business might be constructed, as it were, from scratch. On one hand, there were published technical instructions for the production and use of machines and trade-circumscribed training in the sense of apprenticeships in specific crafts and their associated trades (*The Young Clerk's Manual; or, Counting-house assistant* 1848, *The Mechanics' Magazine* 1871). For those aspects of the business that might be considered as professions, rather than trades, no qualifications or prior training were required at all. There was no instruction manual detailing how to become the boss (Murray 2006). On the other hand, there were publications containing overviews of the desired effects of business activities or studies in specific aspects of craft or profession (Poovey 2003, Rummonds 2004, O'Gorman 2007, Baker 2012).

Of course, business practices themselves were heterogeneous rather than monolithic, despite the tendency of scholars of business to focus on the practices of those businesses that survived, succeeded and hence left paper trails of their own histories as evidence of the effectiveness of their work (Macmillan 1908, Dalziel 1901).

I have found no shorthand description of the intersection of business practices and technical processes that constituted commercial periodical publishing in the 1870s, which I could simply employ to precisely locate Duval's work within the distributed business of *Judy, or the London serio-comic journal*, for example. Such a description does not even reveal itself in the major publishing memoirs of the period, such as those of Gilbert and Edward Dalziel, whose lives and work touched all aspects of a wide-ranging and successful print and publishing business (Dalziel 1901).

There remains a general tendency to assume that those intersections of business practices and technical processes that constituted the distributed business of periodical publishing were either understood implicitly by readers, or were of little interest to them. These details also appear to have been of relatively little significance for the historic business memoirist, as noted above. As a result, elisions of different practices, even in Joseph's encompassing description of the history of the Macmillan publishing house, for example, can bypass rather than reveal the quotidian structure of the work, finance, culture and ideas of a commercial publishing business as its participants strived to daily fulfill their tasks (Joseph 2019:195–221).

As Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca note, nowhere can we find a brief, encompassing description of the distributed business of periodical publishing, for example, let alone a description that claims to be typical (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca 2011:52). This is even more the case retrospectively, when information about the range of publishing and print production tasks is revealed in the entries in archival commercial accounts, is today read alongside other empirical information, such as "( ... ) the anecdotal, such as publishers' memoirs, to handbooks for printers and statistics on the tonnage of paper produced" (Weedon 2003: 5).

Extrapolating a comprehensive description of the phases and cycles of production in a distributed business, each dependent upon the other, is extraordinarily difficult. Considering how the timing of recorded purchases evidences changing levels of stock, or the wages of specific numbers of employees evidences production capacity, for example, requires a triangulation of different sources, which are most often unavailable (Ibid. 23).

It might also be said that such a model as I am here imagining, runs the risk of obscuring rather than illuminating the empirical detail of significant practices and tendencies. Weedon states that, in studying Victorian business practices "( ... ) the need to learn how the systems of the firm worked mean generalisations are

inadequate ( ... ),” although he concludes that “Having said that, each system has a similar function.” (Weedon 2003: 5).

I argue that there is value in considering Duval’s work from the point of view of her role in a distributed periodical print business, because this extended social and technical environment was a primary cause and motivation of her work. This context directs attention towards both the conventional as well as the unconventional aspects of her role in the business and of her drawings. As such, I only need to outline the particular ‘team production problem’ posed in organising a printing business, in order to seek Duval’s place within it (Alchian and Demetz 1972).<sup>1</sup>

For the purpose of this chapter, it will be enough to provide a syncretic outline of the functions of the distributed parts of a publishing business, encompassing the technical functions of print production, in order to identify the people who undertook each part-function as employees and to locate Duval’s work in the process. The perimeters of such an outline can be deduced from the causes and consequences of the range of functions that any periodical was required to perform, in order to be read, producing Davidson’s communications circuit, as mentioned above (Davidson 1988: 7).

However, this description also seeks to avoid the kind of oversights that belong to national census classifications since 1851, as noted by Greenwood:

( ... ) the lumping together of different occupations in broad categories creates anomalies that are difficult to explain in class terms. Printers, for example, do not easily fit working-class models, having for much of their history exhibited above-average levels of literacy, higher wages, and a reluctance to support other workers’ unions (Greenwood 2015: 12).

A description of the roles of employees, relative to the technical functions of print production, also mitigates against the application of anachronistic models (such as twentieth-century models) to the demarcation of tasks in the nineteenth-century publishing industry.

For example, Gifford uses the production protocols of twentieth-century American comics publishing (the ‘Marvel method’) to describe Duval’s role in the production of drawings for *Judy*. In this model of the studio production of colour drawings, for photolithographic reproduction, tasks are allocated to a production line including an employee who draws in pencil (‘penciller’), one who overdraws in black ink (‘inker’), ‘colourer’, ‘letterer’ and so on. As a result, Gifford claims that Duval was an ‘inker’ of pencil drawings made by Charles Ross. The process of drawing on wood for engravings used in the commercial presses of the nineteenth-century contradicts this idea entirely. Drawings were either transferred to the wood block by tracing or photography or drawn directly onto the block, for an engraver to cut. Interpolating an unnecessary process, such as overdrawing by a colleague, made no commercial sense (Gifford 1976: 26).<sup>2</sup>

Considering the lists of functions provided by Easley, King and Morton, Beegan and other commentaries on individual aspects of a distributed periodical publishing business, by Altick, Feather and Weedon, for example, the enterprise of periodical publishing divided broadly into a network of distinct functions, ultimately connecting the publisher with the reader through the fulfilment of a series of team production tasks, every day, week or month (Altick 1958, Feather 1988, Weedon 2003, Easley, King and Morton 2018: 4, Beegan 2018: 115).

It is important to note, as Beetham does, that this process of team production was not linear, but cyclical, eventually generating the corollary idea that a reader could become a professional provider of content – a journalist, for example (Beetham 1996: 13). The rhythms of each type of work also followed their own cycles. Hence, it is not

accurate to say that, before anything else, the publisher had to fulfil the function of visioning the product, because publications were continually renewed, revised and transformed according to the motivating ethos of the time and its interaction with a market. Long-standing periodical brands might appear to create an ethos transcending the controlling publisher of the moment but, in fact, this effect was rather an idea than a practical principle. Shorter-lived products demonstrated that publishers' visions for their products lived less than a half-life of the commercial imperative of continuing to achieve sales.

However, taking into account the fact that the publisher's vision was never really primary or generative, we will step off from it. As shorthand, it is also convenient to propose an elision of roles and people, which I will discuss shortly in terms of journalists and readers, so as to avoid the necessity of giving everyone in this outline a job title, which might mislead rather than clarify.

The maintenance and revision of the ethos of the publication was a function devolved to the publisher, bringing together the motivational aims of the business and all of the processes and people involved in making and delivering a regular experience for readers. As Feather notes, "( ... ) the mass circulation journals were generally in the hands of companies which specialised in publishing them and which often combined the processes of publishing and printing" (Feather 1988: 115). Over the 40 year life of *Judy* (1867–1907), the publication in which the majority of Duval's drawings were published, the 'Proprietor' was distinct from the printer until 1879.<sup>3</sup>

Working to fulfil this ethos, in the form of commercial print products, were the trade and public systems of the business, articulating finances, estates, human and material resources, payment systems and value chains (Altick 1958, Feather 1988: 99 and 132, Easley, King and Morton 2018: 4, Beegan 2018: 115).

The design of the product conformed more or less to the knowledge-transferred crafts of the graphic designer, plus the constraints of the technologies of print, distribution and of unit costs (Feather 1988: 87, 88, 90, 91 and 94).

The template methods and artefacts for the reproduction or revision of all of the above, anticipated the deadlines inherent in the chosen cycles of production and distribution, such as the ordering of paper, the payroll of staff, the payment of rents, the contracts with partners, as well as the design and production templates for the product (Ibid., Weedon 2003: 15 and 18).

The commissioning and creation of new content and practices populated these templates, allowing the compositing of the periodical, this being the technical laying out of type and images for print, utilising a mix of new and old manual skills, methods and machinery (Feather 1988: 90, 88 and 93, Weedon 2003: 15).

Press work, being the production of the periodical itself from ink and paper, utilised a mixture of old and new press processes, both manual and mechanical, followed by the compiling, cutting and finishing of the product, utilising a mixture of old and new press processes, both manual and mechanical (Weedon 2003: 61 and 15, Feather 1988: 91).

The stockpiling and distribution of the periodical, plus the receipt of unsold returns, plus recycling of used materials, according to established and revised templates, preceded the sale of the product via wholesale partnerships and disbursement to points of sale via retail partnerships (Ibid. 18, Feather 1988: 94).

Receipting and money transfers occasioned bookkeeping, legal and tax accounting and disbursements (Weedon 2013: 13 and 63).

This syncretic outline does little to describe the cycles of work at each stage, or the relationships between these cycles. Time and motion studies would allocate times of day, duration and competencies to the tasks that combined to fulfil each of these twelve functions. Alongside this outline, a description of the types of ledger costs and a

note on the target receipts of the model enterprise, serve to provide a snapshot of the technical aspects of conceiving, producing and selling a periodical.

Costs to the business were incurred in the areas of dividends, fees to contributors, staff wages and training, estates and equipment, materials, transport, marketing, accounting, payroll and tax and insurance. Against these types of expenditure was set income from capital investment, sales of the product and the sale of advertising space, plus licensing and income from partnership and spin-off projects.

The absence of descriptions of remuneration, costs or the social aspects required from employees in fulfilling their work, in this outline, does not constitute any point of view or commentary in itself. The point is to attempt to provide a brief description of the types of production process and its systems, to which Duval contributed when making a drawing for a periodical publication.

This outline offers a broad framework for considering the material conditions, social expectations, opportunities, prohibitions and representations of the types of work undertaken in the production of periodical publications, according to the relationships generated by different types of work in industrial team production, even if the focus of our attention is ultimately the work that Duval undertook and the ways in which she was identified and located by her collaboration in a business, so as to avoid the "( ... ) lack of attention to trade hierarchies [,] linked to a general obfuscation of life cycle changes: workplace status was not necessarily fixed throughout a lifetime" and it is important to point to "( ... ) the fluidity between wage earner and independence ( ... )" (Greenwood 2015: 12, Crossick and Haupt 1995).

Considering the distributed functions in this outline, Duval joined the production process as a provider of copy, which was commissioned and adjudicated by an editor and sub-editors responsible for fulfilling or revising the design templates and the commissioning practice templates of the journal, according to the demands of the publisher's ethos and the market. She responded to commissions to regularly produce drawings on topics following these practices (the editor or sub-editors were her direct managers), making drawings which were transferred to metal cased blocks of boxwood (or plaster or metal casts of these blocks), which had been painted white, by either tracing or photography, or drawing directly onto the blocks, for a wood engraver to follow in cutting her design into the wood. Her professional task was to continually conceive and make new drawings for print, according to briefs devised by or in collaboration with her editors.

Given the geographic proximity of her other habitual places of work (London 'West End' theatres) to the editorial premises of *Judy*, for example, plus the proliferation of shops of freelance and employed wood engravers in the same locale, cost-effectiveness proposes that Duval didn't make drawings on paper, for transfer to wood, but rather drew directly on the block. No original drawings by her survive, either on paper or on wood and, although this is not untypical for visual journalists drawing for cheap papers, this suggests that the blocks on which she drew were shaved for re-cutting with new designs, occasionally being reproduced as plaster or metal casts and saved for later reprinting ("Modern Wood Engraving 1838: 149). Examples exist of her drawings being dismembered and the parts appearing in print at widely different times and contexts.<sup>4</sup>

Duval's task of making new drawings for print occupied a place in a production chain that also paralleled the place of the copy produced by verbal journalists. A writer's copy, commissioned and finalised by an editor, would form part of a sheaf of hand-written papers given directly to the compositors of the publication, who made up metal frames of movable metal type (or, later, whole sections of cast metal type) and engraved wood blocks, for printing (Greenwood 2015: 18).

Duval's visual copy appears to have been produced through a more direct engagement with the machinery of print, even if her drawings onto the blocks that were finally printed required the intermediary work of an engraver. The immediacy of drawing onto wood for print was often cited as an advantage in contemporaneous accounts, such that "( ... ) the greatest advantage wood engraving has over copper is that there neither need be any ( ... ) intermediate person or process between the designer and the engraver" because in wood engraving "( ... ) the draughtsman makes black lines with a pen or pencil which the engraver leaves untouched ( ... )" ("Modern Wood Engraving" 1838: 146).

This immediacy was the most significant corollary of the technology of wood engraving, resulting from the way in which wood performed when compared with copper or steel. An 1838 article in *The London and Westminster Review* described this exactly. Pieces of boxwood, which is heavy, fine-grained and extremely durable, were "( ... ) cut into slices across the grain ( ... )," as distinct from the with-the-grain cutting of woodcut print techniques (Ibid.). "The wood engraver cuts away the part in the block which is to remain white or colourless; but the part in the copper-plate which is to be white in the engraving is to be left untouched," so that the "( ... ) wood engraver starts from black, the copper-plate engraver starts from white" and hence, the "( ... ) manner of using the ink in the two is also opposite; it is put into the hollow lines of the copper-plate, but on the upstanding lines of the wooden block" (Ibid. 149 and 145). Metal type was inked in the same way and, as a result of this congruence, un-inked engraved wood blocks could be set into un-inked, made up blocks of type and the whole structure inked and printed at the same time.

Hence, the wood engraved image could easily take any shape on the printed page "( ... )," was easily "( ... ) assimilated into the typeset page ( ... )" and "( ... ) could be easily situated amidst circumambient text to form close alliance between text and image ( ... )" (Maidment 2016: 102 and 107).

These technical aspects of wood engraving for commercial print, plus the economic fact that a "( ... ) plate of metal is useless after a few thousand impressions ( ... ) while a wood- block will yield sometimes two or three hundred thousand impressions ( ... )," produced the dominance of the medium in the nineteenth century (Ibid. 147). This technology, known as the 'letterpress,' incorporating the use of engraving, "( ... ) was the most prolific printing process in the early industrial period, being responsible for the bulk of books and journals as well as ephemera" (Twyman 1998: 38).

Greenwood notes the print industry standard of separation and diversification in practices and training between compositors and press workers (Greenwood 2015: 19), although *The London and Westminster Review*, focussing on wood engraving and the wood engraver, discussed the "( ... ) trio ( ... )" of roles, or the collaboration between the visual journalist making drawings, the engraver and the press workers ("Modern Wood Engraving" 1838: 148). In fact, four technical roles needed to be fulfilled in order to produce prints of text and images on the page, on the journals for which Duval worked. The visual journalist worked with the engraver to make the engraved wood block. The compositor set the block into the frame with the type. The engraver, and sometimes the visual journalist, worked with the press workers to ensure that the image was being reproduced to its full advantage as paper went through the press.

Adoption of the craft of wood engraving was occasionally debated as one of the solutions to what were thought of as the social problems caused by the lack of socially acceptable employment for middle class women, revealed by the returns of the 1851 national census, because it was considered "( ... ) a means of livelihood obtained which, without severing from home, without breaking up family assemblies, is at once

more happy, healthful, tasteful, and profitable than almost any other ( ... )” and “( ... ) all that can be taught of the art may be learnt in a few lessons ( ... )” (Ibid. 152).

However, as with the wide range of debates about the suitability of types of work for women and the suitability of women for types of work, a generalising impulse in the media to overlook women who worked by necessity, rather than choice, obscured and distorted commentaries on the roles of women in the workplace. Social class as well as gender created distinct contingencies under which different women could consider and undertake work or attempt to train for work.

As the investigative reporters who contributed to Ramsay MacDonald’s 1904 study *Women in the Printing Trades* noted, the social aspirations of working class women employed in the print industries provided a significant counterpoint to concepts and strategies for women’s emancipation, developed by middle class reformers, because “( ... ) amongst women engaged in industry, convention is particularly potent in determining what trades are desirable and proper and what are not ( ... )” and “( ... ) these notions of gentility have ( ... ) a deeper significance, ( ... ) that the favoured traders are the lighter ones. To some extent this is true. The heavier employments are staffed by a rougher class of women” (Ramsay MacDonald 1904: 67 and 68). In the report, both the terms ‘heavier’ and ‘lighter’ refer to the physical strength required to full different tasks. The ‘heavier’ trades referred to in the report included manually positioning parts of the presses, such as the typeset frames, or manipulating loads of paper. The ‘lighter’ trades included feeding individual sheets into the press, inking or, indeed, the craft of wood engraving.

Further, concepts of marriage and child-rearing reproduced existing gender relationships, so that women entered the print trades, “( ... ) not with expectations of long employment, but with hopes of a speedy release [through marriage] ( ... )” “We were anxious to find out why they did not join [a union]. ( ... ) others frankly admitted that marriage was sure to come along,” reports Ramsay Macdonald, whilst the “( ... ) custom in the trades under review undoubtedly is that married women should not work in them” (Ibid. 102). Finally, conceptions of masculinity, as much as femininity, proved to be constraints on working class women entering some types of work of which they were capable. In answer to MacDonald’s question “( ... ) why they did not turn their hands to simple and easy processes which were being done by men? ‘Why, that is man’s work, and we shouldn’t think of doing it!’ is the usual answer, given with a toss of the head and a tone insinuating that there is a certain indelicacy in the question” (Ibid. 65-6).

Conflate these constraints with a sketch of “The Factory Girl of the Period” that appeared in *The Girl of the Period Miscellany* 35 years earlier, whose “( ... ) mother never thinks of asking where she is going; she is as free and independent as her brothers. To her credit be it said, she is less likely than her brothers are to make a bad use of that liberty.” (Miss Echo 1869:185-6). However, as MacDonald wrote, “( ... ) it must be noted that when a girl’s work in the workshop is finished she has often to go home to a new round of domestic tasks from which a boy is exempted” (MacDonald 1904: 66).

Hence, as Tusan claims, the “( ... ) problem of employment opportunities and working conditions for women, rather than the question of political representation, remained the central focus of late-nineteenth-century debates over women’s status in Britain.” (Tusan 2004: 103). Although the major projects of establishing printing and publishing businesses, including periodical publishing business, run by and employing only women, made their “( ... ) strongest impact on upper-middle and middle-class women ( ... )”, their “( ... ) effect on Victorian feminist reform organisations was more lasting. Women’s organisations, through their continued support of institutions such as the Women’s Cooperative Printing Society, became increasingly invested in the larger

project of creating an economic and political space for women ( ... )” (Ibid. 120). The Society for Promoting the Employment of Women was established in 1859 and continues to trade. The Victoria Press for the Employment of Women was in business between 1860–1881 and the Women’s Cooperative Printing Society was in business between 1874–1890.

We have no record of how much Duval was paid for her work, although work comparable in scale, if not topic, undertaken in the 1870s by artist Adelaide Claxton was remunerated at two thirds of the cost of the work of engraving her drawing on wood for print. (Flood 2013: 113). Although we do not know how much time was allotted to Claxton to make her drawing, the engraver’s task was allotted months, making the relative value of remuneration difficult to judge. The drawing in question was also of high status, as a large spread, compared with Duval’s usual vignettes, half pages and occasional pages and, whatever its status as a ‘Claxton’, it would have taken longer to make than Duval’s drawings, with their habitually rapid and slapdash techniques.

What remains key to describing Duval’s relationships to the business of periodical publishing is the idea that her work conformed to the conditions, expectations and constraints of work as a journalist, providing copy. Because we have no evidence for her rates of pay, it is unfortunately also impossible to compare her remuneration to that of writers providing copy in the same period. That aside, the nineteenth-century role and image of the journalist describes Duval’s situation and approach to her employment by periodical publications more precisely than any other.

## **The Journalist in the Business**

As Shannon Smith points out, in common with nineteenth-century entertainments and news media of all types, from stage performances to novels, periodical publishing was a complex and dynamic collaborative enterprise in which specific ranges of technical knowledge held by different people were brought to bear upon each other, to constitute the whole (Smith 2016: 31). Although partial and brief, the above outline of periodical publishing as team production bears this out.

Although Smith privileges the professional capacities of journalists, in the business of periodical publishing, as “( ... ) the centre of a demanding intersection of production technologies ( ... )” (Ibid.), every member of the collaboration provided a service or undertook a craft without which the business could not run, even if their different roles occupied widely different places within a hierarchy of responsibility, control, benefit and remuneration.

Despite not necessarily being the “centre” of the system of periodical publishing, the journalist’s role did indeed intersect a wide range of other roles in the business. The journalist’s work bordered upon information management (in the form of news and content gathering from diverse telegraphic and postal networks and agents, for example), content creation (in the form of written or drawn contributions), and the technical aspects of compositing (influencing the appearance of the page), printing (influencing the production of the page), marketing, distribution and sales (paying attention to the impact of copy on readers and its promotion).

In this, only the editors’ and publishers’ roles superseded the journalist’s in touching all parts of the periodicals business. Whereas an editor or publisher guided the ethos of the business, motivated by some aim or other, if only to make a profit, the journalist fulfilled that ethos by generating content of a particular type and style and, hence, guiding reading and driving sales. The business of periodical publishing differed from book publishing in this regard among others, in that the role of the book author did not require the immersive maintenance of similar sets of time-limited and

dynamic relationships with the other editorial, technical and financial roles and functions in the business.

Every role within the enterprise could be utilised as a lens by which to see the business in a slightly different way, according to the contingencies under which it was fulfilled. From a junior clerk in accounts to the owner/publisher, the motivations, constraints and opportunities constituting each role differed widely and the impact that each had upon the other also differed. The business was heterogeneous whilst always being oriented towards both the appearance of homogeneity (the commercial 'brand') and the continual consistent delivery of new products to readers, at the point of sale.

Further, the reading environments for periodical publications were also extremely heterogeneous. Far from being products with limited sites of purchase and use, periodicals were materially promiscuous, being transportable, open to re-use and multiple uses, even when 'out of date'. Even if time-limited in their production cycles, and apparently time-limited in their use by readers ('yesterday's news', 'a review of last week's play'), periodicals in fact had a long tail of use which burned bright on the day of publication, but which took some time to diminish and finally disappear.

Periodicals were shared, re-sold, discarded and picked up in public places across otherwise categorical boundaries of social class and economic capacity. What a mistress of a house might buy and read today, her domestic employee might read tomorrow. A paper bought, read and discarded on the up train from Clapham to the City might be picked up and read on the down train half an hour later. Further, material was often recycled – and further distributed – in compilations, annuals and 'specials.' King notes the difference between the 'value chain' of periodicals, that is, the process of production to the point of sale, and the 'value system', or the useful life of the product after sale. He writes that periodical "( ... ) economics are not then restricted to the account books of their publishers but inhere in every passage of a periodical from one place or state to another." (King 2016: 63).

Alongside this, to a greater degree than other entertainments and news media, the means by which periodical publications were produced and distributed were frequently elided by readers with the content of publications themselves, with the result that the technologies of production and distribution, the finances and the identities of an enterprise's collaborators, at every level of the business, were either purposefully or nominally obscured, to guide and affect readers in particular ways (Gitelman 2006: 5). In one sense, as a product fulfilling a number of functions, the periodical simply became normative for an increasingly wide range of potential readers, as the century progressed.

These processes and conditions not only reflected readers' sense of the normative, but also created and reproduced normative ideas and practices in the business of periodical publishing itself. Brake, Bell and Finkelstein note the importance of the idea of the ethical imperative of print products of all types, resulting from the civic promotion of literacy, creating a politically contested environment for the business of periodical publishing (Brake, Bell and Finkelstein 2000: 3). The regular frequency of the appearance of new products consolidated concepts of industrial labour, in the working day, week and year, concepts of domestic life, childhood and "( ... ) the Imperial, national, gendered, economic, ethnic and sexual points of contention of the times ( ... )," represented in the "( ... ) creation of new authorial identities and new professional and social roles, cutting across as well as along previously established lines" (Ibid. 5), including the "( ... ) distinct but often mutable or unstable gendering of all aspects of the content and production of commodity print" (Ibid. 6).

Although I have pointed away from the exceptional significance of the journalist, in the collaborative endeavour of periodical publishing, to nod to the variety of practices that constituted it, the journalist, possibly more even than the editor of a

publication, came to present a cipher for the idea of a periodical, encompassing both its commercial identity and its identities in relation to readers.

The terms of journalistic employment required the journalist to represent themselves, in their writing or drawing, as a fundamental qualification for the work. As a result, the impulse to elide the biographies of journalists with the styles and contents of their writing or drawing was strong, and remains a focus for current commentary on Victorian periodical publishing (Ibid., Beetham 1996, Campbell 2000, Fraser, Green and Johnson 2003, Smith 2016, for example). Journalists were significant both for invoking an idea of who they were (which might or might not have been fictional), in the context of the business of periodical publishing, and for the representations (the copy) that they produced. Apart from the role of editor, commentary on the historic significance of other collaborators in periodical businesses, on the other hand, largely focuses on who was fulfilling the variety of roles in the enterprise, such as the class or gender of a paper-feeder or the training of boy apprentices.

Hence, whilst the *Metropolitan: a Monthly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* described "( ... ) the snip-snap style of penny-a-line men ( ... )" catering to what *Dublin Review* called a "( ... ) feverish clamour, the hot breath of excitement ( ... ) this excited, restless craving ( ... )" for the products of journalism ("Literature of the Day: – the New Magazine" 1831, "Modern periodical Literature" 1862), it is also plausible for Fraser to note the conflation, by nineteenth-century periodical readers, of journalists with what they produced, such that "( ... ) journalistic writing, or some forms of it, involved a kind of emasculation" or, rather, the feminisation of the male journalist, because "( ... ) it was seen as a promiscuous and flighty medium, built upon the principle that ideas are as changeable as fashion, ( ... ) by the end of the century the association ( ... ) with fashion and hence the feminine had become thoroughly entrenched" – the promiscuity and flightiness of copy being seen as feminine properties (Fraser, Green and Johnson 2003: 7) and "( ... ) the medium that most readily articulates the unevennesses and reciprocities of evolving gender ideologies is the periodical press ( ... )" (Ibid. 3).

Whereas nineteenth-century debates about the masculinising of women employees by any type of employment, discussed elsewhere in this book, focussed on the relationships between gender and all types of work, both the male and the female journalist was personally susceptible to feminisation because of the type of copy the work required. The relationship between journalist and copy, between work and the necessity to represent and comment, demanded by the work, made the periodical press "( ... ) a very particular space, both fluid and dynamic, in which women could negotiate a writing identity or writing identities" (Ibid. 44).

Beetham recognises the elision of the practice of journalism, the journalist and the periodical publication, whilst also applying it as a critical device in order to describe the experience of readers, circumscribing their relationships with the product (Beetham 1996: 7–11). Hence, she describes the relative cost of a publication as determining the ways in which the visualisations and ideas that it presented gained wider social currency, according to the relative status of the readers who could afford to buy it.

The concepts of masculinity, femininity, domesticity, public life and work presented in periodical publications varied according to the price of the paper, such that "( ... ) it is possible to chart the various ways in which written and visual identities emerged and developed in the periodical press," according to Brake, Bell and Finkelstein (2000: 3). Of periodicals targeted at women, Beetham writes that because "( ... ) material conditions made regular purchase of ( ... ) printed matter beyond the reach of working women, most magazines targeted the middle class and offered explicitly bourgeois models of feminine behaviour," so that there was a "( ... ) a

dynamic relationship between [the] remaking of femininity and the material basis of the magazines in advertising revenue.” (Beetham 1996: 7 and 8).

Hence, the heterogeneity of periodicals’ contents did not only provide variety and novelty of contents, but itself inculcated ideas about who was writing and reading.

“[T]his diversity empowers readers of periodicals ( ... )” because periodicals refused “( ... ) a single authorial voice ( ... )” (Ibid. 12). Readers had the opportunity to “( ... ) construct their own text from the printed version,” by fragmentary reading, because the “( ... ) periodical is generically as well as physically more liable to disintegrate than the book” (Ibid.). Beetham follows Judith Fetterley in identifying this negotiability as the opportunity for resistance to normative ideas, in understanding the experience of readers in particular (Ibid. 11, Fetterley 1978).

The functional conclusion of this process of elision, of types of people (socially distinct men and women) with types of role, such as journalist and reader, was the increasing mutability and negotiability of personal and professional roles, relative to the periodical press, rather than their entrenchment. The apogee of elisions between people and types of role occurred in the invitations continually made in periodical publications for readers to become journalists. “If the reader accepts the position of ‘woman’ offered by the magazine, she takes on both the role and character which it defines as womanly,” but she was also “( ... ) constantly invited to become [a writer]” (Beetham 1996: 12 and 13).

Also of importance, considering the visual registers of Duval’s journalism, was the attention paid to the status of spectatorship, in contemporaneous commentaries on journalism. Rather than journalism being a literary craft aspiring to high cultural or civic and ethical significance, the role of journalists was not only feminised, but associated concomitantly with the commercial creation of and reporting from an ephemeral and frivolous social scene. The encouragement of readers to become writers supported this tendency, in that the personal point of view was fully elided with journalistic script, often to the dismay of cultural or literary critics and political commentators.

As Campbell points out, “( ... ) in the increasingly synaesthetic environment of late-century newspapers, visual references mostly appertained to sensory cognition generally” (Campbell 2000: 48), so that journalistic writing shifted emphasis from the categorical and analytical to the descriptive, whilst visual images, in the form of illustrations, puzzles, games, patterns, decorations and advertisements, became less an addendum to text and more an expected, crucial, adaptive, affecting and saleable aspect of periodical reading.

Journalism as spectacle articulated an accumulation of details from the passing scene, making the periodical publication “( ... ) an agency for collecting, condensing and assimilating the entire trivialities of the entire human existence ( ... )” (Stillman 1891: 689), resulting in the ascendancy of the visual, such that “( ... ) the journalistic eye is now of far greater importance than the journalistic pen.( ... )” (Watson 1906: 84). Journalism had completed its move “( ... ) from transcription to description and images,” finalising “( ... ) the ascendancy of the image, the growth of symptomatic readings, the aestheticisation and putative deterioration of political and daily life ( ... )” (Campbell 2000: 48 and 42).

In all of these senses, Duval’s work and her activities as an employee in commercial periodical publishing, conformed to the conditions of journalism. In making this adjudication, Duval’s employment and her drawings contradict nineteenth-century debates and subsequent analysis of the experiences, conditions and contingencies of women relative to the fine arts professions that, in 1861, Purnell proposed as “( ... ) twofold—partly to enable young women of the middle class to obtain an honourable and profitable employment, and partly to improve ornamental design in manufacture, by cultivating the taste of the designer” (Purnell 1861: 108).

Purnell was writing about women's access to training in the fine and decorative arts, in order to qualify them for entry into professional careers as painters, sculptors and designers, which London's The Female School of Art offered from 1842, seeking to provide training that was unavailable to women elsewhere. For example, The Royal Academy Schools prohibited women from training, on the basis both of the impropriety of them training alongside men and of making drawings from naked live models. Campbell Orr's analysis of the contingencies circumscribing middle class women seeking to train as artists and designers, concurs with Purnell, in stating that "( ... ) not just a question of being admitted to art schools or the Royal Academy, but of challenging the whole notion of what an artist was" (Campbell Orr 1995: 07).

Two aspects of Purnell's commentary are significant, relative to the employment and output of Duval. First, he understood The Female School of Art to be a training centre for middle class women. The impropriety of women working alongside men was a middle class contingency, rather than a working class one. Although with less emphasis, Campbell Orr follows him in this. As such, training in the fine and decorative arts had little to do with Duval although, as a middle class woman trained by her painter father, it had been a contingency of Adelaide Claxton's working life. As Purnell described:

In the lowest classes, again, [the problem of women's unemployment] has been already solved. There, the necessity of earning their own bread is so apparent from their earliest years, that women accept their lot with patience, and are able and willing to work at whatever offers itself. Rejecting nothing, and being competent in most things, they fear nothing, except it be illness, and that only because it incapacitates them from their daily labour" (Purnell 1861: 107).

Rather, a hint of the relationship between the inflexible constraints placed upon middle class women, by a class-rooted and patriarchal social propriety, and the license of young working class women, in this milieu, was the substance of a comic rhyme in *The Girl of the Period Miscellany* (the parallels between Duval and the fictional women journalists and editors of which I discuss in detail elsewhere in this book):

"Oh, bother the children! You know  
At South Kensington, Ma, I am due,  
That exquisite cast of Apollo  
To draw with my master till two.  
"Draw landscape, fruit, flowers." No, thank you;  
Such tame subjects are not in my way:  
The glorious masculine figure  
Is the model I study all day (Miss Echo 1869: 137).

Second, even the best training for men or women in the fine arts did not itself provide the skills required to make drawings suitable for subsequent wood engraving for commercial printing. Huxley recalls that *The Cornhill Magazine's* publisher George Smith was surprised by Frederick Leighton's inability to make drawings suitable for wood engraving, in the 1860s. His surprise derived from Leighton's extremely high status as a trained professional artist and the high cost of employing him as an illustrator (Huxley 1923: 140). Leighton later became President of the Royal Academy of Arts. As a visual journalist, Duval's lack of academic training did not necessarily impede her employment as a woman working as a spectator and visual commentator in periodical publications, that is, in fulfilling the role of a journalist.

In this sense, Duval's use of visual registers was something of a red herring, due to her fulfilment of the professional conditions and contingencies of a feminised, personalised, visualising and scene-describing journalism. Like other, verbal

journalists employed by the periodicals for which she worked, Duval commented and described using types of slang that were familiar to readers, the only distinction being that her slang was visual rather than verbal.

This similarity alone might have been all that was required, once recognised by her and by her editors, to enable her to become an employee, because the business of periodical publishing allowed it, by trading in slang. Such shifts of possible roles were not available to women seeking work in professions in which visual slang was antithetical and had no currency, such as the fine and decorative arts.

The tone, possibilities, professional relationships, conditions and contingencies of Duval's visual journalism can still be glimpsed in a contemporaneous description of a woman employed to make drawings for a periodical paper, in a comic guide book by Charles Ross, published in 1882. The speed of work, indexing professional insouciance; the confidence and charm, indexing femininity; the significance and status of a slang drawing and, finally, a clear professional relationship to the other functions of the periodical's production and the hierarchies and practices of the business:

( ... ) having been supplied with a block ready whitened, [she] straightway dipped a pen in ink, and dashing down upon it a lopsided man toppling over into space, which, handing to me with a confident smile, she bade me take it down to the office and see the wood-cutting people didn't chop it about too much.  
(Ross and Wilson 1882: 110).

Quite literally, for these reasons, it could be an eyewitness description of Duval

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> "Team production is simply production that requires various inputs of differing types from two or more individuals, and for which the output is not easily separable into the components that are attributable to the various inputs individually" (Blair 2003: 399).

<sup>2</sup> For an example of drawing for wood engraving, see Goldman 2005: 33.

<sup>3</sup> From Judy's launch, in 1867, the Proprietor's business address, that is, *Judy's*, was 73 Fleet Street, London, whereas the printer was Woodfall & Kinder, Milford Lane (*Judy, or the London serio-comic journal* Volume 20, 262). From 1878, print was undertaken by The Phoenix Works, Doctor's Common (*Judy, or the London serio-comic journal* Volume 22, 136). By February 1879, Dalziel Brothers, 110 Camden High Street, had bought *Judy* and amalgamated both print and publishing 'in house'. *Judy's* publishing office moved from Fleet Street to 99 Shoes Lane on 4 June 1879 (*Judy, or the London serio-comic journal* Volume 24, 262).

<sup>4</sup> Compare Duval (1869) and Duval (1873f), for example.

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