

Alfred W. Bennett and the Photographic Gift Book

• STEVEN F. JOSEPH* •

mongst its extensive holdings of early photographic publications, the Rijksmuseum possesses a nearly complete set of photographically illustrated books appearing under the London imprint of Alfred William Bennett (1833-1902) and his successor in the eighteen-sixties and early eighteen-seventies.1 Almost unique amongst publishers of his day, Bennett specialized in books illustrated with mounted photographic prints for the middle-class market. Every year, he would release new titles to coincide with the Christmas and New Year gift season. Subject matter was mainly topographical or literary, and text and images were associated creatively; design, typography and photographic printing were of the highest quality. Bennett commissioned work from leading British photographers and popular writers, sometimes drawn from his circle of Quaker intellectuals.

Despite the achievements of Bennett and other pioneering publishers, little attention has been paid by historians to the contribution of protagonists other than the photographers themselves in the development of the photographic book. Understandably, research into photographically illustrated books has tended to concentrate on major 'authorial' works, i.e. landmark publications by important photographers. The frequently

Detail of fig. 4 Unless stated otherwise all photographically illustrated books in the Rijksmuseum collection mentioned in this article have been purchased with the support of the Mondriaan Stichting, the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds. the vsBfonds, the Paul Huf Fonds/ Rijksmuseum Fonds and the Egbert Kunst Fonds.

leading role played by publishers in the conception and promotion of the photographically illustrated book as a specific genre, particularly in the nineteenth century, has been largely overlooked.² This historiographical lacuna is in stark contrast to contemporary commentary, which tended to place the publisher's role alongside that of authors and illustrators. Not untypical are these observations by an anonymous reviewer of Bennett's latest output:

Mr. Bennett, we believe, was the first to recognize the great capabilities of photography in certain departments of pictorial illustration; and he has persevered in its application until he has produced pictures of the most exquisite tone and beauty, especially in architecture. These sumptuous and delicious volumes are more than books, – they are things to be handled lovingly and reverently. Photographic illustration has never been more felicitously applied than in these volumes.³

While the claim made for Bennett's precedence in photographic publishing may be questioned, there is little doubt as to his pre-eminence in this sphere in mid-Victorian London, the centre of British printing, publishing and photography. This article aims to characterize Bennett's contribution.

The Quaker Context

Alfred William Bennett was born on 24 June 1833 in Clapham, then a semi-rural parish in the county of Surrey before the advent of the railway transformed it into a suburb for commuters into central London.4 In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Clapham was well known as the home of social reformers, many of whom were wealthy City merchants of an evangelical Anglican or non-conformist Protestant faith. It was in this milieu that Bennett was brought up, the second son of William Bennett (1804-1873), tea dealer and amateur botanist (fig. 1). Alfred Bennett's mother Elizabeth (1798-1891) was the author of religious

Fig. 1
William and Alfred
Bennett Playing
Chess, c. 1856.
Photographic process
and dimensions
unknown.
London, The Natural
History Museum
Library and Archives.
Photo: The Natural
History Museum/
Alamy Stock Photo



books for the Protestant denomination officially known as the Religious Society of Friends and colloquially as the Quakers. William Bennett educated his children at home except for a stay in Switzerland in 1841-42 where Alfred and his brother were enrolled in the school founded by educational reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi in Appenzell. William Bennett also took his sons on walking tours in England and Wales, where they were encouraged to study British flora.

Alfred Bennett attended University College London and graduated with a BA (honours) in chemistry and botany in 1853; he was awarded an MA in 1855. On graduation, he took a tutoring job before setting up as a publisher in London. In late 1857 Bennett acquired the publishing house of William and Frederick George Cash, situated in the city of London at 5 Bishopsgate Without, proprietors since 1853.5 The firm had been founded by Charles Gilpin (1815-1874), a Member of Parliament and Quaker activist prominent within the anti-slavery movement.6 In parallel, Gilpin had launched a monthly magazine of Quaker interest, The Friend, also briefly titled The British Friend, that began publication in 1843. With his acquisition of the Quaker-oriented publishing house, Bennett inherited responsibility for The Friend, both as proprietor and, for the years 1858-60, as editor.

Bennett was clearly a canny businessman from the outset, using the pages of the magazine to advertise his new line of business, the supply of stereographic apparatus and prints. For instance, in November 1858, Bennett took a banner advertisement for 'First-Class Stereographs: Sedgfield's English Scenery, Welsh Scenery, Rustic Groups, Cathedral Interiors', early evidence of Bennett's association with William Russell Sedgfield (1826-1902), photographer and subsequently Bennett's preferred photographic printer.⁷ Bennett

expanded his stock rapidly, to include series on English, Continental and American scenery in 1859, as well as Henry Swan's patent 'Clairvoyant' stereoscope.8 By the end of 1860, Bennett could vaunt that his 'stereoscopic goods, wholesale [included] the largest stock in the world of first-class English Scenery (ready for shipment at an hour's notice)'.9 Bennett continued to expand his photography publishing and wholesaling operation well into the eighteensixties, enlarging his stock beyond stereography to celebrity portraiture, photograph albums and large topographical prints (fig. 6) and by this time ensuring a certain synergy with his photographic gift books.

Bennett's initial forays into photographic book publishing were tentative and the output bore little resemblance to the ornate gift books which would make his reputation. Gathered Fragments (1858) is a Quaker memoir, a staple of the Bennett publishing house, illustrated with two albumen prints of architectural sketches. A review in Bennett's own magazine characterized the prints as 'unexceptionable photographic illustrations'.10 Stereoscopic Illustrations of Clonmel (1860) is a joint imprint by Bennett with two Dublin publishers of a set of stereoscopic views 'with descriptive letterpress'. There is a certain family likeness with Lovell Reeve's stereoscopically illustrated books, in particular Teneriffe: an Astronomer's Experiment (1858), written and illustrated by Charles Piazzi Smyth." However, unlike Lovell Reeve's publications, Clonmel was of local interest only and published in a limited edition. A prospectus was issued for Stephen Thompson's Waverley Series (1862), a set of topographical photographs 'about eighteen inches by twelve inches' without accompanying text.12 Planned to comprise fifty prints, the full set is unlikely to have been issued.

Finally, amongst Bennett's false starts was a prestigious photographic moon atlas, projected to comprise twelve parts issued quarterly. The first part of Our Satellite appeared in August 1862, created a scandal and publication of further parts had to be suspended. Bennett had been hoodwinked by a charlatan going by the pseudonym Dr A. Le Vengeur d'Orsan into using lunar photographs that the chemist and astronomer Warren De La Rue (1815-1889) had in fact taken in February 1858. While the plagiarist denounced his 'recalcitrant publisher', Bennett was 'forced to the conclusion that it is not in Dr D'Orsan's power to produce that evidence which would at once overthrow the grave charges which have been advanced against his lunar observations'. 13 To save his reputation, Bennett discontinued publication of the atlas and would hesitate before venturing again into scientific territory for his photographic publications. His publishing house pursued other, more popular lines, such as devotional verse, children's and juvenile literature as well as religious and improving works consistent with Bennett's Quaker convictions. The introduction of the photographic gift book would be a departure from his publishing mainstream and a bold innovation.

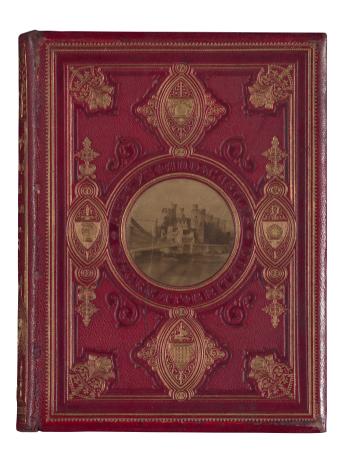
Invention of a Genre

After photography was introduced to the world in 1839, the printing industry was soon considered a promising field for applications. In practice, take-up and integration of the new technology proved rather slow. While there were pioneers of photographic printing in the eighteen-forties and the eighteen-fifties, processing and transferring images remained complicated and time-consuming. The albumen process, which became the industry standard, required each print to be separately mounted and therefore did not admit economies of scale. Furthermore,

Fig. 2 WILLIAM and MARY HOWITT, Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain, 1862. Gilt decorated leather with cartouche Conway Castle and the Conway Suspension Bridge attributed to WILLIAM RUSSELL SEDGELELD. Albumen print, 61 x 61 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-2001-7-345-1 (for credit line see p. 223).

the market for publications integrating text and images was well satisfied by the tried-and-tested processes of engraving and lithography. The challenge of the radical new technology of photography was successfully resisted, for reasons of economy and convenience.14 When Alfred Bennett came on the scene in the late eighteenfifties, the impact of photography on the printing industry in Britain remained minimal and its application to book illustration was not yet widespread. The sustainable exploitation of photographic printing would require the deployment of entrepreneurial flare.

The illustrated gift book was a recognized tradition in mid-Victorian Britain. Designed to attract the eye and serve as a lasting tokens of esteem, gift books were the highlights of several publishers' Christmas and New Year's offerings for a literate and increasingly



secular middle-class market. Illustrations often took the form of specially commissioned wood engravings presenting the works of contemporary artists or featuring pastoral views. Bindings were typically ornate, in embossed cloth or leather and with giltstamped lettering. As book historian David McKitterick has observed: 'In a world obsessed with decoration and pattern ... books could be sold almost as much by their outside as by their contents.'15 In an era of unprecedented advance in industry and technology, it was only a matter of time before the new medium of photography would be incorporated into the annual publishing cycle by an enterprising businessman.

When Alfred Bennett announced the forthcoming publication of Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain for the 1861-62 holiday season, he took a full-page advertisement in the main trade publication, headlined 'The Photographically Illustrated Gift-Book'. It departed from custom by prominently crediting the photographers who were involved: 'The Photographic Illustrations by Bedford, Sedgfield, Wilson, Fenton, and others.'16 The work was indeed eye-catching: the centre of the decorative binding was occupied by a photographic cartouche (fig. 2) while the text was interspersed with mounted photographic vignettes to animate the surrounding narrative (fig. 3). The husband-and-wife team of William and Mary Howitt proved a judicious choice for the commissioned authors. They were indefatigable writers on historical and literary subjects, old friends from the Quaker community and Mary, for one, was favourably disposed to photography, having recently written: 'Sun-Pictures, as secured by the photographic art, are amongst the most beautiful and interesting discoveries of the present day.'17 As to the illustrations, Bennett could draw on the many stereo views he had in stock, taken by most of the

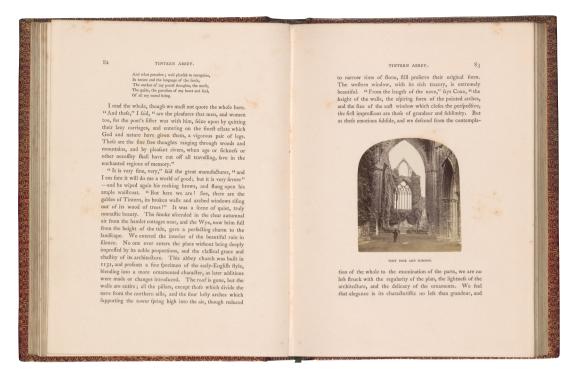


Fig. 3
WILLIAM RUSSELL
SEDGFIELD, Tintern
Abbey, West Door
and Window, in
Ruined Abbeys and
Castles of Great
Britain, 1862.

Albumen print, 75 x 67 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-2001-7-345-10 (for credit line see p. 223.

leading topographical photographers of the day, including Roger Fenton (fig. 4).18 Two further characteristics were trialled in this publication: variant bindings and pre-dating the title page. Bennett's gift books would typically be available in different coloured cloth casings (red, green, blue or brown) or in a morocco leather binding that was 50 percent more expensive. Though Ruined Abbeys was most likely issued in November 1861, it bore the date 1862, a marketing trick to which Bennett and his successor would remain faithful. A template had been set for general appearance, the integration of photographic prints as well as for variant bindings and accordingly differentiated pricing.19

Fig. 4
ROGER FENTON,
Furness Abbey,
North Transept,

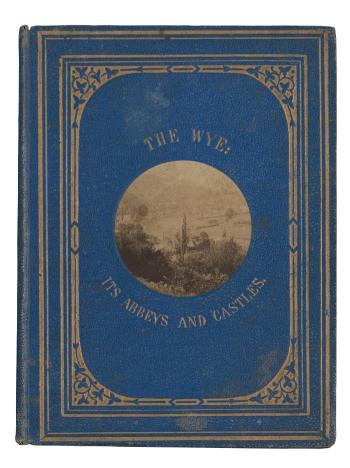
detail from Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain, 1862. Albumen print,

84 x 82 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-F80300.



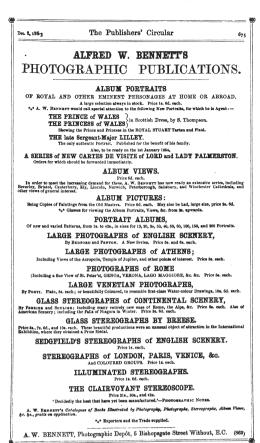
Fig. 5 WILLIAM and MARY ноwitt, The Wye: Its Ruined Abbeys and Castles, 1863. Gilt decorated cloth with cartouche View from Chapel Hill by WILLIAM RUSSELL SEDGFIELD. Albumen print, 61 x 61 mm Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-2001-7-348-1 (for credit line see p. 223).

In light of this collective achievement by the publisher, 19 authors, designer, typographers and photographic illustrators, Bennett's publicity cannot be dismissed as a mere marketing ploy. Fellow London publisher Lovell Reeve, with stereographically illustrated works on Normandy, Conway as well as Teneriffe, could claim priority, were it not for the fact that his publications required a stereo viewer to be appreciated, thus erecting an obstacle to fully merging images and text. Mention should also be made of a literary anthology, Sunshine in the Country, published in London by Richard Griffin and Company in 1861. A celebration of the rural way of life, the book contains twenty stereo halves featuring compositions from nature as headpieces to complement the poetry, much in the same position and form



as decorative wood engravings might be expected to appear. However, this was a one-off publication which attracted no emulation, even if it did share characteristics with some of Bennett's later output.

In a short preface to Ruined Abbeys and Castles. Bennett set out what amounts to a manifesto for the new publishing genre he was ambitiously intending to create. Addressing the reader in the third person, Bennett stresses both the appropriateness and authenticity of photography for topographical illustration and alludes to the long-term nature of his project. 'It appears to us a decided advance in the department of Topography, thus to unite it to Photography. ... We trust that this idea of our Publisher will be pursued to the extent of which it is capable; and that hereafter we shall have works of topography and travel, illustrated by the photographer with all the yet-to-be improvements of the art, so that we shall be able to feel, when reading of new scenes and lands, that we are not amused with pleasant fictions, but presented with realities. With this sentiment we submit the present work to the public, as a step in the right direction.'21 Bennett and his successor would remain faithful to the pattern that had been set for the following ten years: over fifty different editions of forty-two separate titles, the vast majority in the areas of topography and travel, including placebased literary works, clearly a profitable cross-over genre. Every year before the Christmas season Bennett would take full-page advertisements in the trade press to list new titles and his back catalogue (fig. 7). Maintaining focus on the mode of illustration, subjects are listed individually under each title, alongside sometimes substantial quotations from approving reviews that had appeared in a diverse range of newspapers and magazines. This gives some indication of the sophistication and dynamism of





Bennett's marketing, aimed at reinforcing and highlighting the concept of the photographic gift book.

In the absence of archives or other primary sources concerning Bennett's business, we can only speculate as to his relations with his printers and photographers, as well as production schedules, print-runs and distribution. Comparisons may be made with de luxe non-photographic gift books for the same competitive market. For instance, the London publisher Edward Moxon's edition of Alfred Tennyson's *Poems*, intended for the 1856 Christmas market, contained fifty-four specially commissioned wood engravings and retailed at £1 11s. 6d. (one-and-a-half guineas), the same price as the morocco-bound version of Ruined Abbeys and Castles and several of Bennett's subsequent titles.

The 'Moxon Tennyson' had a print-run of 10,000 which turned out to be over-optimistic, and 5,000 copies were later remaindered.²² Thus, it would be reasonable to surmise that Bennett's publications must have had print-runs in the low thousands at least.

Literary Tourism and the Picturesque

Ruined Abbeys and Castles remained one of Bennett's most popular titles. A second series was issued for the Christmastide market of 1863-64. This was complemented by four smaller, cheaper and more portable spin-off titles extracted from the two series and covering specific geographical areas: The Wye (fig. 5), North Wales, Yorkshire, and the Scottish Border. Not coincidentally, they were favourite summer tourist destinations,

Fig. 6
'Alfred W. Bennett's
Photographic
Publications', The
Publishers' Circular,
8 December 1863,
p. 675.
Photo: Digitized
by Google

Fig. 7
'Alfred W. Bennett's
Gift-Books,
Illustrated by
Photography', The
Publishers' Circular,
8 December 1863,
p. Illustrations 7.
Photo: Digitized
by Google

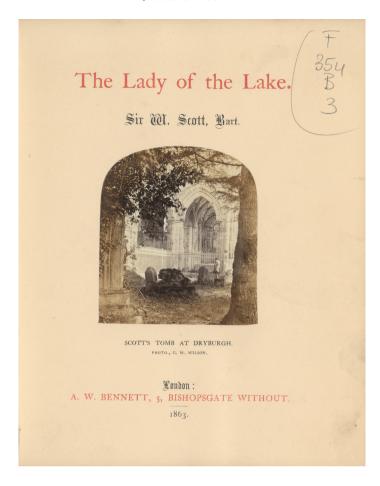


Fig. 8 WALTER SCOTT, The Lady of the Lake, 1863. Title page with vignette Scott's Tomb at Dryburgh by george WASHINGTON WILSON. Albumen print, 76 x 67 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-2001-7-258-1 (for credit line see p. 223).

now accessible by train as well as coach. Success of these publications can be attributed in large measure to the first word of the title. A contemporary educated readership would have certain expectations of the aspect and impact of ruins, based on tenets of the Picturesque, the dominant visual aesthetic in landscape painting of the Romantic era. The concept was adopted in turn by a first generation of landscape photographers, many schooled in the Romantic aesthetic and influenced by pictorial precedent. As Grace Seiberling has observed, 'cultural convention defined photographic choices'.23 The Picturesque 'introduced an unprecedented positive evaluation of the characteristics of roughness, irregularity and decay

(e.g. by replacing stately classical buildings with ruins)'. ²⁴ Bennett was consciously reflecting this dominant aesthetic in the selection and presentation of photographic illustrations in *Ruined Abbeys*, where the telling fragment is not information-bearing but rather aims to evoke an atmosphere of decay.

Another winning formula was the anthology of verse illustrated with site-specific photography in emotive Romantic mode. Bennett concentrated on the work of two of the most popular and successful authors of the nineteenth century, Walter Scott (1771-1832) and William Wordsworth (1770-1850), whose evocation of natural landscape found huge resonance amongst a readership who hankered after an

Title page and frontis-

Fig. 9 Our English Lakes,

worth, 1864.

Mountains, and

Waterfalls as Seen

by William Words-

piece Rydal Mount,

the Residence of

Wordsworth by THOMAS OGLE.

Albumen print,

Rijksmuseum, inv. no.

RP-F-2001-7-351-1

(for credit line see

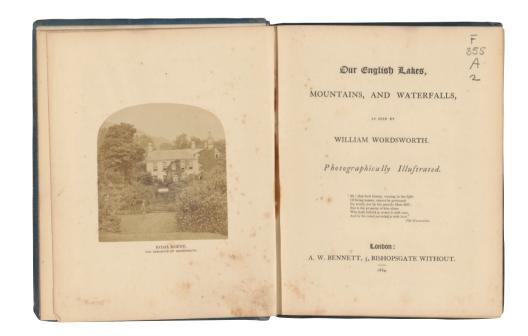
90 x 85 mm.

Amsterdam,

p. 223).

antidote to industrialization and the urban environment. Geoffrey Wakeman has summarized the appeal of photography inspired by Scott's works: 'Photographs made ideal souvenirs and some books were obviously aimed at this market. Queen Victoria's passion made it fashionable for tourists, and publishers capitalized on the fact.'25 In Bennett's and his successor's case, this meant the republication of four of Scott's verse narratives set in a medieval or chivalric past, repackaged as photographic gift books, beginning in 1863 with the acclaimed poem The Lady of the Lake. This was immediately followed up with a viewbook of images alone, Lady of the Lake Album, described as 'Containing 24 Photographs, Illustrating the Scenery of the 'Lady of the Lake'.26 For a title-page vignette to the republished poem, Bennett featured not the expected landscape view but George Washington Wilson's study of the author's tomb, a tourist mecca on the Scott trail (fig. 8).27

Scott's opposite number in England as a wildly successful bard of the heritage landscape and object of secular pilgrimage was the late Poet Laureate William Wordsworth. The readers of his Romantic poetry wanted to see for themselves the settings in the Lake District that he had immortalized. Bennett not only tailored his literary output to a receptive readership but set down a plausible itinerary for potential, past or armchair tourists. Our English Lakes, Mountains and Waterfalls as Seen by William Wordsworth went through four editions in six years, initially for the 1864 season gift market. As in the case of Scott, the anthology opens with an immediately recognizable tourist shrine to the author, a frontispiece view of Wordsworth's home (fig. 9). The ensuing verse and accompanying photographs by Thomas Ogle are structured by location (fig. 10), in a technique that has been memorably described as transforming Ogle's images into a 'mnemonic device that facilitates a moment of cultural recognition'.28 In fact Bennett, or his mouthpiece, was explicit in setting out this approach in an introduction to the first edition and reprinted in subsequent editions: '[The Compiler] has,



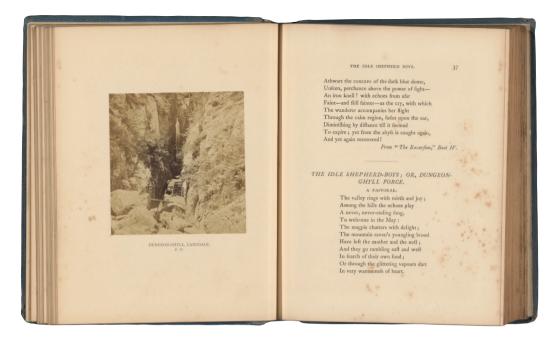


Fig. 10 THOMAS OGLE, Dungeon-Ghyll, Langdale in Our English Lakes, Mountains, and Waterfalls as Seen by William Wordsworth, 1864. Albumen print, 91 x 86 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-2001-7-351-4 (for credit line see p. 223).

as far as practicable, classified these extracts under the heads of the different Lakes or other objects of interest in each locality. By this arrangement it is believed that not only will the Reader be able, with the assistance of the Photographic Illustrations, ... to appreciate the more fully Wordsworth's wonderfully true descriptions of the beauties of Nature; but the Tourist will have the additional pleasure of identifying with his own favourite spot.'29

This form of cultural commodification, the literary and picturesque combined with evocative photography having tourism as an underlining incentive, lies at the heart of what Bennett understood to be the photographic gift book. He was so protective of the genre that other photographic titles under the Bennett imprint, sometimes acquired from or issued jointly with other publishers, were not necessarily advertised under the same label. This is the case, for instance, with Sheffield and its Neighbourhood (1865), a monograph on a heavily urbanizing area of the country, the illustrations to which,

however compelling in themselves, bear little similarity to the great bulk of Bennett's rurally focused output (fig. 11).

In the absence of personal or company archives, there are few sources other than the structure and content of advertisements to offer insight into Bennett's strategy and convictions. Bennett or a close associate did however articulate his views on photography in a guide to aspiring authors that he had inherited from his predecessors and that went into several editions during his stewardship of the company. Referring to photography as 'that most marvellous of all the marvellous inventions', he tempered his boosterism with a qualification: 'Although the sunpictures never can take the place altogether of the productions of the genuine artist, whether on wood, stone, or copper, yet for a certain class of Illustrations, Photography is now recognised as the most beautiful mode of representation.'30 He goes on to make an assertion that demonstrates how well the concept of the Picturesque

had been assimilated: 'In the delineation, especially of natural scenery. the sun-delineated picture possesses advantages which are shared by no other style of illustration. ... the crumbling castle-wall mantled with ivy, the outline of the mountain-peak, or the lake calmly sleeping in the sunshine, are precisely as nature has depicted them.'31 To reinforce the message of the value of photography, and not so incidentally to promote the company's titles, the guide's frontispiece was a 'specimen of photographic illustration', taken from a Bennett imprint.

A Continental Thread

In 1865, Bennett decided to extend the geographical reach of his photographic gift books beyond the British Isles.

Once again, he appears to be following the tourist trail, as Continental travel became a prerogative of the British middle class. As has been acutely observed, 'the train and camera were invented almost at the same time. and technological progress in photography paralleled the growth of railway lines'.32 And where the railway led, so the earliest mass tourists would follow. Thomas Cook conducted his first Continental package tour in 1855, taking two parties from Harwich to Antwerp, then on to Brussels, Cologne, Heidelberg, Strasbourg and finally to Paris for the International Exhibition. Cook offered his first Swiss tour in 1863. Bennett's output neatly shadows Cook's itineraries; his publications initially covered the accessible towns of coastal France

Fig. 11
THEOPHILUS SMITH,
Hallamshire
Forgemen in
Sheffield and its
Neighbourhood,
1865.
Albumen print,
101 x 83 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-F-2021-21-14;
gift of S.F. Joseph,
Brussels.



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(Normandy and Brittany) and Belgium, then penetrated the Continental interior through Germany and Switzerland and finally reached Italy.

Bennett's Continental strategy differed somewhat from his British works. Instead of buying up available views by local photographers, he generally commissioned leading British professional photographers, already appreciated for their landscape work, to undertake a tour and take photographs specifically for his publications. In this, Bennett was once again not quite a pioneer – Lovell Reeve had adopted much the same approach for the first edition of Narrative of a Walking Tour in Brittany (1859), the text of which is littered with comments on the novelty and challenges of photography in the field.33 The travelogues under the Bennett imprint were also illustrated with a different kind of photograph. The Picturesque made way for a more documentary approach, and the exigencies of a tightly scheduled tour seem to have imposed an imperative of eschewing the fragmentary for the whole and a greater overall

legibility. This did not go unnoticed by reviewers; one praised 'the scenic effect without the vagueness'³⁴ of Lewis Baldwin Fleming's prints in *Flemish Relics* (fig. 12), while another wrote: 'Only photography can do full justice to the florid architecture of Belgium. The richness of detail in most of the public buildings baffles the mechanical skill of the draughtsman.'³⁵

On two occasions and quite exceptionally for this period, Bennett let his photographers have their say, in the form of an introduction to their work. Francis Frith (1822-1896) offered the reader some highlights of his 'toorapid journey (of six weeks)' for Bennett's edition of H.W. Longfellow's novel Hyperion set in the Rhineland, Switzerland and the Tyrol while 'inviting attention to the curious appropriateness of some of the views, not only for the illustration, but even for the *confirmation* [italics by author] of the text'.36 Thus Frith follows the novel's hero Paul Flemming to the 'thrifty, quiet, goose-feeding town of Weinheim' (fig. 13) and even gives the odd travel tip: 'The place [Lake

> Fig. 13
FRANCIS FRITH,
Weinheim in
Hyperion: A
Romance, 1865.
Albumen print,
125 x 163 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-F-F25421-1.



Fig. 12 BALDWIN FLEMING, Court of the Bishop's Palace, Liège in Flemish Relics: Architectural, Legendary, and Pictorial, as Connected with Public Buildings in Belgium, 1866. Albumen print, 118 x 184 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-2001-7-359-14 (for credit line see p. 223).



Fig. 14 HEREFORD BROOKE GEORGE, The Oberland and its Glaciers: Explored and Illustrated with Ice-axe and Camera, 1866. Title page with vignette by ERNEST EDWARDS. Albumen print, 71 x 71 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-2001-7-455-2 (for credit line see p. 223).

of St. Wolfgang] is little visited by the crowd of summer tourists. It is cheap, and the people are civil, hospitable, and hearty.'37

The most technically informative text in any of Bennett's gift books was written by Ernest Edwards (1837-1903) for The Oberland and its Glaciers (1866). To emphasize the integral part which photography plays in the book, not simply a narrative of Alpine travel but a serious study on glacier formation, the full title runs Explored and Illustrated with Ice-axe and Camera (fig. 14). Significantly, Edwards refers to himself as a photographer and not an artist, unlike Frith. Edwards's contribution consists of an account of meticulous planning as well as the technical challenges he encountered: 'The reason why glacier scenery is so well suited for representation by photography, namely that except in detail it exhibits no great variety of colours, causes at the same time one of the great practical difficulties in obtaining the pictures. On a sunny day the contrasts of light and shade are so violent that shadows are too apt to come out nearly black

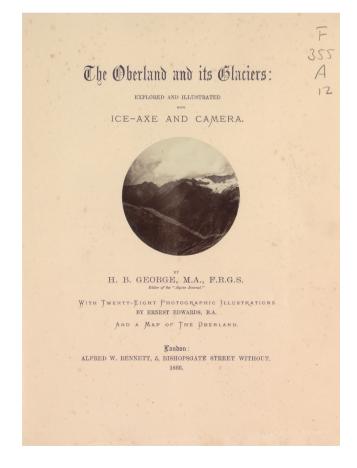




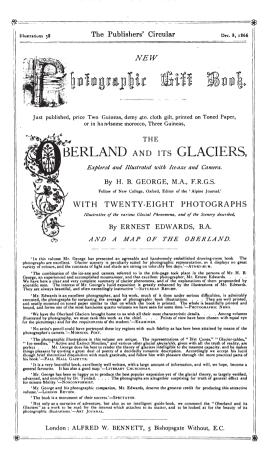
Fig. 15 ERNEST EDWARDS, Upper Ice-Fall of the Ober Grindelwald Glacier in The Oberland

and its Glaciers, 1866. Albumen print, 170 x 136 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-2001-7-455-1 (for credit line see p. 223). in a photograph' (fig. 15).³⁸ The book met with critical success on its publication in October 1866, which Bennett celebrated in a full-page advertisement replete with quotes from the specialist and general press alike (fig. 16). Reviewers praised Edwards for his accurate representations of glaciers and rock formations as well as for his ability to capture the Romantic potency of the mountains. Bennett, with *The Oberland*, had straddled the divide between gift book and scientific treatise.

Changes of Direction

In the year or so following the publication of Oberland, Bennett attempted to extend the appeal of his gift books to the American market. Hyperion was re-issued by Ticknor and Fields of Boston from Britishprinted sheets and photographs supplied by Bennett. He also published a photographically illustrated edition of Snow-bound by American Quaker poet and abolitionist J.G. Whittier (fig. 17). Then in August 1868 it was announced that Bennett had 'transferred his Publishing Business to Messrs. Provost & Co. Mr. Provost, we are informed, has been for several years past in Mr. Bennett's establishment, and is therefore well acquainted with the details of the business'.39

The new proprietor, Abraham Provost, initially maintained Bennett's publishing schedule of several new titles a year. However, he dropped references to 'photographic gift books' in advertisements in favour of the term 'Provost & Co.'s Photographic Series' or the neutral expression 'Photographic Publications'.40 The genre pioneered by Bennett had run its course. The physical appearance of the firm's output changed: bindings were less ornamental, photographic illustrations less imaginative, while some titles were simultaneously issued in cheaper 'library' editions with fewer prints.



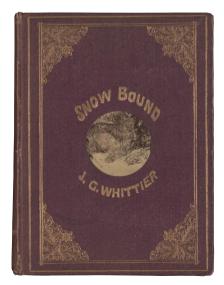


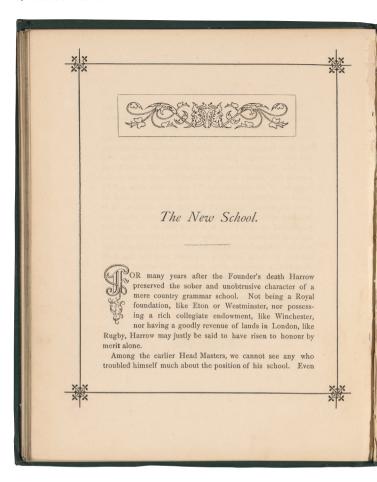
Fig. 16

'New Photographic
Gift Book', The
Publishers' Circular,
December 1866,
p. Illustrations 38.
Photo: Digitized
by Google

Fig. 17
JOHN GREENLEAF
WHITTIER,
Snow-bound: A
Winter Idyl, 1867.
Gilt decorated cloth
with cartouche.
Albumen print,
47 × 47 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-F-2001-7-356-1
(for credit line see
p. 223)

In a failed attempt at diversification, a series on English public schools was launched, but only two titles appeared (fig. 18). Apart from the waning of their novelty as a genre, photographically illustrated works suffered from concern over the long-term stability of silverbased prints, their unique selling point. One critic tartly observed: 'A picture that is likely to become a meaningless sheet of stained paper ... is not much use as a book-illustration.'41 While deterioration in print quality in the Bennett oeuvre is not so radical, ambient high humidity and sensitivity to pollutants over the hundred-andfifty-year or more lifetime of these works have precipitated visible edgefading on many albumen prints (see figs. 3, 8, 10, 18). For similar reasons, sporadic foxing can occur, generally affecting mounts rather than the image surface (see figs. 4, 9, 10, 15, 18). Less frequently, the adhesive coat fixing prints to mounts may perish, leading prints to come loose (see fig. 12). The solution was photographic reproduction in printers' ink. Provost's own guide to publishing stated that 'the various mechanical processes42 ... now run an even race, and bid fair to surpass, for both excellence and economy, other and older methods of Illustrating'.43 Provost appears not to have entertained these newer processes for his own output, auctioned off remaindered stock in 1872 and by 1873 the firm had ceased publishing photographically illustrated books altogether.

Once Alfred Bennett had retired from publishing, he devoted himself to botany and social causes. He gained a reputation for his research into processes of flower fertilization and the flora of the Swiss Alps. Bennett was active into relative old age, becoming editor of publications of the Royal Microscopical Society in 1897. After his sudden death on 23 January 1902 aged sixtyeight, the professional tributes were fulsome. Such was the impact of his



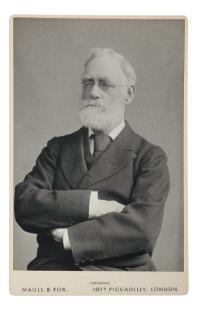


Fig. 18
WILLIAM RUSSELL
SEDGFIELD, The New
School in Harrow
School, 1870.
Albumen print,
112 x 85 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-F-2001-7-372-3
(for credit line see
p. 223).

Fig. 19
MAULL & FOX, Alfred
Bennett, c. 1900.
Platinum print,
148 x 100 mm.
London, The
Linnean Society,
inv. no. PP/B/21.



former profession, after an interval of more than thirty years, that all made mention of Bennett's publishing achievements, and that he was 'one of the earliest publishers who made an extensive use of photography in book illustration'.⁴⁴ Another obituarist fondly recalled: 'I remember specially a pretty little volume on the Abbeys of Yorkshire with photographic views of each of them',⁴⁵ an artefact and echo of the bygone era in publishing even yet associated with Alfred W. Bennett (fig. 19).

ABSTRACT

Alfred W. Bennett (1833-1902), better known to posterity as a botanist, was active as a publisher in London in the eighteen-sixties. Almost uniquely amongst his contemporaries, Bennett specialized in books illustrated with mounted photographic prints for the middle-class market. Every year, new 'photographic gift books' would be released to coincide with the Christmas season of giving. Subject matter was mainly topographical or literary. Text and images were associated creatively; design, typography and photographic printing were of the highest quality.

While Bennett's career in photographically illustrated books was brief, starting in 1861 and ending in 1868, he made a distinctive contribution to the creation and development of the genre in Britain. The article evaluates Bennett's career and impact, covering the following topics: the Quaker context that influenced Bennett's activity as a publisher and photograph dealer; Bennett's invention of the photographic gift book as a genre; synergy with Lovell Reeve, another pioneering photographic book publisher; the crucial importance of literary tourism for Bennett's output; assimilation of the concept of the Picturesque within photographic illustration; the extension of subject matter to Continental Europe; and the decline of the photographically illustrated book business in the hands of Bennett's successor Abraham Provost.

NOTES

- * I am most grateful to Dr Anthony Hamber, who generously shared his research notes, drew my attention to *The Publishers'*Circular and proofread my draft text, and to Mattie Boom for her enthusiasm in helping to define this topic.
- 1 See the appendix for a chronological checklist of short titles. The author's more detailed bibliographic descriptions for each title, Bennett's Photobooks: A Bibliography, may be accessed at www.academia.edu/ 66192987.
- 2 The scarce English-language literature for the period until 1880 includes two academic theses, one monograph and a few research articles: John L. Wilson, Publishers and Purchasers of the Photographically-Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century, Reading 1995 (unpub. PhD thesis University of Reading); Nicole Anne Festa, The Photobook Reexamined: Sampson Low & Company's Photographically Illustrated Travel Books (1860s-1880s), St Andrews 2014-15 (unpub. MLitt thesis University of St Andrews); Ruari McLean, Joseph Cundall, a Victorian Publisher: Notes on His Life and a Check-List of His Books, Pinner 1976; Amy E. Stark, 'Lovell Augustus Reeve (1814-1865): Publisher and Patron of the Stereograph', History of Photography 5 (1981), pp. 3-15; James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, 'Sampson Low: Organizer of the Victorian Book Trade', Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 105 (2011), no. 1, pp. 69-89.
- 3 Anonymous, 'Epilogue on Books', British Quarterly Review (1866), no. 1, p. 234.
- 4 For biographical background, I have consulted: R.J. Cleevely, 'Bennett, Alfred William (1833-1902), Botanist and Publisher', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ ref:odnb/30706 (consulted 19 November 2019); and the following three obituaries: J.G. Baker, 'Biographical Memoir of A.W. Bennett', Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society (1902), pp. 155-57; Anonymous, 'Alfred William Bennett', Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London 114 (1901-02), pp. 26-27; Anonymous, 'Alfred W. Bennett', The Annual Monitor for 1903, or Obituary of the Members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, for the Year 1902, London 1902, pp. 12-18.
- 5 Philip A.H. Brown, London Publishers and Printers c. 1800-1870, London 1982, p. 14. The earliest mention that I have located of 'A.W. Bennett, successor to

- W. & F.G. Cash' is in *Notes and Queries*, 26 December 1857, p. 524. I have been unable to locate any surviving archives relating to the company.
- 6 The British Library online catalogue lists 76 titles under the Gilpin imprint, including a considerable number of Quaker memoirs and biographies.
- 7 The British Friend 16 (I November 1858), p. 2. A much smaller advertisement on the same page is for Bennett's 'new list of books relating to the Society of Friends'.
- 8 *The Friend* 17 (1 September 1859), p. 174; ibid (1 November 1859), p. 212.
- 9 The Publishers' Circular, I December 1860, p. 718.
- 10 The British Friend 16 (1 May 1858), p. 135.
- II Larry Schaaf, 'Piazzi Smyth at Teneriffe: Part I The Expedition and the Resulting Book', History of Photography 4 (1980), pp. 289-307.
- 12 Art Journal, March 1862, p. 96, a review for one part of the series. The anonymous reviewer states: 'None of these are first-class photographs'. Dimensions translate as approximately 45 x 30 cm.
- 13 The Publishers' Circular, 16 February 1863, pp. 86-87.
- 14 Michael Twyman, 'The Illustration Revolution', in David McKitterick (ed.), The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume VI 1830-1914, Cambridge 2009, pp. 117-46, esp. 127-32.
- 15 David McKitterick, 'Changes in the Look of the Book', in David McKitterick (ed.), The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume VI 1830-1914, Cambridge 2009, p. 9.
- 16 The Publishers' Circular, 6 December 1861, no page no.
- 17 Mary Howitt, 'Sun Pictures', The Eclectic Review N.S. 2 (1859), p. 303.
- 18 The book contained 27 albumen prints mounted in the text, mainly recognizable as half stereos, by Francis Bedford (6), Roger Fenton (2), MacLean and Melhuish (2), William Russell Sedgfield (9) and George Washington Wilson (8), plus 2 further uncredited albumen prints inset as cartouches on the front and back boards. They would be joined by other prominent British professional photographers to illustrate later gift books, including Francis Frith, Joseph Cundall, Stephen Thompson and Thomas Annan.
- 19 While most book designs were unsigned, this and other bindings under the Bennett imprint bear the stylistic hallmarks of prolific designer John Leighton (1822-1912).

- See Ruari McLean, Victorian Publishers' Book-Bindings in Cloth and Leather, London 1974, pp. 104-05. It has been estimated that Leighton created around a thousand such designs, as many as half unknown to scholarship because they were unsigned.
- 20 For a more extensive commentary, see 'Keuze uit de aanwinsten: William Morris Grundy, Sunshine in the Country: A Book of Rural Poetry', Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 53 (2005), no. 4, pp. 442-44. The decorative cloth binding bears the initials I.L. for John Leighton.
- 21 William and Mary Howitt, Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain, London 1862, 'Preface', no page no.
- 22 Simon Eliot and Andrew Nash, 'Mass Markets: Literature', in David McKitterick (ed.), The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume VI 1830-1914, Cambridge 2009, p. 435.
- 23 Grace Seiberling (with Carolyn Bloore), Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination, Chicago/London 1986, 'Three: The Viewer and the Viewed: Imagery of the Amateurs', p. 46.
- 24 James S. Ackerman, 'The Photographic Picturesque', Artibus et Historiae 24 (2003), pp. 81-82.
- 25 Geoffrey Wakeman, Victorian Book Illustration: The Technical Revolution, Newton Abbott 1973, 'Chapter Five: The Sixties – The Impact of Photography', p. 85.
- 26 The Publishers' Circular, 15 June 1863, p. 304. Also advertised as Bijou Photographic Album, in ibid, 1 July 1863, p. 332.
- 27 For an in-depth discussion of Wilson's tourist photography, including the influence of the Picturesque, see Roger Taylor, *George Washington Wilson: Artist and Photographer (1823-93)*, Aberdeen 1981, 'Chapter Five: Tourism and Photography', pp. 51-60.
- 28 Helen Groth, Victorian Photography and Literary Nostalgia, Oxford 2003, 'Chapter Three: Wordsworthian Afterlives and Photographic Nostalgia', pp. 52-80. Groth characterizes the combination of Romantic topographical verse and picturesque landscape photography, advocated by Bennett, as an explicitly conservative nostalgia.
- 29 Our English Lakes, Mountains, and Waterfalls as Seen by William Wordsworth, London 1868 (3rd edition), pp. v-v1.
- 30 The Search for a Publisher; or, Counsels for a Young Author, London 1865 (5th edition), p. 12. The text was republished in extenso

- in the 6th and 7th editions of 1870 and 1873 respectively, in the latter with the offer of an additional service: 'We ... shall be glad to recommend experienced Operators, who can be sent at short notice to any part of the kingdom.'
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Nuno de Avelar Pinheiro, 'Tourist Photography', in John Hannavy (ed.), Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography, New York/London 2008, vol. 2, p. 1398.
- 33 Bennett's 'New Edition' of 1866 contained 90 mounted stereo halves whereas Lovell Reeve's 1st edition comprised a text volume with stereo frontispiece and a custom-made box containing 90 stereo prints.
- 34 Anonymous 1866 (note 3).
- 35 Anonymous, *The Bookseller*, 12 December 1865, p. 845.
- 36 Francis Frith, 'The Artist's Preface', in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Hyperion: A Romance, London 1865, p. 111.
- 37 Ibid, p. v.
- 38 Ernest Edwards, 'Notes by the Photographer', in Hereford Brooke George, The Oberland and its Glaciers, London 1866, pp. 237-43. Reprinted in Frank Van Deren Coke and Marian J. Hollinger Pope, 'The Oberland and its Glaciers', History of Photography 3 (1979), pp. 129-31.
- 39 The Publishers' Circular, 1 August 1868, p. 417.
- 40 Ibid., 8 December 1869, p. 926; ibid, 10 December 1868, illustration 70.
- 41 Anonymous, 'Photography Applied to Book-Illustration', *The Gentleman's* Magazine, February 1867, p. 172.
- 42 More accurately 'photomechanical processes', in other words the reproduction of continuous tone photography by means of the printing press and printers' ink.

 These processes included the collotype, produced in a modified lithographic press, and the Woodburytype, created with gelatin moulds in a hydraulic press.
- 43 The Search for a Publisher; or, Counsels for Young Author, London 1881 (8th edition), p. 130.
- 44 Anonymous 1901-02 (note 4), p. 14.
- 45 Baker 1902 (note 4), p. 156.

APPENDIX

Checklist of short titles of photographically illustrated publications under the imprints of Alfred W. Bennett (1858-68) and his successor Provost & Co. (1869-73)

An asterisk indicates titles held in the Rijksmuseum Research Library

- 1858 A.D. Alexander, Gathered Fragments: Briefly Illustrative of the Life of George Dillwyn. 2 prints. *
- 1860 W.D. Hemphill, Stereoscopic Illustrations of Clonmel. 80 prints.
- 1862 W. and M. Howitt, Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain.
 27 prints.*
- S. Thompson, The Waverley Series of Cabinet Photographs. 50 prints.
- 1862 A. Le Vengeur d'Orsan, Our Satellite. A Selenography. 9 prints.
- 1863 W. Scott, The Lady of the Lake. 14 prints. *
- 1863 Lady of the Lake Album. 24 prints.
- 1863 The Wye: Its Ruined Abbeys and Castles. 6 prints. *
- W. Howitt, Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain and Ireland: Second Series. 26 prints.*
- 1864 Our English Lakes, Mountains, and Waterfalls as Seen by William Wordsworth. 13 prints. *
- 1864 Wharncliffe, Wortley, and the Valley of the Don. 16 prints.*
- The Ruined Castles of North Wales. 7 prints. *
- 1865 H.W. Longfellow, Hyperion: A Romance. 24 prints. *
- F.G. Stephens, Normandy, Its Gothic Architecture and History. 25 prints. *
- 1865 W. Scott, The Lady of the Lake. 14 prints. *
- 1865 [J. Holland], Sheffield and its Neighbourhood. 16 prints. *
- 1865 W. Howitt, The Ruined Abbeys of the Border. 6 prints. *
- 1865 W. Howitt, The Ruined Abbeys of Yorkshire. 6 prints. *
- Extracts from a Narrative of Privations and Sufferings of United States Officers and Soldiers while Prisoners of War. 4 prints.
- 1865 The Search for a Publisher. 1 print.
- 1865-67 E. Walford, Portraits of Men of Eminence. 24 prints per volume. *
- 1866 W. Scott, Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field. 15 prints. *
- 1866 F.G. Stephens, Flemish Relics. 15 prints. *
- 1866 H.B. George, The Oberland and its Glaciers. 28 prints. *
- 1866 Photographs of Irish scenery. Killarney. 12 prints.
- 1866 J.M. Jephson, Narrative of a Walking Tour in Brittany. 90 prints. *

- Our English Lakes, Mountains, and Waterfalls as Seen by William Wordsworth. 13 prints.
- 1867 S.C. Hall, The Book of the Thames, from its Rise to its Fall. 16 prints.*
- 1867 T.H. Dyer, The Ruins of Pompeii. 18 prints. *
- 1867 J.G. Whittier, Snow-bound: A Winter Idyl. 6 prints. *
- 1867 R.S.J. Corbet, The Golden Ripple: Or, The Leaflets of Life. 6 prints.*
- 1868 Scotland: Her Songs and Scenery as Sung by Her Bards and Seen in the Camera. 14 prints. *
- 1868 Swiss Scenery. 31 prints. *
- 1868 The Thames Illustrated by Photographs. Third Series. 15 prints.
- 1868 Our English Lakes, Mountains, and Waterfalls as Seen by William Wordsworth. 13 prints. *
- 1868 H.W. Longfellow, Hyperion: A Romance. 12 prints. *
- 1868 E. Walford, Representative Men in Literature, Science, and Art. 20 prints. *
- 1868 The Fen and Marshland Churches. First Series. 15 prints.*
- 1869 J.R. Ware, The Isle of Wight. 21 prints. *
- 1869 S.J. Davies, Dover. 12 prints. *
- 1869 Z. Edwards, Primitiæ. 5 or 8 prints. *
- 1870 S. Thompson, Venice and the Poets. 10 prints. *
- 1870 [F.G. Stephens], A History of Gibraltar and its Sieges. 16 or 4 prints or 1 print. *
- 1870 R. Pitcairn, Harrow School. 8 prints. *
- 1870 R. Pitcairn, Uppingham School. 9 prints. *
- 1870 Our English Lakes, Mountains, and Waterfalls as Seen by William Wordsworth. 8 prints *
- 1870 The Search for a Publisher. I print.
- 1871 W. Scott, The Lord of the Isles. 9 prints. *
- 1871 J.R. Ware, The Isle of Wight. 15 prints.
- 1872 W. Scott, The Lay of the Last Minstrel. 6 prints. *
- [F.G. Stephens], A History of Gibraltar and its Sieges. 16 or 4 prints or 1 print.
- 1873 The Search for a Publisher. 1 print.