

Characters of the Press

Fortieth Annual Conference of the Research
Society for Victorian Periodicals
Roehampton University, London , U.K.
4-5 July 2008



RESEARCH
SOCIETY
FOR
VICTORIAN
PERIODICALS

www.rs4vp.org

The RESEARCH SOCIETY for VICTORIAN PERIODICALS was founded in December 1968 at the Modern Language Association conference in New York by an interdisciplinary group of scholars led by Michael Wolff, who became its first president. Most of its founding members belonged to the informal scholarly collective engaged in research for Walter Houghton's *Wellesley Index of Victorian Periodicals* and were eager to give a permanent organizational embodiment to the intellectual energy and enthusiasm generated by that remarkable project.

The 1960s witnessed an enormous upsurge of interest in interdisciplinary scholarship, particularly in the area of Victorian Studies. The vast range and number of Victorian periodicals was being recognized as an ideal resource for such scholarship since they touch on virtually every conceivable aspect of Victorian life.

RSVP's official organ, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, came into existence even before RSVP itself. Commencing as the *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, the first number appeared in January of 1968 under the founding editorship of Michael Wolff. The journal began as a sort of intellectual clearinghouse for information, ideas and projects relating to Victorian periodicals and evolved with the development of the interdisciplinary studies it represented into its present form. Its present title was adopted in 1978. For an excellent, detailed account of the founding of both VPR and RSVP, see N. Merrill Distad, "The Origins and History of Victorian Periodicals Review, 1954-84," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 18.3 (Fall 1985), 86-98).

Despite its American birthplace, RSVP has from the beginning been an international society of scholars with a strong membership presence in Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australasia, and significant membership in a number of European countries. Members span the globe and include colleagues from Japan, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, Holland, Israel, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The Society hopes through scholarship to increase awareness of Victorian journals, proprietors, editors, illustrators, publishers and authors and the role of the press in shaping Victorians' beliefs and debates about their society, culture, and politics.

RSVP has held its annual conferences in the following cities:

New York City 1969 & 1970
 Urbana, IL 1971
 Cambridge, MA 1972
 Washington, DC 1973
 Minneapolis, MN 1974
 Toronto, ON 1975
 Leicester, UK 1976
 Chicago, IL 1977
 New York City 1978
 St. Louis, MO 1979
 Philadelphia, PA 1980
 Tacoma, WA 1981
 New York City 1982
 Leicester, UK 1983
 Cambridge, MA 1984
 Toronto, ON 1985
 New York City 1986
 Aberystwyth, Wales 1987
 Chicago, IL 1988
 Pasadena, CA 1989
 Waco, TX 1990
 Washington, DC 1991
 Manchester, UK 1992
 Ann Arbor, MI 1993
 Tampa, FL 1994
 Edinburgh, Scotland 1995
 Portland, OR 1996
 Chicago, IL 1997
 Vancouver, BC 1998
 New Haven, CT 1999
 London, UK 2000
 New York City 2001
 Ann Arbor, MI 2002
 Edmonton, AB 1993
 Ghent, Belgium 2004
 Washington, DC 2005
 New York City 2006
 Richmond, VA 2007
 London, UK 2008
 Saint Louis, MO 2009 (?)

RSVP's presidents from its founding have been:

Michael Wolff (1969-1973)
 Josef Altholz (1973-1975)
 William Scheuerle (1975-1977)
 Scott Bennett (1977-1981)
 Rosemary Van Arsdell (1981-1983)
 Joel Wiener (1983-1985)
 Merrill Distad (1985-1987)
 Sally Mitchell (1987-1989)
 Richard Fulton (1989-1991)
 Penny Kanner (1991-1993)
 Christopher Dahl (1993-1995)
 Barbara Quinn Schmidt (1995-1997)
 Linda Hughes (1997-1999)
 Julie Codell (1999-2001)
 Christopher Kent (2001-2003)
 Laurel Brake (2003-2005)
 Anne Humpherys (2005-2007)
 Maria Frawley (2007-)

Fortieth Annual Conference of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals Characters of the Press

Welcome to the 40th Annual Conference of RSVP.

This year we are proud to host it in the UK, where most of the subject of the Society's research was originally generated. Conference delegates will already know the wealth of resources in London for the study of periodicals: the British Library at St Pancras, its subsidiary the Newspaper Library at Colindale, and London University Library at Senate House in Bloomsbury are homes to but three of the major collections.

A vital resource available in London this year, however, is the depth of collegiate intellectual exchange that is a major component of the "character" of RSVP. It has fostered our own work in the past and we are confident that it will encourage those both new to and experienced in the field to rise to the perennial challenges of mapping the area whether on a micro or macro scale. We are struck by the wide variety of papers that hold the potential usefully to cross fertilise each the other, and we hope delegates will take advantage of the possibilities this conference holds to explore new zones of engagement that might yield unexpected dividends for them.

In 1823, Hazlitt enthused in a famous piece on "The Periodical Press" in the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. 38, May 1823, 349-378: 358) that "The *Monarchism* of literature is at an end; the cells of learning are thrown open, and let in the light of universal day... let Reviews flourish – let Magazines increase and multiply – let the Daily and Weekly Newspaper live for ever!". Hazlitt's wish came true, and in our enthusiasm for Victorian periodicals we are ensuring it continues into the twenty-first century.

Ian Haywood
Andrew King

"Character" was the term commonly used of the Victorian press for what today we might call the "brand personality" of a periodical - its distinctive features as a commodity in the marketplace. But how was this "character" created? Some periodicals identified themselves as people (one thinks of Mr Punch, or the less voluble human figures on many a masthead) or with people (*Howitt's Journal*, *Reynolds's Miscellany*, *Blackwood's*, or perhaps a reliable stable of authors, or a named editor). Many sought to improve the character of readers by offering heroes for emulation. Some preferred a recurrent set of textual practices – format, layout, size, range of departments. Some characters were generated through the targeting of specific audiences such as grocers or suffragettes, radical workers or young imperialists. Others were prompted by the occasions on which they expected to be encountered – for reading on Sundays, over weekday breakfast or while commuting. And then there is the vital question of how the press in general (or sections of it) were characterised by those within and outside it. What metaphors were mobilised and why? This conference offers a wide and varied route into the exciting and still only partially explored territory of Victorian periodicals.

Programme

Friday 4 July

9am-10am

Registration and coffee (**Terrace Room**)

9.45 Conference opening (Portrait Room)

10am –
11.15
am,
session
1

Editing

Chair: Laurel Brake
(Portrait Room)

John Drew; "That great humming-top *Household Words*". A New Spin on an Established Character

. Fionulla Dillane; "Targeting Text: Commercial and Ideological Innovations through design in the *Westminster Review* 1836-54

Elizabeth Tilley (read by Fionulla Dillane): Defining Irish Character: the *Dublin University Magazine*

The Character of Children
Chair: Minna Vuolhelainen
(GH006)

Fred Milton; Uncle Toby and the Dickie Bird Society: 1876-1914 (*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*)

Ellen Jordan; *The Magazine For The Young*: An Example from the world of small sectarian publications.

Susan Ash; Dr. Barnardo's *Treasures, Darlings, and Bubbles*: Recruiting the Child Philanthropist

In Search Of Character
Chair: Jim Mussell
(GH021)

Eugenia Palmegiano; A Conundrum of Character: Periodical Perceptions of Press Readership in the Nineteenth Century

Koenraad Claes; Supplements: theoretical perspectives in practical use

11.15am (Terrace Room)

Coffee

11.45
am –
1pm,
session
2

Editors

Chair: Andrew King
(Portrait Room)

Rachel Buurma; The Character of Impersonality

Peter Blake; The Paradox of the Periodical: *Temple Bar* under the Editorship of George Augustus Sala (1860-63)

Georgina O'Brien; Periodical Illustration and the Branding of the Woman Editor

Girls' And Mothers' Magazines

Chair: Ellen Jordan
(GH006)

Margaret Beetham; Mothers' Magazines

Beth Rogers; "Notable Girls of the Nineteenth Century": Constructing Heroines in fin-de-siècle girls' magazines

Michelle Smith & Kristine Moruzi; The Geography of Work: Characterising Work in the *Girl's Own Paper*

The Politics of Illustration:

Chair: Clare Horrocks
(GH021)

Brian Maidment; Branding Knowledge - cheap illustrated magazines of the 1820s and their significance

Ian Haywood; Illuminating Propaganda: William James Linton's *Bob Thin: or, the Poorhouse Fugitive*

Henry Miller; The Cult of John Leech: Respectability, Character and Cartoons

1pm-2pm (Brown bag lunch available from Terrace Room)

Jim Mussell and Laurel Brake, NCSE and DNCJ (**Portrait Room**)

2pm-3pm plenary 1 (Portrait Room)

Linda Peterson, 'Characterising Regina's Maids of Honour and their Heirs'

Chair: **Linda Hughes**3pm –
4.15pm,
session
3**Women Critics And Authors**
Chair: Barbara Onslow
(Portrait Room)**Solveig Robinson;** Eliza Lynn Linton's Critical Character in the *Saturday Review* and *Temple Bar*: From "Saturday Reviler" to Cosmopolitan Critic**Deborah Logan;** 'Dear Cousin': Harriet Martineau, Henry Reeve, and the *Edinburgh Review***Joanne Wilkes;** Adapting to a Periodical's Character: the Case of Anne Mozley**Boys' Magazines**
Chair: Fred Milton
(GH006)**Richard Fulton;** Adventure Discourse in Boys' Periodicals of the 1860s-80s**Minna Vuolhelainen;** 'Forming Characters': *Union Jack* and niche marketing for boys in the 1880s**Shih-Wen Sue Chen;** "Immortal" Ching-Ching: Readership, Race, and the Penny Dreadful Personality**Reading "Character" in Defining Features: the 19C monthly**
Chair: Anne Humpherys
(GH021)**Linda K. Hughes;** Illustrated Poetry in *Cornhill Magazine* and *Once a Week*, 1859-1862**Marysa Demoor;** W.T. Stead's *Review of Reviews* - "Character Sketch: July"**Laurel Brake;** The Monthlies 1820/21: early snapshots**4.15pm-4.45pm (Terrace Room)**

Tea

4.45pm
-
6.15pm,
session
4**Signature**
Chair: Marysa Demoor
(Portrait Room)**Katherine Malone;** Sibyls, Fairies, and Spinsters: How Anne Thackeray Ritchie Constructed the Lady Critic**Carolyn Oulton;** "After all thank God it is not poetry!": Mary Cholmondeley and the Fin-de-Siècle Press**Sarah Nash;** What's in a Name? Signature and the Character of the *Fortnightly Review***Andrew King;** The Characters of "Ouida": Signature, *Oeuvre*, Periodical, Text**Imperial Issues**
Chair: Richard Fulton
(GH006)**Beth Palmer;** Colonial Characterisations: the Royal Commonwealth Institute and its Periodicals**Priti Joshi;** John Land, the Picturesque and the Indian 'Mutiny'**Kristin Mahoney;** Ethical Collecting and the Nationalist Character of the *Connoisseur, an Illustrated Magazine for Collectors***Fiction and the Periodical Press**
Chair: Ian Hayward
(GH008)**Emma Liggins;** 'Remarkable Cases of Spectral Illusion': Supernatural Stories in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round***Shannon Scott;** Terrifying Transformations: Werewolves and Lycanthropy in Late Victorian Periodicals**Elyssa Warkentin;** The 'Female Nick Carter': Ethel King, Serial Heroine**Lisa Niles;** 'forger... adulteress, murderess, and thief, aged thirty-five': Reviewing the Character of Cosmetics in Wilkie Collins's *Armada***The Character of Things**
Chair: Brian Maidment
(GH008)**Jim Mussell;** On the Character of Things: Narratives of Discovery and Inventions in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press**Anne DeWitt;** Getting the 'liberal side of geology' into Q.R.: Charles's Lyell's Character in the *Quarterly Review***Judith Fisher;** What's in a Word? "Teapots", "Anti-Teapots" and the *Anti-Teapot Review***Mary Bell;** Shame in Victorian Advertisements**6.30 Wine Reception, sponsored by Proquest (Terrace Room)****7.30 conference dinner (Dining Room). The Bar is open until Midnight.**

Saturday 5 July

10am - 11.15 am, session 5	Women's Magazines And Columns Chair: Margaret Beetham (Portrait Room) Kathryn Ledbetter; Marketing Literature, Celebrity, and Beauty: Women Authors and the <i>Lady's Realm</i> Janet Tanke; The Transgendering of 'Autolycus' in the <i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> Jolein De Ridder; The 'Maddening' Supplement: the <i>Ladies' Treasury</i> and its <i>Treasury of Literature</i>	Punch Chair: Anne Anderson (GH006) Clare Horrocks; The Character of the <i>Punch</i> Brotherhood Zoe Alker; Characters of the Press: the Garotter Nickianne Moody; From the Sewer to the Boudoir: <i>Punch</i>, Visual Metaphor and Changing Cultural Registers	Characterising the Past Chair: Leslie Howsam (GH021) April Patrick; Periodical Mourning: the Character of the Woman Author as Created in Victorian Elegies and Obituaries Carol Bock; Literary Character and <i>Bentley's Miscellany</i> in the 1840s: Katharine Thomson's 'Literary Retrospect of the Departed Great' Alison McMonagle; "And of course she was fat": the Figure of Mary Seacole in Kingston's <i>Daily Gleaner</i>	Newspapers Chair: Deborah Mutch (GH008) Christian Auer; Religious Bias, Construction of Otherness and Distorted Reality: the Press of Inverness during the Clearances, 1845-1855 Andrew Hobbs; 'Atticus' and the <i>Preston Chronicle</i> David Latané; Personalities of <i>The Age</i>, 1827-1830
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**11.15am (Terrace Room)
coffee**

11.45 am – 1pm, session 6	Mid-Century Women's Magazines Chair: Alexis Easley (Portrait Room) Charlotte Mitchell; 'Novices and Ladies': the contributors to Charlotte Yonge's <i>Monthly Packet</i> 1851-83 Sarah McNeely; Rhetorics of Empowerment: Education and Employment in <i>Eliza Cook's Journal</i> Melissa Harbin; Clothed in Muslin and Virtue: the <i>Lady's Newspaper</i> as a Social and Moral Influence	Aestheticism (& <i>Punch</i>); Chair: Nickianne Moody (GH006) Anne Anderson; The 'Mutual Admiration Society', or Mr Punch against the Aesthetes Shu-Chuan Yan; Britannia in Caricature: (Dis)-Embodying the Nation in <i>Punch</i> 1850-1880 Lorna Shelley; The character and the afterlife of the <i>Yellow Book</i> (1894-1897) in the <i>Acorn</i> (1905-1906)	Reviews Chair: Joanne Shattock (GH021) Leslie Howsam; The Victorian Bluffer's Guide to History Books: Reading the Reviews in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals Andrea Cabus; Creating the 'in-group' in Victorian Novel Criticism Casey Smith; Popular Bibliography in the 1880s: The 'Prettily Printed Magazines' of Elliot Stock
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1pm-2.15pm (Terrace Room)

Brown Bag Lunch – RSVP AGM (Portrait Room)

2.15pm
-4pm,
session
7

Mid and Late Nineteenth-Century Women's Magazines
Chair: Solveig Robinson (Portrait Room)

Sarah Dewis; *The Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad* : A Case Study of a Woman Editor in the Mid Nineteenth Century

Molly Youngkin; The Aesthetic 'Character' of Wilde's *Woman's World*?

Valerie Fehlbaum; Separating the Women from the Ladies or Bringing them Together?

Class And The Periodical Press
Chair: Ian Haywood (GH006)

Gary Peatling; Is there a Class in this Text? Social Class, Authority, and the Character of Victorian Higher Journalism

Deborah Mutch; 'Nunquam, 'John Smith' and the Character of *Clarion* Socialism

Louise Lee; Deity in Dispatches: Charles Kingsley and the Scramble to Scribble in the Crimea

Celebrity
Chair: Andrew King (GH021)

Maria Frawley; What's in a (Pen) Name? Pseudonymity, Signature and Celebrity

Gary Simons; Thackeray's Narrative Voice in the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle*

Alexis Easley; The Celebrity Cause: Octavia Hill, Virtual Landscapes, and the Periodical Press

Sharon Aronofsky Weltman; Ruskin, Pantomime, and *The Illustrated London News*

4pm- 4.30pm (Terrace Room)

tea

4.30, plenary 2 (Portrait Room)

Kathryn Ledbetter, Colby Scholarly Book Prize Winner

'Ideologic Tokens': Poetry in Victorian Periodicals; or, More on What the *Wellesley* Left Out

Chairs: **Maria Frawley** and **Bob Patten**

5.30 conference close

Abstracts

Friday 4 July

Session 1 10am – 11.15am

Portrait Room: Editing

John Drew

“That great humming-top *Household Words*” A New Spin on an Established Character.

After five years in the editorial chair, during which he had completed the composition of *David Copperfield*, *Bleak House*, *A Child's History of England* and *Hard Times*, and contributed 120 articles, most of them leaders, to his successful magazine, Charles Dickens described the enterprise in a letter to Leigh Hunt as ‘that great humming-top *Household Words*, which is always going round with the weeks and murmuring “Attend to me!”’ Instinctively, Dickens animates if not personifies his own journal, and in an ambivalent fashion typical of his metaphors concerning the business and power of the press.

This paper investigates this strain of discourse in Dickens's letters and writings, in order to understand more clearly how he and contemporaries responded to the idea of a journal as a body of work capable of life and locomotion. However, distinctions can be drawn between the active creation of a journal in real-time (a process in which the original editor and contemporary readers are engaged with each other in steady linear forward-motion, and in which the growth of letterpress is cumulative and unidirectional) and the re-editing and consumption of a journal in interactive digital format. The paper will proceed to investigate these distinctions, using the author's ongoing experience of the *Dickens Journals Online* project (www.buckingham.ac.uk/djo) as an example and springboard for posing further questions about our relationship with Victorian periodicals. Does a magazine's period of vital activity cease with its final issue, or can it be fully re-animated in digital format? To what extent does a magazine's perceived personality change when we are in a position to interact with it in a non-linear fashion, and interrogate it retrospectively and in totality, rather than working from interim judgments? What happens to a journal's ‘voice’ when anonymity is systematically removed, or when indexing and search facilities allow it to be infinitely re-organised?

Dickens's journals have frequently been identified very closely with their editor's own persona – its tone was ‘Dickensy,’ Mrs Gaskell complained; it was ‘mononymous’ rather than anonymous, Douglas Jerrold quipped – but this study of what might be termed their bio-economics proposes a new spin on this established character, offering a more plural, variegated, and problematic interpretation.

Fionulla Dillane

Targeting Text: commercial and ideological innovations through design in the *Westminster Review* (1836-54).

The format of a periodical, as Louis James has pointed ‘becomes a tone of voice, a way of conditioning our response’.¹ This paper will offer a comparative analysis of the format of the

¹ Louis James, “‘The Trouble with Betsy’: Periodicals and the Common Reader in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England,’ *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, eds Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), 347–66, 351.

Westminster Review over almost twenty years under three different editorships — J.S. Mill (1836-40); William Hickson (1840-51); Marian Evans and John Chapman (1851-54) — to demonstrate how the tone and voice of the influential intellectual quarterly was manipulated through the mechanics of design. I will argue that extra-textual editorial practices, specifically, the layout and design of contents pages, of headlines and of indices, indicate different editorial views of how the *Westminster* functioned as an organ entertainment and instruction.

Changes in the layout of the *Westminster* will be contextualized with comparative references to the layout of its competitors (e.g. *Edinburgh Review*) and the format of more reader friendly magazines (e.g. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*). I will argue that the three very different editorial teams at the *Westminster* sought in various ways to both distinguish themselves from these journals though layout, while also borrowing certain design practices. This mapping of the text for the reader indicates the growing awareness of the now more widely appreciated fact that 'the reader in the nineteenth century was coming to inhabit an increasingly textual environment'.²

This paper will highlight how the editor, so often invisible in the margins of the text, was alert to the possibilities of using layout and design features to capture new readers decades before New Journalism's design revolution.

Elizabeth Tilley

(read by Fionulla Dillane): Defining Irish Character: the *Dublin University Magazine*

In the long history of the *Dublin University Magazine*, two distinct, very successful periods are often highlighted by critics: the years 1842-1845, when Charles Lever was editor, and 1861-1870, when J.S. LeFanu was editor. In both periods the serial fiction of the editors took pride of place, and the subject matter of those serials coloured the tone of the surrounding articles. Lever's work reflected an already nostalgic Regency fondness for adventure and humorous scrapes, whereas LeFanu's ghostly stories and anxiety-ridden characters mirrored the garrison mentality of an increasingly irrelevant Protestant Ascendancy. This paper examines the changing "character" of the *Dublin University Magazine* during these periods, and suggests ways in which fiction and editorial voice, combined with the nature of the periodical form itself, created a highly flexible vehicle for the working out of cultural tensions

Room GH006: The Character of Children

Fred Milton

Characters of the Press: Uncle Toby and the Dicky Bird Society: 1876-1914.

In 1876 the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* (NWC) launched its 'Children's Corner'. This was the first such children's column in a nineteenth-century British newspaper. This was not the only innovative feature. Within the new column began the Dicky Bird Society (DBS), a children's nature conservation club that aimed to promote bird conservation and foster humanitarian values within its members. As would be expected, the NWC repeatedly emphasised how the incidences of bird cruelty were falling because of its work. It is, of course, difficult to substantiate whether this was true, but in terms of longevity and members enrolled it is certain that the DBS was an extraordinarily successful venture. The society ran until its host newspaper folded in 1940, by which time 400,000 children had pledged themselves to the DBS's cause.

The DBS was the creation of William Adams, Chartist, staunch republican and NWC editor. Adams ran the DBS under the pseudonym of Uncle Toby, a name he adopted after being inspired by the humanitarian action of Lawrence Sterne's character of the same name in *Tristram*

² Laurel Brake et al., *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (London: Palgrave, 2000), 3.

Shandy, who rescues a fly at his dinner table and releases it. After Adams' retirement in 1898, his son Ernest assumed the NWC editorship and with it, the responsible role of Uncle Toby. This paper traces the formative years of the DBS. It suggests that its work was to some extent, a panacea to the growing contemporary panic over the perceived moral and physical decline in the nation's youth and therefore a defence against the penny dreadful press. The effects of the DBS were wide. The genial Uncle Toby was synonymous in Newcastle with the DBS and bird-protection. Local manufacturers exploited his avuncular name by producing Uncle Toby sweets, cake, and even Uncle Toby tobacco and picture frames. Yet his name spread further than his Newcastle base. The DBS had an international reach and Australian and South African branches were formed to widen the bird conservation message. In 1877 Uncle Toby wrote;

Some day I hope to see a worldwide federation of bird protection societies, with this English society of ours at its head, with a membership numbering a row of figures, which if I mentioned it now might make people laugh. But if we work and wait that may come.

Brian Harrison has claimed that in order to ensure animal protection legislation was enforced activists multiplied the scope and range of protection societies. A marker of the success of the DBS was that Uncle Toby's 1877 ambition was achieved. His society inspired a further forty British newspaper and children's magazine titles to host similar clubs, with a combined membership that exceeded 1.5 million children. Clearly these press societies form a significant role in not only broadening our understanding of the nineteenth-century popular press and its readers, but also deepening our knowledge of childhood history.

Ellen Jordan

The Magazine For The Young: An Example From The World Of Small Sectarian Publications.

In 1903 Christabel Coleridge, a grand-daughter of the poet, described the "character" of the *Magazine for the Young* (published 1842-1875) as follows: "This small and unpretending twopenny, 'The Pink Mag,' as it was called by its friends, was remarkable among children's magazines through all its career for good sense, refinement, and absence of folly." (p.149) This paper looks at what it was in its history that earned it this warm if rather prim commendation.

The middle years of the nineteenth century saw the publication of large numbers of small circulation periodicals that can be most usefully categorized by sect and target audience. In the 1840s, for example, the varied publications by the High Church party within the Church of England included the *Christian Remembrancer*, addressed to the segment of its members that read the serious quarterlies, the *Churchman's Companion* intended for middle-class family reading, and the *Cottager's Monthly Visitor* adapted to the interests and literacy of the poorest of the Church's parishioners. None of these were official organs of the church hierarchy. They were commercial ventures by their various publishers (Burns, Masters, Mozley and Rivington in the case of those listed) who expected to make them a profit, even if it meant paying the contributors and editors very little, or even nothing at all. Nevertheless their "character" seems usually to have been established not by the publishers but by a person or persons who wished to give a particular sectarian slant to the moral and religious instruction of a particular segment of the population, and who found a publisher willing to take the risk, with the instigator usually acting as first editor and as a major contributor. This character could however be radically changed if there was a change of editor.

This process is exemplified in the history of the *Magazine for the Young* which lasted from 1842 to 1875 and was initially directed at working-class children and adolescents. It was founded in 1842 by Elizabeth and Marianne Dyson, the wife and sister of a Hampshire clergymen, who were deeply involved in visiting the poor of their village and supervising the education of the parish's children, and who also had ambitions to be writers of fiction. Marianne had already published a number of small books for children, and the publisher of one of them, James Burns, of 17 Portman Street, London, undertook the production and distribution of the magazine.

After a year they passed the editorship to Anne Mozley, a member of a publishing family whose imprint often appeared with that of Burns, and in 1844, Charlotte M. Yonge, a country neighbour

of the Dysons whose first novel had been published jointly by Burns and Mozley, became a regular contributor. Both these women, though they maintained their connection with the *Magazine for the Young* to the end, later made names for themselves in a much wider sphere. Anne Mozley became a regular contributor to the *Saturday Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, and Charlotte Yonge also reached a mainstream educated audience, her major novels being published and republished throughout the second half of the century by Macmillan & Co.

Under Anne Mozley's guidance the focus of the magazine narrowed to a younger age group, but broadened to include a wider class range, some of Charlotte Yonge's contributions, *Countess Kate* and *The Stokesley Secret* for example, dealing with pre-adolescent children from the gentry and aristocracy. This paper will suggest that though the magazine preserved the moralistic tone and sectarian bias inherited from its founders, it was the expertise of these two later contributors that enabled it to avoid the sentimentality and weak piety so often characteristic of religious journals addressed to this audience, and so earned it Christabel Coleridge's encomium.

Susan Ash

Dr. Barnardo's *Treasures*, *Darlings*, and *Bubbles*: Recruiting the Child Philanthropist

Dr. Barnardo supported his burgeoning philanthropic practice by editing and publishing children's periodicals continuously between 1874 and 1900. These potential rich sources of social commentary and knowledge have remained virtually unexamined by scholars.

In 1874 he purchased *Father Williams Stories*, which he re-named *The Children's Treasury and Advocate of the Homeless and Destitute*, the title clearly specifying its philanthropic connection. He dropped the titular reference to charity work in 1881, when he replaced *The Treasury* with the more lavish, *Our Darlings: The Children's Treasury of Picture and Stories*. A third periodical superseded *Our Darlings* in 1894, *Our Bubble: A Volume of True Tales and Coloured Pictures*, a name which also foregrounded visual and print narrative rather than child advocacy.

These changes suggest that in his mass print businesses for children, Barnardo had shifted focus from reform to entertainment, albeit Evangelical in content and purpose. In reality, however, his children's periodicals remained integral to his charity work from start to finish while also providing personal income for Barnardo's own family. He created 'character' or 'branded' these periodicals (always linked with himself as named editor) by establishing a set of textual practices he repeated for 26 years, targeting a wide spectrum of child readers as active recruits for philanthropy in their own right, using narrative ploys to inculcate Evangelical responsibility for charity at a very young age.

This paper thus explores the blend of entertainment and improving 'literature' Barnardo evoked to increase numbers both in circulation and in recruitment.

Room GH021: In Search of Character

Eugenia Palmegiano

A Conundrum On Character: Periodical Perceptions Of Press Readership In The Nineteenth Century

Writers in nineteenth-century reviews and magazines penned many lines on press readership. Why they did so seems to have had little to do with government, church or social standing. Rather, research confirms that their interest sprang from a common belief that the press was an important component of society, not merely a record of other institutions. Striving to understand journalism, they contributed to the larger discourse on culture.

One area on which essays focused was readership. Studying journalism's clients is no easy task, as many books since Richard Altick's now-classic *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* have demonstrated. Contemporaries, unaware of or unwilling to acknowledge the difficulties, plunged into this hazardous subject because they presumed that they knew who readers "real-ly" were and how they interacted with the press. In this pursuit, they

created a tantalizing dialectic for historians: did reader demand shape press character or did press influence catalyze readers to make certain demands.

To begin unraveling this strand, which is but one of many examples of journalistic introversion in the era, this paper draws from nine decades of evidence in publications that cut across political, religious and class lines. The sources range from elite quarterlies to inexpensive weeklies, and the authors, from working or former journalists to social critics. Using their interpretations, the paper presents a unique perspective – press perceptions of the press

Koenraad Claes

Supplements: theoretical perspectives in practical use

Despite the recent efforts of scholars such as Laurel Brake, Marysa Demoor and Kate Macdonald,³ periodical supplements are still an often disregarded paratextual source of information. Their overall neglect in periodical studies arguably comes down to the problem of defining the relationship between a periodical and its so-called “ephemera”. Unfortunately many people involved in the preservation of nineteenth-century publications for archival, librarian or other purposes, were already insufficiently sensitive to this issue. In many cases older periodicals reach us with several issues bound together in an often quite arbitrary grouping, in many cases without supposedly “uninteresting” features such as covers, title pages, tables of contents, and indeed supplements. The fact that nineteenth-century periodicals often do not reach us intact is of course a source of constant chagrin to scholars working in our field, though many still do not fully realise the potential wealth of information to be gained from a careful and informed reading of these items.

When scanning for supplements, we are used to think of nothing but external articles or loosely issued seasonal items, but there are other possible finds such as advertisement sections and various kinds of gifts – not all of them necessarily loose. As I hope to show, there is no reason why these should not be viewed as “supplements” in their own right. During this talk I would like to suggest some working definitions for the periodical supplement, and use these insights to differentiate between different kinds of supplements, and relate them to the respective periodical genres with which they occur. Working definitions, because these may be as far as we can ever get.

The very supplementary nature of the supplement is highly problematic. When a periodical is supplemented, an indivisible (though maybe not seamless) link is forged between the “actual” periodical and its supplement(s): whenever a supplement is issued the periodical is proven incomplete without this document, and the supplement of course loses much of its relevance when taken out of the context it shares with the periodical it is supplementing. Contemporary critical theory offers an array of concepts that can be applied to “this dangerous supplement”. Obviously Derrida comes to mind, who more than anyone else has given thought to the notion of “supplementarity”. Genette’s theory of the paratext is also invaluable to a sound understanding of the periodical supplement, although he never specifically mentions it as such.

Some other approaches allow us to take the argument a bit closer to home. As I will try to show, the supplement certainly has its place in the commercial and prestigious positioning strategy within the field of periodical publishing. Advertisement supplements for instance allow us to sketch revealing networks within the field, and the very decision (not) to shun the adverts to a loosely-issued and therefore easily dispensable booklet can be very telling as to the editorial strategy of the periodical. In artistic magazines the look and nature of the supplement sometimes show discrepancies between the lay-out aesthetic and the commercial concerns of their ambitious editors. Every close examination of a supplement reaffirms the vital understanding that the interpretation of (nineteenth-century) periodicals requires attention for the often subtle dialectics between a publication’s content and its presentation. The theoretical aspect of the supplement can be highly productive, and I hope to demonstrate how it should provide a welcome base for more hands-on philological research.

³ E.g. the conference dedicated solely to this subject, held in March 2007 in Brussels. At the University of Ghent, three researchers (among which myself) are currently employed on a project specifically studying the periodical supplement, and I have greatly benefited from the preliminary work done by my predecessors and colleagues.



from George R. Sims, ed. *Living London*, Cassell, 1901, vol 2, p. 207

Session 2, 11.45- 1pm

Portrait Room: Editors

Rachel Buurma

The Character of Impersonality

While Victorian periodicals of all kinds routinely characterized themselves in specific ways in order to appeal to various audiences, at the same time we often find the editorial or "corporate" voice of the periodical being referred to – or referring to itself – as precisely impersonal and character-less. Victorian journalists, reviewers and editors spilled a significant amount of ink trying to capture and determine the specific character of this periodical or editorial impersonality. Dickens, as critics have pointed out, was seeking to create a characterization of editorial impersonality and omniscience when he considered instituting an editorial character called "The Shadow" as the guiding spirit of *Household Words*. In another instance, one anonymous Saturday Reviewer offered that though the *Saturday* as an entity might seem impersonal or abstract, "we submit that, having a corporate existence of ten years, we are in a manner somebody, a moral person or body politic."⁴ And many histories of the *Times* tend to characterize that newspaper's great Victorian editor John Delane as himself having an impersonal, or characterless, personality. In this paper I will track these attempts to both construct and understand periodical impersonality – and the specific rhetorics that came to characterize them – through a range of Victorian newspapers and magazines. I'll finish by pointing out that the very terms "impersonality" and "omniscience" that seemed to characterize the collective or editorial voice in the nineteenth century came in the twentieth century to characterize the narrative voice of the novel, an insight which, I'll suggest, should make us think further about the close relationship between the voices of Victorian periodicals and novelistic narration.

⁴ "Britain and Her Language." *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art* 20 (November 18, 1865): 649.

Peter Blake

The Paradox of a Periodical: *Temple Bar* under the Editorship of George Augustus Sala (1860-63)

Temple Bar's title, form, periodicity, and content were initially intended to emulate Smith and Thackeray's *Cornhill*. In its prospectus, written by Sala and published in the *Athenaeum* in November 1860, it also attempted to court the same middle-class family readership that *Cornhill* was enjoying. Sala promised that *Temple Bar* would be, 'full of solid yet entertaining matter, that shall be interesting to Englishmen and Englishwomen...and that Filia-familias may read with as much gratification as Pater or Mater-familias.' But Sala decided to surround himself with a team of contributors hand-picked from his own bohemian circle, journalists who's political and social outlook were at odds with that of a family magazine.

This paper will argue that Sala, along with sub-editor Edmund Yates and publisher John Maxwell, deliberately and cynically packed the first edition of *Temple Bar* with material designed to ensnare a 'respectable' middle class family readership. Using selective anonymity and a serialised novel later described by Yates as 'Trollope-and-milk', along with articles of a conservative nature, 30,000 copies of the first edition were sold. Once this readership had been established the editorial team began to introduce content of a more bohemian nature. Serialised sensation novels, like Sala's 'Seven Sons Of Mammon' and Mary Braddon's 'Aurora Floyd', attacked the dominance of the domestic realist novel, while hard-hitting articles and poems alerted readers to the misery and poverty to be found on the streets of London.

Along with articles and novels of a sensational nature, *Temple Bar* continued to include 'family-friendly' essays by respected writers like John Oxenford and J.M. Bellew. This was due to the paradoxical relationship the editorial team had towards bohemia. Maxwell tried to install Anthony Trollope as editor due to a concern over the proliferation of sensational material, despite just having commenced a relationship with Braddon, the 'queen of sensation fiction.' Yates criticised Sala and his bohemian friends in his 'Literary Lounger' column for the *Illustrated Times*, while Sala found himself in a paradoxical position as editor of a commercial venture and self-styled 'king of bohemia'. This diversity of content and ideas meant that *Temple Bar* would fail to produce a consistent meta-narrative and thus a consistent readership. This paper will demonstrate that it was the divergent characters and personalities of *Temple Bar*'s contributors and editorial team that were instrumental in denying this paradoxical periodical a clear 'character' and a clear ideology.

Georgina O'Brien

Periodical Illustration and the Branding of the Woman Editor

For this paper I consider the 'character' or 'branding' of two very different periodicals and their editor, Charlotte M. Yonge. Although Yonge is perhaps best known for her hugely popular domestic novels, such as *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1853) and *The Daisy Chain* (1856), she was also the longest running editor of the Victorian period as she continued to edit the periodical she launched in 1851, *The Monthly Packet*, until 1882. During the 1860s Yonge also set up and edited a sub-magazine of *The Monthly Packet* called *The Barnacle*. This smaller periodical was designed for and comprised of contributions from the members of Yonge's 'Gosling Society,' a group of young, enthusiastic women who craved intellectual stimulation, as well as the riddles and competitions set by Yonge under the editorial persona of 'Mother Goose.' The incomplete collection of the magazines left to us today indicates that each member submitted a piece of writing for Yonge to edit and consider for inclusion in the bound volume which was then circulated around the Goslings, although Yonge's editorial notes in the preface to each volume suggests a far wider circulation as the Goslings' friends also began to contribute.

In this paper I argue that although *The Barnacle* was a small venture, begun with the intention of mentoring, educating and encouraging young fans of the editor, this periodical in fact afforded Yonge a unique opportunity to develop her editorial persona through illustrations, something not possible in *The Monthly Packet* which carried none. The larger periodical was strongly identified with the editor as its 'house-style' was characterised by Yonge's frequent and distinctive editorial

introductions, notes and messages to contributors. Yonge's novels also often ran as the lead serial in the magazine before they were published in volume format. In *The Barnacle*, however, there was a distinct absence of the editor's voice, often only present in a short preface to each volume, yet the lesser periodical was perhaps more strongly identified with its editor because of the distinctive and playful illustrations in which Yonge appeared as 'Mother Goose' to her brood of 'Goslings.'

I argue, therefore, that whilst both *The Monthly Packet* and *The Barnacle* were characterised by Yonge's editorial persona, the former represents the conservative aspect of Yonge's professional identity, linked to her domestic novels and close association with the Oxford Movement; *The Barnacle*, by contrast, was characterised by Yonge's more private, playful persona of 'Mother Goose,' exposing not only a fascinating and important insight into Yonge's position as literary mentor to a group of aspiring young women writers but also exposing the more mischievous and light-hearted side to Yonge's professional identity that has been somewhat lost under the editor's conservative legacy.

Room GH006: Girls' and Mothers' Magazines

Margaret Beetham

Mothers' Magazines

Throughout the Victorian period, 'mothers' were an important group targeted by the periodical press both as readers in their own right and as having responsibility for the supervision of children's reading and, indeed, for ensuring that family reading, particularly that of daughters, was 'healthy'. This expectation crossed class divides and persisted throughout the period. 'Family' journals were, therefore, sometimes implicitly addressed to mothers, and most women's magazines assumed that readers were likely to be either mothers or daughters (who would become mothers). Maternity was thus assumed to be natural to, if not co-incident with, femininity. However, the character of 'The Mother' addressed and represented in journals was neither static nor uncontested.

This paper will focus on two contrasting pairs of monthly magazines addressed specifically to 'mothers' and will explore the continuities and discontinuities in the ideology of maternity they embodied. The *Mothers' Magazine* (1834-1862) and the *British Mother's Magazine* (1845-55) were unillustrated monthlies which carried an evangelical message about the importance of mothers to the spiritual well-being of their children. Both were linked to the Maternal Associations which had come to Britain from America and offered print spaces in which reports of meetings and letters from readers were shared. Serious in appearance and in content, they refused to carry the fiction and fashion which was already associated with feminine periodical reading.

In the 1880s and 1890s, a second group of magazines addressed specifically to mothers appeared. The *Mothers' Union Church Journal* (1888-1925) continued the religious tradition of the early magazines but titles like *Baby* (1887-1915), and *Babyhood* (1884-1892, which became *The Mother's Nursery*) offered a secularized model of child development. Instead of the Bible, *Baby* referred mothers to the work of scientists and medical men in relation to child development. These journals were illustrated, professionally produced, and addressed mothers as potential consumers of advertised goods.

These two pairs of journals from different periods may be read as providing a potted history of one strand of Victorian journalism. What connects them is a recurrent cultural anxiety about the character of mothers and the way the periodical press continued to act both as panacea and irritant in addressing this chronic problem.

Beth Rogers

'Notable girls of the nineteenth century': constructing heroines in fin-de-siècle girls' magazines.

The girls' magazine at the end of the nineteenth century positioned itself as guardian and instructor of its readers and, as such, there is a distinctly aspirational quality to these magazines. In addition to the practical advice regarding employment for women which has been discussed by such scholars as Margaret Beetham and Sally Mitchell, girls' magazines were much-preoccupied with promoting suitable heroines who would develop and inspire a sense of female potential in the minds of readers. Popular magazines, such as the *Girls' Own Paper*, *Girl's Realm*, *Atalanta* and *Young Woman*, all featured articles which discussed the achievements of such women as Florence Nightingale, Helen Keller, and, of course, Queen Victoria herself. Many of these articles also contain unexpected examples of female achievement and even reports on real-life talented girls of the time, as in the regular *Girls' Realm* column, 'Notable Girls of the Nineteenth Century'. This paper will argue that the diversity of the women held up as role-models for readers, as well as the language and frequency with which certain of these heroines are discussed, reflects the often contradictory agendas of these magazines marketed at a readership of middle-class modern girls. I will argue that these articles both complement and complicate the more practical moments of advice to readers and, in addition, create a language with which the accomplishment of the modern girl is judged, measured, encouraged and celebrated.

Michelle Smith & Kristine Moruzi

The Geography of Work: Characterising Work in the *Girl's Own Paper*

Attitudes towards work for middle- and working-class girls in the nineteenth century varied enormously. Nowhere is this more evident than in the fiction and informational articles of the *Girl's Own Paper*. This paper will demonstrate how, despite increasing educational and employment opportunities, middle-class girls are encouraged to remain within the domestic space. Only certain types of occupations are considered appropriately feminine, and they are acceptable only if employment is necessary to support the girls and their families. Moreover, these girls often fail in their endeavours if they work for reasons other than necessity. Curiously, however, girl readers sought information on a much broader range of employments in the correspondence columns of the magazine, suggesting that the lived experiences of these girls were at odds with the "official" perspective. This paper will argue that the *GOP* sought to contain middle-class girls' work within acceptable bounds that may have belied the reality of girls' work.

In contrast, attitudes towards working-class girls are not nearly as homogeneous. Like their middle-class counterparts, working-class girls are often portrayed as the noble victims of circumstance yet they rarely have their own voice. Paradoxically, given that the magazine was ostensibly aimed at the working- and lower-middle classes, when working-class voices are presented, they appear as novelties. This enables the presentation of the working class girl as an uncivilised "Other" who can benefit from the benevolent intervention of the middle-class. Working-class girls inhabit a foreign space that must be visited, explored, and explained to the middle-class readership of the magazine.

Room GH021: The Politics of Illustration

Brain Maidment

Branding Knowledge – Cheap illustrated Magazines of the 1820s and their Significance

Over fifteen years ago, when RSVP visited Manchester, I organised a small exhibition on the cheap octavo illustrated periodicals of the 1820s for the Conference. Called 'Into the 1830s' the

exhibition and catalogue looked at the ways in which the 'knowledge project' of the 1830s, most famously represented by the *Penny Magazine*, was foreshadowed in the previous decade by a range of journals that employed wood engraving and a varied range of contents to broaden the audience for periodicals, especially those associated with 'information' and self education. Since 1992, much more is known about these journals, especially *The Mirror of Literature* and the *Mechanic's Magazine*, thanks to the work of scholars like Jon Klancher, John Topham and Alan Rauch. This paper re-visits these magazines to consider how *The Mirror* in particular established a format, readership and concept of knowledge which opened the way for a wide range of rival publications, many of which seem at first glance barely distinguishable from the *Mirror*. Within a few years, however, and despite the evident physical resemblances between them, cheap weekly periodicals using wood engravings begin to define a variety of more specialised 'niche' audiences, and to suggest something of the diversity of address characteristic of early Victorian magazines. There were, for example, specialist fiction magazines in this format (*The Parterre*) as well as magazines devoted to the geography and topography of foreign lands (*Tales of Travellers*). The *Penny Magazine* was most precisely adumbrated by Knight and Lacey's *Library for the People*, while *The Housekeeper's Magazine* led more or less directly to *The Family Economist*. *The Spirit of the Times* was an unashamed mish-mash of snippets drawn from other periodicals, but even the most slavish imitators of the *Mirror* brand like the *Bonne Bouche*, *The Olio* and *The Hive* sought some minor level of distinctiveness. Clearly seen as a necessary element of a popular publisher's output (of the better known popular publishers of the period Limbird, Duncombe, Knight and Lacey and Sherwood and Jones were all extremely active in this field) the penny and twopenny illustrated octavo weekly based mainly on some version or concept of 'information' fulfilled a key role in suggesting both the importance and the difficulty of becoming distinctive in a highly volatile and competitive market. This paper seeks to describe and analyse some of the ways in which such periodicals sought a clear identity in an overcrowded field as well as their more general significance in driving, and perhaps democratising, the market for relatively cheap illustrated serial publications in the decade before the *Penny* and the *Saturday*. Inevitably such a discussion will involve consideration of Klancher's view that *The Mirror of Literature* and its rivals represent the failure of an Enlightenment commitment to democratic knowledge rather than a tentative introduction to the great 'information for the people' project of the 1830s and 1840s.

Ian Haywood

Illuminating Propaganda: William James Linton's *Bob Thin: Or, The Poorhouse Fugitive*

As Patricia Anderson notes in her seminal study *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790-1860* (1991), 'The hallmark of a transformed and expanded popular culture' in the early Victorian period 'was its increasingly pictorial character'. The mass-produced woodcut image became a defining feature of popular print culture, evidenced most strikingly in illustrated journalism and serialized fiction. Radicals played a leading role in this transformation: as Celina Fox observed in *Graphic Journalism in England During the 1830s and 1840s* (1974; rptd 1988), it was in the cheap publications of George W. M. Reynolds and the work of the Chartist engraver W. J. Linton that the standards of the woodcut were elevated from the crude 'cut' to the more sophisticated 'sketch'. It is the work of the latter that I want to discuss in this paper. Unlike Reynolds, Linton is still a neglected figure: he has received some attention as a Chartist poet and minor disciple of Blake, but Linton's contribution to radical and popular visual culture in the Victorian period is still unappreciated. In the time permitted in this talk, I want to discuss Linton's anti-Poor Law poem *Bob Thin: Or, The Poorhouse Fugitive*. This innovative, illuminated verse narrative first appeared in the *Illuminated Magazine* in 1845, when Linton acquired the periodical from Douglas Jerrold. As Brian Maidment commented in *Reading Popular Prints 1790-1870* (1996, 2001), the *Illuminated Magazine* had a reputation for high-quality and 'startlingly varied' visual material, and I will argue that Linton took the idea of 'illumination' to new heights when he composed *Bob Thin*. In addition to celebrating the richness and sophistication of the dozens of images which 'grace' the poem, I will show how Linton appropriated several popular visual and

literary genres, including the children's pictorial alphabet, the 'floriculture' of urban gardening, the radical Utopia, and the 'Condition of England' fable.

Henry Miller

The Cult of John Leech: Respectability, Character and Cartoons

Cartoons, most famously those in *Punch*, were and are a much remarked on feature of Victorian periodicals. This paper looks at the culture behind the cartoon, which restrained its content, and also cartoonists and comic periodicals. The notion of character is important here, as comic periodicals sought to provide wholesome, moral humour, improving their readers as well as amusing them. As well as this, contemporaries linked the art with the lifestyle of the cartoonist: a virtuous life begat wholesome art. The character of the artist and his art were inextricably linked. As well as using comic periodicals, including *Punch*, the paper is based upon contemporary biographies of cartoonists, and other writings on cartoons. Victorians were fascinated by Georgian caricature, yet also repelled by it, finding it coarse, and inferior to Victorian cartoons. From this critical survey we can discern what characteristics were esteemed in Victorian cartoons, and what was seen as taboo. The life, character and art of John Leech (1817-64) was held to exemplify all that was admirable about Victorian cartoons. Through his work in *Punch*, Leech pioneered a style and template that was extremely popular and set a standard for other cartoons to be measured by.

Victorian writers stressed four discontinuities between Georgian caricature and Victorian cartoons, and frequently invoked the work of Leech as they did so. Georgian caricature had frequently indulged in 'personality', targeting the private vices of public figures. This was thought to be unfair, the cartoonist should criticise politicians for their public faults, but private character should be inviolate. Leech himself ignored many suggestions for personal attacks which were sent to him. Georgian caricature was also thought to be coarse and vulgar. Leech's cartoons were wholesome and could therefore be enjoyed by women and children as well men. Georgian caricaturists were masters of the grotesque, of physical exaggeration. This was considered excessive. Caricature should be abjured: the cartoonist should strive to be realistic and picture beauty. In this respect, critics particularly venerated the handsome young women who littered Leech's social sketches. Finally, Victorian cartoons, especially those in *Punch* on the 'condition of England' in the 1840s, had a moral message, unlike the immoral, and corrupting prints of earlier periods.

Leech was praised as a man as well as an artist, and reading some of the admiring tributes to his character traits and lifestyle it is hard not to conclude that the writers were projecting certain Victorian middle-class ideals onto Leech, although he certainly fulfilled plenty. By contrast, the dissipated habits of James Gillray, Thomas Rowlandson and other earlier caricaturists had degraded them, and ultimately corrupted and warped their work. This partly reflected a dislike of older Bohemian lifestyles by increasingly respectable artists, writers, and journalists. There were also wider implications of these commentaries on cartoons and caricature. Leech's virtuous art not only reflected his virtuous character and lifestyle, but also reflected the virtuous age he lived in and pictured, just as Georgian caricatures had reflected the coarseness and licentiousness of the caricaturists and their age.

1-2pm “Brown Bag Lunch”

Laurel Brake and Jim Mussell on the Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition and the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*

2-3 pm plenary

Linda Peterson, 'Characterising Regina's Maids of Honour and their Heirs'



Smith's stall in a station, insert in Henry Sampson, *A History of Advertising*, Chatto & Windus, 1875

session 3, 3pm -4.15pm

Portrait Room: Women Critics And Authors

Solveig C. Robinson,

Eliza Lynn Linton's Critical Character in the *Saturday Review* and *Temple Bar*: from "Saturday Reviler" to Cosmopolitan Critic

Best known for her social criticism, Eliza Lynn Linton also wrote literary criticism, both occasional reviews and more extended essays. And despite the notorious over-the-top tone of her “Girl of the Period” and “Shrieking Sisterhood” essays for the *Saturday Review*, in her literary criticism Lynn Linton generally maintained a balanced and objective point of view. The nearest thing to a statement of her reviewing philosophy is made by her alter-ego Christopher Kirkland, who vehemently insists on his own objectivity:

My work was always to me impersonal. I said what I honestly thought of the book as an achievement, and no personal sympathy with, nor hostility to, the writer turned me one hair's breadth to either side. I put my honour in keeping up the high standard of excellence for which the paper in question was then famous. If a book reached that standard, I praised it; if it did not,

I condemned it. . . . I know no other way of dealing with things than on their own merits
(*The Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland* 3:97)

This ideal, “impersonal” critical character manifests itself in most of Lynn Linton’s literary reviews, from her pieces in the *Saturday Review* in the 1860s to her more extended essays in *Cornhill*, *Temple Bar*, and the *Fortnightly Review* in the 1870s to 1890s. But the individual characters of these periodicals clearly impressed themselves on Linton-as-critic in distinctive ways.

This paper will examine Eliza Lynn Linton’s literary reviews in the *Saturday Review* and in *Temple Bar* in order to trace the ways in which the characters of these very different publications shaped Lynn Linton’s own critical character. While the *Saturday Review* provided a brilliant setting for Lynn Linton’s sharp social criticism, its emphasis on topicality and on satire provided Lynn Linton with little scope for developing the kind of literary critical persona she admired. *Temple Bar*, on the other hand, provided her the opportunity to comment on classic and contemporary literature in a sober and scholarly manner, to become, in print, the “Professional Man” she so yearned to be.

Deborah Logan

“Dear Cousin”: Harriet Martineau, Henry Reeve, and the *Edinburgh Review*

My work on Harriet Martineau includes new editions of her writing, a five-volume edition of her letters, and a literary biography, *The Hour and the Woman*. My current work is a book-length analysis of Martineau’s nonfiction writing, primarily periodicals and history and travel writing, viewed from the framework of the accelerated expansion of the Empire from mid-century on. Martineau was a prolific writer by any standards, and the richest and best of her work is her periodicals writing. The paper I presented at the 2007 RSVP meeting in Richmond addressed the literary, ideological, and economic wrangling over the *Westminster Review* involving Harriet Martineau, James Martineau, John Chapman, Henry Lewes, George Eliot, and Edward Lombe, along with an array of investors, writers, and bohemian literati that comprised the Chapman circle during the 1850s.

Harriet Martineau’s affiliation with that circle ended in 1858, when she broke relations with Chapman over his questionable financial arrangements and, according to her, their incompatible literary, social, and political ideologies. In October 1858, Martineau published her last article for the *Westminster Review* – “Travel, the last half-century” – and, in the same month, published her first article for the *Edinburgh Review* – “The Slave-trade in 1858.” Although Martineau had voiced criticisms about the *Edinburgh*’s editorial policies in the past, her letters reveal that she approached the new editor, her cousin Henry Reeve, as early as June 1858, offering to contribute to the *Review* even as her relations with Chapman quickly deteriorated. Smoother by far than her complex relations with John Chapman, her relationship with Reeve and the *Edinburgh* lasted ten years and involved no fiscal wrangling, although it, too, was characterized by her frustrations with the editor’s comparative conservatism. Nevertheless, as is true of her writing for the *Westminster*, some of her finest extended pieces were written for the *Edinburgh*.

My paper considers Martineau’s work for the *Edinburgh* in terms of the insights revealed through her extensive correspondence with Reeve, which illustrate the literary collaboration between writer and editor through discussions of both editorial minutiae and weighty philosophical conundrums. This episode in Martineau’s long career is recorded in correspondence detailing topics and sources, problems and issues, strategies and approaches for addressing some of the most prominent issues of the period, including the slave-trade, still thriving fifty-years after it became illegal; women’s work; American Civil War politics; the “China Question”; and trade-unionism. My aim in this paper, then, is to examine both the literary collaboration between Martineau and Reeve and to consider this “chapter” of her writing in the context of her half-century career as a social-problem writer.

Joanne Wilkes

Adapting to a Periodical's 'Character': The Case of Anne Mozley

Anne Mozley (1809-91) was a prolific contributor to a number of mostly conservative periodicals from the late 1840s onwards, writing anonymously for all of them: the *Christian Remembrancer*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Saturday Review* and *Bentley's Quarterly Review*. She covered a wide variety of topics, though with a strong focus on literature. This paper concentrates on her treatment of women's capacities, especially their literary capacities, and considers how, aided by the convention of anonymity, she adapted the viewpoints she advanced to the character of the periodicals she wrote for. In particular, it compares her writing for the Tory *Blackwood's* and the Anglo-Catholic *Christian Remembrancer*, with her output for *Bentley's Quarterly Review*, a periodical too shortlived (four issues) to establish an identifiable ideological orientation, a salient 'character'. In *Blackwood's* and the *Christian Remembrancer*, Mozley ostensibly argued for rather narrow conceptions of women's abilities, acceptable behaviour, and writing, but her rhetorical strategies actually enabled her to make strong claims for their intellectual capacities and literary potential. One instance was an article on 'Clever Women' for *Blackwood's*. Another was her coverage of Charlotte Brontë's life and works in the *Christian Remembrancer*, where she reviewed both *Villette* and Gaskell's biography of Brontë: she adopted a male voice, and criticised Brontë and her heroines for being unwomanly, but praised highly the vitality and originality of the novels. In *Bentley's Quarterly*, however, Mozley was more direct, less given to accommodating the conservative side of the 'Woman Question' debate. She castigated Bulwer-Lytton for what she saw as the narrow and patronising view of women conveyed in his fiction, and produced the review of *Adam Bede* which George Eliot herself most appreciated. Mozley commended the novel for traits likely at the period to be coded 'masculine', such as wisdom derived from 'hard-won knowledge', and 'force' and 'freedom' of expression - but she identified it on internal evidence as a woman's work. This was, however, less through assumptions about inherently female literary traits, than through perceiving in the novel's narrative viewpoint a reflection of circumstances typical of women's lives.

Room GH006: Boys' Magazines**Richard Fulton**

Adventure Discourse in Boys' Periodicals of the 1860s-80s

The apparent wide-spread imperialism and militarism of the late 19th-early 20th century in Britain has often been attributed in part to the militarism and imperialism that "infused" boys' periodicals of the time. In this presentation I argue that the popular culture of the last decade of the century—the decade that produced the Sudan Sensation and the ongoing drama of the Boer War—had to have been a product of the 1860s-1880s, when the adults of the 90s were adopting their values. A careful study of representative boys' periodicals of that period reveals that military tales are uncommon, and the ones that do appear are grounded in the rhetoric and discourse of the adventure tale. This presentation will examine the characteristic adventure discourse of a sampling of boys' periodicals from the period and show that while the twin themes of imperialism and militarism may be detected in many of the tales, the overriding focus of the discourse is on the attributes necessary to a successful adventure protagonist.

Minna Vuohelainen'Forming Characters': *Union Jack* and niche marketing for boys in the 1880s

This paper considers how G.A. Henty's boys' paper *Union Jack* (1880-83) constructed its 'character' as a literary, imperialist, and 'healthy' weekly for manly boys and upright young men. The paper situates *Union Jack* within the competitive world of publishing for boys in the early

1880s, arguing that in order to survive in this environment the weekly had to identify and secure a niche position that distinguished it from its competitors, particularly *Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1967). The paper examines the diverse methods adopted by the team behind *Union Jack* to build up the 'character' of the weekly, offering a reading of this 'character' through a discussion of the paper's contents, its overall tone, the identity of its contributors, and its use of illustrations. It considers the aggressive marketing of the paper as a niche publication; it explores *Union Jack's* efforts to establish its superiority over other papers on offer; and it examines the weekly's attempts to construct an identity with reference to the high profile of the writers and illustrators catering for it. The paper further discusses how *Union Jack* attempted to create an exclusively masculine audience by its apparent exclusion of young or weak male readers and of women of any age in favour of young men of 12-18 years of age, and it explores the strategies deployed to bond these readers to the weekly. Finally, the paper seeks to establish whether *Union Jack* did indeed significantly differ from other weeklies on offer, and to what extent this niche position of the paper was an ideological construct rather than a reflection of reality.

Shih-Wen Sue Chen

"Immortal" Ching-Ching: Readership, Race, and the Penny Dreadful Personality

Sweeney Todd, Dick Turpin, Jack Sheppard, and Jack Harkaway, (in)famous characters associated with the penny dreadful press, have been explored by scholars such as John Brush Jones, James Sharpe, Matthew Buckley, and Kelly Boyd in recent years. However, a Chinese character named Ching-Ching, whose popularity rivalled that of Jack Harkaway, has thus far received little scholarly attention. This paper proposes to investigate how the issues of readership and constructions of the Chinese in Victorian children's literature intersect in this critically neglected series. Created by "the boys' Charles Dickens" Edwin Harcourt Burrage (1839-1916), Ching-Ching first appeared as a supporting comic relief character in "Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere" (1876), a story serialized in the *Boy's Standard* (1875-81), and later featured in the weekly sixteen-page journal called *Ching-Ching's Own* (1888-93), which was sold not only in Great Britain, but also in Canada and Australia. Although contemporary critics classified *Ching-Ching's Own* as a penny dreadful, Burrage characterised the magazine as a "wholesome journal issued for boys" "leavened with earnest records of the doings of the brave and strong." He claimed that readers "[gave] up reading abominable murderous literature for Old Chingy," who "simply aims to amuse" (II: 16 (1888), 4; VII: 101 (1892), 368).

Ching-Ching, who Burrage's son Athol claimed was modelled on an actual Chinese man who passed out tea advertisements on Fleet Street, is a kleptomaniac, gambler, drunk, storyteller, and practical joker, who can get away with anything by using flattery and performing stunts. Originally described as a "minor personage," Ching-Ching later emerges as a detective able to "fathom a Mystery which [the] Keenest Detectives of Scotland-yard have hitherto been unable to unravel" (VII: 84 (1892), 48). As the correspondence columns in *Ching-Ching's Own* reveal, contrary to regarding this Chinese figure as a villainous enemy to be loathed, many readers wanted to be friends with the "immortal" Ching-Ching and felt proud to be his "chum." Some readers, believing Burrage's statement that "Ching-Ching lives, Ching-Ching is a real being," travelled to the paper's offices to try to catch a glimpse of Ching-Ching. How did this character's fame surpass that of Handsome Harry, the archetypal imperial hero? In this paper I explore possible reasons for Ching-Ching's popularity and outline how the character of Ching-Ching was promoted through the use of marketing techniques such as reader competitions, prize-giving, and The Ching Ching and Chums' Marionettes tour. Most importantly, a feeling of affinity was created among readers when the "Ching-Ching Brotherhood" was formed. "Chingyites" received a medal and were allowed to append the letters "C.C.O.G.O.C" ("Cheerful Chum of Grand Old Chingy") after their name. Finally, I suggest that the Ching-Ching stories are worth investigating because they address issues of disguise, interracial marriage, cross-cultural friendships, and mixed-race children.

Room GH021: Reading “Character” in Defining Features: the Nineteenth-Century Monthly

Linda K. Hughes

Illustrated Poetry in *Cornhill Magazine* and *Once a Week*, 1859-1862

I propose to examine illustrated poetry as an index of periodical “character” at the cultural moment of the new shilling monthlies. Poetry was a recurring feature in *Macmillan’s Magazine* (launched November 1859), *Cornhill Magazine* (launched January 1860), and *Temple Bar* (launched December 1860). Of the three, only *Cornhill* was an illustrated magazine, one particularly distinguished for its frontispiece and additional illustrations of two serial novels per issue.

The policy of illustrating poetry or printing text alone impinged upon the ambitions and prestige of the magazine because of key developments in publishing history immediately preceding *Cornhill’s* debut. In 1857 a déclassé model of illustrated poetry died and an upmarket, high culture model was born. On one hand, the *Keepsake*, one of the best-known and longest running literary annuals (all known for their profuse illustrations and numerous poems written to order for illustrations) ended its 30-year run. The same year the Moxon illustrated edition of Tennyson’s poetry appeared, featuring the work of the PreRaphaelite artists whom Ruskin had publicly endorsed. The edition was a commercial failure but a *succès d’estime*, associating poems of immense contemporary prestige with avant-garde art.

Macmillan’s printed more poems than any other shilling monthly of decided literary aspirations. Its unillustrated format served to underwrite the magazine’s high seriousness (for it refused to cater to the popular taste for lavish visuality) even as it avoided the high production costs that would have been required to commission front-rank artists to provide etchings and drawings. *Cornhill* might well have followed suit. Certainly one of its most prestigious poems in the first volume, Tennyson’s “Tithonus” (February 1860), was unillustrated.

But I suggest that a rival weekly magazine that debuted six months earlier than *Cornhill*, *Once a Week*, exerted pressure on *Cornhill* to feature some illustrated poems in its mix. *Once a Week* was born when Dickens abandoned *Household Words*—and proprietors Bradbury and Evans—during the controversy over his marital separation and set up a rival magazine, *All the Year Round*. *Once a Week* was meant to fill the void, and it, unlike Dickens’s magazines, was lavishly illustrated. Significantly, its third issue (16 July 1859) featured an illustrated poem by Tennyson, a harking back of sorts to the Moxon Tennyson (though its illustration of “The Grandmother’s Apology” was anything but avant-garde). In the new weekly’s first three years poems by George Meredith and Christina Rossetti, sometimes illustrated and sometimes not, were also published.

In addition to placing *Cornhill* in this publishing context as a clue to the periodical character it established through its poetry, I want to explore what kind of content elicited illustration (e.g., two classical Greek subjects in volume 2) or discouraged it, and the status of illustrated poems—were the profile and prestige of a poem elevated or diminished through the incorporation of visuality? All these factors, I suggest, formed a semiotics of format and layout that helped announce the character of *Cornhill Magazine* to its audiences.

Marysa Demoor

W.T. Stead’s *Review of Reviews* – “Character Sketch: July”

This paper will be looking at the character of the *Review of Reviews* from its launch in 1890 up to and including the first years of the twentieth century. After a fairly general analysis of the monthly in which cover, masthead, titles and subtitles, adverts, general lay-out and contents will be discussed I will focus on its editor’s deft use of the articles called “Character Sketch” to define and position this monthly in the debate on colonialism and/or imperialism.

“Character Sketch” was the series of articles in which Stead chose to extol or to slash the character of a famous person, several persons or, in one case at least, a newspaper. *The Times* was the subject of such bashing in the *RoR* of March 1890 which, interestingly, demonstrates that

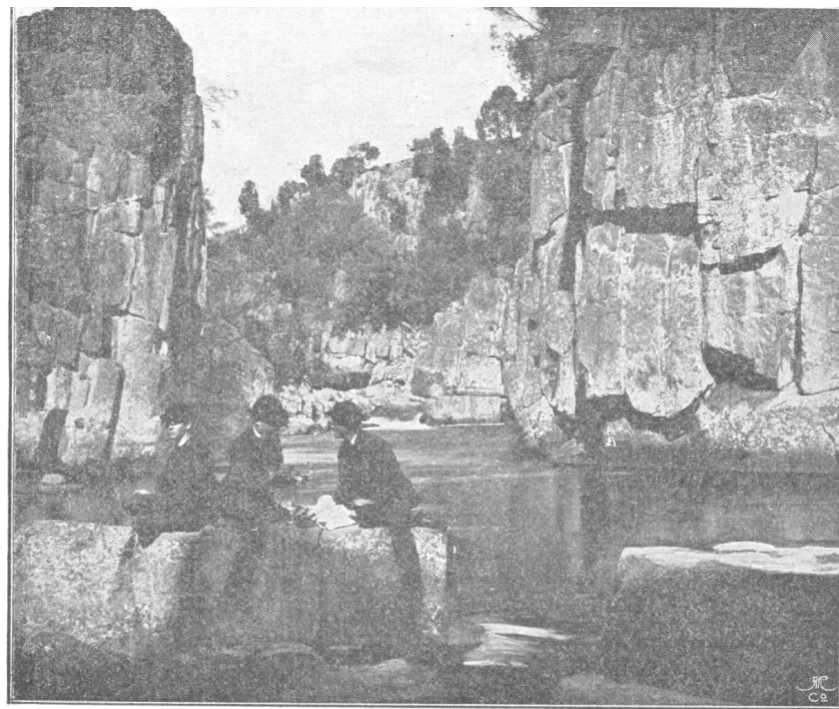
Stead was very much aware of the fact that “character” was a term that could be applied with equal validity to a periodical or newspaper.

Many of the characters chosen were politicians or heads of state whose policies Stead either strongly endorsed or equally strongly rejected. The January 1890 issue of *RoR*, however, contained a “Character Sketch” of the journalist and explorer H.M. Stanley. This was the first to set forth Stead’s attitude towards the colonies and its adventurous heroes. It is my purpose to describe Stead’s print strategies vis-à-vis imperialism and to relate this specific series of articles to his personal, political missions. I will start with Stanley and hope to end with Leopold, King of the Belgians.

Laurel Brake

The Monthlies 1820/21: early snapshots

This is a paper which will examine the character of up market, early monthlies as a group historically situated before *Fraser’s* (1830), and the defining features of individual titles within the cluster of journals examined. It will focus on the transformation from a first to second series in 1820/1821 of Henry Colburn’s Tory *New Monthly Magazine* (1814ff), which carried a definition of monthly magazines on its volume title page. In keeping with an adjacent second quotation, extolling imitation, the paper will firmly situate the *New Monthly* among its monthly contemporaries such as the *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1731ff), the ur monthly for this period; the liberal *Monthly Magazine* (1796) in response to which the *New Monthly* was launched; the *Monthly Repository* (1806ff), the upstart *Blackwood’s* (1817ff), and a ubiquitous weekly, Colburn’s *Literary Gazette* (1817ff). Their collective character and individual features will aid analysis and understanding of the distinguishing characteristics of the genre of monthlies at the time, as well as the defining features of the *NMM*. Beside contents and its organisation in individual numbers, format, price, readership, publisher/ printer/ editor, and the relation of puffing to advertising, and of periodical to book publishing will be assessed.



A LAKE IN ANTIPODÆA.

513

illustration to A. Warren, “Life in Antipodaea” [i.e. Tasmania] 510-14 in *Atalanta*, XI, June 1898

session 4, 4.45pm – 6.15pm

Portrait Room: Signature

Katherine Malone

Sybils, Fairies, and Spinsters: How Anne Thackeray Ritchie Constructed the Lady Critic

In the first of her “Blackstick Papers,” published in the December 1900 number of the *Cornhill*, Anne Thackeray Ritchie places her essays “under the kindly tutelage of the good fairy of [her father’s story] the ‘Rose and the Ring.’” She invokes the Fairy Blackstick in appreciation of “the illustrious lady’s serious composure, her austere presence of mind, her courageous outspokenness and orderly grasp of events.” Although Ritchie frequently referenced her father’s works in her essays, this choice seems most significant for the image of female intellectual power it presents. Ritchie asserts that Blackstick had nothing to do with “the lighter elegances” or the “tripping, fanciful, moonlight sprites...who waste so much valuable time and strength dancing on the green.” This distinction signals Ritchie’s claims for women’s critical power and—given that Blackstick is said to be “some ten or twenty thousand years” old—its long history.

Ritchie’s deliberate identification of the woman critic with Blackstick is all the more interesting when we consider it in light of popular notions of women’s writing. The Victorian gender ideologies that characterized men as rational and women as emotional naturally lent themselves to the categories of the “Man of Letters” and the “Lady Novelist,” but left little room for a “lady critic.” As Barbara Onslow and others have shown, while the periodical press’s anonymous system of publication enabled women to become reviewers and critics, it simultaneously obscured their contributions to both contemporary audiences and future generations. In doing so, it perpetuated the belief that only men should be cited as rational beings. Thus, the status of women critics as unauthorized authors creates a tension that underlies Victorian literary criticism, its public image, and its authority.

This paper will argue that women critics writing in the periodical press were conscious of that gendered tension and actively theorized it as they worked to find space for women’s critical voices in a society that silenced them. Although Anne Thackeray Ritchie is in some respects an exceptional case—as Thackeray’s daughter, she herself was a character of the press who could draw authority from her celebrity name—her rhetorical strategies are in many ways representative of nineteenth-century women critics. Throughout her career, which spanned from 1860 to 1919, Ritchie used figures as diverse (and sometimes unlikely) as spinsters, grandmothers, sybils, oracles, Blackstick, and Egeria, among others, to characterize the woman critic as rational, comprehensive, and authoritative. This presentation will focus on the ways in which her essays for the *Cornhill* and *Macmillan’s* strive to make the woman critic of the past and present visible to her audience.

Carolyn Oulton

“After all thank God it is not poetry!”: Mary Cholmondeley and the Fin-de-Siècle press

My interest is in the means by which late Victorian periodicals cut across class boundaries to construct the figure of the female writer. Mary Cholmondeley’s *Red Pottage*, published by Arnold in 1899, has benefited from the resurgence of interest in New Woman fiction since the 1970s; *Diana Tempest*, first serialised in *Temple Bar* in 1893 and roughly contemporaneous with the notorious media debate between Sarah Grand and Eliza Lynn Linton, could equally be defined as a New Woman novel. But in fact neither of Cholmondeley’s major novels of the 1890s was widely understood in these terms during her lifetime.

One reason for this anomaly lies in their author’s social background. Cholmondeley came from a securely upper class family, and one close relation reacted to the news that she had published an anonymous serial in *Temple Bar* by denouncing female writers as a nasty, fusty, frowsy lot, - Braddons and Broughtons & all of them! ‘ while consoling himself with the thought that at least it was not poetry and had not appeared under her own name. The threat of a lady becoming

'public property' is made explicit in the same letter, and Cholmondeley herself was at times uneasy about the proper relations between herself and the middle class professionals with whom her writing brought her into contact.

Paradoxically she quickly learned to use her social standing as a means of raising her professional profile. In her novels the country house is a place of intrigue and crime, as well as romance – in her own life it was a useful venue for networking. Her first two novels were serialised and published in volume form anonymously, a custom that served to protect the 'lady novelist', even as it allowed for the covert attacks of equally anonymous reviewers, who were constrained by no chivalry to the author.

With the revelation of her identity, the construction of a Cholmondeley myth, comparable to that of the Brontës, suddenly became possible. Reluctant to give interviews, Cholmondeley was presented in the press as 'the rector's daughter' from Shropshire. But this status as the daughter of a cleric of good family itself laid her open to opprobrium as critics detected ostensible attacks on established religion. As a well connected spinster from the country, still living with her father in her late thirties, Cholmondeley was less likely to be identified with the New Woman movement than her novels might otherwise suggest. But in avoiding association with this public debate, she found herself taken to task as a desecrator of established religion, a charge that by the 1890s already reads as reactionary and is surely based on the conflict between ladylike reserve and the accessibility of the professional writer, that she had come to represent.

Sarah Nash

What's in a name?: Signature and the Character of the *Fortnightly Review*

The Prospectus for the new *Fortnightly Review*, published in the *Saturday Review*, March 25, 1865, promised the public a new periodical, modeled upon the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. To achieve that end, it proposed "to remove all those restrictions of party and of editorial 'consistency' which in other journals hamper the full and free expression of opinion, and we shall ask each writer to express his own views and sentiments with all the force of sincerity." The Prospectus, through such statements, formulated two periodical personalities: an old-fashioned version, created either from association with political party or from editorial "consistency," –which referred to a corporate personality often achieved through editorial redrafting of articles without authorial permission - and a newer, consummately modern personality, which united the potentially fracturing qualities of individual responsibility under the rubric of sincerity. Writers would be asked to contribute to *The Fortnightly* based on their careers, and, the Prospectus intimated, this would facilitate their writing what they believed. In this paper, I read the first issue of *The Fortnightly Review* in terms of this project, and I argue that, despite the force of such declarations as the above excerpt, the issue, as a whole, questioned how efficaciously individual responsibility or sincerity could be nurtured within this publication form.

Anthony Trollope's article in the July issue of that year, entitled "On Anonymous Literature," taught *Fortnightly* readers where sincerity could be located in the overall periodical. In Trollope's words, "Here, in this new Review of ours, we intend to try what signatures will do for us." While other periodicals had assigned authors' signatures to certain articles, *The Fortnightly* was the first in several decades to advertise signature as an overall policy, or, as Trollope said, a "law." As a result of the same policy in the *Revue* and similar French journals, Trollope asserted, "In France ... a high professional standing has been acquired by a respectable professional body through the working of this law," and the *Fortnightly* intended to use its journal as a means of generating the same kind of professionalism in England, particularly in the area of criticism.

And yet, as Trollope noted years later in his autobiography, the journal quickly attained a distinctive character as an organ of liberal thought. In other words, despite the explicit commitment to signature as a sign of its thoroughly modern character, and Trollope's aspirations that it become a vehicle for professionalizing criticism and liberating it from the political arena, the journal nonetheless became an organ for English party politics. Partly, this can be explained by the location of the famous editor's name: "George Henry Lewes" was printed, proudly, on the front page. His name carried to his new editorial role at the *Fortnightly* much of the political overtones of his earlier venture, *The Leader*. The other difficulty arose from a striking consistency

of topic within the first issue: of the eight main pieces, written by Walter Bagehot, George Eliot, Reverend Conway, George Henry Lewes, Leicester Warren, Sir John Herschel, and Frederick Harrison, and an instalment of *The Belton Estate*, six, including Trollope's novel, questioned whether names could indicate responsibility or sincerity, or indeed any feature of moral, as opposed to political, character. If one contemplates the choices of reading methods the first issue offered, from reading pieces by favourite authors to reading links between articles, one discovers that names, in this first issue, vacillate between signifying individuality and indicating corporate or social identity, or, further, referring to antiquated social systems empty of meaning in the modern Victorian world. I argue it is through this vacillation that the journal, and Lewes's name, came to be read in the very terms of political association that the journal's board were attempting to avoid. Perhaps this story is fitting for a periodical named after a publication schedule it soon did not heed.

Andrew King

The Characters of 'Ouida': Signature, *Oeuvre* ; Periodical, Text

Although Ouida is well known for her sensational serial novels of the 1860s such as *Under Two Flags* (*British Army and Navy Review* August 1865-June 1866), for her triple-decker *Moths*⁵, and her notorious essay attacking the "New Woman" (*North American Review*, CLVIII May 1894: 610-19), this paper concentrates on her considerable and largely neglected body of non-fiction in the *Fortnightly Review* in the 1890s.

While she continued to write fiction into the twentieth century, non-fiction comprised Ouida's preferred mode from the 1880s onwards. It always appeared initially in newspapers and periodicals and although she put together two collections of essays (*Views and Opinions*, Methuen, 1895 and *Critical Studies*, Unwin, 1900) and a hybrid collection comprising a *roman à thèse* and essays (*An Altruist, and Four Essays*, Unwin, 1897), much remains uncollected. It comprises many letters to the *Times*, a handful of articles in the Florentine *Nuova Antologia* (in Italian) and other periodicals as well as 22 pieces in the *Fortnightly Review* between 1892 and 1906.

My research question concerns how the associations which accrued around Ouida's signature as a sensational society novelist came to inflect and still inflect understanding of her non-fiction. The labelling of Ouida as "a little terrible and finally pathetic grotesque" (Henry James letter 1913) or "the degenerate taste of the new reading public of the commercial middle class" (Malcolm Elwin, 1934), the enemy of the New Woman (Ledger, 1997) or even – and one would think positively – as the transgressor of bourgeois sexual norms (Natalie Schroeder, 1988; Jane Jordan, 1995) are not helpful when one comes to read her many essays on Italian politics, imperialism, animal rights or conservation. Rather it is more useful to place these essays in their specific publishing contexts than reading them as either single polemical points or through the early fiction she came to repudiate. In the essays Ouida's striking signature, adopted first no doubt as a marketable pseudonym, is a hindrance to our understanding; we should instead be placing them in the context of the relevant periodical – an old point but still a relevant one. What is notable is that Ouida's essays in the *Fortnightly* suddenly make much more *intelligent* sense when read alongside other contributions by, e.g. W.H. Mallock, than when they are read in isolation.

Room GH006: Imperial Issues

Beth Palmer

Colonial characterisations: the Royal Commonwealth Institute and its Periodicals

The non-government organisation now known as the Royal Commonwealth Society began its existence as the Colonial Society in 1868. With the approval of Queen Victoria it became the Royal Colonial Institute (hereafter RCI) in 1870. Comprised of a range of high-profile people

⁵ Chatto & Windus, 1880, recently edited by Natalie Schroeder for Broadview (2005)

interested in trade, politics and nationhood, its membership reached 3000 by the late 1880s. The institute wanted to promote union between Britain and its colonies through education and debate. The creation of a colonial library was the RCI's most important educative project. And, for the purposes of this paper, the library's collection of periodical publications concerning the colonies forms its most significant element.

I will analyse several literary magazines held by the RCI library including 'Plummer's Magazine; a Jamaica literary magazine' published in Kingston, 'Gram: A social magazine founded by British prisoners of war in Pretoria', the 'Colonia: the Colonial College Magazine' and 'Wealth of India: a Monthly Magazine'. I ask what characterisations of the colonist and of the colonised were being created by the poems, stories and editorials therein. These journals and magazines, many of them printed and published locally, represent a diverse range of political and religious, as well as national, perspectives. Rather than offering a simple and unified colonial 'other' in their characterisations of indigenous people, they often seek to differentiate and distinguish. I argue that while the RCI's house publication, the *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, often sought to homogenise colonised subjects the periodicals collected in their library offered strategies of resistance to such characterisation.

Priti Joshi

John Lang, the Picturesque, and the Indian "Mutiny"

This paper examines multiple versions of John Lang's "Wanderings in India," ostensibly first published in Dickens's *Household Words* in the immediate aftermath of 1857 "Mutiny." Lang is a hybrid figure + an Australian who was educated in Britain but lived and practiced much of his adult life in India + who raises important questions about the relationship between travel, empire, and cosmopolitanism. When the Uprising of 1857 started in India, Dickens, editor of *Household Words*, needed copy on the day's "hot" story, and he turned to Lang, a handful of whose essays Dickens had published previously. Lang was on vacation in Britain in India, hoping to achieve his literary break-through. Thanks to the Uprising, Lang suddenly found himself in demand ... but only if he wrote about India. Lang obliged and penned the 12-part "Wanderings in India" (1857-8). What is fascinating and only clear in hindsight and by historical sleuthing is that the opportunistic Lang, seeking his much-desired entry into London literary society, was merely recycling essays he had first published in his own Indian newspaper *Mofussilite*, almost a decade earlier.

This paper examines two versions of the essays and also the book version published in 1859. The cross-over from one context (India in the 1840s) to another (Britain in a fevered and jingoistic mood) is no mean feat for a writer, and I am interested in studying how Lang negotiated it. Lang's essays are an account of a series of "rambles" through India in 1847-8, "travelling in search of the picturesque." In pre-"mutiny" India, the picturesque mode reigned and Lang's series deploys all the tropes of that discourse + representing the place as a "scene," viewing it from a remote and panoramic perspective, freezing it into the past, arranging the population as part of a spectacle + tropes that read rather discordantly in the context of an enraged Britain in the immediate aftermath of the Uprising.

The second question I wish to address is: what difference does context make to the reading, reception, and standing of a text? I wish to read the three sets of essays *in situ*, as it were, alongside a range of responses to the events published in the periodical press in Britain, in order to unpack the work that travel writing (especially of the picturesque mode) accomplished in promoting the imperial mission. By *re-locating* his essays in their Indian and *Mofussilite* context and considering them in contrast to their post-"mutiny" and *Household Words* context, I hope to reveal some of the ways in which the picturesque was deployed in different contexts + as a mode of travel writing but also as a mode of "representing" the colonized Other precisely at the moment when they insist on representing themselves, politically if not aesthetically.

The theoretical approach that informs this inquiry is the inter-disciplinary field called "book history." The scope of book history is large + to "explore the social transformations brought on by writing and print technologies" + and among some of the questions it poses are: (1) How might a text's meaning be shaped by the material context in which it appears? (2) How do the

politics of printing and publication affect meaning? Inspired by this approach, I wish to focus on the material conditions of that most ephemeral of activities, reading, and focus attention on context in meaning-making.

Kristin Mahoney

Ethical Collecting and the Nationalist Character of *The Connoisseur*, An Illustrated Magazine For Collectors

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, the collector frequently operates as a figure for the deleterious effects of market society on aesthetic apprehension and historical knowledge. The late-Victorian caricature of the narcissistic connoisseur who abstracts and degrades historical objects by transforming them into markers of taste reflects a growing dissatisfaction on the part of Victorian writers with the manner in which collectors dealt with the alterity of things. This critique has been echoed and extended in the twentieth century by a tradition of Marxist and post-Marxist thinking that uses collecting as a figure for the erasure of conditions of production in modern capitalism, the replacement of the historical and the social with an emphasis on consumer choice. However, the pages of *The Connoisseur*, a turn-of-the-century periodical for collectors, reveal collectors actively avoiding this widely critiqued mode of subjectivist collecting that erases the past and elides contexts of origin. The articles in *The Connoisseur* articulate an alternative practice of consumption that attends to conditions of production and situates objects historically. The sensitivity to the ethical implications of their pastime evidenced within the pages of *The Connoisseur* indicates that some late-Victorian collectors engaged with the critique of their hobby and endeavored to mend it, to turn the pastime in a principled and just direction.

As the collectors and critics writing for *The Connoisseur* work to re-position abstracted objects within their historical contexts, attending to the pasts of which collected objects speak rather than the tastes of individual collectors that they might reflect, they also become alive to the relationship between their practice and the politics of nationalism and imperialism. A consideration of contexts leads directly into a consideration of nation. Essayists writing for *The Connoisseur* think through the ethics of abstracting objects from their sites of origin, what it means to take artworks from one country to situate them within a private home across the sea. They honor the role that collected objects made public might play in the recollection of national history and the solidification of national identity. In so doing, they awaken their readership to the fact that their private work is part of a larger, highly political, and public conversation. They foreground the role private acts of consumption might play in the emergence of globalization, the spread of imperialism, and the construction of national identity. The magazine redirects the regressive, narcissistic discourse of the collection, transforming it into a social discourse spoken to a community of collectors through the history of collected objects.

The Connoisseur, then, offers insight into the phenomenon of self-aware Victorian consumers engaging in critical reflection and exhibiting the capacity to respond to critique. However, what I would like to emphasize in this paper is that, as much as this critical self awareness and ethical sensitivity often produces insight into the role of modern consumer practices in cultural nationalism and imperialism, ethical collecting does not always necessarily lead its practitioners in a progressive political direction. Ethical collecting can, but does not necessarily, produce cosmopolitan subjects.

While some of the essays in the periodical celebrate the beauty of Peruvian art or bemoan the impact of European interest on the production of Japanese goods, many of the ethically-minded collectors writing for *The Connoisseur* celebrate the role collecting English objects might play in the solidification of an English sense of patriotic superiority. Attending to the ethical implications of collecting foregrounds the political valence of the pastime, and the nationalist character of *The Connoisseur* develops as a direct result of its ethical character.

Room GH021: Fiction and the Periodical Press

Emma Liggins

'Remarkable Cases of Spectral Illusion': Supernatural Stories in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*

This paper considers the extent to which writers of supernatural stories in the 1850s and 1860s sought to observe or depart from the conventions of supernatural fiction established in the two periodicals *All the Year Round* and *Household Words*. As editor Charles Dickens was able to shape the development of the genre as well as contributing influential stories of his own. It is interesting to consider the ways in which writers responded to, deviated from or helped to maintain the perceived 'character' of the two popular journals in the stories they produced and how important Dickens' editorial role was in the hardening of the conventions of supernatural fiction. He insisted that writers of ghost stories for his periodicals 'should consider difficult matters of evidence, authority and belief' (Henson, 2004, p. 59), therefore ensuring that they became actively involved in debates about the spirit world which remained popular in the periodical press until the end of the century. Accounts of hallucinations, hauntings and unexplained phenomena showed the editor catering to the public interest in science, but were also well received by readers with a taste for sensationalism.

Building on recent critical work on the juxtaposition of ghost stories with topical articles on spiritualism, mesmerism and hauntings in Dickens' journals, this paper then sets out to compare the topicality and narrative patterns of stories by writers such as Wilkie Collins, Elizabeth Gaskell, Sheridan le Fanu, Mary Braddon and Amelia Edwards. An examination of stories such as Dickens' 'The Signalman' and Gaskell's 'The Old Nurse's Story' in relation to the ways in which they featured in the periodical – as Christmas supplements, for example – is revealing not only about the ostensible middle-class agenda of the journals but also about the supernatural narrative as a vehicle for exploring Victorian anxieties about gender. The fascination with suicide as the flipside to professionalism in the stories enabled writers to address unspoken aspects of middle-class masculinity. I also argue that women writers in particular may have sought to subvert the rules set out by Dickens and therefore to go against the character of the periodicals he edited in the attempt to explore what Vanessa Dickerson sees as the 'invisibility' of females across the social spectrum.

Shannon Scott

Terrifying Transformations: Werewolves and Lycanthropy in Late Victorian Periodicals

The resurgence and popularity of werewolves and lycanthropy in late Victorian periodicals illustrates the desire of a seemingly civilized society—albeit a society in transformation—to explore the gory habits and wild sexuality of a beast that resides, almost exclusively, outside the geographical and moral boundaries of Victorian Britain. The figure of the werewolf, presented in Victorian periodicals, embodied British fears of devolution and the inevitability of cultural transformation at the *fin-de-siècle*. In the same way that Mary Shelley created Frankenstein's creature and Bram Stoker created Count Dracula, Victorian periodicals created a new Gothic monster perfectly suited for the turn of the century, a beast which uniquely symbolized British cultural anxieties that "the brute still underlies the polish of civilization."⁶ Instead of emerging from the mind of a single author in a definitive Gothic text, the character of the werewolf was created by the collective creative minds of the Victorian press who presented their audiences with a singular beast, animalistic in nature, vicious and wild, possessing uncontrollable metamorphic behavior. In return, readers could explore the sensationalistic and metamorphic nature of the werewolf, which mirrored their anxieties of Darwinian devolution, from the familiar and trusted medium of the press. The creature, clawing its way from Victorian periodicals as a character for

⁶ Judd, A.M. "Wolf-Madness." *London Society* Sept. (1897): 242-58.

mass consumption, allowed readers to examine the destructive and animalistic nature of a beast which both repulsed and attracted them.

In this presentation, I will explore how the Victorian press first presented “werewolfism” or lycanthropy as a clinical malady that titillated its audiences with “real life” depictions of semi-bestial transformations. However, as the century raced to a close, the condition of lycanthropy became inadequate representation for British fears of Darwinian devolution, which increased with the publication Max Nordau’s *Degeneration*. Thus appeared the werewolf, a metamorphic and degenerative monster, which the Victorian press held up as a mirror to a readership hungry for reflection.

Elyssa Warkentin

The “Female Nick Carter”: Ethel King, Serial Heroine

Fictional private detective Ethel King (“The Female Nick Carter”) was something of a pulp serial phenomenon in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her character appeared in publications written by several unrelated authors in Germany, France, Britain, and America, often as the star of her periodical series. In at least one Ethel King text (French *roman feuilleton* *Jack L’Eventruer, le Tueur des Femmes*), King breaks new ground as the first imagined female adversary of famed murderer Jack the Ripper, thus enacting an important reversal of the gender roles that structure virtually all previous narratives of that case. Despite this significant intervention into a high profile and well-studied cultural narrative, King remains largely academically unknown – likely because of the academic stigma that continues to surround popular and periodical texts. This paper will offer an introduction to Ethel King in several of her incarnations, and will argue that as an early, popular female detective, King’s narratives require scholars to reconsider current theories of gender in detective fiction. As late as 2007, for example, Lisa M. Dresner asserts that her theory of female detective characters as “fundamentally flawed” (2) holds true “in all media, at all time periods” (2) – an argument that requires significantly more nuanced consideration. Certainly, it offers little insight into Ethel King, who is always depicted in a positive light, without any apparent character flaws. In fact, Ethel King resists most attempts to define or categorize female detectives as a whole. Kathleen Gregory Klein’s seminal text *The Woman Detective: Gender and Genre* makes a similar attempt to categorize narratives concerning female detectives. It argues that the woman detective is always “shown as [either] an incompetent detective or an inadequate woman” (5), since the conventional feminine gender role renders the two categories incommensurable: the passivity and domesticity associated with traditional femininity is at odds with the activities necessary for successful detective work. Again, a reading of Ethel King narratives calls this widely-accepted theory into question. This paper concludes, then, by suggesting that the field of detective genre studies must begin serious study of periodical and pulp narratives in order to move towards a more accurate theory of role of women within the genre.⁷

Lisa Niles

“forger... adulteress, murderess, and thief, aged thirty-five”: Reviewing the Character of Cosmetics in Wilkie Collins’s *Armada*

In 1866 Wilkie Collins published *Armada*, a sensation novel that narrates the scandalous intrigues of a titian-haired siren, Lydia Gwilt. Reviewers were quick to castigate Collins for creating “one of the most hardened female villains whose devices and desires have ever

⁷ Bibliography: Dresner, Lisa M. *The Female Investigator in Literature, Film, and Popular Culture*. London: McFarland and Company, 2007; Klein, Kathleen Gregory. *The Woman Detective: Gender and Genre*. 2nd ed. Chicago: U of Illinois P, 1995.

blackened fiction” (Chorley 147).⁸ The *Athenæum* cites Lydia’s stints as “a forger, a convicted adulteress, murderess, and thief” as proofs of her villainy, yet it also charges her with the equally unpardonable crime of being “aged thirty-five” — of “approaching middle age” (147-48). Echoing this sentiment, the *Spectator*’s review expresses incredulity that Lydia “has lived to the ripe age of thirty-five” with her beauty intact (150).⁹ In Lydia Gwilt, Collins produces a character who succeeds in the competitive marriage market of the 1860s by *passing* — by performing a simulacrum of youth. And, as the narrative suggests, Lydia’s beauty is dependent not merely upon Nature but upon her knowledge of the arts of its preservation, particularly as Lydia is associated with Mother Oldershaw, a fictive double for Madame Rachel, the infamous London cosmetics purveyor who stood trial for fraud in 1868.

It is hardly surprising that the *Athenæum* and the *Spectator*, vocal guardians of public taste and morals, would chastise Collins for depicting this cunning *femme fatale*. What does surprise is that they identify Lydia Gwilt’s age as a crime. To be thirty-five and an object of desire is, in these reviews, anathema. To be thirty-five and *not look it* is analogous to perpetrating fraud. By criminalizing the disparity between Lydia’s chronological and apparent ages, the reviewers point to a broader cultural anxiety about cosmetics, aging, and the female body — an anxiety that the Victorian press paradoxically served to deploy and deflect.

In this paper I argue that *Armada* exposes what the reviewers choose to ignore: the periodical press’s complicity in producing desire for the very commodity it criticizes. For women, cosmetics raised the spectre of the aging body as a paradox: in need of restoration according to the advertising, but simultaneously in danger of courting ridicule for attempting that restoration. With the explosion in popularity of annual beauty books, periodicals highlighting fashion, and advertisements for products aimed at achieving physical perfection, the mass reproduction of idealized images of beauty shifted the concept of beauty itself from a thing exceptional to a right readily attainable. At the forefront of this highly contested democratization of beauty was Madame Rachel.

I examine Collins’s novelistic representation of cosmetics alongside the advertisements for Madame Rachel’s “Beautiful For Ever!” treatments, *Punch* cartoons satirizing her clientele, and the press coverage of her numerous trials. In this discursive space, cosmetics become both productive of and resistant to the commodification of the aging body. Through Mother Oldershaw and Lydia Gwilt, Collins resists a simplistic reading of cosmetics-as-fraud and reveals a public whose desires are predicated upon the fraudulent practices it critiques.

Room GH008: The Character of Things

Jim Mussell

On the Character of Things: Narratives of Discovery and Inventions in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press

The timeliness of the periodical press made it a key medium for the communication of scientific discoveries. Long-running scientific weeklies such as *Nature* and *Chemical News* were established on the basis that they could provide a prompt medium of intercommunication for scientists, often from different scientific cultures. However, all periodicals are predicated on communicating the new, whether this is births, marriages and deaths, or the unexpected events that characterize the news. As such, scientific periodicals that specialized in announcing the results of scientific research participated in a wider periodical culture based upon revealing what was hitherto unknown in ways that were familiar to readers.

This paper examines the role of the periodical from announcing the emergence of a new thing to negotiating its place in the nineteenth-century world. The timeliness of the periodical press

⁸ Chorley, H. F. "Rev. Of *Armada* by Wilkie Collins." *Athenæum* (1866): 732-33. All reviews cited in Norman Page, ed. *Wilkie Collins: The Critical Heritage*. London: Routledge, 1974. 146-48.

⁹ "Rev. Of *Armada* by Wilkie Collins." *Spectator* 9 June 1866: 638-40. Page, 149-50.

enabled scientists and inventors to publicize phenomena or technologies, often allowing them to put forward their claim to be associated with the new things or concepts they introduced to the world. Such public performances were important: not only did they encourage a wider recognition of the new entities, but they also permitted scientists and inventors to participate in the various regimes governing intellectual property, whether preliminary notices for patent applications, or the more gentlemanly acknowledgement of scientific priority.

Simply announcing something new was not enough, however: it was also essential that the new thing be provided with a history. The seriality of the press enabled narratives to be created that could testify to the existence of new things prior to their discovery while also telling of their ongoing presence in the world. In this way the periodical served a vital role, establishing the character of new things as they entered the world, while also accounting for their existence prior to their entry into it.

Anne DeWitt

Getting the “liberal side of geology” into Q.R.: Charles Lyell’s Character in the *Quarterly Review*

“I am sure you may get into Q. R. what will free the science from Moses,” wrote Charles Lyell in 1830 to his friend and fellow geologist George Poulett Scrope as Scrope was preparing to review Lyell’s newly published *Principles of Geology* for the *Quarterly Review*. Lyell spoke from experience. In the series of articles he had written for the *Quarterly* over the previous five years, Lyell had developed increasingly sophisticated strategies to make acceptable to the review’s Tory readership his increasingly radical views on geology, science, and religion. In this paper, I examine the character that Lyell created for himself as a contributor on science to the *Quarterly Review*. I focus in particular on how Lyell makes good science independent of religion even as he invests it with moral and spiritual values. In his first two articles for the *Quarterly*, both written in 1826, Lyell reviewed the *Transactions* of the Geological Society. At moments in these essays Lyell advances natural theology’s classic argument that the study of nature provides unmistakable evidence of the existence of God: he writes, for instance, that geology affords “proofs of design and contrivance in all [nature’s] works.” Yet such orthodox statements serve partly to moderate his claim that Scripture may not provide a reliable account of the earth’s history—a claim that led Lyell to plume himself “for having got into the ‘Quarterly Review’ an article on the liberal side of geology,” as he wrote in a letter. The following year, in an essay on “The State of the Universities,” Lyell advocates drastic reforms for Oxford and Cambridge using a similar strategy of upholding the status quo even as he advances claims that would disrupt it. Thus he alludes to the belief that the classics and mathematics, those mainstays of Oxbridge education, develop the student’s “moral and intellectual habits,” then makes his case for the inclusion of science in the curriculum by asserting that it, too, “contribute[s] to perfect the moral character.” Lyell returned to the subject of geology in his next article for the *Quarterly*, a review of Poulett Scrope’s *Geology of Central France*. Lyell had become convinced that the earth’s age was far greater than that assigned it by the Mosaic cosmogony. Indeed, he described this belief as “my creed,” and declared in a letter, “I will try before six months are over to convert the readers of the *Quarterly* to that heterodox opinion.” But this irreverent tone is absent from the actual article. Lyell prefaces his discussion of the “Mosaic narration” by testifying to the “sincerity” of its authors; he asserts that scientific conclusions cannot impugn “the authority of the sacred writings”; and he ends his article by implicitly accusing his opponents of impiety when he suggests that in overlooking the scientific evidence they betray insufficient reverence for a divinely created world. Poulett Scrope’s review of Lyell’s *Principles* employs many similar devices: for instance, Scrope declares that “natural theology will receive a great accession from the proofs of Designing Intelligence which geology can unfold,” even as he insists that science and Scripture be kept separate. The continuities between Scrope’s review and Lyell’s article suggest that, charged with reviewing Lyell’s book, Scrope took on the character that Lyell had created for writing about science in the *Quarterly*.

Judith Fisher

What's in a Word? "Teapots," "Anti-Teapots" and the *Anti-Teapot Review*

Satirical and serious, the short-lived *Anti-Teapot Review*, running from 1864 to 1869, is a microcosm of a larger cultural struggle over the metonymic significance of that British staple, tea. In its characterization of male and female "Teapots," the Anti-Teapot Society (A. T. S.) created their own character as Tory protectors of traditional culture and politics. The intriguing factor is the ease the A.T.S. seems to have felt in identifying tea and the teapot with a particular version of evangelical low church and dissenting hypocrisy, familiar to any reader of Trollope's *Barchester Towers* (1857) in the character of Mr. Slope. My identification of Slope as a fictional version of the "teapotty man" also points to the A.T.S.'s unusual move of emphasizing, in its eleven-number life, the identification of the male with the teapot—an overwhelmingly female metonym (indeed reaching back to 1743 when Elizabeth Thomas transformed ladies into teacups in her poem "The Female Metamorphosis").

The *Anti-Teapot Review* mixes satirical poetry against "Teapots" with analyses of "Teapotism" and essays on current politics. The resulting amalgamation of behaviors, class markers, and political alignments creates two opposing characters: the Teapot and the Anti-Teapot. By default, the Teapot will espouse the political positions explicitly rejected by the *Anti-Teapot Review*, such as John Bright's radicalism and Glastonian reform. Moreover, since the Teapot is also basically "illiterate," these positions become those of the vulgar and uneducated. This process of slippage from behavior to political stance which is implicitly class-based will be examined in more detail in the paper itself.

The cultural context of this debate suggests its wider application. Readers of the *Review* lived in a world where the material nature of the tea equipage (stoneware, porcelain, plated, silver), the consumption practices of tea (small elite groups, meat teas, and "tea fights"), and the behaviors accompanying consumption (milk before or after pouring) appear in novel, drama, and household book as crucial signifiers of status and economic power.

The irony of the *Anti-Teapot Review's* characterization of the Teapot is that the A. T.S. is really out to rescue tea (and by association the teapot) from being misused precisely as a metonym. That is, in one number, the *Review* calls attention to the fact that its use of "Teapot" as a derogatory title is a metaphor [its term] but goes on to make clear that it is not the beverage or vessel that is being criticized but the abuse of its possible symbolic possibilities by the very people the *Review* is criticizing by typing them as Teapots. A convoluted process of metonymy is at work here: While "tea" and "teapots" are not intrinsically hypocritical and canting, the personified Teapot is, but the point of the A.T.S. is to use the nomenclature to reclaim the tea as a sincere beverage. Thus underlying its superficial satire—and aligned with its more serious political stance—the *Anti-Teapot Review* recognizes the power of the metonym for creating cultural realities. To paraphrase Elaine Freedgood, the metonym, just because of its very conventionality, exerts tremendous power over the ways we read our world.¹⁰

Mary Bell

Shame in Victorian Advertisements

I would like to propose a paper on the topic of depictions of shame in 19th century periodicals – especially the advertisements. I have only begun to research this topic as part of my dissertation research, but a literature review shows that no one has methodically combed (or even cursorily examined) Victorian periodicals for depictions of shame as a primary focus, although it is implicit in some recent scholarly work on the construction of imperialism in Victorian periodicals. According to cultural anthropological/sociological theories of shame, shame functions not only as a tool of hegemonic control but also as a form of resistance, and my focus in this paper would be on advertisements in periodicals, as a way of getting at crucial data about cultural constructions of shame, the construction of subjectivity/group identity and power relations. My

¹⁰ *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2006), 9, 13.

preliminary research shows that overt appeals to shame (and its mitigation) form a significant advertising strategy in periodicals in the long 19th century. One of my favorite pieces so far is a large full-page ad from 1901 with an illustration of a man and a woman each hiding their faces, with the headline “Why This False Shame?” across the top. The advertisement is for a book called *Secrets to Beauty, Strength and Long Life* and the conceit of the ad is that the publishers send out the book in a plain wrapper because their customers are ashamed to admit ordering it. The first line of the ad’s text is a quote without attribution: “Show me what a man is ashamed of and I will show you what a man is.” This truism begins the ad, which is an appeal not to be ashamed to desire beauty, strength or health, and includes many testimonials of customers (men and women) who ordered the book and found it helpful, and are not afraid to sign their names. This appeal is rather interesting because it highlights how shame works to control behavior: it is essentially an argument that readers should be ashamed of feeling ashamed.

Wine Reception, sponsored by Proquest followed by Conference Dinner

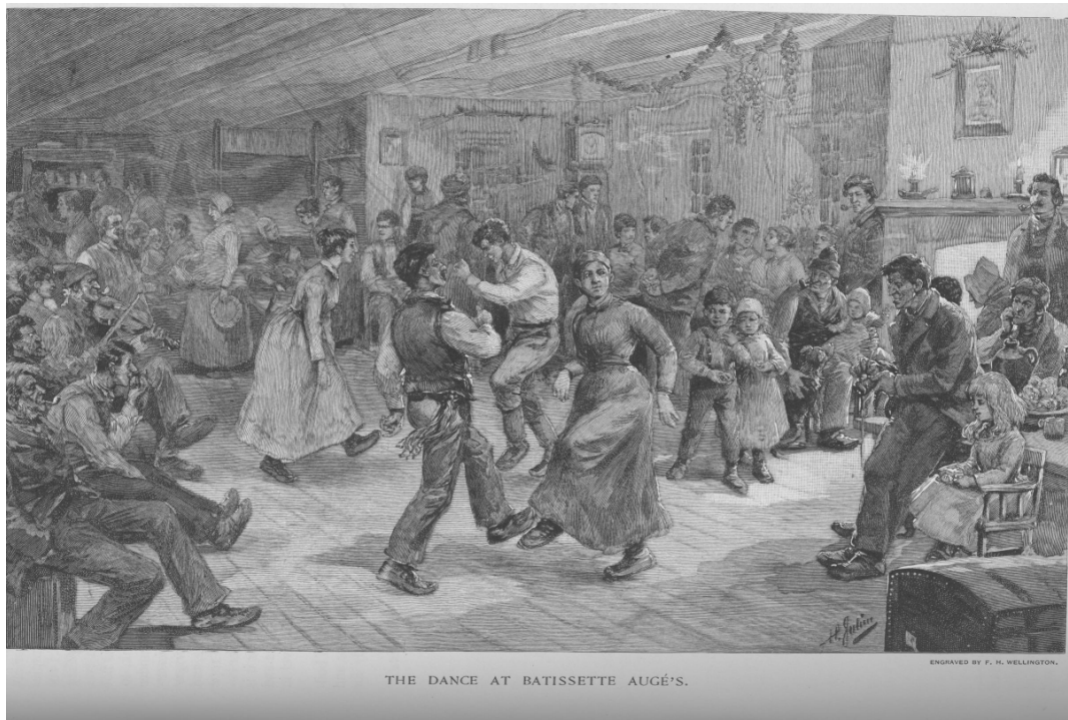


Illustration by Henri Julien of “La Chasse-Galerie” by Honoré Beaugrand, “the Author of *Le Vieux Montréal*, etc”, in *The Century Magazine*, 44, August 1892: 497-502

Saturday 5 July

session 5 ,10am

Portrait Room: Women's Magazines and Columns

Kathryn Ledbetter

Marketing Literature, Celebrity, and Beauty: Women Authors and *The Lady's Realm*

Many Victorian women's periodicals, from literary annuals of the early period to late-century slick monthlies featured engraved portraits of beautiful women, coloured illustrations of women modeling the latest elegant Paris fashions, reproductions of art illustrating poetic themes in corresponding poems, or photographs of celebrated female literary figures. These visual representations of beauty work independently or in cooperation with literature to encode the periodical as a source of feminine beauty that women may purchase for their own imaginative use as fantasy or for practical use in enhancing their own physical and spiritual beauty. The literature works in textual cooperation with the images to articulate beauty as a source for female power. The act of writing represents beauty in these periodicals, and titles published at the *fin-de-siècle* often feature women's poetry as an extension of the body as well as an expression of the aesthetic impulse, as demonstrated in Oscar Wilde's *Woman's World*, where the periodical becomes a textual example of aestheticism, while also promoting women poets as celebrated beauties. An inheritor of this pairing of beauty with literature and celebrity was the glossy, heavily illustrated, heavily commercialized 6d. monthly, *The Lady's Realm* (1896-1914), where photographs, autographs, short biographical pieces, and pictures of authors' homes, as well as fine artwork by noted artists, sometimes accompany their work. The *Lady's Realm* owes much to the model established by Wilde, while taking its marketing efforts much farther in a far more expensive production, considering the illustrations (the *Lady's Realm* advertised the fact that they featured over 500 illustrations in each volume, and many of these were photographs of celebrated figures and facsimiles of original artwork). Edited by William Henry Wilkins from its beginning in 1896 until 1902, the *Lady's Realm* consistently attracted popular authors as regular contributors, including Marie A. Belloc; Sarah Grand; Flora Annie Steel; Frances Hodgson Burnett; Rhoda Broughton; Ouida; Flora Bell; Violet Fane; Marie Corelli; Mary Cholmondeley; Mary Wilkins Freeman; and Mrs. Humphry Ward. My essay is a study of the ways in which the *Lady's Realm* positions and markets women authors as part of its "brand personality" composed of beauty, celebrity, and poetry.

Janet Tanke

The Transgendering of 'Autolycus' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

The "character" I'd like to explore is the title character of the PMG column "Wares of Autolycus," which, as far as is known, was the brainchild of editor Henry Cust. The column ran from the early 1890s through the end of the century, outlasting Cust's editorship. For most of the column's appearance the contributors were a supposedly anonymous group of "aesthetic" women writers, although some were subsequently "outed" in *The Academy* in 1896. These included Alice Meynell, Rosamond Marriott Watson, and Elizabeth Robins Pennell. Marriott Watson largely wrote on interior decorating, while Meynell was famous for her literary criticism. Pennell wrote cutting edge culinary essays, a short selection of which was subsequently published in a collection by John Lane originally titled *The Feasts of Autolycus* (1896), but interestingly was later renamed to titles--possibly more accessible to a changing reading public?--such as *The Diary of a Greedy Woman* (early 20th century), and then a few years ago reprinted as *The Delights of Delicate Eating*.

For this paper, I would like to explore several ideas, including why a column largely written by women was named for a male character; what was the significance of naming it after the mythological and/or Shakespearean figure of “Autolycus”; and what such a rather elitist name/reference might have meant to the branding or changing nature of the PMG and its real or targeted readership. Moreover, I would like to look at the ways in which Pennell, compared to her fellow authors, more fully fleshed out and ultimately assumed the character of “Autolycus” in the chronological order of her column's appearances in the PMG (1893-1896), an aspect that is far more striking when reading the larger number of archived columns vs the small number selected for the books. Additionally, I'm interested in questions and issues of gender and how they relate to the whys and ways in which Pennell fleshed out and assumed the authorial voice of a male “character” in a column aimed mainly at women at the fin de siècle, a period when issues of sexual orientation and real or faux identity became one of the hallmarks.

Jolein De Ridder

The ‘Maddening’ Supplement: the *Ladies’ Treasury* and its *Treasury of Literature*

Several publications on Victorian women's magazines and references in volumes such as the *Wellesley Index* and the *Waterloo Directory* have previously illustrated the vast number of women's magazines launched in the course of the nineteenth century. Already in the second half of the eighteenth century an expansion of magazines for women can be noted, but until well into the middle of the following century its readership remained largely concentrated in the upper classes. It was the launch of Samuel Beeton's popular *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* in 1852 that indicated the breakthrough of cheaper magazines aimed at middle-class women. Several other middle-class magazines saw the light in that decade. Topics ranged from household management, dressmaking and romance, to the issue of women's rights. In general, however, the periodicals dealing with the latter were short-lived. The expansion of specialised magazines exclusively devoted to fashion news or the interests of either young girls or mature women marked the second half of the Victorian Age. This paper wants to look at the *Ladies’ Treasury*, a monthly magazine aimed at middle-class women. Launched in 1858 and running successfully until 1895, it is noted the most long-lasting general illustrated magazine of the Victorian period. Yet despite its supposed popularity, in-depth studies of the *Ladies’ Treasury* are non-existent.

Also characterizing these women's magazines was the publication of numerous supplements. Fairly well-known are the ‘extras’, ranging from advertisements to free drawings, fancy needlework patterns and the popular fashion plates. Unfortunately, these supplements were rarely bound in with the issues. However, despite the scarcity of Victorian supplements in archives and libraries today, the ones still available are worth a thorough examination. The reason for and circumstances of their publication allow us to get a better understanding of the creation and reception of magazines and periodicals. Hence, once the supplements are detected, the study of a particular magazine without considering this extra material becomes unthinkable.

The difficulty of tracing the supplements, though, is compounded by the problem of defining the genre as such. Readers of the periodical press today associate the notion of the supplement with almost anything: papers offering free books, CDs or DVDs, as well as women's magazines giving away lip sticks, mascaras and bars of chocolate. The (seemingly) more traditional supplements have not vanished either, as book review specials or extra Christmas issues continue to be popular. Furthermore, apart from its reference to real gifts, extra magazines or inserted sections, a supplement can also, in a more abstract way, indicate an addition designed to complete or make up for a lack. This is very much the case for the ‘supplement’ of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, the *Treasury of Literature*. Apart from being a supplement with many informative articles and fiction, and therefore rather atypical for women's magazines, it also counted more pages than the monthly it supplemented. Examination of the various tables of content furthermore shows a change in status over the seven years of its existence. Nevertheless, although not immediately fitting into our contemporary notion of ‘the supplement’ the *Treasury of Literature* has always been consistently described as such in reference volumes (*Waterloo Directory*).

Undoubtedly, any supplement should not be studied in isolation from that which it supplements. Therefore, a study of the *Treasury of Literature* only begins to make sense when examined within the wider scope of the *Ladies' Treasury*. Taking the *Treasury of Literature* as a starting point, I aim to analyse and describe it while comparing it to other supplements and additions to Victorian women's magazines such as the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (its alleged rival) and the *Girls' Own Paper*. Moreover, I would like to argue that, despite being aimed at middle-class women, the *Ladies' Treasury* is less traditional than other domestic magazines. Its supplement makes the magazine more closely related to the late 18C 'enlightened' women's magazines, a type of publication that vanished with the beginning of the Victorian era.

Room GH006 *Punch*

Clare Horrocks

"The Character of the *Punch* Brotherhood"

A sustained examination of *Punch's* role in Victorian popular culture, its "brand personality", is long overdue. The study of Victorian periodicals in the twenty first century is witnessing a change, as the single periodical research of David Finkelstein and Andrew King, amongst others, demonstrates.¹¹ Now is the opportune time to return to *Punch* and tease out the complexities that have thus far failed to be systematically studied. Such an approach is supported by new technologies and innovations of digitisation which facilitate this more systematic approach to studying the periodical press and which would seem to imply a new future for periodical studies; a future that yet remains to be fully developed and explored as this paper will consider. First published in 1841, *Punch* was at the centre of a culture seeking to mediate the advancement of modernity, to learn how to 'read' the city and all its problems. Periodical research facilitates readers to locate the 'code' by which people made sense of the reality of urban living. However, this 'realism' was not fixed, for with rapid growth and urbanization came new 'hazards' and new forms of knowledge debating their origin and resolution.¹² Such effects were no more evident than within the field of public health, as new diseases, 'hazards', emerged which required regulation. The 1840s was a formative decade in which competing discourses proselytising reform sought recognition and an analysis of how *Punch* evolved and developed as a cultural institution, in the course of responding to public health questions, will be the focus of this paper. If *Punch* was indeed the "spokesman" for the "whole nation", it is crucial to identify that same audience, how they were responding to, as well being created by, the verbal and visual discourses of the periodical. *Punch* was a periodical that worked on more than one narrative level and its treatment of all matters relating to public health clearly exemplifies this. Before moving on to identify the narrative strands which comprise this discursive matrix on social reform it is necessary to develop an understanding of how the *Punch* brotherhood was established, the traditions of satire it was in dialogue with and the educative role the periodical perceived itself to hold. These provide the cornerstone to a re-consideration of the magazine's 'character' and its role in Victorian Culture.

Zoe Alker

Characters of the Press: The Garrotter.

This paper proposes to discuss the character of the Victorian garrotter as a symbol of cultural decay and social disintegration. *Punch*, and other periodicals such as the national dailies, was a vehicle for debating anxieties and fears of a population attempting to make sense of modernity.

¹¹ David Finkelstein *The House of Blackwood* (Penn State: PSU Press, 2002) and Andrew King, *The London Journal 1845-83: Periodicals, Production and Gender* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004)

¹² Christopher A Kent, "The Construction of Victorian Reality" in J Donn Vann and R T Van Arsdel (eds.) *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research Volume Two* (New York: MLA, 1989), p.5.

This paper looks at the role of the magazine in characterising the garrotter and makes a poststructuralist account of locating meanings within historical context. By using discourse analysis, it is evident that the representational meanings are grounded in power interests. The characterisation itself is historically constructed and acquires meanings of both time and place. As modernity brought fears of social decline, the hooligan provided a convenient literary character to work through debates and anxieties about the chaotic social and cultural order. As the garrotter is circulated in the periodical press, new fissures and conflicts are debated on its pages. The character of the garrotter provided a space in which to air fears about modernity, national identity, the city and public space, gender, class and race. The character, as presented in the Victorian periodical press, served as both a release valve for these fears and a cork in which to constrain the roles of ethnic, working class masculinity. (Ramey, 2003: 18) *Punch* and other Victorian periodicals demonstrate this and provide us with a window onto how a society made sense of itself within a cultural hierarchy.

The paper utilises Gramsci's cultural hegemony in stating that representations are constantly in flux and a result of negotiations with the dominant group. As the Victorian period struggled to come to terms with modernity, we can read debates within the periodical press which ultimately served political work in maintaining the hegemony and status quo of the dominant group. The dominant middle class, and, in the context of fears over Irish immigration, English male is the crucial centralised locus of power. The garrotter threatened the status quo of the dominant masculinity by representing cultural behaviours and values which opposed 'civilised' and 'respectable' values. Language is deployed to construct the identity of the garrotter as 'Other' and language acts as the conduit for power. This paper will deploy Foucault's influential theory of deviance, stating that the construction of deviance is at the centre of power; power is circulated through normalisation as well as the classification of deviant characters. By labelling certain identities, values and behaviours as deviant, we can trace both the marginalised and dominant group as the authorisation of the authoritative group is always relative to that of the 'Other.'

Dominant institutions such as the legal system and the printed press are the concrete and material institutions of the power circulating within society and so are fundamental in discovering the power relations and strategies involved. This paper proposes to look at process as opposed to ideology. *Punch's* representations of the garrotter will be supported by use of other Victorian periodicals and daily press in order to support the assertion that the garrotter was a character which ultimately serves to maintain the status quo of dominant masculinity and the justification and authority of the growing legal system as a material site of power.

Nickianne Moody

From the Sewer to the Boudoir: *Punch*, Visual Metaphor and Changing Cultural Registers

This discussion examines how *Punch* secured commercial longevity through its ability to create visual reference points in support of social commentary and observations about cultural change. The paper is based on research which considered how the meaning of the domestic cat changed significantly in response to nineteenth century animal welfare laws, campaigns to promote and enforce them and prosecutions for animal cruelty. Across a range of visual and textual narratives to assess changing cultural attitudes to cruelty *Punch* registers a definite transition and has a particular and interesting contribution to make to understanding Victorian acceptance of the cat into the domestic home. The transition from vermin to companion animal which takes place during the nineteenth century is very evident in how cats are included in *Punch* illustrations. Thus *Punch* becomes a resource to further understand cultural relationships between people and animals which are less easy to interpret when they appear in other print forms e.g. postcards, children's literature. Various artists for *Punch* cuts used rural and urban felines to comment on social squalor and deprivation in the 1840s but then came to use cats as a marker of changing gendered identities, masculinity in the 1850s and 1860s and femininity from the 1870s. Cats appear infrequently compared to dogs but they are given a variety of meanings and connotations that contrast with the way canines consistently held associations with class position. Illustrators develop an interest in the feline shape and form that allows the expression of emotion and

censure which is used in a variety of different contexts. The use of the feline takes place in a number of specific thematic preoccupations and narratives which are associated with them and evolve between issues. Their inclusion is best understood in the broader context of *Punch*'s creative use of visual metaphors which constituted the publication's 'character'. The cat in *Punch* is indicative of the breadth and flexibility of meaning developed by recurrent signifiers in the publication. This discussion focuses on the transformation between the sewer cats in the 1840s that become the companions of Old Father Thames to the cat on the hearth of the new woman and her children in the 1890s.

Room GH021 Characterising the Past

April Patrick

Periodical Mourning: The Character of the Woman Author as Created in Victorian Elegies and Obituaries

In his elegy for W. B. Yeats, W. H. Auden observes how the subject of the elegy is transformed in death to match the description offered by his poetic mourners, and he likens the elegiac creation of someone to a type of verbal cannibalization, explaining, "The words of a dead man / Are modified in the guts of the living" (22-3). Essentially, through the (usually) fond memories evoked in the memorial of an individual, writers and mourners can, through performative language, create and define the remembered character of that subject. Periodical culture clearly illustrates this theory when the deceased figure is publicly mourned through published memorials—both prose obituaries and poetic elegies—and thus the character is created in the minds of a broad readership.

I plan to apply Auden's theory to the elegies and obituaries for George Eliot and Christina Rossetti that appeared in British periodicals and then to analyze the impact of form (poetry or prose), gender of the writer of the memorial, and medium (the periodical and its intended audience) on the characters created in the memorials. Considered together, Eliot and Rossetti serve as useful examples because both were well known and widely read authors during their lifetimes. Separately, each is useful because Eliot represents a relatively independent woman who mostly lived outside of societal expectations for Victorian women and because Rossetti died near the end of the period (1895) when the Women's Movement was already quite active.

With these factors in mind, the characters of Eliot and Rossetti created in the memorials for the two authors are especially problematic. Many of the obituaries and elegies for them create the persona of the woman author in a way that emphasizes her gender over her literary accomplishment. Through specific examples of memorials published for Eliot and Rossetti in British periodicals¹³ and the characters created in them, I plan to both investigate the problematic nature of contemporary views about women and authorship in the Victorian period and consider how these views developed in and spread through elegies and obituaries published widely in periodicals.

¹³ **Elegies and Obituaries for George Eliot and Christina Rossetti:** [Alardyce, Alexander.] "George Eliot." *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. February 1881: 255-68. Field, Michael. "To Christina Rossetti." *The Academy*. 49 (1896): 284. "George Eliot." *The Athenæum*. 1 January 1881: 20-21. "George Eliot." *Englishwoman's Review*. 15 January 1881: 35. "George Eliot." *The Times*. 24 December 1880: 9. Meynell, Alice. "Christina Rossetti." *The New Review*. February 1895: 201-06. [Milliken, Edwin J.] "George Eliot." *Punch*. 8 January 1881: 12. "Miss Christina Rossetti." *Englishwoman's Review*. 15 January 1895: 47. "Obituary. Miss Christina Rossetti." *The Times*. 1 January 1895: 4. Simcox, Edith. "George Eliot." *Nineteenth Century*. May 1881: 778-801. [Stephen, Leslie.] "George Eliot." *Cornhill Magazine*. February 1881: 152-68. Swinburne, Algernon Charles. "A New Year's Eve." *Nineteenth Century*. February 1895: 367-68.—. "The Deaths of Thomas Carlyle and George Eliot." *The Athenæum*. 30 April 1881: 591. Watts, Theodore. "Christina Georgina Rossetti." *The Athenæum*. 5 January 1895: 16-18. —. "Reminiscences of Christina Rossetti." *Nineteenth Century*. February 1895: 355-66.

Carol Bock

Literary Character and *Bentley's Miscellany* in the 1840s: Katharine Thomson's 'Literary Retrospect of the Departed Great'

As a number of scholars have shown, Victorian periodicals played a significant role in the construction of authorship and the formation of reading audiences in the early-to-mid nineteenth century. Indeed, the character of certain Victorian periodicals themselves may be said to have arisen in large part from the ways in which authorship and reading were inscribed in the pages of these magazines. *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* are particularly well-known examples of this phenomenon, especially in issues that pre-date the 1840s.

The paper I propose to deliver at this summer's RSVP conference in London will consider one way in which *Bentley's Miscellany* continued this process of character construction in the 1840s. Specifically, I will discuss a series of nine essays entitled "Literary Retrospect of the Departed Great," published anonymously between January 1845 and October 1846 and written by Katharine Thomson, better known to the contemporary reading public as Mrs. A. T. Thomson, "authoress" of historical biographies, novels, and romances, most of them published in the 1840s by Richard Bentley. In the pieces written for *Bentley's Miscellany*, Thomson provides memoirs, many of them based on her own personal experiences, of celebrated people who had died within the previous twenty years, including Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Letitia Landon, Sir James Mackintosh, William Maginn, John Galt, Thomas Campbell, and Allan Cunningham. She adopts the persona "a middle aged man" and emphasizes the "retrospective" nature of the series, infusing her reminiscences with a tone of nostalgia that is occasionally undercut by satire or diluted with good-natured humour. The nostalgic quality of these portraits echoes a lament which was often expressed in the periodical press during the 1830s--that the literary "giants" of the past were gone and that contemporary authors were mere pygmies by comparison; in this respect, Thomson's biographical sketches rely on a familiar, sentimental construction of contemporary authorship and reading. But other features in these memoirs—for example, the invocation of a younger and mostly female audience—suggest that a somewhat different literary character is emerging in Thomson's writing for the *Miscellany*. Looking at the ways in which Thomson's essays serve to characterize authors, readers, and the magazine itself, the paper directly addresses the conference theme and will, I hope, be a useful contribution to the program.

Alison McMonagle

"And of course she was fat": the Figure of Mary Seacole in Kingston's *Daily Gleaner*

Using several articles that appeared around the turn of the 19th century, my paper will examine the representation of the Mary Seacole, the Jamaican heroine of the Crimea, in Kingston Jamaica's *The Daily Gleaner*. A series of *Gleaner* articles from 1890 to 1910 provide evidence of the difficult task of 'characterizing' this complex woman complete with her divergent and often competing identities Seacole was a British Jamaican, the prize of her home country and the glory of an Empire. The white colonists who founded and operated the *Gleaner* had to negotiate the blurred boundaries of identity created by a multiracial woman who used her doctress skills honed in the West Indies to treat the white soldiers of the British Empire just miles away from the mythic Florence Nightingale. The pages of the *Gleaner* are sprinkled with the traces of this legacy as Seacole is claimed by both Jamaica and the British, becoming both the ideal British subject and a representative of a mourned colonial and high Victorian time that has passed and can never be regained. Alongside this idealization of the Empire the articles play with Seacole's role as the fat, jolly innkeeper, a female profession long associated with prostitution in the colonial setting. Making use of the obvious parallels to Nightingale, the *Gleaner* engages in the difficult task of turning a 'coloured' Jamaican innkeeper into a maternal saviour of the Empire – the 'black' Florence Nightingale.

The articles I focus on in my analysis offer an opportunity to examine how the Empire and the continued presence of the British were marketed to a Jamaican reading public through the legend of Mary Seacole. Within the pages of the *Gleaner* there is a clear targeting of a specifically

'Jamaican' audience, although the components of a Jamaican identity are never defined. Seacole also provides scholars of Victorian periodicals as well as those of 19th century Jamaica an opportunity to consider how the periodical press functioned in this colonial society. With my paper I hope use the character of Mary Seacole to address how the *Gleaner* speaks both to greater socio-historical issues of coloniality and gender as well as the place of a colonial newspaper in the greater story of Victorian periodicals.

Room GH008 Newspapers

Christian Auer

Religious Bias, Construction of Otherness and Distorted Reality: the Press of Inverness during the Clearances, 1845-1855

The 1840s and 1850s represented a turning point in the history of the Highlands of Scotland; the Disruption of 1843, the Scottish Poor Law of 1845, the potato blight that spread all over the Highlands in 1846 and the Clearances of the 1850s were some of the events that had dramatic consequences on the society of the Highlands. These events were recorded in great detail in the *Inverness Advertiser* and the *Inverness Courier*, the two newspapers of Inverness, the capital city of the Highlands.

I have decided to focus my attention on these two papers not only because they provide some most interesting information about the political, religious and social context of the time but also because they regularly (and most often very critically) commented on each other's articles and positions, which enables the historian to have an outside view of the newspapers.

The primary aim of my paper will be to determine the specific elements that characterized the two newspapers and to analyse their ideological basis. What strategies did the two papers pursue? How did they define themselves and how did they present themselves to their readers? How did the readers perceive the function of these papers? These are some of the questions that will be addressed in this paper.

I will start by indicating that religion played a pivotal role in the ideology of both papers – which shouldn't come as a surprise if we remember Olive Checkland's comment, "Victorian Scotland was a 'Bible-based society'" (O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1980, p. 2) – the *Inverness Courier* supporting the established church of Scotland and the *Inverness Advertiser* identifying with the principles of the Free Church. Contrary to what the *Inverness Advertiser* claimed in the first issue of the paper in June 1849, "we adopt the shibboleth of no political party, we are partizans of no particular set of men by whatever name they may call themselves, or be called by others", the paper did adhere to certain clearly identifiable ideas and beliefs and systematically took the defence of the Highland peasantry, which made it one of the most radical newspapers in Scotland. By contrast, the *Inverness Courier* supported the policies implemented by the improving landlords and insisted on the necessity of introducing fundamental changes to the economy of the Highlands.

I will argue that religious bias played a fundamental part in the way the two newspapers described and analysed the major economic and social changes of the time: their constructions of otherness were primarily based on stereotypes, the 'uncivilized, idle and lazy Highlander' for the *Courier* and the 'tyrannical landlord' for the *Advertiser*, which reminds the historian that newspapers can only be seen as mirrors providing distorted views of reality and have to be considered with great care when it comes to trying to establish 'historical truth', if such a concept as 'historical truth' exists.

In the final part of my paper I will examine how the historians of the Highlands have described the two newspapers before concluding with noting that the debates between the two papers of Inverness exemplify the fascinating vitality of the press in Victorian Scotland.

Andrew Hobbs*'Atticus' and the Preston Chronicle*

Some periodicals have stronger personalities than others. This paper attempts to identify and analyse some of the factors involved in making a publication distinctive, through a case study of a local weekly newspaper in Preston, Lancashire. In 1868 the *Preston Chronicle*, one of four newspapers then published in Preston, was bought by Anthony Hewitson (1836-1912), a journalist and local historian. Through 22 years, until he sold the paper in 1890, Hewitson remade the *Chronicle* in his own image, largely in the articles he wrote under the pen-name 'Atticus'. This study is based on two sources: Hewitson's diary, and the British Library's newly digitised edition of the *Preston Chronicle*. The latter source has been analysed using simple 'text mining' methods. Hewitson gave his publication a distinctive character, both as a means of self-expression for an accomplished writer, and as a commercial necessity in a small but crowded marketplace. This paper attempts to delineate some of the techniques he used, and to assess his readers' responses.

David Latané*Personalities of The Age, 1827-1830*

In July of 1827, Charles Molloy Westmacott purchased the London Sunday paper *The Age* (first published in May of 1825) and began reshaping the paper so that by the early 1830s it had one of the largest circulations of any weekly in the British isles. I propose a paper which will examine the ways in which Westmacott stamped his character by promoting himself as the "Great Captain of *The Age*" (a joke, of course, on Wellington). The techniques he used, imported from monthly magazines such as *Blackwood's*, are novel in the weekly newspaper, and make for a hybrid form that appealed to an audience that ranged from footman to lord, but was always concerned with the demi-monde of the theatre, opera, gambling halls, and literary clubs. The paper will conclude with a consideration of the incident in which Charles Kemble assaulted Westmacott in the lobby of Drury Lane over a supposed insult to his daughter Fanny (October 1830).

The larger issue I hope to address by examining the first three years of Westmacott's proprietorship of *The Age* is the way in which the nascent cult of celebrity ("personalities") that was selling Sunday papers called for the creation of a counter personality (or persona) in the press. At some level Kemble's physical assault on Westmacott is both a form of theatre and an acknowledgement that the "gentlemen of the press" pose a threat to the hegemony of the theatrical "stars."

Portrait Room: Mid-Century Women's Magazines**Charlotte Mitchell***'Novices and Ladies': the contributors to Charlotte Yonge's Monthly Packet 1851-83*

The Tractarian novelist Charlotte M. Yonge (1823-1901) was the editor for more than forty years of a periodical for young women and children which after long deliberation was given the cumbersome title of *The Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church*. The magazine underwent various vicissitudes during its existence. Its early target audience was perhaps younger and less exclusively female than was later the case, and, though far from avant-garde, its content also reflects the dramatic social and literary changes of the period. The magazine has never been particularly easy of access, and no indexes were published, so it has tended to be overlooked by most literary historians, except those directly concerned with Yonge's own career. Now, however, it should become available to a wider audience, since it has been digitized in Gale Cengage's *19th Century UK Periodicals* series.

For some years Ellen Jordan, Helen Schinske and I have been working on the large task of editing Yonge's correspondence. The years to 1859 are currently available on the web at

<http://hdl.handle.net/10065/337>, and we hope that later decades will appear shortly. The letters of course include a great many references to the *Monthly Packet*; many are addressed to contributors, and some permit the identification of anonymous articles. At an early stage of the project Helen Schinske indexed the entire run of *Packet*, which has helped enormously with the dating of many letters. More recently I myself discovered and transcribed the whole of Yonge's bank account from 1845 to 1901, which includes many payments to contributors, and again permits the identification of more contributors. This is of particular interest as the people who published in the *Packet*, although they include some well-known writers such as A.C.Swinburne, Lewis Carroll, Elizabeth Missing Sewell and Juliana Horatia Ewing, are often exceedingly obscure. In several cases we been able, using this new material, to trace the outlines of literary careers which do not show up in any way on the map of Victorian literary life: professional writers, many of them women, often non-metropolitan, whose whole work was anonymous or pseudonymous. In a self-deprecating letter to one of her publishers, Yonge herself referred to 'my magazine team . . . chiefly consisting of novices and ladies; and not often a clergyman, except of the same way of thinking as myself'.¹⁴ My proposal is for a short paper discussing the character of the *Monthly Packet* and the work we have done on the identification of articles and their authors

Sarah McNeely

Rhetorics of Empowerment: Education and Employment in *Eliza Cook's Journal*

While many Victorian women's periodicals instructed women in a role that primarily involved caring for her home and family, one title, *Eliza Cook's Journal*, clearly emphasizes an educative role for women. This role stresses the value and importance of the work involved in educating oneself and presents moral education through educational non-fiction (often natural science) rather than through the more common conduit of religion, a rhetorical strategy which imparts authority and a sense of truth to subjective moral lessons.

Eliza Cook's Journal was a weekly miscellany founded and edited by the famed poet Eliza Cook in 1849. The first issue appeared Saturday 5 May of that year and was published by John Owen Clarke, 3 Raquet Court, Fleet Street in London. By the publication of the final issue in December 1854 the magazine reportedly achieved a weekly circulation of 50,000-60,000, a number higher than the circulation of Charles Dickens's popular *Household Words*. Domestic activity occupies proportionately little space in this publication, which favours educational non-fiction content. Empowering rhetoric on the topics of education and employment encourages women readers to act, giving them the agency to reform their lives and society through knowledge and education, recognizing the power in their maternal role, but not confining them to it. The position of *Eliza Cook's Journal* with regard to woman's maternal role is that she will better fulfil her role by educating herself, because her children will receive a better education if she herself is educated. The strong tie between a woman's education and her maternal role appears in an article published in the sixth issue (9 June 1849) of the *Journal*, titled "Industrial Schools for Young Women," which addresses the education of working-class women of women in general. The article laments,

Women are the worst educated part of the community. About half the grown women in England cannot write their names at marriage! This is proved by the Registrar-General's yearly return. Woman, the educator, is not educated! What can we expect of the children, when such is the intellectual condition of the mothers?

The tragedy of woman's collective ignorance is not that her sex is degraded or oppressed by it, but that her children (future or present) will suffer because of it. This firmly situates education within the realm of woman's work at home, and through its pages *Eliza Cook's Journal* seeks to equip the woman reader with the knowledge-based tools she needs to educate herself and her children.

My essay examines the ways in which women readers were educated by *Eliza Cook's Journal* so that they could, in turn, provide education to their (and other women's) children. In *Eliza Cook's*

¹⁴ Letter to Alexander Macmillan (10 February 1865). MS British Library Add. 54920: 65-68.

Journal, a woman's duty to educate is not just a domestic one, but a nationalistic one as well, in which her responsibility involves great power in forming the future of Britain. The many articles about women's education authored by Eliza Cook and other contributors and published in *Eliza Cook's Journal* help to form the *Journal's* general empowering character. Through rhetoric that incites women to action, the *Journal* provides its readers with compelling reasons to improve their lives through education and employment

Melissa Harbin

Clothed in Muslin and Virtue: the *Lady's Newspaper* as a Social and Moral Influence

In the Saturday, 21 June 1851 issue of the *Lady's Newspaper*, the curious and "MYSTERIOUS DEATH OF A YOUNG FEMALE" is reported:

From her dress she appears to have been respectably connected. She had on side-lace boots, apparently nearly new, white silk stockings, on which are worked the initials "H. F." in red silk, with a small "o" above the initials. The stockings are diamond-cloaked. Her Coburg was a small frill around her neck, and a white ribbon-tie in her bosom. Her stays were of a dark colour, and her under garments were made of fine calico, the whole dress denoting her to be a person respectably connected.

The newspaper graphically describes the girl's head "jammed in between the rocks," with blood "oozing from the head and ears," an unusual detail that seems out of place in a "lady's" magazine. However, even more odd is the casual reportage of the victim's clothing without speculation about the cause of the murder or any murder suspects. The dead girl's clothing choices are described in the same lengthy detail that the *Lady's Newspaper* describes the dress of the court attendants and the court fashions. The shocking murder description is subsumed by the coverings of feminine taste to distance the reader from the real event. *The Lady's Newspaper* used fashion as its primary means to sell papers, with a little morbidity added to whet readers' appetite for sensationalism. The editors frequently united a moral agenda with illustrations of bonnets and morning dresses in such reportage that dearly shows they were not sure what news was proper for its women readers while promoting an agenda that teaches readers how to better clothe themselves both physically and morally. Philanthropy was a way that women could demonstrate good moral behavior, and in the following 28 June 1851 issue, the column "London and Paris Fashions" is juxtaposed on the page with lengthy feature articles titled "THE NEW HOSPITAL FOR CONSUMPTION" and "ROYAL FEMALE PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY." While the pictorial illustrations of ladies' fashions perhaps prompted the buyer to invest in the newspaper, the editors were able to encourage the readers towards philanthropic investments in these articles, teaching them how to clothe themselves with virtue, as well as with muslin. My essay explores these interstices between clothing, current events, and moral prescriptions, and investigates the ways in which the *Lady's Newspaper* uses text, fashion plates, and other illustrations to encourage the reader to invest in moral interests of goodwill and charity.

Room GH006: Aestheticism (& Punch)

Anne Anderson

The 'Mutual Admiration Society', or Mr Punch against the Aesthetes

The Colonel might quite as fitly be called 'a dramatic version of *Punch*. That time-honoured publication-we use the phrase with no satiric intentions, for 'with all its faults we love it still'-has of late been little more than a record of the doings of Messrs. Maudle and Postlethwaite and the Cimabue Browns, with occasional interludes in which are set forth the humors [sic] of Grisby, Mrs Ponsonby de Tomkins, and Sir Gorgius Midas. As Hogarth gave us the Rake's Progress, Mr Du Maurier has devoted himself to depicting the Prig's Progress. A modern Don Quixote, he has set pencil in rest against the shams of modern art culture, with Mr Burnand as his Sancho Panza supplying a comic commentary on his feats. The Don having demolished

the puppet-show, Sancho now pieces the manikins together again, and puts them through their antics after his own fashion. Very amusing antics they are, all the more so as the figures have some slight resemblance to real men and women.¹⁵

From 1874 to the mid 1880s *Punch* led a campaign against art in general and the aesthetes in particular. Lambourne rightly maintains that the 'remarkable thing about the satirical comment upon the Aesthetic Movement is that it is remembered more vividly than the subject satirised'.¹⁶ Evidently 'Mr. Du Maurier could not resist laughing at the effeminate men who could "lunch on a lily," or the wan and wasted women who dreamed of "living up to a china tea-pot;" and Mr. Burnand, with an equally strong sense of humour, though in a different direction, thought he would follow it up in action on the stage'.¹⁷ Although Whistler and Wilde offered living proof of the existence of the aesthetes, theatre audiences had been trained to recognise their caricatures, expertly satirised by George du Maurier ((1834-96) in *Punch*. Rather than damaging Aestheticism, *Punch* spawned a cult and gave the public readily identifiable characters; the Cimabue Browns, Jellaby Postlethwaite, the poet, and Maudle, the artist, who formed the core of the 'mutual admiration society'. Du Maurier's stereotypes, like Gilbert's in *Patience*, were clearly composites: the language of Pater and Swinburne, the wit of Whistler (his famous Ha! Ha!), the velveteen of Walter Crane and the Wilde's confidence of youth. Many have noted that Wilde himself played on the *Punch* stereotypes, self-parodying the dilettante Ponsonby De Tomkyns, seen at his best, surrounded by 'artistic wallpapers, Blue China, Japanese fans, medieval snuff boxes, and his favourite periodicals of the eighteenth century', in *Intellectual Epicures* (5 February 1876, p.33). As a regular contributor to *Punch* from 1863, appointed editor in 1880 following Tom Taylor, Burnand consistently exploited the caricatures created by his colleagues, transferring *Chinamania* to the stage with *A Tale of Old China* in 1875. His greatest stage triumph was *The Colonel* in 1881, which in effect animated Maudle, Postlethwaite and the Cimabue Browns. This paper will track *Mr Punch's* campaign against the aesthetes, through 'Chinamania', 'Nincompoopiana', 'Edwin and Angelina' and the 'Mutual Admiration Society'. Why did *Punch* rail against the democratisation or 'vulgarisation' of art and culture? Did *Punch*, bastion of commonsense, fear the erosion of class boundaries or the denigration of art itself? Would 'widening participation' result in 'dumbing down'? The magazine certainly scorned the ideal of Art for the People. But Francis Burnand may have been driven by more personal reasons.

Shu-Chuan Yan

Britannia in Caricature: (Dis)-Embodying the Nation in *Punch* 1850-1880

This paper considers how *Punch* magazine is engaged in gender underpinnings of nationalist discourse through the representations of Britannia. Britannia is often personified as a young woman wearing helmet and white robes, standing with a three-pronged trident in popular representations. Without exception, she enters *Punch* cartoons as a symbolic bearer of the nation and an imperial model of hegemonic leadership. These images frequently help readers explore the process of imagining and narrating the nation. However, *Punch's* graphic satire on Britannia brings into focus the competing gender ideologies brought about by the cartoonist's male gaze and masculine pen. The cartoonist's ability to poke fun and confine his efforts to comment on the social/political scene directs to our attention the use of caricature for gender divisions. Thus in this paper, I seek to analyze *Punch's* satire resulting from the widespread public controversy in imperial policies through the female allegorical figure of Britannia from 1850 to 1880. I argue that while the *Punch* cartoonist's nationalist imaginings are feminine, the appropriation of the female icon remains a male prerogative. The cartoonist designs a political mask for Britannia by adopting gendered images such as daughter, sister, and wife. His masculine gaze in this sense sees the female body of Britannia as something to own and something to give pleasure. Also, the problem of male anxiety about female power may be exposed when we look at *Punch's* pictorial satire on

¹⁵ 'Dramatic', V&A Theatre Archive, *Prince of Wales Theatre*, 1881.

¹⁶ Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1996, p. 114.

¹⁷ 'Sketches at the Prince of Wales's Theatre', *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. 78, 26 March 1881, p. 302.

Britannia's relation to the imperial nation and her ambiguous status within an imperial context. Like Queen Victoria, Britannia is, on the one hand, the icon of Victorian middle-class femininity and domesticity and, on the other, the very model of nationhood and imperial identity. It would therefore be interesting to consider the role and function of Britannia in formulating and circulating diverse perspectives on gender and nationalist ideologies.

Lorna Shelley

'The character and the afterlife of *The Yellow Book* (1894-1897) in *The Acorn* (1905-1906)'

The purpose of this paper is to draw comparisons between *The Yellow Book* and a less known magazine, *The Acorn: An Illustrated Quarterly Magazine Devoted To Literature and Art*. In modern criticism *The Savoy* magazine (1896) is usually upheld as the decadent "offspring" of *The Yellow Book*. Recognising the textual and illustrative interrelations, and Aubrey Beardsley's input as the art editor of *The Yellow Book* and *The Savoy*, is crucial to any study of 1890s magazines. However, the "personality" of *The Yellow Book*- its format, authors (A.C. Benson, Ella Hepworth Dixon, Netta Syrett), and high-art intentions, are present in *The Acorn*. Published by the Caradoc Press, *The Acorn* was edited by Gertrude Hudson under the pseudonym of 'Israfel'. Although Hudson did not contribute to *The Yellow Book*, she approached John Lane, by way of *Yellow Book* contributor Ella D'Arcy, in the hope that Lane's publishing house, The Bodley Head would print *The Acorn*. Lane, probably for financial reasons, did not involve himself with Hudson's magazine. However, *The Acorn* visibly imitates Lane's most famous journalistic and literary product, which had ceased to be eight years earlier.

At first glance, *The Acorn* may seem far removed from the overtly urban and decadent *Yellow Book*. Possessing a front-piece that informs the reader, "Large Streams from little Fountains flow/Tall Oaks from little Acorns grow", *The Acorn* is certainly a magazine that has much in common with journals in the Arts and Crafts Movement, especially *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1884-1894) and *The Evergreen* (1895-1896), as Imogen Hart argues in her recent paper for the Modernist Magazine Project. Yet, despite the nature images in *The Acorn*, and its participation in the Celtic Revival, especially by way of W.B. Yeats' contribution to volume one of the magazine, *The Acorn* has definite links with *The Yellow Book*. Both magazines aimed to sell themselves as books, rather than ephemeral magazines. Hudson, who contributed pieces to *The Dome* in 1898, declared, somewhat like Henry Harland and Beardsley over a decade earlier, that, 'The Acorn is an art form and a book ...it will last and challenge "modern" and more commercial enterprises' (Letter to H.D. and H.C. Webb of the Caradoc Press, February 1905). *The Acorn* did not last, only two editions were ever published. However, in its position as the unrecognised antecedent of *The Yellow Book*, we can seek to give it more permanence in critical and scholarly arenas.

Room GH021: Reviews

Leslie Howsam

The Victorian Bluffer's Guide to History Books: Reading the Reviews in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals

That the great Victorian reviews existed to review current works of literature is so well-known as to be overlooked. Reviewing was intrinsic to the character of the *Quarterly*, the *Fortnightly* and the *Dublin Review*, as well as many others. Certain celebrated reviews changed the course of literary history, and certain rivalries were played out on the ground of the book-reviewing genre. The practice of eschewing comment in favour of reproducing large chunks of prose from the book under review has been discussed, as has that of ignoring the book in question in order to write one's own essay on the same subject. The proposed paper, however, sidesteps these aspects and looks at reviewing from the point of view of the common reader, using history books as a test case.

History was a dominant discourse in the nineteenth century, and as I argued in my 2005 Michael Wolff Lecture, it resonated throughout the periodicals. Although historians wrote free-standing articles, the majority of their periodical contributions took the form of book reviews. This means that the readers of those periodicals acquired knowledge of historical events, and ways of thinking about the past, through reading them. These reviews exhibit a number of interesting features. In many essays, the past served as a staging ground for discussions of religion and science, as well as what might loosely be called philosophy. Victorian readers absorbed (or were in a position to absorb) vast amounts of narrative about kings and queens, battles and constitutions, heroes and villains at the same time as they read about the virtue of Protestantism, the validity of a rational approach to knowledge, or about the meaning of human existence. With respect to history as a discipline – one whose academic credentials were increasingly relevant in the 1880s and 1890s – the readers of reviews became attuned to historians' intellectual standards through their assessments of one another's books. Sometimes this was gentlemanly debate, and sometimes rather vicious conflict. The latter, presumably, offered to readers a piquant opportunity to revel in someone else's discomfiture. A case in point is E.A. Freeman's attacks on James A. Froude, and later J.H. Round's equally violent attacks on Freeman. Focusing primarily on the *Fortnightly*, *Fraser's* and the *Dublin Review*, the proposed paper will discuss the practice of reviewing history books, using the themes of religion, science and philosophy to frame the discussion. I will also take the opportunity to discuss the methodological problems in working with Victorian periodicals to extract an analysis of contemporary book-reviewing techniques, with a particular focus on using digitized versions.

Andrea Cabus

Creating the “in-group” in Victorian Novel Criticism

H. L. Mansel's “Sensation Novels” (*Quarterly Review* April 1863) makes a move that is characteristic of much genre criticism in nineteenth-century periodicals. From the opening paragraphs of his article, Mansel sets out an argument whose tone presumes his own and his readers' superiority to the temptation offered by sensation novels. This superior stance alone is not surprising, perhaps particularly because of the *Quarterly's* elite reputation. The real appeal of Mansel's article lies in his ability to sustain this tone while allowing that his readers have read, and probably enjoyed, sensation fiction. Readers are in on the joke—they are allowed to be familiar with “this class” of literature “called into existence to supply the cravings of a diseased appetite,” but they are also allowed to imagine themselves (within the space of the article) to be immune to the disease itself (483). In effect, Mansel allows his readers to “have their cake and eat it too”. They can at once belong to the vast reading public that purchased (and avidly read) sensation fiction while also feeling, as readers of this article, as though they are exempt from its allure and its dangerous (and vulgar) tendencies.

Mansel is not alone in engaging readers' snobbishness to support his claims about value in the literary marketplace. This technique appears in reviews by many critics and across a wide variety of periodicals. It serves a double purpose, as Mansel's explicitly class conscious language shows. Creating a readerly “in-group” reinforces the double boundary between experienced, presumably educated, readers (in his article, those who are too sophisticated to be duped by the attractions of sensation fiction, though they may still read these novels) and the naïve reader who becomes the target of the article's ridicule. This boundary can embrace many sorts of difference from Mansel's implied ideal, but the most common, and perhaps most obvious, are distinctions of class, education and gender. This insider/outsider technique also assumes and perpetuates a literary hierarchy that devalues some genres or works based on their assumed readership or effects. In creating an in-group, then, writers like Mansel are doing more than simply stroking their readers' egos. These critics are continuing a set of stereotypes about whose reading matters and whose tastes and choices count in determining what works are literature and what books simply result from the “market-law of demand and supply” (Mansel 483).

When these questions of class and gender, market and popularity are taken into consideration, then, it is not surprising that the sensation novel's “thrilling” predecessor, the Gothic novel, is

subject to this “in-group” treatment. Interestingly, however, when critics deploy this presumption of superiority in articles about the Gothic, their rejection of the genre serves, in a limited way, to enlarge the informed reading public and even to invite new ways of evaluating fiction that would not depend on strict distinctions between masculine and feminine tastes or on social and educational classes. While no utopian literary society emerged as a result of mid-Victorian genre criticism, however, the emphasis that critics of the Gothic novel place on moral sympathy and character development suggest at least the desire for harmonious unity, if only among readers and only for the length of a three-volume novel.

Casey Smith

Popular Bibliography in the 1880s: The ‘Prettily Printed Magazines’ of Elliot Stock

In their exhibition catalogue, *England in the 1890s: Literary Publishing at The Bodley Head* (1990), Margaret Stetz and Mark Lasner point out that the success of The Bodley Head was in the recognition of

the needs of a whole new generation of lower-middle-class readers, created by the Education Act of 1870 that opened government-sponsored education to all who wanted access to the highest expressions of aristocratic ‘beauty’ at a cheap price: and the needs of the ‘advanced’ segments of the middle and upper-middle classes, who prided themselves on their difference from the average ‘Philistines,’ and who wanted literary artefacts that would confirm them in their own sense of superior taste and cultivation. (viii)

The Bodley Head’s strategy was shrewd, but it wasn’t original; publishers such as David Nutt, Elliot Stock, Andrew Tuer, and Gay & Bird had been supplying books for the same market through the 1880s, but with little controversy or fanfare. The cult of the collectible book had always been limited to those with considerable income. The bibliomania that Dibdin chronicled in the beginning of the century was exclusive to the wealthy and well-educated, but not so with the *fin de siècle* belletrism which by the middle 1880s had filtered down to an ever-growing segment of the middle class.

Laying the groundwork, so to speak, for John Lane and Elkin Mathews was the aforementioned publisher, Elliot Stock. This paper will examine three influential bibliographical journals published by Stock in the 1880s: *The Bibliographer* (1881-1884), *Book-Lore* (1885-1887), and *The Bookworm* (1888-1893). Because these journals succeeded each other at relatively regular intervals, we can chart the growth of what I call “Popular Bibliography” in the years preceding the explosion of interest in book culture in the 1890s. Each successive journal addressed its audience with more accessible and less esoteric material. This is evidenced in not only the articles that appeared, but the design, illustrations, and advertisements that branded the magazines. Richard Le Gallienne in a letter to Stock recalled *Book-Lore*: “What a prettily printed magazine it was—the best attempt at a bookman’s magazine we have recently had, I think. How is it, I wonder, that such magazines languish so inevitably?” His question is a good one; many journals of “Popular Bibliography” in the 1880s and 1890s had short runs. The question will be addressed head-on in this paper: Did the “Popular Bibliography” of the 1880s depend on novelty to keep it going? Why did Elliot Stock refashion his journals and magazines every few years? What do these changes signify for the literary culture at large?

Although the focus of the paper is on the firm’s magazines and journals, Elliot Stock was also known for publishing ‘quality’ books at reasonable prices. The affordable series of bibliographical handbooks, “The Book-Lover’s Library” appeared from 1886 to 1902 and was influential in raising the profile of the importance of the material book in the culture at large. Stock’s edition of William Scott Bell’s *A Poet’s Harvest Home* (1882) was half-praised by William Morris as “a very pretty little book.” The story of Elliot Stock and his role in the formation of the bibliophilic culture of the 1890s reminds us that the roots of such various enterprises as the Kelmscott Press and The Bodley Head are deeper and more tangled than commonly assumed.

1pm-2pm Lunch RSVP Annual General Meeting

session 7, 2pm

Portrait Room: Mid and Late Nineteenth-Century Women's Magazines

Sarah Dewis

The Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad: A Case Study of a Woman Editor in the Mid Nineteenth Century

In October 1849, at the age of 42, Jane Webb Loudon was appointed editor of a new 3d (4d stamped) weekly magazine for women - the *Ladies' Companion, At Home and Abroad* (1849-51). First issued in December of that year, its editor was replaced within six months, within eighteen months the magazine had become a monthly, and in 1852 it had merged with the *New Monthly Belle Assemblée*. A 16 page, large size (19 x 27cm) publication with full page plates in almost every number, the *Ladies' Companion* contained a mix of fiction and poetry, articles on the arts, fashion and the decorative arts, science and social questions, and reviews of books, concerts and exhibitions. Regular features included puzzles or games for children, the 'What-not' - a collection of aphorisms, a 'Work-Basket' of sewing patterns and 'My Letter-Bag'.

Published by Bradbury and Evans, who were also the publishers of *Punch* (from 1842) and of Dickens's *Household Words* (1850-59), the argument of this paper is that under Webb Loudon's editorship, the journal provided an alternative to what was currently available to different classes of women readers; the secular fiction and fashion based more expensive monthlies such as the *New Monthly Belle Assemblée* (1834-70), the Christian ladies' magazines and the cheaper family weeklies such as *Eliza Cook's Journal* (1849-53). Defining itself through a recurrent and distinctive set of textual practices, in terms of its layout, size, and range of departments, the rapid turnaround of the *Ladies' Companion* to conformity with the textual practices of competitors suggests that the audience for the magazine failed to materialise in sufficient numbers for it to continue in its original form.

The trajectory of the magazine is also linked to the conflict between Webb Loudon, a powerful brand name for a middle-class female audience, her publishers, and her sub-editors. The latter were well-educated, bohemian and mobile young male journalists from the Bradbury and Evans 'stable' (Percival Leigh, Horace Mayhew and Tom Taylor), and Taylor in particular, attempted to redefine the magazine's readership. The contest between Webb Loudon and Taylor might be a microcosm of a wider contest about what print culture should be and who should produce it.

Molly Youngkin

The Aesthetic "Character" of Wilde's *The Woman's World*

Much has been done to show the ways in which Cassell, publisher of *The Woman's World*, used the "character" of Oscar Wilde to re-fashion the periodical at a time when appealing to feminine readership was particularly important. As Anya Clayworth points out in *The Woman's World: Oscar Wilde as Editor* (1996), Cassell hired Wilde as editor in 1887 because of his "high public profile and close friendships with many of the most celebrated women of the century" (85-86). These "qualifications," which were not the typical characteristics looked for in an editor, appealed to the middle and upper class women who purchased the magazine for its focus on fashion and other "feminine" pursuits.

Still, even as Wilde's celebrity status appealed to a certain class of women readers, his ambiguous sexuality created additional space for understanding fashionable feminine society in more complex ways, including the "proto-feminist" views of the "New Woman." As Laurel Brake indicates in *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (1994), Wilde's use of the emerging gay men's discourse of the late 1880s indicates his "transgressive" approach to journalistic writing, since he was "stretching the limits of the periodicals with which he was associated" (130). Further, Wilde broadened the readership of *The Woman's World* and appealed to more intellectual women by recommending the new name for the magazine (originally suggested by Dinah Craik), which would imply the commitment to issues such as "suffrage" and "higher education" (128) rather than just fashion. As a result of the re-characterization of the journal by Wilde, even the more fashion-oriented side of the periodical became more intellectual, as Stephanie Green argues in "Oscar Wilde's *The Woman's World*" (1997).

Yet, as much as critical discussion of *The Woman's World* has shown how Wilde transformed the periodical in a remarkably short time, not enough attention has been paid to how Wilde re-characterized the magazine through his reviews of literature by women in his editorial columns. In these columns, Wilde drew on the literary concepts he had already established in articles published in mainstream periodicals such as the *Pall Mall Gazette*, but he reshaped these concepts for a more specific audience of intellectual women. In this paper, I examine his reviews of literature by women that ran in *The Woman's World* next to those that ran in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. I argue that Wilde maintained a version of aestheticism in *The Woman's World* that insisted on complete avoidance of naturalism but allowed for the "right" kind of realism, in which observation of the outside world can provide the "materials" but not the "method" for fiction (Wilde, *Complete Letters* 100; Wilde, "Truth of Masks" 1165). Nevertheless, this version of aestheticism diverged from the earlier version in that it more fully emphasized women's contributions to the aesthetic.

By looking at the reviews that ran in *The Woman's World*, we can see that Wilde used the periodical as a means for maintaining his commitment to aestheticism at a time when the use of particular literary styles was strongly debated. In emphasizing a commitment to aestheticism, Wilde created a different form of feminism in *The Woman's World* than that found in other women's periodicals of the late century, such as *Shafts* and *The Woman's Herald*, which advocated a more realistic approach to fiction, but he also brought a new perspective to mainstream journals such as the *Pall Mall Gazette*, since he began incorporating discussion of work by women aesthetes into his reviews after leaving the editor position at *The Woman's World*.

Valerie Fehlbau

Separating the Women from the Ladies, or Bringing Them Together?

As is well known, the last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a phenomenal increase in the number of periodicals in general, and, to quote from an overview of 'Journalism for Women During the Reign' published in *Woman* in June 1897, '[n]othing ... is more astonishing than the extraordinary increase during the last few years in the number of papers and periodicals devoted to the interests of women.' In such a highly competitive field, however, very few of these journals survived for more than a few years. In this paper I would like to examine the character of one of the most long-lasting: the *Lady's Pictorial* (1880-1921).

The periodical press naturally reflected society's anxieties about the female sex at the same as it tried to accommodate the changing character of women readers and writers. In 1888, for instance, when Wilde was offered the editorship of *The Lady's World*, his reaction was 'it is too feminine and not sufficiently womanly'. He then proposed changing the name to *The Woman's World* because '[t]he present name of the magazine has a certain taint of vulgarity about it ...'. Although his suggestion was accepted, a glance at any bibliography of magazines targeting a female readership reveals a mixture of both ladies and women, for example *Ladies' Field*, *Ladies' Realm*, *Lady's Pictorial*, *Lady's World*, *The Lady*, *Woman*, *Woman's World*, *The Englishwoman*, *The Gentlewoman*, *Woman and Home*, *Woman at Home*. Nevertheless Wilde was not alone in expressing concern about

the connotations of words used to express the *mundus mulierbris*. In her first weekly column, entitled significantly 'Pensées de Femme', for the *Lady's Pictorial* in 1895 Ella Hepworth Dixon asks why 'one should turn instinctively to that agreeable tongue which is spoken on the hither side of the Straits of Dover to express the purely feminine'.

At a time when periodicals flourished and perished rapidly the *Lady's Pictorial* was remarkable in its longevity and one cannot help wondering why. Was it perhaps the character of its owner, Alfred Gibbons, who used his business acumen to ensure financial success? Was it the precious advice, and capital, of the Ingram brothers from that other highly-successful paper the *Illustrated London News*? Was it simply excellent marketing? Was it the well-balanced content, including the contributions of avant-garde writers and illustrators? Was the image promoted the perfect blend of the lady and the woman? Was the *Lady's Pictorial*, in fact, exemplifying the motto of its cheaper rival *Woman*: 'Forward, but not too fast'? I hope to propose a few answers.

Room GH006: Class and the Periodical Press

Gary Peatling

Is there a class in this text? Social Class, Authority, and the Character of Victorian Higher Journalism

It is increasingly common for class to be criticised as a tool of historical analysis, both in relation to common subjects in the field of social history, and in relation to the analysis of political and intellectual elites. In some cases, indeed, elites and their exercise of authority are seen as a discrete world and an appropriate focus for analysis on their own terms as if distinct from their material conditions of existence.

This paper however will comprise an investigation of examples which restore the centrality of class as a lens through which to interpret cultural formations, including examples of Victorian higher journalism. It will focus on examples from the mid- and late nineteenth century anonymous journalism of James Fitzjames Stephen, notably in the *Saturday Review* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Despite widespread assertions as to the unfashionability of his ideas, strikingly few critical perspectives on Stephen have been offered by scholars. Efforts to problematise his writing through the category of class have been particularly few, notably fewer than those using gender and race as a tool of analysis.

Stephen's has also been treated as a test case for the retreat of the Victorian intelligentsia from political liberalism, a retreat often considered curious. This paper will however suggest that strikingly little change is evident in Stephen's position if it is analysed with a view to Stephen's social position, and his cognate assumption of political and social authority. Authority and its social precondition (political and social inequality) was endemic to the perspective of many mid-Victorian "liberals". While the resulting habituation of writers such as Stephen to a position of authority rendered their reconciliation with subsequent political and social trends particularly troublesome, their assumption of cultural superiority remained strikingly constant. Indeed, due to professional pressures, it will be argued that cognate assumptions continue to find an echo within the perspectives of many academic researchers. This may in part explain the inability of academics recently to offer detached perspectives on Stephen's work.

Deborah Mutch

'Nunquam', 'John Smith' and the Character of *Clarion* Socialism

The *Clarion* was the most popular socialist periodical of the late-nineteenth and early- twentieth centuries, regularly selling 80,000 to 90,000 copies at its peak. Edited by Robert Blatchford, under the pseudonym Nunquam, written and produced by the members of the *Clarion* board, including Blatchford, Alex Thompson and Edward Fay, the *Clarion* sought to outline and promote a wide-ranging ethical and aesthetic form of socialism through the pages of the periodical. Ridiculed and

reviled by some for apparently diluting the socialist message through the abandonment of Marxist economics and the embrace of fun and leisure, *Clarion* socialism had a recognisable character which set it apart from the myriad socialist groups of the period – and one which reached beyond the pages of the periodical. The popularity of *Clarion* bicycle clubs (and later motorcycle clubs), glee clubs, *Clarion* cafés, and the Cinderella Clubs which gave parties for slum children, ironically created an identifiable group character despite Blatchford's rejection of party politics.

The fluid and fluent page layout in the *Clarion*, as articles, adverts and fiction created a dialogue across the page, served to construct the characters of both *Clarion* socialism and of the implied and ideal readers through the interaction of journalism and fiction. Blatchford specifically encouraged a broad approach to learning: in a series of articles published in 1904 entitled 'Self-Culture. A Series of Friendly Letters to Young Women and Young Men', he advised young readers on the necessity of an extensive perspective in the study of history, placing events in a global rather than national context. By applying Blatchford's widened vision to his periodical, this paper will trace the character of *Clarion* socialism, from abstract polemics to visions of the individual under both capitalism and socialism, through both *Clarion* journalism and fiction. The serialisation of 'Merrie England' (*Clarion*, 1893) was addressed to the non-socialist working man, 'John Smith', the working-class sceptic who rejects socialism without understanding it. As the serialisation progresses, the character of Blatchford's working-class man is developed and constructs an image of the implied reader the *Clarion* hoped to persuade about socialism. The effect of a socialist society on the character of the British people is prophesied in Blatchford's translation of 'Merrie England' into visionary utopian fiction in 'The Sorcery Shop' (*Clarion* 1906/07). Finally, the fiction of A. Neil Lyons – 'Little Pictures of the Night' (*Clarion*, 1903/04) and 'Sixpenny Pieces' (*Clarion*, 1907/08) – created an image of the present-day inherently collective character of the British working class, and celebrates an alternative to that of the normalised dominant culture. Through the outline of the working-class under capitalism and the vision of a classless society under socialism, this paper will sketch out the character of *Clarion* socialism, the possible future effects of socialism, the dangers of socialist scepticism, and the celebration of the British working class culture.

Louise Lee

Deity in Dispatches: Charles Kingsley and the Scramble to Scribble for the Crimea

This paper explores the response of the novelist and clergyman Charles Kingsley to the potent theological yield of a bold new print phenomenon in the 1850s: the newspaper dispatch. As a hard-working parish priest, Kingsley was used to throwing himself at the heart of a problem; witnessing for himself death, sickness and 'the rest of the devils.' But the rise of the newspaper dispatch as the primary means of reporting the Crimean War changed everything, driving Kingsley 'half-mad' as he sought to come to terms with his absence from combat. But Kingsley's dissatisfaction provided the driving force for what would later become muscular Christianity – loosely, the alliance of militarism with Christianity – and manifests itself in *Brave Words to Brave Soldiers and Sailors*, an anonymous *in absentia* battlefield address published at the end of 1854. In this very strange piece of pamphleteering, which operates as Kingsley's own form of newspaper dispatch to the troops stationed around the Black Sea, he tries to link the bravery of Jesus Christ to the bravery of the British soldier. It is an essay that shows how susceptible Kingsley was to seeing divinity within the semiotic interstices and untenanted spaces of new media technology. But it also starkly exposes the inherent problems of a middle class author responding to the war from his armchair at home, whilst attempting to attain spiritual identification with working class soldiers dying and enduring at the front.

Room GH021: Celebrity

Maria Frawley

What's in a (Pen) Name?: Pseudonymity, Signature, and Celebrity

Writing of her early “aspirations after authorship” and “first appearance in print” in her autobiography, Harriet Martineau recollected that she told no one when she sent her draft of “Female Writers on Practical Divinity” off to the editor of the *Monthly Repository*. “I took the letter V for my signature,” she writes, confessing at the same time, “I cannot at all remember why.” Martineau began authorship as “V of Norwich,” but of course went on to author plenty of works under her own name, to write on occasion with complete anonymity, and to adopt a variety of pseudonyms with varying degrees of transparency. Martineau's comments with respect to this earliest attempt at publication suggest an unplanned, even desultory, attitude toward signature, but her correspondence and autobiography reveal just the opposite. Like many of her contemporaries, she was intensely attentive to the ramifications of how her name, and that of others, circulated in the press. She clearly relished the opportunity to watch as others uncovered her identity, when anonymously or pseudonymously authored pieces were linked to her biographical self, and usually took playful delight when her work was mistakenly attributed to another or when another's work was attributed to her.

The purpose of my paper is not to document the wide-ranging ways that Martineau used forms of authorship (the anonymous, the pseudonymous, and the signed) to craft and direct her career, but rather to inquire to what degree her case exposes the inadequacies of several scholarly paradigms operative in our field. In what has been described as the “standard version of the rise of the professional author,” anonymity gives way to identity and journalism gains respectability; copyright laws ensure that authorial names become property and celebrity itself is born. A close examination of Martineau's “periodical personae” provides a range of ways to make these received narratives more nuanced. Although much indebted to Robert Griffin's work on anonymity and authorship, I want especially to rethink his claim that pseudonymity is a subset of anonymity and to suggest instead that pseudonymity (which prospered in Victorian Britain long after the watershed moment when signature became embraced by journals such as *Macmillan's* and the *Fortnightly*) can help us better understand the interfiliation of authorial persona with biographical person, the strategic relationship of both to periodicals and the other characters (editors, publishers, contributors, readers, and even advertisers) who inhabit them, and the intriguing ways that print culture itself facilitated malleable, mobile identities.

Gary Simons

Thackeray's Narrative Voice in the *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle*

William Makepeace Thackeray sharpened the definition and character of a number of early Victorian literary periodicals through his creation of distinctive and recurring narrative personas. Memorable narrators such as Yellowplush, Fitzboodle, and Titmarsh in *Fraser's Magazine*, Gahagan and Wagstaff in the *New Monthly Magazine*, and the Fat Contributor, Mr. Brown, and James de la Pluche in *Punch* added verve and contributed to the image and the perceived character of their respective periodicals.

During the years prior to the publication of *Vanity Fair* Thackeray also wrote numerous critical reviews for London's two leading daily newspapers, the conservative *Times* (in 1837-1840) and the liberal *Morning Chronicle* (in 1844-1846). Although Thackeray's articles for these papers did not invoke the above-mentioned personas, many of his now generally neglected newspaper critical articles nevertheless featured a strong narrative identity – with a well-developed set of moral and literary values and a sense of humor, irony, and human absurdity – and the recurring expression of consistent themes that would resonate with readers. Thackeray himself wrote that his articles were “well liked” and “reduced the dullness of that estimable paper” (the *Morning Chronicle*), and literary figures of the era such as N. P. Willis, Thomas Carlyle, and Richard Horne variously

commented on Thackeray's profile as a newspaper critic. In this paper I explore the narrative personality and presence exposed in these critical articles and consider the contributions of these articles to the overall character of their respective newspapers and to the formation of reader expectations.

Alexis Easley

The Celebrity Cause: Octavia Hill, Virtual Landscapes, and the Periodical Press

In the winter of 1875, Octavia Hill (1838-1912) sat in the gallery of the House of Commons listening to Ughtred Kay Shuttleworth's speech on the Artisan Dwellings Bill. She was listening quietly when suddenly she heard her own name resounding through the chamber. Shuttleworth was reading from her article, "Space for the People," which had been published in *Macmillan's Magazine* the previous August. "Instead of quoting dry facts and figures," she later told a friend, "he read aloud from it the description of the wonderful delight it gave me to see the courts [outside working-class homes] laid open to the light and air" (322). It was a key moment in Hill's career – both as a housing reformer and a journalist – because it highlighted the power of the press and the power of personality to bring about social change. The *Macmillan's* article was just one of many short essays Hill published in periodicals as part of her campaigns for working class housing reform and the preservation of open spaces. Between 1866 and 1899, she published seventeen articles in the *Fortnightly Review*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, and the *Nineteenth Century*, all of which were designed to rally support for her projects.

In this presentation, I will demonstrate how Octavia Hill used the press in a strategic way in order to garner popular support for her campaigns, focusing particularly on her involvement in the Kyrle and open space movements. These efforts culminated in the founding of the National Trust in 1895 – a crucial development in the history of the British culture industries and conservation movements. Her articles were focused on establishing a sense of common culture by preserving and marking geographical landscapes, constructing their cultural significance through the mediating influence of journalistic texts. In "More Air For London," for example, published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1888, she not only coined the term "green belt" but also included a fold-out map of the parks she hoped to acquire as part of her project. Hill's use of visual texts – illustrations and first-person accounts – enabled her to construct *imagined* landscapes that would be accessible to the middle classes in a virtual way via the periodical press. From Hill's point of view, the middle classes need not visit parks and open spaces in order to understand and defend their cultural value as key locations on the British national landscape.

Hill's success was premised on her ability to use the press to popularize her own name as celebrity advocate. The convention of signed publication and the advertisement of celebrity contributors in the *Fortnightly*, *Macmillan's*, and the *Nineteenth Century* enabled Hill to forge a connection between her name and the open space movement. Negative publicity in periodicals such as *Punch* served to support her efforts by further enhancing her name recognition in the popular imagination. Her name came to be fused not only with her causes but with the locations she had constructed via her periodical essays. For example, after the acquisition of Mariners' Hill, a stone memorial to Octavia Hill was erected on the site, thus literalizing an association between land and name that had been so essential to the success of her preservationist projects.

Sharon Aronofsky Weltman

Ruskin, Pantomime, and *The Illustrated London News*

This paper compares Ruskin's characterizations in *Fors Clavigera* of Victorian pantomime and its surrounding culture to concurrent visual and verbal depictions of the same shows from *The Illustrated London News*. Juxtaposing these periodical representations of theatre and theatrical life to Ruskin's rousing word paintings of the same thing exposes the significance and complexity of Ruskin's responses to pantomime and the uses he makes of it. Images from *The Illustrated London News* show that Ruskin draws on a cultural milieu that already reveals some of the tensions that

his commentary sustains, such as the beauty of the fairy-tale universe inside the theatre versus the misery of the poor outside, or the labour of pantomime child actors versus their portrayal of an ideal. But these depictions do not address Ruskin's special concern with using pantomime to imagine and to create a better world.

I have argued in *Performing the Victorian: John Ruskin and Identity in Theatre, Science, and Education* (2007) that because pantomime especially reaches all classes, it is for Ruskin a most convenient and effective pop culture reference to exemplify his points in arguing to his broadest readership for a more just society. Ruskin also wants theatre to provide a link to the world outside, not, as one might think, merely to represent that world more accurately and also not simply to function as a didactic tool telling moral stories, but rather to make manifest in performance the possibility of other ways to act and to be. In other words, for Ruskin the enactment of a fictional existence, identity, or idea on stage momentarily incarnates it, realizing what he calls in *Modern Painters* the True Ideal, which is a paradoxical claim for the potentially greater moral truth of theatrical illusion. Furthermore, playing the part of a good audience also changes those watching the play. As he idealizes Hengler's circus and Drury Lane pantomimes in *Fors Clavigera*, Ruskin suggests that only within the golden light of the theatre, performing the role of spectator, does the audience become fully human. Outside they merely tend machines, or become machines, or worse.

In new research I have found that Mason Jackson's "Engaging Children for the Christmas Pantomime at Drury Lane Theatre" (1867), R. Taylor's "Going to the Morning Performance of the Pantomime," (1872), D. H. Friston's illustration of the pantomime Jack in the Box (1874) and their accompanying articles from *The Illustrated London News* suggest a context for Ruskin's idealization that is remarkably similar in recognizing a tension between the beauty of the world inside the pantomime and the misery outside it, between appreciation for the artistry of child performers and concern for their labour. Yet *The Illustrated London News* does not imagine the pantomime as a way to imagine and engender a better world.

tea

3.45-4.30

Plenary 2, 4.30-5.30

Kathryn Ledbetter, Colby Scholarly Book Prize Winner

**Ideologic Tokens: Poetry in Victorian Periodicals;
or, More on What the Wellesley Left Out**

5.30 pm Conference Close



ornamental tailpiece from Henry Silvester, "Cynthia's Love Affairs", in *The English Illustrated Magazine*, November 1893: 321-329