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Networking Science: Solar-Eclipse Expeditions and Readers

In the Baltimore *Weekly Register*, 14 September, 1811, an extract of a letter from William Lambert, Esq. informed readers that, "A singular phenomenon will take place at Richmond on 17th September, 1811: the sun will be annularly and very nearly centrally eclipsed by the moon at 2 h. 51 m. P.M. solar time." Lambert encouraged readers not to waste the opportunity, "for such means occur but seldom," and that all persons with a watch showing a second hand should record the exact beginning and ending of the eclipse. Observers could then report their location and their measured time for determining specific longitudinal and latitudinal position. One can only imagine the excitement that was produced in readers of the *Weekly Register*. But we know for certain that the Victorian trends of measuring time, predicting and observing nature, and being a part of a scientific moment remained popular because literally hundreds of accounts of witnessing solar eclipses were reported in newspapers and periodicals throughout the United States and Britain during the Victorian era.

Periodicals and newspapers helped progress the growing networks of social scientific observers that involved gentlemen amateurs as well as professionals. Astronomy was one of the many sciences that benefited from increased research and discussion throughout the nineteenth century. Scientific journals such as Britain's *Science News* and the United States' *Scientific American* discussed eclipses in professional astronomical terms, whereas working and middle-class readers could turn to popular publications that reported the events as a scientific adventure. For example, in America's *Harper's Bazaar*, and Britain's *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, or *Household Words*, accounts were typically documented as pleasurable experiences bringing people closer to the secrets of nature, or even as tales of curious animal behavior and observances of eerie environmental conditions. One observer noted a spiritual awakening once the "zodiacal light," or corona, was revealed. And even Charles Dickens was interested in the direct path to be traversed by the sun during a morning eclipse. The result was that social networks of would-be scientists and new professionals could disseminate their findings within the periodical press.

Scientific historians acknowledge that while solar-eclipse expeditions were important to nineteenth-century astronomers, the impact of a short field study was much smaller compared to expeditions that sometimes lasted for years. But what historians can study from periodical and newspaper accounts, especially those published in popular working-class magazines and newspapers, is that a mutual exploitation of the social network of readers contributed to the Victorian acceptance of science. For example, solar-eclipse explorers wrote explicit details that made watching the event appear vital to science and worthy of public financial support; while publishers looked to stimulate readership by providing popular travel narratives of exotic solar-eclipse expeditions. Eclipses rarely occurred locally, thus requiring observers to travel to such remote areas as Sumatra, the Caribbean, Africa, and even Australia.

I would like to examine further how the social network of solar-eclipse observers became more or less involved with periodical reporting. In the later half of the nineteenth century photography of solar eclipses also became popular, especially among amateurs. The importance of detailing solar eclipses had previously relied on drawings, but new technologies provided faster and more reliable views of seemingly ethereal events. Several articles assured readers that the dramatic photographs were free from handwork or retouching; suggesting a common disbelief among readers that such photographs of the solar system could be authentic. Within such discourse readers were swayed that photographic imagery was as acute as the written word. I believe investigating the symbiotic influence of publications and solar-eclipse social networks reveals a fascinating account of the emergence of nineteenth-century popular science.

What we find are numerous first-person exchanges of rare experiences with nature within the pages of periodical literature.

Carolyn Vellenga Berman, The New School

Fact, Fiction, Fabrication: Parliamentary Networks and Digesting Publications

It is well known that Charles Dickens sought to imitate eighteenth-century periodicals like *The Tatler* when he founded *Household Words*. One of the features he sought to replicate was the commingling of news and fable, reviving what Mary Poovey has called the “fact-fiction continuum.” The roots of this undertaking may be traced to Dickens’s formative experiences as a parliamentary reporter in the years just after Parliamentary Reform. This paper investigates the network formed by representations *in* Parliament and representations *of* Parliament in this crucial period for both representative government and digesting publications.

Parliament would increasingly come to depend upon a network of periodicals, both independent and officially authorized, to reach the people it sought to represent. (The House of Lords allotted a separate row for reporters in its strangers’ gallery in 1831; in 1835, reporters got their own galleries in both new Houses.)

This paper focuses in particular on the competing digests of parliamentary news furnished by the official house digest, *Hansard*; by the morning papers which provided the raw material reports for *Hansard*; by *The Mirror of Parliament*, founded in 1828 by (uncle) John Dickens to rival *Hansard*; and by the *The Parliamentary Review and Family Magazine* (1833-34, founded by James Silk Buckingham). (Charles Dickens and his father both reported for *The Mirror of Parliament*; the son went on to report for the morning papers as well.)

How did periodicals draw upon parliamentary networks and prestige, and to what end? Were reporters and the periodicals that disseminated their reports becoming “the palladium of our liberties,” as commentators wondered, or “an aider and abettor in the imposture of Parliament”? The lines between inside and outside, between fact and fiction, were less self-evident than they might appear. Since *Hansard* did not hire reporters, for example, it depended on the independent morning papers for its accounts, whereas the *Mirror of Parliament*, its unofficial rival, checked its reports with M.P.s before publication (leaving room for retroactive literary work). Parliament was represented not only in the “factual” reports, moreover, but also in the “family entertainment” portions of *The Parliamentary Review*. This study offers a close look at the representation of Parliament in a complex network of contemporaneous representations.

Sumangala Bhattacharya, Pitzer College

Covering the Colonial Famine: Imperial Networks and the Famine Journalist

“With my start by the Poona Mail, on January 15, began my peregrinations in search of famine and starvation...” So wrote Francis Henry Shafton Merewether, Reuter’s special correspondent for a famine that devastated South-Western India in 1897-98. Merewether traveled approximately 4500 miles of the Indian countryside, visiting famine camps, remote British outposts, and semi-independent Indian kingdoms. Portions of his reports were printed in the *Times of India*. He later collected and extended these reports into a monograph entitled *A Tour through the Famine Districts of India* (1898). Bringing together what are often thought of as two of the most impressive achievements of the Raj, railways and famine administration, Merewether offers readers a text that connects journalism and travel narrative, such that the famine provides the occasion for an extended railway circuit of the country. Moving from railway station to railway station (with trips into the remote hinterlands between stops), Merewether offers both journalistic descriptions of famine (accompanied by photographs of

famine victims) *and* a touristic descriptions of exotic locales and situations (also accompanied by representative photographs). He renders the journalistic event of the famine into a consumable spectacle, both exotic enough to spark readers' interest and familiar enough to fit within existing interpretive frameworks.

This paper explores how famine coverage by British journalists in colonial India was implicated within the networks of relationships that characterized Anglo-Indian life, as well as within the relationship of colonial journalism to the metropolitan press. Merewether's account relies on colonial networks of transportation and administration, as well as on a periodical readership that followed famine stories published in British newspapers and periodicals. The collected account presents itself as "the mere journalistic record" of a man who travels through the affected parts of India (as opposed to a literary narrative). This strengthens the impression of a record that is immediate and authentic. However, the account also documents the extent to which these travels depended on a network of relationships. At every stop, Merewether is assured of finding room and board, as well as local assistance for his task. Officials welcome his presence because his work builds liaisons between the local context of the famine and the global contexts of the colonial administration, the Anglo-Indian public, and the readers in Britain. Furthermore, the connectivity that facilitates Merewether's journalism is often personal. The Anglo-Indian world was a small one. In his travels, Merewether frequently meets up with old friends (or friends of friends) who provide him with information, assistance, and camaraderie. He also encounters fellow journalists engaged in the same task of covering this event. Merewether's account could not have been produced without the various personal and official contacts which he parlayed into access to information and sites. However, this network of contacts filters his observations and creates an interpretive framework for his readers. In other words, the networks determine what the reporter is able to see, and hence determine the meaning the reporter generates.

What, then, do Merewether and other correspondents using similar information networks, *see* when covering famine in British India? What does their coverage make visible for readers? If hunger seemed to exercise a potent presence in Britain during the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, newspaper accounts of famines in British India in late nineteenth century helped confirm English identity as that of a people who read about starvation rather than suffered it. Famine, understood as starvation on a massive scale, was not in the direct experience of most British readers in the 1890s, and their sole encounter with it would be through the medium of print. British newspapers and periodicals carried frequent accounts of famines, so that reporters at times even showed some self-consciousness about using generic figures of speech on the topic, or exhausting the readers' compassion. Yet, as in Merewether's case, journalistic accounts of famines were collected and published as monographs, thereby suggesting that famine journalism offered its readers something more than timely information about an event. Accounts of Indian famines offered gripping spectacles of the determined actions of British administration pitted against the wilderness and chaos of the land. Famine reporting in the English press offered a kind of long-distance involvement in colonial affairs. The ordinary Briton not directly involved in colonial affairs could, in a sense, discharge the responsibilities that accompany his membership in the imperium by reading and staying informed through periodical press coverage on such matters as famine administration. In this way, Merewether's journey and account forges powerful imagined connections between metropolitan center and colonial periphery.

Derek N. Boetcher, University of North Texas

The Art-Union and Photography: Early Critical Approaches, 1839-1846.

Taking into account that the announcement of the invention of photography by both Daguerre and Talbot and the printing of the first issue of Samuel Carter Hall's monthly journal, *The Art-Union*, both occurred in 1839 this paper examines how a journal interested only in the fine arts in Britain approached photography during the early years of both concerns as each of them developed and solidified their places as major elements of nineteenth century British culture. Because both originated essentially simultaneously, the journal was obliged to engage with the developing photographic enterprise in some fashion. Part of the journal's mission was to present information on all forms of art in Britain and Europe. That mission as well as its timing would seem to guarantee the journal's direct engagement with photography by one means or another.

Accordingly, this paper will demonstrate how *The Art-Union* reported on photography, focusing in part on *The Art-Union's* positioning of photography as an artistic or scientific enterprise. This will be paired with an examination of how other general, literary, and photographic journals did or did not discuss photography at the same time. This analysis will, in conclusion, demonstrate the concomitant commodification of both *The Art-Union* and photography in Britain.

The paper ends its analysis in 1846, since that is the year in which *The Art-Union* included a Talbotype in the June issue. This is a significant cultural event, since it is the first time any photographic image had been published in a journal. Promoting a British photographer in such a concrete fashion had a definite effect on the commodification of both photography and *The Art-Union*. Ultimately, the analysis of the treatment of photography within the pages of *The Art-Union* gives a sense of the early cultural and economic importance of both enterprises in nineteenth century Britain.

Laurel Brake, Birkbeck College, University of London

Nineteenth-Century Journalism Networks: Mapping research methodologies

This is a paper that treats the study of journalism networks as a research problem in itself. Its origin lies in the unexpected range of titles and connections I noted in journalist entries while editing DNCJ, and in reading the work of Friedrich Kittler who looks at Discourse networks as a notation system, 'a material deployment that is prior to questions of meaning'. He identifies his work as post post-structuralist, and thus post-hermeneutics; Crucially it is a non-anthropological analysis, in which networks are a *structure*, the technic whereby cultural exchange takes place, subject to the historical media of transmission at any given period. Media is constitutive of all discourse in his analysis, an emphasis which makes his work of particular interest to media history. In what follows, I am suggesting that networking is part of the structure of journalism; I pursue approaches to networking that are structural rather than predicated on individual lives and affinities.

Various methods of research into journalism networks will be outlined, and briefly illustrated through examination of extant work. Foremost among these is the people-centred approach, pursued through lives of a group (*Dickens' Young Men*), where the network is likely to be a reflexive element of the subject, or lives of individual journalists, where networks are everywhere implicit but seldom discussed as such (*Douglas Jerrold*). Biographies, whether from the period of the subject's life or posthumous, are likely to be full of information germane to study of networks. But is resort to life writing – whether of individuals or groups of individuals the best mode of mapping or analysing networks? A more genealogical approach to networks might be to investigate (family) dynasties (the Chambers, the Ingrams or the A Becketts), national

groups (as David Latane has recently suggested, the Irish) or groups of professionals (illustrators such as W J Linton and W J Thomas; or writers for the science, medical, or literary press).

Yet another approach is that of social formations attached to the press itself. Because comparatively few staff writers beyond the editor were employed, and most contributors or correspondents worked from home, 'the office' of journals, and even newspapers before 1855 were modest affairs. Social spaces and entities therefore were commonly attached to titles, of diverse character. Indeed, it was suggested more than once during the period that without identification with a specific constituency that journalists and their readers shared, titles could not survive. These formations with their organs ranged from political parties to sectarian groups (the Methodists; Unitarians) to political movements (Chartists; Socialists), all of which used meetings to foster sales and distribution. Other groups such as the early feminists of Langham Place used their premises for outreach through print to export their ideas and create a social formation, rather than to rely on an extant one. Pubs, clubs for gentlemen, bohemians, and eventually women were also public locations for professional networking of journalists. Networks stemming from these kind of social formations might be examined through Institutional histories and histories of specific journal and newspaper titles, extant letter books of firms, accounts, and memoirs, diaries and letters of institutional employees.

Another set of texts where networks of this kind may be examined is the moment when new periodical or newspaper titles emerge from old ones: examples include the formation of the *Westminster* and *St James Gazettes* from the *Pall Mall Gazette*; the *Nineteenth Century* from the *Contemporary Review*, the *Savoy* from the *Yellow Book*, and the numerous titles that formed to emulate *Punch*, often founded and edited by ex- *Punch* staff, such as the *Graphic* on the one hand, and the *Tomahawk* on the other. The migrations of journalists from one title to the other at these moments of generation tend to cluster journalists in either the old publications or the new, and constitute network snapshots and mechanisms of specific periods of historical shift.

Certain titles such as *Punch* and *Macmillan's Magazine* held regular parties themselves – for instance the *Punch* Table and the Tobacco Parliament respectively, which reinforced the bonds of their journalists to create networks which helped foster loyalty to their respective titles. Other titles were less directly attached to satellite organisations, such as the Metaphysical Society's relation to the *Contemporary Review* and the *Nineteenth Century*, for both of which it provided regular meeting events, topics, articles and even a (symposium) format. Individual publishers and writers (such as Edmund Gosse, John Lane, the Robinsons, etc) also held 'At Homes', Causeries or Soirees to which denizens of the industry flocked to gossip with each other and to find employment, another example of network formations that functioned in the absence of the fully developed 'office'. This attempt to map the structures of networks will occupy 50% of the paper.

The second half is an experimental case study. One of the great enemies of research into networking in nineteenth-century journalism is the anonymity of the preponderance of articles in its press, and our relative ignorance even of the names of journalists. What I propose to do by way of an experiment is to use *DNCJ*, in conjunction with attributions and names in *Wellesley* and W T Stead's indexes to Periodicals to see what kind of evidence of networks one can extrapolate -- from *Wellesley* which concentrates on attribution, Stead which occasionally reveals it, and *DNCJ* which makes broad connections between titles and contributors, and titles and other titles, in entries, cross references, and the index.

Heidi Brevik-Zender, University of California, Riverside

Nineteenth-Century French Fashion Plates: The Visual Culture of Gender and *Modernité*

“No fashion magazine, nor any fashion for that matter, exists in a vacuum. To learn what a society is about, one need only look at the illustrations in its fashion periodicals.” (Olian *Victorian* vii)

This presentation focuses on gender and the construction of modern femininity in the visual culture of late-nineteenth-century France through an examination of a fascinating – and often ignored – iconographical artifact: the mass-circulating fashion plate. Fashion is a nexus where expressions of modernity and the fin-de-siècle formation of femininity collide, and nineteenth-century fashion plates were unique and powerful illustrations of both. Images of fashionable women published in ladies’ periodicals – Belle-Époque precursors to today’s fashion magazines – were imbued with the spirit of nineteenth-century modernity. Mass-produced and widely circulating, these depictions of stylish women wearing an ever-changing, seemingly endless array of gowns, hats, gloves and shoes were also informed by the then cutting-edge lithographic technologies with which they were produced. The objectives here are twofold: to argue that fashion plates are important cultural expressions of French *modernité*, and to suggest that recent studies on fashion, gender, and the modern, when brought into dialog, can help us understand both modernity’s construction of nineteenth-century womanhood and fashion’s integral role in problematizing modernity.

Although they have been cited in works by historians and costume scholars, fashion plates of the 1800s have remained, until recently, largely understudied. How welcome, then, is the newly published book *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England*, Sharon Marcus’s provocative analysis of gender and fashion iconography in the Victorian period. In it Marcus deftly traces connections among such unlikely bedfellows as nineteenth-century fashion plates, children’s literature featuring dolls, and pornography. She persuasively challenges suggestions by scholars of Victorian fashion imagery who propose that, in the visual economy of desire that characterized nineteenth-century mass-circulating images of women, the commodity, or feminine object of libidinal visual consumption, was always the target of a desiring *male* gaze.

Marcus’s stimulating analysis uses fashion iconography to break new ground on our understanding of how women’s desires, sexualities, romances and friendships were coded and expressed in the nineteenth century. But because this is the explicit focus of her work, her study of fashion plates does not seek to delve into the complex interplay between the construction of femininity and the representation of modernity that the images also invite us to undertake. In fact, as this presentation proposes, fashion plate images have greater implications than Marcus sets out to argue, for not only did these illustrations reinforce conservative expectations for women’s roles in society and problematize constructions of womanhood, in so doing they contributed to a highly ambivalent portrait of modernity itself. A shift in focus to the modern character of fashion plates – the ways in which these images both exemplified French *modernité* and ran counter to the ethos of change and innovation evoked by the term – brings critical scholarship on gender, nineteenth-century modernity, mass culture and semiotics to bear on one another. It allows us to discern the ways in which the largely feminocentric world of Belle Époque French fashion plates served as an integral component in the aesthetic construction of both modernity and femininity, and to analyze the visual system by which these two were linked.

Andrea Broomfield, Johnson County Community College

Upward, Downward: Tracing the Rise and Fall of the Middle Class Through Recipes in Women's Magazines and Household Manuals, 1851-1904

In *Culinary Pleasures: Cookbooks and the Transformation of British Foods*, Nicola Humble notes that the target audience of the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* was "ever growing." The middle class was a "product of the industrial revolution", and its increase resulted from domestic and international prosperity. As middle-class salaries increased, the defining qualification for inclusion in that class became one's ability to hire live-in servants (13-14). While not aimed at the higher echelons of the middle class, *EDM* recipes and cooking advice nonetheless assumed that readers had a servant in the kitchen doing the laborious and time-consuming tasks of preparing raw foodstuffs, preserving garden and market produce as well as meat, maintaining the range, and serving meals. The mistress might be involved in her kitchen, but *EDM* recipes assumed that she did not dirty her hands with menial kitchen chores.

By 1894 when the magazine *Home Notes* appeared, this same middle-class audience was contracting, at least in terms of its buying power. *Home Notes* readers had their "first toe on the ladder of upward mobility," as Lynn Hapgood writes in *Margins of Desire: The Suburbs in Fiction and Culture, 1880-1925*, but with servants now able to demand higher wages and able to seek more attractive employment options, many middle-class couples whose parents had employed live-in servants were now reduced to hiring a "step-girl" and a charwoman on a periodic basis (128-29). *Home Notes'* recipes were designed to help readers cope with the frustration of maintaining gentility while also learning how to market, to cook, and to serve meals themselves. Adding additional stress to many middle-class families was the vogue for dinners that included separate courses and which thus necessitated several servants and a highly trained cook to make such an affair run smoothly. *Home Notes'* cookery columns forecasted the onset of the downward social mobility that would accelerate by the end of World War I.

My paper focuses on the target audiences for *EDM* and *Home Notes*, as well as on those women who purchased Beeton's 1861 *Book of Household Management* (which included many *EDM* recipes) and Pearson's 1904 *Home Management* (which included many *Home Notes* recipes). As the middle class saw their options for comfortable living reduced in the 1890s, technological advances helped compensate, both for the loss of servants and also for the loss of space as houses became more expensive and space a premium. By focusing on recipes and sample dinner menus, I explore the assumptions as well as the projections that these publications made about their readers in terms of their buying power and sense of class status. Ultimately, I conclude that by the 1890s, "old-fashioned" cooking that relied on time-honored, often slow techniques, became the prerogative of the very wealthy, while "new-fashioned" cooking that relied on labor-saving devices, shortcuts, and processed foods, became increasingly a defining characteristic of the less prosperous middle class.

Julie F. Codell, Arizona State University

Victorian Artworld Networks: The Press, Interpellated Spectators and Swinburne's 1868 *Academy Notes*

One irony of networks is that their establishment, while appearing solid, is often fragile and subject to conflict because they are both inclusive and exclusive. An unusually vast and amorphous network of Victorian art spectators was interpellated by critical reviews in magazines and newspapers and in special art press periodical annuals published during the exhibition season and at Christmas. These publications had a powerful cultural impact in promoting not only art and artists, but also national cultural identities for interpellated spectators and patrons by extending high art values into daily life in home decoration, dress, etc. Briefly surveying

images from the *Illustrated London News*, *The Graphic* and *Punch*, I will show how the press interpellated a growing network of British spectators by inviting readers into the artworld, especially behind the scenes, or by constituting and defining that network through press cartoons and illustrations.

Academy Notes publications, invented by Ruskin between 1855-59, and again in 1875, functioned to educate Victorian middle-class taste through his views of the Royal Academy's annual show. *Academy Notes* drew upon and reinforced the network constructed by the *ILN*, *Punch* and *The Graphic*, and the art press. Critics and spectators were joined in acts of virtual seeing by reading the catalog that tied the current exhibition to assumptions about art from decades of art press network building of spectators and buyers whose consumption of art morphed into prescribed support of British culture. *Notes* were later mass produced by Henry Blackburn from the 1870s to the 90s and illustrated by artists themselves. An extension of the art press, *Academy Notes* sustained the press's networks among artists, critics, and the public by structuring cultural norms and aligning aesthetics with hegemonic values—work ethic, value for money, realism, the domestic ideal, gender paradigms, imperial presumptions, etc.

But the 1868 *Academy Notes* written by William Michael Rossetti and Charles Algernon Swinburne attacked the Victorian artworld network, while backhandedly recognizing its existence and extent. Rossetti and Swinburne divided their *Notes* in half. William Michael maintained the *Notes*'s established function of buoying up networks of spectators and artists through descriptions highlighting the, presumably, most important works. Swinburne, however, subverted the artworld network constructed by the art press and *Academy Notes* at every level, from the *Notes*'s institutional function to the collective spectating inscribed by gendered and national identities that the press artworld networks had interpellated. Instead of describing exhibited works available to the public, Swinburne described works not exhibited at the RA or anywhere: works by Dante Gabriel Rossetti painted for private patrons. In 1865 William Michael published an anonymous review of his brother's unseen work in the *Athenaeum* (William Michael was its art critic), so Swinburne had a precedent in the press. To describe and praise unexhibited works challenged the network that relied on a common exhibition experience, whether actual or virtual, established through periodical criticism in the press and the offshoot Christmas annuals and academy notes. The artworld network was sustained and made respectable by its public displays of mass appeal in reviews, exhibitions, press notices, interviews and press biographies parading images of successful artists, their homes and their works. By describing works outside that arena and network, Swinburne redefined the "true" artworld as an elite closeted or secret corps of people where truly great art escaped this mass network of spectators, artists, critics, patrons, and buyers.

Swinburne's undermining differed from *Punch*'s visual and verbal puns that annually parodied the RA exhibition; *Punch*'s parodies depended on the network's shared public knowledge of artists' names, works' titles, recurring subjects of paintings, and a shared assumption about the Academy's authority. Swinburne challenged the Academy's exhibition as a litmus test of aesthetic value and its clubby triangulated network among critics, artists and spectators. Swinburne praised art produced outside exhibition systems, critical authorities, and networked spectators. While he posed as a critical authority and wrote for a conventional periodical exhibition guide, he simultaneously unraveled these institutions along with spectators' complacent belief in an aesthetic network they thought they understood and of which they presumed they had some ownership.

Swinburne also committed a wider subversion of this network. By emphasizing the private, subterranean art world, Swinburne removed art and aesthetic value from the masculine public sphere to the feminine private domain of the homes of Rossetti and his patrons where this

unseen art resided. He rejected Ruskin's democratizing intentions, Blackburn's commercialism and the populism of the *Magazine of Art*, the *Art Journal* and other periodicals. His subversion also defied the market opportunity that public networks offered both buyers and artists, since his readers were not within Rossetti's and his patrons' social circles and could not purchase these unseen works. Swinburne made the unseen art a kind of secret rite or mystery, almost pornographizing this art by revealing what cannot be publicly seen and by thus confounding British spectators' anxious art consumption, while using one of their most cherished periodical formats for interpellating spectators into a network of national taste and art knowledge. assumption about the Academy's authority. Swinburne challenged the Academy's exhibition as a litmus test of aesthetic value and its clubby triangulated network among critics, artists and spectators. Swinburne praised art produced outside exhibition systems, critical authorities, and networked spectators. While he posed as a critical authority and wrote for a conventional periodical exhibition guide, he simultaneously unraveled these institutions along with spectators' complacent belief in an aesthetic network they thought they understood and of which they presumed they had some ownership.

Marysa Demoor, University of Ghent

The British-Belgian artistic networks at the turn of the century: uncovering unknown brotherhoods

This paper will start by looking at the poet and orientalist Laurence Binyon (1869 -1943) as a crucial link between the Flemish/Belgian artistic networks and the British art scene. His contacts with Flemish and Belgian authors, artists and art connoisseurs point to an intensive exchange of ideas between Flanders and Great Britain in the late nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century.

So far, there has been comparatively little interest in the Flemish/Belgian influence on British art among British and American art and literary historians. But the Belgian turn-of-the-century artistic production was well-known in Britain: figures like Félicien Rops, Fernand Khnopff, Maurice Maeterlinck and Constantin Meunier were known and admired in Britain.

This paper proposes to start from the unedited correspondence of Laurence Binyon so as to allow a reconstruction of the networks in which Binyon played such an important part. His correspondence contains letters to and from eminent artists and writers in Belgium and Great Britain. Binyon was a prominent figure in turn-of-the-century Britain. He also loved Flanders and visited it repeatedly, staying with his numerous Belgian friends. The most prominent of those friends at the time were Olivier Destrée, Emile Verhaeren, Constantin Meunier and Raphael Petrucci.

Binyon's friendship with Olivier Georges Destrée (1867-1919) was particularly intense and interesting. Destrée was born in an important family – important in a cultural and a political sense. His brother, Jules Destrée, was to become an influential socialist leader and at one time served as the minister for education, science and the arts. Both brothers wrote on literature and painting and both were part of the network behind the avant-garde artistic group La Libre Esthétique, set up by Octave Maus in 1894, as a continuation of the internationally celebrated *Les XX*. The Destrées regularly contributed to the journal *La Jeune Belgique* thus getting to know poets such as Emile Verhaeren and Georges Rodenbach and the entire group of artists 'formerly known' as *Les Vingt* since *La Jeune Belgique* together with *L'Art Moderne* and *La Wallonie* was one of the three Belgian periodicals championing avant-garde movements. Destrée was also one of those Belgian artists who were devoted to and championing the work of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and the artists who came in their wake. In this he was following the lead of Fernand

Khnopff who wrote several articles on the Brotherhood for *The Studio* in the period 1894-1914 and Félicien Rops, another professed admirer.

This paper then wants to reconstruct the Belgian-British network of which Binyon was such a key figure. It wants to analyse the contributions by Belgian artists to British periodicals and the articles by the (sometimes) same artists on British literature and art in the avant-garde Belgian journals and reviews. Thus, it hopes to find out how these groups influenced each other and what the role of the periodicals was in the propagation of new or different artistic views.

Michelle Elleray, University of Guelph

Sons of the Word: Pacific Island Missionaries, British children and the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*

Launched in 1844 by the London Missionary Society, the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* capitalized on the unprecedented interest British children had shown in fundraising for the purchase and outfitting of a missionary ship, the *John Williams*. The *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* maintained the collective investment of the children in “their” missionary ship by reporting on her journeys to the South Pacific, the missionaries she carried and the people she met, as well as a series on John Williams, the high-profile missionary after whom she was named. The *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* thus enacts and facilitates networks such as the ongoing collective interaction of the young fundraisers and the missionary ship, the dissemination of knowledge about a key figure in the London Missionary Society, and the incorporation of children into the inter-related activities and publications of Victorian missionary culture. The network of particular interest for this paper, however, is that established between Pacific Island missionaries and British children through the articles and illustrations available within the periodical. Known to the British as “teachers,” and among themselves as “Sons of the Word,” the Pacific Island missionaries were the advance guard of Christianity across the Pacific, and their tales of conversion and ministry, along with examples of their preaching, were relayed to the young readers of the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*.

This paper examines the structures of affiliation across radically different cultures and geographies enabled by the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, and the extent to which the assumptions of a shared faith recalibrated imperial hierarchies of race. Insofar as this periodical presents Pacific Island missionaries as motivating examples for British children, and as people to whom British children should listen, we are presented with a context in which the conventional imperial positioning of the racial Other is destabilized. That imperial approval, however, is predicated on an unquestioning acceptance of Christianity and civility as synonymous—arguably, the Pacific Island missionaries are accepted not as Pacific Islanders, but as missionaries: faith is understood to prevail over race. My analysis of the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* focuses on the letters written by Pacific Island missionaries and published in this periodical, the parallels established between British and Pacific Island children through their role in fundraising for the missionary movement, and a series titled “Kiro’s Thoughts About England” authored by a Rarotongan missionary.

I finish by arguing that an attention to the representation of the Pacific Island missionary in the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* leads us in turn to another network, the inter-textual reverberations between juvenile missionary periodicals and a landmark text in the development of the Victorian boy’s adventure novel. In the latter part of R.M. Ballantyne’s *The Coral Island* (1857), the three British boys on the island of Mango are guided, both in their actions and their faith, by a Pacific Island missionary. Elegantly dressed, well-spoken, and displaying impeccable British manners, this Polynesian mentor to British children might seem an anomaly to us, but for

the reader of the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, he is the fictional embodiment of the missionary-child relationship mediated through their periodical.

Georgina O'Brien Hill, University of Chester

The woman author-editor and her alternative networks

In 1847 George Henry Lewes, tongue somewhat in cheek, expressed his anxiety that the well-trained army of male journalists was in danger of being infiltrated by 'ill-trained troops': women writers. Three years later Lewes exclaimed that 'women have made an invasion of our legitimate domain'. As the research of feminist scholars has demonstrated, although Lewes's perception that women novelists and journalists were flooding the literary marketplace was common, in reality the profession of writing was still an extremely tough career for women at mid-century. Faced with the panic of male journalists, and denied the conventional networking spaces available to men operating in the public sphere, women writers created alternative networks to ensure their professional success. One group of women who were in a particularly unique position to do so were author-editors.

For this paper I consider the alternative networks of one such author-editor, the sensation novelist Florence Marryat. Having gained popularity with her first publication, *Love's Conflict* (1865), Marryat's career flourished when she assumed editorship of the monthly periodical *London Society* in 1872. Although little biographical information is currently available on this neglected author, I argue that an examination of the periodical she edited reveals how the woman author-editor was able to make use of alternative networks in order to advance her career. I examine how Marryat employed a variety of informal networks to acquire her position as editor, and to retain that position as long as it suited her purposes. Firstly, I explore how Marryat used her famous father's reputation as a way of gaining access to London's publishing circles. Captain Frederick Marryat, author of the extremely popular *Peter Simple* (1834) and *The Children of the New Forest* (1847), had edited *The Metropolitan Magazine* (1832 - 1835) and was friends with such influential figures as Charles Dickens and George Cruikshank. Through her father's networks, Marryat had access to literary circles from which other female journalists found themselves excluded.

1872 was a pivotal year in Marryat's career in which she published *The Life and Letters of Captain Marryat* and began her work as editor. The biography of her father ensured that Marryat's name appeared in the literary gossip columns just as she assumed her new role. It was also during the early 1870s that Marryat began to regularly attend séances and became part of the fashionable set surrounding two of London's most sensational young female mediums, Florence Cook and Mary Rosina Showers. I explore how Marryat, once at the helm of *London Society*, used her connections within London's spiritualist community to develop a very distinct editorial persona, that of a 'Spiritualist Editress.' In other words, having made the most of her father's connections to gain her position, Marryat then used the female dominated network of spiritualists in order to develop a distinctive public persona that she would continue to use throughout her long career.

Marryat left *London Society* in 1875 to pursue a career in lecture tours and the theatre. Yet she never stopped writing, and in 1899 she opened a 'School of Literary Art'. Using her credentials as the daughter of Captain Marryat and her one-time experience as an editor, Marryat advertised herself as an accomplished tutor to aspiring journalists. With the *Society for Authors* having been established some fourteen years before, Marryat's educational venture capitalised on the move toward the professionalization of authorship. I conclude by suggesting that despite having carved out a successful literary career for herself through alternative

networks, Marryat's Prospectus for her 'School for Literary Arts' in fact suggests she felt that others should benefit from more formal routes into the profession.

Clare Horrocks, Liverpool John Moores University

Widening Social Networks: the *Punch* Brotherhood and the Guild of Literature and Art

The social networks in which *Punch* and its staff were circulating and the language and subsequent discursive matrices that they drew upon provide an intertextual framework from which to understand the periodical's distinctive engagement with the public health campaigns of the 1840s and 1850s. A knowledge of the 'social networks' involved in the production and consumption of periodicals is central to understanding their cultural appeal. Andrew King in *The London Journal 1845 – 83: Periodicals, Production and Gender* defines this system of networks as "a social configuration in which some but not all component units, maintain relations with another, in an organisation with a centre and a periphery but without a clear-cut common boundary". On the theme of public health reform not all 'component units' were in communication at the same time, but relations were continually maintained, as discourses engaged and intertwined. There was no one dominant discourse, as there was no clear-cut common boundary; it was a social network that drew on the arts, fiction, investigative journalism, sermons and surveys. The case study of Father Thames and supporting pieces identified in this paper will demonstrate the variety of social networks in which the *Punch* staff worked and socialised. Locating the core principles that informed these networks provides the researcher with a method for decoding the symbolism and intertextuality that was so central to *Punch's* success.

The *Punch* brotherhood was marked by a cohesion that came to characterise the periodical as a whole. Whilst being registered on the *Punch* staff many of the writers and illustrators were free to undertake a variety of projects, from working on book illustrations to making contributions to other contemporary periodicals. It was an arrangement which placed the writers and artists in a privileged and informed position, able to address the diversity of debates inherent in the battle for public health reform. However, also sharing *Punch's* humanist concern for the labouring classes and instrumental in opening up the social networks in which the *Punch* men circulated was Charles Dickens. Dickens' collaboration with *Punch* artists began in 1843 with the first in his series of Christmas Books, *A Christmas Carol* illustrated by John Leech. On the whole though, it was the theatrical collaborations of the *Punch* brotherhood which opened up the networks in which they worked and socialised, culminating in the formation of the Guild of Literature and Art in 1850. Collectively this group symbolized a wider move towards a new era in the power of the arts, specifically fiction and the periodical press, to reach a broader audience. This was crucial in spreading the message of reform and was a fundamental contributor in the advancement of public health awareness from 1849. Working with the new DNCJ project, examining both the printed volume and the digital version, this paper will begin to identify the key figures in this network, analysing the implications that this has for a reading of *Punch* as well as providing a method for using new resources in the field of periodical research.

Joanne Nystrom Janssen, University of Iowa

Circulating the Gospel: Travel and Imperialism in the *Missionary Gleaner*

In a June 1841 article entitled "Missionary Geography," the Rev. Legh Richmond suggests that Christians should approach a map of the world differently than other observers. While a statesman plots his own country's political success, a merchant considers trade and profit, and a traveler anticipates new wonders, a Christian scrutinizes the globe in order to mourn over places that do not belong to the Kingdom of Christ. This Christian does not sit idly, though. Richmond

writes, “He freights a vessel to carry the pearl of great price to those who neither know of its existence nor its value” (51). Christians cross the seas—either literally as missionaries or figuratively as missions supporters—in order in order to deliver salvation to “the heathen.” As this anecdote suggests, the *Missionary Gleaner*—the periodical in which this article appears—imagines itself as having a ripple effect: it spreads the importance of foreign evangelization to its readers, who then contribute to the broader dissemination of the gospel. In this paper I argue, however, that the flow of information does not occur quite so simply. Instead, submissions to the *Gleaner* suggest that the periodical (and missions work more broadly) remain reliant upon imperialism and other travel networks, placing the publication in an ambivalent relationship with foreign people and associations.

As one of the three publications of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the *Missionary Gleaner* was published from 1841-1870. The April 1841 issue’s “Introductory Remarks” states the periodical’s intent to “furnish the members of the Society with a succinct account of its Proceedings, both at home and abroad” (1). As a 12-page, two-penny periodical, the *Gleaner* was positioned between two of the Society’s other periodicals in price, length, and content. The more sparse *Quarterly Paper* was aimed at “the poorer classes, and contributors of small sums,” and the more comprehensive *Church Missionary Record* was intended to be “an authentic and permanent record of the Society’s Proceedings” (2).

The *Missionary Gleaner* is a particularly valuable record of attitudes about nineteenth-century missionary activity. First, it claims to serve as an anthology of sorts, providing “a selection of the most interesting facts from the *Record* and information from other sources” (2). Second, as J.D.Y. Peel has noted in *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*, CMS agents were expected to write journals for the society’s headquarters, making its archive richer and fuller than other missionary agencies—especially from 1841-1873, when the Rev. Henry Venn was clerical secretary. Peel adds that edited and excerpted versions of these journals were published in CMS periodicals “through which the CMS kept in touch with its friends and subscribers at home and around the world” (9). My examination of the periodical begins at its inception in 1841 and ends in 1860, when Rosemary Keen, in the archive’s “Editorial Introduction,” notes that sales began to drop due to the periodical’s antiquated appearance and the public’s declining interest in missionary activity (12).

In this paper, I explore the periodical’s uneasy relationship with foreign locales, which arises from its awareness of the multiple networks that contribute to its circulation and to the circulation of Christianity. While ethnographic accounts of native depravity expose the necessity of missionary intervention, articles announcing new missionaries, donations, and periodical articles arising from native people reveal that support—financial and otherwise—flow both ways. In addition, articles imply an uncomfortable stance on imperialism, as authors decry the perils of imperialism for inhabitants of colonized countries while expressing gratitude for easy access to other countries. Finally, the periodical remains concerned with the implications of other forms of travel between countries, offering advice about how activities as varied as the proper study of geography and the courteous behavior of English sailors might advance Christianity. Missionaries and their advocates may not be able to “swim across the deep,” as an article suggests, but they do participate in literary, colonial, trade, and religious networks that permit complex forms of cross-cultural communication and travel.

Cory Korkow, Cleveland Museum of Art

The Widow of Windsor and the Virgin Queen in Victorian Satirical Prints

The paper investigates the changing representation of Queen Elizabeth during the Victorian period. I argue that although history paintings of the famous monarch correspond to

the prevailing fashion for domestic history, Elizabeth's image could and did also function as a veiled critique of Victoria. Victorian ambivalence towards the Renaissance sovereign foregrounds anxieties regarding the problematics of female power and the pitfalls of self-representation. The special nature of satirical prints enables them to deploy the image of Elizabeth as a commentary on the behavior of Victoria. This chapter also posits Elizabeth as a case study for how historical queens were intimately invoked in both court and popular culture.

Many scholars have considered various reasons for Victoria's reluctance to emulate Elizabeth, often citing the latter's dubious reputation and the former's staunchly domestic character. But this did not prevent Victoria's subjects from seeing each queen through the lens of the other. Queen Elizabeth was both venerated and criticized during the nineteenth century, and she came to be regarded by Victorians as a cautionary heroine whose exemplary virginity and Protestantism had been gradually tarnished by age, vanity and seclusion. In this paper, I consider the evolution of Victorian attitudes towards Elizabeth as expressed in nineteenth-century history painting and satirical prints. I regard the changing artistic representation of Elizabeth as a feature of the British public's shifting relationship to Victoria and expressed in relation to the phases that define Victoria's reign and representation, including her girlhood, marriage, motherhood, Jubilee celebrations and, finally, her national apotheosis.

Although images of the two queens do not always correspond directly, this comparative approach sheds light on how Elizabeth was regarded at particular historical moments when compared to Victoria, and in turn how Elizabeth might be summoned to criticize or lionize Victoria at decisive stages in her reign. I trace this phenomenon in satirical prints as opposed to history paintings, because the prints exhibit different strategies for bringing one sovereign to bear on the other. While history paintings and satirical prints had their own unique generic conventions, they both responded to, and helped to shape, features of Victorian visual culture for which Elizabeth was a touchstone.

Satirical publications proliferated during the mid-nineteenth century and often featured humorous commentary on Victoria's quotidian activities. Many, including *Punch*, *Tomahawk*, *The Razor*, and *Quiz*, incorporated accomplished illustrations and political cartoons. Queen Elizabeth either appears as herself or is evoked in a number of these political cartoons. Several devices for effecting this are repeated. In one type, Elizabeth is depicted as if coming from beyond the grave to communicate with Victoria. As a monarch and Englishwoman, Elizabeth could be justified in passing spectral judgment on Victoria. In so doing, Victoria's withdrawal from public life is taken out of the private sphere, revealing its significance as a dangerous and potentially defining feature of her reign.

Regardless of their status as satire, the regal depictions of the Queen engaged in ceremony represent an early stage in the process of her apotheosis, as the later portraits of Elizabeth did. The ornate, historical dress of Queen Elizabeth became a useful tool for cartoonists Tenniel and Sambourne, who employed it to aggrandize the image of Victoria in order to communicate the majesty of a woman the public had been long accustomed to seeing depicted in bonnets and mourning clothes.

Lindsay Lawrence, Texas Christian University

Networks of Identity: Defining Britishness through Felicia Hemans's Poetics in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*

The December 1829 installment of the "Noctes Ambrosianæ" in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* playfully asserts that the company would be enlivened by the addition of women, specifically Felicia Hemans, Leticia Landon, Ada Brown, and Mary Howitt. They praise Hemans and Landon's work as being "earnestly and keenly alive to all the cheerful and pleasant

humanities and charities of this every-day sublunary world of ours" (871). In imaging "the first male and female Noctes" (872), the "Noctes Ambrosianæ" reflects *Blackwood's* own editorial policies, which actively supported the work of women poets such as Hemans.

Blackwood's periodical voice employed a complex network of layered identities, both domestic and national. Simultaneously a distinctly Scottish periodical and a British literary miscellany, *Blackwood's* layered identities allowed the magazine to embrace its Scottish heritage while connecting Scotland's continued importance to England's imperial reach. Hemans's patriotic and domestic poetics worked within this discursive network. I suggest that Hemans's work both furthers and complicates *Blackwood's* layered identity through her focus on folk customs, domesticity, patriotic duty, and mourning. I focus on the period from 1828 to 1830 when Hemans published in *Blackwood's* a number of the poems that came to comprise *Songs of the Affections*. Works such as "The Message to the Dead" (September 1828) unite a domestic fidelity with an evocation of folk customs from the Highlands. Furthermore, I explore how the explicit signing of most of these poems highlights Hemans as a kind of model woman poet within *Blackwood's* larger discourse on the functions of poetry.

Kathryn Ledbetter, Texas State University

"Out of the Rag Bag": Patchwork Quilting and Victorian Women's Periodicals

A popular feature of British Victorian women's magazines aimed at middle-class readers was a regular section providing patterns and instruction for a variety of needlework projects engaging embroidery, crochet, and knitting. The most elaborately illustrated patterns were for patchwork. This style of assembling a design of colored fabric pieces is better known in the United States as quilting (in Ireland these pieces were called "panes"). Scholars credit nineteenth-century quilters in the United States for the block system of assembly and design, which was not widely used in England, except for the log cabin pattern, but a long history of hand piecing existed in Great Britain as "all-over" designs well before the American Revolution and the American colonial experience. However, the tradition of hand piecing had fallen out of fashion during the early nineteenth century until Victorian women revived the practice, partially as a response to the instruction provided by periodicals such as *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, featuring patchwork patterns in stunning, full color sheets touted as being "Expressly designed for the 'Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine,'" and *The Lady's Newspaper*, where columnist Mademoiselle Roche writes on 26 April 1862:

Every lady, in supplying her own wardrobe, naturally becomes possessed of many fragments of silks, satins, and velvets, which, if she allow them to accumulate, soon grow into no inconsiderable store. To employ these little remnants to the best advantage, as well as to find an agreeable way of occupying those many spare half-hours which will occur in the best-regulated lives, nothing can be more suitable than patchwork.

The craft flourished in Ireland, Wales and Northern England, where poor women created utilitarian coverlets, but London-based women's periodicals made it a fashionable hobby. Formerly known as a task for professional quilters who were primarily dressmakers, patchwork quilting also became a pastime for middle to upper-class women, as Janet Rae notes. If a woman could afford to make both summer and winter bedding, talents for beautiful patchwork quilting could raise her social status. My essay will be a study of the fashion in patchwork quilting in British Victorian women's periodicals.

Scott C. Lesko, Stony Brook University

Whose Britannia? Victorian Photographic Journals, Subjectivity and the Question of British Modernity in the Art Photography of George Davison

During the annual exhibition held from September 29th through November 13th, 1890 by the Photographic Society of Great Britain, noted British photographer George Davison entered a pinhole image of an old farmstead in West Mersea, Essex. Originally taken during an outing with the Camera Club in May 1889, this ominous, out of focus vision of an ordinary onion field in rural England not only won a distinguished medal award but also startled the late-Victorian art world. It is difficult to comprehend how a single landscape photograph could cause such a controversy in its presentation that it dominated the photographic discourse in all the major photographic journals, such as the British Journal of Photography, Amateur Photographer, Photographic News, Journal of the Camera Club and the Photographic Times, throughout the following year. This debate culminated in what Henry Peter Emerson lamented as "The Death of Naturalistic Photography". Why, at this historical moment when Great Britain, one of the dominant "modern" nation-states and Imperial powers, did a Victorian photographer's alternative, intuitive vision of rural England divide the photographic community and spur a broader debate about visual subjectivity and British modernity?

This paper will endeavor to answer this intriguing question by analyzing the discussion and debates that swirled in photography periodicals during the years 1886-1891 against late 19th century conceptions of subjectivity, aesthetics and nation. My discussion will thereby illuminate how George Davison's landscape photograph marked both a visual departure from contemporary landscape imagery and a radical re-thinking of contemporary notions of self and national/imperial belonging. W.J.T. Mitchell has argued that landscape is a cultural practice that naturalizes and symbolizes constellations of social and political power. This paper argues instead that George Davison's landscape photograph uses traditional English landscape imagery to critique the most cherished principles of the established social order in late Victorian England and its hegemonic paradigms of British Modernity.

Dallas Liddle, Augsburg College, Minneapolis

Bringing the "Leader" Online: Systems Engineering and Generic Change in the Early Nineteenth-century Newspaper

The metamorphosis of the London newspaper in a single generation from the hand-printed "folio of four pages" to the steam-printed broadsheets of the Times and its contemporaries ("from the size of a dinner napkin to that of a breakfast tablecloth," wrote Thomas De Quincey) remains one of the most striking and least understood in periodicals history. The discursive as well as the physical forms of journalism were radically transformed--particularly the "leading article," which had barely existed in the 18th century but became the most important genre in British newswriting before the mid-19th. The speed of the leading article's rise was remarkable, as H.W. Massingham noted in 1892: "In 1803, when the fear of French invasion was keen, you have the first sign of the modern 'leader'; in 1831 the phenomenon is fully developed."

Radical genre changes such as this are challenging to explain, especially in a journalistic context in which writers are anonymous and the newspaper alone performs the author-function. Strong industrial-era preconceptions led Victorian observers such as T.H.S. Escott to look for individual agency anyway, assuming that someone must have "invented" such a successful form. More Romantically-minded contemporaries drew on organicist ideas to describe the leader as a hybrid of other generic parents, or as a growth shaped by its environment. Twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholars, similarly drawn to the models with which we are most familiar,

have offered evolutionary explanations of generic change through natural selection, while the free-market assumption that journalism's generic innovations must be responses to reader demand remains enduringly popular.

The advent of the powerful Times Digital Archive, which makes it possible to aggregate article data quickly and date and chart specific editorial forms by length and type, seems to hold the promise of finally providing independent verification for one of these competing models. A few sessions with the Archive, however, reveal that the data don't take the shape predicted by any of them--nor of an alternative model I once proposed (one subtitle for this paper was "Four models and a retraction"). One problem may lie in these models' shared assumption that a good explanation of a generic phenomenon will isolate that phenomenon and then account for its change from a relatively primitive into a more developed form. My Times Digital Archive work seems to show that early "leaders" did not take one isolatable form, but comprised a toolbox of subforms-- many of which seem more sophisticated than forms more commonly used later. The influences governing which subforms were adapted at particular times for particular tasks may always have been similarly dynamic and multiple. Leading articles seem to have been a discursive technology always used to respond to multiple problems in multiple dimensions in real time. Leaders underwent adaptation not only to promote political, institutional, and economic goals, but also to meet tight internal production deadlines, fill column space on slow days, and draw reliably printable copy from a varied and high-turnover corps of contributors. My paper suggests that to understand and ultimately solve the problem posed by the remarkable rise of the leading article we may need to add the tools of the engineer to those of the scholar and historian, and learn to see Victorian journalists as practitioners in a collaborative and technologically sophisticated enterprise of optimization and satisficing.

Brian Maidment, University of Salford

Artists, Engravers, Publishers, Magazines – Periodical Illustration and its Networks 1820-1840.

This paper forms part of a continuing project that aims to consider the interconnections between the development of wood engraving and lithography and the emergence of the illustrated periodical in the early nineteenth century. The project builds on the work I have undertaken on illustrators, engravers and entrepreneurs of the image for the *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* as well as a long-standing interest in the illustration of magazines.

One central argument concerns the caricature tradition and the importance of periodicals and their entrepreneurs in offering work to a range of artists and publishers facing up to the decay of the single plate political caricature tradition and eagerly in pursuit of new markets for their work. First, there will be consideration of the use of lithographed humorous illustrations as the central feature of a line of magazines running from the *Glasgow Looking Glass* in the mid 1820s through *McClean's Monthly Sheet of Caricatures* in the 1830s to C.J.Grant's various short-lived lithographed journals in the 1840s. The necessary establishment of a network that brought together printer, publisher and artist will be considered here. These lithographed journals will be considered alongside the emergence of the wood engraving into various genres of periodicals, all derived to some extent from the caricature tradition: political journals like *Figaro in London*, magazines of urban incident and exploration like *Bell's Life in London*, journals of 'popular instruction' in which a number of caricaturists made the significant switch from metal engraving and etching to the widespread new format of small scale wood engraving, humorous magazines like Gilbert a Beckett's *Comic Magazine*, and comic annuals like *Hood's Comic Annual* which developed the wood engraving for a family market.

The second half of the paper will suggest some of the close network of publishers, engravers and artists that allowed these developments to occur. The career of Robert Seymour

will be a central exemplar of the artist/engraver's dependence at this time on a small network of publishers and entrepreneurs to allow the development of his career. Trained in the caricature tradition, Seymour had rapidly to develop how work for general purpose wood engraving through his early association with the publishers Knight and Lacey, publishers of the *Mechanic's Magazine* and several other important 'useful knowledge' periodicals. As his career as a comic artist evolved his connections with publishers and other artists became even more important. His political caricature was sponsored by the publisher William Strange, for whom he drew much else beyond *Figaro in London*, while his social satire only developed after his being employed by Thomas McClean for the *Looking Glass*, which in turn led to his engagement by William Kidd to work on various projects with other well known comic artists, most notably Robert Cruikshank. From this point on Seymour combined collaborative work, often of a jobbing nature, on publishers' commissioned volumes and serial publications with various attempts to bring forward projects under his own name, most notably his monthly series of lithographs *New Readings of Old Authors* (probably published 1833-1834) and his better known *Sketches*, also from the early 1830s.

Katherine Malone, Temple University

The Leisure Hour, 1852-1905: "keeping pace with the demands of a new age"

This presentation will trace the development of *The Leisure Hour* from a family-oriented pennyweekly to a socially-progressive monthly magazine. Published by the Religious Tract Society from 1852 until 1905, *The Leisure Hour* went through changes in format, content, and illustration that reflect many of the larger shifts in publishing and readership during the second half of the nineteenth century. But this magazine's evolution is particularly interesting because it gradually moved beyond the didactic purpose stated in its original subtitle—"A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation"—to champion social reforms including women's and worker's rights.

The Leisure Hour has never been the subject of any major study and is not included in such standard references as Alvin Sullivan's *British Literary Magazines*. With access to both the print journal and British Periodicals' searchable full-text, my research sheds light on this popular magazine as well as its surprising range of competitors. I contextualize *The Leisure Hour* within the network of cheap literature available at mid-century and then discuss how it came to compete with journals like the *Cornhill* by the end of the century. I also consider how an increasingly diverse network of contributors, which included prominent feminist writers and women's magazine regulars, influenced *The Leisure Hour's* changing character at the end of the nineteenth century.

Sarah McNeely, Texas Christian University

My Mother, (Not) My Self: Nationalism and Gender Identity in the Irish National Press

The Irish periodical press during the nineteenth century was a site of both political unification and divisive contention for the people of Ireland. Competing voices in the Irish struggle of negotiating national identity, especially in the later years of the century and centered largely on the figure of Charles Stewart Parnell, reverberated through a journalistic network created by and comprised of nationalist publications. While gender norms excluded women from participating in the male-dominated social networks of political organizations, they were not silent. Women participated significantly in the nationalist journalistic network in various ways that reveal the complex and dysfunctional relationship between nineteenth-century Irish women and the gendered national figure of "Mother Ireland."

My essay considers the ways in which the women of nineteenth-century Ireland wrote themselves into the male-dominated arena of Irish political struggle through the network of

nationalist periodical publications while negotiating their gender identity in relation to Irish national ideals of femininity. In particular, my study focuses on the rhetoric of protest poetry written by women in several nationalist periodicals including the *Shan Van Vocht (Poor Old Woman)*, a monthly publication produced from 1869-1899 by two women, Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston. Besides revealing women's own understanding of their role in Ireland's political struggle, the rhetoric of women's writing in nationalist publications such as the *Shan Van Vocht* indicates a complicated and troubled construction of nineteenth-century Irish gender identity that both embraces and resists the figure of "Mother Ireland."

Chaiti Mitra, Sr. Lecturer, Department of English, Ramakrishna Sarada Mission Vivekananda Vidyabhavan, University of Calcutta

The 'Other' Story: An Alternative Narrative of the 1857 Lucknow Siege

The first event to pose a serious threat to British rule in India was the 'Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857, the military upheaval which broke out in May in the small town of Meerut near Delhi, and soon spread to other parts of the North-West provinces of British India, continuing for over a year.

The revolt commanded an unusual level of public attention in Britain. After the initial phase of disbelief, newspapers, journals and pamphlets started publishing debates and protests, along with a large number of stories of unprecedented atrocities and violence, often without investigating their sources, effectively turning rumour into information. Victorian accounts of the 1857 Mutiny tended to reduce the social and political complexities of the uprising to simplistic opposition of civilization and barbarism, and absolute polarization of good and evil. On the one side were the motiveless bloodthirsty Indian mutineers, the treacherous rapist 'villains'; on the other, the valiant and sacrificing British 'heroes' and the innocent victims: the English women and children. One central focus of attention was the fate of the British woman or the 'memsahib' caught up in the Mutiny; accounts of her death and suffering representing the severity of the imperial conflict back home in Britain.

As Jenny Sharpe points out in her *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text*, in practically all forms of Mutiny reporting endangered English womanhood became the central ideological vehicle through which Britain imagined and responded to the 1857 Mutiny. The sacrilegious violation of Britain's 'virgin daughter' at the hands of the mutineers became a potent metaphor for the violation of the empire. The 'memsahib', or the British woman in colonial India, in the process, sank into the official role of the passive sacrificial victim so that her countrymen could be the heroic avengers. She was restricted to the domestic space, her 'feminine' views of little interest to the Mutiny reports. Her experiences of the 1857 mutiny are recorded in a handful of published works and in numerous letters, diaries, journals and memoirs, which have, till recently, been traditionally considered to be nothing more than emotional and personal trivia. But these records are perhaps the only means of countering the "eyewitness accounts", the horrifying tales that took hold of the colonial imagination.

My paper would examine the journals of five memsahibs, representing different social status groups, who survived the four-month long siege of Lucknow in 1857, to show that there are two different 'stories' of the Mutiny, each with its own focus of sympathy and identification for the British reading public. Unlike the official dispatches, which tell the published, military story of the Mutiny, the memsahibs' accounts are concerned with the particulars, the private details of the trials, rather than heroism. They are extremely valuable records of the colonial woman's identity in crisis, and a site where she can generate a sense of self, and an ideal format through which to examine her increasing awareness of her importance within British imperialism in India. They are not narratives of confinement, but also of mobility, depicting a journey of self

discovery. And, what is unique to these writings is that it is perhaps the only instance where her femininity does not potentially disqualify her for the task of writing a parallel story of the crisis. My paper thus also challenges andocentric trivialising of the complexities of women's public self-disclosure.

Atsuko Miyake, Seinan Gakuin University

A Network of Discourses on Art Education and Interior Decorations from 1840s to 1890s: Art Journal, Charles Dickens, and George Gissing

The representations of interior decorations and furnishings in Victorian novels are often discussed as a reflection of the self, or more concretely as a signifier of a character's self in relation to a society within the novels. In this presentation, however, I would like to investigate how the representations of interior decorations and furnishings in the novels by Charles Dickens and George Gissing are embedded in a network of discourses on art education and interior decorations which are the major issues discussed and developed in *Art Union Monthly Journal* and *Art Journal*.

A close examination of the articles on these particular issues in the periodicals will reveal how the concept of interior decoration changes. At the start of the publication of *Art Union Monthly Journal* and *Art Journal* the importance of educating taste of manufacturers is emphasized, just as the Great Exhibition in 1851 aimed at. Here, creating better designs for objects is more focused than creating a tasteful domestic space as a whole. Art and design are discussed in terms of morality as "the production of mind" or "the evidence of mind". Thus, exhibiting objects of good taste was then widely considered as a useful way to educate the mind of manufacturers, which was believed to lead to design reform in industrial art ultimately. Gradually, however, an idea of home decoration and commercialism came into the concept. In the first few decades of the publication of the two periodicals, art education had been discussed in relation to producing refined objects, but around 1874 an idea of "furnishing as a whole" came in and the idea of interior decoration as a space replaced the mere accumulation of refined objects. Soon thereafter, *Art Journal* set out on serializing articles titled "The Stately Homes of England", "American Homes", "The Home of An English Architect", "The Royal Palaces", and "Furnishing and Decoration of the House". This transformation of concept actually coincided with innumerable publications on interior decorations by aesthetic reformers in the 1880s. In the mid-1880s *Art Journal* started the serialization of articles on teaching art at public schools from a viewpoint of educating art consumers. Simultaneously illustrated catalogues of furniture, in which a set of furniture was sold, for example, with the names of "the Richmond Suite" and "the Grosvenor Suite", became available.

Putting the novels by Charles Dickens and George Gissing into this evolutionary network of discourses on art education and interior decorations will disclose hitherto obscure and therefore fresh links between their works and their contemporary intellectual climate on those issues. It is often said that Dickens described furniture to denote the self of his characters, for example, in characterizing Mr. Boffin in *Our Mutual Friend*, but it can be said that this association between furniture and its owner's mind was widely shared among his contemporaries and therefore not his own original imaginative idea, when we take into consideration the popularity of the concept of art education in terms of morality. Placing Gissing's works into this new network will also disclose how well they reflect his contemporary social paradigm of interior decorations and commercialism.

Kristine Moruzi, University of Melbourne

Charitable Subscriptions: A Network of Readers in *Aunt Judy's Magazine*

When *Aunt Judy's Magazine* (1866-85), a children's periodical edited by Margaret Gatty, launched an appeal to sponsor a cot at the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children in 1868, the response was immediate and enthusiastic. The appeal resulted in a surplus of several pounds, which was carried forward toward the maintenance of the cot in subsequent years. The magazine identified the subscribers and the amounts they contributed, and provided descriptions of the inhabitants of "Aunt Judy's Cot" for over a year. Like the subscription lists of the eighteenth century that were used to finance the publication of literary texts, this list was printed and then updated in subsequent issues of *Aunt Judy's Magazine*.

In this paper, I wish to demonstrate how the subscription list and the related articles about "Aunt Judy's Cot" operated together to develop and maintain a network of readers and charitable subscribers. I will argue that the emerging network of readers of *Aunt Judy's Magazine* that began through "Aunt Judy's Correspondence" was reinforced through the performative role played by the public appeal for the cot, the publication of the results, and the frequent descriptions of the cot's inhabitants. Drawing on subscription theories by Dustin Griffin, Peter Sabor, and George Justice, I will show how the list reflects not only the primary readers of the magazine but also the extended networks upon which those readers could draw to obtain financial and material support for a worthy cause. The number of children on the list, the lack of sorting (particularly by contribution amount), and the typically small contributions suggest that such networks were increasingly democratic. Finally, I will show how this established network of readers and subscribers was re-mobilized in later issues to support other charitable causes.

James Mussell, University of Birmingham

Readers and Users: Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers in the Digital Age

As more and more electronic editions of nineteenth-century periodicals and newspapers are made available, how we approach these resources is becoming increasingly important for how we understand the print culture of the past. We are no longer readers, we are told, but users: this change in terminology masking continuities with print-based reading practices while suggesting that the experience of interpreting electronic resources is somehow intrinsically different. Taking these continuities and differences as a starting point, and relating them to the same process of identifying continuities while exploiting difference that underpins editorial theory, this paper explores the consequences of digital literacy for the production and use of electronic editions of periodicals and newspapers today.

As each user brings a different level of literacy to their encounter with a digital resource, so their experience of the digitized material will be different. There is much emphasis in the digital humanities (and, indeed, software design more broadly) on producing user-friendly resources, often drawing upon familiar applications and interfaces. However, such laudable intentions often find themselves in conflict with the demands of the source material and the scholarly apparatus that is necessary for its presentation and interpretation. Drawing on a range of recent electronic resources, including the *Internet Library of Early Journals* (ILEJ) (1999) <www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ilej>, Cengage's *19th Century UK Periodicals* (2007-), Proquest's *British Periodicals* (and its associated indices *C:19*) (2007-), *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* (ncse) (2008) <www.ncse.ac.uk>, and the recent *Papers Past* by the National Library of New Zealand <<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>> (2008) and *Historic Australian newspapers, 1803 to 1954* by the National Library of Australia (2008) <<http://ndpbeta.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/home>>, I consider how editors have managed the

bibliographic challenges presented by nineteenth-century serials, both during the production of their respective resources and how they are presented to their users.

The reader is often the most elusive node on the network that constitutes nineteenth-century publishing, yet their presence – as intended audience, active purchasers, and contributors in their own right – is a vital part of print culture. The same is true in digital culture but, whereas we in media history can attempt to reconstruct the absent reader through archival work, textual traces, and the economics of production, it is much harder to do that with the networks that underpin electronic resources. We might be able to critique their contents, the way they process their material, or the functionality of the end product, but it is very difficult to understand how the sociology of their production affects the experience of the user. Just as being readers of nineteenth-century periodicals and newspapers is not enough, neither is simply being a user of electronic resources. In both cases, I argue, we must become critics, and the first step to achieving this is to understand the context of literacy, or, in other words, how we read.

Sarah Nash, University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill

Local Reading Circles and Central Organizations: The National Home Reading Union's Networks of Serious Readers

The National Home Reading Union (NHRU) was founded in 1889 by John Brown Paton. It was an organization designed to “direct and assist in a systematic and practical way home-reading among the people, and to quicken and sustain the interest of such home-reading by means of local circles and the influence of a central national organization.” The “central national organization” was represented by a monthly journal, which contained lectures written by important academics and responses from members. Members hosted “reading circles” in their homes, in which discussions about the month’s reading assignment and about lectures in the periodical took place. Members also often wrote up the conversations that occurred and submitted those pieces for publication in future issues of the NHRU journal. What this paper offers, using the methods of contemporary scholarly network analysis, is an exploration of the nexus between valued literary production, a periodical that authorized that system of evaluation, and intellectual affinity organized into networks of reading circles.

The system of instruction employed by the NHRU was modeled upon the Chautauqua Reading Circles that had been successful in America. The popularity of the Chautauqua Reading Circles was not merely that it encouraged reading, but that it encouraged a particular type of reading. For example, “close, connected, and persistent thinking” arose from reading in a particular manner, according to Paton. The aim of the NHRU was to reduce the spectrum of possible reading habits of the working class, of women, and of young people, so that not only what they read, but also how they read, mirrored the choices and habits of academics. As J. Churton Collins, an early advocate of the NHRU, phrased it, the NHRU created “a system directly tending to th[e] end,” of “know[ing] the best that has been thought and said in the world.” The periodical’s role was to illustrate for members the forms of writing about reading that could be produced by following the prescriptions of the NHRU’s “system” of reading. Paton included in his vision of the NHRU an expanded membership base to include the young and that this “system” of reading could be applied to texts of English Literature. It thus became an organization that participated in the larger effort to standardize reading practices and to create universal definitions of high and low Literature.

Despite the fact that the NHRU journal was not a major periodical publication, an examination of its contents can help us pursue the relationship between networks and periodicals precisely because the reading circles were already constituted at the moment of the

periodical's publication, but the journal intended to further ties between members by creating a national, universal system of reading. Analyzing the NHRU journal with the tools of contemporary network analysis can help us understand some of the intricacies of this relationship. Network analysts interested in features of scholarly knowledge, particularly how intellectual affinity produces and is produced by scholarly journals, have typically studied co-citation practices, meaning the number of times two documents are cited together in other documents. This research, scholars from B. C. Griffith and N.C. Mullins in 1972 to H.D. White, B. Wellman, and N. Nazer in 2004 have claimed, can produce an accurate reflection of intellectual affinity, but this method of inquiry does not produce a picture of the ways that affinity becomes constituted. Scholarly production, by contrast, is typically measured by co-authorship networks. In both cases, the function of the journal as a medium for producing those networks in a particular shape or form has not traditionally been part of the equation.

Brian V. Carolan, however, has recently introduced into network analysis consideration of the journal articles as "cultural artifacts," or as publication media in their own right. He examines scholarly journal articles as "a proxy for social interaction" and he claims that, in the field of network analysis, two ideas are evident: first, that "connectivity between people and artifacts matters;" and second, that "there continues to be increasing interest in linking the distribution of scholarly ideas and practices to the interaction structure of research communities." What applying Carolan's method of research to the NHRU journal can offer is a means of comparing intellectual affinity to the particular shape of the networks constructed, and the relationship between the reading circles and the journal meant to represent and solidify the authority of the "central national organization." The NHRU journal is particularly interesting for this research because some record exists of the responses to this authoritative structure, although readers' responses were selected for their instructional value, rather than for their representative value.

This paper will take as its field of study the lectures and responses to Robert Browning's poetry, published in the first years of the NHRU's journal. Discussions of Browning's poetry are particularly promising for this inquiry because, by the time Browning's poetry became included in the NHRU's curricula, he had achieved almost universal approval in review journals. From periodicals as diverse as *Macmillan's Magazine*, *The Quarterly Review*, *Once a Week*, *The Academy* and *Review of Reviews*, Browning was almost universally admired. In the words of a reviewer writing for *The Reader* in May of 1863, "With the exception of Tennyson, Browning is our most remarkable living British poet ... which has long been the opinion of our most thoughtful critics [and] is now generally admitted." Since Browning's work was not a contested site for definitions of high and low Literature, following discussions of Browning's poetry in the NHRU's journal can offer a glimpse of the methods used to endorse systematic reading habits that aligned with the value assigned to his work. In other words, we can follow the processes of creating networks of intellectual affinity when the work being read was universally valued and it was the role of the NHRU to inculcate appropriate methods of reading in response to its evaluation.

April Patrick, Texas Christian University

How to Live and Grieve: Instructions from Early Victorian Women's Memorial Poetry

For many women of the Victorian period, the poetry published in periodicals represented a network of influence that provided models for performing femininity. Though scholars have discussed the instructional nature of the writing in women's periodicals, these studies have yet to acknowledge the ways memorial poetry published in women's magazines presents guidance to readers through the lives of both the deceased women subjects and the living memorial poets.

For example, in a November 1838 issue of *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic, and the Lady's Magazine and Museum* includes a poem "To the Memory of Mrs. Caroline Acton," in which Miss Agnes Strickland writes of her subject:

Thy gentle heart and liberal hand
Dispensed to all relief;
Thou had'st a gift for every want,
A tear for every grief. (17-20)

Strickland then describes the limits of her own mourning by promising that Acton's "shall flourish unforget" (24), but she explains that despite remembering Acton, the women mourning her will "[f]orbear for thee to weep" (26). Throughout this memorial poem, like many others included in the ladies' magazines, Strickland presents Acton as a model of feminine virtue and herself as a model of proper mourning. In this paper, I explore the memorial poetry that was published in the early Victorian ladies' magazines of the 1830s and 1840s and two of the models presented within those poems, including those for living one's life with virtue and generosity and mourning friends with proper grief. By placing these poems within the larger scholarly discussion about instruction offered through women's periodicals, I argue for the relevance of women's memorial poetry as a key site for the development of the identities of Victorian women.

Cynthia Ellen Patton, Emporia State University

"Not a limitless possession": Health Advice and the Editor-Readers Network in *The Girl's Own Paper*

From its inception in January of 1880, *The Girl's Own Paper* included a section titled "Answers to Correspondents" as a regular feature of its weekly numbers. Charles Peters, the magazine's editor during its Victorian years, defined the purpose of the correspondence column in this way: "When our girls need information that would be of real service [. . .] we shall consider it a privilege to supply it." Though Peters never created a subheading for answers to readers' questions about health and medicine—resolutely classifying them as "Miscellaneous"—such answers appeared in almost every number, and sometimes took up a quarter of the correspondence page.

The importance of the subject of health to *The Girl's Own Paper's* editor and readers, then, is unmistakable. My interest, in this paper, lies in the tension between the kinds of health advice that readers evidently wanted from "their paper," and the kinds of health advice that Peters, in collaboration with his regular medical contributor Dr. W. Gordon Stables, was able or willing to give. Despite the *GOP's* frequent full-length articles on the maintenance of "that greatest of earthly blessings, excellent health," in the correspondence columns I see evidence that readers demanded repetition of the key points—or what they identified as the key points—again and again, until the Editor's frustration becomes apparent on the page. And despite the Editor's continual attempts to draw the line between providing harmless advice and risking what could be life-threatening (or at best unprofessional) diagnosis-by-post, readers insisted upon putting even their most serious illnesses before the *GOP* rather than before a doctor or, it seems, even their families.

I will consider the intersection of some possible reasons for this tension, drawing on the histories of Victorian medicine, of family life and its discontents in the late-Victorian decades, of girls and girlhood in the same period, and of Victorian periodical culture. Among those reasons are the rise of the credentialed professional as the primary source of expert knowledge in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the standing of magazine editors within the professions; the complex relationship between late-Victorian doctors and patients; the eagerness of much of the Victorian medical establishment to define women's health as recurring, inevitable

ill-health; and a complex of changes in late-Victorian society that began to offer adolescent and post-adolescent middle-class girls greater mental and physical autonomy from their families. With that autonomy came both more control over their own lives—or at least the hope of it—and more uncertainty about where to turn for advice. How Peters, Stables, and their “Answers to Correspondents” tried, sometimes succeeded, and often failed to relieve those uncertainties, to check what they saw as readers’ excessive self-reliance, and to observe professional ethics all at once is an early case study in modern, media-based social networking. The network formed by readers and editor is, as revealed in Peters’ printed replies, a profoundly and uneasily mediated substitute for the imaginary Victorian family.

Jennifer Phegley, University of Missouri - Kansas City

Victorian Match.com Networks:

Correspondence Groups and Personal Ads in the Late-Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press

The Victorians invented love. Or, at least, the ideal of the companionate marriage, which transformed the institution from an economic exchange among families to a contract based on mutual affection. The emergence of the companionate marriage, in turn, made the marriage market more treacherous than ever before. While finding happiness was now a goal, it was difficult to determine how to identify the best partner. In this paper, I will argue that participating in matchmaking correspondence groups and answering personal ads were important new ways for women to construct their own identities and exert control over the increasingly complex marriage market. Yet, as women were gaining rhetorical power, particularly during the courtship phase of relationships, they were also constantly reminded of their need to find a mate and be a proper woman.

An examination of the “Wedding-Ring Circular,” a matchmaking correspondence group launched by W.T. Stead and advertised in *The Review of Reviews* between 1897 and 1900, reveals a strikingly modern method of finding a mate. Members of this subscription club wrote letters to be passed along to the group as a circular publication. If two correspondents consented, their full names and addresses would be revealed and a private correspondence would ensue. Stead wrote a brief monthly column advertising the group, in which he claimed that it would “enable scattered human units to free themselves from something of the doom of solitude which hangs like a pall over so many existences.” In providing such a service, Stead claims, he “marks a step onward in the evolution of human society” replacing “the masked ball of former times” without the abuses they entailed (“of which the less said the better”) by affording the rare and valuable “opportunity for the free interchange of ideas and sentiments which would otherwise be impossible” (February 1899). In January 1900, he declares that “Some half-a-dozen marriages have been arranged, to say nothing of many intellectual friendships between men and women.” By April, Stead advertises that the circular includes 700 members who have contributed to its efforts to cross “the great abyss” that prevents intellectual exchange between men and women and that will take “years, if not centuries, to remove.” Stead clearly argues that this group is not only successfully making love matches but also transforming traditional gender roles amidst an increasingly alienated modern world.

However, the personal advertisements printed to entice participants to join the circle also stress the desperation of women who were teetering toward spinster status and therefore reveal that the group may not have been as revolutionary as Stead would have people believe. One woman’s description of herself as “well educated and musical; fond of a quiet domestic life; of cheerful good-tempered disposition, short and not pretty” highlights the need to conform to expectations while avoiding “false advertising.” Further, the marginal status of this kind of spouse hunting is indicated by the editor of the *County Gentleman* who, in poking fun at the

profiles included in the “Wedding Ring Circular,” wrote that he “should like to see a mass meeting of these queer people, with Mr. Stead in the chair” (June 18, 1898).

Such personal correspondence with strangers was certainly seen as abnormal by the American psychologist Arthur MacDonald, whose 1897 study *Girls Who Answer Personals* reprints letters he received in response to fake personal ads he printed in newspapers in England, France, Germany, Canada, and the United States. MacDonald justifies his research methods by claiming that “Considering the use to which the ‘personal’ column is generally put” he “did not think it wrong to make it serve as the means of sociological investigation” (xiv). He warns that his study of the new “bachelor girl” indicates a need for parents to provide proper home training and education to curb the tendencies of “women who have advanced ideas, but who are indiscreet in action” (xii). Unlike Stead, MacDonald is skeptical of the positive benefits of corresponding with strangers. He seeks to display personal ads as a modern catastrophe. Though his solution is to call for better education for women, he also spends a great deal of time analyzing the ways in which formal education ruins women’s possibilities for marriage. Indeed, he claims that the women who answer personals are hyper-educated and, therefore, unsuited to regular methods of finding a spouse.

Yet, MacDonald’s correspondents have a healthy suspicion of his motives and sometimes outsmart him, calling him on his methods. For example, one woman questions why he would be writing personal ads if he were truly a respectable gentleman; another guesses that he must be writing a study of national character since he indicates that he will accept letters in a variety of languages; yet another refuses to continue correspond unless he sends her handwritten (rather than typewritten) letters, correctly speculating that he is sending the same letters to a variety of women. Furthermore, some correspondents hope to use their contact with him for their own purposes, asking for help publishing a new novel or dealing with financial difficulties. Finally, several of the letter-writers get to the heart of MacDonald’s claims about them by complaining about the state of women’s education. One writer argues that a lack of formal education leaves women with a misguided sense of what to expect from life and no real skills to take care of themselves. As a whole, the “girls who answer personals” come across as rather savvy women who are looking for an exciting way to pass the time or to find a sympathetic soul to share their troubles with. They certainly do not sound “abnormal” and their letters, therefore, interestingly undercut his conservative arguments.

The “Wedding Ring Circular” and *Girls Who Answer Personals* together illustrate the importance of the periodical press to the increasingly active roles women played in seeking a satisfying personal life. However, they also reveal the ways in which such unconventional behavior as answering newspaper personals could be a stigma or could reinforced restrictive gender roles. Given that our contemporary lives are inundated with computer dating websites like Match.com and relationship advice manuals such as *The Rules* and *He’s Just Not that Into You*, the analysis of Victorian matchmaking networks will shed light on our culture’s current obsession with finding our “soul mates” as well as our continuing discomfort with those who don’t marry, our contemporary “old maids.”

Jessica Queener , West Virginia University

“That Horrible Lying Labouchere”: Henry Labouchere’s Radical Politics and the *Truth*”

This paper explores how, at a moment in time when detailed journalistic coverage of parliamentary proceedings was almost unheard of, a radical MP and editor used his periodical volume to broaden his political network and promote an agenda of radical dissent. In turn, his publication, Truth, was able to bolster its reputation as a crusader against corruption and fraud by exploiting the public’s knowledge of its editor’s political connections.

Henry Du Pre Labouchere may not have taken much seriously--at least, not for long--until 1880 and his election to Parliament as member for Northampton. By 1889 he enjoyed a complete change of reputation; Labouchere went from being considered a lazy dilettante who gambled away his wealth to earning a reputation as a staunch radical opposed to corruption, government excess and the tendency of the British Empire to inhibit the right of a people to self-rule. In the late Victorian era, the name of Labouchere was synonymous with the word radical. He was also thoroughly a man of the Victorian periodical.

Having garnered acclaim and popularity for his work as foreign correspondent for the *Daily News* during the siege of Paris, Labouchere went on to found *Truth* in 1877. For his first three years as editor, Henry Labouchere produced nearly half the material for each six-penny weekly volume, which reached initially 10,000 readers and eventually 30,000 within its first ten years. After his election, Labouchere continued as a weekly contributor of political commentary. A platform for Labouchere to decry whatever he found unethical or ridiculous, *Truth* further solidified the author's role as a distinctive, enlivened voice commenting to the nation's periodical readers of their foibles and injustices. (His reputation as a truth-telling journalist eventually won him the condemnation of Queen Victoria as the above-mentioned horrible liar.) What we have in Labouchere, then, is at once a fixture of Victorian periodical culture and radical politics, and a conduit through which two distinct networks drew on each other.

In his autobiography of his great-grandfather, Algar LaBouchere Thorold writes, "from first to last...his disposition was always to use his own journal as an aid to his schemes and ambitions in Parliament, never his parliamentary position for the advantage of his journal." Labouchere clearly abhorred the idea of financial gain through exploitation of his political connections, even though he was in a unique position to do so. At the time, approximately two or three members of the House of Commons owned newspapers and no members of the House of Lords were involved in the press. When the press gallery was filled only with shorthand writers, Labouchere was one of a very few to have as unhindered access to the ins and outs of British politics. His preference was to promote his political agenda, but the end result is much the same. *Truth's* other contributors fed off of Labouchere's radical reputation and soon used it to promote similar corruption-exposing agendas.

This paper will continue to explore the symbiotic relationship between Labouchere, *Truth* and Victorian periodical readers. The presentation will argue that the intertwined networks of politics and journalism each broadened the scope of the other, making Labouchere's work and popularity a subject for further study.

Laura Rotunno, Penn State Altoona

"The Happy Ignorant": Nineteenth-Century British Postal Servants-cum-Periodical Purveyors and Literary Aficionados

Victorian postal employees were charged with maintaining the sanctity of all correspondence, yet caustic public attacks targeted their failure to fulfill this ideal consistently. In response, British postal servants fortified themselves, publishing their own periodical, *The Blackfriars Magazine* (1885 to 1890; the periodical continued under the title *St Martins le Grand, The Post Office Magazine* from 1890 to 1933). They devoted a large portion of its "Refectory" section--a letters to the editor/editorial section of the periodical--to literary reviews and literary works composed by the postal workers themselves. This paper will explore how the postal workers' entry into periodical publication and the literary arts emerged as something beyond dilettantism. This periodical's literary sections created a network of readers and writers at the same time as it strengthened the kinship between the workers themselves.

In a single volume of *Blackfriars*, one finds, amongst a wealth of other literary works, a denunciation of readers who call for "something original," a critique and poetic response to contemporary portrayals of bachelors and husbands, a rumination on one's three favorite books, a conceit comparing a man to a book, and an open letter to artists commiserating with them because of the critics' attacks on them. This letter includes the line: "Heaven be thanked, we are of the happy ignorant. We can still find a pleasure in that which makes the art critic's hair stand on end . . . and his pen fail, were it possible for tongue or pen of critic to ever fail."

Each of these examples combines self-deprecatory moves with clear indications of the writers' wide-ranging knowledge of the artistic fields surveyed. Such self-portrayal, which cautiously boasts about these civil servants' knowledge of contemporary art and culture, can be read as a powerful, yet playful response to public attacks on postal employees for their lack of education (they were known to score lower on civil servants exams than many other civil servants). Correspondingly, my presentation will explore such literary criticism and creative writing, ultimately arguing that they are a means by which these writers celebrate their marginal yet privileged position as civil servants in Victorian society. These writings attest that the "Happy Ignorant" were not ignorant but rather quite able and happy to display their artistic prowess.

Joanne Shattock, University of Leicester

Professional Networking

This paper takes as its starting point G H Lewes's article on 'The Condition of Authors in England, Germany and France' in *Fraser's Magazine* for March 1847 (vol 35, 285-95) in which he declared that 'Literature has become a profession. It is a means of subsistence, almost as certain as the bar or the church'. 'The real cause', he reflected, was 'the excellence and abundance of periodical literature' (288), not the case in France and Germany, where writing paid less and where the range and variety of outlets did not exist. The professional writing life that Lewes heralded, which brought with it social respectability and some financial security, was made possible through a series of intricate networks of writers, editors, publishers and academics, networks which were always more obvious and public for male writers than for their female counterparts.

In this paper I want to take as an example David Masson, the son of a stonemason, whose literary life began with the editorship of an Aberdeen sectarian weekly, and who through cultivation of metropolitan contacts, built a career as a critic and reviewer as well as a Professor of English. He used contacts made through academic publishing to secure two important editorships, and continued to utilize these networks after he was appointed to a Chair at the University of Edinburgh. Masson's career was dependent upon what has been termed the 'fluid' frontier that existed in Scotland between the universities, the church, and the publishing world, all of them operating through interlocking networks.

In the second half of the paper I want to compare the networks utilized by Masson and his male contemporaries, with the more informal and less public ones established by women writers and journalists. Mary Howitt was an effective patron of younger female colleagues, including Elizabeth Gaskell, working through a network largely of Quakers and other nonconformists. Margaret Oliphant, like Masson a Scot who spent much of her writing life in England, wrote for a range of publications in addition to *Blackwood's Magazine*, her invitations secured through a variety of connections. As Linda Peterson has observed with regard to the career of Harriet Martineau, (*Women's Writing* 9:3 (2002), 337-50) professional women writers sometimes had male mentors who effected introductions to editors and publishers. With this in mind I will conclude with a brief look at Marian Evans's reviewing career after the *Westminster Review*, which was very much shaped by Lewes's contacts and connections.

The 'professional life' which Lewes proclaimed as possible for writers from the late 1840s was a highly precarious one, in which few, even editors, could expect salaries or regular incomes. It was dependent upon literary networks, largely but not exclusively metropolitan, sometimes deriving from school, university, and even family connections, but often from purely adventitious circumstances. Without these networks the livelihood of men and women 'of letters' could not have been sustained.

Sydney Shep, Victoria University of Wellington

The Global Reach of Canada: *The Printer's Miscellany* and the Typographical Press System

'The reception *Typo* has received from the go-ahead printers beyond the Pacific is very gratifying. One of these gentlemen, who conducts a leading trade organ, notifies us of his intention to "steal" from our columns "with persistent regularity."' (1) Despite living far from metropolitan capitals, colonial printers like New Zealand's Robert Coupland Harding were at the centre of a sophisticated 'web of empire' (2). They played a crucial role in circulating ideas by constructing and maintaining formal and informal communication networks. As a result, they contributed to a 'new globalising sensibility.' (3)

Monthly trade journals such as Harding's landmark *Typo; A Monthly Trade Journal and Literary Review* (1887-97) and Hugh Finlay's *The Printer's Miscellany* (1876-1882) were part of an elaborate exchange network, both transnational and extra-imperial. They facilitated the transmission, circulation, reinvention, and naturalization of printing trade principles and practices, sustained connections with family, friends, and colleagues in the wake of large-scale trade migration, and memorialised printers' antique 'mysteries' in an age of mass industrialization (4). The convention of 'scissoring and scrapbooking' (5) exemplified in these journals made possible the circulation of information and helped construct what I term, following Simon Potter's lead, 'the typographical press system' (6). It enabled robust discussion about trade education and industrial racialisation, promoted traditional socio-cultural practices like wayzgooses (printers' outings), concerts, and sporting events, and ensured the preservation of memory and identity.

Using the example of the colonial printer-journalist Hugh Finlay, himself an exemplar of the highly mobile, transnational workforce recently described as 'imperial careerists' (7,8), this illustrated talk will introduce several key nineteenth-century journals which participated in this global communication network: *Scottish Typographical Circular*, *British & Colonial Printer & Stationer*, *Australasian Typographical Journal*, *The Indian Printers' Journal*, *South African Typographical Journal*, *The Inland Printer*, and *Typo*. It will also investigate how recurrent ideas concerning the printing trade's principles and practices which circulated globally were further shaped by local circumstances and the chemistry of individual colonial print shops.

Gary Simons, University of South Florida

Following the Early Victorian Periodical Money Trail: Reconciling Thackeray's Account Book

William Makepeace Thackeray is known to have contributed to over twenty different Victorian periodicals during the first decade of the Victorian era. Although the generally acknowledged listing of Thackeray's periodical contributions is certainly incomplete, over the course of many years diligent bibliographers have compiled a reasonably representative Thackeray periodical bibliography. Similarly, although a full set of Thackeray's financial records has not survived, account book fragments, diary entries, and letters support the construction of a

representative partial ledger of Thackeray's financial receipts as a journalist. In the great majority of cases these receipts are not explicitly associated with individual articles. By reconciling and linking the bibliographic record with a reconstructed partial financial record, I seek (1) to establish a comparative base of payments to a prominent contributor from a broad range of early Victorian periodicals; (2) to identify prospective bibliographic "holes" and payment gaps and to resolve (or perhaps raise) questions regarding Thackeray's specific periodical contributions; and (3) to construct a *pro-forma* income analysis for Thackeray during his years of periodical journalism before Vanity Fair. This work expands upon an earlier financial information-based attribution of additional 1837-1840 Thackeray contributions to the *Times*.

Thackeray's surviving financial records include a partial account book for 1838, a partial account book for 1844, and a number of diary entries, including an 1859 estimation by Thackeray of his earlier earnings from major periodicals. In some records and in some letters the identity of a specific payer is clear, and one can readily associate payments with specific articles and a documented rate of pay. In other cases the payer is clear and a previously unknown pay rate can be reverse engineered by comparing the value of the payment with the page or column length of suitably matched contribution(s). In yet other cases the identity of a payer is cryptic and raises new puzzles and possibilities in Thackeray scholarship. In combination these cases provide a basis for a biblio-economic reconstruction of Thackeray's periodical journalism.

Finally, an analysis of pay rate differentials between different periodicals provides insight into both Thackeray's relationships with various editors and the status and nature of their respective periodicals.

Casey Smith, Corcoran College of Art & Design

Specularity and the Bibliographic Sublime: *The Publishers' Circular, 1880-1890*

The industrialization of the printing and publishing industries throughout the nineteenth century brought with it many changes as the century progressed. New methods and modes of designing, printing, and publishing, as well as advertising and retailing, foregrounded the materiality of books as a way to garner cultural notice as well as increased profits and market share. In the pages of Sampson Low's *The Publishers' Circular* during the 1880s, illustration comes to play an increasing role in not only the marketing and selling of books and magazines but also as a means of self-representation. In keeping with the RSVP 2009 conference theme of "Networks and Networking," *The Publishers' Circular* was a bimonthly newsletter from the publishing industry directed primarily toward retailers. Its usual format was sobering and unchanging: tightly printed columns of book titles and prices with little visual relief or entertainment. But the annual Illustrated Supplement, published in December starting in 1851, was a marked contrast. By examining the advertisements in the annual Illustrated Supplement over the course of the decade, this paper registers how different publishers conceived of the relation between words and images—the verbal and the visual—in their marketing strategies, and how the industry as a whole experienced and effectuated this shift toward the visual.

Kate Flint's study, *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (2000), "calls into question some prevalent beliefs about the Victorians' assumed drive toward specularity":

Though the visual was, indeed, of paramount importance to the Victorians, it was a heavily problematized category. The terms of this problematization in fact tell us a good deal not just about how Victorians "saw" and interpreted the world, but about how they understood, accepted or interrogated the relationship between language and its objects. The printed page in late Victorian books is a privileged place for seeing "the terms of this problematization" as it operates in a shared but perpetually contested space. I would argue that an 'advertising page' is even more of a contested space—a hyper-contested space, perhaps—as

its semiotic function is more condensed. Working in the other direction, Robert Essick's fascinating essay *Representation, Anxiety, and the Bibliographic Sublime* (1998) looks directly into the history of the book to account for how visuality comes forward to 'colonize' (or 'liberate') the spaces traditionally reserved for verbal representation. Essick successfully engages "the interplay between the material and conceptual dimensions of the book ... between what Jerome McGann has termed the 'bibliographic' and the 'linguistic' codes," but he can't help but think of the bibliographic code as a space of retreat, a last resort for the verbally frustrated author, not as a function of larger changes in the publishing industry. The "alternative semiotic that 'lets us see' the 'inadequacy' of conventional forms," the phenomenon he calls the bibliographic sublime, is more than a reaction against the standard practices of late Victorian book design and manufacture; it also represents a widespread cultural assertion, in positive terms, of the visual and material dimensions of literature. Essick's approach errs on the side of textual existentialism, and therefore fails to acknowledge and account for the obvious fact that books are commodities, made to be bought and sold, as well as forms of popular and everyday art.

As the new dynamics of literary publishing unfolded in late Victorian England, the visualization of literary space wasn't, as Essick would have it, a matter solely of dissatisfaction with tired and exhausted formats. A combination of other factors was also in play. Advances in printing technology made possible new effects in reproduction. A rapidly decreasing cost-per-unit for books, magazines, and print products of all sorts, coupled with the rise in book demand fostered by the Education Act of 1870, meant more opportunities for innovation in the visual aspect of book design and illustration. All of these changes can be charted in the pages of *The Publishers' Circular* annual Illustration Supplement.

Certainly by the middle of the 1880s the notion began to take root in the English publishing industry at large that print could be (and, indeed, should be) more than just a transparent vehicle for conveying words. Books and magazines opened themselves up to the possibilities of achieving effects through the interplay between literary codes and increasingly aggressive visual and bibliographic codes. This paper is part of a larger study of the "biblio-culture that preceded and made possible the Revival of Print" in the 1890s. My research has been miraculously aided by the Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition (NCSE) digitization project, and as such serves as an example of the advantages of combining digital scholarship with traditional material-based studies. As befits the subject matter, the written paper will be accompanied by numerous digitally projected images of advertising pages from *The Publishers' Circular*.

Rebecca Soares, University of Wisconsin - Madison

Literary Graftings: Hannah Crafts's *The Bondwoman's Narrative* and the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Reader

Hannah Crafts's *The Bondwoman's Narrative*, a text that lacks both a reliable composition date and a verifiable identity for its author, poses major challenges for literary scholars. While the "official" title penned on the first page of the manuscript attempts to locate the text within the traditional genre of the slave narrative or ex-slave autobiography, the actual narrative, with its multiple allusions and graftings from canonical and predominantly English literary works, suggests a more appropriate heritage in the Victorian novel tradition, connections that hint at the text's fictionality, thus undermining the title's claims to autobiographical veracity. Although Crafts's appropriations and revisions of Dickens's *Bleak House* provide ample fodder for studies of transatlantic literary influence and intertextuality, the manuscript's complete lack of publication and print history is an absence that severely limits an examination of its status in the wider matrix of the transatlantic print industry. In light of these glaring inconsistencies, how can

The Bondwoman's Narrative be included in, and perhaps even enlighten, a discussion of nineteenth-century transatlantic popular and print culture?

In this paper, I will offer a two-pronged approach to this question. First, I will suggest that the most productive way to read Hannah Crafts is not as an author but rather as a reader of nineteenth-century transatlantic periodical literature. By focusing on Crafts as reader, her individual racial identity becomes less important as her position in the print culture matrix as consumer is highlighted. Such an analysis also presents a possible explanation for her access to and appropriation of various British and American texts. Crafts's literary graftings represent in microcosm the vibrant nineteenth-century American reprint culture; thus her "plagiarism" is in fact merely a response to the complicated transatlantic print culture in which she is necessarily entangled as a reader. After theorizing Crafts in terms of authorship, ultimately to determine that she functions more clearly as a reader, and then in terms of nineteenth-century serial reading practices, I will extend my analysis of Crafts as reader to an examination of *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, focusing specifically on the issues in which Charles Dickens's *Bleak House*, the text that Crafts most unapologetically "borrows" from in her narrative, was reprinted. By studying the print context surrounding each installment, particularly those installments which feature those passages Crafts most clearly "revises," I will hypothesize how a reader could be influenced to make the seemingly disjointed connections and appropriations that characterize her narrative.

Anna Stenson, University of Iowa

Networking with the Working Classes: Middle-Class Reformers and Working-Class Readers in *Eliza Cook's Journal*

From its opening article entitled "Cheap Reading," *Eliza Cook's Journal* is deeply concerned with the social implications of working-class reading practices. Through her journal, Eliza Cook attempts to create a network of readers that includes both the middle and working classes. While the articles in Cook's journal seem just as interested in the moral improvement of England's lower classes as early Victorian evangelical and utilitarian publications, they try to avoid simply preaching to the lower classes or pitting middle-class reformers against working-class vice. I argue that the journal is remarkable for its insistence that the lower classes should have a say in determining their own reading materials and that listening to suggestions from working-class readers is the best way to help them improve. Furthermore, *Eliza Cook's Journal* enacts its own suggestions by creating a forum for discussion about working-class reading that is open to working-class voices.

Eliza Cook's Journal was edited by Eliza Cook, a popular poet from the 1830s through the 1850s and a self-styled "poet of the people." Her journal was published from May 1849 to December 1854 and, although it had a circulation of 50,000 to 60,000, higher even than *Household Words*, it has received little critical attention (Altick 394). Each weekly issue sold for the low price of 1 ½ pence, which made it affordable for a lower- and middle-class audience. In one of the few critical discussions of this journal, Johanna M. Smith perceptively suggests that it tries to achieve a "double address" in which its implied audience is both the middle-class and artisan-class reader (Smith 51). I would go beyond this to suggest that, in its discussions of working class reading, the journal attempts to achieve not only a double address but also a double voice; an implied audience of both middle- and working-class readers is asked to listen to the concerns of working-class as well as middle-class readers.

I will use the surprisingly large number of articles about reading in *Eliza Cook's Journal* to discuss several key ways that the journal seeks to bring middle-class and working-class readers into conversation with each other. First, its articles acknowledge that amusement is a necessary

component of working-class life. In the opening issue of the journal, Cook addresses her readers as friends and promises that the pages of her journal will contain both “utility and amusement” (A Word to my Readers 1). She also clearly differentiates herself from certain types of middle-class reformers saying: “I have a distaste for the fashion so violently adopted of talking to ‘the people,’ as though they needed an army of self-sacrificing champions to do battle for them, and rescue them from the ‘Slough of Despond.’” (“A Word to my Readers” 1). Cook’s desire to help intellectually elevate the working classes while not condescending to them and remaining open to their concerns sets the tone for discussions of working-class reading in her journal. Second, *Eliza Cook’s Journal* suggests that “light” reading does not have the opposite effect as serious reading, but rather, eventually leads to the development of more serious taste in reading. In this way, Cook’s journal self-consciously justifies its own role as a “cheap periodical.” While most of the articles about working class reading do not elevate periodicals to the level of serious literature, periodicals and newspapers are seen as a necessary means of introducing the uneducated to literature. Third, the journal suggests that education is more effective than censorship. The article “Cheap Reading,” for instance, argues that “though the character peculiarly injurious to the public good is the merely superficial reader, yet the remedy to his mischief is not in reading less, but in reading more; and, therefore, let the fervour of intellectual pursuits be encouraged” (2). Rather than suggesting that better-educated middle-class readers should regulate the reading of those below them, this article suggests that working-class men and women can be given the educational tools to determine what they should read for themselves.

Finally, and most significantly, writers in *Eliza Cook’s Journal* argue that working class people should be included in discussions about how to improve their reading material. Eliza Meteyard, a regular contributor to the journal, suggests that creating working class libraries is the best way to improve reading and education for the lower classes. These libraries, however, should not be run solely by the “dominant classes” but run jointly by the working classes and by those who have the knowledge to help them choose improving literature (30). Cook’s journal also includes working class voices more directly in its discussion of reading. For instance, an 1850 article entitled “What Working Men Think of Mechanics’ Institutions” publishes the details of an essay by John Crapper, an “intelligent young operative” who had won a prize from a mechanic’s institute for best essay by a working man on the subject of how the Mechanics’ Institutes could become more useful to the working class. A large part of Crapper’s essay discussed improvements that could be made to the library (38). Most of the article is direct quotation from Crapper’s essay with few editorial interruptions. In this and similar articles, *Eliza Cook’s Journal* gives members of the working class space to voice their views about appropriate reading material. Cook’s journal takes a much less condescending view of working-class readers’ capacity for mental elevation than many similar publications interested in improving working-class morals. Writers for the journal differentiate themselves by their desire to help members of the working classes become thinking subjects and by their desire to include them in discussions about appropriate reading for workers.

Chad P. Stutz, Boston College

Aesthetic Discourse in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Evangelical Periodicals: A Case Study

Bound together by a vast material and ideological network of voluntary societies, itinerant evangelists, pietistic practices, and common theological doctrines, Anglo-American evangelicalism was, from its emergence in the 1730s and 1740s, a transatlantic phenomenon par excellence. From the late eighteenth century onwards, this religious network was increasingly

sustained by—and was often renegotiated within the pages of—numerous periodicals published by denominations across the evangelical spectrum (e.g., Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Anglican Evangelical). Many of these periodicals, ranging from the popular weekly to the scholarly quarterly, addressed an eclectic mix of concerns, and they included everything from missionary narratives and theological polemics to political analyses and cultural commentaries.

Historians, of course, have long recognized the value of these publications for obtaining insights into the nineteenth-century evangelical mind and the ways in which evangelicals attempted to engage a surrounding culture that was rapidly undergoing the processes of modernization and secularization. One particular aspect of nineteenth-century evangelical periodical culture, however, has received only scant attention by scholars—the extensive discourse on aesthetics and the fine arts which appeared in the pages of countless denominational publications, especially after the 1830s. Contrary to the lingering stereotype that evangelicals have historically perpetuated a puritanical or anti-aesthetic attitude, a careful examination of a cross-section of periodicals reveals that evangelicals in both England and the United States carried on a sustained and at times sophisticated inquiry into aesthetics. They eagerly discussed and debated such topics as the nature of art, the relationship between art and religion, the role of art in society, the essence of beauty, and the psychological dynamics of creativity. To a far greater extent than has often been realized, a significant segment of the nineteenth-century evangelical population participated in, and contributed to the emergence of, what Nicholas Wolterstorff has referred to as western culture’s “institution of high art.”

In this paper, I propose to take as a case study a single article that represents some of the major emphases of nineteenth-century evangelical aesthetic thought as it was articulated in a number of periodicals between roughly 1830 and 1900. This article, “Fine Art: Its Nature, Necessity, and Offices,” shows the general influence of romanticism on evangelical conceptions of art as evidenced by the essay’s espousal of expressivism, of art’s social mission, and of art’s broadly “spiritual” (though not always distinctively Christian) import. Furthermore, the brief publication history of this article indicates clearly the transatlantic scope of nineteenth-century evangelical periodical culture, both intellectually and materially. Originally published in America in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* in April of 1874, the article was subsequently republished in England with some modifications in the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* in August of the same year. This instance of direct exchange underscores the way in which a religious network often thought to have been indifferent or hostile to the fine arts facilitated the international transmission of a specific set of aesthetic values. Indeed, the widespread presence of a critical discourse of aesthetics in nineteenth-century evangelical periodicals suggests the need to rethink not only common stereotypes of evangelicalism’s anti-aesthetic bias but also the perhaps surprising contribution of “low-church” Protestant denominational publications to the construction of an Anglo-American “high cultural” ideology.

Kellyanne Ure, Brigham Young University

“To triumph in the Working Man’s home”: The Oxford Movement’s Influence on the Literature of the *Penny Post*

The Oxford Movement’s influence on literature has been explored recently by several scholars, including Mark Knight and Emma Mason, who focus primarily on how the movement’s ideas affected Christina Rossetti and William Wordsworth. More specifically, Kirstie Blair, Rodney Edgecombe, and John Rowlands have examined the literary and cultural impact of two key founders (and poets/writers) of the Oxford Movement: John Keble and John Henry Newman. However, they not only wrote texts associated with Oxford Movement ideas, but they also

critically and intimately affected other authors. The main periodical writer that comes to mind is Charlotte Mary Yonge, editor of the *Monthly Packet*, who was a devoted disciple of Keble. Yet, Keble and Newman's network of influence stretched further than middle-class young women (the targeted audience of the *Monthly Packet*).

In this paper, I look at the first volumes of an almost completely unknown periodical, the *Penny Post* (1851–1896), and how the Keble and Newman's network of influence attempted to define the periodical's ideological parameters. Published by a friend of Newman, John Henry Parker, who also published Keble's the *Christian Year*, this periodical's main purpose was to enlighten a working-class audience. Yet this purpose was fraught with complications, primarily because of the ideas of Keble and Newman. Specifically, I examine three themes related to this purpose: the working classes and nationalism, the upper classes' efforts to educate the working classes, and the relationship between these classes. The three issues were important to Keble and Newman, who had strong opinions on how the Church was to respond to the working classes. They also provide insight into the direction the editors, authors, and publishers expected the periodical to develop.

Through analyzing the three themes, I find that the *Penny Post* did not have a distinctly defined audience and exploration of ideas (as the editor of the *Penny Post* suggests in the preface), but a dual audience and conflicted understanding of the ideas important to the Oxford Movement. This duality creates a tension throughout the first two volumes of the periodical, showing that the authors and editors of the *Penny Post* were uncertain exactly who their audience was (or who they wanted it to be) and were therefore unable to clearly represent Oxford Movement ideas. These opening tensions came to shape the periodical and its audience.

More specifically, the *Penny Post*, in attempting to reach a working-class audience, appealed to both working-class and upper-class values and was unable to reconcile the relationship between those conflicting values. However, the *Penny Post* did not necessarily fail to reach its audience, though it did struggle to understand and respond to it. Instead, the *Penny Post* redefined itself, its audience, and its purposes in order to survive after its infant years. With those early years being the focus of my argument, I examine how the *Penny Post* began its redefinition process.

As primarily an introduction to this obscure periodical, my paper shows how an important religious movement of the Victorian era influenced periodical literature through the ideological networking of Keble and Newman.

Marianne Van Remoortel, University of Ghent

Pot-boilers and Orchard Fruits: Christina Rossetti's Poems in *Macmillan's Magazine*

The Victorian periodical publishing market changed drastically during Christina Rossetti's life. After 1860, the ambitious quarterlies of the first half of the century were increasingly supplanted by an exponentially growing number of cheap, ephemeral monthlies and weeklies. The poetry published in these periodicals was thus subjected to a growing field of tension between literature and consumption. (Fraser 3), with far-reaching consequences for its interpretation and for the poets as the (intellectual) owners of their works. My paper illustrates this commodification of literature by tracing Christina Rossetti's ambiguous relationship with Macmillan, publisher of *Macmillan's Magazine*.

Macmillan is best known as the publisher of Rossetti's poetry volumes *Goblin Market* (1862), *The Prince's Progress* (1866) and *A Pageant and Other Poems* (1881), but he also printed 23 poems of her in *Macmillan's Magazine* between 1861 and 1883. Because he paid her in cash in exchange for copyright, Rossetti referred to these contributions as her "potboilers" (*Letters* 46), mediocre poems solely written to make her a living. Thus she was able save more ambitious

work, such as her famous poem “Goblin Market” (1862), for book publication by Macmillan, which did entitle her to the copyright as well as a share in the profits. In my paper, I aim to demonstrate the mutual gain of these periodical “pot-boilers” for Rossetti and her publisher, using original texts, letters and unpublished material from the Macmillan Archive (British Library). Although the commodification of (female) beauty is a much-discussed theme in “Goblin Market,” Rossetti’s own awareness of and anxiety over the commercial value of her own work, acutely present in her periodical poetry, but inevitably lost in book publications, has never been fully explored.

Rossetti not only had to part with copyright of her poems in *Macmillan’s*, due to the gap between authorship and ownership created by the publisher, she also largely lost control of what Linda Hughes calls the “cultural codings of format” (321), layout as a form of interpretation. I will embed images of the poems in my PowerPoint presentation to illustrate this. Through “down-market presentation” (two columns instead of one), for example, *Macmillan’s* distances itself from the morally reprehensible contents of CGR’s “Light Love” (1863), which features a fallen woman who is abandoned by the father of her illegitimate child (Hughes 321). Finally, I will discuss the parody of “A Birthday” (a poem first published in *Macmillan’s Magazine*, 1861) printed in “some illustrated comic paper” (Crump 892). Rossetti’s original poem exalts: “Because the birthday of my life / Is come, my love is come to me.” A scurrilous interpretation of the poem (“Because the mother of my wife / Has come, and means to stay with me”), the parody turns Rossetti’s “pot-boiler” poem into a “downmarket” commodity to amuse a readership that she would never have targeted herself.

Greg Vargo, Columbia University

Freeborn Englishmen or Citizens of the World? Chartist Periodicals Report the Empire

The high-water mark of Chartist internationalism came when George Julian Harney, the young editor of the *Northern Star*, debated Foreign Minister Lord Palmerston “teeth to teeth” on the hustings during the 1847 election at Tiverton. Harney’s hour-long address integrated an analysis of the domestic crises of the New Poor Law, the rising national debt, and the expansion of police powers under the Rural Police Act, with a condemnation of Britain’s imperial role in the world. The radical journalist excoriated the Opium War as the elevation of the principles of free trade to an act of international brigandage, denounced the invasion of Afghanistan as anti-democratic interference in the affairs of a sovereign nation, and lambasted the suppression of the Canadian rebellion of 1837. More broadly, Harney argued that the colonial system extended class rule abroad and solidified the structures that divided British society. The working classes bore the tax burden that sustained imperial expansion and fought in the armies that enforced imperial power, while the material benefits of empire were reaped by a narrow elite.

Scholars have treated Harney’s speech as a short-lived moment in Chartist history when the movement’s left fringe promulgated an internationalist politics. However, an analysis of the *Chartist Circular* and the *Northern Star*, two papers with circulations each exceeding 10,000, suggests that questions of empire continually engaged the Chartists. From the journals’ first issues, news reports, editorials, accounts of meetings about foreign affairs, travel writing, and letters to the editor scrutinized Britain’s foreign and colonial policies and analyzed the implications of Britons being subjects of a government which ruled an international political and economic system. Thomas Martin Wheeler’s *Sunshine and Shadow*, a political *Bildungsroman* serialized in the *Star* from 1849 to 1850, was set, in part, on the plantations of an unnamed West Indian colony. By anatomizing the despotic rule and economic repression that characterized post-emancipation society, Wheeler undercut an emerging language that celebrated England as the liberator of the slaves and thereby justified the empire.

Though never entirely consistent, the *Star* and the *Circular* articulated wide-ranging criticism of the colonial system, calling the empire “the outworks of the citadel of corruption.” The newspapers synthesized a utilitarian tradition skeptical of militarism and colonial rule, an evangelical universalism opposed to slavery and the slave trade, and a popular radical analysis of the British class structure. Recognizing the importance of anti-imperialism in the first national working-class movement challenges the image of the British population as supine consumers of or eager and unanimous participants in the mid-century colonial project.

The treatment of the empire in the *Star* and *Circular* poses interesting questions about the networks upon which the newspapers relied to report on and analyze events taking place thousands of miles away. The *Star*'s coverage of European radicalism and of the revolutions of 1848 was aided by diverse connections with political exiles in England, including Frederick Engels, whose articles appeared under the byline “Our Foreign Correspondent.” But news of the colonies came mostly from sources decidedly not radical and ones generally sympathetic to British policy: clippings from colonial newspapers and the *Times*, governmental reports, and parliamentary speeches and debates. My presentation will explore the extent to which the Chartist periodicals attempted to scrutinize critically, re-contextualize, and challenge their source material or the degree to which they let stand the pro-imperialist assumptions of the reportage they reprinted.

Kristi Wilson, Texas Christian University

The Great Advantage of Reality: The Exploitation of Family in Louisa Matilda Crawford's Autobiographical Sketches.

During the 1830s and 1840s, a woman writing as “Mrs. Crawford” published poetry, social commentary, and a series of autobiographical sketches in the London-based *Metropolitan Magazine*. Although Louisa Matilda Crawford is completely unknown today, she achieved a significant level of success as both a poet and a song-writer during the nineteenth century. Her most popular poem, “Kathleen Mavourneen,” set to music by F. Nicholas Crouch, had such a wide-ranging cultural impact in Great Britain and the United States that it was referenced in both *David Copperfield* (1850) by Charles Dickens and in *The Killer Angels* (1974) by Michael Shaara, the Civil War novel later adapted as the 1993 movie *Gettysburg*.

Though her poetry achieved a noteworthy level of contemporary success, Crawford's autobiographical writing received little documented attention. Appearing three to five times a year between 1835 and 1843, Crawford's autobiographical sketches constituted a series of anecdotes and observations relating to her childhood in Wiltshire. Descended directly from both James Stuart, the 3rd Earl of Bute, and the Montagu family of Lackham House, Wiltshire, Crawford relied heavily on the experiences of her famous family and friends as material for these writings. In fact, despite the autobiographical nature of her writing, Crawford explained in her November 1835 “Autobiographical Sketch from Laycock Abbey” that “[her] intention in giving these rude sketches was to bear record not of myself, but of persons and places which have come under my observation.”

This paper will consider the ways in which Crawford exploited the popularity of her network of family and friends to create a sustained interest in her serialized autobiographical writings in *Metropolitan Magazine*. Describing her own appreciation for gossip and, subsequently, encouraging the readers', Crawford says in her July 1843 autobiographical sketch that “reality has certainly a great advantage over fiction. We naturally feel much more interested in that which *has* happened than in that which *might have* happened, but (so far as we are aware) never did.” Not only did Crawford rely heavily on her own family background to provide interesting *real* gossip for her readers, she also transcribed gothic tales and scandals told

to her by her famous acquaintances to satisfy readers with a taste for the sensational. I will explore the rhetorical evolution of these writings over the course of their publishing history to show the different in ways Crawford wrote to accommodate the expectations of nineteenth-century readership.

Russell M. Wyland, National Endowment for the Humanities

Networks of Change: John Taylor Coleridge and *The Quarterly Review*

In late 1824, John Taylor Coleridge succeeded William Gifford as editor of *The Quarterly Review*. Coleridge's tenure was short-lived, lasting just over one year and spanning just four issues. His biographer dismisses the editorship as a simple money-making venture undertaken to compensate for Coleridge's floundering law career. Others have characterized Coleridge as a naïve pawn in a struggle between more powerful political and literary forces or as a willing, temporary place-holder until a long-term editor could be found. While these interpretations are all plausible and are not mutually exclusive, they simplify the man who declared to his uncle George on the eve of publishing his first review in the *Quarterly*, "I want to be looked on a literary, and at the same time a stirring man."

The topic of the 2009 Research Society for Victorian Periodicals conference—"Victorian Networks and the Periodical Press"—offers an opportunity for a serious consideration of Coleridge's editorship of the *Quarterly*. Coleridge came to the editorship as part of two important networks: his familial connection to the Lake Poets and his university connections to the Attic Society, a secret Oxford club with varied political, literary, and religious views. While Coleridge's famous surname and his friendship with Robert Southey undoubtedly afforded him with a certain gravitas useful for running the *Quarterly*, I will argue that his network of Attic Society "brothers"—particularly Thomas Arnold, John Keble, and Henry Hart Milman—enable us to better understand how Coleridge hoped to shape England's preeminent Tory periodical. Upon securing the editorship, Coleridge moved quickly to exploit his connections to the Attic Society: his second issue (volume 32, number 1) included articles by Arnold ("Early Roman History") and Keble ("Sacred Poetry"). Both articles were their first publications in the *Quarterly* and both authors wrote on subjects much discussed in Attic Society meetings. Coleridge's third issue included two of his own articles ("Mechanics' institutes and infant schools" and a review of Southey's *Tale of Paraguay*) as well as an article by Henry Hart Milman on the Society's literary hero ("Milton, *On Christian Doctrine*"). While Coleridge was probably naïve, certainly financially strapped, and (in retrospect) a place-holder between Gifford and John Lockhart, I believe that he had a vision for the *Quarterly* that involved greater attention to new scholarly trends and the use of a younger, less polemical generation of reviewers.

The paper will have three distinct parts. First, I will establish Coleridge's connection to the Attic Society, the intellectual preoccupations of Society members, and their advice to Coleridge before taking the editorship of the *Quarterly*. Second, I will spend a longer period on Coleridge's editorship, using the letters of the Attic Society members to better understand his vision new for the *Quarterly*. Finally, I end with some speculations on why Coleridge's plan did not last.

Shu-chuan Yan, National University of Kaohsiung, Taiwan

Fashion, Nation, and *Punch Magazine* 1840s-1880s

This paper seeks to examine the role of fashion as a network for visual analysis of British national identity in *Punch* magazine. It is argued that Victorian Britain needs a new assessment of

its identity through the female allegorical figure of Britannia who has fabricated the myth of the nation by keeping up with fads and trends. A female incarnation of Britain herself, Britannia frequently appeared in *Punch* cartoons from the 1840s to the 1880s, a period when Britain adopted the role of global policeman and actively engaged itself in the diplomatic relations with other countries. Despite the fact that Victorian women were prevented from being politically active within a male-dominated culture, *Punch* cartoons ironically carved out a place for Britannia to illuminate the byplay between woman and nation through fashionable clothes—bloomers, crinolines, or divided skirts, for example. As such, I maintain that the recurring image of Britannia as a fashion icon not only reflects the growing public attention paid to fashionable consumption among middle- or upper-class females but takes on a distinctively nationalist character. In other words, *Punch's* fashioning of Britannia is not a passive reflection of a female body, but a means of visual/graphic communication for a unified national imagery. Like Queen Victoria, Britannia is torn between a woman with domesticity and femininity and a monarch with mastery and control. Sometimes she imitates Victoria's style of rule to maintain sovereignty, and sometimes she models ordinary middle-class womanhood to reflect ideals of domesticity. Within this context, it is possible to point out that Britannia's dress functions as a microcosm of the British state. With its humorous and ironic tone, *Punch* invariably calls into question the domestic political pressures and foreign competitions using the fashionable female body of Britannia. It would therefore be interesting to investigate how Mr. Punch plays on his "clothes philosophy" to illuminate the role and function of fashion in formulating and circulating new perspectives on nationhood. In this respect, we may use Britannia as the collective image of the nation so as to textualize her dress for reading and invite further reflections on the ideological dimensions of body politics and nation-building. With a deeper understanding of the fashion network in *Punch*, we can begin to comprehend the multiplicity of female dress and bodily performance which may help the reader probe into the process of imagining and narrating the nation.

Molly Youngkin, Loyola Marymount University

Transatlantic Mediums: Spiritualist Feminist Networks in Julia Schlesinger's *Carrier Dove* (1884-1893)

The social networks between nineteenth-century spiritualism and feminism have been fairly well documented. Ann Braude, in *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (1989), shows the overlapping principles between the two movements, especially how women functioned as voices (or mediums) for underrepresented people, whether they were living women struggling for their rights or deceased spirits confronting the afterlife. Still, while Braude acknowledges the role of periodicals in connecting members of the spiritualist community, who were often "isolated" and in need of "solidarity" with others who shared their beliefs (26), she does not discuss in great depth the articles found in specific spiritualist or feminist periodicals.

Furthermore, only a few books published since Braude's study take up the role of periodicals in articulating the spiritualist feminist perspective. Alex Owen's *The Darkened Room: Women, Power, and Spiritualism in Victorian England* (1990) gives a brief overview of the important British spiritualist newspapers and periodicals and how they became an apparatus for expressing the key principles of spiritualism, which included improving the rights of women because of their role in spiritualist communication with the deceased, and John Kucich's *Ghostly Communion: Cross-Cultural Spiritualism in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals* (2004) devotes a chapter to spiritualist feminism in periodicals, illustrating how spiritualism was used by American periodicals aimed at underrepresented groups (women, Native Americans, and African Americans) to give them a voice in the national consciousness.

Julia Schlesinger's *Carrier Dove* (published from 1884-1893 in San Francisco, one of the key sites for spiritualist networking in the United States) is mentioned only briefly in Braude's study and not at all in Owen's or Kucich's work. Given that Schlesinger was married to an important figure in the spiritualist scene, the medium Louis Schlesinger, and that Schlesinger herself published a book on the major figures in the movement, *Workers in the Vineyard* (1896), more attention should be given to Schlesinger's contribution to the community through the *Carrier Dove*. I am especially interested in Schlesinger's articulation of feminist ideals in the *Carrier Dove*, since she places herself and her paper in the midst of important debates about gender seen in other feminist periodicals without a specifically spiritualist approach.

For example, in an article titled "The Higher Education of Women," Schlesinger criticizes the work of Eliza Lynn Linton, who made her reputation as a journalist by arguing against equal rights for women in British periodicals in the 1880s. In criticizing Linton's work, Schlesinger builds authority for her American spiritualist feminist views by showing that she is familiar with the debate in the British feminist community, but she also brings a unique perspective to these debates through her American spiritualist perspective. Her American perspective can be seen in her comment that Linton's ideas were "so warped and biased by English customs and prejudices as to be of little value to the intelligent American woman" (49), and her spiritualist perspective emerges when she states that Linton's ideas are the "thousand-tongued Voice of Error" instead of the "Voice of Truth" (49).

Schlesinger's engagement with the debate over Linton's work suggests she was as aware of transatlantic feminist social networks as she was with spiritualist networks. I am currently investigating the nature of these networks: were they direct networks, formed through real-life acquaintanceships with British feminists, or were they more indirect networks, formed primarily through her reading of British feminist materials? My paper will draw some specific conclusions about how Schlesinger engaged feminist networks in order to enhance her presentation of her spiritualist views to an audience of American women.