

THE PRINTED IMAGE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF POPULAR CULTURE,
1790-1860

By

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Department of History

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April 1989

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Date April 28/89

ABSTRACT

Scholarly consensus dates the onset of mass culture in England to the latter part of the nineteenth century. This study looks at cultural change from 1790 to 1860 and argues that the fundamental characteristics of a modern mass culture were already in place by about 1840. New printing technology, the growth of popular publishing, and the attendant broad dissemination of the printed word and image were central to the early initial emergence of a mass culture. And because the printed image became generally accessible and affordable, people did not necessarily need the ability to read in order to benefit from the offerings of a growing publishing industry. Thus, in a time when literacy was not universal, the printed image was the single most widely shared form of cultural experience.

A new, markedly pictorial, mass culture emerged from the centre of the expanded and transformed version of an older popular culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The major artifacts of the emergent culture were four illustrated magazines, all of which achieved and maintained unprecedentedly high circulations, and whose written and pictorial content attracted a large and diverse--that is, mass--audience of middle- and working-class people, men and women, from various age groups, and from urban and rural locales all over Great Britain.

In considering the content of these magazines and related contemporary artifacts, their place in working-class life, and certain individual producers and consumers of culture, Gramsci's theory of hegemony proves useful and, further, raises questions about the explanatory adequacy of certain other important models of the interaction of class and culture. Additionally the attempt is made to provide, and consistently work from, historically accurate, rigorous, yet widely applicable, definitions of the complex terms, "popular" and "mass".

The leitmotif throughout is the relationship of common experience and high culture. A transformed popular culture and the new mass culture at its centre enriched people's lives in many ways. But high culture guarded its exclusivism and, for the most part, remained the preserve of wealth, social privilege and power.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the following for permission to reproduce much of the illustrative material used here:

The British Library, London (plates 1-8, 10-19, 37-64, 66, and 69-79).

The Bodleian Library, the John Johnson Collection, Oxford (plates 9 and 20).

The National Museum of Labour History, Manchester (plate 80).

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CHAPTER 1

The Printed Image and Cultural Change:
Theories and Problems in the Historiography of
English Popular Culture and Illustration,
1790-1860

In 1859 a contributor to the British Quarterly Review extravagantly praised such wonders of his time as gas lighting, steamships and the electric telegraph. But, he continued,

more astonishing than Gas, or Steam, or the Telegraph, which are capable of explanation on scientific grounds, is that flood of cheap literature which, like the modern Babylon itself, no living man has ever been able to traverse, which has sprung up, and continues to spring up, with the mysterious fecundity of certain fungi, and which cannot be accounted for in its volume, variety, and universality by any ordinary laws of production.¹

While undoubtedly less mystery surrounds the mid-nineteenth-century "flood" of cheap literature than the commentator supposed, his was a fundamentally accurate perception that a momentous change had occurred in the dissemination of information and entertainment. Advances in

printing technology, the widening demand for reading matter, and publishers' increasing efforts to supply this demand had together promoted the rapid growth of the popular publishing industry in England. Between about 1830 and 1860, this growing industry played a fundamental part in the first phase of a broad transformation: the unprecedented expansion of the cultural experience of working people. And, from the centre of this new and enlarged popular culture, there developed concurrently the beginnings of a mass culture. For, as we will see, in the three decades following 1830 both the printed word and its associated imagery increasingly reached an audience that was not only larger than ever before, but whose number included more than one social class. The interaction of this new mass-market publishing industry and the cultural experience of the English worker is the general subject of this study. It will consider the role of working people's taste in an emerging mass culture and endeavour to recognize the complex interrelationship of class, class-consciousness, and social, moral and cultural values.

I

As this study's title implies, the hallmark of a transformed and expanded popular culture was its increasingly pictorial character. In particular, this was true at the centre of that culture where mass-circulation books and magazines predominated. The technological

advances of the early 1800s enabled the low-cost, high-speed dissemination of the printed word. Moreover the introduction into England of mechanized paper-making (1803), the steam-powered press (1814) and multiple-cylinder stereotype printing (1827)² also made possible the profitable, high-quality mass-reproduction of diverse imagery.³ As a result, illustrations of art, nature, technical processes, famous people, foreign lands, and many other subjects for the first time became widely available and affordable.

From the early 1830s to 1860 pictorial magazines were a major means of disseminating the printed image. For most of these magazines, illustration, rivalled only by sensational fiction, was the main selling point, and several weekly journals achieved impressive regular sales ranging from eighty to more than four hundred thousand copies per issue.⁴ It should be noted in passing, though, that illustrated magazines were not the only commercially successful serials. For instance, neither Chambers' Journal (1832-1854) nor the Family Herald (1842-1940) were pictorial, but they nonetheless enjoyed large circulations: 70,000 and 125,000 respectively in 1849. Thus it seems likely that a print-centred mass culture would have emerged without the added impetus of illustration; but it would have done so less rapidly and dramatically. For notwithstanding the admitted attraction of the printed word alone, it is clear that

illustrated publications had the draw of greater novelty, and they accordingly found a readier market among a public whose taste was increasingly for new and varied sources of knowledge and amusement.

But novelty and attendant commercial appeal were by no means the most significant distinction between the printed image and the word. The more crucial difference lay in the image's greater ability to communicate in a time when literacy was not universal. That is, to make both a profit and a cultural impact, a non-pictorial publication had to reach an audience who could read, even if many only did so with difficulty. But this was not necessarily the case for an illustrated magazine. For, unlike words, pictures had the capacity to entertain and inform everyone. And so, in the early and mid-nineteenth century, the printed image more than the word represented a cultural break with the past, for it demanded neither formal education nor even basic literacy. Thus the new inexpensive printed image became the first medium of regular, ongoing, mass communication. And, for this reason, the meanings, dissemination and reception of popular periodical illustration deserve careful study and interpretation.

Such a focus, though, must necessarily be restricted; for, from the 1830s on, pictorial magazines so proliferated that those who study them are apt to sympathize with our commentator on "cheap literature", who found his subject

"too vast to be dealt with as a whole . . . within the compass of a single article"--or even, it might be added, a single thesis. Thus, the emphasis here will be on four illustrated weekly magazines: The Penny Magazine (1832-1845), The London Journal (1845-1906), Reynolds' Miscellany (1846-1865), and Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper (1853-1932). This selection is not arbitrary, for these magazines were the first illustrated serial publications to attract and maintain a readership of one million or more each.⁵ Therefore they provide the basis for a collective case study of the initial development of a modern mass culture. And, as these magazines reflect, it was from the outset a culture distinguished by the increasing variety of information and entertainment that it offered, in words--and in pictures.

II

Around the four key magazines, their illustrations, and related evidence--other popular periodicals, broadsides, penny storybooks and serials--pivots the following chapters' overall argument: the onset of a mass culture by no means signalled the passive acculturation of the people. Rather, the appeal of the new pictorial magazines derived as much from the readers' long-held social, moral and aesthetic values as it did from the efforts and ideologies of publishers, editors, writers and artists. Moreover, other kinds of popular imagery, expressing radical consciousness or alternative taste, also survived or developed

concurrently. From the early 1830s to 1860 the everyday experience of the people increasingly took in a diversity of cultural levels ranging from traditional to radical, aesthetic to lurid. Thus, the emergence of a formative mass culture--at least in its visual forms--was not a process of wholesale repression or replacement.⁶

But, even so, this emergence should not be equated with the democratization of culture--with, that is, the eradication of the political, social, economic and aesthetic distinctions that set high culture apart from the everyday experience of working people. For, although it enriched people's lives in many ways, a developing mass culture was in some respects limited in its content. In real historical terms there are, no doubt, numerous ways of demonstrating this paradox. But since the emphasis here is on the pictorial, the following chapters divide their attention between the variety of imagery that became increasingly available in the nineteenth century and the restricted entry into the mass domain of one kind of image: the work of art--or, more precisely, its reproduction. In other words, apart from its intrinsic interest, the leitmotif that art was on the whole a marginal part of common experience is meant to signal this study's distance from the liberal pluralist perspective, a point of view that celebrates the unprecedented breadth of commercialized mass culture, disregards its aesthetic deficiencies, and fails to

acknowledge the economic, social and political power relations that can be, and were, enacted and reinforced through cultural forms.⁷ But if this study rejects the optimistic view of progress through industrialization implicit in the pluralist approach, it also finds inadequate the radical pessimism of the Frankfurt School. For, whether in its early or recent phases, mass culture cannot, as many Frankfurt School thinkers would have it, be explained merely as an instrument of capitalist domination, robbed of all aesthetic and critical substance, and imposed upon an apathetic working class.⁸ Rather, what follows will attempt to acknowledge the historical complexity of early mass culture, avoid theories of "natural" social integration, and reject those models which exaggerate the subjection of one class by another.

III

The theoretical basis of the position summarized above is the thought of Antonio Gramsci.⁹ Put simply, Gramsci postulated a nuanced model of the relationship of class and culture, a model which resists simplistic explanations of cultural forms as the means by which one class imposes its will on another. In other words, implicit in Gramscian theory is a rejection of the concept of social control through culture. And this is of central importance to the present study. That is, the four magazines to be discussed here are noteworthy for the consistency with which they

disseminated a particular set of moral and cultural values promoting the "civilized" behaviour conducive to social cohesion and stability. Thus, we might be encouraged to assume that these magazines were concerted attempts at social discipline, and that this was their primary object. In fact, though, there is little or no historical evidence for such a view. Rather, the Penny Magazine and its three successors were among the many contemporary cultural forms and processes through which the economically and politically powerful members of society exercised their social, moral and intellectual leadership.

In Gramscian terms, this idea of leadership, or "hegemony", is not merely a euphemism for control pure and simple.¹⁰ For in the mid-nineteenth century hegemony operated through the consent negotiated between two fundamental class strata: On the one hand there was the hegemonic group, or, as historian Robert Gray has designated it, the "power-bloc"--that is, the gentry, merchants, industrialists and others who had acquired "a properly rational social demeanour as defined by their superiors."¹¹ On the other hand, there was the working class--and here the term "class" is used somewhat loosely. For, in considering the period 1830 to 1860, we find little evidence of a fully-formed, unified working class. It thus seems more realistic to think in terms of a less definitive, more fluid social formation comprised of such diverse groups of workers as

artisans and small tradesmen, street hawkers and entertainers, farm labourers, servants, and factory operatives. It is in this second sense that "working class" is to be understood here.¹²

In stressing the consensual interaction of the two fundamental class strata, Gramscian theory does more than just take us beyond simplistic notions of social control. It also avoids the profound condescension of the Frankfurt School and other versions of Marxist thought that would reduce working people to an undifferentiated, unresisting body lacking both individuality and the capacity for self-determination. Thus, to return to the particular subject of this study, workers not only actively chose to buy pictorial magazines; they also accepted and adapted to their own purposes the values embodied in these publications. This process of adaptation was, arguably, a manifestation of the Gramscian "war of position"--the struggle for hegemony which took place in various arenas, one of which was the new mass culture.¹³

From a Gramscian perspective, then, the relationship of class and any particular cultural form, or equally that between class and culture as a whole, is dynamic and historically determined. Thus, hegemony is always, necessarily, a temporary mastery only of one or more cultural arenas of struggle. In this flexible concept we have the theoretical basis for a critique of the kind of

reductionism that would align class and culture in a direct and historically static correspondence. And, accordingly, subsequent chapters will try to show that in the mid-nineteenth century there was no specific, dominant and cohesive middle-class culture.¹⁴ Moreover, and of greater importance to this study, neither was there an equally monolithic oppositional working-class culture.¹⁵ Rather, from available evidence there emerges a wider, more varied phenomenon. There was by the late eighteenth century (where this study begins) a multi-faceted culture of the people. From the early 1830s, as it changed and expanded, it increasingly, but in no a priori way, embodied social, moral and aesthetic diversity: high and low taste in theatrical entertainments, reading and pictorial matter; oppositional and conformist social and political values; religious faith, moral respectability and rowdy tendencies. Thus, throughout the chapters which follow there is an implicit critique of the idea of a pure class-culture of the sort that E. P. Thompson and others have postulated.¹⁶ This is not to argue that there was no form of worker-consciousness or cultural expression--the aim here is rather to locate these along Gramscian lines in an appropriately broad and dynamic cultural context.

IV

In setting down the large arguments and theoretical framework of this study, certain terms have for convenience

been used somewhat freely. Now, however, for conceptual as well as semantic rigour, some definitions are needed. In particular, in their connection with the idea and history of culture, the terms "high", "popular" and "mass" require clarification.¹⁷ It should be noted, though, that there has been, and will perhaps continue to be, no consensus among scholars on any specific, fixed and universally applicable definitions of these terms. What will be given here then are working definitions appropriate to the particular focus of this study. But, this qualification aside, there remains the intention to propose meanings that are sufficiently precise, yet also broad enough, to have potential usefulness for other similar analyses of mid-nineteenth-century society and culture.

To begin, the first term, "high", can be treated briefly, for its definition is fairly straightforward. Thus, unless otherwise qualified, further references to "high" culture are to be understood to denote the objects of fine art (especially, for purposes here, painting, sculpture and expensive limited-run prints), the aesthetic theories, canons of taste, traditions, general cultural knowledge and formal education that signalled and accrued to social and economic privilege.

A more complex definitional problem attaches to what is usually taken as the cultural opposite of "high"--that is, "popular". For, as historian and theorist Stuart Hall has

pointed out, the term has more than one possible meaning.¹⁸ It has, for example, become common in recent historiography to add a class dimension to "popular's" general dictionary sense of prevalent among, and approved by, the people. Adherents to E. P. Thompson's approach in particular are apt to equate "popular" with "working-class".¹⁹ This interchange is not only conceptually confusing but is also inimical to an adequately nuanced approach to the relationship of class and culture. A more flexible usage is clearly called for.

Consider first of all the period which this study initially examines: the years between 1790 and 1832, just before the appearance of the new pictorial magazines. For the understanding of people's experience at this time a broadly descriptive definition is most appropriate. Thus, "popular" may be defined in this context as the concept and word designating the culture and associated artifacts of, and available to, working people.²⁰ And, it need hardly be said, both this culture as a whole and its specific forms were distinct from the precious objects and exclusivist high culture of the more advantaged and powerful strata of society.

But this distinction between two fundamental cultural levels should not be hardened into a purely class-based concept of popular culture. For such a culture was only in part expressive of worker radicalism and cannot on that

ground be interpreted as an emergent class culture built wholly and exclusively on oppositional consciousness. In other words, in the period in question, popular culture was a varied and variable experience. This is not, however, to espouse a form of celebratory populism and overlook that popular culture in the broad sense used here must also be understood as part of a larger social configuration. For, to adopt Hall's view, such a culture was one site where the dynamic, uneven relationship between the people and the power-bloc was enacted.²¹ Thus, as we will see, popular culture between 1790 and 1832 was, like the transformed culture that followed, a means for the dissemination and reception of certain hegemonic social values variously expressed in both written and pictorial form.

When applied to the cultural history of the later period, from the 1830s to 1860, "popular" has continuing usefulness as a common-sense description of any generally accessible, widely shared interest or activity, or of the taste of a majority of ordinary people, or of the commercial success of particular cultural artifacts--most notably, the four previously-named, high-circulation pictorial magazines. But in trying to understand the new culture that grew up around these magazines, the term "popular" lacks sufficient conceptual and historical specificity. For, from 1832, with the publication and unprecedented sales of the Penny Magazine, popular cultural experience changed quickly and

decisively. And, in describing that change and its impact on people's lives and perceptions, the most pertinent term and concept is not "popular", but "mass".

Here too, though, we continue to encounter the problem of definition. It is a problem, moreover, that historians have generally neglected to confront directly; and much of the literature on periodicals, leisure, and entertainment tends toward the rather too free and ill-defined usage of the term "mass".²² This is understandable enough, since the concept in question is complex and ultimately eludes the niceties of any fixed quantitative or qualitative definition. What can therefore be offered here is an historically specific set of considerations that are to be understood whenever the term "mass" is subsequently employed.

Certainly, a central aspect of any mass phenomenon is the large number of people involved. But the designation of an exact minimum number that would necessarily constitute a mass would be a largely futile endeavour, for any such number would always be relative to time and place. For example, in mid-nineteenth-century England, with its population of twelve to thirteen million, a mass audience might arguably comprise significantly fewer people than would its present-day counterpart in a now heavily populated nation. What thus identifies the Penny Magazine and its successors as artifacts of a formative mass culture is not

just the size of the readership, but the fact that there was a contemporary awareness that these publications were indeed notable for and previously unequalled in their circulation figures.²³ What was also new about these figures was the fact that they were achieved regularly and sustained over a period of years. Certain earlier broadsides had also reached sales of up to half a million each, but these were isolated occurrences which were not duplicated with sufficient frequency or regularity to be described collectively as "mass culture".

As noted earlier, the emergence of such a culture also involved certain crucial technological advances. The introduction of steam-powered printing and related processes provided the level of mechanization necessary for the large-scale production of print and imagery. And bound in with this advancement was the growing sophistication of publishers who increasingly realized that culture was a marketable commodity and that technology could be used specifically for its widespread and profitable sale. But, despite this awareness on the part of its producers, the formative mass culture was not fully commercialized in the sense that the publishing industry was unequivocally profit-motivated or predominantly organized into limited companies. Rather, at mid-century most publishing houses operated as sole proprietorships or partnerships that had established their initial capital with personal funds, family money or

informal backing. In addition, many publishers not only saw themselves as businessmen, but also as humanitarians or reformers; thus they often involved themselves deeply in the editorial, as opposed to the strictly managerial, end of the business, in order to be all the more active in furthering their particular interest or cause. But if the mass-market publishing industry at mid-century was not as commercialized as it would later become, it was nonetheless sophisticated enough to employ new, profit enhancing technology and to use marketing strategies effective enough to achieve the unprecedented distribution which we have already noted.

However, the question of the degree to which an emerging mass culture was a commercialized culture is not at all the central issue of this study. For it is at the level of consumption rather than production that we find the most significant aspect of the new mass culture: that is, its social diversity. In other words, this culture was never exclusively an experience of working people, and for this reason "mass" must be understood to designate multiple social levels. Finally, also significantly, the concept of "mass" carries with it a historical perception of unprecedentedness. As later chapters will indicate, there was among both the producers and consumers of the emerging culture a shared consciousness that they were participating in a fundamental and far-reaching change in the structure of

knowledge and communication--a change that involved "the great mass of the population."²⁴

In sum, then, the interest here in differentiating the usage of "mass" and "popular" arises out of a concern for the periodization of the cultural history of the people. Put simply and briefly, there was before 1832 a non-elitist popular culture of the working population; after 1832 this gave way to a greatly enlarged cultural experience, some of which continued to be mainly of and for working people. But the central and greater part of this transformed and expanded culture was not just the domain of the working populace, but of an unprecedentedly numerous and socially diverse public--in other words, the mass. But, both before and after this transition, there was another level of cultural terrain. Reminding us that neither the old popular nor the new mass culture were manifestations of aesthetic or social democracy, there remained at mid-century, and remains today, the heartland of exclusivist privilege and power--high culture.

V

A study such as this must also deal with other problems besides definition. Occupied as it is with pictorial evidence, it requires techniques of analysis different from the ones usually applied to conventional written sources. Unfortunately the existing literature on popular illustration offers little in the way of guidelines for

addressing practical questions of methodology. This lack is not necessarily due to any qualitative failing in the literature; it is a reflection of the fact that studies of inexpensive printed imagery are relatively few in number. Moreover, the fairly substantial body of work on periodical publishing gives little or no attention to the pictorial content of the Penny Magazine, its three main successors, or other similar illustrated periodicals.²⁵ Meanwhile, conversely, other kinds of studies--surveys of the graphic arts or printed ephemera--occasionally reproduce or describe an illustration from one or another of these magazines but normally restrict their captioning or commentary to a minimum.²⁶ And while there are many such surveys of nineteenth-century popular imagery, there are only a handful of studies that have examined illustration in specific relation to any wider social or cultural context.²⁷

For general information, much of the above literature has been of great use here. But in developing a method for "reading" and understanding diverse imagery, work in other disciplines has provided more specific direction. The field of art history, for instance, is rich in techniques for analyzing the compositional and iconographic elements of illustration.²⁸ Often, though, the art historian's methods emphasize the image as a self-contained phenomenon, existing in the picture space and nowhere else. Such methods thus have limited application here where the concern is with

illustrations as historical "documents" whose meaning is at least partly derived from the society and culture that produced--or reproduced--them. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to art history's widespread formalism, and two of these have been influential for this study. John Berger's Ways of Seeing not only looks at the formal aspects of art, but considers too how the site of its display--gallery, livingroom, magazine, film or book--can subtly affect its intrinsic, independent meaning.²⁹

Berger's ideas derive directly from the thought of art and cultural theorist Walter Benjamin, whose seminal essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," argues that with reproduction an artwork loses its "aura". It becomes, that is, detached from its original place in time and space, and hence from its associated traditions, rituals and functions. In consequence of this loss of "aura", art's imagery becomes available for appropriation and may be used in conjunction with, and to reinforce, social and political interests having no necessary inherent relationship to the imagery's original meanings.³⁰

From the work of Berger and Benjamin, then, derives the overall critical stance of this study's approach to the printed image--a recognition that in illustration, especially perhaps the art reproduction, meanings may not be what they at first glance appear. But in taking this stance and investing it with a measure of analytical rigour, the

work of cultural critic and semiotician Roland Barthes has been the single most important influence.

Barthes' method of visual analysis is notable for its sensitivity to the multiple levels of significance potentially contained in any given reproduced image. Specifically, the meaning of an image comprises three kinds of message: the first is literal and consists of the actual shape, colours (if any), compositional placement and so on of the image within the pictorial space; the second message is linguistic and is conveyed through the accompanying title, caption and explanatory text. And lastly there is what Barthes refers to only as "the third message." This is cultural, or connoted, and takes in the literal and linguistic messages, their relationship to one another, and, most importantly, to a specific context. This context includes both the medium of reproduction--book or magazine, for example--and that medium's role or significance in a particular time and place.³¹ It is this third, cultural message that will be of greatest interest in chapters that follow. In theory, any printed image has this level of meaning; however, as will be demonstrated, it is particularly accessible in the art reproductions of the Penny Magazine, and in certain other kinds of illustration in its three successors.

But despite the methodological underpinning of Barthes' work, a substantial interpretive element still attaches to

the use of printed images as historical documents. This, though, is not wholly problematic, for interpretive approaches are not necessarily at odds with other methods--including quantitative ones.³² Moreover, as some would argue, qualitative literary, stylistic and semiotic modes of analysis may be better suited to understanding complex communications than the more, so-called, "rigorous" approaches.³³ This argument perhaps applies even more to visual than to verbal communications. But even so, as a check against unnecessarily impressionistic interpretations of the former, this study will use substantiating written evidence wherever possible. In other words, both implicitly and explicitly, there will be a concern throughout to examine imagery as part of a picture-text relationship and to avoid at all times the "reading-in" of any meaning that is not plainly depicted and/or conveyed through the accompanying text.

This study will also draw upon the evidence of such conventional sources as newspapers, parliamentary reports and unpublished archival material. Of the latter there is a sufficient amount pertaining to the Penny Magazine. For its three successors, however, there are no surviving archives. In these cases, then, arguments and analyses have to be pieced together from internal evidence in the magazines themselves, early histories of individuals, societies and publishing houses, the memoirs of printers and publishers,

contemporary commentary in periodicals, and a few letters scattered amongst the papers of others not directly involved in the publishing industry.

But, as noted above, the object here is also to describe the role of working people in the creation of a formative mass culture. For this purpose the major sources are workers' autobiographies. And these too present problems. First, as numerous historians have remarked, the autobiographers, by the very fact of having written a book, were not typical working people.³⁴ Although this is a legitimate reservation which must be taken into account when using these sources, it is a lesser concern than the matter of autobiographical reticence in a number of areas. That is, literary conventions and the dictates of editors and publishers together determined what was "appropriate" to an autobiography and undoubtedly limited the scope of reminiscences.³⁵ And, apparently, among those subjects generally deemed inappropriate was the place of imagery in working-class life. Nonetheless a few autobiographers did comment directly, if briefly, on this theme, and one even went so far as to admit that he "hated all books but those of pictures."³⁶ But on the whole, out of a sampling of some fifty autobiographies, most did not express their response to imagery, their pictorial taste, and the uses to which they put printed illustration. Occasionally, of course, such reticence functions as negative evidence and allows

some inference to be drawn. More often than not, though, speculation one way or another has little basis in evidence, negative or otherwise, and for this reason will be avoided as much as possible. Nevertheless, it seems clear that culture emanates from both producers and consumers; and if the role of the latter is to be adequately recognized, then available evidence, however fragmentary, must be used. The alternative is historiographical silence.

VI

Finally, before the summarizing of chapters to come, it is necessary ^{to} comment briefly on the geographical scope and chronology of this study. First, as is no doubt already apparent, what follows concentrates wholly on England. However, it is possible that much of what will be said here could have wider application, since all four of the pivotal magazines circulated in Scotland, Wales and Ireland, as well as England.

Turning now to the matter of chronology, we should recognize that, as with most historiographical periodization, there is a degree of arbitrariness in the 1790 to 1860 dating range. That is, what will be said about the period from 1790 to 1832 is in many instances applicable to the 1780s and sometimes a decade or so earlier. The same qualification holds for the latter part of this study's period. Thus, at least some of the cultural conditions that characterized the years between 1832 and 1860 continued to

prevail for perhaps another twenty years. But despite this inevitable imprecision at its extreme ends, the dating range used here has a demonstrable historical basis. That is, by 1855 the London Journal, Reynolds's Miscellany and Cassell's Paper had achieved peak circulations of 450,000, 250,000 and 200,000, respectively, and five years later were still maintaining a similarly high level of regular sales. This five-year period has proven to be both a sufficient indicator of commercial success and enough time for related cultural effects to be apparent. At the other end of our period, the date of 1790 closely coincides with the earliest memory of the majority of autobiographers and, additionally, preceeded the onset of mass culture by about thirty years--a length of time both manageable and sufficient to reveal the fundamental character of an older popular experience just before its transformation and expansion.

It is this earlier popular culture--in particular, its expression through printed imagery--that will be the subject of the next chapter. Using both written and pictorial sources, it will survey the artifacts, group experiences and individual responses associated with popular printed illustration in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It will further attempt to locate this print-centred pictorial culture--or, perhaps more accurately, sub-culture--within the larger cultural experience that

typically characterized working people's lives between 1790 and 1832.

Chapter 3 will begin at the latter date, the year in which the Penny Magazine began publication. This was possibly the earliest and, certainly, one of the most crucial artifacts of the formative mass culture; and, in its sophisticated use of art reproduction, this magazine brought about a previously unknown level of coincidence between high culture and common experience. The chapter will consider the magazine's content, underlying social and educational motives, and cultural effect. It will attempt to refute the widely-held view that the Penny Magazine was no more than a heavy-handed, ultimately unsuccessful, venture into social control.

Chapters 4 and 5 will examine the operation and illustration of the second generation of pictorial magazines--the London Journal, Reynolds' Miscellany and Cassell's Paper. Chapter 4 considers the proprietors, their businesses, and the new kinds of imagery that characterized the magazines. Chapter 5 will take a closer look at the respective contents of these magazines, focusing especially on the promotion of certain social and cultural values. There will also be a concern to show the ways in which high culture and common experience began to diverge--the former retreating in the direction of its traditional exclusivism.

The remaining two chapters will elaborate the themes and arguments of previous discussion. Chapter 6 will use autobiographies, editorial correspondence and other diverse sources to assess the nature of the readership of the four focal magazines. It will concentrate on two, partially overlapping, sectors of this readership: workers and women. Chapter 7 will draw upon a wider range of evidence--from penny fiction, pictorial broadsides, trade union memorabilia, and political imagery--in order to clarify the interrelationship of a transformed popular culture, an emerging mass culture, older cultural forms, working people's taste and a developing working-class consciousness. The conclusion following this chapter will continue this theme with certain related speculations: the closing suggestion will be that the four magazines examined here were not only the first mass-disseminators of a new kind of printed image; in their use of advanced technology, increasing diffuseness of imagery, and social and cultural impact, they were the immediate forerunners of the modern mass media.

But before there was a mass media, or a formative mass culture, or even any inexpensive illustrated magazines, there was an older culture of the English worker; and within this, the printed imagery that stood at the centre of common pictorial experience. What follows next is an attempt to

reconstruct some of that experience--and revive that imagery.

CHAPTER 2

The Printed Image in Transition:
Popular Culture and Illustration,
1790-1832

Among the contemporary scenes illustrated in an 1808 survey of London life and monuments was the annual Royal Academy exhibition of oil paintings.¹ Beneath the high ceilings and large windows of Somerset House exhibition room, historical and mythological subjects, animal and genre paintings, landscape and portraiture congested the walls (plate 1). The stylish crowd of viewers posed, preened, strolled and conversed. Few gave more than passing attention to the art. They had little need to do so, for such imagery was a commonplace in their lives.

The same London survey also illustrated a different kind of contemporary visual experience. Just a few streets away from the exhibition, in a room of less generous proportion and lighting, another group was assembled. Variousy absorbed in needle-work, slop-work, winding candle-wicks and picking horse-hair, the room's occupants,

like the art devotees at Somerset House, took scant notice of their surroundings. And they too had little need to do so. In the workhouse of the parish of St. James the walls were completely bare (plate 2).

Between these extremes of aesthetic abundance and visual deprivation lay the experience of the majority of English working people. Those who managed to subsist outside the confines of the prison, asylum and workhouse were not entirely without the stimulus of imagery. Nature, architecture, public monuments and commercial signs were all sources of colour, line and form.² And so too were the ornamented stages of travelling puppet shows, the painted posters of fairs and circuses, and the scenes of murder and execution that drew crowds to itinerant peep shows.³

But the imagery that was part of the environment, or an aspect of entertainment, was not specifically intended to provide working people with either instruction or aesthetic experience. Fairs and shows, moreover, were only occasional, often fortuitous events; and the more constant sights of daily surroundings must, with familiarity, have lost much of their power to stimulate the eye and arouse the intellect. Thus, if most workers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries managed to escape the bleakness of the institution, theirs was still by no means the consistently rich and varied experience of imagery that was taken for granted by Somerset House visitors and others

equally privileged. And at that time it was the rare worker, if any at all, who had seen an original work of fine art in a gallery or museum.

Between 1790 and 1832, then, it was not the establishments of high culture, nor the physical environment, nor even popular entertainment that provided English workers with their most sustained source of aesthetic experience, visual information and pictorial amusement. Rather, such stimulus came primarily from the imagery dispensed through the medium of print. In the late eighteenth century Thomas Bewick's popularization of the process of wood-engraving, together with early nineteenth-century advances in mechanized printing, made illustration increasingly available to a widening public.⁴ And without doubt that public included working people.

But it should be emphasized that until 1832 it was the middle strata of society that primarily benefited from the burgeoning of pictorial publishing.⁵ Economic limitations excluded the majority of workers from all but participation on the fringes of the growing trade in illustration. In a time when a working man's weekly income might be as low as six shillings, to own a picture book or single print was an uncommon luxury that no worker so advantaged took for granted.⁶ As the Lancashire weaver and Peterloo activist Samuel Bamford remembered, more prosperous workers might after assiduous hoarding take "every farthing [they] could

scrape together" and purchase the occasional broadside or chapbook--which for one or two pennies might include a single small woodcut at its head.⁷

Those whose income or frugality were insufficient for such purchases gained access to the printed image from a variety of alternative sources. Coffee houses contained printed matter, some of it pictorial; many charity and Sunday schools supplied picture books and other illustrated material for use in the classroom, or to be awarded as prizes for diligence; and it was not unknown for sympathetic booksellers to grant borrowing privileges to the trustworthy.⁸ From time to time workers in the larger towns and cities must have paused to gaze at the many fine engravings and other pictorial material arrayed in print-shop windows. Certainly they had greater opportunity to do so than their rural counterparts. Thus, although the generality of workers had extremely limited experience of original works of painting and sculpture, at least the urban dwellers among them could on occasion study the art reproductions and other good-quality prints on display in many a shop window. However, regardless of where a worker lived, at an average cost of two shillings and sixpence each, the printseller's wares were beyond the means of even the relatively well-off artisan.⁹

The comparatively restricted access to pictorial material in rural centres and, regardless of locale, its

high cost could not repress people's widespread interest in the printed image. As we will shortly see, workers of all kinds and from diverse environments sought to incorporate this form of pictorial experience into their daily lives. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the printed imagery most characteristic of the experience of working people. It will consider the relationship of this imagery to the wider popular culture of the period and describe the English worker's role in the creation of an emergent market for a new kind of popular illustration.

I

The printed imagery that came the way of workers through saving and purchase, charity or chance was closely bound in with other aspects of their cultural experience. In his Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, Hugh Cunningham has argued convincingly that this experience comprised three cultures. There was first of all a predominant popular culture of entertainment characterized by a "live-and-let-live hedonism." In opposition to this culture were two others: a religious culture centred around Methodism, but taking in Anglican Evangelicalism; and a culture of secular radicalism which combined the politics of protest with the creed of self-improvement.¹⁰

With certain qualifications to be discussed later, the printed imagery most common in the everyday life of the people conforms to Cunningham's descriptive model. But one

reservation must be expressed immediately: this model does not distinguish between the experience of urban and rural workers, for Cunningham questions the explanatory value of such a distinction.¹¹ However, as we have already seen, in the case of the printed image and the opportunities for seeing it, the distinction needs to be made. Even so, Cunningham's idea about the geographical uniformity of people's overall cultural experience still has some application here. For, whether they occurred often or rarely, many of the general ways in which workers might potentially encounter imagery was not geographically differentiated. This will become more apparent as we progress with our survey. And, as we have already observed, whether they lived on farms, in villages towns or cities, most workers could not afford the price required to own any illustrative material other than the odd penny print or picture book. So, in sum, it seems that while we must acknowledge the local divergency of some common kinds of pictorial experience, we must equally remember that this did not negate a more general cultural coherence, much of it manifested through the printed image.

In both country and city, then, but with varying frequency, working people saw printed images, usually woodcuts, providing diverse kinds and levels of entertainment. The walls and windows of inns, shops and other premises were a source of information and at least

occasional pictorial diversion. As print replaced the bellmen, advertising bills and cards became an increasingly common sight in village, town and city (plates 3 and 4). Before the mid- to late 1830s the majority of printed wall advertisements were not illustrated, or included only the odd asterisk or pointing finger for emphasis. Nonetheless the pictorial bill was not entirely unknown, and many working people would have been familiar with such stock images as the horses and riders commonly used to illustrate race bills. One typical example, an 1829 advertisement for the Yarmouth races, presented viewers with a tiny cut of two jockeys and their mounts in a neck-and-neck race; the well-detailed composition also incorporated a flagman and two cheering spectators. Another fairly common sight must have been the stock-cuts of acrobats and tightrope walkers, frequently reproduced on announcements of coming circuses, fairs and theatrical events like "Monsieur Longuemare . . . on the TIGHT ROPE" at Davis' Ampitheatre near Westminster Bridge, April 28, 1823.¹² Trade cards, usually displayed in shop windows, were illustrated more often than posted bills and encompassed a range of subject matter. Among the many images that passers-by might view were Chinese merchants drinking tea, Turks imbibing coffee, and Englishmen enjoying pipe tobacco; elsewhere, meanwhile, cupids, goddesses, flowers, scrolls and acanthus helped to promote such products as Fashionable Linen Drapery and Cheap Hats; or

such enterprises as Richard Warren, Perfumer; Graham, Printer at Alnwick; and J. Garnett, Chemist, Druggist, &c.¹³

The interior walls of many public houses were also a source of printed imagery. To some patrons, perhaps, these woodcuts and engravings were bland entertainment when compared to the pleasures of the main attraction of such establishments. But at least one working man, a London ribbon-weaver, was sufficiently impressed to recall the "framed engravings of naval battles hung round the walls" of a "respectable" Clerkenwell public house in 1824. More than their subject matter, however, it was the general character of these prints that struck him. For they, like the rest of the interior, were "neat and sober" and thus harmonized with the clientele whose number included "carpenters, bricklayers and labourers."¹⁴

But these and other offerings of walls and windows provided imagery of secondary importance in the lives of most workers. More central to their experience of printed pictorial entertainment were the woodcut illustrations of the broadside and chapbook.¹⁵ Sold by printers, booksellers, chapmen at fairs, and street vendors (plate 5), both kinds of publication had wide distribution. A broadside--that is, a single sheet with a poem, song, story and perhaps one woodcut--cost a whole or halfpenny, while a chapbook--a miniature, usually soft-cover storybook of a dozen or so pages--sold for slightly more at one to

threepence. Those unable to afford such prices might patronize one of the coffee houses or pubs where the latest broadsides were pasted on the walls or passed from hand to hand. It was also not uncommon for workers to pool resources and share a penny ballad or book between two families.¹⁶ And, at no cost whatever, the shop window of town and city was a constant means of viewing at least some of this material and taking in the pictorial entertainment it afforded. Bamford recalled a Manchester bookshop "kept by one Swindells, a printer" and described what must have been a fairly typical display of illustrated wares:

In the spacious windows of this shop . . . were exhibited numerous songs, ballads, tales and other publications with horrid and awful-looking woodcuts at the head; which publications, with their cuts, had a strong command on my attention.¹⁷

The subject matter of the displays that so attracted Bamford and others revolved around a few constant main themes: real or fictitious scandals, often humourously treated; love, sex and marriage; illness, misfortune and death; crime and punishment. The broadsides in particular repeated endless variations of these themes in both ballad and prose forms. As the nineteenth-century collector and compiler of Curiosities of Street Literature, Charles Hindley, pointed out, the stock-in-trade of such publishers of popular entertainment as James Catnach and John Pitts was "doubtful scandals, 'cooked' assassinations, sudden deaths of eminent individuals, apocryphal elopements, real or

catch-penny accounts of murders, impossible robberies, delusive suicides, dark deeds and public executions."¹⁸

These subjects and themes were commonly, though not invariably, illustrated and, as much as the publishers' stock of cuts allowed, the imagery corresponded to the texts. Where they existed, such correspondences tended to be rather loose and generalized, while the use of fairly standardized stock imagery meant that the chosen illustrations were often only pallid reflections of the textual accounts. This was most true in the case of broadsides dealing with sex and love. For example, extravagant and often highly suggestive passages on illicit passion, heart-rending longings, and cold-blooded betrayal frequently had as their visual accompaniment such innocuous images as prim-looking, not overly attractive young women or, alternatively, sedate and heavily-garbed couples strolling chastely through the countryside.¹⁹ Sometimes the choices were not so much bland as surprising. In one such instance a ballad entitled "The Constant Lovers" was illustrated with the image of a well-nourished duck, captured in print at some point before the ballad's conclusion determined his and the happier fate of the protagonists: "So the constant lovers got married, and had an excellent fat duck for dinner."²⁰

In contrast, illustrations of crime and punishment were both to the point and not without emotive force. In the

starkness of their style and the finality of their content, stock images of the gallows must have aroused at least a small frisson of pleasurable dread in many viewers (plate 6).²¹ Similarly, scenes such as that reproduced in plate 7 were surely graphic enough to satisfy all but the most blood-thirsty of pictorial tastes. And probably the majority of viewers cared little that the text described a knifing while the picture showed murder by strangulation--the level of violence portrayed was after all true to the spirit of its description.

The working people who wrote about their lives and tastes remained remarkably silent on the subject of broadsides, feeling perhaps that reminiscences of such entertainment would not have been in keeping with the self-consciously literary and hortatory tone that characterized many of their autobiographies. However, the commercial success of broadsides in general and the wide circulation of certain specific examples are together a strong indication that the publishers of such material reached their targeted audience. The large print runs and frequent re-issuing of certain categories of broadsides further suggest that among the most profitable and popular were those treating love and courtship. And rivalling these were the almanack sheets with their small traditional images of the labours of the months and their "Wonderful Predictions and Remarkable Prophecies" for the coming year.²²

But above all it was the murder and execution broadsides that had the most notably large following. Catnach's 1832 account of the execution of the murderer John Thurtell sold 500,000 copies, while two later Catnach broadsides--the "last Dying Speech and Confession of William Corder, Murderer of Maria Marten" (1828) and "John Holloway, the Brighton Wife Murderer" (1831)--had respective sales of 1,166,000 and 500,000 copies.²³ On these and other similar broadsides bold headlines and such typical catchwords and phrases as "Dreadful, HORRIBLE, Cruel and Inhuman, SHOCKING RAPE AND MURDER, and HORRID MURDER!" not only promoted sales: they also enhanced the purported "Likeness of the Murderer" whose benign-looking stock countenance might otherwise have been mistaken for an ordinarily mild and law-abiding individual (plate 8).

It is possible that workers saved these images of murder and its punishment and used them to relieve the bareness of their walls. An engraved illustration dating to around 1837, and showing the interior of a working family's home, may be indicative of the household embellishment of a few years earlier. On the wall over the mantle is a broadside image of the murderer Greenacre and, above it, a stock gallows scene.²⁴ This was not as grisly a mode of interior decoration as it might today seem. For the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century lore relating to dream interpretation and fortune-telling deemed the image of the

gallows to be "a most fortunate omen", the indicator of coming riches and "great honours." And, in a similar happy vein, murder was paradoxically "a sign of long life", while "to imagine you see a murderer" meant "good news" on the way.²⁵ But, perhaps, in a world where pictures were often expensive and difficult to come by, it was simply the appeal of any wall decoration, rather than a specific image, that most mattered.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, at least some workers' must have been able to exercise a greater amount of choice in imagery for their homes. In the cities, street vendors who pinned their wares to open umbrellas offered penny prints, usually purchased from waste paper dealers. And both Hindley and the publisher Charles Knight recalled the old broadside-style pictures, sometimes red- or blue-tinted, which workers purchased cheaply from itinerant pedlars at markets and fairs.²⁶ According to Hindley, the subjects of these prints were standard genre scenes such as "The Curate Going Out on Duty", "The Countryman in London" and "Troubled with Gout". Other scenes--"Love in a Village" and "Out of Place and Unpensioned"--touched more closely on the workers' lived experience and perhaps for that reason may have been more popular. But there is no direct evidence one way or another: on this point too the autobiographers remained mute.

They were somewhat more forthcoming about their preferences in chapbook tales and images. And this is fortunate, for beyond the fact that many chapbooks circulated in the thousands in the eighteenth century, no figures have emerged to show comparative sales and relative popularity. From readers' and others' accounts, it seems that the most widely circulated chapbooks included Nixon's Prophecies, Mother Shipton's Legacy and other guides to the future; traditional romances such as Guy of Warwick; and the stories and pictures of fairies, giants and fabulous exploits found in works like Mother Bunche's Fairy Tales.²⁷ Once again Bamford is the most articulate source. Among the chapbook stories and images that drew him to Swindell's shop window were Jack the Giant Killer, Saint George and the Dragon, Jack and the Beanstalk, The Seven Champions of Christendom, Fair Rosamund, The Witches of the Woodlands, and "such like romances." A one-time Yarrow serving-girl, Janet Bathgate, indicated a similar taste, echoing Bamford's mention of Jack and the Beanstalk and adding Robinson Crusoe to his selection.²⁸

Among younger readers at least, the latter title was perhaps the best loved of all. One worker reminiscence after another makes approving reference to this story of high adventure, faith and self-reliance. Chartist shoemaker Thomas Cooper, for example, remembered it as one of his favourite works--placing it, moreover, near the top of a

list in which he included such other prized classics as the Arabian Nights, Shakespeare's plays, Paradise Lost, and Byron's "Childe Harold".²⁹ Illustrations undoubtedly added to the story's appeal, and many inexpensive editions had at least one or two; plate 9 shows a typical example dating to about 1820. The following incident, recounted by the son of the Cornish miner and poet, John Harris, is a touching indication of the value attached to even a modest, single-image version of Defoe's tale:

His father to show appreciation of his progress, presented John with a penny abridgment of 'Robinson Crusoe' with a pictorial frontispiece. Except the school primer, this was the first book which he could call his own and it was carried to his bedroom every night.³⁰

Like the broadside publishers, those who printed and sold chapbooks--some, such as Catnach, handling both kinds of publication--kept a stock of images to be used and re-used. As a nineteenth-century compilation of Banbury chapbooks illustrates, there were groups of stories--for instance, Jack and the Giants, Tom Thumb and Tom, Tom the Piper's Son--each with episodes similar enough to allow publishers to interchange the same set of engraved blocks among two or more illustrated chapbooks.³¹ Re-used or otherwise, much of the imagery of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century chapbooks differed from that of the broadsides in its generally higher level of stylistic sophistication. This distinction owed to the more frequent

use in chapbooks of wood-engravings rather than woodcuts, the former technique enabling the engraver to introduce finer lines and greater detail. Publishers like Catnach and Thomas Saint of Newcastle augmented their stock of cuts with engravings commissioned from the young Bewick and, later, some of his pupils.³² The charm of the Bewick images is apparent; but even those cuts which seem crude by comparison often show a certain vitality, and on occasion they too must have enhanced the popular appeal of the chapbook literature.

II

The illustrated chapbook was also integral to the second kind of popular experience that Cunningham has identified: the culture of religion. The Pilgrims, an Allegory (plate 10), The History of Joseph and his Brethren, Daniel in the Den of Lions, General Resurrection, The History of Joseph of Arimathea, and the much-loved Foxe's Martyrs are just a few of the many works that were sold and distributed in the 1790s and early 1800s under the auspices of organizations such as the Church of England's Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), the Evangelical Religious Tract Society, and Hannah More's Cheap Repository of Moral and Religious Tracts.³³ The Repository in particular was adept at conveying its messages in entertaining form, using to advantage the brisk narrative, lively images and intriguing titles that typified chapbooks designed more purely for amusement. More and her associates

marshalled--among others--The Lancashire Collier Girl, Tom White, the Postillion, Two Soldiers, Betty Brown, the Orange Girl, Sorrowful Sam, and Sinful Sally in a concerted attack on the perceived vulgarity, licentiousness, profanity and indecency of the secular broadsides and chapbooks.³⁴

Among the Repository's front-line literary and pictorial arsenal was the story of the Two Shoemakers.³⁵ Representative of many other similar works, the Shoemakers sold in penny-parts, each with a dozen or so pages and an illustration at the head. The image shown in plate 11 introduced the first part and encapsulated the plot as a whole, a variation on a common contemporary theme: the behaviours, rewards and punishments associated with industry and idleness. At the centre-left of the picture sits James Stock, hard at work on an item of footwear. The product of a thrifty, church-going family, he presented the viewer with a clear instance of "upbringing tells." No less was true of his fellow apprentice, "idle Jack Brown." The text unequivocally intended the reader to make a causal connection between Jack's irreligious family background and his uncompromisingly prone and unoccupied image at the bottom right of the illustration. The eventual fates of the two young men are also consistent with their contrasting pictorial representation. The ever-diligent James worked and saved, halfpence by halfpence, "without spending a single farthing on his own diversions", and "became a

Creditable Tradesman." Jack, on the other hand, proceeded inevitably from idleness into profligacy and crime, and ended his career in prison.

In recounting their literary preferences the autobiographers remark little, if at all, upon Repository publications or the comparable efforts of other religious organizations. This lends credence to the opinion of some scholars that the middle classes were the principal consumers of religious tracts.³⁶ Weighing against this view is the impressively wide circulation of tract literature: SPCK publications numbered 1,500,000 in 1827; the Religious Tract Society printed 314,000 tracts in 1804; and by March of 1796 the Cheap Repository had achieved a total sales and distribution of two million.³⁷ Frequently given out at no charge, religious reading material presumably reached a significant number of workers' households. And while texts might often have remained unread, their less demanding illustrations must have attracted at least passing attention and thus have become part of popular experience of the printed image.

There is less uncertainty about the appeal of one central publication of the Religious Tract Society. Sold in penny-parts, charitably distributed, or awarded as Sunday school prizes, inexpensive abridged versions of Pilgrim's Progress almost invariably figured among even the most meager of household libraries. Among others, Janet Bathgate

and a Kent shoemaker, William Burch, recall copies in their family homes.³⁸ Neither mentioned imagery; but most of the chapbook editions had at least one woodcut or engraving, and Bathgate's and Burch's copies were probably not unlike the examples in plates 12 and 13. The former shows a typical scene from a late eighteenth-century version, and the other reproduces the pictorial title page of a Tract Society edition of about 1815. As we have rather come to expect, on the subject of popular reading and illustration it is again Bamford whose memory is most vivid. Recollecting his early impressions of Bunyan's allegory, he wrote:

The first book which attracted my particular notice was 'The Pilgrim's Progress' with rude woodcuts; it excited my curiosity in an extraordinary degree. There was 'Christian knocking at the strait gate,' his 'fight with Apollyon,' his 'passing near the lions,' his 'escape from Giant Despair,' his 'perils at Vanity Fair,' his arrival in the 'land of Beulah,' and his final passage to 'Eternal Rest'; all these were matters for the exercise of my feeling and my imagination.³⁹

In the 1790s and first thirty years of the nineteenth century the chapbook-style tract appears to have been the religious organizations' main vehicle for disseminating imagery. But during this time several societies and individuals began to expand their efforts to include the publication of periodical literature, some of which was illustrated.⁴⁰ The Tract Society, for example, entered the field in 1824 and, with characteristic munificence, produced 339,000 copies of The Child's Companion; or, Sunday

Scholar's Reward and 206,000 numbers of an adult version, The Tract Magazine; or, Christian Miscellany.⁴¹ The pictures and texts of these magazines were consistent with the Society's wish to counteract the "mass of evil literature" of a secular nature. In the first issue of the Child's Companion (January 1824), the illustration and its accompanying text portrayed two earnest and--considering the intended audience--inappropriately well-dressed boys on their way to Sunday school, to celebrate in exemplary fashion "THE FIRST SABBATH OF THE YEAR." The initial and concurrent number of the Tract Magazine illustrated a "poor man's" family engaged in home Bible study--a central activity, presumably, in the text's programme for "a new year of redemption."

There was a measure of realism in the Tract Magazine's introductory image. As many of the autobiographers indicated, few households lacked a Bible.⁴² But if Bibles were a commonplace, illustrated versions were not. In the period considered here only a very few inexpensive editions contained cuts or engravings.⁴³ Moreover, the great majority of autobiographers who referred to a family Bible made no mention of pictures. From the only two to do so--Cooper and the Colchester tailor Thomas Carter--we can infer that ownership of, or even access to, an illustrated Bible was rare enough to merit retrospective notice. Carter recalled with some fondness the generosity of a shopkeeper

who allowed him to browse through a Bible "crowded with engravings, which were called embellishments." And for Cooper and his family it was an apparent source of great pride that his father had managed to purchase an engraved Bible. He remembered how "on rainy Sundays" his mother would unwrap this "treasure" from "its careful cover"; and then the young Carter, feeling "privileged", would "gaze and admire while she slowly turned over that superb store of pictures."⁴⁴ These fragments of evidence are only suggestive. But, in combination with what is known of publishing history in general, it seems that working people had little experience of pictorial Bibles until the late 1830s, when publishers like Charles Knight made them affordable to a wider public.

The role of Methodism in the dissemination and popularization of religious imagery of all kinds should not be overlooked. As part of its general philosophy of encouraging learning, the sect not only produced its own pamphlet and periodical literature--some of it illustrated--but also distributed at small cost several publications of other organizations: for example, the kind of chapbook-style tracts discussed above.⁴⁵ Methodism, moreover, was a major impetus behind the rapid growth of Sunday schools in the early nineteenth century--and these in turn were one of the most important and constant sources of popular religious imagery.⁴⁶

At the core of the Sunday schools' curricula, whether Methodist, Dissenting or Church of England, was the illustrated Scripture lesson. The SPCK, for example, had been distributing pictorial lesson books to schools since 1705. More popular among the Chapel-affiliated schools were the two series of Old and New Testament prints which the energetic Evangelical Mrs. Sarah Trimmer had "Designed to Illustrate Scripture Lessons." The image of the animals entering Noah's ark (plate 14) is typical of the two series' 130 or so illustrations, whose number included representations of Adam and Eve in the garden, David and Goliath, the birth of Christ, the raising of Lazarus, and many more scenes.⁴⁷

On occasion, pictorial chapbook editions of Pilgrim's Progress may also have assisted in the teaching and learning of Scriptures. To prompt teachers, the title page of the Tract Society's abridgment incorporated the following pedagogical suggestion: "N.B. It is recommended to the Teachers in Sunday Schools to direct the Children to find the texts referred to in this work, and to repeat them when convenient" (see plate 13). The libraries of the various Sunday schools might also have included Cheap Repository stories and magazines like the Child's Companion. And, nearly always, among their store of literature were the little books, many of them illustrated, which rewarded the conscientious and, perhaps, inspired many others. Among the

more frequently awarded prizes were Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Milton's Paradise Lost and Bunyan's unfailingly popular Pilgrim's Progress.

The Sunday schools and religious organizations were the major, but not exclusive, disseminators of popular religious imagery. In addition to their other output, publishers such as Catnach and Pitts produced chapbook editions of saleable works like Foxe's Martyrs and Pilgrim's Progress. They also printed religious broadsides; and, as one early nineteenth-century example illustrating the Nativity suggests, trade was particularly brisk at Christmastime.⁴⁸ The iconography of Christmas was not however the only subject matter of the religious broadside. Illustrations of Old Testament stories, martyrdoms, the Crucifixion, Christ in Majesty, and the Day of Judgement were all common.⁴⁹ From time to time these images were also part of the scenery of the street and advertised the messages of such self-appointed itinerant preachers as Joseph Hill, "the Bell-Ringer" (plate 15)--a religious enthusiast whose vigorous peals matched the evangelical fervor with which he expounded a text.⁵⁰ The general popularity and influence of the kind of broadside that inspired Hill and, presumably, other less eccentric believers, cannot be determined. The autobiographies have yielded no pertinent references, and circulation figures, if they were ever recorded, have not survived.

III

A similar lack of evidence dogs the analysis of pictorial artifacts of the third significant type of contemporary popular experience, the culture of radicalism. What follows, then, is necessarily a brief description of typical examples which are now for the most part detached from whatever lived experience they once represented.

In the 1790s and early 1800s the political concerns of radicalism found printed expression in broadsides, posted bills, pamphlets, and newspapers like the Black Dwarf and Cobbett's Political Register; meanwhile, the culture's central preoccupation with self-help and improvement similarly manifested itself in the diverse educational literature, posters, pamphlets and circulars of working-men's libraries, mechanics' institutes and other such organizations.⁵¹ Of this material only a small proportion of what survives is illustrated. And, because of its cost, much of this was inaccessible to working people except through shop windows or circulation in pubs, coffee houses and, perhaps, mechanics' institutes and similar establishments. This was the case with satirical cartoons by artists such as Gillray and Cruikshank.⁵²

It was likely also true of what was the most widely circulated of all illustrated political literature: the pamphlets published by William Hone between 1819 and 1820--for example, The Man in the Moon, The Political "A, Apple Pie;" . . . for the Instruction and Amusement of the Rising

Generation, The Real or Constitutional House that Jack Built, and The Political House that Jack Built (plates 16 and 17).⁵³ Of these the latter publication, a protest against the "gagging" effect of the 1819 Newspaper Stamp Act, had the highest cumulative circulation: 100,000 by 1822. Bamford and Cooper recalled having read Hone's publications but do not refer specifically to Political House.⁵⁴ This is not particularly surprising since, like other Hone pamphlets, a standard edition cost one shilling, while a deluxe edition with coloured illustrations sold for three shillings--both prices well out of reach for all but the most prosperous of artisans. Other working people who might have managed to acquire a copy of a Hone pamphlet presumably did so through the philanthropy of well-off reformers who distributed political literature purchased in batches at a reduced price. For most, however, the pubs and other establishments mentioned above must have provided their only glimpses of Hone's images of political protest.

A few pamphlets, less lavishly produced with perhaps only a single illustration on the cover or title page, might have been within the means of a slightly larger group. Threepence, for example, could buy Richard Carlile's Life and History of Swing, the Kent Rick-Burner, "Written by Himself" in 1830. This price included a cover graphically illustrated with the image of a grossly bloated landowner,

looming on horseback above a ragged labourer, his dying wife and their five weeping children.⁵⁵

For the majority, the broadside, rather than the pamphlet, remained the most affordable source of political illustration. Typical of surviving examples from this period are those that celebrated the reform of the rotten borough system, commemorated the Cato-Street conspiracy and "the blood-stained crew at Peterloo", or commented pictorially on social and constitutional inequities. In an 1829 broadside of the latter type from the Catnach press, fifteen small cuts, arranged somewhat like a modern comic strip, depict various political figures in the guise of stagecoach drivers; they variously simmer, scowl, leer or posture arrogantly; several clutch whips or riding crops. A final cut shows "John Bull, broke down"--bent over with the weight of a sackful of taxation and other burdens, he remarks: "These fellows drive me hard. I must carry less baggage."⁵⁶ Although Catnach's trade in broadsides of this sort was an ongoing aspect of his business, such material was only a small part of his total publications. It is suggestive that out of the 735 titles in his 1832 catalogue of ballad sheets, only seventeen are even remotely indicative of radical content. And of these less than half imply any clear element of protest.⁵⁷

Catnach's comparatively modest output of specifically political ballads was a businesslike response to what seems

to have been the proportionate lack of market demand for such material. The cumulative evidence of the autobiographies is that work and the pursuit of general knowledge took precedence over oppositional political activity and interests. However, in the period considered here, the overwhelming concern for improved working conditions and educational opportunity was not well-reflected in the pictorial material then available. Some early union certificates and trade society membership cards were engraved with coats of arms or similar emblematic representations. But there are very few known examples dating before 1840 and the autobiographies say nothing about such imagery.⁵⁸ Illustration associated with self-instruction seems to have been particularly scant at this time. Among the autobiographers only Cooper recollected encountering printed imagery of a broadly educational sort. In the small library of his hometown, Gainsborough, he studied "Stanley's 'History of Philosophers,' and its large full-length portraits, [and] Ogilvy's 'Embassies to Japan and China,' with their large curious engravings."⁵⁹ Cooper's experience does indeed seem to have been unusual, for as late as the 1840s many working men's institutes and libraries keenly felt the lack of both illustrated books and pictorial decoration for their walls.⁶⁰ Before 1832 this need would have been even more acute, and those who

practiced the creed of self-help must have done so largely without the benefit of pictures.

Children from working homes fared slightly better than their elders. By the early 1800s most workers managed to send their children to charity or Sunday schools for a year or two of primary education. And in most of these schools the classroom walls had at least some form of rudimentary decoration such as printed pictorial maps, an engraved portrait or two, or a set of alphabet pictures. In his fictionalized autobiography of "an intelligent artisan" Thomas Wright (the "Journeyman Engineer") included the description of an infant-school classroom that presumably bore some resemblance to the actual appearance of many such premises: " . . . the school-roomly appearance of the apartment was completed, and the business of its walls relieved by a number of alphabetical and other cards, and cheap coloured prints of Scriptural subjects being hung round the room." The autobiography of a Southwark working man also contains a description of a classroom. James Bonwick remembered that on the walls of the Borough Road schoolroom in the 1820s there hung Scripture maps for learning Biblical geography and, in a prominent position, "the portrait of George III, with the motto 'The Patron of Education and Friend of the Poor'."⁶¹

While classroom decor might vary from school to school, most were consistent in supplying a few illustrated primers

for the use of their pupils. Among the well-favoured examples were the Salisbury Reader and Catnach's Child's Easy Primer. Apart from the Bible, these primers were the first, often the only, books to which a poor child might normally have access. And, with their woodcut embellishments, these books held considerable appeal for at least some of their young users. Joseph Gutteridge, a ribbon-weaver, remembered that school picture books were "full of wonders to my youthful imagination"; and a Gloucester shoemaker and sometime poet, Henry Herbert, was inspired to reminisce in verse about his first school texts:

Neat little books with pictures in
Were placed within my hand,
And could not fail my heart to win,
Which felt this magic wand.⁶²

IV

But the pictorial experiences of early schooling lay at the periphery of the culture of radicalism. At its core there was no significant body of widely affordable illustrated material designed specifically to promote social change and intellectual improvement. This scarcity of radical imagery and the fact that the majority of autobiographers do not mention political literature, illustrated or otherwise, is consistent with Cunningham's view that radicalism in all its guises was a minority culture--at least when compared to popular entertainment. We might therefore wish to reassess the view of E. P. Thompson

and others that before 1830 radicalism was a widespread expression of formative working-class consciousness.⁶³ From the evidence relating to printed imagery, it seems that in popular consciousness a radical vision of change had neither the vividness of broadside scenes of love and death, nor the compelling appeal of little woodcut images of Robinson Crusoe and Jack the Giant Killer. Shortly, though, this would begin to change: as we will note in later chapters, from 1832, as discontents mounted, the imagery of protest became more prevalent.

The influence of the culture of religion is somewhat more problematic. Was it a minority culture as Cunningham believes? Or did it in its own way have as great an appeal as popular entertainment? The abundance of religious literature produced from the late eighteenth century on, its favourable recollection by some of the autobiographers, and its wide distribution at little or no cost, suggest a need for further research into the impact of this material. It may be that the concept of a minority culture does not accord sufficient importance to the role of religion in people's lives.

There is also other evidence that Cunningham's model of popular experience may require a further qualification. He has argued that radicalism and religion opposed the wider culture of pure entertainment. It is undoubtedly true that the radical proponents of social and personal improvement,

committed Methodists, Evangelicals and others directed their efforts and rhetoric against the hedonism of many popular enthusiasms. But at another level of cultural expression--the point where hegemonic values become imbedded in texts--there was a measure of commonalty among the three cultures. Not only is there much that entertained in the written and pictorial expressions of religion and radicalism, but there are also, more significantly, signs in some of the broadsides and chapbooks examined here that printed entertainment had by the 1790s assimilated many of the values of the other two cultures. The broadside collections are replete with romantic ballads, accounts of sexual and other adventures, almanack sheets and New Year's verses, all of which combine social moralizing, religion and patriotism with humor, hedonism and sensation. And what was that popular hero Robinson Crusoe, if not a model of hard work, self-restraint and time well-used?⁶⁴ Similarly the "last dying speeches" of the murder and execution sheets were more than just conventions. They were also expressions of a widespread system of civilized values relating to religious belief and the virtues of work and self-discipline. Such "speeches" and "confessions" are so numerous and similar that one key representative example should be adequate to illustrate the point. In his "Last Dying Speech and Confession" (1828), Catnach's "best-selling" murderer, William Corder, described in graphic detail his scuffle with

the victim, her shooting and burial, and, of course, the "vast quantity of blood [that] issued from the wound." Then, as convention dictated, the murderer expressed guilt and repentance. But it was not the blood on his hands that caused him remorse. Rather, it was the lapses in social virtue that he regretted:

I have been guilty of great idleness and at times led a dissolute life, but I hope by the mercy of God to be forgiven.⁶⁵

The values imbedded in the literature of entertainment were not usually as overtly moralistic in their presentation as those in, say, a religious tract. Nor did they represent any explicit or concerted vision of social change on the part of those who produced broadsides and chapbooks. They are, however, an instance of the extent to which hegemony could be operative in even the most popular and frivolous of cultural forms. Moreover, the fact that entertainment, religion and radicalism thus shared certain values is a significant indicator that these cultures were not monolithic and, on one level at least, had the capacity to intermingle.

V

On another level--the iconographic--each of the three kinds of popular experience was loosely linked to the visual forms of high culture. For example, political broadsides often depicted an English oak with branches bearing taxation and other such oppressive fruits--an image whose ultimate

derivation was the trees of virtue and vice in medieval illuminated manuscripts. Trade society imagery similarly had iconographic connections with both heraldry and the emblematic imagery of Baroque painting. The imagery of popular religion--representations of the Nativity or Crucifixion, for example--drew even more directly upon the standard iconography of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious art. And even purported "likenesses of murderers", execution scenes, and other stock images of broadsides and chapbooks were for the most part simplified versions of the pictorial conventions of portraiture, history painting and so on.⁶⁶

But these kinds of iconographic linkages by no means signalled the existence of any sort of emergent democracy of imagery. The popular printed image was in form and content far removed from original art, quality prints, and expensive book illustration. The style of the mostly anonymous artists whose work became the stock of popular publishers was, at best, unsophisticated, at worst--crude (plate 18). More frequently than not, pictures were ill-matched to texts to such an extent that there was nothing unusual in the sight of the face of an elderly bearded gentleman at the head of a ballad entitled "The Primrose Girl." That same face also adorned a jingoistic song about the French navy and appeared again at the top of a religious poem. The stock image of a sailing ship illustrated everything from

tales of shipwreck, sailors and military victories (not necessarily naval) to love ballads, murderers' confessions and stories of religious conversion.⁶⁷

And what of the workers who were the main audience for this kind of inexpensively-produced imagery? Were they satisfied with its quality and content? Of the autobiographers only Carter explicitly expressed any dissatisfaction. Recalling the "embellished" Bible of his youthful experience, he remarked that its engravings were "sorry affairs with regard to both design and execution." In support of this criticism he gave two examples of images that were in his view more than just "a little ludicrous." In the first a figure that should have been portrayed with a beam of light obscuring his vision had instead "a fair-sized beam [of wood]" protruding from his eye. And, to Carter's even greater disgust, in a scene from the life of Paul--the restoration of his sight--it was not scales but rather "a set of balances" that fell from the saint's eyes.⁶⁸

It may be that most people were not as visually fastidious as Carter. Many after all chose to buy or look at broadsides and chapbooks and perhaps found little to fault in their illustrations. Bamford for one, we are reminded, was considerably charmed by the woodcuts in a printer's window. But whatever people might have felt about the quality of the images they saw, they were not necessarily happy about their available quantity. The

occasional fragment of commentary suggests that working people wanted printed imagery in their lives and at times felt its lack. The son of an impoverished tradesman, for instance, remembered that in the early 1800s most poor households were "almost bookless" and "ill-provided" with any sort of illustrated material.⁶⁹

There is as well some additional evidence which may also, indirectly, indicate people's wish for increased access to the printed image. This evidence bears on other kinds of pictorial material, but from it we can perhaps infer a level of need that took in the general desire for more printed illustration. In one case the want of pictorial stimulus among a group of country people was such that even a comparative commonplace like an inn-sign aroused considerable interest. Adam Rushton, a Kent farm labourer and later factory worker, recollected that he and others in his village were very curious and indulged in "much cogitation" about the possible meaning of the figures on the new sign at the George and Dragon Inn. Rushton proposed an interpretation that apparently satisfied most of the onlookers. The "fearful dragon," he explained, was "Alcohol-- . . . seeking whom it might devour." St. George, on the other hand, was not unlike "the great temperance cause . . . enthusiastically pursuing" and soon to "destroy the great dragon of strong drink, and so to deliver mankind." George Holyoake also remembered the wonder he

felt as a young man when he first saw the newly painted sign at the Fox Tavern in Birmingham:

. . . a very wonderful fox it seemed to me. The sharp-nosed, bushy-tailed animal was rushing to cover--on the sign. I had never seen a fox or a cover, except on that sign. I had only seen a workshop⁷⁰

Perhaps the most compelling indication that people wanted more and different imagery in their lives is the effort that many gave to creating their own pictures. For example, drawing and other sorts of artistic activity were a major preoccupation of Cooper's youth:

I fell upon the project of drawing with slate and pencil but became still more attached to cutting out shapes in paper. With a pair of scissors, I used often to work for hours, making figures of men, horses, cows, dogs, and birds.⁷¹

And he was not alone in this enthusiasm--his closest boyhood friend also drew pictures and cut shapes from paper and, like Cooper, favoured animals as subject matter. Still other autobiographers also recall making their own imagery: a Yorkshire stencil painter, Christopher Thomson, did so with "colours and drawings to copy" borrowed from a sympathetic shop owner; another young worker sketched with bits of chalk on the floor of the boiler room where he was employed; and similarly others drew with chalk or charcoal on their household hearths.⁷² The only female among the sampling of autobiographers also felt a need to create her own imagery. As a young serving girl, Janet Bathgate was given some "green cloth and yellow thread" which she used to

sew a stitchery map of the lake and surroundings near her place of work.⁷³

The kind of artistic endeavour just described, people's general interest in and frequent lack of pictorial material, the stylistic shortcomings and repetitiveness of much affordable printed imagery, and the possibility that some viewers found such imagery wanting, are together indicative that working people represented a potential market for more and better imagery than what was currently available to them. As noted previously, in the early nineteenth century the technology of engraving and printing was well-enough developed to supply such a market. But few publishers of the time realized the value of the new processes for the production of good quality, inexpensive, and commercially profitable illustration; and fewer still envisioned the enormous market for printed imagery that would soon emerge.

VI

By the 1820s, however, this situation was beginning to change. Publisher John Limbird, for example, began producing a weekly pictorial miscellany in 1822. At twopence an issue, his Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction was within the reach of some artisans.⁷⁴ But the autobiographers do not mention this publication, and later nineteenth-century opinion was that the Mirror's audience of 80,000 or so came mainly from the upper and middle classes."⁷⁵

Another kind of pictorial publication was initially more successful in attracting a readership comprising a significant number of working people. This was The Library of Useful Knowledge, issued in monthly parts by the utilitarian Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), whose purpose was to counteract what they feared might be the disruptive influence of the radical press through the publication of cheap, informative, morally improving and politically innocuous literary and pictorial works. Among the earliest of such publications, the Useful Knowledge series had in its first year (1828-29) sales ranging from twenty-two to thirty-three thousand per month. But by 1832 the appeal of long articles and accompanying illustrations treating the natural sciences and other such weighty subjects had waned, and sales had declined to a disappointing six to ten thousand. With the possible exception of maps and almanacks, other SDUK publications of this period followed a similar pattern; thus, The Library of Entertaining Knowledge and numerous illustrated treatises on various subjects were never more than marginally profitable, if at all.⁷⁶

Before 1832 the most successful venture into low-cost pictorial publishing was the Mechanic's Magazine, which first appeared in 1823. As the title suggests, editor J. C. Robertson, a one-time civil engineer and patent agent, aimed the magazine specifically at a readership of literate

working men, promising them "sixteen closely printed pages" and numerous illustrations every Saturday.⁷⁷ And, indeed, for threepence an issue readers could browse through the guaranteed number of pages and study diagrams and discussions of "new Discoveries, Inventions and Improvements", "Secret Processes", "Economical Receipts", "Practical Applications of Mineralogy and Chemistry", and more.

The magazine augmented its primarily technical content with "Essays on Men and Manners, Tales, Adventures, Anecdotes, Poetry", and "occasionally Portraits of eminent Mechanics." The image of one such mechanic, that "great Improver of the Steam Engine", James Watt, introduced the magazine's first number (plate 19). In the biographical notices that accompanied this and other such portraits, Robertson invariably emphasized the subject's personal and vocational virtues. It was thus no mere likeness of Watt that the viewer saw--it was as well an exemplar of wisdom and kindness, skill and inventiveness, perseverance and exertion, improvement and success. The magazine achieved its own measure of success with its mixture of technical information, literary entertainment and biographical homilies. By 1824 it had a regular circulation of 16,000. And, as its editorial correspondence makes clear, the readership largely comprised Robertson's intended audience of "Mechanics and Artisans."⁷⁸

This is not however to suggest that the Mechanic's Magazine replaced other forms of popular imagery. It had not in fact the power to do so. In the 1820s, and throughout the period discussed here, working people were not the passive recipients of whatever imagery publishers directed their way. They were instead active consumers and viewers.⁷⁹ From what was affordable and accessible, they made their choices and incorporated these into their wider cultural life. It was not the producers, but the consumers, who made the Mechanic's Magazine, Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, and the Corder execution part of the culture that most workers shared.

But pictorial choices were by no means unlimited in possibility. Missing from the everyday experience of many working people--especially those in rural locales--was a wide array of imagery: informative scenes of travel and adventure, naturalistic landscapes, accurate depictions of historical events, believable representations of plant and animal life, recognizable landmarks, realistic portraiture, and quality reproductions of painting and sculpture. And in the cities and towns, as much as the villages and farms, the vast majority had no hope of owning the kind of books, prints and magazines that transmitted such images. Early in 1832, though, this situation would quickly and dramatically change. A new illustrated publication, The Penny Magazine, would enter the market and offer people the choice of an

unprecedented variety of printed imagery. Until such time, however, there remained a vast difference between the pictorial world of the English worker and the crowded walls of Somerset House.

CHAPTER 3

The New Printed Image: The Penny Magazine
 and the Mass-Circulation of Illustration,
 1832-1845

Early in March of 1832 Member of Parliament Matthew D. Hill and his neighbour, author, editor and publisher Charles Knight (plate 20), walked to town from their homes in Hampstead. On this occasion, Knight later recalled, their talk was of the current lack of wholesome and affordable literature for the masses. As a possible solution to this problem, Hill suggested an inexpensive magazine:

'Let us,' he exclaimed, 'see what something cheap and good can accomplish! Let us have a Penny Magazine!' 'And what shall be its title?' said I. 'THE PENNY MAGAZINE.'¹

Knight acted "at once" upon this conversation. He approached the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, for which he was already the official publisher, secured that organization's nominal sponsorship of the proposed venture, and took on himself the dual role of editor and publisher. He then proceeded with typical

energy, and some three weeks later, on March 31st, he brought out the first number of the new illustrated miscellany, The Penny Magazine.²

Apart from personal enthusiasm and editorial expertise, there were two reasons why Knight was able so rapidly to turn an informally conceived idea into a viable publishing endeavour. First of all, for some years prior to 1832 his business had had the necessary level of mechanization. His earlier publications for the SDUK, such as the Libraries of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, had been printed through the process of steam-powered stereotyping, and this same process was well-suited to the efficient production of a large-run illustrated magazine. Secondly, in his four-year association with the SDUK, Knight had personally established throughout the United Kingdom a large network of wholesalers and retailers through which to market his own and the Society's publications. In 1832, to reinforce and expand these connections, he sent out a traveller to further promote the Penny Magazine. Thus, in June of that year, he was able to report to the SDUK that

the machinery for circulating the Penny Magazine extends to the most opulent bookseller and to the keeper of a stall--to the publisher of the country Newspaper and the hawker of worn-out Reprints.³

Knight's "machinery" did its job well. By December of 1832 the Penny Magazine's circulation had climbed to an unprecedented 200,000--a figure which, Knight "fairly calculated," indicated an actual readership of one million.⁴

The magazine maintained this high circulation throughout the first three years of its publication life and thus brought information and imagery to a large number of working people. And, as one of Knight's contemporaries observed, this was imagery "which they never could behold before . . . and literally at the price they used to give for a song."⁵

But for Knight the Penny Magazine was more than just a successful commercial venture. It was also, more importantly, a mission into the field of popular education. Like most members of the SDUK and many other reformers of the time, he was worried about worker unrest and the potential threat to social stability of the radical press. Even more, he deplored the generally poor quality of literature and imagery then available to working people; and he sympathized as well with their demands for access to such preserves of art, high culture and instructive amusement as galleries, the British Museum, the Tower and Kew Gardens.⁶ Thus, at its outset Knight regarded the Penny Magazine partly as an antidote to the forces of social disruption and, above all, as a new medium for the dissemination of much-needed general knowledge and diverse imagery.

I

In the introduction to the first issue, he addressed his intended readership--"the many persons whose time and whose means are equally limited." He explained that his "little Miscellany" would on the one hand "enlarge the range

of observation [and] add to the store of facts", and on the other, "awaken the reason and lead the imagination into innocent and agreeable trains of thought."⁷ Implicit in these remarks was a concept of education that would form the basis of the magazine's editorial policy during the first five years of its operation. In Knight's view, education in its fullest sense was a twofold enterprise entailing both factual instruction in a range of general subjects and the inculcation of a particular set of social virtues.⁸

Accordingly the magazine embodied two kinds of content. First, and predominantly, it provided its readers with relatively objective factual information on such subjects as science, geography, history and art. Its distinguishing feature and major selling point--high-quality wood-engraved illustration--complemented and clarified most of this textual instruction. Thus the magazine included abundant pictorial material, much of which was new to a working-class audience: elaborate diagrams of scientific and mechanical devices (plate 21); artistically-rendered pictures of plants, animals, foreign lands and noteworthy ruins (plates 22, 23 and 24); accurate representations of religious monuments (plates 25 and 26); detailed scenes of contemporary life and architecture (plates 27 and 28); individualized portraits of famous people (plate 29); and well-executed illustrations of works of art (plates 30 to 36).

Sometimes, in keeping with the second aspect of Knight's concept of education, pictures and texts incorporated one or more interwoven social and moral themes. For example, the interested reader of articles on natural history and geography was, on occasion regaled with anecdotes about the "docility" of the Newfoundland dog, the "economical" habits of Icelandic mice, the parental "solicitude" of storks, the "frugality" of Swedish peasants, and the "temperance" of Lombardy labourers. Similarly, medical and scientific articles statistically demonstrated that moral restraint prolonged life, hard work cured fatigue, and self-discipline would decrease the birth rate. And, from essays on new inventions and modern life, the reader learned that English civilization was technologically and culturally superior to all others, that its continued existence required an ordered and harmonious society, and that both civilization and order depended upon the moral improvement of the English worker. So, in this way, the Penny Magazine encouraged the cultivation of such "civilized" and English virtues as temperance and other forms of continence, self-help, industriousness, frugality and a sense of duty to one's family and employers.⁹

Although texts on any number of subjects might include this kind of thematic material, its pictorial expression appears to have been confined to two groups of pictures. The first of these consists of portraits illustrating essays

whose authors integrated biographical and historical detail with laudatory descriptions of their subjects' personal qualities. These descriptions for the most part recalled the magazine's themes, and the writers' apparent intention was to improve the reader by offering for emulation appropriate examples from real life. The accompanying portraits reflected this intention, and in each case the artist not only depicted the physical image of the subject, but also gave visible form to his abstract virtues. In one such portrait John Wesley's intense frown and strongly drawn chin helped to evince the truth of textual assertions that he was a model of diligence and "persevering regard to method." Similarly, the artist who portrayed John Locke gave him the lofty forehead and smooth untroubled face appropriate to one who was a "noble example . . . of the union of high intellect and equally high virtue." And, finally, Benjamin Franklin's unlined face, bland gaze and calm smile visually confirmed that here indeed was a man with a "perfection of common sense", "singular powers of . . . self-control", and "cool tenacity of temper and purpose" (plate 29).¹⁰

But, in its ability to provide exemplars of social and personal virtue, portraiture was secondary to the remaining group of illustrations: representations of paintings and sculpture. Pictures of this sort are distinguishable from the portraits by the greater complexity of their interaction

with their associated texts. Several typical examples will next show precisely how the imagery and discourse of art reinforced the magazine's themes, thus providing Knight with his most effective vehicle for popularizing high culture and, simultaneously, civilizing the reader.

II

Cultural critics such as Roland Barthes, Walter Benjamin and John Berger have suggested that the means by which an image is transmitted--book, newspaper, magazine--can also be the means by which that image's meaning is altered. Its position on the page, the caption, text and name of the publication together provide a context for the picture, a context which directs the reader-viewer's attention toward a specific message which may, or may not, be literally depicted.¹¹ Something of this sort appears to have happened when Charles Knight decided to use art reproductions in his magazine. When introduced into that context, the works represented lost some of their original significance and took on new social and cultural connotations.

In one notable example an illustration of a third-century B.C. statue, The Dying Gladiator, was placed under the magazine's title, identified as "a man of toil, who has lived a laborious life", and described, in both prose and poetry, as the stoical victim of a highly "uncivilized" society (plate 30).¹² The textual theme of forbearance, and

the statue's new visual association with the names of the magazine and its sponsor, together modified the meaning of the image. No longer just a figure of antiquity, it had become as well a role-model for the contemporary reader-viewer. For here was one who was also a worker, who therefore suffered, but who endured his suffering in a "manly" way. Visually this is evidenced by the figure's third-century-B.C. version of the "stiff upper-lip"--a departure from the original statue's agonized scowl.¹³ The gladiator's Penny Magazine-generated stoicism was the more remarkable because, as the author of the text repeatedly pointed out, this worker of antiquity, unlike the fortunate reader, lived in an unstable, uncivilized and thoroughly un-English world.

In other words, reverting for a moment to the terminology of Roland Barthes, the "rhetoric" of the Penny Magazine's Gladiator involved three levels of meaning: the literal and linguistic messages of the picture and accompanying text, and "the third message", which generated from the first two working together within a socially and culturally symbolic context--that is, the magazine.¹⁴ Thus, in the image, text and context of the Gladiator there was an undepicted, unwritten exhortation to the reader: work hard, exercise restraint, and value what you have--in short, be civilized.

The third message, then, was a connoted one, and it depended on the existence of some degree of cultural knowledge or experience shared by the reader-viewers, the magazine's editor, and the contributing authors--whose number, incidentally, included both the eminent and the obscure: William Hone, who submitted a short piece on Charing Cross for the first number; art critic Anna Jameson, whose series on early Italian painters enhanced the magazine's sales in the 1840s; naturalist James Rennie, who supplied essays on insects and birds; John Kitto, a deaf former workhouse inmate, who wrote travelogues; and a teenage girl, Emily Shore, who, in the two years before her death at nineteen from tuberculosis, contributed articles on nature.¹⁵

The artists' role in the transmission of the third message was probably purely mechanical. If the magazine's better-known artists--engraver William Harvey, chief engraver John Jackson (a one-time pupil of Bewick), and F. W. Fairholt, draughtsman of many of the art reproductions--were typical, then we can infer that the others, for whom there is little or no biographical information, were also young, or comparatively so, and striving for professional advancement. Moreover, according to Knight, they were well paid.¹⁶ It seems safe then to assume that an ample salary and steady employment would have given most, if not all, of the magazine's artists sufficient motives for doing as they were directed--creating, adapting,

or merely copying images to suit both specific texts and overall editorial policy.

Like the Dying Gladiator, several other reproduced works of art embodied a connoted message and served as exemplars for the nineteenth-century reader-viewer. A statue of Diana, for instance, illustrated chastity and maidenly modesty; Carracci's Mary was the epitome of maternal sensibility; and The Last Supper (plate 31) depicted seemly behaviour in trying circumstances. Frequently the artist themselves were held up as models of industriousness and dedication. Leonardo da Vinci earned praise for his "untiring industry and continued perseverance", while Rubens was deemed noteworthy for "raising himself" through "the most remarkable industry as well as fertility."¹⁷

Very often works of art were chosen for their ability to civilize by negative example. In pictures of this type what was portrayed was not a role-model to be emulated, but rather a situation, vice or emotion to be avoided. Since it was important that the meaning of such images was not misconstrued, the associated text helped to clarify the third message. A critical analysis of Murillo's Beggar Boy (plate 32) thus included the following remarks:

The roughness of the skin attests the idleness of this unhappy child; his morals are in some measure written upon the squalidness of his limbs.¹⁸

In company with this text, the image became an implicit warning against the moral debility that led inevitably to physical infirmity. In another instance the discussion of a reproduction of Niobe informed the reader of the severe penalties incurred by those who have a "pride of heart" and "insolence" beyond what is appropriate to their allotted position in an ordered world.¹⁹ And even the nineteenth century's most admired specimen of Hellenism, the Laocoon (plate 33), became a Penny Magazine negative exemplar. Presented from the social and moral perspective of a disapproving commentator, the statue admonished against a lack of emotional restraint that mere adversity could not excuse:

. . . the agony is that of despair; there is nothing like the resistance of true courage; nor does there appear to us in the position of the serpent which is attacking the father, any sufficient cause for the total despair with which he is overwhelmed.²⁰

The art works most frequently reproduced in the Penny Magazine were the engravings of William Hogarth. In 1834 and 1835 the magazine used a total of twenty-four such prints.²¹ The reasons for Hogarth's appeal are fairly obvious: he was English, his works reproduced easily, and their openly moralistic subjects--The Rake's Progress, Beer Street and Gin Lane--were "made to order" for the purpose of civilizing by negative example. The discussion accompanying a reproduction from Marriage a-la-Mode (plate 34) shows the extent to which the Penny Magazine's art criticism typically

emphasized the moralistic content of Hogarth's work. In this instance the nocturnal extravagances of the print series' "ill-assorted" couple were well-matched by the verbal improvidence of the writer as he warned the reader against "evil passions and corrupting idleness", "the vain pursuit of pleasures", "withering satiety", "poison in the cup" and "the ruin which has overwhelmed thousands."²² Similarly, in other examples, Hogarth's Distrest Poet illustrated a homily on misguided young men with a "dreamy belief" in genius rather than industriousness; and The Politician, whose subject absent-mindedly sets fire to his hat, was the inspiration for an admonitory discussion of political hot-headedness.²³

Of all his works, Hogarth's Industry and Idleness was perhaps best suited to the magazine's concept of improvement through art; the series depicted both good and bad examples of behaviour and showed the attendant consequences of each. Of the Hogarth works reproduced in the Penny Magazine eight were from Industry and Idleness. The first print in this series (plate 35) introduced the two main characters and, with the help of the accompanying text, demonstrated the contrast between them: the reader-viewer could thus identify the idle apprentice, on the left, by his "vulgar and unintellectual countenance", while, at the loom on the right, his hard-working counterpart was recognizable by his conversely "open, modest and intelligent countenance."²⁴ In

a subsequent illustration (plate 36) the industrious apprentice, now a self-improved London magistrate, could be seen sentencing his one-time fellow worker for thievery and murder--the fruits of idleness. Collectively, this and other illustrations from the same series had instructional value of a particularly high order, for, as plate 36 suggests, just one image could inspire prodigies of moralizing prose, classical references and Biblical quotations. And, in each case, picture, prose and literary allusions together reiterated the same themes: improve yourself; cultivate industriousness; practice economy--be civilized.

III

In their attempt to fathom the connoted meanings of the Penny Magazine's art reproductions, the above analyses are in some part interpretive. Knight's papers have not survived and we cannot know conclusively that he had the precise editorial intentions just indicated. Nonetheless, we can note that all of the interpretations given here are fully consistent with the magazine's textual themes and with its aim to provide the English worker with "agreeable and innocent" knowledge.

It is also, however, important to emphasize that in its thematic use of art reproduction the magazine was not merely serving its own idiosyncratic social purposes. Rather, there is clear evidence linking its view of art to an

established aesthetic tradition: that body of thought which equated art with intellectual and moral elevation and advanced civilization, and artists with virtue and industriousness.²⁵ Both explicitly and implicitly, the magazine's selection of art reproductions and the content of associated texts derived directly from the ideas of the most noted past and contemporary art critics and theorists. For example, several contributors cited Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses, the writings of art historian J. J. Winckelmann, and essayist Charles Lamb's assessment of "the Genius and Character of Hogarth."²⁶ In addition, the magazine's frequent use of reproductions of works by Rubens, da Vinci and Raphael reflected the preferences of the prominent contemporary critic William Hazlitt. And, finally, much of the general pictorial content--illustrations of peasants and their rustic dwellings, trees, ruins, bridges and birds--corresponded closely to ideas on the picturesque expressed by another eminent writer, Archibald Alison, whose essays on taste were well-known in the early nineteenth century.²⁷

It was not coincidental that aesthetic tradition and current criticism found their way into the Penny Magazine and enhanced its themes. The predominance of art reproduction and the magazine's characteristic sensitivity to the practical contemporary application of tradition arguably generated from the efforts and ideas of one person primarily: the editor and publisher, Charles Knight. It

seems clear that the other most likely source of editorial and pictorial policy, the SDUK committee that had originally authorized the Penny Magazine, had little to do with its use of visual material, art criticism and related tradition. The Society's records show that the penny publication committee made Knight responsible for the magazine's content. The committee reserved the right to review and revise any issue before publication, but the evidence is that it rarely, if ever, exercised this option.²⁸ It also seems unlikely that other SDUK members contributed significantly to shaping the magazine's pictorial policy. Although one member, Henry Hallam, had earlier written a treatise on taste, and another, H. B. Ker, had contributed "Lives" of Wren and Michelangelo to the magazine, neither this nor any other evidence suggests that the Society as a whole, or any individual member, had Knight's well-developed concept of the instructional value and civilizing power of pictures.²⁹ Even the chairman, Lord Brougham, who had opinions on nearly everything, was comparatively reticent about art. In two articles on the subject he showed, at best, only a nebulous appreciation of its educative potential.³⁰

Knight's understanding of art and the didactic possibilities of imagery was considerably more sophisticated. After he had finished his formal schooling, and had entered his father's printing business, he set

himself a disciplined programme of reading in history, philosophy and the arts; and he followed this programme diligently for some twenty years. Thus, by the time he had begun publishing the Penny Magazine, he knew and admired the work of such "brilliant" critics as Hazlitt and Lamb, and in all probability he was also familiar with the ideas of Winckelmann, Reynolds, Alison, and Edmund Burke on "the Sublime and the Beautiful."³¹ But his interest in art and other visual forms had not begun with his reading of the critics. Even as a boy he had admired "the grandeur of Rafaele", "gazed" with appreciation upon Murillo's Boy and Puppies, and looked with less approval at Lely's portrayals of "King Charles' 'beauties' . . . profusely displaying their charms." A few years after, he had been impressed with "the patriotic enthusiasm" that had inspired a caricature of Napoleon as an ineffectual "vapouring little man"; and during the same period--"those times of paper-currency and protection"--he had pondered the dubious symbolic appropriateness of a large painted image of "the classical horn of plenty" ³²

Knight's youthful interest in imagery continued into later life. He was, for instance, among the first to appreciate the aesthetic and educational potential of "Talbotype" photography; in addition, several years before the Art Union conceived the idea of selling art reproductions, he had proposed to the SDUK that they should

publish inexpensive wood-engravings of "celebrated paintings . . . so as to diffuse generally a taste for the Fine Arts."³³ Knight was never able to realize this particular proposal. However, in addition to the Penny Magazine, he succeeded in producing such illustrated works as the Gallery of Portraits (1832-34), the Pictorial Bible (1835-37), an illustrated edition of Shakespeare (1837), and the Pictorial History of England (1837-44). He would later express considerable gratification that through such publications, high-quality wood-engravings had become the "marked feature" of his business, and he claimed credit for the popularization of both the concept and the word, "pictorial".³⁴

Knight's wide-ranging appreciation and promotion of illustration were aspects of his belief that "intellectual culture" did not merely "depend upon books and lectures." Pictures, he believed, were "true eye-knowledge" and as such could not only "add both to the information and enjoyment of the reader", but were also "sometimes more instructive than words."³⁵ And, as the Penny Magazine's content reflects, in its editor's view some kinds of pictures had greater educational merit than others. "Faithful and spirited copies of the greatest productions of PAINTING and SCULPTURE," he wrote, were among the most "valuable accessories of knowledge [and] instruments of education."³⁶

But the imagery of art was more to Knight than just a pedagogical tool. He also had a larger concept of what should be the role of the aesthetic in everyday life. In an 1848 address to the Nottingham Mechanics' Institute, he spoke eloquently on this subject. Expressing first his approval of the many pictures hanging in the Institute hall, he then continued:

I would not have in any mechanics' institution, as I would not have in any school throughout the land, bare naked walls for the eye to rest on undelighted. I do know, and the experience of the wise teaches me to believe, that we cannot be surrounded too much with the beautiful in art; in civic halls, and wherever men congregate together for public business, or meet for social purposes; in our own houses, where prints and casts of rare sculpture are the best and least expensive luxuries; and what is still more to the purpose, in the humblest cottage in the land. I do not think it is possible to make the people too familiar with high models of art, because in so doing a refinement is given to the understanding, and what is spiritual and grand in our nature may be developed by the presence of these beautiful creations, which, without presumption, I venture to think are emanations through the mind of man of the power of the Deity.³⁷

Additional evidence from the magazine, Knight's memoirs and other sources further links his interests with the magazine's textual and pictorial content. For example, quotations from the work of his friend, Allan Cunningham, author of Lives of the Most Eminent Painters (1830), contributed to the length of a seven-page essay on Hogarth, while the same piece also incorporated a substantial excerpt from Knight's 1831 treatise on the rights of industry. Another article, on working men's libraries, was sprinkled

with references to Knight's favourite authors. And elsewhere, similarly, the magazine's only double-spread set of illustrations reproduced scenes from Windsor, his birthplace and home until 1822.³⁸ But perhaps the most compelling indication that Knight controlled the Penny Magazine's editorial policy is the fact that he also controlled its finances. Throughout most of the magazine's publication life, he was the SDUK's creditor.³⁹ It therefore seems unlikely that the Society's publication committee significantly influenced his editorial decisions.

IV

The extent to which Knight controlled both the finances and the formal character of the magazine suggests that when we attempt to analyze the motives behind that publication we should look to Knight rather than the SDUK. This approach is a departure from most other assessments of the magazine, which have tended to overstate the relationship of its content to the SDUK's utilitarian ideals and social purposes.⁴⁰ This is not however to imply that Knight had no concerns in common with his magazine's nominal sponsor. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, he shared the Society's worries about worker unrest and the influence of the unstamped press. And, as this discussion has previously tried to show, these social fears found their expression in the magazine's studious avoidance of radical political

discourse and in its use of art to provide positive and negative exemplars of behaviour.

But there is also evidence that indicates that much of Knight's interest in the magazine was purely professional and not directly related to his SDUK affiliation. For, unlike others on the publication committee, he was both a businessman and a publisher, and his specialized knowledge led him to believe that an illustrated miscellany could be a profitable endeavour. He had in fact been one of the first publishers to appreciate the potential of stereotyping; and he thus recognized that the speed and low cost of this mode of reproduction would enable him to provide illustrated reading matter to a large market whose major affordable form of pictorial entertainment had been the often crude and repetitive stock woodcuts of broadsides and chapbooks.

In the late 1820s Knight had approved of the general idea, although not the quality, of the illustrations in John Limbird's Mirror; and probably the Penny Magazine's miscellany format owed something to the inspiration of that earlier publication.⁴¹ But what distinguished Knight's magazine from any previous or contemporary periodical was the combination of the quality, variety and abundance of its illustrations, its widely affordable price, and its profitability. Informed observers, such as publisher W. A. Chatto, thus acknowledged that the Penny Magazine was the earliest inexpensive serial publication to realize fully the

commercial possibilities of mass-reproduced imagery.⁴² Or, as Knight put it, wood-engraving had finally found its "legitimate purpose". In the magazine's 1833 October supplement, he explained to the readers that

. . . the circumstances dependent upon rapid printing . . . principally called forth by the great demand for the 'Penny Magazine' have completely changed the character of the art of wood-engraving; and have rendered it peculiarly and essentially that branch of engraving which is applicable to cheap publications.⁴³

In other words, illustration of high quality and low cost to the purchaser was now also efficient to produce and profitable for the publisher.

Knight's absorbing interest in his new publication thus arose not only from anxiety about the condition of English society but also from commercial motives and enthusiasm for the latest advances in printing technology. However, these concerns seem to have been the lesser motives behind his dedication to the magazine. Of greater significance and duration was his genuine belief in education as an ideal to which people at all levels of society should aspire.⁴⁴ As he had stated in his introduction to its first issue, the Penny Magazine not only aimed to be "agreeable and innocent", but to enlarge the scope of the readers' factual knowledge. In addition then to conveying social and moral messages, the examples of art discussed above also introduced the readers to an array of cultural knowledge previously inaccessible to them. Reproducing art works in

detail, often quoting authorities verbatim, these pictures and texts transmitted imagery, aesthetic theories, art history and criticism with faithful exhaustiveness. Interested readers thus became acquainted with the working methods of Leonardo, Winckelmann's opinion on the date and provenance of the Laocoon, Hogarth's originality and sense of beauty, "the sweetness, brilliancy, harmony and freshness" of the colour in Murillo's Beggar--and so on.⁴⁵

The magazine also devoted countless other pictures and texts exclusively to the advancement of aesthetic and cultural knowledge. The key points of Rubens' and Correggio's styles, Titian's use of colour, Rembrandt's "management of the lights and darks, technically called *chiaroscuro*", the "silvery brightness" of Guido's paintings, the "golden . . . tone, . . . the elegance and precision" of Teniers' work, the origins of "the Bolognese School of Painting", and the "progress" of manuscript illumination from the "dark ages" to the renaissance--this information and much more of a similar nature was summoned to aid those readers who wished to understand and enjoy art.⁴⁶ At least one of the magazine's articles explicitly encouraged this kind of informed appreciation:

Pictures . . . must be studied as attentively as books, before they can be thoroughly understood, or the principles of art so established in the mind as to render those works which are truly sublime or beautiful the objects of admiration, in preference to those which catch the inexperienced

eye by mere gaudiness or exaggeration of any kind.⁴⁷

And, as the same article also indicated, the central purpose of such study was not the viewer's social and moral improvement, but rather the enhancement of his or her capacity to share in the emotional and intellectual rewards of aesthetic experience:

. . . the contemplation of works of art may afford one of the purest pleasures which a refined mind is capable of enjoying.⁴⁸

Thus, whatever might have been the social fears and commercial motives behind the Penny Magazine, these did not preclude an apparently greater and sincere desire to foster art appreciation as an intrinsically worthwhile attainment--one, moreover, which should be brought within the reach of all classes, however humble.

Knight's reaction to criticism of his magazine also argues that he was deeply and genuinely committed to placing "fine specimens of art . . . within the reach of thousands, instead of being confined to the cabinets of a very few."⁴⁹ In the early years of its publication, a number of critics variously took exception to the magazine's social and intellectual content, its general format, and its use of art and imagery. For the most part this criticism left Knight relatively unmoved. But one writer's comment seems to have stung. The Morning Chronicle's critic--an enthusiastic proponent of aesthetic and cultural exclusivism--had expressed "bitterness and near-indignation" at Knight's

"mistaken view" that art could be removed from the domain of "a comparatively small and gifted few, under the patronage of men of wealth and leisure." "ONCE FOR ALL," this critic had thundered, "as there is no royal road to mathematics, . . . there is no Penny Magazine road to the Fine Arts."⁵⁰ Knight responded to this criticism at some length, with considerable irony and increasing vehemence:

We do not quite understand all this, [he began in apparently mild puzzlement,] but we suppose it means, that the production of a picture or a statue for the exclusive gratification 'of men of wealth and leisure,' is the sole end and object of the 'cultivation of the Fine Arts;' that it is a matter of the most absolute indifference whether the bulk of the people have any perception of the beauty of Art, or any knowledge of its principles; . . . that such men as Josiah Wedgwood, who introduced the forms of classic antiquity in to our potteries, have adopted a most 'mistaken view of the case;' that the French government, who have Schools of Design for manufacturers, . . . have adopted a most 'mistaken view of the case;' that our government, which has just established a School of Design, . . . is labouring under the same delusion; and that, once for all, as there is 'no Penny Magazine road to the Fine Arts,' the expenditure of Twelve Thousand Pounds upon the engravings of the 'Penny Magazine' has been an utter waste of capital with reference to the cultivation of Art, and the popular taste would have been as much advanced by . . . the manufacture of the old red and blue prints which are still scattered . . . amongst the cottages of the rural population, and [by] . . . green and yellow parrots . . . in ill-assorted company with Canova's Graces.⁵¹

And perhaps, more than any other available evidence, it is this uncharacteristic outpouring of verbal energy, sarcasm and righteous indignation that argues for the sincerity both of Knight's dedication to popularizing art and his concept

of the magazine as a pioneering effort to disseminate what had traditionally been restricted knowledge.

Additional evidence also suggests that Knight's "sincere interest in the progress of knowledge" took precedence over other motives.⁵² For reasons which will be noted later, after 1835 the magazine did not maintain its initial success. Knight nevertheless continued to publish it for another ten years--all the while making little or no profit.⁵³ It may be that he persisted with the magazine in the hope of re-establishing its original comfortable profit margin, but a decade of such persistence with a financially uncertain enterprise hardly seems to indicate single-minded commercialism. Rather, as the magazine's content during this period implies, Knight's perseverance was more likely an aspect of his continuing commitment to popular education.

In 1837, and again in 1841, he changed the magazine's editorial policy.⁵⁴ With each change, he reduced both the miscellaneous content and the number of short items that had typified the format before 1837. Thus, between 1837 and 1845, the magazine offered increasingly substantial contributions whose texts and pictures were loosely organized under a few general subject headings: Topography and Antiquities, Natural History, Trade, Manufactures and Commerce, and of course Fine Arts.⁵⁵

The magazine's declining circulation was perhaps a factor in these changes. After 1836 reductions in the

newspaper tax and the duty on paper both increased and facilitated the competition which had been progressively eroding the Penny Magazine's market.⁵⁶ Knight may therefore have modified his policy to retain current readers or to recapture the magazine's one-time wider market. But it is also possible that he had a long-term educational strategy which required periodic adjustments of editorial policy--adjustments intended to coincide with the readers' advancement through successive stages of learning. This possibility is implied in Knight's comments on the changes. In 1836 he explained that the magazine had "realized many [of] its objects" and could thus introduce "some new features . . . to carry forward our readers in the same road we have so long travelled together" ⁵⁷ And, recalling the further modification in 1841 of the magazine's miscellany format, he wrote:

I may truly say that the object of the change was to present to a public which had been advancing in education, a Miscellany of a higher character The engravings were superior; the writing was less 'ramble-scramble'.⁵⁸

Beyond these remarks, Knight did not elaborate his reasons for altering the magazine's format. But even allowing for some retrospective glossing of motives, the evidence indicates that educational objectives were high among the considerations that dictated his policy.

This adjusted policy encompassed not only the magazine's formal character, but also, more significantly,

its thematic content. That is, at the same time that articles lengthened and subject matter decreased, the once frequent textual and pictorial homilies on industry, self-restraint and so on largely disappeared. In a wide sampling of issues from 1837, 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1844, it is possible to find occasional half-hearted references to the desirability of civilized and disciplined behaviour, but on the whole the magazine no longer embodied the kind of social and moral perspective that had dominated its earlier issues. Now, with only a few exceptions, portraits of exemplary people became an infrequent feature, and representations of painting and sculpture inspired only what was for the time the most dispassionate visual analysis and art criticism.

Knight's new editorial position may well have been the reflection of a corresponding ideological shift. For, at some time during the mid-1830s, anxiety about the stability of English society ceased to be a motivating force in his educational thought and activities. There is no direct evidence to show precisely when and why he might have experienced such a shift--his autobiography is not markedly introspective. However, it may be more than coincidental that this change in his thinking occurred at about the same time as his business relations with the SDUK became strained. The initial rancour apparently generated from secretary Thomas Coates and other members who had by 1836 become resentful of Knight's financial and editorial control

of Society publications. Commenting on this situation, Knight's friend, M. D. Hill, confided to Lord Brougham, that "the poor fellow [Knight] feels it bitterly."⁵⁹

But whether or not his difficulties with the society were a factor, it is certain that Knight's earlier view that education should entail the inculcation of a restrictive set of social virtues was not a life-long conviction. When he looked back some thirty years later on his educative endeavours of the 1820s and early 1830s, his tone was that of one who recollects an old enthusiasm, long since past, but still able on occasion to evoke embarrassment. It now seemed to him "something like hypocrisy" that he had once believed that those of "humble station" could, and for their own good should, cultivate "the happiness peculiar to the course of peaceful labour", learn to appreciate being "masters of their own possessions, however small", and so come to "view the difference of ranks without envy." In the same passage, perhaps in self-justification, he added:

I followed in the wake of men most anxious for the welfare of the lower classes, but who were at that time convinced that the first and greatest of all popular exhortation was to preach from the text of St. James, 'Study to be quiet'.⁶⁰

Knight's disaffection with this narrow view of social relations must have been formative by the early 1830s. For, as this discussion has tried to make clear, his magazine had never been primarily, nor even consistently, devoted to overt moralization or imbedded social content. The wealth

of factual, straightforwardly-presented cultural knowledge contained in even the earliest issues indicates that Knight's educational idealism had already begun to offset his fears about social unrest. And thus for most, if not all, of the magazine's publication life he was, as he purported to be, genuinely and above all

anxious to carry information into the dwellings of the peasant and artisan, and to excite the curiosity of those who have been unaccustomed to think upon any subject connected with art and literature.⁶¹

V

In according Knight his deserved credit for promoting the education of the people and popularizing art, we must not wholly lose sight of the power relations that were enacted through the Penny Magazine's content. Its tone was at times painfully condescending and the values it promoted unquestionably served the interests of those in positions of social, economic and political authority. But to recognize this aspect--and it would be naive not to do so--is not to fall back on the consensus interpretation of the magazine as a philistine exercise in social control.⁶² Rather, what better seems to characterize the magazine and its expressed values is the concept of hegemony-- that is, the intellectual and moral authority that those in positions of power asserted informally, not necessarily consciously or maliciously, through cultural forms. Thus, however altruistically intended, Knight's endeavour to disseminate

knowledge cannot, and should not, be entirely divorced from the social and economic privilege that he both enjoyed and represented. But equally, as the previous discussion of his educational and commercial motives has argued, the obligation remains to acknowledge that it was not one, but a complex of mixed interests that shaped the magazine's character.

This effort to reach beyond the simplistic notion of control leads further to a reconsideration of the historiographical commonplace that has most persistently dogged the Penny Magazine: the argument that it was an expression of the "middle-class" point of view.⁶³ This argument clearly has little explanatory value when applied to the greater part of the magazine's content, which aimed to be broadly informative. But even when we turn to its imbedded social--or hegemonic--themes, the term "middle-class" does not provide an adequate description. For, at the level of theory, hegemony is not necessarily tied to any one specific, unified class. Moreover, there is no substantial body of empirical evidence that establishes the existence of a monolithic set of social, cultural, political and moral values that can be uniformly, persistently and exclusively associated with the middle class in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁴ Knight for one did not consider himself, his activities or his outlook to be middle-class. Rather, he seemed to believe himself to be part of a social

and intellectual vanguard, capable of unusual and advanced insights into the relationship of knowledge, morality and society. As he put it, he and other social and educational reformers were not just "educated and intelligent" men; they were also the representatives of "high thinking" and dedication to "duty not pleasure."⁶⁵ And in this, he stressed, they were distinct from members of the middle class. It thus seems to be an over-simplification to equate the Penny Magazine with the dissemination of middle-class values (if in fact such values could be identified and isolated). Knight's goal seems to have been the more ambitious one of delimiting an ideal, not necessarily class-specific, system of social, moral and cultural values--a system which he believed would foster the improvement of individuals at all levels of society.⁶⁶

The question of the magazine's readership also needs to be reconsidered. Clearly the intended readership was working people. The consensus has however been that radical consciousness dictated the wholesale working-class rejection of the magazine, and that it drew its readers instead from other social groups.⁶⁷ Letters to Knight and the SDUK indicate that this view is partially correct and that the readership did indeed include shopkeepers, clerks, some professionals and country gentry.⁶⁸ But there is also reason to believe that the magazine attracted a wide and faithful working-class following. One scholar, Scott

Bennett, has used Society records in combination with Knight's memoirs to compile a table of Penny Magazine print orders.⁶⁹ Normally these print orders closely matched actual circulation, since profitability was dependent on such a match. In 1833 Knight's print orders averaged 187,000, a figure which agrees closely with his claim that the magazine's circulation was 200,000. This figure becomes all the more compelling when we consider that the circulation of the supposedly representative working-class paper, The Poor Man's Guardian, was at the most 15,000 in the same year, and would decline to 3000 by 1835.⁷⁰ The Penny Magazine's impressive circulation indicates that it must have reached and been read by some significant number of working people.⁷¹ And, as chapter 6 will elaborate, other evidence supports this suggestion: letters from workers to the SDUK, working-class autobiographies which favourably mention the magazine, its distribution in working men's coffee houses--and, no doubt, the appeal of its many fine engravings and their ability to communicate to both the well-read and the unlettered. It thus appears that the opinion of one contemporary observer was quite correct, and that the Penny Magazine did indeed "meet with great sale among the class for which it was principally intended."⁷²

VI

In the 1830s and early 40s the popularity of the Penny Magazine engendered a host of imitators. Of these the

longest-lived was The Saturday Magazine (1832-1844), published by John Parker and sponsored by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). This organization's General Literature Committee had been quick to note the growth and influence of penny publications and determined to enter the market with their own "Weekly Magazine of useful and interesting knowledge."⁷³ Trading upon the Penny Magazine's successful formula, Parker and the SPCK also used steam-powered stereotyping to produce a low-cost illustrated miscellany--but one which, unlike its model, would represent the interests of religion and the Church of England. Thus, the Saturday Magazine sprinkled its general information with stories from the Scriptures, Church histories, portraits and biographies of religious men, Biblical illustration, scenes from the Holy Land (plate 37), and pictures of churches and cathedrals (plate 38).⁷⁴

With a circulation at times as high as 80,000, the Saturday Magazine, in combination with numerous other penny "Journals", "Storytellers" and "Gazettes", weekly "Visitors" and "Miscellanies" progressively cut into the Penny Magazine's market. Thus, its circulation reduced to an unprofitable 40,000, it ceased publication in 1845. Looking back to the last days of his magazine, Knight recollected that there were at that time no less than "fourteen three-halfpenny and penny miscellanies and thirty-seven weekly

sheets." And, as he further recalled, the Penny Magazine, "popular as it once was, . . . could not hold its place."⁷⁵

But although it inevitably gave way under the weight of imitative competition and, as we will see later, the public's changing taste, Knight's magazine has a nonetheless unique cultural significance. In its innovative use of technology and illustration, consistently wide distribution, and appeal to more than one social class, it provided the impetus for the development of a new, increasingly visual mass culture--became, in fact that culture's first artifact. Beyond this, it was an unprecedented and enlightened attempt to introduce the theories and imagery of art into everyday life. By today's standards this might seem to be a far cry from the democratization of knowledge. But, to Knight and his contemporaries, it represented the reversal of a tradition that had confined high culture to the domain of the economically and socially privileged.

It was thus on two counts that Knight would later reflect proudly on his magazine. For not only had it transformed the face of popular publishing and illustration; it had also narrowed dramatically the distance between the exhibition room at Somerset House and the pictorial experience of the people. And it was this dual achievement that justified the claim that Knight made in his memoirs--indeed, as he put it, the Penny Magazine had produced "a revolution in popular art."⁷⁶

But in one respect this revolution was to be short-lived. Those who followed in Knight's wake increasingly directed their efforts away from serious education, and toward light or sensational entertainment. Thus, the high culture that had only just entered the popular domain began a retreat back to its old position of exclusivism. The signals of this retreat are to be found in the pages of the Penny Magazine's most popular successors: the three magazines that would next come to dominate the field of pictorial publishing--through the mass-circulation of the new printed image.

CHAPTER 4

The Business of Imagery:

The Second Generation of Pictorial Magazines,
1845-1860

In 1855, in a letter to a friend, Charles Knight remembered the early days of the Penny Magazine and the large readership it had then attracted. He next observed that three current magazines had achieved similar or higher sales. Four years later, when the British Quarterly Review ran an article on "cheap literature", the author likewise remarked upon the "prodigious circulation" of certain "miscellaneous pennyworths."¹ In each case the same three publications had excited comment--the London Journal, Reynolds' Miscellany and Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper had become the new flagships of mass-circulation pictorial publishing.

In noting the success of this second generation of illustrated penny miscellanies, our commentator on "cheap literature" made the following observation:

It was reserved for the present time to see very low-priced publications realizing very large pecuniary profits. Where we reckoned before by thousands, we now reckon by tens of thousands. The struggling benefactor of the masses, who long laboured in vain at the establishment of a useful and entertaining serial for the working multitude, is now displaced by the wealthy projector who has carved a handsome fortune out of a penny miscellany, and who contemplates a seat in parliament at least, as the crown of his golden toils.²

There is no evidence that those who operated the Journal, Miscellany and Paper had political ambitions of the kind that the commentator supposed; nor does it appear that any of these proprietors became immensely wealthy. But, nevertheless, our expert on "cheap literature" identified the crucial factor that distinguished the new magazines from their prototype and, indeed, from its main pictorial competitor, the Saturday Magazine. That is, although all five of these magazines were operated as sole proprietorships for all or much of their publication lives, the three new miscellanies were from the start, and remained, independent of any outside sponsoring body. This meant that the second generation of proprietors were entirely free to make business and editorial decisions without having to accommodate--or even, as in Knight's case, nod in the direction of--the policies and ideals of any such association as the SDUK or SPCK. This is not to say that those who operated the Journal, Miscellany and Paper did not sometimes use these publications to air their personal concerns or promote the causes of certain organizations,

such as those advocating temperance, for example. This was especially true in the case of John Cassell. But more often than not, social issues did not figure prominently in the second generation of pictorial miscellanies. For, unlike Knight who catered more and more to a market of serious self-educators, the new breed of proprietors did not let their commitment to any social cause divert their attention too long from the greater part of the marketplace. Thus they allowed themselves to be guided largely by their perception of the most widespread public taste. And, as the magazines' consistently high circulations attest, their perception was usually accurate. We will see in a later chapter that by the 1840s people increasingly looked to magazines for light entertainment--a fact that did not escape the notice of the proprietors whose careers we are about to examine. So, while all three magazines purported to offer the same blend of amusement and instruction that had been the Penny Magazine's staple provisions, what they actually served up was rather different. They offered little of the sustenance of art, for light amusement was now a more saleable main course. This will become apparent as we examine the content of pages and pictures, but before doing so, we will find it helpful to survey what is known about the magazines' operation and proprietors.

I

Of these magazines the London Journal was the first to begin publication. It made its appearance on the first of March, 1845 and, at a penny per weekly issue, offered what would become its standard fare: a collection of informative articles, anecdotes, aphorisms, short stories, serialized novels, and--accompanying it all--numerous fine wood-engravings. Published by the printer George Vickers, the Journal was the inspiration of its proprietor, a former engraver for the Illustrated London News, George Stiff. During his proprietorship, Stiff employed a succession of editors: the well-known author of sensational fiction, George W. M. Reynolds (1845-1846); a classicist and regular contributor to the Journal, John Wilson Ross (1846-1849); and the popular serialist, J. F. Smith (1849-1855).³

Despite these changes in its editorship, the Journal's overall character remained remarkably uniform during the first dozen years of its operation. This was apparently due to the "active zeal" with which, Stiff claimed, he always superintended both the correspondence page and the magazine's "literary departments."⁴ In the period covered here, however, there was one notable shift in the Journal's editorial policy and the general cultural level of its fiction. This occurred toward the end of 1857 when Stiff sold the magazine's copyright to the proprietor of the Illustrated London News, Herbert Ingram. Ingram and his newly-appointed editor, playwright Mark Lemon, abandoned the

Journal's characteristically florid fiction and imagery, introduced instead a more elegant style of illustration, and ran as the feature serials two Walter Scott novels, Kenilworth and The Fortunes of Nigel. This foray into somewhat higher than usual cultural ground resulted in an alarming and steady decline in the magazine's sales during the period, 1858 to 1859. Ingram at this point sold the Journal back to Stiff who immediately took measures to restore its former character and circulation. He dropped Scott and replaced Lemon with Pierce Egan (the younger), a popular writer whom Stiff had hired as a serialist prior to the Journal's sale. But, according to the Bookseller's somewhat cryptic account, before Stiff could "fully mature his plans, the periodical was sold to Messrs. Johnson of St. Martin's Lane" who ran the it from 1860 into the 70s.⁵ Egan remained as editor and serialist until his death in 1880.⁶ And, although the magazine never again enjoyed the circulation it had reached in Stiff's time, it nonetheless continued to sell in the hundreds of thousands of copies per issue, and thus survived into the early years of the twentieth century.

The fall in circulation that the Journal experienced in the late 1850s may not have been wholly due to the misjudgement of Lemon and Ingram. For, increasingly, it had faced competition from a number of new, similar publications that must have eroded its market. One principal source of

this competition was the Journal's own one-time editor, G. W. M. Reynolds. In the issue of August 15th, 1846 the notices at the end had included a brief announcement that Reynolds was "indisposed" and had therefore been unable to carry out his editorial duties during recent weeks. Whatever the nature of his illness, it was undoubtedly of short duration and did not prevent him from appreciating the potential viability of a rival for the Journal's readership.

On November 7th, 1846 he brought out his own version of an illustrated penny weekly. First entitled Reynolds' Magazine, it became Reynolds' Miscellany with the issue of December 5th, 1846. In addition to its mix of pictures, stories, and non-fiction along the lines of the Journal, the first number of the Miscellany also included the portrait of a particularly robust-looking Reynolds (plate 39). And by all accounts the picture's subject, despite any real or spurious "indisposition", was a man of noteworthy energy. Not only was he the prolific author of many highly successful romantic novels, but he also wrote the Miscellany's feature serials. Beyond that he was its editor and proprietor until it ceased publication in 1865.⁷

In the first few weeks of his magazine's operation, Reynolds had employed the Journal's printer, George Vickers. But early in 1847 he made a permanent change to John Dicks, then a small publisher in Warwick Square.⁸ The combination of Reynolds--whom the Bookseller would deem "the most

popular writer of our time"-- and Dicks--who would become one of London's largest publishers--was clearly a fortunate one. The Miscellany's readership grew steadily in the 1840s, and by 1855 Reynolds' success in the field of low-cost illustrated periodicals was only surpassed by the Journal and one other publication.

This was Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper, whose first number appeared on December 31st, 1853. Like its two established competitors, the Paper came out every Saturday afternoon; and, like the Journal and the Miscellany, it provided its own penny's worth of the now familiar, still widely appealing array of serialized fiction, short stories, factual information, and a generous amount of illustration.⁹ The Paper was originally the publication of the tea and coffee wholesaler, John Cassell. In the late 1840s he had entered the publishing business with such small enterprises as The Standard of Freedom, a weekly paper begun in 1848. His activities quickly expanded to include a number of more ambitious serial publications, and by the early 1850s, in addition to the Paper, he had brought out John Cassell's Library and The Working Man's Friend (both begun in 1850), The Illustrated Exhibitor, a Tribute to the World's Industrial Jubilee (1851), The Popular Educator (begun in 1852), and The Illustrated Magazine of Art (begun in April 1853).¹⁰

Although Cassell was a seasoned publisher by the time he launched his Family Paper, he purportedly had a poor head for business.¹¹ Thus, despite its initial popularity and ongoing regular circulation of 250,000 or more, the Paper soon fell into financial difficulty. To meet credit obligations, Cassell sold it in 1854 to the printing firm of Petter and Galpin, who in turn sold it to magazine distributors W. Kent and Company. Shortly after, however, Petter and Galpin took up their repurchase option with Kent, and the Paper stayed in their hands until Petter's retirement in 1883.¹² On the virtue of his name, Cassell became a senior partner in 1858 and remained so until his death in 1865.

The Paper's first editor was John Tillotson, a popular writer of miscellaneous non-fiction and stories for boys.¹³ Tillotson left the Paper in 1854 when it changed hands. At that time Cassell himself took over as editor and remained in that capacity until the autumn of 1859 when he resigned to make an extended visit to America and open a New York branch of the business. After Cassell's resignation, William Petter became the magazine's editor and attempted to follow his predecessor's policy of combining entertainment and instruction. Thomas Galpin, however, pressured his partner to make changes, and after 1860 the Paper devoted itself increasingly to purely escapist amusement, to the exclusion of more informative but less saleable material.

II

The three main figures who edited and operated the Journal, the Miscellany and the Paper between 1845 and 1860 evinced different kinds and levels of commercial and social interests. The case of the London Journal's proprietor, George Stiff, is the most straightforward, since there is no evidence to suggest that he was professionally motivated by any concerns other than those related to commercial success. He seems in fact to have been a model of the nineteenth-century entrepreneurial spirit in its purest form.

The most detailed evidence on his career comes from a contemporary periodical publisher, Henry Vizetelly.¹⁴ According to this source, Stiff initially was noteworthy only for his incompetence as an engraver. But, apart from this purported artistic failing, his was a success story. Early experience in the engraving department of the Illustrated London News had undoubtedly awakened him to the commercial potential of pictorial serial publishing. After leaving the ILN he noted the large circulation of the non-pictorial weekly, the Family Herald; and, as Vizetelly put it,

. . . Stiff puzzled his brains how he could best cut into this. Finally, he determined upon bringing out a somewhat similar sheet with illustrations, and thereupon planned the subsequently well-known 'London Journal'.¹⁵

At this point, without either capital or credit, he demonstrated his entrepreneurial panache. Through "pleading

and cajolery" he obtained several thousand pounds in credit and loans from a number of engravers, wholesale stationers, and a printer (presumably Vickers). Thus supplied with the necessary printing machinery, paper and illustrations, he then pursued "his one set purpose--the increasing of the sale of his publication." This he did by a judicious tailoring of the Journal's content to what he perceived to be the tastes of his potential market. In addition to the magazine's staple fare of wide-ranging miscellaneous subject matter and generous illustration, he added short stories and cliff-hanger serial novels by such best-selling writers as Reynolds and J.F. Smith. And, as Stiff related to Vizetelly, "weekly circulation used to rise as many as 50,000" when the conclusion of one of these exciting serials approached.¹⁶ Thus, by 1855 the Journal's sales had reached 450,000; its annual profit in some years was as high as 10,000 pounds; and in 1857, on its sale to Ingram, the copyright was worth the then substantial sum of 24,000 pounds.¹⁷ And all of this was no small achievement, for, as the Bookseller recognized on his death in 1874, "Mr. Stiff pushed the London Journal into a, then, unprecedented sale, [and] he may be regarded as one of the principal pioneers of illustrated literature in its present popular form."¹⁸

Another such pioneer, Stiff's one-time editor turned competitor, G. W. M. Reynolds, was also undoubtedly interested in commercial success. As purportedly "the most

popular writer" of his day, Reynolds had already enjoyed considerable financial returns on his work by the time he began the Miscellany. It thus seems probable that he, like Stiff, had a keen sense of popular taste and an eye for the sort of publication that would both satisfy this taste and potentially turn a profit. There are no surviving records to show the exact state of the Miscellany's finances. We do know, however, that its circulation climbed steadily, from a fairly modest initial figure of 30 to 40,000, to 200,000 in 1855.¹⁹ Thus, after Cassell's Paper, the Miscellany was the chief contender for the Journal's dominant position in the field of mid-century pictorial publishing.

But however much Reynolds' commercial competitiveness might have rivalled that of Stiff, the motives dictating his activities as the Miscellany's proprietor were not likely to have been simply a matter of business. Although he came from an upper middle-class military family he had early in life abandoned an army career in favour of writing, publishing and the promotion of various social and political causes. He was a sympathizer with European revolutionary movements of the 1840s, an advocate of temperance and various kinds of social reform and, from 1848 to 1851, a prominent spokesman for Chartism.²⁰ Reynolds' social and political concerns were often reflected through his fiction, but they found their most direct expression in two of his periodical publications: the Political Instructor (1849-

1850), whose main purpose was to promote Chartism; and Reynolds Newspaper (begun in 1850), which proclaimed itself to be a "Journal of Democratic Progress and General Interest."²¹

A number of scholars have pointed to Reynolds' commercial appeal and the sensational content of much of his writing and, on this basis, have questioned the depth of his political commitment and the sincerity of his radical viewpoint.²² Literary historian Anne Humpherys, however, has taken a slightly different approach and argued that the sincerity or insincerity of Reynolds' radicalism is not the most significant issue. Rather, it is more important simply to recognize that his career combined a popular political outlook with an unerring ability to pinpoint what was saleable entertainment, and that this combination was the source of his continuing popularity. As Humpherys puts it, Reynolds work "came to rest, as it were, on the fine point in the popular mind where escapism and activism touch"--in other words, she concludes, "his contradictions were the contradictions of the audience he was writing for."²³ This perception seems particularly applicable to the Miscellany. For, as later discussion will attempt to show, it judiciously blended stimulating escapist entertainment with a certain amount of topical, mildly radical material. And this combination not only satisfied Reynolds' dual social and commercial purposes--as the Miscellany's high

circulation argues, the tastes and interests of the reading populace were also well-served.

John Cassell's was a somewhat different case from that of Reynolds and Stiff. As already indicated, he did not display the latter's level of business expertise. This was not necessarily due to any native inability, but rather, as the historian of Cassell's publishing house has suggested, it was because Cassell's "reforming enthusiasms" sometimes led him to neglect the tedious financial details of his business.²⁴ Certainly, in comparison with Reynolds and Stiff, he was the one who most displayed the kind of reformist spirit that had characterized Charles Knight's publishing career.

The son of Manchester working people, Cassell was as a child employed in a cotton mill and then a velveteen factory; he was next a carpenter's apprentice until the 1830s, at which time he became an itinerant missionary for the National Temperance Society.²⁵ In 1841, with the help of his wife's money, he established himself as a tea and coffee merchant, purveying what was in his view a wholesome alternative to intoxicating beverages. His first publishing venture, The Teetotal Times (begun in 1847), also reflected his commitment to temperance. However, the crusade against alcohol was by no means the only social cause that Cassell's career embraced. In another of his early publications, The Standard of Freedom, he aligned himself with "Religious,

Political, and Commercial Freedom throughout the world", while opposing "Intolerance, the Gibbet, Intemperance, War, and all other systems which degrade, demoralize, brutalize, and destroy Mankind."²⁶ But like his publishing predecessor, Knight, Cassell found his most consuming interest to be the social and intellectual advancement of working people. And, like Knight, he deplored what he considered to be the generally poor quality and "immoral tendency" of much of the popular literature of his day. He therefore conceived the Family Paper and most of his other publications as vehicles for promoting education and counteracting "low tastes" and extreme sensationalism.²⁷ "I entered into the publishing Trade," he once said, "to advance the moral and social well-being of the working classes."²⁸ Thus, compared with the Journal and Miscellany, the Paper was the most serious in its underlying intent. But, even so, we must remember that it was still a commercial enterprise; it was in competition with other such publications, and, like them, it had no formal associational ties to honour. Cassell, moreover, was no Knight in one significant respect: he never let his high social aims colour his view of what most of the public wanted. The people he insisted "will not take what is termed namby-pamby."²⁹ Thus he made sure that the Paper contained much that would be highly entertaining, and he achieved the

expected result: as a contemporary observed, "popular appreciation was immediate."³⁰

III

For all the diversity in background, character and motives among Stiff, Reynolds and Cassell, the Journal, Miscellany and Paper did not differ markedly in their overall appearance and content. Moreover, in using wide-ranging subject matter the second generation of pictorial miscellanies also recalled the varied content of the Penny Magazine. These new magazines thus included much that was "pleasing to all orders of the community", but like their predecessor their major purpose was to appeal "particularly to the industrious classes."³¹ Accordingly, in all three publications a significant portion of the overall content addressed itself to working people's widening intellectual interests and increasing literacy. For instance, in a random sampling of issues of the Journal and the Miscellany--from the periods 1845 to 1846 and 1853 to 1854--the dedicated reader would have encountered numerous articles, featured series and short items treating travel and geography, contemporary life and new inventions, history and archeology, and noteworthy people of the past and present. Similarly, in its first number of 31 December 1853, and in all subsequent issues, the later entry into the field, Cassell's Paper, also offered its readers "every matter of interest to the public": for example, biographies of "those

who lived before us", accounts of "far distant lands", and information on "the onward march of civilisation".³²

The Journal, Miscellany and Paper also followed the Penny Magazine's lead in their use of mechanized stereotype printing for the inexpensive mass-reproduction of quality wood-engravings. Like Knight before them, Stiff, Reynolds and Cassell placed illustration high amongst the most attractive and saleable features of their publications. Never half-hearted in the promotion of his own enterprise, Stiff declared that the Journal's pictorial department produced "the most beautiful illustrations ever issued from the press"; his two rivals, meanwhile, contented themselves with inserting an occasional, more modest notice to the reader about the number and quality of engravings in the Miscellany and Paper.³³

All three men took pains to secure the services of talented artists and engravers. Hablot K. Browne ("Phiz") occasionally contributed to the Journal, as did Cruikshank to the same publication and to the Paper as well; John Gilbert, the prominent historical painter and engraver, did occasional work for both the Journal and the Miscellany, and he designed the Paper's first headpiece (plate 40). For the most part, though, the three magazines employed illustrators and engravers who are now less generally well-known but who attained at least a degree of prominence in their own day through their work for popular fiction publishers like

Dicks, and for periodicals such as Punch and the Illustrated London News. Among others, there were W. Corway, Louis Huard and T. H. Wilson of the Journal; Henry Anelay and E. Hooper who illustrated much of the Miscellany; and such contributors to the Paper's pictorial department as Kenny Meadows, T. H. Nicholson and G. F. Sargent.³⁴

With such a pool of draughtsmen and engravers the second generation of pictorial magazines was able to dispense imagery whose stylistic competence rivalled and, perhaps, at times surpassed that of the Penny Magazine's engravings. Thus, in these later publications, textual instruction in science, geography, history and current affairs had as its complement technical illustration (plate 41), scenes of foreign lands and monuments (plate 42), representations of historical events (plate 43), portraiture (plate 44) and images of the modern world (plate 45).

But if the new magazines emulated their prototype in the variety of their instructional content and generosity of illustration, they also added much that was innovative in low-priced pictorial magazines. They offered, for example, accounts of such current events as the 1848 French revolution, the Crimean war and conflicts in India; and to offset such sobering material they introduced as well theatrical anecdotes and reviews, riddles and other short humorous items, and an unprecedentedly generous amount of light poetry, treating nature, love, family life, work, war

and patriotism.³⁵ In addition, at the end of every issue of each magazine, "Notices to Correspondents" answered readers questions on a vast range of topics and concerns: the literary achievement of Chaucer, the history of Spanish wars, and the origins of the almanac; how to enter into apprenticeship and when to leave; what to do for baldness, bad skin and general debility; where to obtain a marriage licence, how to get a divorce, and when to kiss a lady.

Beyond this array of information and advice, the Paper additionally solved chess problems and provided "Hopes and Helps for the Young." Moreover to show that "the ladies are not to be forgotten", it also included recipes, ideas for needlework projects, and fashion news. The Journal and the Miscellany were similarly interested in attracting a female readership and they too reported on fashion, dispensed household hints, and printed "useful receipts" and guides to beauty. In addition, they frequently ran short biographies of notable--and, sometimes, notorious women: Jenny Lind and other contemporary performers, Shakespeare's mother, Florence Nightingale, Catherine of Russia, and the beauties of the court of Charles II.³⁶

But whether they aimed specifically at women or youth, or addressed themselves to a wider cross-section, many of these new texts demanded imagery that was also new to the field of inexpensive publishing. In the Paper, for instance, stitchery patterns and gameboard diagrams

clarified needlework instructions and chess problems (plate 46), while representations of performers, plays and scenery accompanied theatrical news in the Journal and the Miscellany (plate 47). The same two also included portraiture to complement their accounts of women's lives (plate 67 [discussed pp. 143-4]), and in all three magazines depictions of stylish ladies and their ribbons, laces, feathers and fringes enhanced reports on the latest in continental fashion (plate 48).

In many, perhaps most, cases the magazines' artists designed engravings specifically to accompany written material. This had also been the predominant practice in the Penny Magazine and was a departure from the earlier mode of illustrating inexpensive publications by loosely matching stock images to texts. Sometimes, though, editorial policy required yet another innovation, and in these instances texts had to be composed to suit illustrations, rather than the other way round. Thomas Frost, an occasional contributor to the Paper and sub-editor of Cassell's Popular Educator and Magazine of Art, recalled one such incident, which must have occurred early in November 1854. The Paper's editor, John Tillotson, had asked Frost to write an article to accompany one of the illustrations in an ongoing series of images of the Crimea--scenes, for example, like the "Battle of Alma", reproduced in plate 49. As Frost

recollected it, Tillotson's request for a complementary article was both forthright and commercially pragmatic:

You know the sort of thing we want. The popular claptrap about British valour, and a compliment to the Emperor [Napoleon III], you know. It has all been said before, but we must say something about recent events; for our war illustrations are exceedingly popular, and that is the key that our accompaniments must be played in.³⁷

But, popular as they were, war illustrations and their descriptions could not match the wide and lasting appeal of one other feature which distinguished the Penny Magazine's successors from their prototype. This was the exciting fiction that dominated the content of the Journal, Miscellany and Paper. Week after week through the 1840s and 50s, these magazines captured the collective imagination of their readers with an array of short stories expressly conceived to titillate, intrigue, or pleasurably horrify all those who made up the ever-growing market for entertaining fiction. In 1855, for example, the Journal offered such stimulating fare as "The Haunted Mirror", "Hearts are not Playthings", "The Pirate's Three Visits" and "The Lover's Grave"; meanwhile the Miscellany thrilled its readership with tales like "Tower of Terror", "The Living Corpse", "Love's Young Dream" and the "Drugged Chalice"; and, in its turn, the Paper provided comparable stimulation with "The Fatal Pleasure Trip", "Bandit's Captive" and "How Lucy was Cured of Flirting."³⁸

All of this, however, was no more than an entree to the fictional main course: the serialized novel. Unfailingly, throughout their publication lives the three magazines featured at least one long-running serial each. And with good reason, for such works were immensely popular. One bookseller, James G. Bertram, remembered the "enormous demand" for the Journal and its competitors on account of their serials. He recalled too that some of his customers not only read works such as "'Kenneth,' an exciting story published in Reynolds' [Miscellany]", but they also became "so much interested in the fate of the characters that they used to visit my shop in the course of the week to chat about the story."³⁹

The wide appeal and ready marketability of serialized fiction made it profitable for the magazines' proprietors to employ the most accomplished popular writers of the time. In this Reynolds, himself a notably successful author, had a distinct advantage, for he was able to feature his own highly saleable work and thus avoid the competition to engage similarly talented authors. His steady output of such enthralling material as Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf (1847), The Coral Island; or, the Hereditary Curse (1848-49) and The Massacre of Glencoe (1852-53) was undoubtedly a central factor in the Miscellany's commercial success.⁴⁰

On the other hand Stiff and Cassell, not having Reynolds' narrative capabilities, were forced to vie

aggressively for the services of other prolific and saleable writers of fiction. One such was J. F. Smith, the Journal's editor and chief serialist after Reynolds' departure. As noted before, Smith's serials--for example, Minnigrey (1847), The Will and the Way (1853) and Woman and Her Master (1854)--did much to build the Journal's circulation to its unprecedented number. And this did not pass unnoticed: in 1855 Cassell lured Smith from the Journal with the offer of a higher salary.

The memoir of contemporary publisher Henry Vizetelly provides an entertaining account of how the serialist effected his transition from the one magazine to the other:

Smith, who always wrote his weekly installment of 'copy' at the 'London Journal' office, chanced to be in the middle of a story for Stiff at the moment he had chosen for abandoning him. In this dilemma he decided upon bringing the tale to a sudden close, and to accomplish this artistically he blew up all the principal characters on board a Mississippi steamboat, and handed the 'copy' to the boy in waiting. Then, proud at having solved a troublesome difficulty, he descended the office stairs, and directed his steps . . . to take service under his new employer.⁴¹

But, never confounded for long, Stiff quickly replaced Smith with the equally popular Pierce Egan (who would later become the Journal's editor). And Vizetelly remembered that Egan "ingeniously brought about the resurrection of such of [Smith's] characters as it was desirable to resuscitate, and continued the marvellous story in the 'London Journal' for several months longer."⁴² Smith in the meantime began a new serial, The Soldier of Fortune, the first of many such

stories that he would write for the Paper in the late 1850s and early 60s.

Smith's serials and those which Reynolds, Egan and others produced for the three magazines are myriad, and the concern here is neither to list titles nor describe plots. Nevertheless we can take note of a nineteenth-century commentary or two, and from these gather the generally gripping tone and content of the serialized fiction that contributed so greatly to the popularity of the Journal and its two main competitors. The most saleable examples of such fiction were, as Vizetelly put it,

. . . lengthy and exciting stories, telling how rich and poor babies were wickedly changed in their perambulators by conniving nursemaids, how long-lost wills miraculously turned up in the nick of time, and penniless beauty and virtue were 'led to the hymenal altar by the wealthy scion of a noble house,' after he had gained the fair one's affections under some humble disguise.

And writing in a similar vein, another commentator offered this description of the successful serial's characterization and plotting:

The villains were generally of high birth and repulsive presence; the lowly personages were always of ravishing beauty and unsullied virtue. Innocence and loveliness in a gingham gown were perpetually pursued by vice and debauchery in varnished boots and spotless gloves. Life was surrounded by mystery; detectives were ever on the watch, and the most astonishing pitfalls and mantraps were concealed in the path of the unwary and of the innocent.⁴³

But it was not such verbal stimulus alone that the three magazines used to draw their readers. Adding to the

appeal of weekly serial adventures were the boldly styled engravings that gave visible form to characters and events. Writing in 1859, the British Quarterly Review's expert on "cheap literature" aptly remarked upon the typical content and overall effect of serial fiction's pictorial accompaniments:

. . . the illustrations . . . , with few exceptions, are of a violent or sinister character. There is usually either a 'deed of blood' going forward, or preparations for it. If there be not a dishevelled villain in a slouched hat shooting a fair gentleman in lace and tassels, or a brawny savage dragging an unprotected female into a cavern by the hair of her head, we may reckon at least upon a man in a cloak watching from behind a rock, or a 'situation' of thrilling interest, in which the figures look as of they had been taken in a spasm, and were suddenly petrified. The art employed upon these pictures is proper to the subject. The effects are broad, bold, and unscrupulous,. There is an appropriate fierceness in the wild cutting and slashing of the block; and the letter-press always falls short of the haggard and ferocious expression of the engraving.⁴⁴

Clearly images similar to those reproduced in plates 50 to 52 must have prompted this description. As these plates show, Reynolds' highly-coloured tales of romance and intrigue lent themselves well to the kind of stylistic and iconographic excesses that so bemused the Review's commentator. And, similarly, representative examples from the Journal and the Paper (plates 53 and 54) make it plain that Smith's stories also inspired their share of slashing diagonals, frenzied cross-hatchings, melodramatic lighting effects and sinister shadows.

As all of the engravings in plates 50 to 54 show, these and many other such examples of the illustration of serial fiction frequently occupied a conspicuous position on the front pages of the various issues in which they appeared. Normally a half-page or more in size, often set below a given magazine's title, these pictures were apparently meant to attract the notice of those who browsed at the windows and stands of booksellers and news vendors. And without doubt they did so. For who but the most strong-minded reader, determinedly bent on self-improvement in its purest form, could have failed to respond to the lure of vivid depictions of jousts and duels; gripping portrayals of murders attempted and maidens imperilled; glamorous scenes of the elegant gatherings and sumptuous surroundings of court and high society; affecting tableaux of love lost and found, betrothals, marriages and family reconciliations; provocative images of the scantily-clad victims of war, abduction and white slavery; and the pictorial drama of eleventh-hour rescues from burning buildings, watery graves and assorted villains' seamy haunts.⁴⁵ In other words, such illustrations not only added to the interest of every thrilling installment that they pictured, but also helped to sell the magazines.

In their prolific use of fiction and its illustration, and in their introduction of other kinds of material largely new to inexpensive pictorial publishing--fashion

news, recipes, chess problems and so on--the three magazines professed merely to offer the necessary leavening to offset their more serious and specifically educational content. The Journal declared itself to be "devoted to the amusement and instruction of the people"; the Paper vowed that "to unite amusement with instruction--one of the happiest marriages on earth--will always be attempted"; and similarly the Miscellany aimed to "steer the medium course" between "too much light matter" and "another set of periodicals [which] are too heavy."⁴⁶ Not content with a verbal statement alone, the latter publication also expressed its aim pictorially. Plate 55 reproduces the title page to the Miscellany's first volume, where at centre-top Reynolds' image benignly presides--midway between instruction, personified in the guise of Science, and entertainment, represented in the persona of Romance.

But, as we might gather from the contrast between the comparative slenderness of Science and the buxom robustness of Romance, the Miscellany's purported balance between the serious and the amusing was in fact weighted in favour of the latter. Moreover, as if in confirmation of this tendency, Reynolds' gaze turns away from Science and her sober accoutrements, toward the more blatantly enthralling (and saleable) charms of Romance. The content of the Journal and the Paper reflected a similar bias as both magazines, like the Miscellany, emphasized readily marketed

entertainment over more purely instructional fare.⁴⁷ And, with their overall editorial efforts thus directed toward providing light diversion, the second generation of pictorial miscellanies could not offer the same quantity and kind of high-minded material that had characterized the Penny Magazine. The clearest signal of this difference between the earlier publication and its three successors was the shift in treatment of one particular feature--Knight's innovative contribution to pictorial publishing--the discussion and reproduction of works of art.

IV

It is only a mild exaggeration to say that as the first stirrings of the "art for art's sake" movement became discernible, the three new magazines espoused an opposing credo of "art largely for entertainment's sake." For, while the Journal on occasion included a serious discussion of painting or sculpture,⁴⁸ its general policy, like that of the Miscellany and the Paper, was to treat art as just another sundry amusing item in an array of such material, all of which stood subordinate to the main selling point, fiction. Or, putting it another way, in the second generation of pictorial miscellanies there are indications that, in its visual forms at least, high culture had begun to retreat from the popular domain, back toward the tradition that the Penny Magazine had briefly interrupted:

what Knight had described as "art's long reign of exclusiveness."

And so, in place of their predecessor's rich tapestry of art history, theory and imagery, the Journal, Miscellany and Paper offered a homelier, patchwork version of art for the people. Now, rather than a feature, art was often a filler, as short, often unillustrated paragraphs on the "Fine Arts" interposed themselves as if in afterthought between columns labelled "Miscellaneous" and the end-of-issue "Notices to Correspondents."⁴⁹ The Journal on occasion omitted even abbreviated discussion of the fine arts and solved the problem of excess space simply by inserting an appropriately cropped image without additional explanatory comment. In such cases the reproduced works of Raphael and Correggio, for example, became visual non sequiturs amongst unrelated "Gems of Thought", snippets of poetry, statistics, "Facetiae" and "Useful Receipts."⁵⁰

When layout space permitted the inclusion of both a reproduction and some accompanying text, all three magazines tended by their focus and presentation to trivialize both the art and its production. The Miscellany, for instance, published an engraving of Van Dyke's painting, The Virgin, but, beyond a few brief and generalized remarks about the artist's style, offered little in the way of informative art history and criticism. Instead, the reader learned that Van Dyke always began work in the morning, frequently invited

his model to lunch, and then, with appetite but not creativity sated, finished the picture in the afternoon.⁵¹ Similarly, the Miscellany's commentary on a reproduced genre scene by contemporary painter Robert McInnes (plate 56) told the reader nothing about the artist and provided only a critical word or two on the picture's "life-like effect." In this case the major concern of the literally-minded critic was to assure the reader that

[although] we Londoners are scarcely in the habit of taking our children to the cloisters of old cathedrals to give them a bath, this . . . detracts nothing from the merits of the picture . . .⁵²

The Paper took a similarly trivializing approach to art, but frequently added its own distinguishing touch of cloying sentimentality. For example, writing on a reproduction of The Swing, a painting by academy artist Frederick Goodall (plate 57), the magazine's commentator expressed the view that "our picture describes itself." Then, with art criticism thus neatly disposed of, he or she proceeded to the main point:

Children at play are a pleasant sight . . .
Children soften the heart; foster kindly feelings;
recall the pleasant passages of our own childhood
. . . .

--and so on in a comparable vein.⁵³ It was perhaps the same sentimental critic who had previously described another genre scene published in the Paper, a reproduction of a painting entitled The Grandfather's Watch.⁵⁴ The picture shows a cottage room, in which is seated a pleasant-looking

elderly man who holds his pocket watch to the ear of a small girl. Meanwhile, leaning on the back of the old man's chair, the child's mother looks fondly down upon the pair. All of this the readers could have noted for themselves. But had they wished further enlightenment about the painting or its artist, they would have been disappointed; for, rather than explaining the theories and practice of art, the Paper's critic was more concerned with expanding upon kindly grandfathers, winsome children, maternal solicitude and the marvels of horology.

The insubstantial treatment of art which characterized the Penny Magazine's three successors did not arise from any particular animosity toward the subject on the part of the magazine's editors and proprietors. Cassell, in fact, had by 1853 gained a reputation as one of the foremost contemporary popularizers of art with the publication of his Magazine of Art (1853-56); and Reynolds' replacement at the Journal, John Wilson Ross, eventually became editor of a periodical conceived to promote popular knowledge of design, The Universal Decorator.⁵⁵ Nothing is known about the attitudes to art of Stiff, Reynolds, Smith and others closely associated with the production of the three magazines. There is however no evidence to suggest that any of these men were actively ill-disposed toward either art or its dissemination to the people. Rather, what differentiated the new miscellanies from the Penny Magazine

was their editors' and proprietors' emphasis on what had become more readily saleable imagery than art reproduction--imagery which, as we have already seen, accompanied works of fictional narrative.

The focus on entertainment through storytelling was particularly pronounced in the Miscellany, and frequently it managed to recreate art as narrative. In one such instance a short commentary on Verheyden's Peasant-Girl's Return (plate 58) transformed the picture into a visual short story whose ending was the usual one of romantic fiction:

We may fancy that the young peasant girl has gone forth to sell her eggs, her butter, and her poultry, and has brought home a good store of fruit, flowers and vegetables in her ample basket and in the folds of her apron. She knocks at the door, saying, 'It is I!'--and thereupon a kind mother or worthy old father rises and opens for her admittance. A little later in life, and when she knocks at some other cottage-door, saying, 'It is I!' a watchful husband will be ready to give her ingress.⁵⁶

In another case a reproduction of a Fragonard painting of a young woman engaged in correspondence also became an implied narrative as the commentator speculated about the contents of the pictured letter, exclaimed over "the world of loving thoughts" in the writer's mind, and artistically evoked scenes of "whispered conversations in crowded rooms", "the gentle pressure of hands when they meet in the mazes of the dance" and "long moonlit wanderings in shady lanes . . .".⁵⁷ And for those who were aficionados of art as well as romance, the author remembered to include a brief addendum

which named the painter and engraver of the picture and assured the reader that "it has never before been rendered in wood."

In a more notable and somewhat different kind of example, there was no need to weave a whole new story around the work of art. Instead, Reynolds simply applied his own inimitable style to a highly-coloured reworking of the narrative originally associated with a well-known series of images. One-time readers of the Penny Magazine perhaps might have recognized the scene of industry and idleness reproduced in plate 59. But, unlike the earlier magazine's image, the Miscellany's version was not an illustration for long quotations from Charles Lamb's seminal essay on Hogarth; and it was no longer strictly a visual homily on civilized behaviour. Along with reproductions of other engravings in the series, it had become part of the pictorial accompaniment to one of Reynolds' typical works of serialized fiction. Running for several weeks in mid-1847, this was a florid tale of love and licentiousness, gallantry and degradation, virtue-outraged, vice-rampant, horrible crime, dissipation and depravity, duelling, drinking, dancing and gambling--all in Old London at the time indicated in the title: The Days of Hogarth. Needless to say, apart from its title and illustrations, this story had little to do with the history and theory of fine art.

In other encounters between art and serial fiction, the former in no way inspired or played a key role in the narrative. For the most part it had relinquished all claims to centre-stage and now served as a backdrop to more readily saleable imagery. In one typical engraving (plate 60), again from the Miscellany, a picture of the Madonna and Child overlooks an episode from Reynolds' Massacre of Glencoe, an historical tale of gripping adventure and dubious accuracy that featured in several issues early in 1853. Cassell's Paper similarly included many illustrations in which staples of parlour art--like the seascape of plate 61--hung in the background of such affecting scenes as the one shown: "The Lost One Found," from J. F. Smith's 1858 serial, Smiles and Tears. And, not to be outdone, the Journal had some years earlier run an illustration containing no less than three pairs of painted eyes to witness "Old Martin Pointing Out the Murderer of Sir William Mowbray" (plate 62), from another Smith serial, The Will and the Way, published in 1853.

In short, as these and other such examples indicate, by the 1850s the Journal, Miscellany and Paper had reduced art to a subservient position in a new popular realm where high drama, high intrigue and high romance had deposed high culture.⁵⁸ And in such a domain there was little place for Somerset House exhibition room and all that it stood for.

But however much the new pictorial miscellanies diverged from the Penny Magazine in their light approach to fine art, they followed in the wake of their prototype in one important respect. For, as we will next see, the second generation also managed to contribute its share to the dissemination of the civilizing values associated with individual virtue and social stability.

CHAPTER 5

The Civilizing Image:

The Second Generation and Social Virtue,

1845-1860

As our now familiar commentator on "cheap literature" prepared his review and perused his copies of penny miscellanies, he made the following observation:

As to the matter of wisdom in the conduct of life, the control of the passions, and the regulation of the temper, . . . the axiomatic sentences, or, as they are called in the London Journal, the 'Gems of Thought,' . . . are notoriously inexhaustible.¹

And, once again, our commentator had demonstrated his astuteness. For, in abandoning a Penny Magazine-style programme of serious education in fine art and other subjects, the Journal by no means wholly neglected the matter of its readers' social and moral instruction. Similarly, despite all their efforts to subordinate high culture to entertainment, the Miscellany and Paper also found ways to transmit a set of civilized values and civilizing exhortations along with their thrilling fiction and spirited illustration: improve yourself; practice

discipline; work hard; exercise moderation. As they had been in the Penny Magazine, these ideals of social virtue were the catch-phrases of hegemony--the authority of those in positions of privilege and power. Frequently the three magazines confined themselves to conveying generalized messages about the nature, and value for all, of civilized behaviour. But at times they also managed to suggest that the meaning of "civilized" was fluid, that it shifted in relation to an individual's position and role in society. In other words, from the standpoint of the second generation of pictorial miscellanies, the ideals of social virtue permitted variations on their main themes, variations specific to class and gender.

But, as we have already noted, these magazines did not consistently differentiate virtue in this way. We will turn our attention first to their more generalized expressions of hegemonic values--and to the items of information, the stories, poems and images that clothed civilized behaviour in engaging, sometimes glamorous, garb.

I

In an 1846 editorial the Journal dedicated itself to the spread of "light, useful truth and moral improvement."² From time to time the Miscellany and Paper made similar avowals; and each of the three magazines offered its share of short homilies on the merits of patience, perseverance and self-improvement; scientific facts on the healthful

benefits of mildness of temper; essays on etiquette and politeness, the hallmarks of civilized society; headlines such as "Industry Its Own Reward"; and dire warnings against the evils of intemperance.³ Indeed such civilizing material was so extensive that even Charles Knight, a relative purist in these matters, somewhat reluctantly had to admit that "for all their bad taste," the three magazines and their like demonstrated

. . . partial and manifest utility in some portions In the whole range of these things we can detect nothing that bears a parallel with what used to be called 'the blasphemous and seditious press.'⁴

But it was not solely non-fictional material that promoted the virtues of work, self-reliance and moderation in all things. As exciting, even titillating, as the magazines' fiction was, it too tended to be moralistic in tone and directly or indirectly supportive of much the same sort of values that had characterized the Penny Magazine. In other words, in the communication of a particular social outlook conducive to the maintenance of social stability, the difference between the earlier magazine and its new counterparts was a matter more of ostensible form rather than imbedded content.

John Cassell for one clearly recognized the social utility of the kind of entertaining fiction that sold his magazine. In an 1858 letter to Lord Brougham he wrote:

Without professing to be a champion of Fiction, I may be allowed to state my opinion that novels may

be rendered something more than mere books of amusement. That they may be made appropriate vehicles in the conveyance of useful lessons, inculcating good morals, cultivating the best affections of the heart, kindling the noblest aspirations, awakening inert ambition, inciting to enterprise and exertion, and thus advancing the Moral and intellectual welfare of the People at large.⁵

And, consistent with this philosophy, the Paper's chief serialist, Smith, managed to reconcile a racy, readable style with "high moral tone," so that, as one commentator (possibly Cassell) put it, "he never panders to vice, nor paints the brutal and abandoned in attractive colours."⁶

Similarly, however sensational fiction in the Journal and Miscellany might at times become, it also preserved and promoted a standard of civilized behaviour. Even Reynolds, whose stories for the Miscellany were comparatively tolerant of excess, particularly in sexual matters, frequently made sure that greed, profligacy and all forms of social irresponsibility came to a bad fictional end--even if they had managed to have a good, long, graphically entertaining run for their money in earlier chapters. Indeed, what Reynolds claimed for two of his most famous stories--The Mysteries of London (1845-48) and The Mysteries of the Court of London (1848-56)--might be said of several other examples of his fiction: they were collectively a "moral document" conceived with a strong notion of social and personal right and wrong.⁷ In one such story, The Seamstress, which ran in the Miscellany in mid-1850, the aristocratic villains of the

piece variously die unpleasant deaths not only for their persecution of seamstresses and others in their employ, but also for such personal vices as idleness, dissipation and greed.

We have less explicit information on how Stiff might have felt about the importance of redeeming social and moral content in the fiction featured in the Journal. It is however suggestive that that writer of incomparably "high moral tone," Smith, was the Journal's chief serialist for several years before he joined the Paper. Other examples of the Journal's fiction are also telling. A random sampling of stories from 1848 show the kind of moral underpinning that was part of a wider cultural concept of the individual behaviour necessary for a stable, civilized society. One such story, a tale of young love and marriage, was also a scarcely veiled lecture on fiscal responsibility and the folly of trying to live beyond one's means and station in life; another example, a story of thwarted love and tragic death was intended to show the reader "the valuelessness of every personal grace and accomplishment" if passion and temper are "allowed to run riot with the will"; and still another "romance", with the intriguing title of "Scandal," charted the path to madness taken by a beautiful and charming young woman who was regrettably prone to frivolity and indulgence in scandalous gossip, the behavioural aspects of her real vice--idleness.⁸

With the three magazines' fiction and non-fiction alike so blatant in their promotion of civilized and civilizing values, there was not much need for further clarification through illustration, and indeed many non-fictional items and short fictional pieces had no accompanying pictorial material. Where illustration was added, it had little to do but provide general reinforcement for the textual messages. For instance, portraits of deserving individuals usually accompanied biographies extolling their subjects' individual virtues and achievements in the interest of civilized society.⁹ In another kind of example, the Journal ran an engraving entitled "The Ruined Family", which showed a homeless mother, father and three children all bearing the sartorial traces of one-time gentility, but now brought down by what the adjacent essay referred to as "the evil effects of drinking." The following issue continued the theme with a series of illustrations by Cruikshank and commentary by Journal contributor, R. S. Mackenzie, both of which traced another family's descent into degradation via "The Bottle."¹⁰ And, additionally, in all three magazines the illustration of fiction echoed the texts' social and moral messages with sympathetic renderings of the tribulations and triumphs of virtuous factory girls and their like, compelling images of other worthy characters who prosper both economically and emotionally, and equally graphic

pictures of the villains, wastrels and drunkards who meet different, deservedly unpleasant fates.¹¹

In rare instances the imagery and discourse of fine arts also helped to promote civilizing values and behaviour. Apart from any other effect, the most notable example of this sort might well have induced a sense of deja vu in some older readers of the Journal. In 1848 it ran a short essay on a work of art once reproduced in the Penny Magazine: the morning-after scene from Marriage a-la-Mode (plate 34). And here, a decade and a half later, was art criticism in the grand style of the earlier magazine--a verbatim denunciation of "withering satiety", "poison in the cup" and "the ruin which has overwhelmed thousands."¹² But, in contrast to the Penny Magazine's version, the Journal's illustration of this "useful lecture on morality" signalled art's regained exclusivism: the engraving provided was a fold-out supplement available only to regular subscribers.

But, with or without an accompanying reproduction, the above case was something of an anomaly. Generally speaking, the bland examples of academy painting and the trivial commentary that were most characteristic of the three magazines' treatment of art had little power to convey or even reinforce civilizing values--their cultural content was simply too sparse.¹³ This is not however to imply that there no longer existed a prevalent belief in the capacity

of fine art to elevate the viewer. This tradition had in fact persisted and by mid-century had developed an industrial variant. That is, amongst the many reformers, writers, social critics and others who considered the matter, it was not from exposure to the old masterpieces of painting and sculpture that the working class would most benefit. Rather, for their own moral and aesthetic development, and the wider good of preserving social stability and improving English manufactures, working people ought to learn more about the principles of design and their practical application to the production of household objects and so-called "minor" art forms--woven goods, brasswork, silver plate, china and the like. For, as one of its proponents argued, such education would have "an Economic, a Moral, and a Social value, for, it tends to increase production, it produces healthy feelings of content, and it renders men disinclined to disturb Law and Order."¹⁴

The Journal, Miscellany and Paper also embraced the cause of practical design education and incorporated numerous discussions and engravings of tapestry screens and chair covers, silver celery bowls, porcelain jugs and salt cellars, glass vases, brass door-knockers, and cast-iron boot-scrapers.¹⁵ The illustration of a silver wine-cooler in plate 63 is typical of its kind and, additionally, inspired the author of the accompanying article to interject a moralizing word or two about the dangers of intemperance.

But the major concern of this and other such articles was to disseminate knowledge about design and so aid the progress of English manufacturing.

In texts of this sort and their associated pictures there was undoubtedly--to recall Barthes' term--a "third message." For, in emphasizing design and its applications over painting and sculpture, the three new magazines helped to validate the prevailing view that there were two kinds of aesthetic experience: for the privileged, the history, theory and imagery of fine art; and for the people--the principles and exemplars of practical design. Thus, the refrain of the Journal, Miscellany and Paper was a variation on the old Penny-Magazine theme of improvement through art. Only now it had become a culturally depleted, if still somewhat familiar, chorus: work hard; improve yourself; learn design skills; increase English productivity--in short, be civilized according to your station.

While thus encouraging artisans and factory workers to cultivate social virtue through practical design, the three magazines also managed to provide guidance for what was perhaps an even larger group--their female readers.¹⁶ As mentioned earlier, the Journal, Miscellany and Paper regularly included many items directed specifically toward women. Combined with other, general-interest content, this material too had its imbedded social and moral values to impart. And, if civilized social virtue was a desirable

trait in the readership at large, it was even more particularly a female imperative. Amongst numerous contributors to all three magazines there was a consensus that women should be patient and forbearing, gentle and nurturing, cheerful and temperate, dutiful and hard-working. And beyond all this, it need hardly be said, the ideal woman was as innocent of mind as she was pure in body. For, as more than one writer was apt to point out, "woman's true beauty" lay in her ability to embody at once both social and sexual virtue.¹⁷

But at the same time as they enthused over this lofty and somewhat abstract ideal of female beauty, these and other writers energetically promoted a more earthbound and physical notion of beauty in women. And for this the suggested criteria were often uncompromisingly explicit. In the view of one expert, for example, the essential elements of female attractiveness were long and luxuriant hair, a "speaking eye", "even and well set rows of teeth", a delicate hand, "finely-rounded arms" and a "well-formed figure." And, concluded this aesthetic tyrant, only these particular attributes "constitute physical beauty, and nothing less than these deserves the name."¹⁸ Not everyone was quite so dogmatic, however, and many contributors not only acknowledged that physical beauty admitted some variation, but that "artificial means of enhancement" were also permissible. The three magazines were full of long and

short items, fashion reports and illustrations, and "notices to correspondents", all of which advised readers on their dress, hairstyles, complexion and figures. On this last subject there was general agreement, and most authorities considered a well-rounded shape to be a particularly important female asset. The Miscellany especially upheld this view and Reynolds and other contributors were inclined to dwell lovingly on "undulating roundness and softness", "voluptuous fullness" and "heaving bosoms"--and, as plates 51 and 52 show, the latter had a tendency to spill generously out of the attire of agitated heroines.¹⁹

In short, in their overall textual and pictorial portrayal of women, the Journal, Miscellany and Paper presented their female readers with a restrictive and essentially contradictory ideal image of themselves. On the one hand, they were to epitomize the "true beauty" of goodness--on the other, the lesser, but as culturally highly-valued, beauty of face and form. And, more paradoxically still, the ideal woman was also to be at once sexually virtuous and sexually attractive. The serialized stories that contributed so much to the magazines' sales were replete with the fictional embodiments of this contradictory image. Once again the most compelling examples come from the Miscellany: There was the hardworking but exceptionally pretty seamstress; the equally industrious factory girl whose innocent attractiveness drew the

unwelcome attentions of more than one manufacturer with "a lustful eye"; and, from a different social sphere, there was Lady Ellen, who was not only captivatingly beautiful, but so highly virtuous that the mere thought of dining with a morally suspect individual caused her to grow pale as death and fall into an artistic swoon with hair attractively disarranged and breasts pointing provocatively upwards.²⁰ But perhaps most arresting of all was the young woman pictured in plate 64, the heroine of Reynolds' Mysteries of London. As the accompanying text informed the reader, "the annexed portrait is that of Louisa, the personification of virtue, innocence and every good quality." It is of course possible that viewers saw Louisa's virtue reflected in her speaking eyes. But presumably they also would not have failed to take in the meticulously artless curls, exquisite gown and, not least of all, a figure so pneumatic as to verge on deformity.

We do not have far to look to account at least in part for Louisa and her like. If the three magazines are any guide, then the fundamental dualities of the feminine ideal--goodness and beauty, innocence and sexual attractiveness--were high qualifications for that one thing which all women, regardless of class, were to desire and, if possible, attain. This was marriage, or, more precisely, a glossy version of it. For while the magazines denied most of its variegated reality, not to mention how individual women felt

about that reality, they were nonetheless effusive in their view that marriage was the natural destiny, occupation, expectation and reward of all but the most unworthy of women. The altar was of course the fate that awaited most good and beautiful heroines in the fiction of Reynolds, Smith, Egan and other contributors. Meanwhile, on the assumption that a similar happy ending was the lot of most real-life women, essays and poems on female virtue tended to conflate womanly and wifely: a good woman was also, or inevitably would be, a good wife.²¹ Other items focused on the less romantic and idealistic side of marriage and simply urged women to develop their practical domestic skills.²² And there were undoubtedly powerful genetic and social reasons for encouraging women in this way. For, as one authority explained it, women lacked men's superior "faculty of reason" and were therefore "out of place in the pulpit, at the bar, in the senate, or in the profession chair," while men conversely were "out of place engaged in the drudgery of the kitchen, or in superintending the management of domestic affairs." And, he argued, to suppose otherwise would be to "subvert the intentions of nature, and introduce disorder into the social system."²³ This point of view together with the magazines' image of women was consistent with the social outlook embodied in their other kinds of content. And so, to invoke Barthes again, in the pictures and texts that both treated and addressed women, there was

an underlying message, the gender-specific version of an old familiar tune: work hard; improve your domestic skills; aspire to matrimony; be good but also good-looking--in other words, be properly, femininely civilized.

Thus, through their representation of women, through the discussion and illustration of practical design, through fiction and its illustration, and through various other miscellaneous items and images, the Journal, Miscellany and Paper found ways to reiterate and foster an already widely current set of socially conservative values. It seems fairly clear that such values were integrally bound up with a network of social and economic power relations. And, as previous chapters have argued, it is with reference to Gramsci's thought that we can best understand and explain these relations--or, to be precise, their expression in the three magazines.

II

It seems unproductive to regard the civilizing messages conveyed through the texts and pictures of the second generation of illustrated magazines as instances of attempted social control through the popular press. There is no evidence that Stiff, Reynolds, Cassell and others involved in the magazines' production were motivated by class fears for the stability of society. Stiff appears to have been a single-minded man of business, while Reynolds, we will recall, was a spokesman for Chartism, and Cassell,

once a labourer himself, dedicated his efforts to the advancement, not the repression, of the working class. But even so it must be remembered that, whatever their beginnings, those who edited, operated and wrote for the magazines enjoyed significantly more social and economic power than did the majority of their readers. Thus the material that they produced cannot be altogether divorced from the interests and perceptions of those in positions of privilege and authority. In other words, as was the case with the Penny Magazine--the Journal, Miscellany and Paper at times conveyed the kind of social values consistent with the Gramscian idea of hegemony. But, still following Gramsci, the transmission and acceptance of these values did not occur through some process of imposition from above, but rather through consent negotiated between those who produced and those who purchased, read and looked at the magazines. And this, after all, is little more than a matter of common sense, for the magazines' large numbers of readers were such by choice, and the commercial success of the Journal and its two main competitors could only have been founded on a consensus of approval for their content. As Cassell pointed out to the parliamentary committee investigating newspaper stamps, those who read the Paper and like publications had no taste for condescending "twaddle", but they did want "freshness, vigour of thought, and moral sentiment."24

And certainly the three magazines gave them all of that--and more. For, in comparison to the Penny Magazine, its successors offered their working-class readers a more conspicuous basis for the negotiated consent upon which the effectiveness of hegemony depended.²⁵ That is, in addition to the kind of moralistic, socializing content described above, the magazines also included material that showed another view of reality or, in varying ways and degrees, represented the interests of workers and others in subordinate social and economic positions. This applies particularly to the Journal, which took an explicit stand on the matter and assured its readers that "wherever we have allowed an undercurrent of political bias to agitate the surface of our columns," that tendency had been and would continue to be in favour of "the real sinews of society"--"the industrious classes."²⁶ And, as a sampling from 1848 reveals, in line with its avowed position, the Journal took note of its readers' enthusiasm for a series of articles on the French Revolution, responded to their requests for more of the same, and launched two further pro-Gallic, pro-populist series, one on "the grandest and most interesting features of the glorious popular outbreak of 1830," the other on the French Revolution of 1848, but spiced with references and comparisons to English Chartism.²⁷ In August of the same year it serialized Gideon Giles the Roper, the story of a poor man's "struggles to obtain a living" written

by a one-time working man, Thomas Miller; and at various times in the period sampled it ran items with such topical themes as the advantages of emigration and the need to reduce the hours in a working day.²⁸ A particularly striking instance of its treatment of current social issues was an indignant report on "Destitution in the Metropolis," which condemned the "shocking state" of several London workhouses. To drive home its point, the report included a number of illustrations. One of these (plate 65a) was for emphasis by way of contrast and pictured a Literary Association ball on behalf of Poland. Set against this sumptuous scene with its well-dressed people, chandelier, statuary and richly ornamented walls, the adjacent images became all the more tellingly graphic in their depiction of the overcrowding, bleakness and misery of the East and West London Unions and Gray's Inn Workhouse (plate 65, b-d). And it was perhaps no accident that the illustration showing the East London Union included a poster advertising Charles Cochrane's new Poor Man's Guardian, for there was a shade of that paper's crusading spirit in the Journal's images and account of "parochial abuses of power, more especially the huddling of the poor together like sheep."²⁹

The Miscellany and Paper did not generally engage in such straightforward social reportage. But they nonetheless offered their readers occasional alternatives to purely hegemonic content: for instance, items empathizing with the

hardships of poverty, stories of workers and their troubles, portraits and accounts of reformers and radicals, and Reynolds' series of "Letters to the Industrious Classes," in which he championed working people's right to improved education, political expression and material well-being.³⁰ And, as plate 66's image of "The Aged Pauper" shows, sometimes even the illustration of fiction acknowledged that the hard-working and virtuous did not always end their days in middle-class comfort--let alone the lavish interiors of Gothic romance.

But while the pauper woman represented an alternative view of social reality in one sense, in another she remained a personification of hegemonic values. For, according to the poem beneath her picture, until age and poverty took their toll, she had conformed well to the magazines' conventional female image: she had been an industrious worker, loving wife, happy mother and, before all of that, an attractive enough girl to have been "crowned the village-queen." The prevalence of this kind of image, and the fact that it can be identified in material whose main theme is not woman and her role, together suggest that Gramsci's notion of hegemony has to be extended a little to take in a hybrid concept. This we might call gender hegemony, and its purpose is simply to add an additional level of description to the main model. Thus we can now think of the three magazines' female image as part of those cultural processes

through which are enacted power relations based, first of all, specifically on sexual difference, and only secondarily and incidentally on social and economic inequalities.³¹

But to recognize the unequal nature of the power relations of gender is not to imply that the female image was simply inflicted upon women. For they, like so many others of the populace at large, chose to buy, and to keep on buying, the new magazines. And, without doubt, this ongoing act signalled their generalized consent to the female image purveyed. But the returns on such consent were vast--for a hegemonic ideal of themselves was only one aspect of all the information, entertainment and sustaining escapism that women could now enjoy on an equal basis with men. And, for the time, this was no small gain: in their negotiations with the cultural representatives of authority, women had bargained well.

And to their general gain, moreover, they could add one further concession. For the three magazines occasionally countered their usual female image with material that presented a somewhat less conventional view of women and their lives. For instance, in Reynolds' 1847 serial, Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf, the heroine, Nisida (plate 52), distinguished herself by her carefree abandonment of the ideal of chastity--and, moreover, she came to no worse end than old age, at which time she died peacefully and, we suspect, only mildly repentant. Other fictional heroines

may have been less sexually liberated than Nisida, but they nonetheless showed exceptional enterprise, not to mention sartorial revolutionism, when they donned male disguise in order to facilitate some daring and suspenseful exploit.³²

But not all alternative female images came from fiction. In one of its 1855 issues the Paper ran a large, showy engraving in which a composed-looking young woman, known as Mademoiselle Borelli the "Beast-Tamer," efficiently held at bay several large lions, all fixed in attitudes of domestic cat-like docility--a symbolic reversal of the usual male-female power relationship. And this did not pass unnoticed by the regrettably anonymous commentator who observed that ". . . the lions are her servants and feel her to be their mistress . . . Mlle Borelli is prominent by the calmness of her attitude and the energy of her will."³³ But both she and her career were decidedly unusual.

The theatrical stage offered a less exotic, though still of course uncommon, way to bypass conventional domesticity. Large portraits and accompanying biographies of singers and actresses were a recurrent feature in each of the three magazines, but especially in the Journal. And, in contrast to the stereotypically dubious reputation of theatrical women, they invariably got "good press." A case in point is the biographical discussion and portrait (plate 67) of the actress, "Mrs. Keeley." The text emphasized its subject's talent and career successes, while the

accompanying picture showed a calm, pleasant looking woman of perhaps young middle-age, with normal figure development and, to quote the text, "countenance intelligent"--all in all, a refreshing contrast to the artistically swooning Lady Ellen and the vapid, misshapen Louisa.³⁴

Mrs. Keeley, however, and other such alternative images were comparatively rare. And, where they did occur, they were never quite free of the more conventional and restrictive image of virtue, domesticity and beauty. Even Wagner's Nisida, if not virtuous, was at least ravishingly beautiful. Mademoiselle Borelli was also a beauty and there was in addition no reason to doubt her virtue. The women who donned men's clothing somehow managed to be intrepid, yet properly gentle and mild; and of course when at last they emerged from their temporary male guise, they were always stunningly, femininely beautiful. With the exception of Mrs. Keeley, whose appearance was apparently uncommonly distinctive, actresses and singers were usually accorded the description, "beautiful," and all in fact do look conventionally attractive in their pictures. Moreover, possibly because the three magazines advertised themselves as family publications, those who wrote the accounts of actresses and singers were always at pains to gloss over any real life peccadilloes and present their subjects as women who never allowed their choice of career to compromise seriously either their obligatory female virtue or their

social and biological destiny. Mrs. Keeley for one was not only the blameless pride of a "most respectable" county family, but was also the fond mother of two daughters--the issue of her legal and virtuous union with Mr. Keeley.

Thus, for all that the Journal, Miscellany and Paper might sometimes have shown women possibilities different from those within their own experience, the view was always limited by a generalized, not necessarily fully articulated, nor even conscious, perception of where authority would seemingly always rest. As one male writer, more enlightened than many, had declared with apparent sincerity: "[women have] an intelligence equal to our own They deserve, therefore, the full enjoyment of every privilege that it is in our power to confer on them."³⁵ A similarly limited vision structured the three magazines' forays into political commentary and social criticism. So, in general, the best that they could offer to counter the values of hegemony were empathy or compassion for the plight of the deprived or abused. There was little in the way of enlightened analysis of, or outright protest against, the unequal distribution of power that lay at the heart of social injustice.³⁶

But these are criticisms from a present perspective. And, while it is important to make them, they should not distract us completely from a simpler approach to the lived past. To that end we need only remember that, whatever their shortcomings, the Journal, Miscellany and Paper

brought a high level of entertainment and escapism into lives that only a short time ago had felt the want of such comforts. And that, surely, is why a great many people of both sexes, of varying ages, classes and interests chose to buy the magazines and thus to become part of a new kind of cultural community that had begun with the readers of the Penny Magazine. And if the popular experience of imagery was now much further removed from the Somerset House exhibition room than it had been just fifteen years ago, that was not perhaps a matter of much concern to a majority of working people. For while their pictorial life had been depleted in one direction, along the lines of social and economic inequality, it had otherwise enriched and expanded itself. For it was not just practical design and the images of pots and boot-scrapers that had replaced affordable, high-quality, fine art reproduction--the Dying Gladiator had also given way to needlework patterns and gameboards, fashion and war illustration, images of the theatrical world and its players, and, above all, to the teeming life and lines of the engraved illustration of popular fiction.

The people who participated in and helped to shape this expanded pictorial experience are the subjects of the next chapter. From the fragments of evidence that remain, we can repeat a few words, pick out a response or two, from the vast number of individuals who bought, read and looked at the second generation of pictorial miscellanies and their

ground-breaking predecessor. And, together, these individuals were a social cross-section of women and men, the poor and the comparatively prosperous, the literate and the unlettered, the young and the not so, the middle and the working classes--they were, in a word, the mass.

CHAPTER 6

The Printed Image and the Mass:

The Illustrated Magazines and their Readership,

1832-1860

By the mid-1850s, Saturday afternoons were predictably busy in the shops and at the stands of those who sold popular magazines. For to mark the end of a week's work "there now rushed in the schoolboy, the apprentice, the milliner, the factory girl, the clerk, and the small shopkeeper"--all intent on paying their pennies for the latest issues of the London Journal, Reynolds' Miscellany and Cassell's Paper.

The commentator who had noted this week-end "rush" was Charles Knight. And, as we would expect from one who was not merely casual observer of publishing trends, his was a fairly accurate and complete assessment of the range of people who read and looked at the new pictorial miscellanies.¹ Other contemporary observers also remarked upon the readership of these magazines and, like Knight, were of the opinion that the Journal and its two main

competitors attracted a "wide community" of the "lower middle and working classes."² But it is not from such contemporary commentary that we gain our clearest sense of this community of readers. For that we need to turn to the magazines themselves and the pages containing their editorial correspondence.³

Before pursuing this source, though, a cautionary word or two is necessary, for the magazines' correspondents are by no means as accessible as we would wish. First of all, none of their letters survive in the original, nor were they reproduced in the magazines. All that we now have are the often cryptic printed replies addressed to individuals identified only by their place of residence, first names, sets of initials, or pseudonyms. As we will see, a few of these pseudonyms are telling, but others--"A Constant Reader", "A Subscriber", "A Sincere Admirer" and the like--reveal nothing about the correspondents' social class, sex or age. And, to add to our difficulties, there are a host of terse and enigmatic replies that allow for no inference about the interest or query that they answered: "Of course", "He may", "We cannot inform you" and so on.

The question of the authenticity of the correspondence is also of some concern. That is, it may well be that those who answered readers' letters occasionally filled space with made-up replies to non-existent queries--or, worse, perhaps there were no correspondents at all, only fabricated

answers.⁴ But to adopt this latter view is to be overly skeptical, for all three magazines offer evidence that they did indeed attract a good deal of genuine correspondence. For example, at the end of most, if not all, issues care was taken to provide potential correspondents with correct addresses and detailed instructions on directing specialized questions about chess or gardening to the proper respondents. In addition, it is possible to find frequent, sincerely fraught-sounding notices to the effect that letter-writers should stop sending their efforts to the "private residence" of Mr. Reynolds" or "Mr. Cassell" and address them instead to the appropriate office. And still other such notices begged correspondents to cease demanding immediate responses when the volume of their letters made two or three weeks the inevitable wait for a printed reply. And then there was also the noteworthy occasion when the Miscellany was forced to admit to the loss of all of the mail for December 15th, 1849, and to request any who may have written around that time to re-submit their letters.⁵ Taken together, all of this seems to represent disproportionate effort merely to authenticate spurious correspondence--after all, the magazine's editors and staff had every right to compose such letters if they wished. It thus seems probable that the notices to correspondents were genuine replies to real letters. But if they were not, or if legitimate answers were occasionally spiced with an

interspersed fabrication or two, we still have a useful source here--for even faked replies could at least give us a sense of the kinds of readers that the magazines' producers expected to attract. And that in itself would be valuable, for as the magazines' success argues, Stiff, Reynolds and Cassell were all well aware of where their market lay. In other words, those that they expected to reach and those that they did reach were not vastly different.

I

Bearing in mind then their limitations and drawbacks, we can now see what remains to be inferred from the magazines' correspondence pages.⁶ We find first of all that many of the pseudonyms are not as ambiguous as those noted above. One group of correspondents, for example, chose to identify themselves by the types of work that they did. From this we can gather that those who wrote to, and by extension all of those who read, the magazines came from several social, occupational and economic levels--with perhaps a majority comprising clerks, shopkeepers and the more prosperous strata of the working class.⁷ The readership in general does not seem to have taken in more than a scant number, if any, of those in high-status professions--such as law or the Church--nor does it appear to have included many whose incomes were much beyond moderate.

Thus at the most genteel end of the scale of significant groups of readers were schoolmasters--none of whom gave details as to where or what they taught. Their number was exceeded by the many others who were law clerks, civil servants in clerical positions, or simply undifferentiated clerks or junior clerks. And then there were all of those who aspired to such positions. Among these hopefuls was one Frank Mildmay, but, sadly for his ambition, the Miscellany's respondent informed him dampeningly that his "handwriting should be clearer for a clerk's situation." The unnamed keepers of unspecified shops constituted another conspicuous group of correspondents, to whose number we might also add the several who identified themselves as drapers or publicans, and the occasional milliner and confectioner who also had concerns to express. Still others indicated that they were in one of two kinds of service: a few soldiers wrote in, although none gave his rank or regiment; and from time to time those in domestic service sent in their queries--there was, for instance, the man servant seeking a change of scene and a new situation as valet to some ship's captain, and the dairy maid who, for reasons unexplained, wanted to know how to make Bologna sausages.

Apart from servants, the magazines correspondents took in various other members of the working class. Letters signed "An Apprentice" were particularly abundant, and most

were queries about the terms of their authors' indentures or complaints about their treatment at the hands of their masters. One writer "suffered" from a want of proper instruction and supervision in the workplace, while another justifiably felt "discarded" because without his consent he had been assigned by one master to another. Others had managed to survive the trials of apprenticeship and thus the magazines' correspondents also included a journeyman tailor or two, several mechanics, a few hand-loom weavers, the occasional carpenter, and a brassfounder. And, finally, there were the many who signed themselves simply "A Working Man" or "A Labourer."

Women also contributed their share to the magazines' correspondence pages. A few we know by pseudonyms that suggest their occupations--"A Housekeeper", "A Milk Maid", "A Mother"--but most went by first name. Thus among those who sent in their queries were several Annies, Janes, Kates and Fannies, a few Claras, Rosas, Louisas and Sophias, as well as Catherine, Laura, Matilda, Adeline and Angela. This range of names from the humble Annies to the elegant Angela suggests that these women correspondents came from more than one social class--although it must be remembered that some names might have been fictitious (expressions perhaps of wishful thinking).

Amongst readers of both sexes--in cases, that is, where we can establish gender--there was widespread anxiety over

complexion problems, notably blushing, and questions relating to courtship and appropriate behaviour with the opposite sex. From all of this we might gather that many of those who read and wrote into the magazines were adolescents or young adults--an impression which is confirmed by numerous pseudonyms such as "A Juvenile Subscriber", "A Young Grammarian", "A Youth of Fifteen" and "A Young Girl." In addition there were all of those apprentices mentioned above and a number of women who candidly admitted to ages in the range of eighteen to twenty-three.

About other correspondents whose age and sex are not obvious (although sometimes inferable) we can gather different kinds of information. A few, for example, used pseudonyms that signalled the direction of their political leanings: "A True Republican", "A Tory", "A Democratic Socialist", "A Chartist"--regrettably, though, none of these writers were forthcoming about their income or occupation. One or two others, such as "A Protestant" indicated their religious tendencies, but on the whole the letters do not reflect any generalized interest in doctrinal issues. Still other correspondents, by the nature of their queries, indicated that theirs was a comparatively prosperous lifestyle. For, presumably, in order to want hints on removing scratches from varnished tables and dressers, or cleaning stains from carpets, correspondents must have owned such items--although it remains possible that some of these

inquiries were made by servants for the benefit of their employers' furnishings. But if a few at least of the writers enjoyed an adequate level of material comfort, others apparently did not. The numerous queries about how to emigrate and pseudonyms such as "Poor but Industrious", "A Destitute Orphan", "A Poor Carpenter", "A Poor Weaver" "A Poor Man" and "A Starving Workman" together suggest that many who troubled to submit their questions were anything but well-off. Finally, from yet a different set of correspondents, we gain a sense of the geographical diffuseness of the magazines' readership. For, to help differentiate their replies to those designated only by initials, the magazines' editors helpfully added a bracketed reference to the writers' place of residence. Thus we find reflected in their correspondence the whole sphere of the magazines' distribution, as readers wrote in from all over London, from Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Liverpool, Salford, Nottingham and Preston, from Oxford, from Dublin, from Paisley, Dundee, Glasgow and Edinburgh, and from countless small towns and villages all around Great Britain.

Regardless of where they came from, whatever their sex, age, occupation or income, a significant number of the magazines' correspondents were overridingly concerned with self-improvement. Some wished to better themselves vocationally and wrote to find out how to obtain a certain

job or what form of education would enhance their qualifications. Many more, though, sought intellectual improvement for its own sake, and the magazines' correspondence pages are replete with replies to all manner of questions: What is the climate of Egypt? Or the value of a Queen Anne farthing? How do they manufacture gunpowder? And matches? And electroplate? Where can you acquire an inexpensive home library? Learn English composition? Or French grammar? How do you pronounce "sauerkraut"? When was Socrates born? And so on.

Where they identified themselves according to their work, the authors of these and other such questions ranged along the occupational spectrum from clerks to labourers. Only one group appeared to participate with less than the generalized enthusiasm in this spirit of inquiry: schoolmasters, not too surprisingly, were more interested in imparting information of their own or correcting the errors of others. In the sampling used here, the youngest writer in pursuit of information was a twelve-year old boy who wanted to know about silkworms and Charlemagne. Others, judging by their occupations, were adults, but there is nothing to suggest their exact ages. It seems safe to assume, though, that those who sought intellectual improvement were of various ages. Many, it is clear, were male, but many others failed to leave clues about gender. And there is no reason to think that women did not share in

all the widespread interest in acquiring general knowledge. For, as a member of the Journal's staff told a certain Helen B., who wished to further her schooling, "Young ladies are apt scholars."

Other correspondents were not of course so avowedly intent on intellectual self-improvement, and wrote in instead for advice on health problems and patent medicines, legal difficulties, and romantic or domestic relationships. But whatever were their specific interests or questions, those who troubled to send letters to the three magazines were clearly a varied lot. Thus the correspondence pages sampled here both support and elaborate Knight's and others' impression that the Journal, Miscellany and Paper attracted readers from a large cross-section of society.

This, however, was not a brand new achievement. For such a socially diverse cultural community--the mass--had initially formed itself around the Penny Magazine.⁸ Although it had never included correspondence pages, the magazine did attract at least a few letters, usually addressed to some representative of its nominal sponsor, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. From this correspondence we begin to gain a sense of the different kinds of people and interests that this then pioneering publication served. J. B. Tenniel, illustrator of Carroll's Alice books, enjoyed it as a young man; an aspiring drawing master also "gave unfeigned thanks that such a publication

should have been circulated"; one Adam Pele, a baker, also perused it with close, although not always uncritical attention; an amateur horticulturist apparently liked it, but wanted more articles on gardening; a Welshman was impressed with its positive effect on "this uncultivated and illiterate part of the kingdom"; and a young father valued the magazine so highly that he

laid it by for the use, and instruction of, my infant son (if it please God to spare him) when he arrives at Riper Years [This] I conceive of more real value than a paltry annuity for life that might be squandered away; but the contents of the Penny Magazine when once read and treasured up in the mind can never be lost.⁹

From the general contents of their letters, most of the above correspondents would seem to be fairly comfortably-off and we can probably situate them all somewhere within the middle class. As their names indicate, all were men, although we will subsequently see that the magazine may have had at least a small female following. The weight of the evidence from SDUK correspondence and autobiographies indicates that a majority, or at the least, a significant minority of the Penny Magazine's readers were working people. The next section of this chapter will consider this group in some detail. For the time being we need only acknowledge that the readers of the magazine were not exclusively of one sex, locale or class, but together comprised a large and varied, or mass, market. In the words of one contemporary commentator, the Penny Magazine offered

amusement "to every man, woman, and child who takes it up. Its reception is consequently universal."¹⁰

The magazine's wide-ranging popularity also came to the notice of another sort of cultural observer, the now anonymous artist who designed two satirical broadsides, published in 1833 by G. Purkess of Soho.¹¹ Both arranged like a modern page of comic strips, these broadsides regaled their purchasers with an array of humorous images of the Penny Magazine's "readers": a man who tramples a flower bed while absorbed in an article on botany; an ancient lady who peers at an essay on antiquities; a large gentleman who consults an item entitled "The Measurement of Solid Bodies," all the while being fitted for a suit by his tailor; a drunkard, who reads the magazine in a bottle-strewn gutter; the man-in-the-moon, who studies a treatise on astronomy; and many, many more such vignettes. In fact, in the view of the satirist who created these images, so universal was the magazine's appeal that even animals, such as monkeys and owls, liked it. And, of this group, perhaps the most interested reader of all was a large pig whom we see about to dip into a weighty essay illustrated with the miniscule image of yet another pig. And the essay's title?--"Bi-hog-raphy, for the Swinish Multitudes."

Apart from all of these images, the satirist included several, similarly humorous depictions of the magazine's working-class readers: for example, a farm labourer, a

street hawker and a sweep. It is to the real-life counterparts of these figures that we now turn.

II

As an earlier chapter's discussion pointed out, it has become a cliché for scholarly literature on the Penny Magazine to insist that it had few, if any, working-class readers.¹² There is no substantial evidence whatever on which to base such insistence. Rather, almost without exception, what remains of correspondence and autobiographical commentary supports the opposite view that a great number of workers bought, read, looked at, and liked Knight's pioneering attempt to bring culture to the people.

These readers, most of whom we now can no longer identify, obtained the magazine in various ways: some were subscribers; others saved their pennies and purchased issues whenever they could; and a great many others had access to copies distributed in working-class coffee houses, factories, workshops and mechanics' institutes.¹³ Among the identifiable working-class readers who managed to secure the magazine one way or another we find the radical tailor, Francis Place; the factory operative turned poet, John Plummer; the Colchester tailor, Thomas Carter, who also became a contributor; the warehouse worker and Chartist sympathizer, Adam Rushton; and one Richard Sheldon of Hull, "a labouring man" who had had his "share of misfortunes" and

was "shortly to be out of employ", but nonetheless continued determinedly to read the Penny Magazine.¹⁴

Some who were devotees of the magazine found ways to incorporate its reading into a day's work. For example, a London footman, William Tayler, gave this account of his activities on New Year's Day, 1837:

I got up at half past seven, cleaned the boys' clothes and knives [and] lamps, got the parlour breakfast, lit my pantry fire, cleared breakfast and washed it away, dressed myself, went to church, came back, got parlour lunch, had my own dinner, sit by the fire and red the Penny Magazine and opned the door when any visitors came.

And another working man, T. B. Clark, wrote this letter to SDUK secretary, Thomas Coates:

Honoured Sir,

I hope you will excuse the liberty I am taking in addressing a gentleman of you rank. but Sir I have been a subscriber to the Penny magazine from the first copy to the last and on which I set the greatest value upon it as it comprises the principal portion of my Library and over which I pass away many a midnight hour in my Avocation as a Brickburner.¹⁵

For most readers, though, the magazine appears to have been part of the self-improvement programme with which they filled what little leisure time they had. This was the case with the Yorkshire stencil painter, Christopher Thomson, who was particularly eloquent about the place the magazine held in his life, and the lengths to which he went to keep himself supplied with copies. He began with a description

of the difficulties and expense associated with the acquisition of knowledge before that day when Charles Knight

. . . unfurled his paper banners of free trade in letters. The 'Penny Magazine' was published--I borrowed the first volume, and determined to make an effort to possess myself with the second; accordingly, with January, 1833, I determined to discontinue the use of sugar in my tea, hoping that my family would not then feel the sacrifice necessary to buy the book. Since that period, I have expended large sums in books, some of them very costly ones, but I never had one so valuable, as was the second volume of the 'Penny Magazine'; and I looked as anxiously for the issue of the monthly part, as I did for the means of getting a living. I continued to be a subscriber up to the publication of the last number; and albeit, but an unit, out of the ten's of thousand's that have benefited by that work, I feel bound to tender my mite of gratitude to its spirited and enterprising publisher. The 'Penny Magazine' was the first intellectual mile-post put down upon the way-side, wherefrom coming ages may measure their progress towards a commonwealth of books.¹⁶

It is possible that upon the magazine's demise Thomson and many others of its readers might have become part of the mass who now read the Journal, Miscellany and Paper. If so, then he did not acknowledge the fact--and nor did anyone else, with the exception of just two of the autobiographers out of the sampling used here. One of these was the East London vellum-binder, Frederick Rogers, who remembered that in his "boyhood's days" he had been fond of the London Journal.¹⁷ The other autobiographer was Thomas Burt, a Northumbrian pitman, later Labour M.P., and he too recalled the Journal from his boyhood:

When about fourteen years old a comrade lent me a few stray numbers of the London Journal, a highly-spiced periodical, which I read with great gusto.

It was full of adventures of wild, romantic stories depicting duels and battles, deeds of daring, hairbreadth escapes by land and sea, the heroes being banditti, pirates, robbers and outlaws. This stirred the blood and excited the youthful imagination. When my father caught me reading it he gently chided me for wasting time on such rubbishy stuff. Wretched garbage no doubt it was, yet, after all, perhaps the time given to it was not wholly wasted. No useful information, indeed, was gained, but I was acquiring facility in reading, and laying hold of the golden key which would open to me the rich treasures of a great literature.¹⁸

In this passage we have a possible clue as to why we find so little autobiographical mention of the Journal, Miscellany and Paper. For, Burt, his father and, indeed, the vast majority of autobiographers belonged to that self-taught, self-improving faction of the working-class, most of whom, like Burt's Methodist father, would have considered entertaining miscellanies to be "time-wasting" and "rubbishy stuff." It thus seems quite likely that if any autobiographers had ever read and enjoyed the Journal and its like, it would have been a surreptitious affair. For to have admitted to such taste would have been to spoil the generally serious and industrious image in which most of these writers cast themselves. On the other hand, it may simply be that those who wrote their autobiographies genuinely did not care for and therefore did not read the second generation of pictorial miscellanies. But which of the two possibilities was more commonly the case, we will likely never know.

We can, though, recall the three magazines' correspondence pages and all those "Apprentices", "Mechanics" and "Labourers" who wrote in and represented a wider readership of others much like themselves. There thus seems no reason to doubt the contemporary view that these miscellanies had a substantial working-class following. And here and there we get a further glimpse of some of these readers: for example, amongst Mayhew's labouring poor of London, there were the costermongers who were "eager for . . . Reynolds' periodicals" and who would "after their days work or their rounds" read, or assemble to hear being read, the latest number of these or other such "penny publications." And there were too all of those nameless others, in all the working-class districts of all England's urban centres, who regularly visited the shops and stalls and became part of that "crowd of applicants" for their weekly issues of the London Journal, Reynolds' Miscellany and Cassell's Family Paper.¹⁹ But for a sense of what these magazines must have meant in many otherwise dreary and hopeless lives there is perhaps no more speaking image than one which comes down to us through Mayhew--a brief description of "a rheumatic London crossing-sweeper crawling back to his cold, squalid room to pore over a copy of Reynolds' Miscellany."²⁰

On the basis of the autobiographical material cited above, the working-class experience of the Penny Magazine

and its successors might appear to have been a male prerogative. But this was evidently not the case. In particular, as we already know from editorial correspondence, there was for the three later miscellanies an especially visible female readership. It is on this group that we will next focus.

III

In commenting on "working men's Saturdays", an observer of working-class life, Thomas Wright, "the Journeyman Engineer," observed that if any man "has been unfortunate enough to get for a wife a woman who is . . . one of those lazy, lackadaisical London-Journal-reading ladies with whom working men are more and more curst, he will have to devote his Saturday afternoons to assisting in the woman's work of his own house."²¹ This remark aside, there is no reason to suspect that the Journal and similar publications actually contributed to any serious disruption of the routine, or necessitated the reallocation of weekend chores, in most households--in fact, as previous discussion has pointed out, the Journal and its like did their best to insist on domesticity as a specifically female obligation and virtue. But if Wright exxaggerated a bit for effect, he was accurate in his main point that many women found the new pictorial miscellanies to be of absorbing interest. Charles Knight was another one who observed the many women readers of these "penny journals"; and another contemporary

publisher, Henry Vizetelly, noted that factory girls were the "great patrons" of the stories of J. F. Smith, which had first appeared in the Journal and later in the Paper.²²

It was not necessarily only working-class women who read the the new pictorial magazines. As the correspondence pages of the Journal, Miscellany and Paper show, some women had preoccupations that signalled a style of life that might have been available to some daughters, wives and sisters of the most prosperous artisans, but was perhaps more likely to have been the experience of those who were born or married into at least the lower levels of the middle class. For example, occasional comments or queries about the finer points of the etiquette of paying calls or taking leave at parties, as well as the occasional writer's claim to having had a boarding school education, are suggestive (or at least mildly so) of a middle-class way of life.²³ In the majority of the letters from women, though, there are no clear or conclusive signals of social class.

What does come through most strongly is a tendency that we have observed amongst the generality of correspondents--the concern to improve. Sometimes it was intellectual improvement that was the object and we can find a few replies to women who had inquired about some facet of history, science or literature. More commonly, though, the women correspondents defined self-improvement in a restrictive sense that accorded well with the three

magazines' female image. Thus, what most correspondents evidently sought was improvement (or, if not that, confirmation of adequacy) in the areas of personal morality, domestic skills and physical appearance.

How far, they wanted to know, could flirtation go before virtue was compromised? Could one, without impropriety, give a gift to a young man? Or walk home alone from church with him? And then, with these sorts of problems resolved, there came others to take their place: How do you dye wool? Or mend muslin? What is the best method to prepare mutton ham? Rich rice pudding? Vermicelli? Good butter cakes? Ratifia pudding? And tomato ketchup? But, most of all, the correspondents wanted information that would help them improve their appearance. And almost invariably their greatest concern was the state of their complexions and hair. They wanted to know about lotions to prevent wrinkles and remove freckles. They requested "receipts" for facial cosmetics like elder flower water and compound of milk and sulphur flower. They worried that the hair on their heads was too dull, too thin, too short. And, conversely, they were even more exercised that the hair on their arms and faces was too dark, too thick, too long. Those who wrote the replies tried their best to help all the unhappily hirsute like "Poor Polly" and "Superfluous." And always, variously expressed, they made the same recommendation: "we know nothing better than a

razor"--a piece of aesthetically disastrous advice that could only have come from a man.

The correspondents' involvement with the magazines' female image of good looks, good behaviour and good housekeeping found its single most complete expression in one kind of letter that many of them wrote. By the early 1850s the Journal and Miscellany had begun to print queries from men in search of wives. To take just one example, a young man named Roderick had written to the Miscellany with the information that he wished to marry and to that end would like to hear from suitable young ladies. To Roderick and the other men who had made similar requests, there was usually no shortage of replies. And, without exception, the young women who answered attempted to demonstrate their suitability by aligning themselves with the magazines' female image. They thus tried to describe to advantage their wifely qualities, domestic capabilities and, without stretching the truth too far, their physical attractiveness. The reply of one young woman of twenty-three to Roderick is typical:

EMMA begs to introduce herself to the notice of "Roderick." She is not pretty, but good-looking, with nice black hair, good eyes, good figure, and altogether interesting. She can play on the piano a little, dance, is very domesticated, and has been told would make any kind man an affectionate and dutiful wife.²⁴

Emma's and the other women correspondents' engrossment with their physical appearance and the tendency of this

preoccupation to override or intermingle with other interests suggests that they and many other women readers studied closely, and compared themselves unfavourably to, the magazines' images of fashionable ladies, beautiful fictional heroines, and attractive actresses and singers. If so, then we have here an instance of the interaction of readers and imagery. But this is surmise for which there is no direct evidence. Janet Bathgate, the only female autobiographer in the sampling used for this study, did not mention the Journal, Miscellany or Paper at all--let alone how she felt about, or what she did with, their illustrations.

We know even less about women's reaction to the Penny Magazine. Nor, indeed, can we determine much about the size or character of its female readership. There is no surviving editorial correspondence from women and our lone female autobiographer was as reticent about the earlier magazine as she was about its successors. We do know that the magazine attracted female contributors--the art historian, Anna Jameson, and the teenage essayist on natural history, Emily Shore.²⁵ We also know that the latter was a reader before she became a contributor, and possibly the same was true of Anna Jameson. And, finally, we can point to items like an essay on corsets and, from such examples, speculate that Knight and those who produced the magazine had a rudimentary sense of directing material toward a

female readership.²⁶ But such gender-specific content is rare in the magazine and we are left wondering whether or not it, or other more general interest subjects, attracted a female readership of any significant size.

What thus remains to be glimpsed of the readers of the Penny Magazine and its three successors comes from exclusively male sources. These provide us with a little direct evidence about reader interaction with the magazines' illustration and give an inkling of what the new printed image meant in the lives of the mass.

IV

Although there is no doubt whatsoever that the second generation of pictorial miscellanies enjoyed immense popularity, and that some of this popularity was due to the attraction of illustration, there is very little direct evidence from readers to this effect. The three magazines' correspondents were apparently preoccupied with matters other than pictures when they sat down to compose their letters. And the two autobiographers who mention the Journal did not record what they thought of its illustrations. Thus, on people's responses to the three magazines' imagery, we have only two sources of information--one famous, the other nameless.

The first is Robert Louis Stevenson, whose childhood's Saturdays were much taken up with the pursuit of the imagery in Cassell's Paper. His parents considered much of this

imagery to be unsuitable for youthful consumption, so the young Stevenson was compelled to

study the windows of the stationers and try to fish out of subsequent woodcuts and their legends the further adventures of my favourites. . . . The experience at least had a great effect on my childhood. This inexpensive pleasure mastered me. Each new Saturday I would go from one news-vendor's window to another's, till I was master of the weekly gallery and had thoroughly digested 'The Baronet Unmasked,' 'So and So Approaching the Mysterious House,' 'The Discovery of the Dead Body in the Blue Marl Pit,' 'Dr. Vargas Removing the Senseless Body of Fair Liliias,' and whatever other snatch of unknown story and glimpse of unknown characters that gallery afforded²⁷

But as replete as it is with detail and literary licence, Stevenson's description of his boyish fascination with the illustration in the Paper somewhat pales against the energetic enthusiasm with which Mayhew's costermongers approached the imagery in similar penny publications--in this instance, the Miscellany:

'The costermongers,' said my informant, 'are fond of illustrations. I have known a man what couldn't read, buy a periodical what had an illustration, a little out of the common way perhaps, just that he might learn from someone, who could read, what it was all about ' 'Look you here, sir,' he continued, turning over a periodical, for he had the number with him, 'here's a portrait of Catherine of Russia.' 'Tell us about her,' said one man to me last night: 'read it, what was she?' 'Now here,' proceeded my friend, 'you see an engraving of a man hung up, burning over a fire, and some costers would go mad if they couldn't learn what he'd been doing, who he was, and all about him.' 'But about the picture?' they would say, and this is a very common question put by them whenever they see an engraving.'²⁸

The costermongers enthusiasm for the imagery of the second generation of pictorial miscellanies was no greater,

though, than the similar feelings that the Penny Magazine's illustrations had aroused in others a few years earlier. For working men such as John Plummer and Adam Rushton the magazine's pictures were a gateway to greater knowledge and literacy. The latter remembered "a rather fine view of the Castle of Chillon, accompanied with . . . lines from Byron" and how he had been inspired to "learn more about the prisoner, and to read more of the writings of the poet." And Plummer recalled the first time that he had happened upon some stray copies of the Penny Magazine "and other illustrated periodicals of a similar nature":

No miser ever hugged his gold with a more jealous care, than I did those few old torn and soiled numbers which came into my possession. For hours I would gaze on the woodcuts, and strive to decipher the letterpress descriptions, which I at last succeeded²⁹

But it was not just those from deprived backgrounds who had been stimulated by the magazine and its illustrations. Austin Dobson, author of studies of Bewick and Hogarth, offered this fond recollection:

It is difficult to understand nowadays what a revelation these . . . representations of far countries and foreign animals, of masterpieces of painting and sculpture, were to middle-class households fifty years ago. The present writer, though he can scarcely go back so far, still remembers with gratitude, that to Mr. Fairholt's careful copies of Hogarth's prints in the old 'Penny Magazine,' he is indebted for an enthusiasm which has never since deserted him.³⁰

The most detailed account of a reader's response to the magazine's imagery comes from W. B. Rands who became a

successful journalist, poet and author of children's stories. But, at the time of which he wrote, Rands was a boy living in the home of his father, an impoverished tradesman with radical political leanings. The senior Rands' politics did not however stop him from subscribing to the Penny Magazine and thus, as his son put it, bringing "an image of the mighty world" into a home that had previously been nearly barren of books and pictures. While his father enjoyed illustrations of cathedrals and foreign lands, the young Rands was drawn irresistably to the reproductions of art. He "pored over woodcuts from Raffaele and Hogarth", "doted on" the image of a statue of Apollo, and dreamed about the Belvedere Diana.³¹ And he discovered in himself profound aesthetic feeling when he studied the image reproduced in plate 68:

It did me unspeakable good to be familiarized with the human body as an object of beauty There was a picture of the well-known lad extracting a thorn from his foot; and . . . [this] figure used to haunt me day and night with its beauty.³²

And, finally, we will give this same writer a few words more on the Penny Magazine. For from one simple statement we can gather fully the high position that that magazine held both in the affections and the home libraries of Rands and, we can presume, a great many others:

I read my Penny Magazine all day and put it under my pillow at night, when I had not got a Bible or hymn-book there.³³

From this and other commentary on the Penny Magazine, from the correspondence pages of its three successors, and from the other scattered sources used here, one central fact persistently emerges. The Journal, the Miscellany, the Paper and, indeed, their more serious predecessor all had much that was new, informative and entertaining to offer people who had previously lacked ready and affordable access to such material--or such imagery. And so, as earlier chapters have insisted, people in great number chose to buy, to read, and to look at these magazines. They chose, that is, to form themselves into a socially diverse cultural community of women and men, the youthful and the mature, the middle and the working classes. It was in this sense that the mass made itself. The next chapter will look further at this process, at the part that working people played in it, and the culture that they and others created.

CHAPTER 7

The Transformation of Popular Culture:
 Working People in an Expanding Pictorial World,
 1832-1860

In 1840 a commentator on the "popular literature of the day" offered readers of the British and Foreign Review "a collection of statistical notes" on the magazines and journals that then circulated amongst working people "to an extent undreamed of" only a decade earlier:

Seventy-eight weekly periodicals are enumerated, of which nearly two-thirds are issued at the price of one penny, none exceeding twopence: twenty-eight of these are devoted to miscellaneous matter; seven to more political subjects; fifteen to the publication of novels, romances and tales; sixteen to biography of celebrated individuals; four to scientific intelligence; three to drama; two to medicine; two are collections of songs, and one registers the progress of the Temperance cause. More than two-thirds of these have the attraction of illustrations.¹

By 1859 such material had so greatly proliferated that our much-quoted contributor to the British Quarterly Review was moved to remark upon what had become a veritable "flood" of "cheap literature" and "tempting" illustrations.²

This rapid and unprecedented growth in the number of inexpensive and, by 1840, usually pictorial publications was fundamental in expanding the common cultural experience of working people. And, because the expansion was dramatic, continuing and wide-reaching in effect, we can with some justification think of it as the transformation of popular culture. The first phase of this transformation had begun in the early 1830s with the mass-circulation of the Penny Magazine and one or two other publications such as the Saturday Magazine and the unillustrated Chambers' Journal. By 1860, with even higher circulations and wider appeal, the London Journal, Reynolds' Miscellany and Cassell's Paper had brought this initial phase to its fullest development.

At the outset, then, the transformation of popular culture was print-centred, taking in both verbal and, increasingly, pictorial information and entertainment.³ Illustrated miscellanies like the Penny Magazine and its three main successors undoubtedly formed the nucleus of working people's experience of the printed image between 1832 and 1860. But other kinds of artifacts and their associated imagery also gained in number and importance during this period. In the remainder of the chapter we will survey the varieties of printed image which were central to a newly transformed popular culture, and which collectively made up almost the whole of the English worker's expanding pictorial world.⁴ Through certain examples we will also be

able to gather that the transformation and expansion of popular culture was not just a matter of an increase in the quantity and kind of information, entertainment and illustration available to working people; it was also a social shift whereby workers joined a wider cultural community that was not restricted to a single age group, gender or class. In other words, as the previous chapter's discussion of magazine readership argued, working people had by mid-century chosen to become part of a larger and more diverse formation: the mass. We will consider the extent to which this choice implied workers' acceptance of the hegemonic values imbedded in many mass-circulation books and magazines; we will also look at the relationship of such values to working people's taste. Additionally, we will endeavour to recognize that a transformed and expanded popular culture neither negated developing class differences nor eradicated the economic, social and cultural inequalities from which these differences arose. We thus will find that by the 1850s the printed imagery both of generalized social and political protest and of an emerging, although not fully-formed, working-class consciousness existed side by side within the English worker's expanding pictorial world. Meanwhile that world held increasingly less of the imagery of power, privilege and high culture: art and its printed reproduction was in rapid retreat from common experience.

I

In trying to understand the place of the printed image in working people's lives after 1832 we find that chapter two's model of three kinds of popular experience--entertainment, religion and radicalism--no longer adequately serves us. Certainly these cultural categories continued to have some bearing on people's lived experience at mid-century. However, in its pictorial forms at least, a transformed popular culture was more complex and multifarious than it had ever been before.

First of all, any one of the three main categories might now be divisible into multiple cultural levels, each of which might require separate attention and differing analytical approaches. For example, the kind of illustrated entertainment that from the 1830s proliferated in inexpensive magazines and books had become highly diversified in subject matter and style, and covered a spectrum ranging from the respectable and moderate to the lurid and sensational. Moreover, the boundaries distinguishing entertainment, religion and radicalism increasingly blurred as these different cultural categories found expression and intermingled in unpredictable ways in illustrated books and magazines and other forms of printed imagery. And, additionally, we will find that the years after 1832 saw the increase of types of illustration that will tend to defy our efforts to assign them conclusively to

any of the three categories considered so far. Advertising is a case in point. As we saw in chapter two, before 1832 pictorial advertisements were rare enough to divert many an eye and amuse by virtue of novelty. Thus, with some justification, we situated the imagery of advertising within the popular culture of entertainment. But from 1832, and especially after 1840, pictorial advertisements became so abundant and varied in content that we cannot with any accuracy label them simply entertainment or, indeed, assign them in entirety to any of the other two categories. It is of course possible that an illustrated playbill advertising a melodrama was in itself a minor form of entertainment; and presumably an advertisement for a book of sermons or a Sunday magazine had something to do with popular religious experience. But what about the increasingly greater number of advertisements for such household goods and personal products as furniture, clocks and electroplate, and perfume, hair dye and patent medicines? Certainly these had nothing to do with popular religion, nor likely with radicalism, and compared to an illustrated serial by Reynolds, they could hardly have ranked as entertainment. Rather, it seems that by 1860 advertising and its images were well on the way to becoming a distinct cultural category. The same also appears to have been true of certain other types of imagery: for instance, the illustration of current events and the inexpensive prints which became widely available from about

1840 and which working people purchased and used to relieve some of the dreariness of their often otherwise comfortless homes.

Taken together, the complexities and confusions noted above indicate that when we consider popular pictorial experience after 1832, the use of a model is likely to be too restrictive and therefore inadequate for meaningful description and analysis. It therefore seems to be more productive simply to acknowledge that the printed imagery which had become a common feature of most working lives was myriad in number, varied in form and content, and representative of several cultural levels, any of which might be present within a single artifact such as a magazine, or even within an individual illustration. Thus, in what follows, we can only sample a limited selection of the more commonplace kinds of popular printed image and here and there gather something about the diverse ways that such images reflected and combined with other forms of cultural expression and lived experience.

It seems clear that the bulk of the illustrated printed matter that became affordable and readily available for working-class consumption between 1832 and 1860 was either entertaining in a primarily escapist way, or factually informative but still in some measure diverting. For example, serial fiction belonged to the first group; fashion news, popular biography and so on to the second. As we have

seen, the offerings of the Journal, Miscellany and Paper covered all, or nearly all, of the possible range of inexpensive pictorial entertainment. But, while these three publications achieved the highest circulations among weekly penny magazines, they by no means had that market all to themselves. Other similar miscellanies, all providing illustrated serial fiction, short stories and sundry anecdotes, poems and informational items, proliferated, especially from the mid-1840s onward. One such publication, the Welcome Guest--"an illustrated journal of recreative literature", had an 1858 circulation of 120,000; meanwhile other comparable magazines like Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany and the Home Magazine did well enough to enjoy runs of several years. Their recipe for commercial success was the same as their three largest competitors: a sprinkling of mildly instructive non-fiction, and a generous measure of highly-spiced stories and pictures of wronged serving girls, beautiful and beset heiresses, evil poisoners, corpses, spectres and chambers of death.⁵ Apart from this sort of miscellany, there were also a number of other roughly contemporary weekly magazines that confined themselves to a more restricted range of subject matter. There were, for example, illustrated magazines of fiction such as the Weekly Novelist, as well as several, often short-lived, journals and gazettes of humour, horror or crime with titles like The Penny Satirist, Annals of Crime and Calendar of Horrors.

Inexpensive novels, many of which had at least one illustration, became widely available from the 1840s. And because they were commonly sold in penny parts, such works were now within the means of a large number of working people. One of the most popular of these was Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin, published in England in the early 1850s by two dozen or so different publishers. Three working-class autobiographers fondly recalled the story, and one of this group, the son of a Northumberland coalminer recorded that in 1852 Uncle Tom's Cabin "was read aloud in our little family circle."⁶ During the 40s and 50s the works of Reynolds, Egan and Smith (published in book-form and penny parts as well as in magazines) also found a large readership. Reynolds, it seems, was the most popular of all, with tales such as his sensational Mysteries of London (1845) and its sequel, The Mysteries of the Court of London (1848-1856), which was sold in penny parts and illustrated by Henry Anelay.⁷ Charles Dickens was another successful author of this period and many of his works, such as The Pickwick Papers and Nicholas Nickleby appeared in illustrated editions. It is uncertain, though, whether or not many working people read these or other stories by Dickens: he is not mentioned in any of the working-class autobiographies in our sampling; in addition, onetime editor for the house of Cassell, Thomas Frost, believed that Dickens did not become popular among working people until

the 1870s. But before then more than a few might well have purchased the cheaply produced and crudely engraved imitations that were about in the 30s and 40s: The Penny Pickwick, The Sketchbook by 'Bos', Oliver Twiss and Nickelas Nickelbery.⁸

But if pirated versions of Dickens and the romantic outpourings of Reynolds lacked the uplifting tone and moral purpose of Mrs. Stowe's tale of slavery, they nonetheless demonstrate a modicum of restraint in style and content when compared to another form of saleable fiction: the so-called "penny dreadful." The stories contained in examples of this type of small, inexpensive, paper-bound book invariably tended to dwell lovingly on crime, horror and the seamier side of relations between the sexes. So, naturally, they attracted a substantial following of people in search of pleasurable terror, revulsion, titillation and general escapism. After all, who but the most dedicatedly serious-minded reader could fail to respond to the lure of titles such as Ada, the Betrayed, or, The Murder at the Old Smithy, The Apparition, Crimes of the Aristocracy, The Secret of the Grey Turret, The Death Ship, or, The Pirate's Bride, and Varney the Vampire, also published as The Feast of Blood?⁹

An illustration from an 1847 edition of this last work provides as good an example as any of the kind of illustration that attracted readers with a penny to spend and a taste for the dreadful. Looming large in the left

half of the composition is a horrifically bony and toothsome vampire (Varney without doubt) whose lips are fastened onto the neck of a young female victim who flails her arms in agony. As she tormentedly arches her back, she thrusts her breasts upwards, thus providing Varney with a convenient place to rest a loving hand while he takes his nourishment. Here indeed was what our expert on "cheap literature" called a "piece de resistance for the strong stomach of the million."¹⁰ And astute publishers of such illustrated fiction were well aware of the popular appetite for graphic images of violence and horror. Edward Lloyd, one of the most prominent and successful of the penny dreadful publishers, was purported to have directed his chief artist to put an extra dollop of saleable "vigour" into illustrations destined for the dreadfuls. "There must be more blood--" Lloyd ordered, "much more blood!"¹¹

Blood was not only a staple of tales of supernatural horror, but, as plate 69 shows, it was also a basic ingredient in fictional and fact-based tales of crime. The illustration reproduced here is from one of the many abridgements of that popular anthology of notorious felons and their crimes, the Newgate Calendar. And, like so many examples of the depiction of crime and horror, this one presented the viewer with a gratifyingly lurid scene of gruesome violence, spiced with the sexual suggestiveness of the murderer's saw and the victim's naked body, which

somehow manages to look both nubile and in a state of incipient rigor mortis.¹²

Of all the Calendar's murderers and miscreants, there were no two more renowned than Dick Turpin, the legendary highwayman, and his contemporary, Jack Sheppard, the onetime carpenter's apprentice turned "housebreaker", who was especially famous for his daring escapes from various places of incarceration--until Newgate and the gibbet finally claimed him. Apart from the Calendar's accounts, an array of pamphlets, penny abridgments and full-length novels, some cheaply, some handsomely, produced--most of them illustrated--provided readers of the 1830s, 40s and 50s with a seemingly endless number of versions of the daring exploits of Turpin and Sheppard. Plates 70 to 75 give some indication of just how pervasive were the mid-century tales and images of these two swashbuckling felons.

With their high popular appeal, Jack Sheppard, Dick Turpin, Varney and, indeed, all of the villains, heroes, heroines, incidents, events, and imagery associated with entertainment together predominated in the cultural life of the English worker at mid-century. But the transformed popular culture of this period also took in other categories of imagery and experience. As it had in the earlier period, religion and its cultural expressions figured large in many working people's lives.¹³ This was reflected in the success of publications such as Charles Knight's Pictorial Bible

(1835-7, with numerous subsequent editions) and several illustrated religious magazines such as the Sunday School Penny Magazine and the Leisure Hour, both published in the 1850s. The latter periodical was a publication of the Religious Tract Society, which was among those Evangelicals who recognized that religious literature must find a way to match the popular appeal of secular competition like the London Journal.¹⁴ The Leisure Hour thus offered its readers fiction, but of a moralistic sort, mildly titillating accounts of idolatry and other heathenish practices in uncivilized corners of the world, pietistic aphorisms, and a generous amount of improving general information. The magazine's layout and style of engravings were reminiscent of the Saturday Magazine (plates 37 and 38), and as a whole the publication has a dated look when compared to the livelier form and content of the Journal and its like. However, it apparently pleased a great many readers, for according to John Cassell, the Leisure Hour and two other such contemporary religious periodicals enjoyed a combined monthly circulation of 600,000.¹⁵

For those workers whose creed was self-improvement--both intellectual and moral--a transformed popular culture included a greater number of affordable educational publications. And, as we would expect, many of these had pictures. Cassell was a leader in the field of illustrated educational publishing with his Working Man's Friend (1850-

51) and the Popular Educator (begun in 1852).¹⁶ Both of these penny weekly periodicals were serious-minded publications for the dedicated autodidact: the latter featured series of lessons in science, foreign languages, history, literature and so forth; the former offered weighty discussions and occasional tiny illustrations of such general knowledge subjects as the solar system, the wonders of vegetation, Cromwell and his times, Wordsworth, gravity and the properties of water. Neither publication included fiction, and the Working Man's Friend even went so far as to run an essay which, with some force, argued that novels and the reading of them contributed to shallow thinking, immoral tendencies, and the wasting of time and money.¹⁷

Cassell was by no means alone in his efforts to promote self-improvement and provide workers with inexpensive reading and pictorial matter. For example, until 1858 when it finally ceased publication, the Mechanics' Magazine pursued its aim of instructing and improving its readers; Charles Knight also brought out new editions of some of his earlier classics like the Pictorial Shakespeare (1837; 1851), while the Penny Cyclopedia and a few other of his educational publications continued to be sold into the 1850s; and many publishers of general fiction and non-fiction brought out educational series of one sort or another, textbooks, and manuals of self-instruction in various subjects.¹⁸ Mechanic's institutes also continued to

promote the intellectual improvement of working men, and the increased availability of low-cost educational publications, especially after the 1850s, must have eased what had been until as late as the mid-1840s a constant battle to keep members adequately supplied with sufficient fresh material for their continuing intellectual stimulation.¹⁹

The new educational publications that found their way into working men's associations and into individual hands for private study were replete with articles and anecdotes extolling that set of civilized and civilizing virtues with which we are now well-acquainted: self-improvement, thriftiness, hard work, emotional restraint, perseverance, and temperance.²⁰ The encouragement of the latter virtue was of such widespread concern that by the 1850s temperance publications constituted a major sub-genre of the literature of improvement. In addition to the myriad pamphlets and tracts in support of the cause, a number of magazines made their appearance in the 40s and 50s: among others were Cassell's Teetotal Times, the Weekly Record, British Temperance Advocate and Band of Hope Review. Illustrative material in support of the cause also became fairly common at this time and was not confined solely to the pages of certain temperance publications--we will recall, for instance, that in 1847 the London Journal ran a set of illustrations showing the degradation resulting from drunkenness.²¹ Cassell, who was throughout his adult life

an active and unwavering advocate of temperance, was understandably more ambitious in his pictorial support of the cause. In 1858, as his biographer recounts it,

He issued a pair of engravings, 16 inches by 24, entitled GIN and WATER, the artist being Kenny Meadows, and it was hoped that these would be hung on the walls of schools, workshops, and cottage houses. 'In the first--GIN--we have the interior of the drunkard's homewith a glimpse of the horrors which belong peculiarly to such homes; in the second--WATER--we see how comfort, cleanliness, and peace attend the steps of the temperate man.'²²

We have no evidence of who actually purchased these engravings, although they appear to have been aimed primarily at working people, and some presumably must have purchased them. Many more must have seen the new temperance magazines, for according to Cassell their "joint issue" in 1858 was 200 to 300,000.²³ He did not specify the precise period of time to which this figure applied, but it is still suggestive that a substantial number of people, workers among them, must have practised, aspired to, or at the very least taken a mild interest in temperance.

As we saw in chapter two, for many workers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the cultivation of such civilized virtues as temperance and the quest for intellectual improvement often went with a commitment to some form of social or political protest. After 1832 the same was true of several of our autobiographers, and, presumably, many of their contemporaries also embraced the two sides of radicalism.²⁴ And, certainly, the later period

not only saw an increase in the imagery of self-improvement, but also in the pictorial expressions of protest. We will examine examples of the latter kind at a further point in the discussion. For the moment, we will continue with our survey of working people's widening pictorial world.

By about 1840 that world abounded in a pictorial type which had been comparatively scarce before 1832: the printed imagery of advertising. Advertisers who used the medium of print (rather than painted signboards, for example, or moving displays on horse-drawn vehicles) now increasingly appreciated the value of imagery for enhancing their messages. At mid-century and thereabouts, the majority of printed advertisements were in the form of posted bills and handbills or insertions in magazines and newspapers. In either case, illustration figured often. The firm of Warren's, the Strand, for example, used handbills with a range of images from black cats to portraits of Shakespearean characters, all to advertise their superior brand of boot blacking. Other advertisers similarly used pictorial bills to promote a variety of household goods, food, patent medicines and cosmetics.²⁵ Illustrated theatrical playbills also became common by the late 1830s and, in addition to engravings of dramatic scenes, they often used two or three colours of print to advertise such entertainments as the Dramatic Spectacle of MAZEPPA! and THE WILD HORSE!, the BAZAAR OF WONDERS!! and a host of other

spectacles, romances, comedies, and melodramas--many of the latter taking as their subject the dashing, if not wholly civilized, deeds of Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard.²⁶ Advertising in the press became perhaps even more prevalent than bills from the 1840s. In its latter years, even the Penny Magazine succumbed to the lure of advertising revenue, and while much of its contents might still have dealt in high culture, its wrappers now presented a contrasting study in the mundane, with imagery used to advertise Parr's Life Pills and the like.²⁷ Similarly the Journal, Miscellany and Paper, as well as their many imitative competitors, all carried numerous pictorial advertisements, usually grouped together on one or two pages of endpapers.²⁸ Plate 76 (a-d) reproduces pictorial examples from advertising pages appended to issues of the Journal for 25 June 1859 and 31 March 1860; and from these we can gather something of the style and variety of imagery that now commonly transmitted the messages of advertising through the medium of the press.

The press was also the medium through which working people began to acquaint themselves with yet another comparatively new pictorial type: the illustration of the news. But even as late as the 1850s this was necessarily a nodding acquaintance, for periodicals such as the Illustrated London News and daily newspapers were all well beyond the budgets of working people and, indeed, those of many members of the middle class.²⁹ But the 1840s and 50s

saw the beginnings of a change in this situation, with the emergence of penny weekly papers. Of the three most popular weeklies of this period, two--Reynolds' News and News of the World--were not illustrated. The third, however, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, offered readers of limited means relatively serious news reporting and illustrations of some of the most important events. The paper's publisher, the same Lloyd who led the penny dreadful market, clearly had a keen eye for what sold: in 1855, at a circulation of about 100,000, his Weekly matched the sales of News of the World and achieved double those of Reynolds' News in the same year.³⁰ Thus, by 1860, through the enterprise of Lloyd--and, as we will remember, through the occasional publication of war and other current-event illustrations in the Journal and Cassell's Paper--growing numbers of working people could begin to enlarge their knowledge of the contemporary world through the imagery of the news.

Finally, when they were not taking in the news through pictures, or wistfully studying some expensive product in an illustrated advertisement, or losing themselves in the flamboyant world of Jack Sheppard, some working people might well have paused for a few seconds' glance at a picture on the wall of their own small room or cottage. After 1832 this would have been more and more likely a possibility, as inexpensive printed imagery of all kinds and from several sources became widely affordable and available. For

example, a working person who wished to relieve a little of the cheerlessness of his or her surroundings might paste a pictorial broadside on the wall, or do the same with an engraving cut from the Penny Magazine or any of its illustrated successors. Alternatively, there were also cheap prints of popular actors, society beauties, children and cats to be had from street sellers. And, for only a penny apiece, Cassell offered the Paper's readership "splendid engravings" of subjects of "national and historic interest"--all executed "in the first style of art, with the view of contributing to the adornment of the dwellings of the people."³¹ From what evidence we have, it appears that an interest in adorning the walls of their dwellings was widely shared amongst working people. And, as we might gather from plate 77, it was not just relatively prosperous artisans in moderately comfortable accommodation, but also people in much humbler circumstances, who made an effort to brighten their walls and turn their surroundings into a home. The room pictured was in one of London's rookeries; the dimensions of this single room, which housed a young couple and their child, were six feet wide by seven long, with a claustrophobic ceiling height of six and a half feet at the highest point; the roof had gaping holes and the walls were "green and mildewed with damp."³² And yet, as the contemporary observer recognized, the room evinced "a perception of the beautiful", "a dash of taste" and,

perhaps, judging by the subject matter of the first two prints, an optimistic hope for brighter and more prosperous times to come:

Above the fireplace are several little prints; one representing two lovers walking on a terrace, overlooking trees and gardens bright in the light of the clear sky: another shows a richly furnished chamber, with a couple of more mature years: there are also some unframed prints of the young royal family, and a row of small beads are festooned in the centre.

The commentator concluded by remarking that "poor as this place is, it is still a home; and there are several thousand of these struggling homes in London."³³ And indeed there must have been. Evidence from various sources leaves little doubt that life in a comfortless cottage or even the meanest tenement room did not necessarily damp people's enthusiasm for imagery or quash their efforts to make their individual dwellings part of the mid-nineteenth-century's expanding pictorial world.³⁴

In structuring our understanding of that world as a whole, there are two crucial points to bear in mind. First of all, rapid though it was, the expansion of popular culture and pictorial experience between 1832 and 1860 was not only a matter of change--of the new emerging and the old disappearing. Rather, side by side with all the artifacts of a transformed popular culture--weekly newspapers, pictorial advertisements, mass-circulation magazines and penny dreadfuls--there remained pictorial survivals with their origins in an earlier popular cultural experience: for

example, chapbook-style re-issues of such traditional favourites as Robinson Crusoe, Foxe's Martyrs and Pilgrim's Progress (plate 78), murder and execution sheets, religious broadsides, and ballad sheets with old stock woodcuts (plate 79).³⁵ In other words, the transformation of popular culture did not come about through the repression or wholesale replacement of older cultural forms and experiences. The dynamic was more complex than that, involving continuity as well as change.

It is even more important to remember the second major point about the expanded pictorial world and the culture that it reflected. That is, despite the evidence of survivalism, it would be a mistake to regard the transformed popular culture of mid-century as merely an enlarged version of the older culture described in chapter two. As our examination of certain of its important pictorial forms has shown, the new culture was not simply the non-elitist lived experience of working people, although it was partly that. More significantly, through the primary agency of wide-circulation magazines like the Penny Magazine and its three main successors, a transformed popular culture was increasingly a mass experience. That is, several magazines and newspapers now regularly reached hundreds of thousands of people; and some successful books, Uncle Tom's Cabin, for instance, had initial sales in the tens of thousands, and

might in exceptional cases top one million in total sales over the course of a year and several editions.³⁶

However, a mass experience entailed more than just high sales and circulation figures and more even than the great number of people that these figures represented. It is most crucial to remember that the most widely sold artifacts of the new culture reached a social cross-section of people, not just a single definitive group or class of them. We have seen this in our consideration of the readership of the Penny Magazine and its three successors, and might reasonably assume that imitative magazines like Lloyd's Miscellany drew a similarly diverse market. Additionally, the Saturday Magazine reached both the middle and working classes, and this was perhaps true of later religious magazines--although a good deal more research would have to be done before we could pronounce definitively on this point. Still other kinds of cultural expression also drew a large, mixed--or mass--audience: Uncle Tom's Cabin, and presumably at least a few other such successful books, attracted both middle- and working-class readers. Advertisements in the London Journal and other such examples would necessarily have reached the same cross-section as the magazines themselves--although, judging by the cost and kind of the wares advertised in plate 76, it seems likely that the actual purchasers of these goods were mainly middle-class. Finally, we might compare the differences in the

style, quality and technique between plates 70 and 71, and among plates 72 to 75, both of which sets indicate a range from simple woodcuts to detailed, good-quality lithographs. From such comparisons we can gather that the publications which these images illustrated varied in cost and hence in readership. And, indeed, contemporary sources confirm that at mid-century it was not just working people, but also "the educated classes [who] were revelling" in the "picturesque daring" of Jack Sheppard and Dick Turpin.³⁷

Of course not all cultural expressions of the time engaged a social cross-section. It is, for example, difficult to believe that a publication like Cassell's Working Man's Friend could attract anyone other than a fairly select segment of the working class in search of intellectual improvement. However, more and more from 1832 on, popular experience was dominated by the magazines, books, advertisements and imagery that spoke to, pictured, and reflected the interests of a range of people of different, ages, sexes, occupations and classes--that cultural formation which is best characterized by the term, "mass." We will next consider the interaction of working people with the artifacts and experiences of the new mass community in which they had elected to participate.

II

In choosing to join the mass, the working class consented to accept, or in some instances adapt to their own

interests, the hegemonic values imbedded in many cultural artifacts.³⁸ We are hardly surprised to find a panoply of civilized virtues--industriousness, thrift, continence and so on--promoted in religious, temperance and other forms of respectable literature. However, as we have seen with the Journal, Miscellany and Paper, such values also permeated the literature and imagery of entertainment. We find further evidence of this in other similar contemporary magazines. Thus, to pick one out of many, Lloyd's Miscellany followed the lead of its three competitors and offered "domestic entertainment and useful knowledge"--both conceived to "maintain the high majesty of virtue over the turbulence of vice."³⁹ Accordingly, in a way that will now be familiar, Lloyd's miscellany clothed civilizing values in the trappings of entertainment, and presented its readership with short, light, often humorous items illustrating the folly of vice; it featured stories of hard drinkers and notorious spendthrifts who come to grief, and paraded an array of heroes and heroines who conversely prosper through hard work, honesty, perseverance and--in the case of the heroines--beauty and chastity.⁴⁰

At the same time that this and other pictorial magazines were pursuing their useful course of simultaneously entertaining and civilizing the reader, a good deal of penny fiction, some it rather lurid, was following the same path. Once again to choose from many,

take Malcolm Errym's Ada, the Betrayed, or, the Murder at the Old Smithy: this was a colourful tale replete with accounts and engravings of exciting chases, plentiful corpses, and narrow escapes from fire and sundry attacks by ax, sword and pistol. But, in the tradition of the old murder broadsides, we find that villains and murderers are not only bloodthirsty, but also idle, extravagant and intemperate. Thus, as its preface said, Ada, the Betrayed sought to ennoble "good actions" and demonstrate "the degradation and misery to which vice subjects its possessor."⁴¹ The Newgate Calendar similarly moralized, as it sensationalized, violence and crime, purporting to serve as a dire warning to all would-be offenders.⁴² Finally, it would do to remember that even such a dashing character as Jack Sheppard started his career as an idle apprentice; and, despite all of his glamourized escapades and legendary escapes, he ultimately paid at the gallows for his crimes--and for his want of industry and other civilized virtues.

As we know from earlier theoretical discussion, the hegemonic values contained in penny fiction, magazines and other cultural forms could only have been effective through the consent of those at whom such content was often aimed. The most ostensible way that workers signalled their consent to the values of hegemony was through their widespread purchase of entertaining miscellanies and the stories of Sheppard, Turpin and Ada. But as we will also remember such

consent had to be negotiated. Thus, for working people, the return on partaking of hegemonic values was the benefit of a new, varied and enlarged cultural experience. This though is not to imply that working people had engaged in a straightforward trade-off and chose to tolerate unpalatable values in exchange for an enriched cultural life. Rather, a brief examination of what we can learn about working people's taste suggests that consent to certain forms of hegemonic content did not require toleration, or acceptance, or even active adaptation. Often such consent was simply a matter of people exercising their long-standing, widespread preference.

By the mid-nineteenth-century there had grown up a mythology about the taste of the English worker. It was, or so the myth ran, debased--impure, corrupt, vulgar, prurient, low, ignorant; it took its sustenance from murder, horror, superstition and "guilty indulgence"; it was at best desultory, at worst diseased.⁴³ Now it was certainly true that flamboyant and slightly salacious fiction attracted a large number of working people: in fact we have already seen how largely such fiction was central to the commercial success of the Journal, Miscellany and Paper. And it is probably also true that many workers never read anything but romantic thrillers: Mayhew's costermongers, for example, displayed a fairly consistent taste for stories about girls with names like Venetia, whose distinguishing features were

"glowing cheeks, flashing eyes, and palpitating bosoms," and who invariably landed themselves in situations of torture, imminent rape or general adversity, any of which eventualities invariably led to distress and deshabille.⁴⁴

But these qualifications aside, the weight of the evidence is that the myth that all working people shared a uniformly degraded taste was just that--a myth. In actual fact, far from being debased, the taste of some working men was notably rarified. For example, the weaver Joseph Gutteridge recorded that his favourite books were Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Volney's Laws of Nature, Rollin's Ancient History and Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History; and Northumberland pitman Thomas Burt recalled that among the preferred reading of his circle of Primitive Methodist friends were Paley's Natural Theology, Alison's History of Europe and Humboldt's Cosmos.⁴⁵ As we have previously recognized, working-class autobiographers were an exceptional group, and their taste was clearly not representative of the whole of their class. But we have other evidence that if many workers' taste was less elevated than that of Gutteridge and Burt, it was still far above the level of debased. For instance, working people crowded into minor theatres and fairground booths to see performances of Shakespeare; according to the 'journeyman engineer', Thomas Wright, they also had a widespread liking for the works of Scott, Byron and

Tennyson; others, like the brick burner who read the Penny Magazine, favoured the sentimental, mildly religious couplets of sundry minor poets; and we have already seen the effort that even the poorest made to beautify their mean surroundings.⁴⁶

What all this implies is that working people's taste cannot properly be understood as uniformly one way or another: it was neither degraded nor lofty--it was both, and more than that. Broadly viewed, that is, working people's taste embraced every conceivable level of cultural expression: literary, lurid, radical, religious, respectable, morbid, moralistic, serious, sensational, salacious, educational, escapist. And this is not merely to suggest that we will find these levels represented only if we look at taste as a cumulative whole, in which any given individual would be all or mostly respectable, or all or mostly raffish, and so on, in his or her preferences. Rather, it is common to find more than one cultural level, often several, embodied in the taste of individual working-class people. We have, for example, the Chartist readers of the politically innocuous Penny Magazine; the autodidact who confessed to a taste for almanacks and penny story books; the chimney sweep who read history books, Shakespeare, Uncle Tom's Cabin, News of the World and "shoals of tracts and pamphlets upon doctrinal subjects"; the tenant farmer who adorned his walls with the images of a sailing ship

(illustrating a ballad about a calamitous storm), the Chartist riots at Newport, and "two or three small engravings of wonderfully ill-favoured Non-conformist divines"; and, finally, there was the shoemaker, Thomas Cooper, whose taste ran the gamut of cultural levels; among other works, he fondly recalled the essays of Lamb and Hazlitt, Goldsmith's histories of England, Greece and Rome, Byron's Childe Harold, Milton's Paradise Lost and Shakespeare's plays, the London Magazine, Quarterly Review, Edinburgh Review and Blackwood's; Pilgrim's Progress and Robinson Crusoe, Hone's publications, the Chartist Northern Star, and stories about beautiful serving girls, gypsies and Dick Turpin.⁴⁷

In view of the multifarious nature of working people's individual and collective taste, we begin to see one of the crucial factors that determined the appeal of certain kinds of reading material at mid-century. It seems that the popularity and hence commercial success of a book or magazine lay in its ability to address and accommodate all or most of the different cultural levels that people's taste might embody at a particular time. In the 1830s the Penny Magazine achieved sales of 200,000 because it reflected, responded to and cultivated people's then overriding taste for serious education, leavened with some uplifting moralizing, a little poetry, and here and there some mild humour.⁴⁸ As taste changed and people wanted their

educational fare spiced with a little fiction, the magazine did not react to this change and by 1845 its circulation had declined to 40,000. Even so, it still far outpaced the circulation figures of publications with a highly particularized focus--the Chartist Northern Star, for example, had an 1842 circulation of 12,500.⁴⁹

Meanwhile publications that ran the range of cultural levels, and included entertaining fiction as well as educational and moralistic content, had begun to make their appearance in the field of inexpensive publishing. And, in sales and circulation figures, these miscellanies eclipsed the Penny Magazine. As we know, the Journal, Miscellany, and Paper were foremost among such magazines and had by 1855 achieved respective regular sales of 450,000, 200,000 and 250,000. At the same time, one other equally successful publication also flourished and now warrants mention: the Family Herald, like the second generation of pictorial miscellanies, offered the familiar winning mix of amusement and instruction, and regularly provided short stories, installments of serial fiction, poetry, essays on general knowledge subjects, chess problems, housekeeping hints, cooking advice and, as one observer described them, "mild moralizings and pleasant platitudes".⁵⁰ In 1849 the Herald's circulation was 125,000, and by 1855 it had climbed to about 250,000.

There were two significant differences between the Herald and its three main rivals. Of these the more obvious one was the fact that the Herald, with the exception of its logo, contained no pictorial material. This indicates that, although it was a great selling point, illustration was not the ultimate determinant of a magazine's success. More fundamental, it seems, was a publication's ability to encompass the variety of cultural levels that both individual and collective taste embodied. This is not to say, though that illustration, could not, or did not, greatly enhance this ability.

And we must also take into consideration the other difference between the Herald, and the Journal, Miscellany and Paper. Of these four magazines the former was the more serious in tone, more overtly respectable and moralistic than its pictorial competitors--a fact that did not escape the notice of contemporary commentators.⁵¹ This suggests that the Herald's readership--presumably a mixed one, somewhat like that which we identified in the previous chapter--might have had a high proportion drawn from the lower middle-class, labour aristocracy and other social strata who energetically pursued respectability; conversely it may not have attracted readers from the lowest social levels. This is speculation only, but it is offered in order to make another, more important point. That is, the Herald's popularity, despite its lack of illustration,

should not lead us to underestimate the centrality of imagery in capturing and holding a large audience of the humblest members of society--those, we might add, who were the most likely to be illiterate or only able to read with difficulty. In support of this caution, we need only recall the enthusiasm that Mayhew's costermongers, particularly the illiterate among them, showed for pictures. And would the dense, unillustrated, earnest columns of the Herald have done as much as the Miscellany's lively pictures to distract an arthritic sweep from his pain and poverty?⁵²

In satisfying their collectively and, often, individually eclectic taste with pictorial magazines, or even with the Herald's heavier sustenance, working people, as we have already seen, made a choice to join the cultural community of a social cross-section. But this did not mean that they abandoned their class interests. And neither did their expanded cultural experience signify that culture in general had been democratized. The final part of this chapter will elaborate these arguments, first by looking briefly at the printed imagery of protest, and then by commenting on another indication of unequal power relations: the retreat of high culture from common experience.

III

The period between 1832 and 1860 yielded a number of printed images of social and political protest. Many of these images were either produced by, or likely to have been

seen by, at least some working people. A few were expressions or survivals of a social critique that had its origins in the radicalism of the late eighteenth-century. We can point, for instance, to the old Tree of Taxation image which recurred in various similar depictions until at least the late 1830s; and here and there we can find late broadsides protesting old corruption: in one such example, published in about 1850, the image of a shoemaker hard at work illustrates a ballad protesting the abuses of the robber lords and "coroneted vagabonds" who prosper while working people "are daily starving."⁵³

Still other pictorial expressions of the radical tradition can be found occasionally in Owen's Crisis, here and there in the Chartist Northern Star, and among the 378 illustrations in The Struggle, a paper which the weaver turned printer, Joseph Livesey, published in the 1840s to protest the Corn Laws.⁵⁴ An issue of the first-named publication, for example, depicted the image of a lunatic asylum as a symbol of the old, corrupt, unjust ("irrational") society where poverty and madness abound; in contrast, the same page included a visionary image of a model ("rational") community where industry, people and plantlife flourish. The Northern Star ran images of a similar sort--for instance, the 1846 engraving of editor Feargus O'Connor's model farm, O'Connorville, "the people's first estate."⁵⁵ The Struggle, as Livesey recalled in his

autobiography, relied heavily on the imagery of political satire "after the fashion of Punch"; but sometimes its pictures were more specifically social critiques, stressing the deprivation of many and articulating the radical notion that the fruits of labour ought to go to labourers. For example, in one illustration a poor family sits down to a meal of potatoes, and in the text underneath, the father says:

. . . it is a hard case that we who work most should be worst fed; that a poor man like myself must toil early and late and yet never taste a bit of beef, nor butter, nor scarcely bread.⁵⁶

By the 1850s the English worker's expanding pictorial world also took in one particular group of images which signalled that a specifically working-class consciousness was beginning to take shape: these were the engraved emblems printed on trade union certificates. Plate 80 reproduces a representative example.⁵⁷ As in many other similar cases, the iconography of this emblem communicated workers' craft pride and emphasized the value and dignity of labour, while mottoes like "united to protect and "union is strength" conveyed a belief in the efficacy of unity in protecting workers' common interests. But other mottoes, such as "not combined to injure", indicate that the organized working class had no revolutionary intent, but envisioned itself united within a stable society. This view is further suggested in this and several other emblem's images of the solid, roughly triangular, classically-styled architectural

edifice and the classicizing figures disposed in orderly fashion from base to apex. As one historian has aptly put it, such iconography signified that the unions chose to draw an analogy between their "own civilization of labour" and "a civilization of legendary stability."⁵⁸

The classicizing figures and architecture that typified the iconography of trade unionism were collectively one example of an increasing rarity in working people's pictorial world: the imagery of fine art. Here and there, we can point to other instances in which art, or the discussion of it, were in some way part of common cultural experience at mid-century: there were, for example, the artists' lectures offered by some mechanics' institutes and the reproductions of paintings that from time to time illustrated playbills.⁵⁹ On the whole, though, after 1845 and the demise of the Penny Magazine, the visual forms of high culture retreated from the cultural and pictorial experience of working people, back to their traditional place among the privileged and powerful--back, that is, to the walls, specimen cabinets and bookcases of the wealthy--back into expensive periodicals--and back to the galleries, museums and exhibition halls that were closed on Sunday, the only day of leisure for most working people.⁶⁰

We have seen already how this retreat was signalled in the second generation of pictorial miscellanies, in their limited use and trivialization of art. And we find similar

signals elsewhere in the transformed popular culture at mid-century. For example, the new abundance of cheap illustrated magazines drove a number of the old umbrella print sellers out of a business which occasionally offered fine-quality engravings.⁶¹ Now people had increasingly less need of the printed wares of a street vendor--they could cut their choice of any sort of image out of the pages of a used Journal or Miscellany. There is no more ironic indicator of how far art had withdrawn from common experience than Cassell's Magazine of Art (1853-6), which, at twopence an issue, was the only art periodical of the time that at least a few working people could afford. However, despite its title, this publication devoted most of its content to general knowledge subjects, and offered comparatively little of the discourse and imagery of art.

At this point we might be forgiven for wondering if possibly all of this came about in response to people's taste. Perhaps workers wanted only visually and intellectually undemanding material. Certainly there would be partial truth in such a surmise--it seems unlikely that the costermongers who enthused over the Miscellany's pictures, the factory girls who revelled in illustrated serial fiction, and a host of others like them, would have bypassed such diverting pictorial entertainment in favour of a magazine of fine art (assuming, of course, that there was an affordable version of such a magazine).

But acknowledging the existence of a widespread taste for escapist entertainment does not negate the fact that the withdrawal of art from working people's lives was a manifestation of the uneven social, economic and power relations of the time. Furthermore, there is no evidence that, given the choice, many working people would not have wanted to incorporate the imagery of art into their lives, in preference to, or at least along with, other kinds of pictures. In fact, there is considerable evidence from various sources that a large part of the working class was not satisfied with a steady diet of the pictorial fare of penny dreadfuls and illustrated magazines, but would also have liked more purely aesthetic nourishment. Among the many workers who professed a taste for the visual forms of high culture were the factory operative who admired pictures of Greek sculpture and architecture; the east London labourer who was "possessed" by the works of "pictorial art" which he saw displayed in shop windows; the many working men who petitioned for Sunday opening at the British museum; and, perhaps most notably, there was the Northampton shoemaker who, after a night of drunken brawling and domestic violence, did not neglect to restore his now headless casts of Milton and Shakespeare to their proper place on the mantel-piece.⁶²

At the same time that fine art was retreating from the lives of most workers--even those who actively sought

aesthetic experience--the idea became current that there were really two kinds of art: for the privileged, paintings, sculpture and high-quality prints; for the people, the imagery to be found in the textbooks and manuals of practical design. We have already seen how contributors to the new pictorial miscellanies communicated this idea, and we might now take note of the many others who shared the same view: there were, for example, witnesses before government select committees, the committee members themselves, teachers of art, magazine editors and several writers for various periodicals.⁶³ Among these individuals, there was a single instrumental rationale for advocating practical, as opposed to fine, art education: improved working-class design skills would also improve British manufactures. And, as schools of design multiplied, and as many other educational establishments introduced rudimentary design education for working-class students, class-differentiated aesthetic experience became institutionalized--even though class did not necessarily dictate taste.

With the formal and informal withdrawal of fine art from common experience, working people had by 1860 sustained an aesthetic loss. But at the same time they had also made considerable gains over the prior three decades. For many, there remained the lingering memory and lasting intellectual benefit of the groundbreaking Penny Magazine and its art

reproductions. For many, many others there were the present pleasures to be taken from the pages and pictures of the London Journal, Reynolds' Miscellany and Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper. And if all of this were not enough, there were also the myriad other informative, humorous, horrific, romantic and thrilling stories and illustrations in all the inexpensive pictorial magazines and penny storybooks that now flourished.

In other words, by 1860 the printed imagery of entertainment proliferated in the English worker's expanded and expanding pictorial world. That imagery, and the wide-circulation publications which transmitted it, together were the nucleus of a transformed popular culture. And this nucleus was the source of a cultural experience so different from any that people had known in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries that we should now stop describing it merely as popular. For the large and growing centre of a transformed popular culture had from its outset been an experience of many different kinds of people--people of both sexes and varied age, from the country as well as the towns and cities; their number included the illiterate, the comparatively well-educated and those in-between; they came from both the middle and the working classes. They were, of course, that large social cross-section typified by the readership of mass-circulation pictorial magazines. And the lived experience that they now

shared through choice, and through the medium of print and its imagery, was in effect a formative mass culture.

But as extensive as this culture was by 1860, it was not, and never became, all encompassing. As their class feeling developed, working people managed to keep certain cultural expressions of that feeling--trade union emblems, for example--distinct from the domain of the mass. In other words, class and mass had begun to emerge at about the same time. Meanwhile another kind of cultural experience remained largely untouched by the momentous changes of the past thirty years. Apart from the Penny Magazine's short-lived assault on its exclusivism, art had managed to remain aloof from all but the most privileged and powerful members of society. In 1860 those who bought pictorial miscellanies and those who patronized the exhibition room at Somerset House lived in different worlds.

CONCLUSION

The Making of a Mass Culture:

A Perspective from 1860

A mid-nineteenth-century source with whom we are now well-acquainted expressed the opinion that during the past few decades the publishing industry had experienced a "revolution." This was yet another observation from our perceptive, and unfortunately anonymous, authority on "cheap literature."¹ He or she was writing, we may recall, in 1859, a vantage point not far removed from the 1860 perspective that we will now adopt. But, unlike our commentator who could contemplate only the present and the immediate past, we have the benefit of being able to look back from and beyond our mid-century viewpoint. We will presently survey the direction of the future, but now let us turn our gaze the other way and briefly reconsider the developments of the last thirty years.

Most immediately apparent is the fact that from the early 1830s the printed word and its associated image had proliferated to an extent unimagined only a decade or so

earlier. Here was our 'commentator's "revolution." In part, as we noted earlier, it was a revolution in printing technology. But, as we have also come to recognize, new technology and the attendant growth of the publishing industry were really at the bottom of a larger, cultural transformation: as a result of increased access to inexpensive printed material, the everyday experience of working people dramatically expanded to take in an unprecedented quantity and range of information, entertainment and illustration. We have also looked closely at the most significant and widely-circulated artifacts of this transformed and expanded popular culture: the Penny Magazine and its three main successors. Now, as we glance one last time at these publications and the increasing array of similarly entertaining magazines and inexpensive books that appeared from 1840 on, we can see more clearly than before that these publications were more than just part of a bigger, latter-day version of the popular culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were in fact the centre of this expanded popular culture, and from that centre there began to emerge another, very different, culture.

However, as crucial as they were, artifacts did not create this emergent culture. Rather, it was the creation of people. There were first of all the cultural producers: the men of vision in the field of publishing--reformers like

Knight and entrepreneurs like Stiff--and all those men and women, the writers and artists, who contributed essays, stories and pictures to penny miscellanies, and who conceived the escapist fiction and dashing images that were the stock in trade of low-cost storybooks. And apart from those who created culture through its production there were all those who purchased the new magazines and penny fiction. These people, as we have already recognized, were a large and socially diverse group of men and women of varying ages, working people, and members of the middle class--all of whom together came from farms, villages, towns and cities throughout Great Britain. Moreover, this cross-section of the population--the mass--not only bought magazines and books, but also read these publications, looked at their images, discussed their stories and articles in booksellers' shops, at home, and in coffeehouses and pubs; this mass community of readers pored over serial fiction, fashion news, chess problems and recipes; they wrote countless comments and queries to editor after editor; cut illustrations out of penny magazines and pasted them on their walls; and in dozens of other ways of which we now have no record this mass of people incorporated the printed word and image into their lived experience. In other words, through their joint interaction both the consumers and producers of new artifacts, like the Penny Magazine and its successors, made their own cultural experience. And this

experience--at the heart of an expanded and transformed popular culture--was an emergent mass culture.

As we continue to look back on this newly made mass culture we can begin to identify characteristics about it that we had not previously observed. First of all, we have yet to take notice that the Penny Magazine not only circulated throughout Britain, but also found a market in the eastern United States; in addition, Knight sold casts of the magazine's engravings to publishers all over western Europe, for use in various foreign-language versions of the Penny Magazine. We also find that Reynolds' most popular stories circulated widely in the United States; and, of course, that "best-seller" in England, Uncle Tom's Cabin, was the work of an American author, and the book had enjoyed as much popularity in its own country as it had abroad. As we survey these and a few other such examples of international participation in the new mass culture, it appears that here we may have the first foundations of what would eventually become a "global village." But if this is an exaggerated view, it is nonetheless apparent that because of the new and widespread geographic diffusion of words and images, the world by the end of the 1830s had become a smaller, more closely-knit community than it had been before.

As we proceed with our overview, still looking back from 1860, we can now see the first growth to maturity of what a later age would call the "cult figure." Dick Turpin

was probably one such figure. And, more certainly, this was true of his "house-breaking" contemporary--that master of escape from lawful detention--Jack Sheppard. As we have previously observed, in the 1840s and 50s his image proliferated in countless books and penny serials covering a range of quality and prices (plates 72 to 75). In addition, printsellers did their best to meet the popular demand for inexpensive single-sheet engravings of Sheppard to paste on the walls of domestic interiors; and working people crowded into the cheap seats of theatres to see dramatizations of the intrepid escape artist's reprehensible but compelling adventures.² Indeed, this particular cult figure, or anti-hero, so pervaded the new mass culture that by the mid-1850s any daring escape or bold criminal exploit had come to be called "Jack Sheppardism."³ And, finally, what is especially interesting about this figure is the fact that we can trace his evolution from an earlier existence. For, as the previous chapter noted in passing, he had begun his career as a lazy and insolent apprentice who was soon dismissed by the carpenter who employed him. Thus the great Jack Sheppard was none other than a later, swashbuckling incarnation of those old negative exemplars, the shiftless apprentice of the Cheap Repository's Two Shoemakers, and the Penny Magazine's reproductions of Hogarth's Industry and Idleness.

As we take one last backward glance at Sheppard pursuing his dashing but doomed course to the gallows, we notice a different kind of contemporary persona on the new cultural horizon. This was no swaggering anti-hero, but an increasingly common and disturbing image: the female victim of vampires like Varney and murderers like Greenacre. And what is even more disturbing about this image is not just the passivity of the victim, but the suggestion that she may have enjoyed her victimization. Let us, for example, take a second look at the Newgate Calendar's depiction of the corpse of Greenacre's victim, Hannah Brown (plate 69). Is there not a certain ambivalence in this image? Can we be sure of the meaning of Mrs. Brown's stiff-looking legs and feet? Was she in the early stages of rigor mortis or still rigid with the sexual excitement^e of her last living moments? And what of Varney's victims? Did their backs arch in pain or the pleasure of masochistic eroticism? Here was the dark side of the gender hegemony we looked at earlier.

And here was also one of the least savoury aspects of an emergent culture that had brought with it many other more positive kinds of imagery, fantasy and information. We have already looked at length at the most important examples of this brighter side of mass culture: the general information, art reproductions and other engravings in the Penny Magazine; and the stories, essays, fashion news, items of humour, poetry and pictures in the Journal, Miscellany and

Paper. For the moment there is nothing more to see or say about these magazines and their content than what we have noted before. So now we will turn our gaze to that other view that our current perspective offers: the years following 1860.

Eventually, as we can just manage to see, the printed medium would share the mass domain with other popular modes of communication and entertainment: film, radio and television. But for the most part these cultural forms occupy the far distance which we can only see too indistinctly for meaningful observation. We will thus direct our gaze toward the near and middle distance where we can see clearly the persistent popularity and ever-widening diffusion of the printed word and its associated image.

Our three successors to the Penny Magazine would continue to flourish, two of them--the Journal and the Paper--surviving into the twentieth century. And, of course, as we have already gathered, they would not have the market all to themselves: after 1860, as in the decade or two before, an increasing number and variety of magazines and weekly papers would enter the field of popular publishing, and the most successful of them attain circulations comparable to, and eventually surpassing, those of the Journal, Miscellany and Paper. In 1896 Lloyd's Penny Weekly Paper would become the first weekly serial publication to achieve a regular circulation of one million-

-and a possible actual readership of five times that figure.

Similarly, during the two or three decades following 1860, advertising would enjoy further expansion, both in its use of technology and in the breadth of the audience that would more and more feel its influence. For example, by the 1880s, pictorial advertising would not only use the black and white engraved image to sell its wares, but also the photoreproduction and the coloured lithograph.⁴ And, from about 1870, working people would become ever more able to purchase the products that such imagery publicized.

But an improved and improving standard of living would not halt the further development of working-class consciousness, a fact which we see reflected in an expanding repertoire of working-class images designed to express class solidarity or protest social and economic injustices. The continuing formation of new trade unions would lead to an increase in pictorial membership certificates of the sort reproduced in plate 80; and, increasingly, posters, pamphlets, and socialist and trade union papers and magazines would use the printed image to help articulate working-class interests and discontents in the latter years of the nineteenth century.⁵

The interests and discontents of another group--women--would have to wait a decade or so more before finding at least partial expression in the imagery of suffragism. In the meantime, and long after, that self-contradicting,

hegemonic image of women that we looked at earlier would continue to proliferate and exert its effect on those who allowed themselves to "succumb" to such "despotism"--as one source would describe the dictates of fashion and the ideals of feminine attractiveness.⁶

As we pursue our survey of the printed imagery of magazines, weekly papers, advertising and so on, we cannot fail to notice the scarcity of one kind of image: art, we can see as we look ahead, would continue its retreat from the domain of mass culture. As it had done before 1860, and would continue to do in the latter part of the century and beyond, art would withdraw further and further from common experience, taking itself back to the walls and specimen cabinets of the homes of the wealthy, back into the books and magazines that ordinary people could not afford to purchase, and back into the galleries and museums that would long remain closed on Sundays, the one day that most workers could visit such establishments.⁷

Of course, art would never manage entirely to effect its retreat from everyday life. Here and there, it would remain accessible to the people. The vanishing street vendors of inexpensive prints might still on occasion be able to offer a penny art reproduction or other fine print that they would in turn have purchased cheaply from a waste paper dealer; and, for more than two decades after it had ceased publication, the Penny Magazine would find its way

into booksellers' shops in working-class neighbourhoods, where it would sell for ninepence to a shilling for a bound volume.⁸ And art would soon establish itself as a presence in the realm of advertising. In the next few decades after 1860, and into the following century, art would help to sell all manner of products from Pears Soap to ballpoint pens and chocolate bars.⁹

In observing this incongruent alliance of art, soap, ink and candy, we reach the far limit of our view beyond 1860. But we will try to retain the after-image of this view for a short while as we turn the other way for a final look at the years between 1830 and 1860. Thus we see again the early phase of a new mass culture as it emerged from the centre of a transformed, greatly expanded, popular culture. As we recognized at the outset, this was not the fully commercialized mass culture that would develop in the latter part of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Nevertheless, still bearing in mind our after-image of the future, it becomes apparent that what we are now surveying for the last time here is the emergence and growth of a fundamentally modern mass culture. For this was a culture whose central artifacts--the Penny Magazine and its three main successors--depended upon and fostered new technology, increasingly commercialized their operation, continually augmented the amount and range of their written and pictorial content, and persistently reached and communicated with an ever-widening

socially and geographically diverse, or mass, community of readers and viewers. In this way the new culture embodied all the necessary pre-conditions for the subsequent development of the twentieth-century mass media.

But in 1860 there was no such phenomenon as a mass media. There was, though, the mass medium of print, with all its increasing quantity and variety of imagery. Even so, some people's visual experience remained little altered from what it had been a half century or so ago. For example, devotees of academy art continued to congregate in the exhibition room at Somerset House. Meanwhile, those who interested themselves in the welfare of the very poorest members of society took note of, and attempted to alleviate, the visual deprivation of the inmates of charitable institutions.¹¹ But at mid-century there was little to show for such effort. In both urban and rural parishes all over England, in the midst of a burgeoning, ever more pictorial mass culture, the workhouse walls remained bare.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

¹"Cheap Literature," British Quarterly Review 29 (April 1859): 316. This journal is not listed in the Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, and the article's author is unknown.

²Stereotype printing used curved metal plates which could be rapidly cast from original reliefs using papier-mache, clay or plaster. Multiple cylinders further increased the speed with which impressions could be produced in a given time period.

³For further discussion of nineteenth-century printing technology, see, among others, Philip B. Meggs, A History of Graphic Design (New York, 1983), 163-164; Michael Twyman, Printing, 1770-1970 (London, 1970), 51-52; and Geoffrey Wakeman, Victorian Book Illustration (Newton Abbott, 1973), 20-22; and see also The Penny Magazine 2 (1833): 379-384, 423-424, 470-472, and 507-511.

⁴For lists of the most representative mid-nineteenth-century periodicals and their respective circulations, see Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago, 1957); and A. Ellegard, The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian England, (Goteborg, 1957), 35.

⁵The circulation of these publications ranged from the Penny Magazine's 200,000 in the early 1830s to the London Journal's 450,000 in 1855. The ratio of 1:5 is widely accepted as a conservative estimate of the relationship between circulation and actual readership--hence the text's reference to a million or more readers for each of the magazines in question.

⁶For the opposing point of view, see Raymond Williams, "Radical and/or Respectable," in The Press We Deserve, ed. R. Boston (London, 1970), 18 and 21-23.

⁷For an historical study from this perspective, see J. M. Golby and A. W. Purdue, The Civilization of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England, 1750-1900 (London, 1984). For further discussion and criticism of pluralist approaches, see Tony Bennett, "Theories of the Media, Theories of Society," in Culture, Society and the Media, ed. Michael Gurrevitch, T. Bennett and Janet Woollacott (London, 1982), 39-41; John Clarke and Chas Critcher, The Devil Makes Work (London, 1985), 40ff.; Alan Swingewood, The Myth of Mass Culture (London, 1977; reprint ed., 1979), 18-23.

⁸On the thought of the Frankfurt School, see Bennett, "Theories of the Media," 41-47; and Swingewood, Mass Culture, 11-18.

⁹See Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London, 1971; reprint ed., 1986), especially 12-13, 52-53, 182, 238-239, 242-243 and 264-265. The text's discussion of Gramsci's ideas has also benefited greatly from the following: Peter Bailey, Introduction to the paperback ed. of Leisure and Class in Victorian England (London, 1987), 8-18; Tony Bennett, "Popular Culture and the Turn to Gramsci," in Popular Culture and Social Relations, ed. Bennett, C. Mercer and J. Woollacott (Milton Keynes, 1986), xi-xix; Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies," in Hall, ed., Culture, Media, Language (London, 1985), 35-36; Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy (London, 1985), especially 1-42 and 142-145; Mouffe, Gramsci and Marxist Theory (London, 1979), especially 1-18, 168-204 and 190-200; id., "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci," in Culture, Ideology and Social Process, ed. T. Bennett, G. Martin, C. Mercer and J. Woollacott (London, 1981), 219-234; and Swingewood, Mass Culture, 76-78 and 82-86.

¹⁰Gareth Stedman Jones, however, takes the opposing view that there is little to differentiate between social control and hegemony: see "Class Expression versus Social Control," in Jones, Languages of Class (Cambridge, 1983), 86.

¹¹Gray, "Bourgeois Hegemony in Victorian Britain," in Bennett et al., Culture, Ideology and Social Process, 239.

¹²On the diversity of nineteenth-century English workers, see David Vincent, Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography (London, 1981; reprint ed., 1982), 7; and on the need for a comprehensive definition of "working class", see John Burnett, David Mayall and D. Vincent, The Autobiography of the Working Class (Brighton, 1984), 1: xxxi.

¹³For further general discussion of the war of position, see Mouffe, Gramsci and Marxist Theory, 195-198.

¹⁴For a comparable view, see Raymond Williams, "Minority and Popular Culture," in Leisure and Society in Britain, ed., Michael Smith, Stanley Parker and Cyril Smith (London, 1973), 22ff.

¹⁵Among others who have argued similarly, see Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular," in People's History and Socialist Theory, ed. R. Samuel (London, 1981),

238; and Swingewood, Mass Culture, 39 and passim. For an historical study based on an apparent acceptance of the concept of working-class culture, see Eileen Yeo, "Culture and Constraint in Working-Class Movements, 1830-55," in Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590-1914, ed. E. and S. Yeo (Brighton, 1981), 155, 172-173 and passim. And also of related interest is G. S. Jones, "Rethinking Chartism," in Jones, Languages of Class, 90-178. Without specifically espousing Gramscian theory, Jones argues that neither Chartism nor early radicalism were expressions of a class-specific ideology--they were instances of struggle between the "people" and a power-bloc.

¹⁶Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963; reprint ed., Harmondsworth, 1978); and see also P. Hollis, The Pauper Press (London, 1970); G. S. Jones, "Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London, 1870-1900," Journal of Social History 7 (Summer 1974): 298 and passim; and Martha Vicinus, The Industrial Muse (London, 1974).

¹⁷The text's discussion of definitions has benefited from, among other works, the following: H. J. Gans, Popular Culture and High Culture (New York, 1974); Leo Lowenthal, "Historical Perspectives of Popular Culture," in Mass Culture, ed. B. Rosenberg and D. M. White (New York, 1957), 46-58; Dwight MacDonald, "A Theory of Mass Culture," ibid., 59-73; Swingewood, Mass Culture, 106-107 and 109-110; John A. Walker, Art in the Age of Mass Media (London, 1983), 18; and R. Williams, Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society (New York, 1976), 158-163 and 198-199.

¹⁸Hall, "Deconstructing the Popular," 231.

¹⁹See note 16 and also, among others, Charles Elkins, "The Voice of the Poor: The Broadside as a Medium of Popular Culture and Dissent in Victorian England," Journal of Popular Culture 14 (1980): 262-274; and R. D. Storch, "Persistence and Change in Nineteenth-Century Popular Culture," in Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth-Century England, ed. R. D. Storch (London, 1982), 1-19.

²⁰This definition derives from the comparable ones given in Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (London, 1978), xi; and Hugh Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution (London, 1980), 37-38.

²¹Hall, "Deconstructing the Popular," 235 and ff.

²²See, among others, Asa Briggs, Mass Entertainment (Adelaide, 1960); Burke, Popular Culture, 72; Elkins, "Voice of the Poor," 263-264; R. Johnson, "Really Useful

Knowledge," in Working-Class Culture, ed. J. Clarke, C. Critcher and R. Johnson (London, 1979), 235; L. Lowenthal, "Historical Preface to the Popular Culture Debate," in Culture for the Millions?, ed. N. Jacobs, intro. P. Lazarsfeld, (Boston, 1964), 28-42; and Vicinus, Industrial Muse, 238-249.

²³ See, for example, James G. Bertram, Some Memories of Books, Authors and Events (Westminster, 1893), 140; "Cheap Literature," 320ff.; Edward Cowper, Evidence given before the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, 17 June 1836, 9.1: 50-51; Charles Knight, The Old Printer and the Modern Press (London, 1854), 254ff.

²⁴ The quotation is from the Report of the General Literature Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 21 May 1832, transcribed in the Committee Minutes, volume for 1832-34, SPCK Archive, London. The italics are mine.

²⁵ See, for instance, Altick, English Common Reader, 332-339; J. F. C. Harrison, Learning and Living (Toronto, 1961), 28-29; Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man (London, 1963), 15; *id.*, "The Trouble with Betsy: Periodicals and the Common Reader in Nineteenth-Century England," in The Victorian Periodical Press, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester, 1982), 360ff.; and R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader (London, 1955), 77-80.

²⁶ Among others, Eric de Mare, The Victorian Woodblock Illustrators (London, 1980), 74-75; G. S. Jowett, "Extended Images," in Contact, ed. R. Williams (New York, 1981), 188; Kenneth Lindley, The Woodblock Engravers (Newton Abbott, 1970), 43; and Twyman, Printing, 96.

²⁷ Peter Bailey, "Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday: Comic Art in the 1880s," History Workshop (Autumn 1983): 4-31; Allan Ellenius, "Reproducing Art as a Paradigm of Communication: The Case of the Nineteenth-Century Periodicals," Figura, n.s., 21 (1984): 69-92; Celina Fox, "The Development of Social Reportage in English Periodical Illustration during the 1840s and 1850s," Past and Present 74 (February 1977): 90-111; *id.*, "Political Caricature and Freedom of the Press in Early Nineteenth-Century England," in Newspaper History, ed. G. Boyce, J. Curran and P. Wingate (London, 1978), 227-246; *id.*, and M. Wolff, "Pictures from Magazines," in The Victorian City, 2 vols., ed. H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff (London, 1973), 2: 559-582; M. D. George, Hogarth to Cruikshank (London, 1967); N. M. Ivins, Prints and Visual Communications (London, 1953; reprint ed., New York, 1969); and, on music-hall song sheet illustration, Jane Traies,

"Jones and the Working Girl: Class Marginality in Music-Hall Song, 1860-1900, in Music Hall: Performance and Style, ed. J. S. Bratton (Milton Keynes, 1986), 23-48.

²⁸For an example of art historical technique applied to popular illustration, see Thomas Gretton, Murders and Moralities: English Catchpenny Prints, 1800-1860 (London, 1980).

²⁹Berger, Ways of Seeing (Harmondsworth, 1972; reprint ed., 1976), see especially 7-33.

³⁰Benjamin, "The Work of Art . . .," in Illuminations, (Frankfurt, 1955; trans. H. Zohn, New York, 1969; reprint ed., 1978), 217-251.

³¹Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in Image-Music-Text, trans. Stephen Heath (New York, 1977), 32-51; see also "the Photographic Message," ibid., 15-31; and of related interest for its attention to cultural context is the analytical method described in Umberto Eco, "Rhetoric and Ideology in Sue's Les Mysteres de Paris," International Social Science Journal 19 (1967): 552-554.

³²For example, chapter 3's treatment of the Penny Magazine's pictures and accompanying texts is wholly consistent with the quantitative content analysis in Scott Bennett, "The Editorial Character and Readership of the Penny Magazine," Victorian Periodicals Review 17 (1984): 127-141.

³³See, for instance, Stuart Hall, Introduction to Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change, 1935-65, ed. A. C. H. Smith et al. (London, 1975), 15; and Siegfried Kracauer, "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly 16 (1952-52): 637-639.

³⁴See, for example, John Burnett, ed., Useful Toil: Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s (Harmondsworth, 1984), 11; id., Destiny Obscure: Autobiographies of Childhood, Education and Family (Harmondsworth, 1984), 12; and Vincent, Bread, Knowledge and Freedom, 9.

³⁵Burnett, Useful Toil, 12-13; id., Destiny Obscure, 11-12; and Vincent, Bread, Knowledge and Freedom, 10-11.

³⁶William Hutton, Life of W. Hutton (London, 1817), 79.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

¹R. Ackermann, The Microcosm of London, 3 vols. (London, 1808).

²For illustrations or commentaries indicative of working people's experience of the natural and man-made environment, see, among many other sources, Thomas Carter Memoirs of a Working Man (London, 1845), 30 and 125; Thomas Cooper, Life of Thomas Cooper (London, 1872), 61; James Elmes and Thomas Shepherd, London and its Environs in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1829), *passim*; John H. Harris, John Harris, the Cornish Poet, the Story of his Life (London, 1884), 19-20; George Holyoake, Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life (reprint ed., London, 1906), 17; and David Love, Life, Adventures and Experience (Nottingham, 1823), 147-149.

³For representative illustrations of circuses, fairs, puppet shows, and their imagery, see E. B. Chancellor, The XVIIIth Century in London, (London, 1920), fig. 3; Samuel McKechnie, Popular Entertainments through the Ages (New York and London, 1931; reprint ed., 1969), figs. facing 32, 80, 89, 96 and 97; H. Morley, Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair (London, 1857), figs. on 355, 363 and 364; and H. Pyne, Costume of Great Britain (London, 1808), n.p., see s.v. "A Country Fair" and illustration facing. For a comment on peep shows, see Asa Briggs, Mass Entertainment (Adelaide, 1960), 14; and for a representation of the viewers, see Thomas Rowlandson, Sketches of the Lower Orders (London, 1820), "Raree-Show," n.p.

⁴On Bewick and the history of British wood-engraving in general, see W. A. Chatto, "The History and Practice of Wood-Engraving," Illustrated London News, 11 May 1844, 309-310; Austen Dobson, Thomas Bewick and his Pupils (London, 1884); Albert Garrett, A History of British Wood Engraving (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1978); Thomas Gretton, Murders and Moralities (London, 1980), 8-9; Kenneth Lindley, The Woodblock Engravers (Newton Abbott, 1970); and Philip Meggs, History of Graphic Design (New York, 1983), 150-151. On early nineteenth-century printing technology, see chap. 1, p. 2 and nn. 2 and 3.

⁵Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago, 1957), 38-41, 51ff. and 85ff.

⁶On workers' wages, 1790 to the 1830s, see J. F. C. Harrison, Early Victorian Britain (n.p.: Fontana, 1979), 53ff.; and E. H. Hunt, "Wages," in Atlas of Industrializing

Britain, 1780-1914, ed. J. Langton and R. J. Morris (London, 1986), 65.

⁷Bamford, Early Days (1848-49; reprint ed., New York, 1967), 90.

⁸Carter, Memoirs, 20-21 and 186-187; Thomas W. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability (New Haven, 1976), 7 and 203.

⁹On the print trade and the cost of prints, see M. D. George, Hogarth to Cruikshank (London, 1967), 17; David Kunzle, The Early Comic Strip (Berkley, 1973), 426; and Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, 2 vols. (London, 1893), 1:88; for an illustration showing people's fascination with a print-shop window display, see Robert Dighton's 1790 "A Windy Day: Scene outside the Shop of Bowles, the Printseller," reproduced in Thomas Burke, The Streets of London (London, 1940), frontispiece.

¹⁰Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution (London, 1980), 37-41.

¹¹Ibid., 10.

¹²For an illustration of the race bill mentioned in the text, see John Lewis, Printed Ephemera (Ipswich, 1962), 118. For examples of circus and theatrical bills, see London Playbills, vol. 171, British Library, London; and see also Morley, Bartholomew Fair, 355. For commentary on posted bills, racing and theatrical advertisements, and the early use of imagery in advertising, see J. D. Burn, Commercial Enterprise and Social Progress (London, 1858); id., The Language of the Walls (London, 1855; James Cleaver, A History of Graphic Design (London, 1963), 174-176; Patricia Hollis, The Pauper Press (London, 1970), 114-115; N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J. H. Plumb, Birth of a Consumer Society (London, 1982), 273ff.; and Frank Presbrey, The History and Development of Advertising (New York, 1929; reprint ed., New York, 1968), 84-85 and 110-111.

¹³The text's description of trade cards is based on examples from Window Bills and Advertisements, John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford; and Blanche Cirker, ed., 1800 Woodcuts by Thomas Bewick and his School (New York, 1962), plates 183-186.

¹⁴"A Working Man", Scenes from My Life, ed., R. Maguire (Islington, 1858), 21-22.

¹⁵Among the many compilations, studies and discussions of broadsides and chapbooks are J. Ashton, Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1882; reprint ed., New York,

1966); Robert Collinson, The Story of Street Literature (London, 1973); Gretton, Murders and Moralities; Charles Hindley, Curiosities of Street Literature (London, 1871; reprint ed., New York, 1970); id., History of the Catnach Press (London, 1887; reprint ed., Detroit, 1969); Louis James, Print and the People (London, 1976), 38-40 and passim; Victor E. Neuburg, "The Literature of the Street," in The Victorian City, 2 vols., ed. John Dyos and Michael Wolff (London, 1973), 1: 191-209; id., Penny Histories (London, 1968); id., Popular Literature (Harmondsworth, 1977); Edwin Pearson, Banbury Chap Books (London, 1890; reprint ed., New York, 1972); Leslie Shepard, The History of Street Literature (Newton Abbot, 1973); and Martha Vicinus, The Industrial Muse (London, 1974). Unpublished primary material can be found in various collections: for example, the John Johnson Archive, Bodleian Library; the S. Baring-Gould and Thomas Crampton collections of ballads, and several similar unnamed collections, all in the British Library, London.

¹⁶L. Shepard, John Pitts, Ballad Printer of Seven Dials (London, 1969), 83.

¹⁷Bamford, Early Days, 83.

¹⁸Hindley, Curiosities, 75. On Catnach and Pitts, see id., The Life and Times of James Catnach (London, 1878; reprint ed., Detroit, 1968); and Shepard, John Pitts.

¹⁹For examples, see Hindley, Curiosities, 14, 17, 23 and 34; and Shepard, Street Literature, 195.

²⁰For a reproduction of this broadside, see Shepard, ibid., 176.

²¹On the iconography of punishment and the viewers' role in the "spectacle of the scaffold", see Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1979), 32-72, 94-95 and passim.

²²For an illustration of an almanack broadside published by Catnach in 1825, see James, Print, 55; see also his commentary, 53-59. My conclusions about the relative popularity of subject matter are based on the following samplings: the Baring-Gould Collection of Ballads printed in London, vols. 1, 2 and 3; id., Collection printed in Newcastle, vols. 1.1 and 1.2; the Crampton Collection, vols. 1, 2 and 3; and the Catnach catalogue of ballads for 1832, reproduced in Shepard, Street Literature, 216-223.

²³Altick, Common Reader, 288; J. Holloway, "Broadside Verse Traditions," Listener, 21 May 1970, 684. Neuburg,

Popular Literature, 138, shows a reproduction of the Thurtell broadside.

²⁴For a reproduction, see Shepard, Street Literature, 102; the illustration is not signed and Shepard does not give its source.

²⁵From a dictionary list of typical items in dream and fortune-telling booklets, reproduced in Collinson, Story of Street Literature, 129-143.

²⁶Hindley, Life of Catnach, 23; Knight, "Address to Readers," Penny Magazine 5 (1836): 516; for commentary on and illustration of the umbrella printsellers, see Peter Jackson, George Scharfe's London (London, 1987), 48.

²⁷Altick, Common Reader, 38; Neuburg, Penny Histories, 9-20. For representative illustrations, see Neuburg, ibid., 81ff.; and Pearson, Banbury Chap Books, 33, 36 and passim.

²⁸Bamford, Early Days, 90; Bathgate, Aunt Janet's Legacy, 48.

²⁹Cooper, Life, 33.

³⁰Harris, John Harris . . . Life, 17.

³¹Pearson, Banbury Chap Books, 15. On the publishers of chapbooks, see Neuburg, Penny Histories, 34-44 and 66-71.

³²For representative examples, see Cirker, 1800 Woodcuts by Thomas Bewick. On the difference in appearance and process between woodcuts and engravings, see Gretton, Murders and Moralities, 9; and Michael Twyman, Printing (London, 1970), 21.

³³On the history and activities of these societies, see W. O. B. Allen and E. McClure, Two Hundred Years: The History of the SPCK (London, 1898); Altick, Common Reader, 100ff.; W. K. L. Clarke, History of the SPCK (London, 1959); S. G. Green, Story of the Religious Tract Society (London, 1899); M. G. Jones, Hannah More (Cambridge, 1952); Susan Pedersen, "Hannah More Meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century England," Journal of British Studies 25 (January 1986): 84-113; and R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader (London, 1955), 25-28. For reproductions of illustrations from some of the works named in the text, see Ashton, Chap-Books, 3-24, 25 and passim.

³⁴On the style and content of these and other Repository chapbooks, see Pederson, "Hannah More," 88-97.

³⁵ Among the many editions and reprints sold throughout Great Britain is the one referred to here: Two Shoemakers (Dublin: William Watson, 1810).

³⁶ For example, Webb, Working Class Reader, 28.

³⁷ Altick, Common Reader, 101; Pedersen, "Hannah More," 112.

³⁸ Bathgate, Aunt Janet's Legacy, 48; William Burch, Life, Sermons and Letters, ed. T. Russell (n.p., 1866), 25. On Sunday school prize-books, see Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, 118 and 206.

³⁹ Bamford, Early Days, 40.

⁴⁰ For a general discussion, see Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, 206-208.

⁴¹ Green, Religious Tract Society, 30-33.

⁴² Bamford, Early Days, 89; Bathgate, Aunt Janet's Legacy, 48; Burch, Life, 28 and passim; Cooper, Life, 8; Joseph Livesey, The Life and Teachings of Joseph Livesey (London, 1886), 5; see also David Vincent, Bread, Knowledge and Freedom (London, 1981), 110-111.

⁴³ For an example of Bible illustration from ca. 1803, see Pearson, Banbury Chap Books, 90.

⁴⁴ Carter, Memoirs, 20; Cooper, Life, 8.

⁴⁵ Altick, Common Reader, 35-38; H. F. Mathews, Methodism and the Education of the People, 1791-1851 (London, 1949), especially 71ff.; and see also R. F. Wearmouth, Methodism and the Working-Class Movements in England, 1800-1850 (London, 1937). For examples of illustration--portraits of "Preachers of the Gospel", see the Methodist Magazine 21, 30, 44 (1798, 1807, 1821).

⁴⁶ Mathews, Methodism, 39ff. The most useful study of Sunday schools in general is Laqueur, Religion and Respectability: see especially 113-119 and 204-206.

⁴⁷ For an illustration of "Samson Destroying the Feasting Place of the Philistines" from an SPCK lesson book, see Allen and McClure, Two Hundred Years, 185. Trimmer's A Series of Prints Taken from the Old Testament (London, 1825) is one of several such editions going back to the 1780s and still being re-issued in 1840; biographical information is contained in Some Account of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Trimmer (London, 1825).

⁴⁸For a reproduction of this example, see Gretton, Murders and Moralities, 119, fig. 86.

⁴⁹For examples, see ibid., figs. 85, 88, 89 and passim. Others can be found in the Baring-Gould Newcastle Collection (vols. 1.1: f. 3, and 1.2: f. 159) and several unnamed British Library collections of broadsides; for general commentary, see Collinson, Story of Street Literature, chap. 9.

⁵⁰T. L. Busby, Costumes of the Lower Orders (London, 1820), n.p.

⁵¹For discussions of this material, see Charles Elkins, "The Voice of the Poor," Journal of Popular Culture 14 (1980): 262-274; Hollis, Pauper Press; James, Print, 62-81; E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963; reprint ed., Harmondsworth, 1978), 788-794 and passim; Vicinus, Industrial Muse, chap. 2; and Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution (London, 1961), 186-189. Many primary source items, such as circulars, pertaining to the reading matter and activities of mechanics' institutes and libraries, are interspersed amongst the correspondence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), University College Library, London,

⁵²James, Print, 71.

⁵³For illustrations and discussion, see Neuburg, Popular Literature, 148-149; E. Rickword, ed., Radical Squibs and Loyal Ripostes (Bath, 1971), 23ff., 59ff., 135ff. and 311ff.; and Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870 (London, 1960), between 176 and 177.

⁵⁴Bamford, Passages in the Life of a Radical (1848-1849), ed. W. H. Chaloner (New York, 1967), 280-281.

⁵⁵Illustrated in James, Print, 97.

⁵⁶For an illustration, see Gretton, Murders and Moralities, 75, fig. 41; for reproductions and commentary on other examples mentioned in the text, see ibid., 81, fig. 48; Hindley, Curiosities of Street Literature, 45-46 and 98; James, Print, 77.

⁵⁷The catalogue is reproduced in full in Shepard, Street Literature, 216-223; titles suggestive of protest or dissatisfaction include "Poor Mechanic's Boy", "Poor Little Sweep", "Poverty's No Sin" and "Time to Remember the Poor". Other titles are more ambiguous as indicators of content: for example, "Carpet Weaver", "Dustman" and "Roving Journeyman".

⁵⁸An undated, perhaps early nineteenth-century, example of a local society of tin-plate workers membership card is illustrated in R. A. Leeson, Travelling Brothers (London, 1979), between 240 and 241; for discussions of later union imagery, see id., United We Stand (Bath, 1971); and John Gorman Images of Labour (London, 1985).

⁵⁹Cooper, Life, 51.

⁶⁰The SDUK's correspondence contains numerous requests from working men's organizations for donations of, or reduced prices for, both illustrated books and prints suitable for use on walls; among other examples is the Wakefield Mechanics' Institution letter to secretary Thomas Coates, 26 August 1842. See also the discussion of mechanics' institutes in C. P. Darcy, The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Lancashire, 1760-1860 (Manchester, 1976), 104-112.

⁶¹Wright, Johnny Robinson, 2 vols. (London, 1868), 1: 84; Bonwick, excerpts from his autobiography in John Burnett, Destiny Obscure (1982; reprint ed., Harmondsworth, 1984), 171 and 174; see also Twyman, Printing, 94-96, on early pictorial maps.

⁶²Gutteridge, Autobiography, 85; Herbert, Autobiography of . . . a Gloucestershire Shoemaker (Gloucestershire, 1866; reprint ed., 1876), 6; and see also Harris, John Harris, 17. For illustrations and description of school primers and alphabet books, see Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, 114-115; Mathews, Methodism, 50ff.; Pearson, Banbury Chap Books, 30 and 87; and Shepard, Street Literature, 153.

⁶³See chapter 1, n. 16.

⁶⁴Among the many representative examples showing the values content of broadsides are those contained in the Baring-Gould Newcastle Collection, vol. 1.1: f. 3; A Collection of Ballads . . . Printed by John Pitts, f. 62; and A Collection of Miscellaneous Broadsides . . . , ff. 60 and 61--all in the British Library; on the complex structure of values in Robinson Crusoe, see Christopher Hill, "Robinson Crusoe," History Workshop (Autumn 1980): 7-24.

⁶⁵For a facsimile of the Corder confession, see Hindley, Life of Catnach, 187; for other examples, see id., History of the Catnach Press, 67; Baring-Gould Newcastle Collection, vol. 1.2: f. 121; Collection of Miscellaneous Broadsides, ff. 3 and 27; and, also in the British Library, Broadsheets Relating to . . . Traitors, Murderers and Malefactors, nos. 1, 8 and passim.

⁶⁶For discussion and illustration of some of these points, see Gretton, Murders and Moralities, 18, 60, 99, 110, 114-115, 119 and 124-127; and Leeson, United We Stand, 8ff.; James, Print, 79, reproduces an example of the Tree of Taxation.

⁶⁷These and many other examples abound in the collections cited in nn. 64 and 65 above.

⁶⁸Carter, Memoirs, 21.

⁶⁹W. B. Rands, "The Penny Magazine," St. Paul's Magazine 12 (1873): 543-544.

⁷⁰Rushton, My Life (Manchester, 1909), 16-17; Holyoake, Sixty Years, 17.

⁷¹Cooper, Life, 7-8 and 17.

⁷²Thomson, Autobiography of an Artisan (London, 1847), 74; Leeson, United We Stand, 21; Samuel Bamford, Walks in South Lancashire (1844; reprint ed., Brighton, 1972), 212.

⁷³Bathgate, Aunt Janet's Legacy, 104-105.

⁷⁴Lord Brougham, Practical Observations on the Education of the People (1825; reprint ed., Boston, 1826), 7.

⁷⁵Bookseller, 30 November 1859, 1326-1327.

⁷⁶On the SDUK, its membership, aims and publications, see Brougham, "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," Edinburgh Review 46 (1827): 235-244; Brougham correspondence, T. Coates to Brougham, 1836-1854, and C. Knight to Brougham, 1832-1858, University College Library, London; Monica Grobel, "The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1826-48," 4 vols. (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1932); C. Knight, Passages of a Working Life, 3 vols. (London, 1864), 2: 113-135 and passim; Harold Smith, The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1826-46 (Halifax, N.S., Dalhousie Library Occasional Paper No. 8, 1974); and Webb, Working Class Reader, 68-72. The major source on the SDUK is its archive at University College Library, London. Specific sections are cited in notes to subsequent chapters.

⁷⁷Opening editorial statement, Saturday August 30, Mechanic's Magazine 1 (1823): 16; on Robertson and the magazine, see Altick, Common Reader, 393; Brougham, Practical Observations, 7; Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. "Robertson, Joseph Clinton"; Gentleman's Magazine,

n.s., 38 (1852.2): 548; Robertson to Robert Peel, 22 April 1825, and id., to Charles Babbage, 30 April 1833, Additional MSS, 40377: 71 and 37187: 515, British Library.

⁷⁸See also Robertson, evidence before the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, 2 September 1835, vol. 5: 119, items 1586-1588.

⁷⁹On the dynamic role of the consumer in cultural production, see Janet Wolff, The Social Production of Art (London, 1981), 95-97.

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¹Knight, Passages of a Working Life, 3 vols., (London, 1864), 2: 180.

²On the Penny Magazine, see SDUK General Committee Minutes, 2 September and 18 December 1832 and 14 February 1834, Penny Publication Committee Minutes, 24 February to 19 August 1832, and Publication Committee Minutes, 23 March and 25 October 1836 and 3 July 1838, SDUK papers 2, 6 and 10, University College Library, London; and see also R. D. Altick, The English Common Reader, (Chicago, 1957), 332-339; Scott Bennett, "The Editorial Character and Readership of the Penny Magazine: An Analysis," Victorian Periodicals Review 17 (1984): 126-141; *id.*, "Revolutions in Thought: Serial Publication and the Mass Market for Reading," in The Victorian Periodical Press, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Toronto, 1982), 225-257; Eric de Mare, The Victorian Woodblock Illustrators (London, 1980), 74-75; A. Ellenius, "Reproducing Art as a Paradigm of Communication," Figura. n.s., 21 (1984): 71-78; Celina Fox, "The Development of Social Reportage in English Periodical Illustration," Past and Present 74 (1977): 103-104; *id.*, "Political Caricature and the Freedom of the Press in Early Nineteenth-Century England," in Newspaper History, ed. G. Boyce, J. Curran and P. Wingate (London, 1978), 239 and 245; J. F. C. Harrison, Learning and Living, 1790-1960 (Toronto, 1961), 28-30; Patricia Hollis, The Pauper Press (London, 1970), 20-21, 106, 137f., 296 and *passim*; Mason Jackson, The Pictorial Press (London, 1885), 276f.; Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man (London, 1963), 15-16; Knight, Passages, 2: 179-194, 321-322, and *passim*; and R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848 (London, 1955), 77-80. For additional biographical information on Knight, see A. C. Cherry, "A Life of Charles Knight" (M.A. thesis, University of London, 1943); and Alice A. Clowes, Charles Knight (London, 1892).

³Knight, Proposal for the Penny Cyclopaedia, 21 June 1832, SDUK papers 53, quoted in Bennett, "Revolutions in Thought," 244; on the marketing of the Penny Magazine, and other SDUK publications, see *ibid.*, 230-231 and 242-246.

⁴Passages, 2: 184.

⁵Edward Cowper, witness before the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, 1836, quoted *ibid.*, 223.

⁶For Knight's views on working-class educational needs, popular literature and related matters, see Knight, "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," Plain Englishman 3 (1823):

n.p.; id., "Education of the People," The London Magazine, 3rd ser., 1 (1828): 2-3 and 12; id., Knowledge is Power (London, 1859), 3; and Passages, 2: 26-27, 80 and passim. On the condition-of-England question, the radical press and attempts by the government and various reformers to address social problems, see W. L. Burn, The Age of Equipoise (New York, 1965), chap. 5; Harrison, Learning, 27-37; Hollis, Pauper Press, passim; Harold Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880 (London, 1969), 290-238; R. D. Storch, "The Problem of Working Class Leisure. Some Roots of Middle-Class Moral Reform in the Industrial North: 1825-1850," in Social Control in Nineteenth Century England, ed., A. P. Donadjgrodzki (London, 1977), 138-142 and 147-149; David Vincent, Bread, Knowledge and Freedom (London, 1981), 133-139 and passim; and Webb, Working Class Reader, chaps. 2 and 3. On the SDUK, see chap. 2, note 76.

⁷"Reading for All," Penny Magazine (hereafter PM) 1 (1832): 1.

⁸Knight, "Education of the People," 10-12; id., Rights of Industry (London, 1831), 169-170; and Passages, 2: 243-244.

⁹This description of the magazine's themes is based on a sampling of issues from 1832-1834.

¹⁰PM 1: 110 and 205; and 3 (1834): 24.

¹¹Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in Image-Music-Text (New York, 1977), 15-16; Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations (1955; reprint ed., New York, 1978), 219-222; Berger, Ways of Seeing (Harmondsworth, 1976), 24-33.

¹²PM 2 (1833): 9. The statue was misnamed in the nineteenth century. It has been re-identified as The Dying Gaul.

¹³For a comparative photograph, see Helen Gardner, Art through the Ages, 7th ed. (New York, 1980), 145.

¹⁴Barthes, "The Rhetoric of the Image," in Image-Music-Text, 46 and passim. See also the discussion in chap. 1, section V.

¹⁵Dictionary of National Biography (DNB), s.v. "Rennie, James"; Knight to Hone, [March 1832], Hone correspondence, Additional MS, 40120.2, f. 37, British Library; Passages, 2: 185-189; M. Shore, ed., Journal of Emily Shore (London, 1898), 219-220, 231, 235-236; C. Thomas, Love and Work Enough: Life of Anna Jameson (Toronto, 1967), 165-166.

¹⁶On the Penny Magazine artists, see de Mare, Woodblock Illustrators, 35-37; DNB, s.v. "Fairholt, Frederick," "Harvey, William," and "Jackson, John"; Austin Dobson, Thomas Bewick and his Pupils (London, 1884), 216; id., William Hogarth, (London, 1907), 175; Rodney Engen, Dictionary of Victorian Wood Engravers (Cambridge, 1985), s.v. "Fairholt, F.," "Harvey, W.," "Jackson, J.," and "Sly, Stephen"; and Knight, "Commercial History of a Penny Magazine," PM 2: 420.

¹⁷PM 1: 118; 3: 92-93; and 4 (1835): 4 and 73.

¹⁸PM 3: 114.

¹⁹PM 2: 41.

²⁰PM 1: 314.

²¹PM 3: 122 has a list of these prints.

²²Ibid., 124.

²³Ibid., 329-330.

²⁴Ibid., 211.

²⁵Among the many works comprising this tradition are Archibald Alison, Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste, revised ed., 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1811), 2: 418, 432-433, 436 and 438-441; Denis Diderot, Essays in Painting (1766), excerpted in L. Eitner, Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1750-1850, 2 vols., Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970), 1: 63; id., Pensees Detaches sur la Peinture (1776-81), in Eitner, 1: 64-66; William Hazlitt, "The Principle Picture Galleries in England," "Criticisms on Marriage a-la-Mode," and "Fine Arts," in Hazlitt, Collected Works, ed., A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover (London, 1903), 9: 7-8, 77, 80-81 and 390-391; Charles Lamb, "On the Genius and Character of Hogarth," in The Life, Letters and Writings of Charles Lamb, 6 vols., ed. P. Fitzgerald (London, 1876), 4: 287-313; Joshua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, ed. R. Wark (San Marino, Cal., 1959), 35, 169-171 and passim; Lord Shaftesbury, Characteristics of Men, Morals, Opinions, Times (1711), 2 vols., ed. J. M. Robertson (London, 1900), 1: 217; id., "Plastics or the Original Progress of Designatory Art" (1712), in Second Characters or the Language of Forms, ed. Benjamin Rand (Cambridge, 1914), 102; see also ibid., xxvii, 60 and 98-101; J. J. Winckelmann, Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks, trans. H. Fuseli (London, 1765), 31 and 63-64; and see Eitner, 1: 55; David Irwin, ed.,

Winckelmann: Writings on Art (London, 1972), intro., 30-42 and 38-41; and Wark, xviii-xxii.

²⁶PM 1: 67, 314, and 362; 2: 9, 126 and 498; 3: 122, 126, 258 and 378-379; and 4: 5 and 87-88.

²⁷Hazlitt, "Fine Arts," Works, 9: passim; and Alison, Taste, 1: 42-56.

²⁸Penny Publication Committee Minutes, 8 March 1832; Publication Committee Minutes, 23 March 1836 and 3 July 1838; and Miscellaneous Sub-Committee Minutes, 8, 20 December 1838.

²⁹H. Hallam, "Enquiry into the Principles of Taste," Edinburgh Review (ER) 7 (1806): 295-328; DNB, s.v. "Ker, H. B."

³⁰Brougham, "False Taste," ER 69 (1839): 214-230; and, with C. H. Parry, an article on Fuseli, ER 2 (1803): 453-462. For Brougham's thoughts on a range of topics, see Brougham, Opinions (London, 1837).

³¹Passages, 1: 272; and 2: 109 and 265; Knight, ed., Pictorial Gallery of the Arts, 2 vols. (1845-47; 2nd ed., London, 1858), 2: 38, 238, 262 and passim; PM 1: 383; on Knight's efforts at self-education, see Passages, 1: 67-69, 81 and passim.

³²Passages, 1: 52-53 and 56-57.

³³Ibid., 2: 228; Arts Committee Minutes, 25 January 1831.

³⁴Passages, 2: 253 and 262.

³⁵Ibid., 262 and 284; and 3: 82.

³⁶Knight, Pictorial Half-Hours: or Miscellanies of Art . . . (London, 1850-51), quoted in Ellenius, "Reproducing Art," 77.

³⁷Address delivered 3 March 1848, quoted in Passages, 3: 83.

³⁸PM 2: 252-253, 373-375; 3: 377-384; Passages, 2: 185 and 307; for Knight's favourite authors, see his Half-Hours with the Best Authors (London, n.d.); and Passages, passim.

³⁹SDUK secretary, T. Coates, to Knight, 22 August 1833, General Committee letter-book, SDUK papers, 19; and Bennett, "Revolutions in Thought," 231.

⁴⁰See, for example, Fox, "Political Caricature," Hollis and Webb, cited in note 2.

⁴¹Passages, 1: 244.

⁴²Chatto, "The History and Practice of Wood-Engraving," Illustrated London News, 22 June 1844, 405.

⁴³"Commercial History of a Penny Magazine," PM 2: 420; and see also Knight, The Old Printer and the Modern Press (London, 1854), 254-259.

⁴⁴Knight, "Diffusion of Knowledge," n.p.; id., "Education of the People," 7 and 13; and Passages, 2: 180 and passim.

⁴⁵PM 1: 314; and 3: 92-94, 114, 124 and 127.

⁴⁶PM 1: 100, 197-198 and 382; 3: 4 and 258; 4: 73; 8 (1839): passim; and 10 (1841): 53.

⁴⁷PM 2: 67.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Knight, "Commercial History of a Penny Magazine," PM 2: 421.

⁵⁰Morning Chronicle, 19 October 1836, 3; for other criticisms and Knight's reactions to them, see Carter Hall, "The Chartered Booksellers," New Monthly Magazine 40 (1834): 72; Hansard, 3d ser., 23 (1834): 1216; Poor Man's Guardian, 14 April 1832, 353; and Passages, 2: 180, 182 and 236f.

⁵¹"Address to the Readers of the Penny Magazine," PM 5 (1836): 515-516.

⁵²Knight's dedication to knowledge was noted in the SDUK's "Address of the Committee on the Suspension of the Operations of the Society," March 1846, reprinted in Smith, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Appendix C(v).

⁵³Bennett, "Revolutions in Thought," 245 and 256, n. 29.

⁵⁴He announced the forthcoming initial change to the SDUK late in 1836 at the Publication Committee meeting (Minutes, 25 October 1836).

⁵⁵ See, for example, the lists of illustrations in PM 9 (1840) and 10 (1841). There was also a third series, renamed Knight's Penny Magazine, which had only a few illustrations and devoted itself to serious discussion of history, literature and travel. It survived only the first six months of 1846; see "Address to the Reader," PM 15/16 (1846): 231-234.

⁵⁶ Knight, letter to Sir Alexander Duff-Gordon, 17 March 1855, reprinted in Clowes, Knight, 226; and see also William Kennedy, "Lord Brougham, Charles Knight and the Rights of Industry," Economica, n.s., 29 (1962): 61.

⁵⁷ "Address to Readers," PM 5: 516.

⁵⁸ Passages, 2: 322.

⁵⁹ Coates to Brougham, 21 January 1836; Hill to Brougham, 2 March 1836, Brougham correspondence, University College Library; and Coates to Knight, 19 August 1837, SDUK letter-book 20.

⁶⁰ Passages, 1: 247.

⁶¹ "Commercial History of a Penny Magazine," PM 2: 420.

⁶² See, among others, Fox, "Political Caricature," 239 and 245; Harrison, Learning, 28-29; Hollis, Pauper Press, 137f., 296 and passim; Brian Maidment, "Magazines of Popular Progress and the Artisans," Victorian Periodicals Review 17 (1984): 87; and Webb, Working Class Reader, 77f.

⁶³ Harrison, Learning, 29 and 89; Hollis, Pauper Press, 106; id., Introduction to the reprint ed., Poor Man's Guardian (London, 1969), xxviii; Maidment, "Magazines of Popular Progress," 87; and Webb, Working Class Reader, 80.

⁶⁴ For a similar view, see Raymond Williams, "Minority and Popular Culture," in Leisure and Society in Britain, ed. Michael Smith, Stanley Parker and Cyril Smith (London, 1973), 22, 24 and 26.

⁶⁵ Passages, 3: 325-327; and see also ibid., 1: 124-125.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 3: 80-81.

⁶⁷ Fox, "Political Caricature," 239, 241 and 245-246; Harrison, Learning, 29-30; Hollis, Pauper Press, 20-21, 88-89 and 139-140; Smith, SDUK, 12, 32, 40 and 41; and Webb, Working Class Reader, 78-80.

⁶⁸For example, James Greenwood to the Publication Committee, 27 November 1837; C. Jacomb to Sir J. W. Lubbock (SDUK member), 17 April 1832; James Nelthorpe to Coates, 13 December 1832; Josiah Riddle to Knight, 23 May 1832; Edward Strutt to Coates, 6 December 1835; J. B. Tenniel to Coates, 15 January 1841.

⁶⁹Bennett, "Revolutions in Thought," 236.

⁷⁰Hollis, Introduction to the Poor Man's Guardian, xxv.

⁷¹James, Fiction for the Working Man, 15, has made this suggestion previously; and see also Bennett's discussion of the creation of mass markets, "Revolutions in Thought," 249-253.

⁷²J. Rowland to M. D. Hill, 11 May 1832, SDUK correspondence.

⁷³Report of the General Literature Committee, 21 May 1832, and Committee Minutes, 3 June 1834, SPCK archive, London; see also W. O. B. Allen and E. McClure, Two Hundred Years: The History of the SPCK, 1698-1898 (London, 1898), 192-194; Altick, Common Reader, 393; Bookseller, 1 June 1870, 491-492; W. K. L. Clarke, History of the SPCK (London, 1959), 182-183; DNB, s.v. "Parker, John W."; and James, Fiction for the Working Man, 16.

⁷⁴See, for example, Saturday Magazine 1 (1832): 33, 105-106; 2 (January-June 1833): 1-2, 17, 59, 136; 3 (July-December 1833): 49-50, 201; 4(1834): 41 and 65.

⁷⁵Knight, Old Printer, 279-280; and see also Passages, 2: 322; and Bennett, "Revolutions in Thought," 256, n. 29.

⁷⁶Passages, 2: 223.

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¹Knight to Sir Alexander Duff-Gordon, 17 March 1855, reprinted in A. Clowes, Charles Knight (London, 1892), 226; "Cheap Literature," British Quarterly Review 29 (April 1859: 321 and 329ff.

²Ibid., 229.

³On the London Journal, see "Cheap Literature," 330, 340-341 and 345; Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction One Hundred Years Ago (London, 1957), 22-23; Francis Hitchman, "The Penny Press," Eclectic, June 1881, 842-843; Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man (London, 1963), 45-49; id., "The Trouble with Betsy: Periodicals and the Common Reader in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England," in The Victorian Periodical Press, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester, 1982), 360-365; and Sally Mitchell, "The Forgotten Woman of the Period: Penny Weekly Family Magazines of the 1840's and 1850's," in A Widening Sphere, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington, 1977), 31-37, 41 and 46ff. On Stiff, see The Bookseller, 1 December 1874, 1109; and H. Vizetelly, Glances Back Through Seventy Years, 2 vols. (London, 1893), 2: 9-13; on Reynolds, see note 7 below; on Ross, see the Atheneum, June 1887, 739; F. Boase, Modern English Biography, 1965 ed., s.v. "Ross, John Wilson"; and T. Cooper, ed., Men of the Time (London, 1884), 943-944; and on Smith, see Boase, s.v. "Smith, J. F."; and An Old Printer [John Forbes Wilson], A Few Personal Recollections (London, 1896), 91-92.

⁴Stiff, "Notice to the Trade," London Journal [hereafter LJ] 4 (1846): 128.

⁵Bookseller, 1 December 1874, 1109.

⁶For biographical information on Egan, see Boase; and the Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. "Egan, Pierce (1814-1880)."

⁷On Reynolds' various literary and editorial activities, see E. F. Bleiler, Introduction to the Dover Edition of Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf [1846-47] (New York, 1975), vii-xi and xiii-xviii; Bookseller, 3 July 1879, 600-601; Thomas Clark, A Letter Addressed to G. W. M. Reynolds . . . (London, 1850), 19ff; Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 35-45; Anne Humpherys, "The Geometry of the Modern City: G. W. M. Reynolds and the Mysteries of London," Browning Institute Studies 2 (1983): 69-80; D. Kausch, "George W. M. Reynolds: A Bibliography," Transactions of the Bibliographic Society, the Library, 5th ser., 28 (December 1973): 321-325; Victor

E. Neuburg, Popular Literature (Harmondsworth, 1977), 157-162; and Montague Summers, A Gothic Bibliography (London, 1940), 146-159. On the Miscellany, see "Cheap Literature," 339; James, Fiction for the Working Man, 45-49; and Q. D. Leavis, Fiction and the Reading Public (London, 1932), 175-177.

⁸On Dicks' publishing career, see the Bookseller, March 1881, 231; and Neuburg, Popular Literature, 174ff.

⁹For general remarks on the Paper, see "Cheap Literature," 337-339; and Simon Nowell-Smith, The House of Cassell (London, 1958), 40-44.

¹⁰On Cassell, his career and publications, see the Bookseller, 29 April 1865, 225, and 31 May 1865, 291-292; Henry Curwen, A History of Booksellers (London, 1873), 267-274; Thomas Frost, Forty Years' Recollections (London, 1880), 226-228; Neuburg, Popular Literature, 205-210; Nowell-Smith, House of Cassell, 3ff.; and Old Printer, Recollections, 66-72.

¹¹Nowell-Smith, House of Cassell, 28 and 51.

¹²The publishing firm was then incorporated as Cassell and Company, with Thomas Galpin as chairman and managing director, and the one-time Islington printer, Robert Turner as general manager. The Family Paper became Cassell's Magazine in 1867; it underwent various other such name changes between 1874 and 1932 when it finally ceased publication. On the Paper's publishing history, see Nowell-Smith, 42, 51-57, 73, 77, 87 and passim.

¹³On Tillotson, see Boase, s.v. "Tillotson, John"; and Frost, Forty Years, 232-238.

¹⁴Vizetelly, Glances Back, 2: 9-13.

¹⁵Ibid., 10.

¹⁶Ibid., 12; and see also James G. Bertram, Some Memories of Books, Authors, and Events (Westminster, 1893), 140.

¹⁷Ibid., 9; Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 22; and Mitchell, "Forgotten Woman," 37.

¹⁸Bookseller, 1 December 1874, 1109.

¹⁹Knight to Duff-Gordon, in Clowes, Knight, 226; and Neuburg, Popular Literature, 157. There was, however, a brief slump in 1848 when Reynolds for a short time stopped

writing for the Miscellany. He attributed this lapse to the stress caused by his personal financial difficulties--for despite having made money on his novels, he was apparently somewhat financially feckless and had declared personal bankruptcy several times between 1835 and 1848: see Clark, Letter, 13-14. How exactly this last bankruptcy affected the Miscellany's finances is not clear, but it was at this time that Reynolds sold the copyright to the engraver, Edward Cooke (Clark, ibid.); the latter does not however appear to have taken an active part in the operation of the business, and Reynolds continued as the magazine's proprietor.

²⁰On Reynolds' social and political activities, see Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals, ed., J. O. Baylen and N. J. Gossman (Brighton, 1984), s.v. "Reynolds, G. W. M.," by Curtis W. Wood; Bleiler, Introduction to Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf, xi-xiii; Dictionary of Labour Biography, ed., Joyce M. Bellamy and John Saville (London, 1972-76), s.v. "Reynolds, G. W. M.," by L. James and J. Saville; R.G. Gammage, History of the Chartist Movement (London, 1894), 294-295, 308-309, 352, and passim; Reynolds, letter to George Holyoake, quoted in Joseph McCabe, Life and Letters of Holyoake, 2 vols. (London, 1908), 1: 139; and see also ibid., 217.

²¹On the Political Instructor, see Anne Humpherys, "G. W. M. Reynolds: Popular Literature and Popular Politics," in Innovators and Preachers, ed. Joel Wiener (New York, 1985), 8-9 and 13ff.; on Reynolds' News, see Virginia Berridge, "Popular Journalism and Working Class Attitudes, 1854-1886" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976), 327ff.; id., "Popular Sunday Papers and Mid-Victorian Society," in Newspaper History, ed. G. Boyce, J. Curran and P. Wingate (London, 1978), 247-264; and id., "Content Analysis and Historical Research in Newspapers," in The Press and Modern Society, ed. Michael Harris and Alan Lee (London, 1986), 208ff.

²²See, for example, R. D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago, 1957), 344; Berridge, "Popular Sunday Papers," 264; and Neuburg, Popular Literature, 159-160.

²³Humpherys, "G. W. M. Reynolds," 10 and 19.

²⁴Nowell-Smith, House of Cassell, 51.

²⁵On Cassell's early life and involvement with the temperance movement, see Holden Pike, John Cassell (London, 1894), 5-59.

²⁶Standard of Freedom, 1 July 1848, quoted in Nowell-Smith, House of Cassell, 17.

²⁷Pike, Cassell, 116.

²⁸Quoted, p. 22, by Nowell-Smith, who does not give the original context of the remark.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Pike, Cassell, 116.

³¹LJ 5 (1847): 16.

³²Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper [hereafter CIFP] 1 (1853): 1.

³³LJ 1 (1845): 16; Reynolds' Miscellany [hereafter RM] 10 (1853): 64; CIFP 1 (1853): 1.

³⁴On the magazines' artists, see Rodney K. Engen, Dictionary of Victorian Wood Engravers (Cambridge, 1985); and Simon Houfe, Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1978; revised ed., 1981).

³⁵This observation and the comments that follow are based on a sampling of issues from LJ and RM, 1845-46, 1848-49, 1853-55, and 1860; and from CIFP, 1853-55 and 1858-60.

³⁶For representative examples of content aimed at women, see LJ 1 (1845): 31 and 264; 8 (1849): 322; 18 (1853): 264; and 19 (1854): 200; RM 10 (1853): 78; 14 (1855): 56; and 24 (1860): 59; CIFP 1 (1854): 328; and n.s., 1 (1858): 95.

³⁷Frost, Forty Years, quoted by Nowell-Smith, House of Cassell, 43.

³⁸These titles are drawn from the respective tables of contents of LJ 21, RM 14 and CIFP 2 (all 1855).

³⁹Bertram, Memories, 139.

⁴⁰The works named here are only a few of the many that Reynolds wrote for the Miscellany between 1846 and 1859: for a complete list of titles and dates, see Summers, Gothic Bibliography, 150ff. In 1859 Reynolds gave up his position as the Miscellany's leading serialist to James Malcolm Rymer ("Malcolm Errym"), author of the popular Varney the Vampire; see Bleiler, Introduction to Wagner, xi.

⁴¹Vizetelly, Glances Back, 2: 12-13.

⁴²Ibid., 13.

⁴³Ibid., 11-12; Hitchman, "Penny Press," 842. Both quotations concern the Journal's serial fiction, but the descriptions are equally applicable to the serials in RM and CIFP. See also "Cheap Literature," 333ff.

⁴⁴Ibid., 333.

⁴⁵For some representative examples, see LJ 19 (1854): 113, 193; 20 (1854): 161; 21 (1855): 177, 193, 321; RM 1 (1847): 337; n.s., 1 (1848): 145, 161, 289; 15 (1855): 113, 305; and CIFP 1 (1854): 329; n.s., 5 (1860): 161; n.s., 6 (1860): 65. Among these three magazines, it was the Journal that initiated the practice of placing a dramatic serial illustration on the first page; it first did so with the opening installment of Reynolds' Faust, LJ 1 (1845): 47 (issue of 4 October).

⁴⁶LJ 17 (1853): 64; CIFP 1 (1853): 1 (and see also Cassell to Brougham, 4 September and 30 September 1858, Brougham correspondence, University College Library); RM 1 (1846): 16.

⁴⁷The distinction between entertainment and instruction is of course not entirely clear-cut: educational material could be entertaining; and fashion news, humorous items and fiction could equally have a substantial instructional dimension. If, though, for the sake of argument we take the magazines' fiction as a gauge of the extent to which they devoted themselves to entertainment, the text's generalization about the relative weighting of light and serious matter is convincingly enough borne out. For example, in two representative issues of the Miscellany, 12 February and 20 May 1848, 74% and 60% of total text space were respectively allotted to fiction; the Paper devoted 59% and 61% of its text space to fiction in issues for 11 September 1858 and 28 January 1860; and the Journal allocated 48% and 43% of its issues for 11 March and 1 April 1848 to fictional content. (In each case, total available text space has been calculated exclusive of illustrations, correspondence columns and advertising.) For a more detailed content analysis of the Journal using a larger sampling of issues, see James, "Trouble with Betsy," 361-362.

⁴⁸See, for example, the article on Michelangelo's Moses, LJ 25 (1857): 168.

⁴⁹See, for example, LJ 7 (1848): 346; and see also "Whims and Devices of Painters," CIFP 2 (1855): 83.

⁵⁰See, for example, the reproduction of Correggio's Infant St. John the Baptist, LJ 27 (1858): 376.

⁵¹RM 14 (1855): 312. For a similar sort of example, involving an unidentified Durer engraving of children, see RM 3 (1848): 417-422; in this case the image was a marginally related adjunct to the commentator's highly romanticized account of an apocryphal meeting between Durer and Raphael.

⁵²Ibid., 408.

⁵³CIFP, n.s., 1 (1858): 392.

⁵⁴CIFP 4 (1857): 284; the original was painted by Walter Goodall, brother of Frederick.

⁵⁵Nowell-Smith, House of Cassell, 42; the Decorator ran from 1858 to 1863; Ross was a contributor in the 1850s and editor from 1860 to 1863.

⁵⁶RM 10 (1853): 76.

⁵⁷RM 14 (1855): 376.

⁵⁸For a few of the many other similar examples, see LJ 28 (1858): 193; 32 (1860): 737; RM 13 (1854): 1; 14 (1855): 17; 20 (1858): 17 and 313; CIFP 2 (1855): 57 and 97.

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¹"Cheap Literature," British Quarterly Review 29 (1859): 330.

²J. W. Ross, "Address to Readers," introduction to LJ 4 (1846).

³For these and other similar examples, see LJ 2 (1845): 119; 3 (1846): 215-216; 5 (1847): 270; 6 (1847): 190-191; RM 1 (1846): 92; 14 (1855): 88, 231, 302, 334, 381, 391, 398; CIFP 1 (1854): 19, 22, 95; 2 (1855): 91, 103, 111, 119, 135, 167; n.s., 1 (1858): 46 and 133-134.

⁴Knight, Old Printer and the Modern Press (London, 1854), 284-285.

⁵Cassell to Brougham, 29 September 1858, Brougham correspondence, University College Library.

⁶CIFP, n.s., 1 (1858): 386.

⁷For further commentary, see Bleiler, Introduction to the Dover edition of Wagner (New York, 1975) xv-xvi; The Mysteries of London was published by Vickers in weekly penny numbers and monthly sixpenny parts; The Mysteries of the Court of London was similarly published by Dicks and excerpted in the Miscellany: see, for example, RM 5 (1850): 300.

⁸"The Dower Debt," LJ 7 (1848): 261-264; "The Lost Pearl," ibid., 245-248; "Scandal," ibid., 54-55.

⁹See plates 44; and for additional examples, LJ 21 (1855): 149; RM 24 (1860): 59; and CIFP, n.s., 1 (1858): 385-386.

¹⁰LJ 6 (1847): 161 and 180-181.

¹¹See, for example, LJ 5 (1847): 65 and 111; RM 3 (1849): 249; and CIFP, n.s., 2 (1858): 321.

¹²LJ 6 (1848): 301.

¹³Cassell's Family Paper, though, may provide a few exceptions. As its title indicated, it was a strong, self-styled advocate of the ideal of stable family life, and it thus may be argued that pictures like The Grandfather's Watch embodied a cultural message which reiterated that ideal.

¹⁴W. C. Taylor, "On the Cultivation of Taste in the Operative Classes," Art Journal 11 (1849): 4; and see also Clive Ashwin, Art Education: Documents and Policies, 1768-1975 (London, 1975), 11-13, 18-21, and passim; J. W. Ross, Preface, Universal Decorator, n.s., 1 (1860): n.p.; the evidence of various witnesses before the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, 1835-6, vol. 5: 391ff.; 415, item 500; 417, items 582-3; 465, item 1195; 475, items 1354-6; and vol. 9.1: 157ff., items 334-8, 348, and passim; "Reports and Documents of the State and Progress of the Head and Branch Schools of Design," Report of the Select Committee on Industrial Design, 1851, vol. 43: 419ff.

¹⁵See, for example, LJ 7 (1848): 13, 57, 133; RM 14 (1855): 120; and CIFP 2 (1855): 208 and 376.

¹⁶There are no comparative figures that break down the magazines' circulation by occupation, age, sex and so on. However, as chapter 6 will show, other kinds of evidence allow for the speculation that a majority of readers may well have been female.

¹⁷See, among many other such examples, LJ 1 (1845): 53; 3 (1846): 235; and 21 (1855): 255; RM 14 (1855): 120, 174, 189, 197 and 376; and CIFP 2 (1855): 163.

¹⁸LJ 8 (1849): 322-324. For a generally confused, but occasionally perceptive, attempt to situate nineteenth-century ideas of physical beauty in a wide cultural context, see Arthur Marwick, Beauty in History (London, 1988), chaps. 5 and 6.

¹⁹See, for example, RM 1 (1846): 54-55; and 1 (1847): 262; see also Margaret Dalziel Popular Fiction (London, 1957), 37-38.

²⁰RM 3 (1849): 249; 4 (1850): 146-147 and passim; and 10 (1853): 65-66; see also LJ 5 (1847): 282 ff. and passim, 7 (1848): 5; 8 (1849): 346-347; and 32 (1860): 737; and CIFP, n.s., 1 (1858): 214-215, 235; n.s., 2 (1858): 172, 186; for similar non-fictional examples, see RM 3 (1849): 40 and 248; and 14 (1855): 57.

²¹See, for example, LJ 1 (1845): 53; RM 14 (1855): 174; CIFP 2 (1855): 163; and see also Mitchell, "The Forgotten Woman of the Period," in A Widening A Sphere (Bloomington, 1977), 51.

²²See the numerous recipes, needlework patterns and household hints, LJ, RM, and CIFP, passim; and see also RM 14 (1855): 189, on the need for better female education in domestic economy.

²³John Dix, "On the Comparative Intellectual Power of the Sexes," LJ 5 (1847): 40.

As this quote suggests there was an important class dimension to this issue of marriage and women's place. Clearly, the writer was opposing the entry into professions of women born into that same class, for there would have been little expectation on his or anyone's part that a working-class man--let alone his female counterpart--would dare aspire to the pulpit, law and so on. Thus, for middle-class women, marriage was in a sense a job or career substitute--or, put another way, the only vocation open to most women. But for the many working-class women who had to work outside of the home, marriage had less of this vocational (or anti-vocational) aspect. And, to escape the cycle of poverty, household drudgery and outside work, the greatest aspiration of many young, single, working-class women would have been to marry comfortably enough not to have to work at a job--a hope encouraged by the great number of fictional stories whose theme was that good and beautiful girls might marry upwards. For middle-class women, however, a materially comfortable marriage would be the common expectation.

²⁴Cassell, Evidence given before the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps, 16 May 1851, vol. 17: 215, item 1322; and see also item 1325. The emphasis on the last phrase is mine.

²⁵According to Gramsci, hegemony can only operate effectively to the degree that it is able to accomodate opposing class interests and values. For further comment and explanation, see Tony Bennett, "Popular Culture and the Turn to Gramsci," in Popular Culture and Social Relations, ed. T. Bennett, C. Mercer, and J. Woollacott (Milton Keynes, 1986), xiv-xv.

²⁶"Address to Readers," LJ 3 (1846): 16.

²⁷See the announcement, LJ 7 (1848): 80; and for examples of the articles, ibid., 97-100, and 129-132.

²⁸Ibid., 221, 345 ff.; 8 (1848): 23; and see also James, "Trouble with Betsy," 364; and Mitchell, "Forgotten Woman," 33.

²⁹LJ 6 (1848): 412-413.

³⁰See, for example, RM 14 (1855): 200; and CIFP, n.s., 1 (1858): 46; The Factory Girl, RM 3 (1849), The Seamstress and The Mysteries of the People; or, the History of a Proletarian Family, both in RM 4 (1850); CIFP, n.s. 1

(1857): 10, and portrait of Feargus O'Connor, RM 2 (1847): 305; and "Letter to the Industrious Classes," RM 1 (1846): 199.

³¹Gramsci appears to have recognized the possibility, but did not fully articulate the concept, of gender hegemony. He recognized, for instance, that uneven power relations existed among strata of one class, but did not explicitly relate this to gender. Elsewhere he expressed a rudimentary sense of the kind of contradictory female image identified here, noting that "the 'aesthetic' ideal of woman oscillates between the conceptions of 'brood mare' and of 'dolly':" Prison Notebooks, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London, 1971; reprint ed., 1986), 295 and ff., 300, and see also 306.

³²Wagner was serialized in RM 1 (1846 and the first few months of 1847); for commentary on Nisida, see Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 39. For the woman-in-male-disguise motif, see RM 3 (1849): 41; and LJ 5 (1847): 245.

³³CIFP 2 (1855): 53.

³⁴"Mrs. Keeley," LJ 7 (1848): 353; for other examples, see ibid., 273; and 6 (1848): 305.

³⁵RM 14 (1855): 120. The emphasis on the last clause is mine.

³⁶Mitchell, "Forgotten Woman," 50, has made a similar observation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

¹Knight, Old Printer and the Modern Press (London, 1854), 264. In the same passage, he also mentioned the non-pictorial Family Herald, whose 1855 circulation of 240 to 300,000 was indeed comparable to those of the Journal, Miscellany and Paper. Chapter 7 will pursue the significance of the Herald somewhat further. For the circulation figures cited here and their sources, see R. D. Altick, English Common Reader (Chicago and London, 1957), 394.

²"Cheap Literature," British Quarterly Review 29 (1859): 332, 344-345; and F. Hitchman, "Penny Press," Eclectic, June 1881, 841.

³In its first issue of 1 March 1845, the Journal announced its intention to have a regular page or two of "Notices to Correspondents" and invited readers to send in their comments and queries. The other two magazines followed this lead when they commenced, and the correspondence section remained a regular feature in all three publications throughout the period considered here.

⁴Whether or not the "Notices to Correspondents" were genuine, we do not have much of an idea who wrote them. With typical bombast, the Journal (1 (1845): 16) announced that "several writers, eminent in literature, science, and art" would answer readers' queries; Anne Humpheries, "G. W. M. Reynolds: Popular Literature and Popular Politics," in Innovators and Preachers, ed. J. Wiener (New York, 1985), 16, argues convincingly that Reynolds, with some assistance from others, wrote most of the Miscellany's replies; similarly, in the first years of the Paper's operation, Tillotson handled its editorial correspondence (T. Frost, Forty Years Recollections (London, 1880), 233); afterwards, presumably, Cassell as editor supervised this aspect of the publication.

⁵RM 3 (1849): 415; for the other examples mentioned, see RM 13 (1854): 15; LJ 3 (1846): 416; and 28 (1858): 192; CIFP, n.s. 1 (1858): 144.

⁶This section of the discussion is based upon the following sampling of correspondence pages: LJ 1 (1845): 208; 3 (1846): 416; and 4 (1846): 192; RM 1 (1847): 336; 2 (1847): 64 and 304; 3 (1849): 48 and 415; 4 (1850): 143, and 5 (1850): 303-304; CIFP 4 (1857): 7, 23, 31, 39 and 55; n.s. 1 (1858): 16 and 144; and n.s. 3 (1859): 224. The overall character of the readership does not appear to have significantly altered over the period covered here. There

seem however to have been shifts in the proportion of categories of readers. For example, women correspondents are more in evidence in the late 1850s than they were earlier, which suggests that the female sector of the readership was larger than it had been in the 40s.

⁷For a similar assessment of the readership of the Journal, see Sally Mitchell, "The Forgotten Woman of the Period: Penny Weekly Family Magazines of the 1840s and 1850s," in A Widening Sphere, ed. M. Vicinus (Bloomington, 1977), 33-34.

⁸For related commentary, see Jon Klancher, The Making of English Reading Audiences (Madison, Wisconsin, 1987): 77ff.

⁹Tenniel to Thomas Coates, SDUK secretary, 15 January 1841; James Greenwood to the SDUK publication committee, 27 November 1837; A. Pele to the editors of the magazine, 1833; Charles Jacomb to SDUK member J. W. Lubbock, 17 April 1832; W. Johnson to Coates, 1834; and the long quotation is from Josiah Riddle to the editor, 23 May 1832; all letters cited are in the SDUK archive, University College Library, London.

¹⁰[Carter Hall?], New Monthly Magazine, August 1835, 491. See also Edward Cowper, Evidence given before the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, 1836, vol. 9.1: 50-51, items, 595-597.

¹¹Both are in the Bodleian's John Johnson Collection, s.v. "Charles Knight," box 1.

¹²See chap. 3, note 67.

¹³See R. D. Altick, English Common Reader (Chicago and London, 1957), 342 and n. 63; Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man (Harmondsworth, 1974), 7; Knight, Passages of a Working Life, 3 vols. (London, 1864), 2: 181.

¹⁴Place to T. Coates, 27 November 1833, with enclosed circular from The Mechanics' Public Library; and Sheldon to Coates, 12 April 1841, SDUK correspondence, University College Library; Plummer, Songs of Labour (London, 1860), xv ff.; Rushton, My Life (Manchester, 1909), 70-71 (Rushton later became a Unitarian minister in Manchester); and, for additional commentary on the magazine's readership, see also Altick, Common Reader, 335-337, and nn. 44, 49 and 50; Patricia Hollis, Pauper Press (London, 1970), 139; James, Fiction, 15; and David Vincent, Bread, Knowledge and Freedom (London, 1981), 165 and n. 155.

¹⁵Diary of W. Tayler, excerpted in John Burnett, ed., Useful Toil (Harmondsworth, 1984), 176; Clark to Coates, 15 November 1842, SDUK correspondence, University College Library. Peculiarities of spelling, capitalization and punctuation in these passages have been transcribed as they appear in the originals.

¹⁶Thomson, Autobiography of an Artisan (London, 1847), 319.

¹⁷Rogers, Labour, Life and Literature (London, 1913), 118.

¹⁸Burt, Autobiography (London, 1924), 114-115.

¹⁹Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, 4 vols., (London, 1861-62; reprint ed., London, 1967), 1: 25; Josiah Williamson, examiner of unions, Report of the Newcastle Commissioners, 1861, vol. 21, pt. 2, 1, 405, cited by Virginia Berridge, "Popular Journalism and Working Class Attitudes, 1854-1886" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976), 53-54. Williamson's observation also included the Family Herald: see comment, note 1 above.

²⁰Altick, Common Reader, 11, citing Mayhew, 2: 538.

²¹Wright, Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes (London, 1867), 189.

²²Knight, Old Printer, 284; Vizetelly, Glances Back (London, 1893), 2: 12.

²³These examples and the others given in this part of the discussion are from the following sampling of correspondence pages: LJ 1 (1845): 208; and 17 (1853): 64 and 256; RM 4 (1850): 143; 5 (1850): 303-304; and 10 (1853): 79; CIFP 4 (1857): 55, 63, 79, 87 and 119; n.s. 1 (1858): 144; and n.s. 3 (1859): 224.

²⁴RM 10 (1853): 79; for similar examples, see LJ 17 (1853): 64.

²⁵See chap. 3, note 15.

²⁶PM 2 (1833): 80.

²⁷Stevenson, "Popular Authors," chap. 7 in "Random Memories and Other Essays," Works, vol. 12, Vailima edition (London, 1922), 334-335.

²⁸Mayhew, 1: 25.

²⁹Rushton, Life, 70-71; Plummer, Songs, xv.

³⁰Dobson, Thomas Bewick and his Pupils (London, 1884), 173, n. 1.

³¹"Irreconcilable" [Rands], "The Penny Magazine," St. Paul's Magazine 12 (1873): 544-547.

³²Ibid., 547.

³³Ibid., 545.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

¹"Popular Literature of the Day," British and Foreign Review 10 (1840): 242-243; the Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals (vol. 3: 86, item 188) cites the article but does not identify the author.

²"Cheap Literature," British Quarterly Review 29 (1859): 316 and 329.

³The decade or so following 1860 presents us with a different situation. The printed word and image of course remained of great importance to people's expanding cultural experience, but that experience also increasingly took in other forms of popular diversion such as music-hall entertainment.

⁴We should note in passing that this world would also have included the imagery of sidewalk painting, church interiors, and the painted posters of fairs and circuses, theatrical scenery and a few other such examples. However, as the text indicates, for the majority of working people the most accessible, regular and reliable source of pictorial experience was the medium of print.

⁵The circulation figure for the Welcome Guest is from R. D. Altick, English Common Reader (Chicago and London, 1957), 395; commentary on the content of this and other similar magazines is based on the following sampling: Home Magazine 1-2 (1856-57); Lloyd's Miscellany, n.s., 1 (1850-52); Welcome Guest, n.s., 1 (1861).

⁶Thomas Burt, An Autobiography (London, 1924), 116; see also George Elson, Last of the Climbing Boys (London, 1900), 208-209; and Roger Langdon, Life of R. Langdon (London, 1909), 33; for an illustration from an inexpensive edition of the story, see Victor E. Neuburg, Popular Literature (Harmondsworth, 1977), 185.

⁷Montague Summers, Gothic Bibliography (London, 1940), 147.

⁸Frost, Forty Years' Recollections (London, 1880), 323; on imitations of Dickens' works, see Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man (London, 1963), 53.

⁹Titles are from the index to the Barry Ono Collection of Bloods and Penny Dreadfuls, British Library, London. For commentary on this type of material, see W. H. Fraser, The Coming of the Mass Market (London, 1981), 225; Peter

Haining, The Penny Dreadful (London, 1975); Neuburg, Popular Literature, passim, 156 ff.

¹⁰"Cheap Literature," 332.

¹¹"Old Printer," A Few Recollections (London, 1896), 50.

¹²The Calendar was originally published in 1774 and ran to five volumes. The edition from which plate 69 comes was published in 1845 and is typical of the numerous nineteenth-century abridgements that many popular publishers produced. For additional commentary, see Neuburg, Popular Literature, 165-167.

¹³Burt, Autobiography, 113; "An Irreconcilable," St. Paul's Magazine 12 (1873): 544.

¹⁴See, for example, Rev. S. G. Green, The Working Classes of Great Britain (London, 1850), chap. 8, on the contemporary religious press. For more extensive discussion of religious periodicals than what is offered here, see Louis Billington, "The Religious Periodical and Newspaper Press, 1770-1870," in The Press in English Society, ed. A. J. Lee and Michael Harris (London, 1986), 126 ff.; and Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction (London, 1957), chap. 6.

¹⁵Cassell to Brougham, 30 September 1858, Brougham correspondence, University College Library, London.

¹⁶For commentary on these two publications, see S. Nowell-Smith, House of Cassell (London, 1958), 26-27, 40, 44-48 and passim.

¹⁷Working Man's Friend 2 (1850): 289-293.

¹⁸For a discussion of one such publisher of general and educational works, see Neuburg, Popular Literature, 177-179, on William Milner who had offices in Halifax and London.

¹⁹The correspondence of the SDUK includes a number of requests from mechanics' institutes for donations of "any works tending to forward the cause of knowledge": for example, the Westminster Mechanics' Institution to SDUK secretary T. Coates, 2 July 1838; and the Finsbury Mutual Instruction Society to Coates, 17 March 1845, SDUK papers, University College Library, London.

²⁰See, for example, the index to volume 1 of the Working Man's Friend, especially the items in the section labelled "Scraps"; and see also the Popular Educator 1, #3, with its illustration depicting the enhancing or adverse

"Influence of Morality or Immorality on the Countenance," cited, with the illustration reproduced, in Nowell-Smith, House of Cassell, 45-47.

²¹See chap. 5, p. 143.

²²G. H. Pike, John Cassell (London, 1894), 115-116.

²³Cassell to Brougham, 30 September and 8 October 1858, Brougham correspondence, University College Library.

²⁴For example, the radical shoemaker Thomas Cooper pursued intellectual enlightenment with the same avidity with which he espoused political causes, and Adam Rushton, the farm and factory worker turned Unitarian minister, was both a Chartist sympathizer and an enthusiast for the Penny and Saturday Magazines.

²⁵For general commentary on advertising at mid-century see J. D. Burn, Commercial Enterprise and Social Progress (London, 1858), 46-47; id., The Language of the Walls (London, 1855), 3-4 and passim; Fraser, Coming of the Mass Market, 134ff.; and Terry Nevett, Advertising in Britain: A History (London, 1982), 40-61. For commentary on advertising bills and illustration of examples, see James Cleaver, History of Graphic Art (London, 1963), 176; and Michael Twyman, Printing (London, 1970), 11; and for a reproduction of one of the Warren advertisements, see Leslie Shepard, History of Street Literature (Newton Abbot, 1973), 155.

²⁶The text's commentary is based upon Playbills 171 and 176A, British Library.

²⁷Wrapper, PM, monthly part 10, October 1841, in Knight, Box 1, John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library.

²⁸See, for example, Home Magazine 1/2 (1856-57): 282-283.

²⁹Richard Cobden to Cassell, 6 September 1850, Additional MS, 43668, British Library.

³⁰Altick, Common Reader, 394; H. R. F. Bourne, English Newspapers (London, 1887), 2: 121-122; and see also E. Lloyd, Papermaking (London, 1895), 1.

³¹CIFP, n.s., 3 (1859): 224. On the sale of prints in the street, see H. Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, 4 vols. (1851; reprint ed. of enlarged ed., 1861-2, London, 1967), 1: 215 and 302-303.

³²George Godwin, London Shadows (London, 1854), 5.

³³Ibid., 6.

³⁴Ibid., 17; Arthur Armitage, Heads of the People, vol. 2, ca 1846, excerpted in Bernard Denvir, The Early Nineteenth Century: Art, Design and Society, 1789-1852 (New York, 1984), 247; Fortnightly Review, October 1868, commenting on the dwellings of Lancashire gactory operatives in the 1840s, in ibid., 67-68; P. E. Razell and R. W. Wainwright, eds., The Victorian Working Class: Selections from Letters to the Morning Chronicle (London, 1973), 167-168 and 198; Robert Roberts, Life and Opinions (Cardiff, 1885), excerpted in John Burnett, ed., Destiny Obscure (Harmondsworth, 1984), 183.

³⁵For commentary and representative illustrations, see Thomas Gretton, Murders and Moralities (London, 1980), figs. 90, 91, 93, pp. 125 and 127; Louis James, Print and the People (London, 1976), 155; "Literature of Labour," Meliora 2 (1860): 4; and Mayhew, 1: 280.

³⁶Altick, Common Reader, 384 and 394-395.

³⁷Thomas Frost, Forty Years' Recollections (London, 1880), 323; and "Popular Literature," 242, 245-246.

³⁸For more on the adaptation of hegemonic values by one stratum of the working class, see Geoffrey Crossick, "The Labour Aristocracy and its Values," Victorian Studies 19 (March 1976): 301-328

³⁹Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany 1 (1843): preface.

⁴⁰Ibid., 5 (1846), and n.s., 1 (1850-52): the text's commentary is based on a sampling of several representative issues.

⁴¹Preface to Errym, Ada, the Betrayed (London, 1847).

⁴²Neuburg, Popular Literature, 167.

⁴³"Cheap Literature," 330, 337, 339; H. Dixon, "Literature of the Lower Orders," Daily News, 9 November 1847; "New and Cheap Forms of Popular Literature," Eclectic Review, 4th ser., 18 (1845): 76; "Popular Literature," 242ff.: this last writer also considered middle-class taste to be equally as degraded.

⁴⁴Mayhew, 1: 25.

⁴⁵Burt, Autobiography, 105 and 120; Joseph Gutteridge, Lights and Shadows in the Life of an Artisan, in V. E. Chancellor, ed., Master and Artisan in Victorian England (London, 1969), 130.

⁴⁶T. B. Clark to Coates, 15 November 1842, SDUK papers, University College Library; James, Print, 83; Wright, Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes (London, 1867), 177.

⁴⁷Thomas Cooper, Life (London, 1872), 22, 33-36, 52, 65, 179, 228; Elson, Last of the Climbing Boys, 208-209; John Plummer, Autobiography (London, 1860), xvii; Roberts, Life, in Burnett, Destiny Obscure, 183; Adam Rushton, My Life (Manchester, 1909), 64-69, 70-71; and see also Angus B. Reach, "The Coffee Houses of London," New Parley Library 2 (1845): 293-294. The notion of multiple cultural levels within the taste of one individual is consistent with the view that the behaviour of any individual worker was not necessarily consistently rowdy or consistently respectable: see Peter Bailey, "'Will the Real Bill Bailey Please Stand Up?' Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability," Journal of Social History 12 (1978/79): 336-353.

⁴⁸On people's interest in educational reading material in the early 1830s, see "Present Taste for Cheap Literature," Bee (1833): 9.

⁴⁹All circulation figures cited in this and the following paragraph are from Altick, Common Reader, 393-394.

⁵⁰Francis Hitchman, "The Penny Press," Eclectic, June 1881, 841; the text's description of the Family Herald's content is based on the following sampling: 25 February 1843, 4 May 1850, and 13 January 1855; for other information and commentary on the Family Herald, see J. G. Bertram, Some Memories (London, 1893), 140; the "Old Printer," A Few Personal Recollections (London, 1896), 16ff.; and W.A. Smith, Shepherd Smith, the Universalist (London, 1892), 222-223, 226ff. and passim. (Shepherd Smith was the Herald's first editor.)

⁵¹"Cheap Literature," 340-341; Charles Knight, Old Printer and the Modern Press (London, 1854), 284.

⁵²See chap. 6, p. 178.

⁵³For a reproduction of the Tree of Taxation which appeared in the Northern Liberator, 1838, see Max Beer, History of British Socialism (1919; reprint ed., Nottingham, 1984), 129; the broadside cited in the text is in the Thomas

Crampton Collection of Broad­sides, vol. 2, f. 161, British Library.

⁵⁴In aligning Owenism and Chartism with an old-style radical social critique, I am following Gareth Stedman Jones, "Rethinking Chartism," in Jones, Languages of Class (Cambridge, 1983), 117-127 and 168 ff.

⁵⁵Crisis 3 (1833): 1; Northern Star, 22 August 1846, 1; for another example of this paper's illustration, see 10 January 1846, 1.

⁵⁶Struggle, #61, 1842 or 1843 (issues are not dated); for a reproduction of the Struggle's imagery of political satire, see Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff, Victorian Periodical Press (Toronto, 1982), plate 9; and see Livesey, Life and Teachings (London, 1886), 21-22.

⁵⁷This emblem was actually engraved in 1866, but it is typical of the engraving style and iconography of emblems of the 1850s.

⁵⁸I owe this idea on the iconography of stability to Bernard Waites, "Popular Culture in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Lancashire," in the Open University, Popular Culture (Milton Keynes, 1981; reprint ed., 1985), 86. For other commentary on trade union emblems, see John Gorman, Images of Labour (London, 1985), 16-17; R. A. Leeson, United We Stand (Bath, 1971); for illustrations, see F. D. Klingender, Art in the Industrial Revolution (1947; reprint ed., 1975), 110; and Waites, "Popular Culture," 84-85.

⁵⁹C. P. Darcy, Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Lancashire (Manchester, 1976), 106; Playbills 171, f. 233, British Library.

⁶⁰The most important art periodical of the time was the Art Union, which, at the price of a shilling per issue, was well beyond working-class means; on the prevalence of Sunday closings of art galleries and so on, see Burn, Language of the Walls, 29; Elson, Last of the Climbing Boys, 207; and J. A. Roebuck, "The British Museum," in Pamphlets for the People, vol. 1 (1835): 13.

⁶¹Peter Jackson, George Scharfe's London (London, 1987), 48.

⁶²Plummer, Autobiography, xviii-xix; Razell, Letters, 80-81; Rushton, Life, 102; David Vincent, Bread, Knowledge and Freedom (London, 1981), 155-156; and see also Samuel Bamford, Walks in South Lancashire (1844; reprint ed.,

Brighton, 1972), 253; Burn, Commercial Enterprise, 27; Charles Eastlake on "the love of pictures of the lower orders," (1843; excerpted in Denvir, Nineteenth Century, 68-69); J. C. Robertson, evidence given before the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, 2 September 1835, vol. 5, item 1628; C. Thomas, Love and Work Enough (Toronto, 1967), 165-166; Wakefield Mechanics' Institution to T. Coates, 21 August 1842, SDUK correspondence, University College Library.

⁶³See chapter 5, note 14; and see also G. Sutton, Artisan or Artist (London, 1967).

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

¹"Cheap Literature," British Quarterly Review 29 (1859): 319.

²Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, 4 vols. (London, 1861-62; reprint ed., London, 1967), 1: 304; "Popular Literature of the Day," British and Foreign Review 10 (1840): 242.

³News of the World, 9 September 1855, 7.

⁴Bryan Holme, Advertising: Reflections of a Century (London, 1982), 13.

⁵For examples, see John Gorman, Images of Labour (London, 1985), 8, 16, 67, 78-82, 138 and passim.

⁶Lucy Crane, Art and the Formation of Taste (1882), excerpted in Bernard Denvir, The Late Victorians (London, 1986), 209.

⁷The Art Journal, for example, cost a shilling an issue; the majority of galleries and museums were still closed on Sunday as late as 1890: see passim, 1876-90, in the Quarterly Journal of the Sunday Society, a group that worked to have museums, art galleries, libraries and gardens open on Sundays.

⁸Thomas Wright, The Great Unwashed (London, 1868), 224.

⁹For illustrations and further commentary, see P. Anderson, "Pictures for the People," Studies in Art Education 28 (1987): 138 and 140; John Berger, Ways of Seeing (Harmondsworth, 1972; reprint ed., 1976), 135; Frank Presbrey, The History and Development of Advertising (New York, 1929; reprint ed., New York, 1968), between 110 and 111.

¹⁰See chap. 1, pp. 15-16.

¹¹Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society 32 (1865): 278.

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1822-32.

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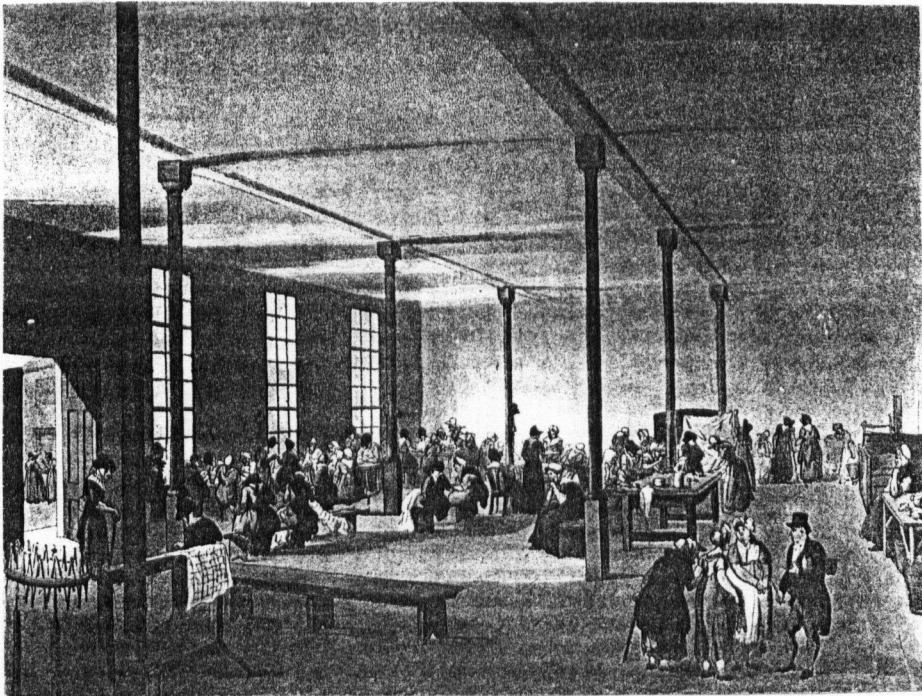
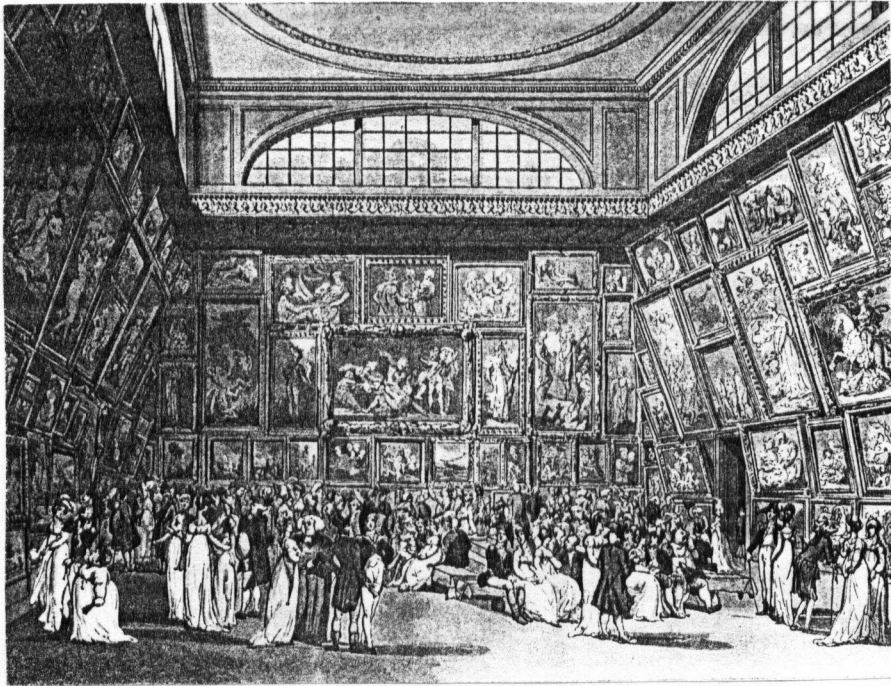
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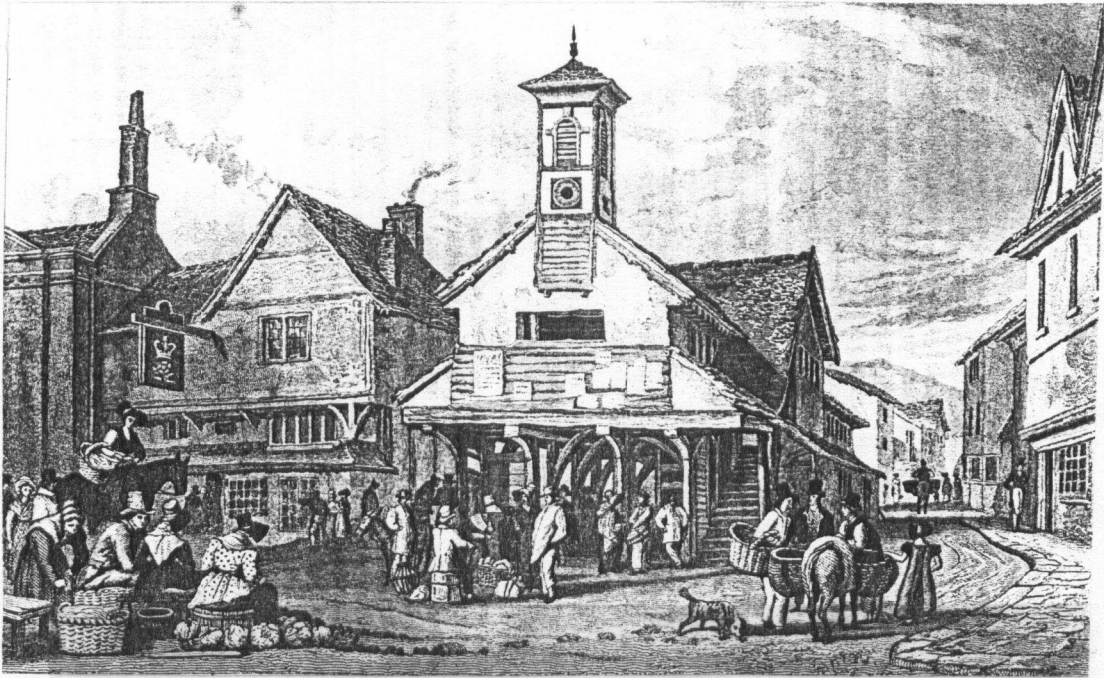
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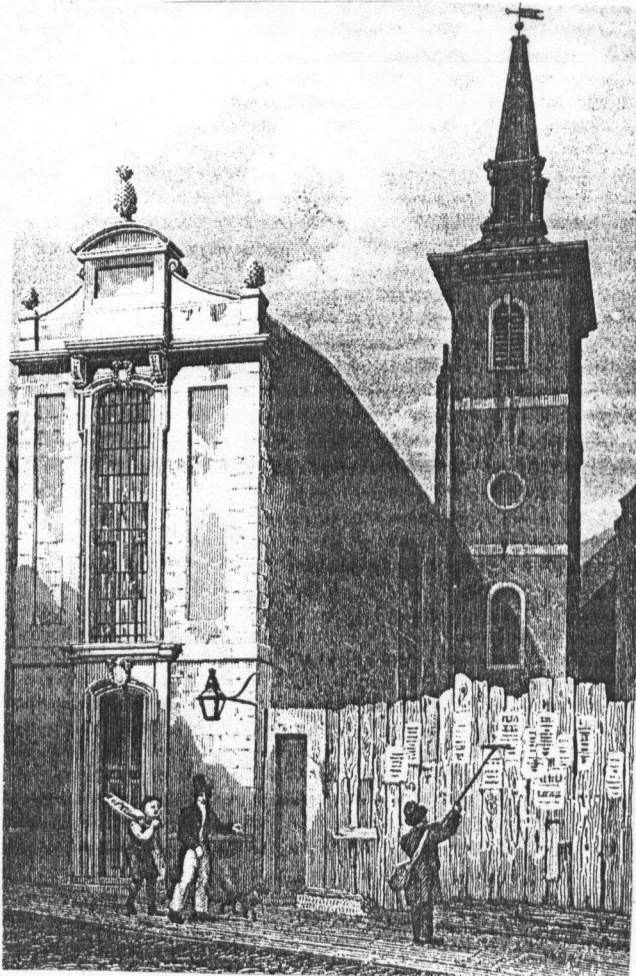
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3



4



5

The Trial and Execution of

**Thomas
Hubbard,
for House
Breaking,
and**



**William
Cattermole,
for setting fire
to a stack of
Hay,**

*Who suffered at Ipswich, on Saturday, April 25, 1829,
pursuant to their sentence at Bury Lent Assizes.*

WILLIAM CATTERMOLLE was indicted for having in the afternoon of the 12th of November last, maliciously set fire to a stack of clover hay, in the parish of Letheringham, the joint property of Jas. Glandfield and others.

Wm. Plant, a labourer, worked last Nov. on the farm at Letheringham, occupied by Mr. Glandfield and others; on the 12th of Nov. last, saw the prisoner about 8 or 9 o' clock in the morning, going towards the Lawn Field; saw him come home about a quarter after 4, in the afternoon. There was a little stack of clover, of about 2 fags, which came off 6 acres, in Mr. Glandfield's yard; I passed the stack a ¼ past 4, about five minutes before I saw the prisoner; there was no appearance of any fire; I went through the barn, which is a few yards from the stack; I was on the front side of the barn when I saw the prisoner; who was pulling some beans from the stack close to the barn-door; he saw me come into the barn, and I talked to him at the barn

James Glandfield—Prisoner was employed on my land; I had no particular dispute. About a fortnight or three weeks before the fire happened the prisoner was dissatisfied with his pay, but I don't recollect what the prisoner said.

The Jury retired for some time. On their return they pronounced a verdict of Guilty. The verdict was received with surprise by the Judge and the whole Court.

The Learned Judge proceeded in the most impressive and feeling manner, to pass the awful sentence of Death, which the prisoner heard with apparent indifference.

LAMENTATION.

William Cattermole is my name,	I'm brought to grief and shame,
I've sham'd my friends in the town,	In my bloom I am cut down.
And now that I am doom'd to die,	In tender years with scorn,
I hope the youth that see me die,	May be warn'd by my downfall.

THOMAS HUBBARD was placed at the bar, charged with breaking into the dwelling house of George Runt, of Mendham, Gent. and stealing



HORRID MURDER,

Committed by a young Man on a young Woman.

George Caddell became acquainted with Miss Price and a degree of intimacy subsisted between them, and Miss Price, degraded as she was by the unfortunate step she had taken, still thought herself an equal match for one of Mr. Caddell's rank of life. As pregnancy was shortly the result of their intimacy, she repeatedly urged him to marry her, but he resisted her importunities for a considerable time. At length she heard of his paying his addresses to Miss Dean, and threatened, in case of his non-compliance, to put an end to all his prospects with that young lady, by discovering everything that had passed between them. Hereupon he formed a horrid resolution of murdering her, for he could neither bear the thought of forfeiting the esteem of a woman who he loved, nor of marrying one who had been as condescending to another as to himself. So he called on Miss Price on a Saturday and requesting her to walk with him in the fields on the following day, in order to arrange a plan for

their intended marriage. Miss Price met him at the time appointed, on the road leading to Burton, at a house known by the name of "The Nag's Head." Having accompanied her supposed lover into the fields, and walked about till towards evening, they sat down under a hedge, where, after a little conversation, Caddell suddenly pulled out a knife and cut her throat, and made his escape, but not before he had waited till she was dead. In the distraction of his mind he left behind him the knife with which he had perpetrated the deed, and his case of instruments. On the following morning, Miss Price being found murdered in the field, great numbers went to take a view of the body, among whom was the woman of the house where she lodged, who recollected that she said she was going to walk with Mr. Caddell, on which the instruments were examined and sworn to have belonged to him. He was accordingly taken into custody.



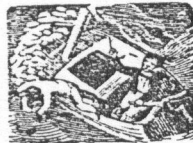
LIKENESS OF THE MURDERER.

Frontispiece.



ROBINSON CRUSOE.

THE
ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.



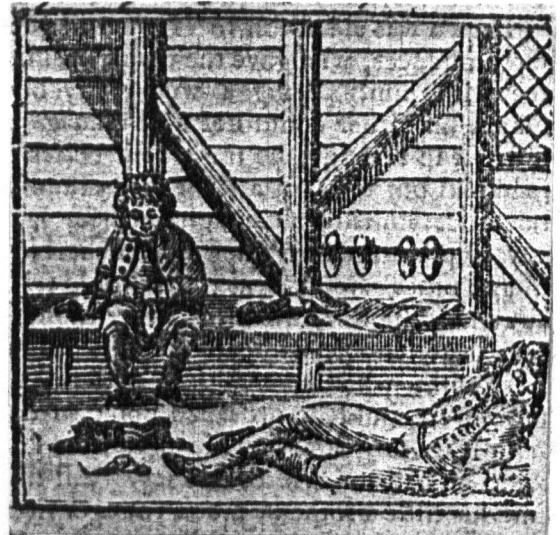
With numerous Engravings.

London :

Printed and sold by J. and C. Evans, 42,
Long Lane, West Smithfield.

2d.

N^o



PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.



THE
PILGRIMS.
AN ALLEGORY.



DUBLIN:

SOLD BY WILLIAM WATSON,
No. 7, Capel-Street,

Printer to the Cheap Repository for Religious and Moral Tracts
And by the BOOKSELLERS, CHAPMEN and HAWKERS,
in Town and Country.

Great Allowance to Shopkeepers, Chapmen and Hawkers.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS,

FROM
THIS WORLD
TO
THAT WHICH IS TO COME.

DELIVERED UNDER THE
SIMILITUDE OF A DREAM.

IN EIGHT PARTS.

By JOHN BUNYAN.

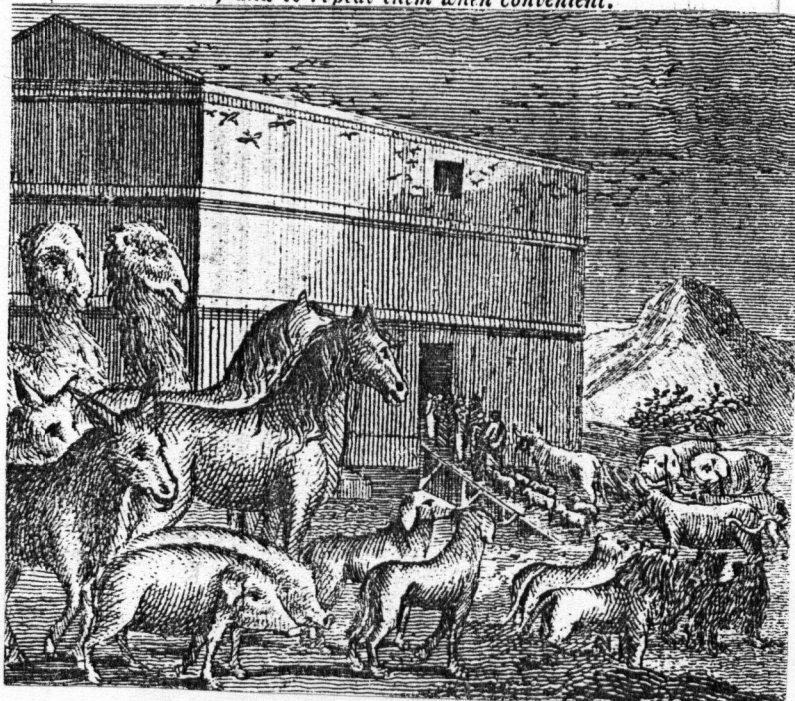
I have used similitudes.—Hos. xii. 10.

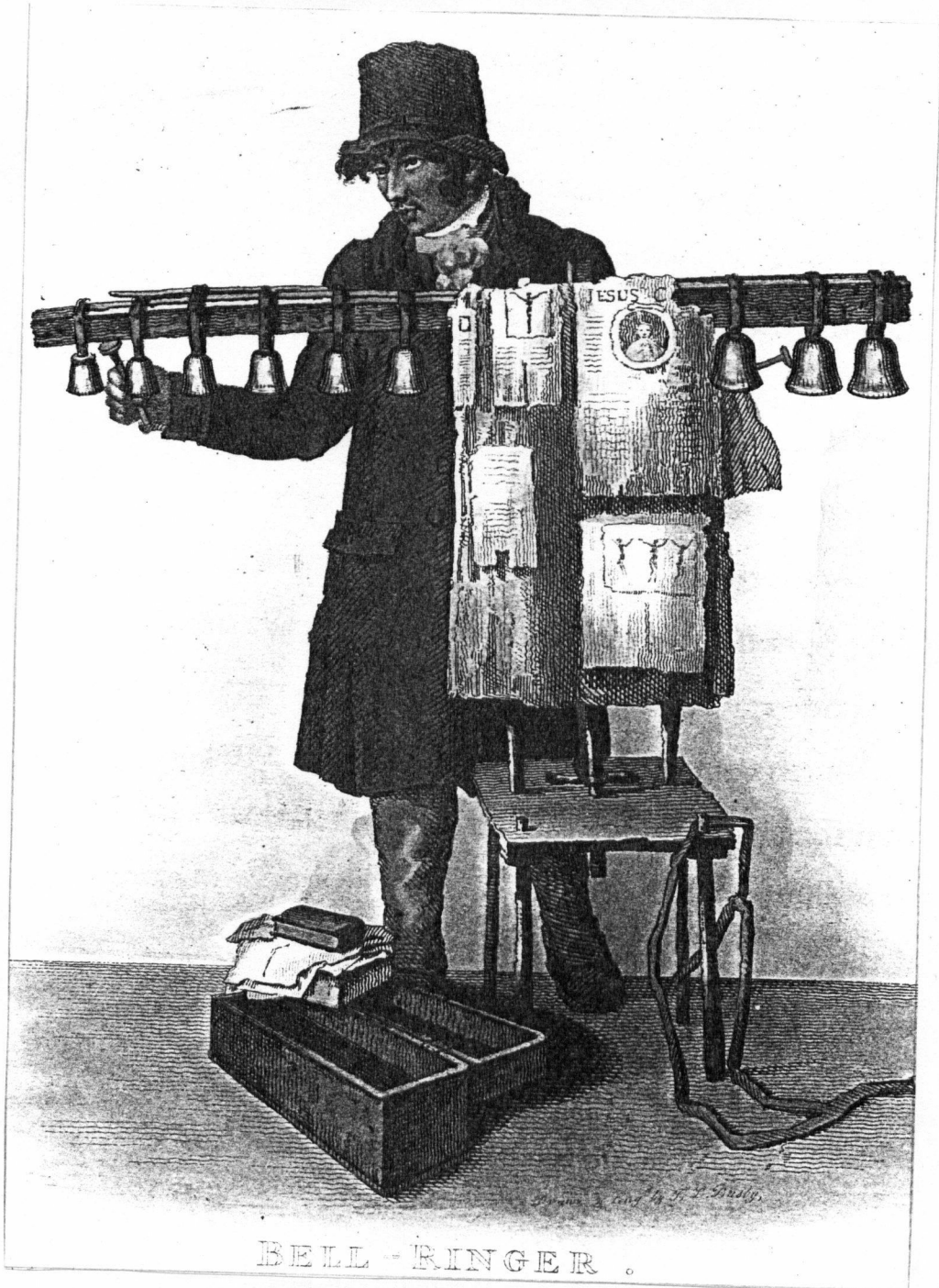
PART THE SECOND.

From his entrance at the Wicket-Gate, until he reaches the summit of the Hill called Difficulty.



N.B. It is recommended to the Teachers in Sunday Schools to direct the Children to find the texts referred to in this work, and to repeat them when convenient.





THE POLITICAL
HOUSE
THAT
JACK BUILT.

"A straw—thrown up to show which way the wind blows!"

WITH THIRTEEN CUTS.



The Pen and the Sword.

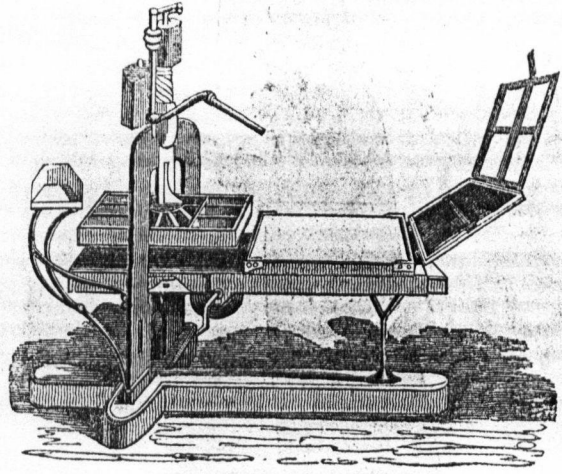
Forty-second Edition.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY AND FOR WILLIAM HONE, LUDGATE HILL.

1820.

ONE SHILLING.



"Once enslaved, farewell!"

Do I forebode impossible events,
And tremble at vain dreams? Heav'n grant I may!"

THIS IS

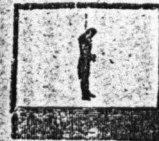
THE THING,

that, in spite of new Acts,
And attempts to restrain it,
by Soldiers or Tax,
Will *poison* the Vermin,
That plunder the Wealth,
That lay in the House,
That Jack built.

The last Dying Speech and Confession of



**JOSHUA
SLADE,**



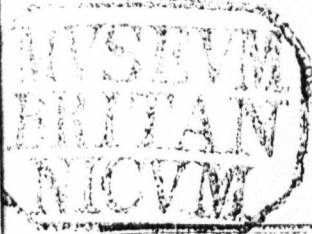
Who received Sentence of Death at Huntingdon Assizes on Tuesday the 31st of July, 1827, for the Murder of the Rev. J. Waterhouse, at Little Stukeley, 3rd of July preceding, and executed on the 1st of September. With the Transportation for Life of William Heddings, one of his Associates, for Burglary.

THIS unfortunate young man, aged only 18 years, was a native of Little Stukeley, where the late Rev. Gentleman also resided. His complexion was sallow, and his upturned pug nose gave to his countenance a most malignant appearance.

The following are the principal circumstances stated in Slade's confession.

"I went direct from the Swan public-house at a quarter past two. I was then fresh. I got over the garden wall, went to a straw wall near the dove-house, and lay there till five. I had a sword hid in the straw 4 or 5 weeks, which I had stolen from the Horse & Jockey

Mechanic's Magazine.



Industry! rough power!
Whom labour still attends, and sweat, and pain;
Yet, the kind source of every gentle art,
And all the soft civility of life.

Thomson.

No. 1.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1823.

[Price 3d.]

JAMES WATT.

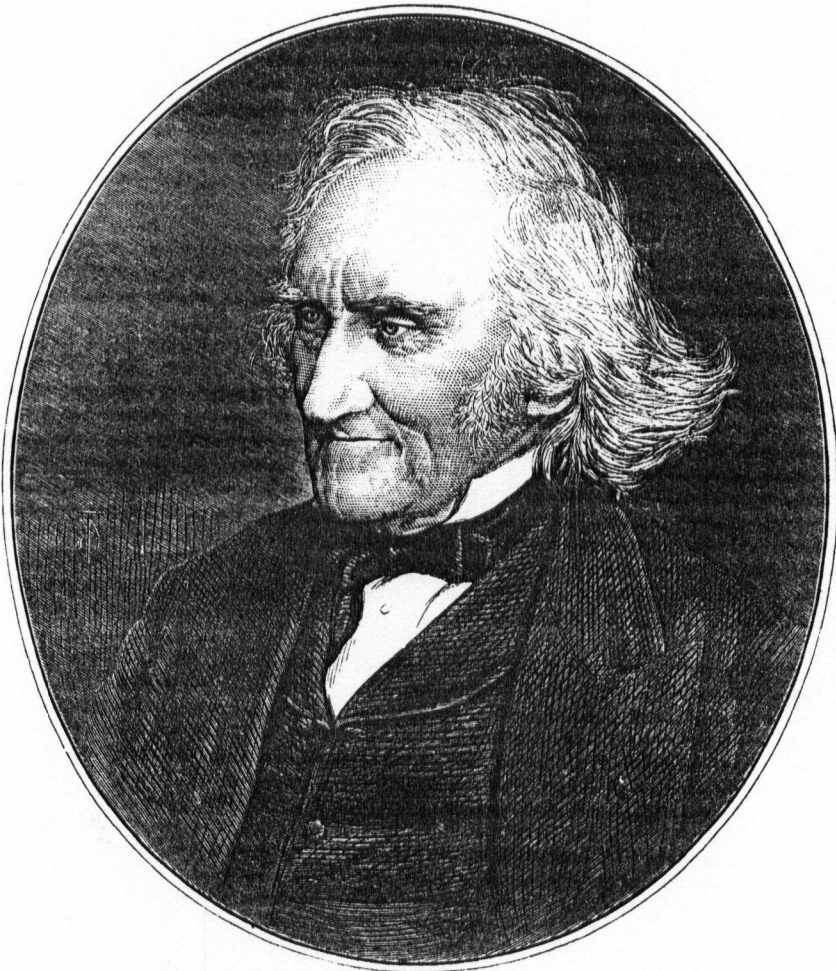


MEMOIR OF JAMES WATT, THE GREAT IMPROVER OF THE STEAM-ENGINE.

MANY great and distinguished men, the ornaments of the last and present centuries, have been more known and much more talked of than James Watt; but, perhaps, no one of them was the fortunate author of so much real good to mankind or has equal claims on their gratitude. Now, indeed, it is generally known, that he was one of the most successful and skilful inventors of machinery of the age. His good fortune may encourage, and his perseverance

instruct the present and all future generations of mechanics; and, therefore, his biography has been selected, as it seems particularly well adapted, for the first number of a work which is to be entirely devoted to their amusement and improvement. Mr. Watt was also a kind good-hearted man—giving lustre to his art, not only by the prodigious power he created, but by the life he led. He acquired wealth and honour by his own exertions, and was praised for his wisdom as well as for his skill. Though we do not pretend to assert that there is any thing in mechanical pursuits which pecu-

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, MARCH 22, 1873.—266

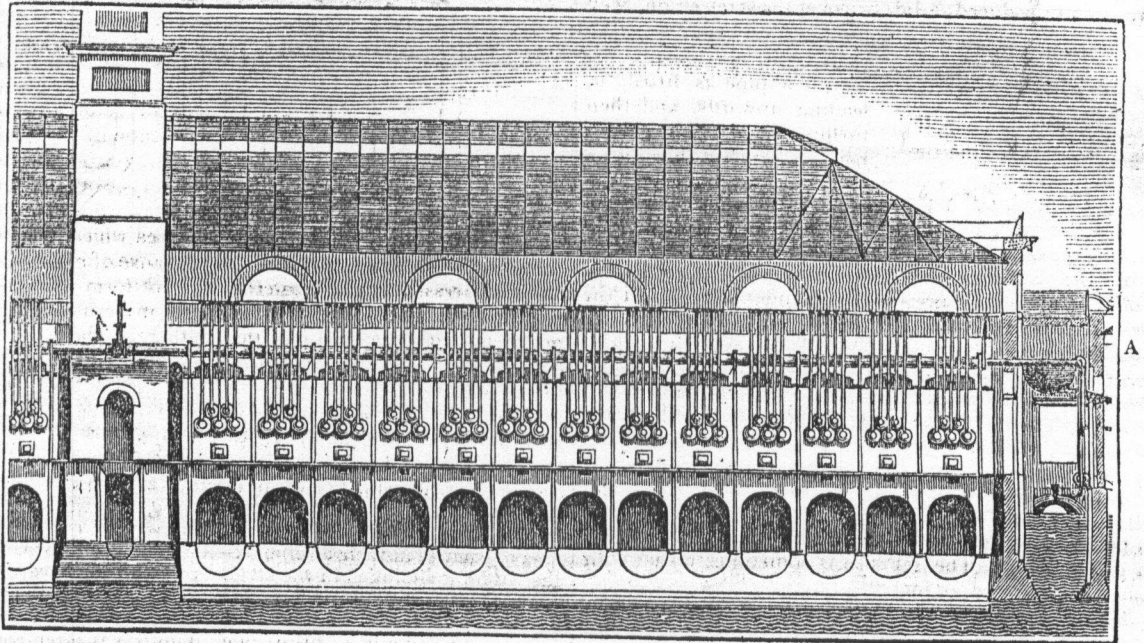


THE LATE CHARLES KNIGHT.

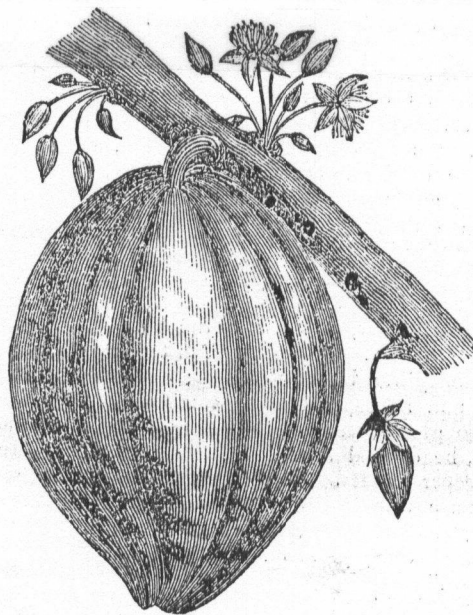
1834.]

THE PENNY MAGAZINE.

429



[The Retort House.]



[Fruit of the Cacao-Tree.]

THE PENNY MAGAZINE

OF THE

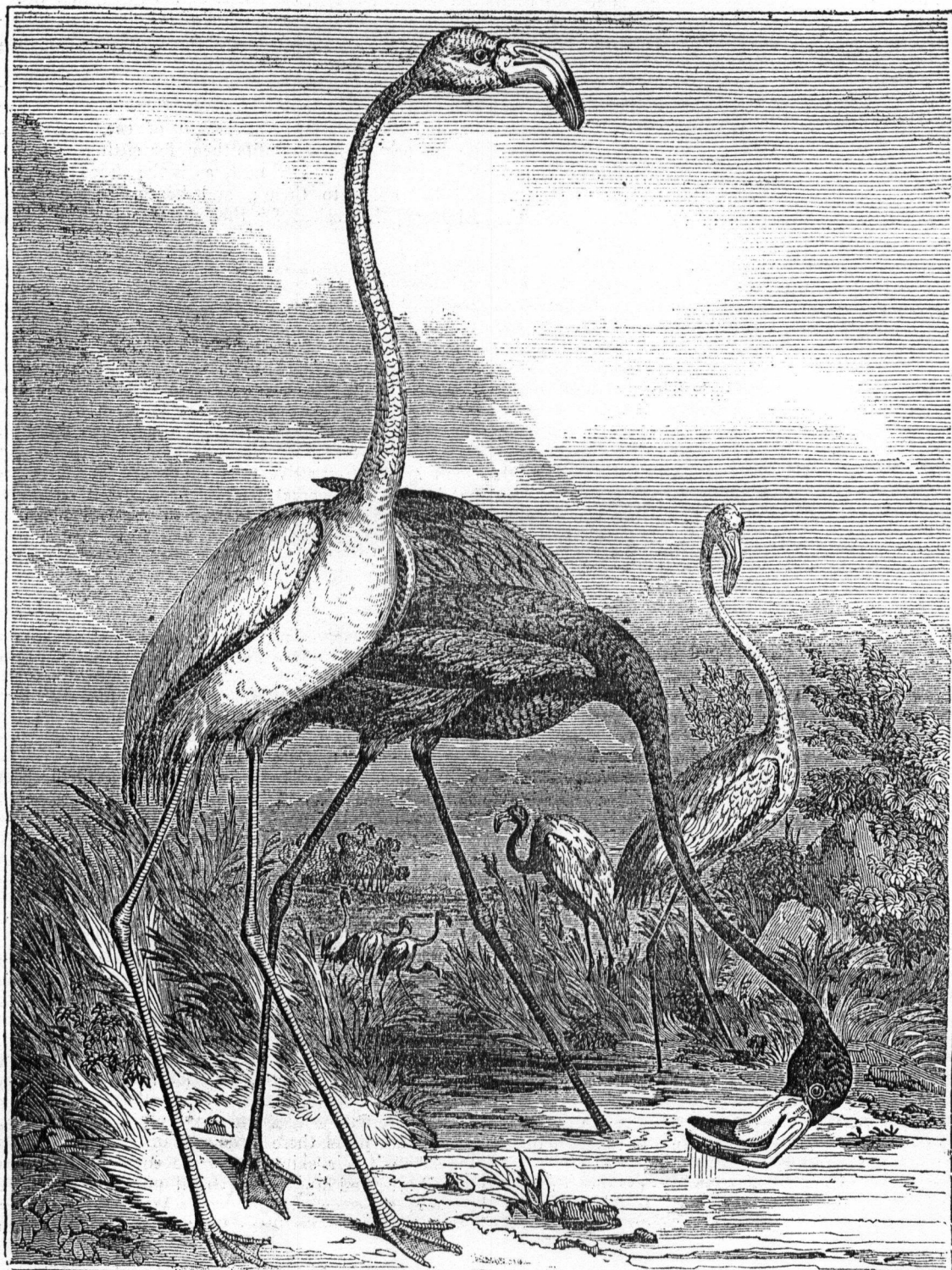
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

[41.]

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

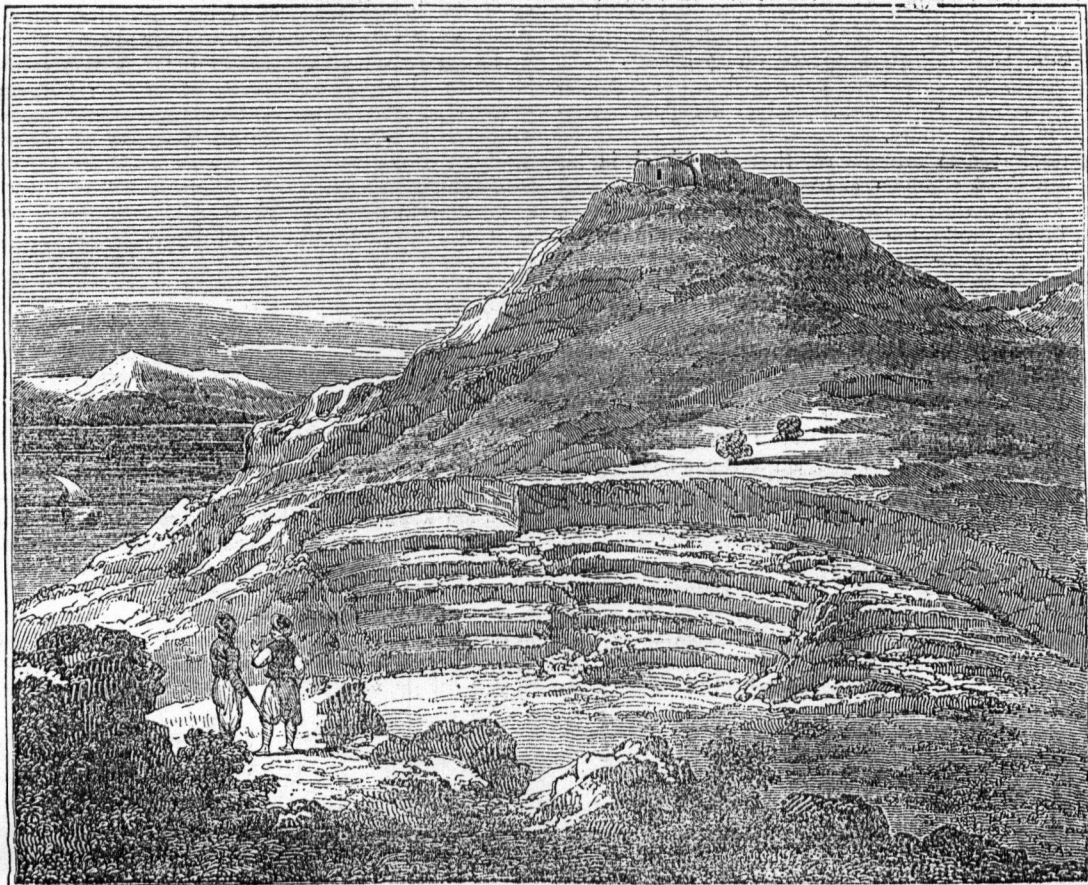
[JUNE 14, 1834.]

THE FLAMINGO

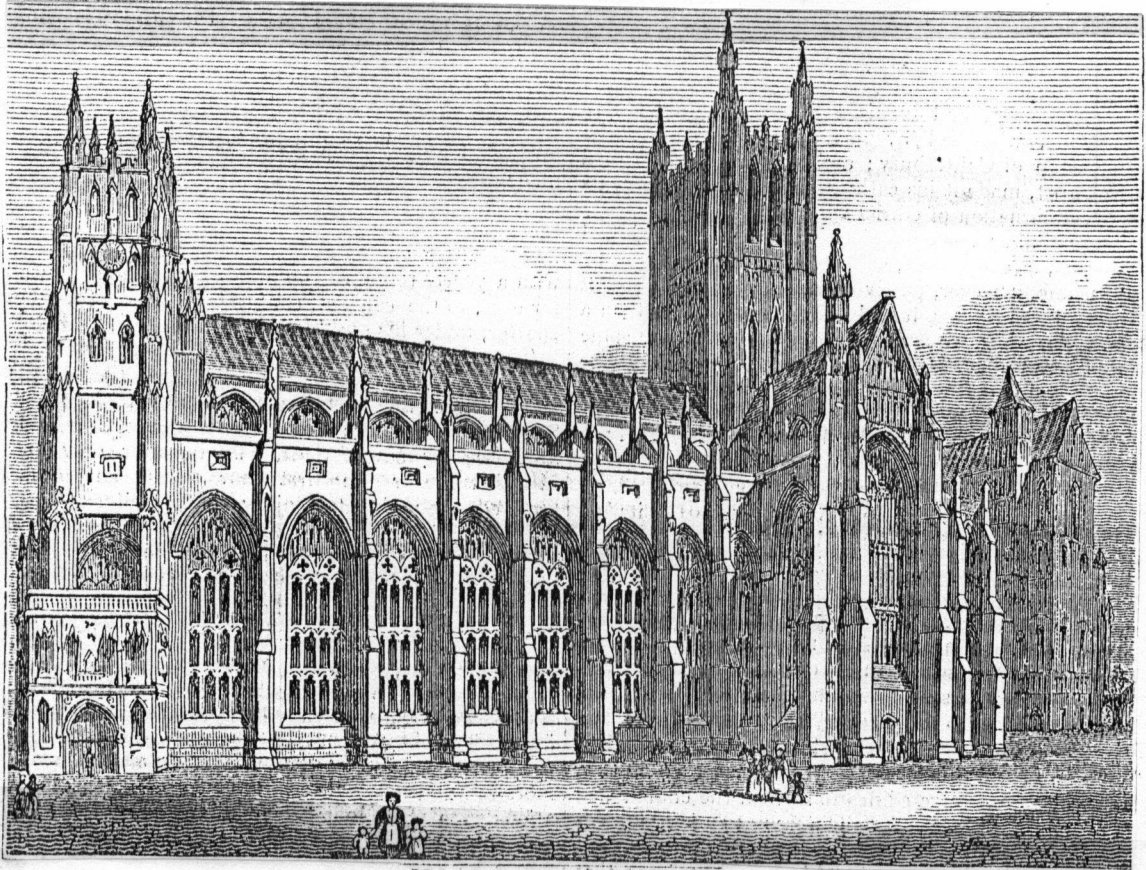


coming from and going to some place in the Archipelago still in possession of the Mussulmans, was driven, in consequence of contrary winds and currents, and the unskilfulness or carelessness of those on board, to the back of the island of Milo. When the Candiotes, who had sentinels at different points, learned this, they rushed to the spot, and, though the boat was small and contained only eight individuals, two of whom were women and three children, who all stated their circumstances and pleaded for mercy, they savagely fired into her and killed one Turk and wounded another, and also a little boy. They then dragged them on shore, and announced their valorous triumph by firing off guns and pistols. It was near midnight, and we were smoking our cigars on deck when we heard these discharges, which, for a moment, induced us to believe that a Turkish force had landed on the island. Our surprise and abhorrence were great on learning the next morning what had really happened, and, moreover, that the Candiotes considered their Turkish prisoners as slaves, and were trying to sell them as such among the Greeks of Milo. In consequence of these proceedings, the officers of the Dutch sloop-of-war, which was by this time the only armed ship left in the bay, together with ourselves, had a long discussion with these savages, the Greek who kept the coffee-house, and who spoke both Italian and English, acting as our interpreter. We represented how people in the circumstances of those in the Turkish boat were treated by all civilized nations; but we could awaken in them no feeling of shame for what they had done; and when we spoke of the unchristian, abominable practice of making prisoners of

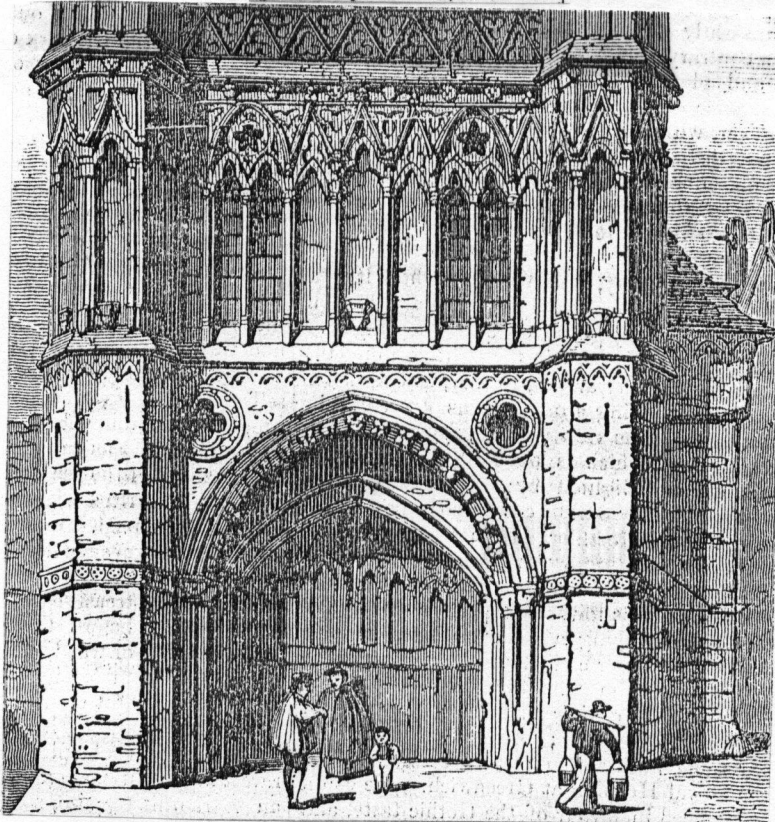
war slaves, the only answer we could get was, that they did by the Turks as the Turks did by them. It was in vain we explained to them that it was in consequence of these and their other barbarous practices that the hearts of all Europe were set against the Turks, and that the great Christian powers would (as they did a few months after) interfere with a strong hand to prevent all such excesses. They still only answered that the Turks, when they took them, made slaves of them, and that they would make slaves of the Turks, and keep or sell their present prisoners as they chose. The Dutch captain did not consider himself authorized to take more energetic measures. In the course of the day, however, the French vice-consul made the Candiotes deliver up the two Turks who were wounded, and whom he had carried to his own house. We subscribed together for the price demanded for one of the unfortunate women, and the keeper of the coffee-house bought the other for ten Spanish dollars, or about two pounds sterling. He said he would keep her until an opportunity occurred of imparting her and her companions' situation to their friends, who would, in all probability, find means, through some English or French ship-of-war, to remit a ransom for them all. Whether this happened, or how the Candiotes treated their captives, we know not, for the next day, most heartily sick of these barbarians, we left Milo, and never returned. It must be added, however, in justice to the poor native Greeks of the island, that they were a mild, inoffensive people, with a good deal of natural talent, and of that natural gracefulness of manner and carriage which so remarkably distinguishes all their race.



[Remains of the Amphitheatre at Milo.]



[Canterbury Cathedral, South Side.]

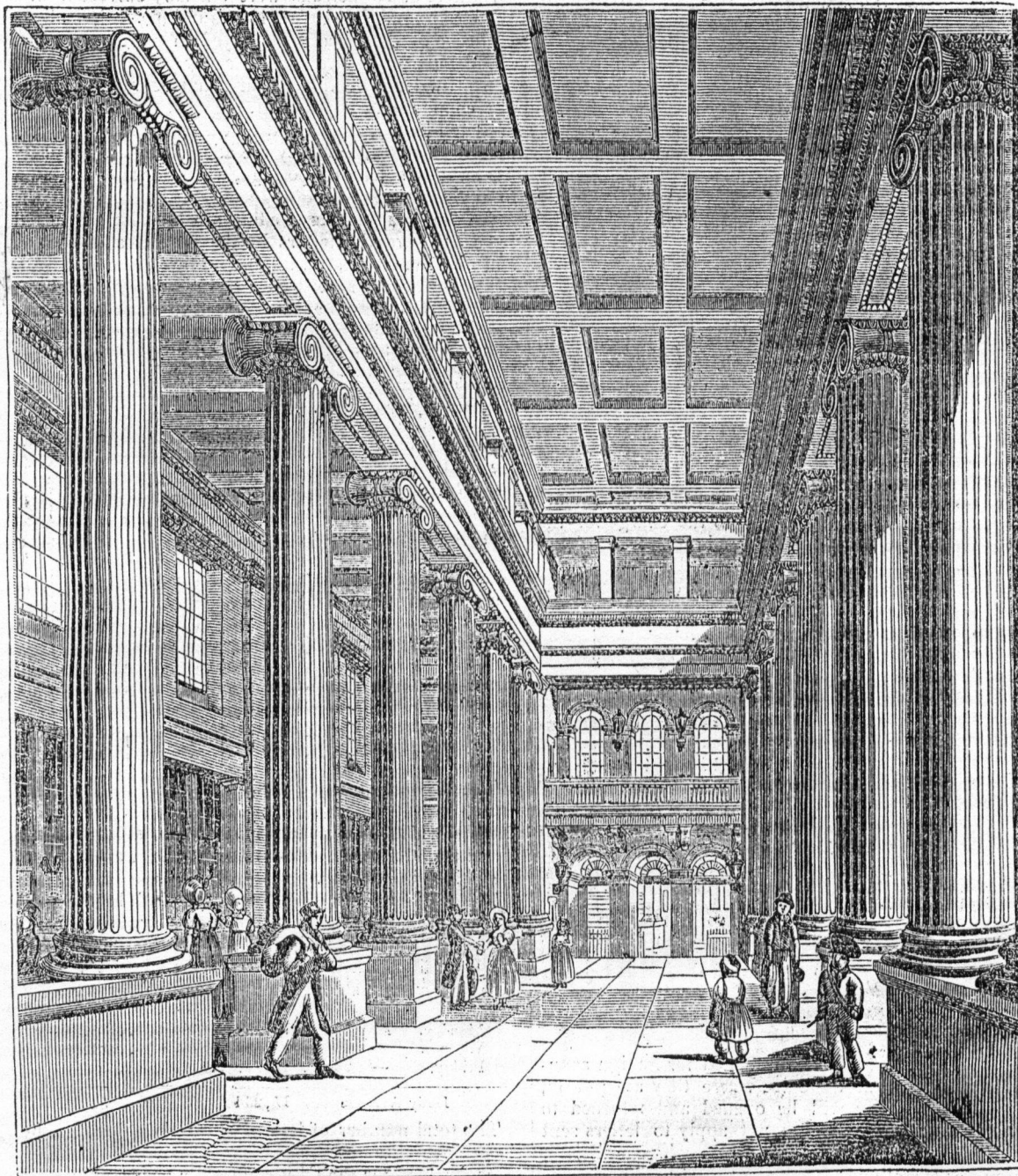


In order to found upon the foregoing statements a calculation as to the total number of letters passing through the London Post-office in the course of the year, it appears necessary to consider the three days given as comprehending more than one half of the week, since the number of letters received and despatched on Monday comprise a great number that would have passed on the Sunday had the office been open.

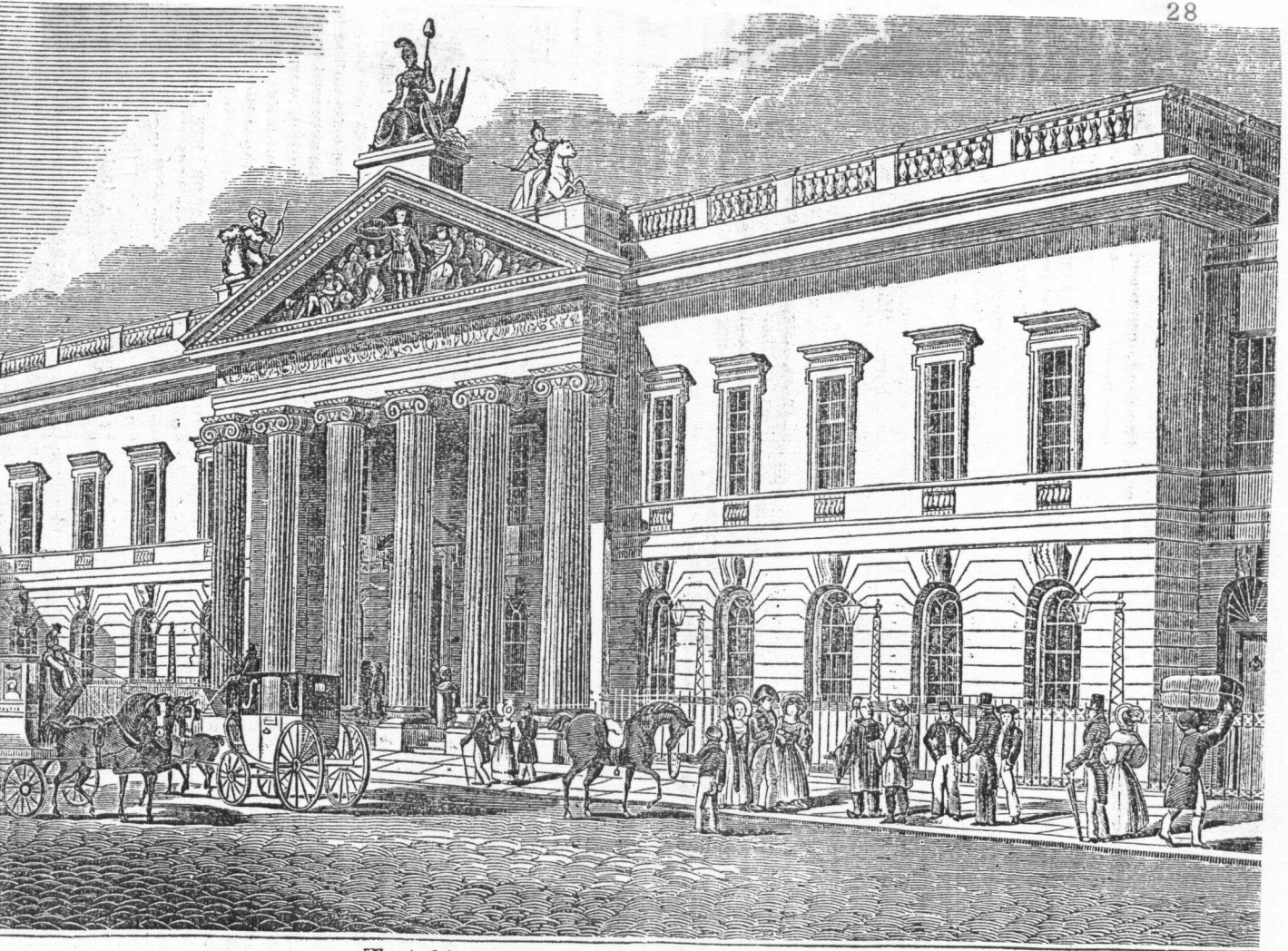
Our space will not admit of inserting more of these details from the Report. We must content ourselves with stating the amount of postages collected in a few of the principal trading cities and towns of the United Kingdom during the years 1831 and 1832:—

	1831.	1832.
London	£628,544	£637,178
Birmingham	29,864	23,684
Bristol	36,670	33,887
Hull	15,030	14,603
Leeds	20,963	20,315
Liverpool	70,974	70,018
Manchester	52,320	53,449
Sheffield	11,163	11,026
Edinburgh	42,621	42,758
Glasgow	35,641	35,754
Dublin	101,529	80,610
Cork	10,769	11,511

We had intended to have given some particulars of the Twopenny Post Branch, but must defer this to a future Number.



[Hall of the New Post-Office.]



[Front of the East India House, Leadenhall Street.]



THE PENNY MAGAZINE

OF THE

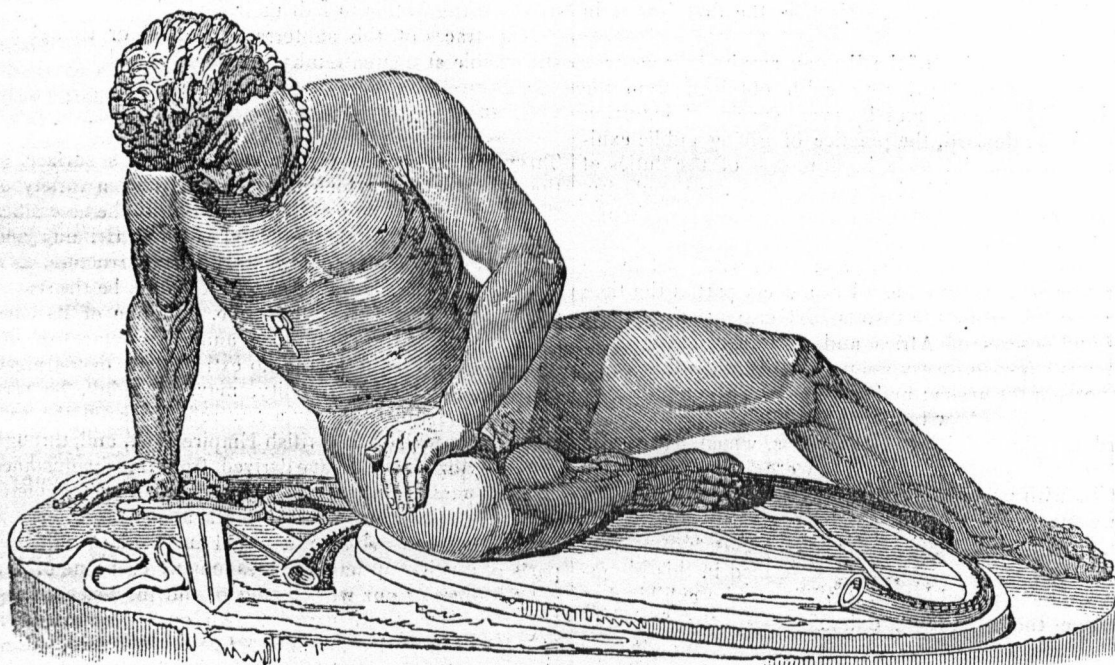
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

50.]

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

[JANUARY 12, 1833.]

THE DYING GLADIATOR.



30

THIS celebrated statue, which is now at Rome, has given rise to much discussion, and it is at least doubtful whether it bears its right name. It is thus described by Winkelmann (vol. ii. p. 241, French ed.):—"It represents a man of toil, who has lived a laborious life, as we may see from the countenance, from one of the hands, which is genuine, and from the soles of the feet. He has a cord round his neck, which is knotted under the chin; he is lying on an oval buckler, on which we see a kind of broken horn*." The rest of Winkelmann's remarks are little to the purpose.

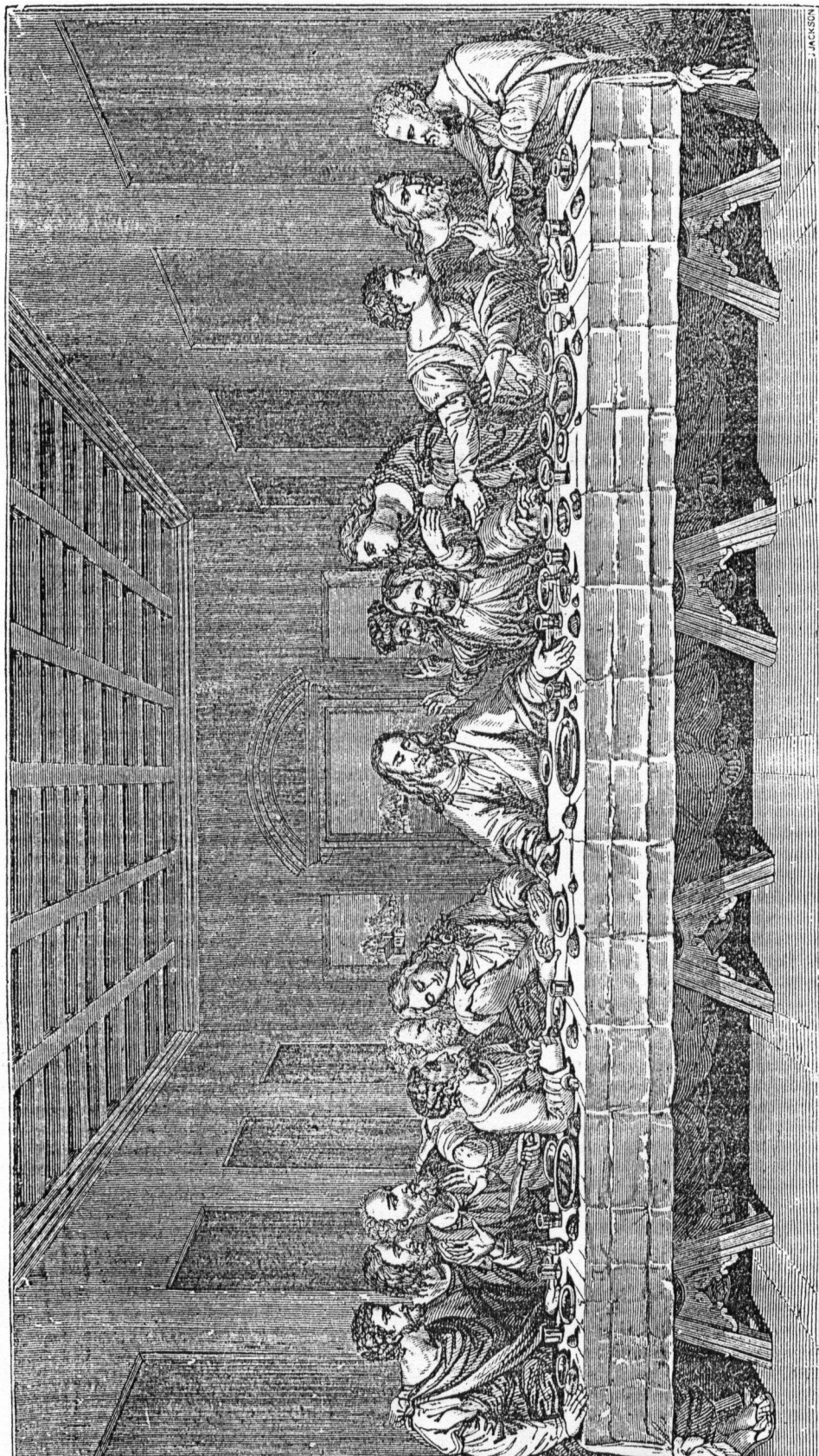
Pliny, in a long chapter of his thirty fourth book, wherein he enumerates the most famous statuary who worked in metal, mentions one called Ctesilaus, who appears to have lived near, or shortly after, the time of Phidias. "He made," says Pliny, "a wounded man expiring (or fainting), and he succeeded in expressing exactly how much vitality still remained." It is possible that this bronze or metal figure may be the original of the marble figure now in Rome, to which we give the name of the Dying Gladiator. As far as we can judge from the attitude, the armour, the general character of the figure, and the deep expression of pain and intense agony, the whole composition may very possibly be intended to represent the death of one of those wretched beings, who were compelled to slaughter each other for the amusement of the Roman capital. The broken horn is, however, considered by some critics as an objection to this statue being a representation of a

short-hand, which brings to recollection the crowded amphitheatre, the eager populace, the devoted victims, the signal for attack; and the sad contrast to all this is exhibited in the figure of the dying man. As to any difficulty that may be raised about the kind of armour, or the cord round the neck, this may be removed by considering that the Romans had gladiators from all countries, and that these men often fought with their native weapons, and after the fashion of their own country. The savage directors of these spectacles knew full well the feelings of animosity with which uncivilized nations are apt to regard one another, and they found no way so ready for exhibiting to the populace all the bloody circumstances of a real battle, as to match together people of different nations.

Whether this figure be that of a dying gladiator or not, it is pretty certain it will long retain the name, at least in the popular opinion in this country, as it has furnished the subject for some of the noblest lines that one of the first of modern poets ever penned:—

"I see before me the gladiator lie
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his droop'd head sinks gradually low—
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hail'd the wretch who won.

in a loose and free posture, to show the greater grandeur; while the apostles appear agitated by the vehement desire to know which among them is he who will betray his master; in which agitation, however, no mean or indecent action can be observed. In short, by profound thought, Leonardo had arrived to such a



[The Last Supper, after Leonardo da Vinci.]

THE PENNY MAGAZINE

OF THE

Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

[27.]

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

[MARCH 29, 1834.]

MURILLO.



32

['The Young Beggar,' from Murillo.]

THE PENNY MAGAZINE

OF THE

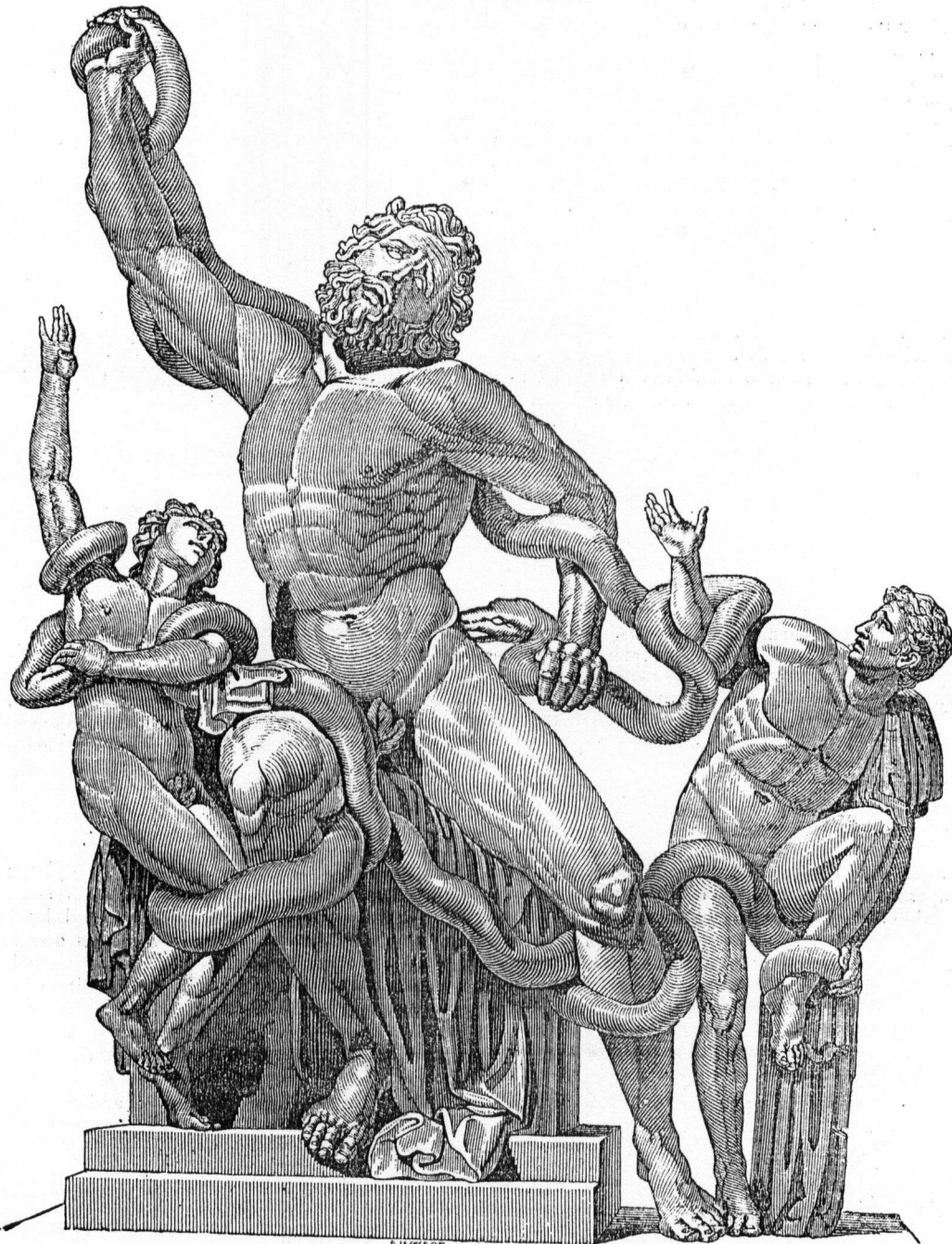
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

39.]

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

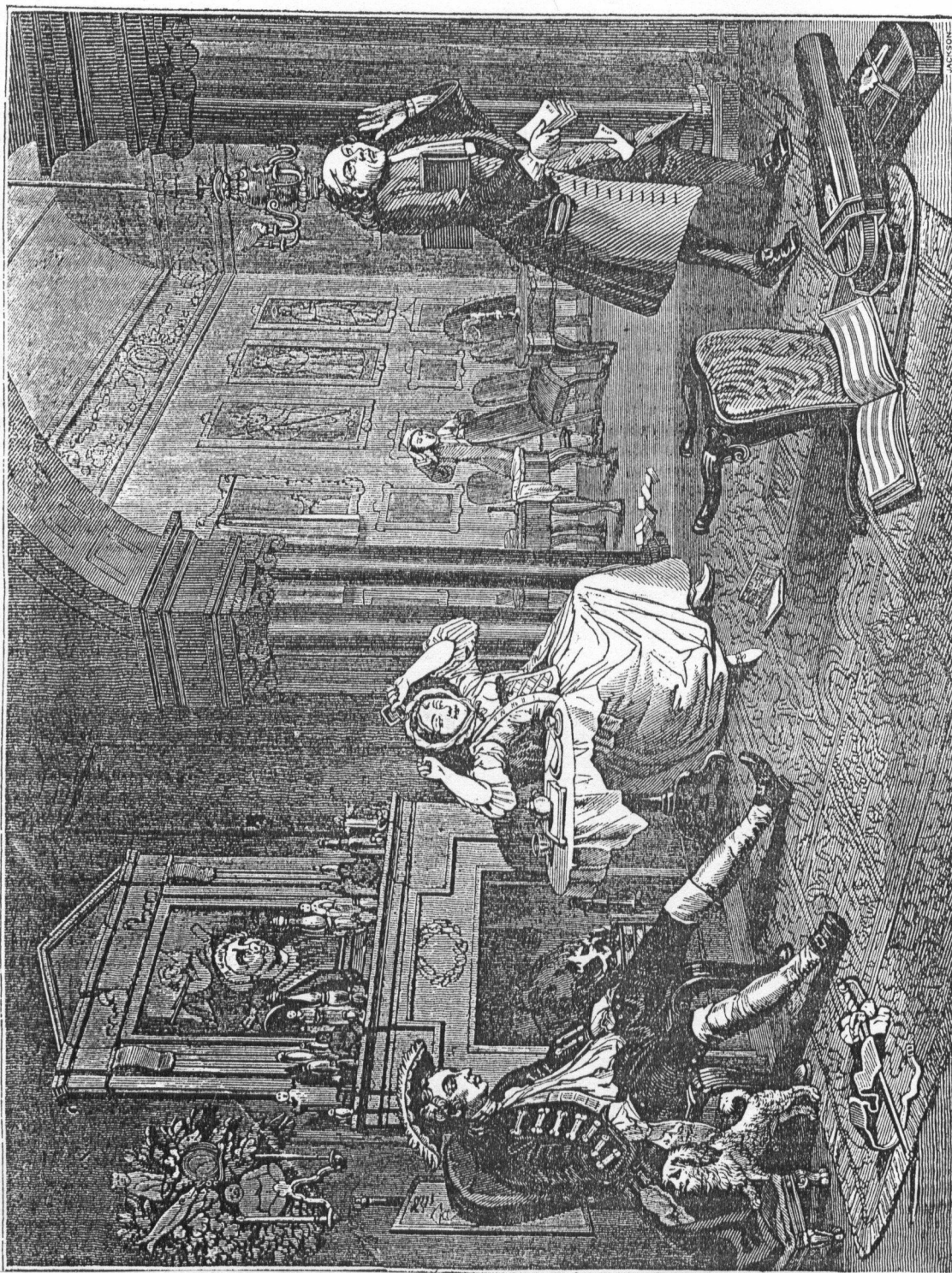
[NOVEMBER 10, 1832.]

THE LAOCOON.



33

[The Group of the Laocöon, at Rome.]



[Marriage à-la-Mode.—The Saloon.]

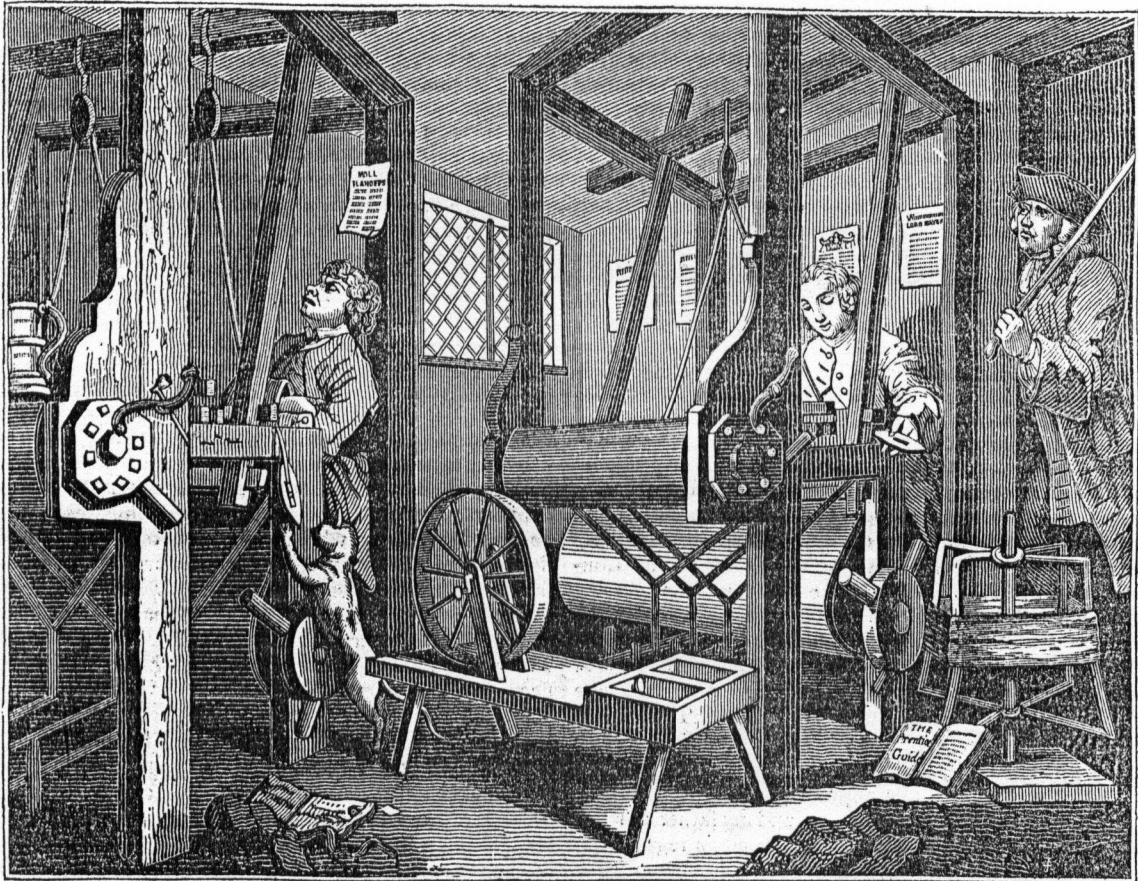
Monthly Supplement of THE PENNY MAGAZINE

OF THE
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

139.]

April 30, to May 31, 1834.

HOGARTH AND HIS WORKS.—No. II.



35

"The drunkard shall come to poverty, and drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags."—Proverbs, xxiii., 21.

"The hand of the diligent maketh rich."—Proverbs, x., 4.

[APPRENTICES AT THEIR LOOMS.]

Several other instances could be mentioned of persons, members of the Corporation at the latter end of the last century, who had raised themselves from an original equally low with those we have named; and this has been often the case with those who attained to the chief magistracy of London. This is easily accounted for; for while experience shows this dignity to be attainable by the lowest, this high place, like others, appears the most splendid to those who are at the greatest distance from it, and who have therefore a stimulus in pressing forward to it, unfelt by those who have always seen it as a near object.

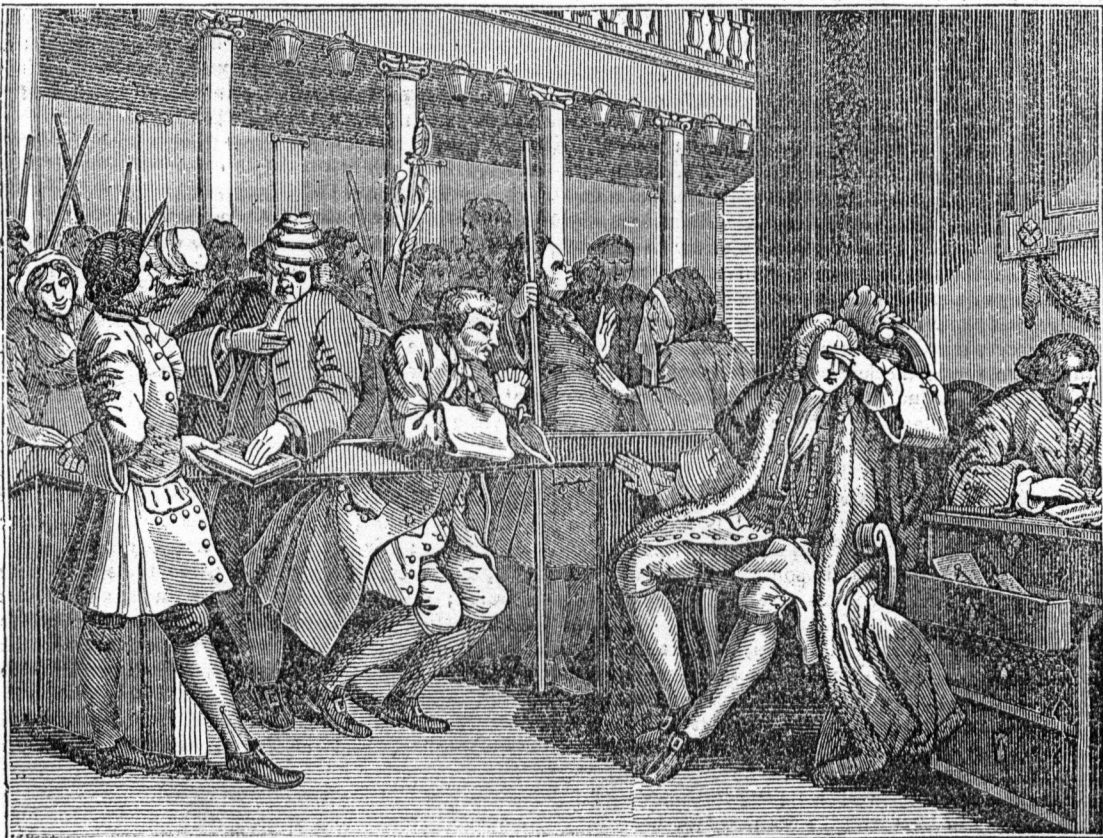
When it is considered how many virtues and how much knowledge go to make up the character of a good tradesman, it must be a matter of proud satisfaction that the highest municipal honours have fallen upon many who have risen to commercial eminence from small beginnings. Such men have invariably been benefactors of their species. To industry they must have united great economy; and judicious economy is the main-spring of all profitable industry,—the source from which all the great private and public works of man are created and upheld. The opulence of individuals, founded upon their industry and frugality, has raised up some of the most valuable institutions of our own and other countries;—the poverty of individuals, produced by their wasteful expenditure, has destroyed many of the most splendid creations of wealth and taste, and has involved in that destruction the prosperity, not only of families, but of whole districts. History is full of such examples. But these

considerations extend beyond individual interests. Nations depend for their prosperity, and consequently their strength and happiness, upon the industry of private men. Their aggregate industry makes up a flourishing community. The eloquent divine, whom we have already quoted, truly says, "It is industry whereto the public state of the world, and of each commonweal therein, is indebted for its being, in all conveniences and embellishments belonging to life, advanced above rude and sordid barbarism; yea, whereto mankind doth owe all that good learning,—that morality,—those improvements of soul, which elevate us beyond brutes.

"To industrious study is to be ascribed the invention and perfection of all those arts whereby human life is civilized, and the world cultivated with numberless accommodations, ornaments, and beauties.

"All the comely, the stately, the pleasant, and useful works which we do view with delight, or enjoy with comfort, industry did contrive them, industry did frame them.

"Doth any country flourish in wealth, in grandeur, in prosperity? It must be imputed to industry,—to the industry of its governors settling good order,—to the industry of its people following profitable occupations:—so did Cato, in that notable oration of his in 'Sallust,' tell the Roman senate that it was not by the force of their arms, but by the industry of their ancestors, that the commonwealth did arise to such a pitch of greatness. When sloth creepeth in, then all things corrupt and decay; then the public state doth sink into disorder, penury, and a disgraceful condition."



36

"Thou shalt do no unrighteousness in judgment,"—*Leviticus*, xiv. 15.
"The wicked is snared in the work of his own hands,"—*Psalms* xix. 16.

[THE IDLE APPRENTICE COMMITTED FOR TRIAL BY THE INDUSTRIOUS APPRENTICE, WHO HAS BECOME A MAGISTRATE OF LONDON.]



THE CEDARS OF LEBANON.

The CYPRESSES of the countries of the Mediterranean before mentioned, as well as the celebrated CEDARS OF LEBANON, belong to this order, which contests with that of Palms the honour of producing the loftiest trees in the world. The Douglas Pine, which grows in large forests on the Columbian river, sometimes attains a height of 250 feet.

We have lastly to notice the GRASSES; an order hardly less important in our view of vegetation than it is as affording the staple of our food in the North, as the banana or rice do within and bordering on the tropics. The universal verdant "carpet," which strikes foreigners with such surprise and pleasure on arriving in England, which, spread over the country, gives it as individual a character as the palm-groves at the equator or the pines of Norway, is composed chiefly of grasses; and the title of the EMERALD ISLE, bestowed on Ireland from the same cause, is, we believe, a solitary instance of an epithet being given to a country from the character of its vegetation alone. Those Englishmen who have never seen any country but their own, and who have, therefore, been from infancy accustomed to the smooth lawns of our parks and our rich pastures, can, with difficulty, imagine what an agreeable contrast is caused between their father-land and the naked exposed appearance which the deficiency of this verdant clothing gives to other countries, however rich they may be in other plants. Most northern European nations share with us the possession of fields of the *Cerealia*, as they are termed, and several can excel us in their wheat and other grain, though they may not be raised with such economy of space and perfection of agriculture; but, by all accounts, the perpetual freshness of verdure caused by our grass-lands, is almost peculiar to the United Kingdom; and we owe it to our insular and therefore damp climate, against which, with the usual ingratitude of human nature, we are ever grumbling. If we could trace all the indirect effects on the mind of this national peculiarity, we might find that it contributes, in no small degree, to the formation of our national character, and then we might have reason to prize this as far from the least of blessings we enjoy.

It is only under the circumstances just alluded to, that Grasses rank among the tribes of characteristic vegetation; that is, when collected in masses, extending over the face of a country; and then they owe their importance, in this point of view, to more than their gregarious habit; their slender stems, their thin and delicate leaves, and their peculiar mode of flowering, cause them, when agitated by the passing wind, to present an appearance as beautiful, if not so awful, as the face of the deep under the same influence; this effect can only be presented by this tribe from these causes, and it is one familiar and cherished by all who have seen it.

The Grasses, like other plants, are modified by high temperature; the lofty Bamboo, found in all equinoctial countries, and about four or five other rarer genera assume the port of trees, but they are seldom collected together in masses sufficient to present the phenomenon on a giant

scale, though the Pampas, or extensive plains of South America, immediately after the rainy season, are covered with grasses, which grow higher than the tallest man, and must present an analogous appearance to that of the ocean from their boundlessness; but here again, the additional effect is due alone to this circumstance, and not to the peculiar plant itself.

It is an interesting subject of investigation, to trace the effects of the agency of man as he multiplies and spreads himself over the earth, in modifying the vegetable physiognomy of it; and it is a curious reflection that he actually does so. As far as the mineral kingdom is concerned, it is probable that little or no effect has been produced by him; the mighty changes constantly effecting on the crust of the globe, are the works of higher physical powers than his, and can be but little controlled by him: but human activity, aiding the great laws of organic nature, is competent to produce very distinct effects in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. As regards the latter, the total destruction of vast forests which gradually disappear before the march of our race, and the substitution of cultivated nutritive plants, must produce the most obvious alterations in newly-inhabited countries like America; and to turn to a darker side of the picture, there are many districts which, historically known to have been formerly luxuriantly fertile, are now barren and uncultivated, from the moral effects of bad government, and the consequent want of energy in the inhabitants*. It is not impossible, though difficult, to form an idea of the aspect of America at the time Columbus first landed there; that it presents at present; and that which it will present a thousand years hence: and possibly, some future *Saturday Magazine*, published in Hobart's Town or Sydney, may point out to its readers, the former locality of an Eucalyptus forest, where a populous town surrounded by corn-fields may exist at that period.

* Syria, Sicily, the north coast of Africa, and the greater part of Spain, must at once occur to every one.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED IN WEEKLY NUMBERS, PRICE ONE PENNY, AND IN MONTHLY PARTS, PRICE SIXPENCE, BY

JOHN WILLIAM PARKER, WEST STRAND.

Sold by all Booksellers and News-vendors in the Kingdom.

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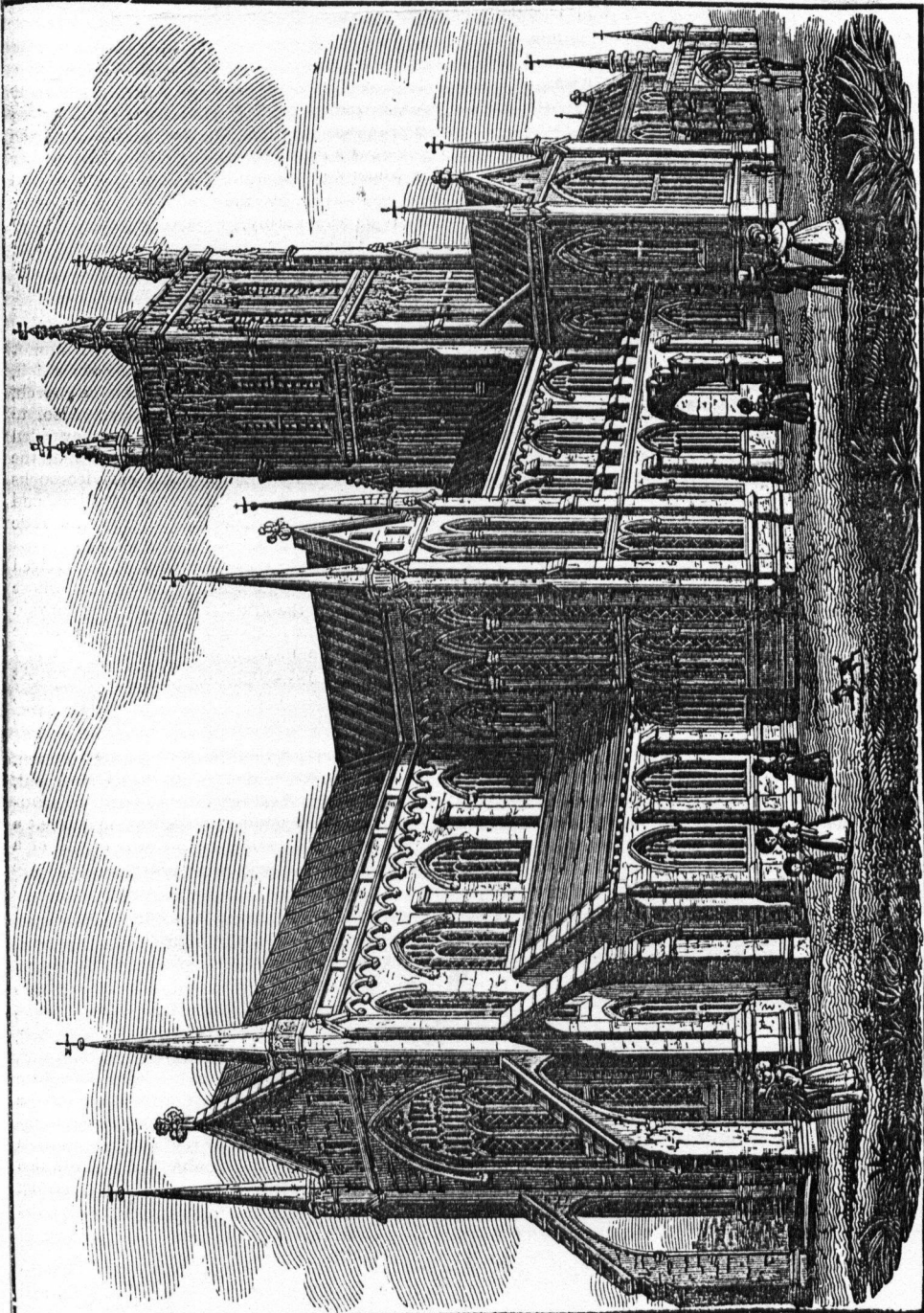
Saturday Magazine.

No. 59.

JUNE

1ST, 1833.
 PRICE
 ONE PENNY.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF GENERAL LITERATURE AND EDUCATION,
 APPOINTED BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

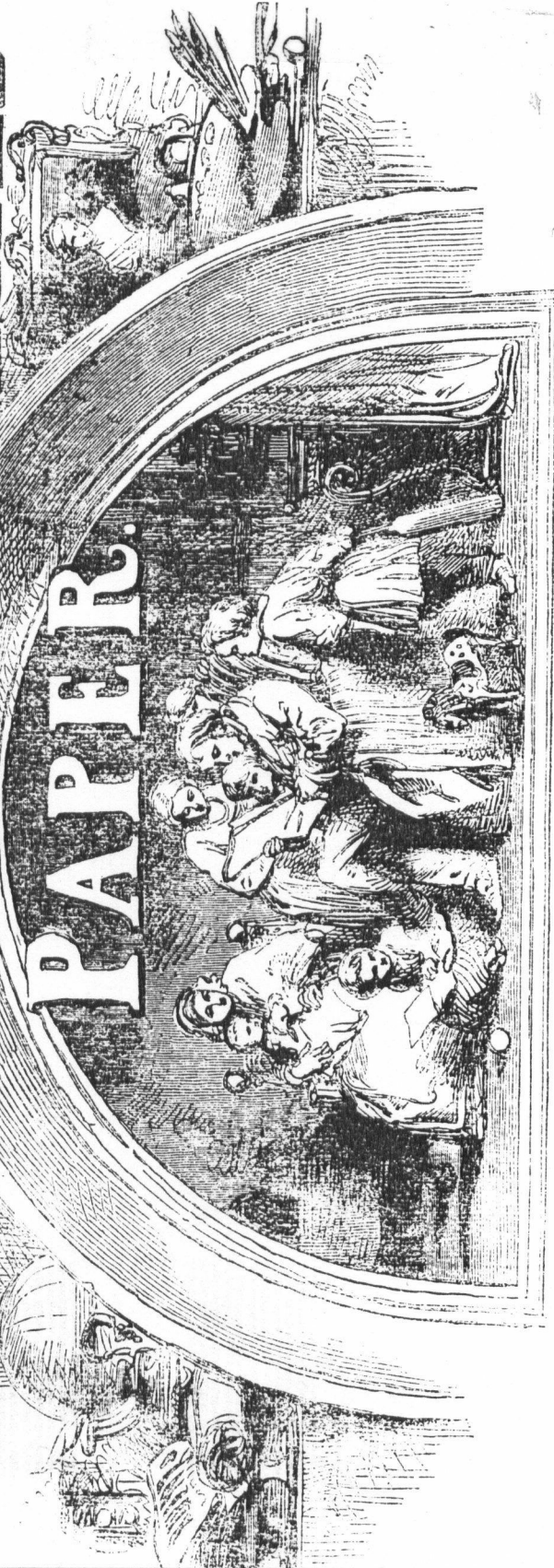


WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

38



CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED FAMILY PAPER.



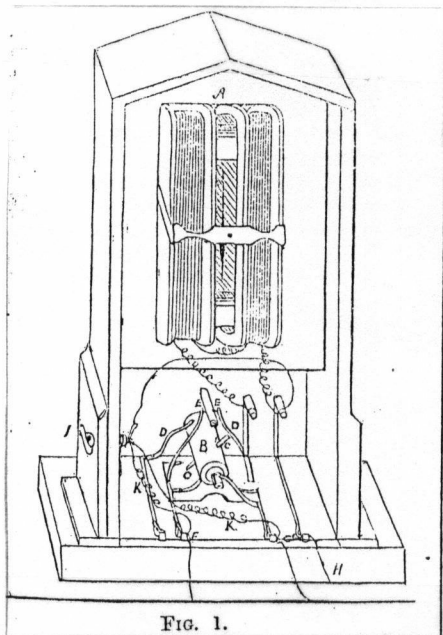


FIG. 1.

325

The figure below is designed to represent the connection between the instruments situated at the termini of a line; and while it affords a front view of them, with the battery connection underneath, it will probably assist in elucidating the description of the course of the current which we have given above.

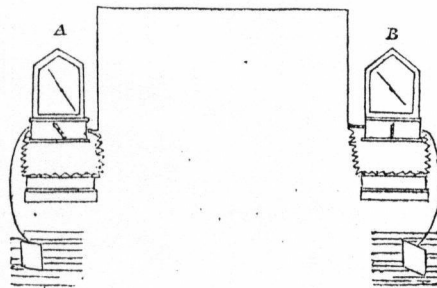


FIG. 2.

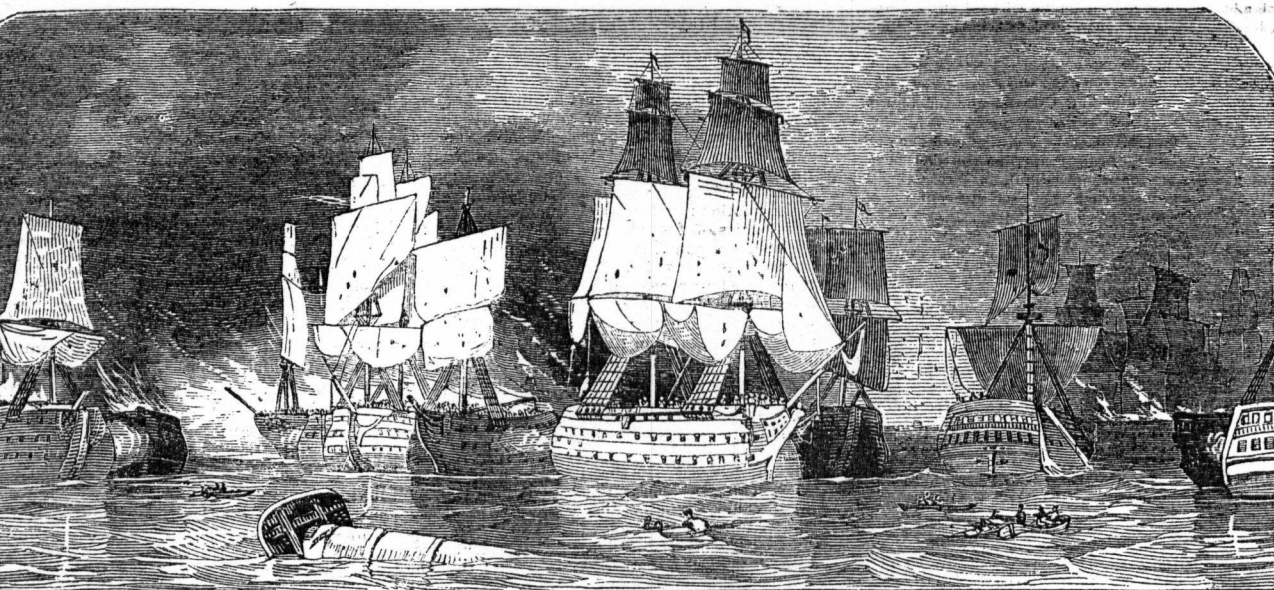
41

REYNOLDS'S MISCELLANY.



42

THE LONDON JOURNAL.



43

[BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.]

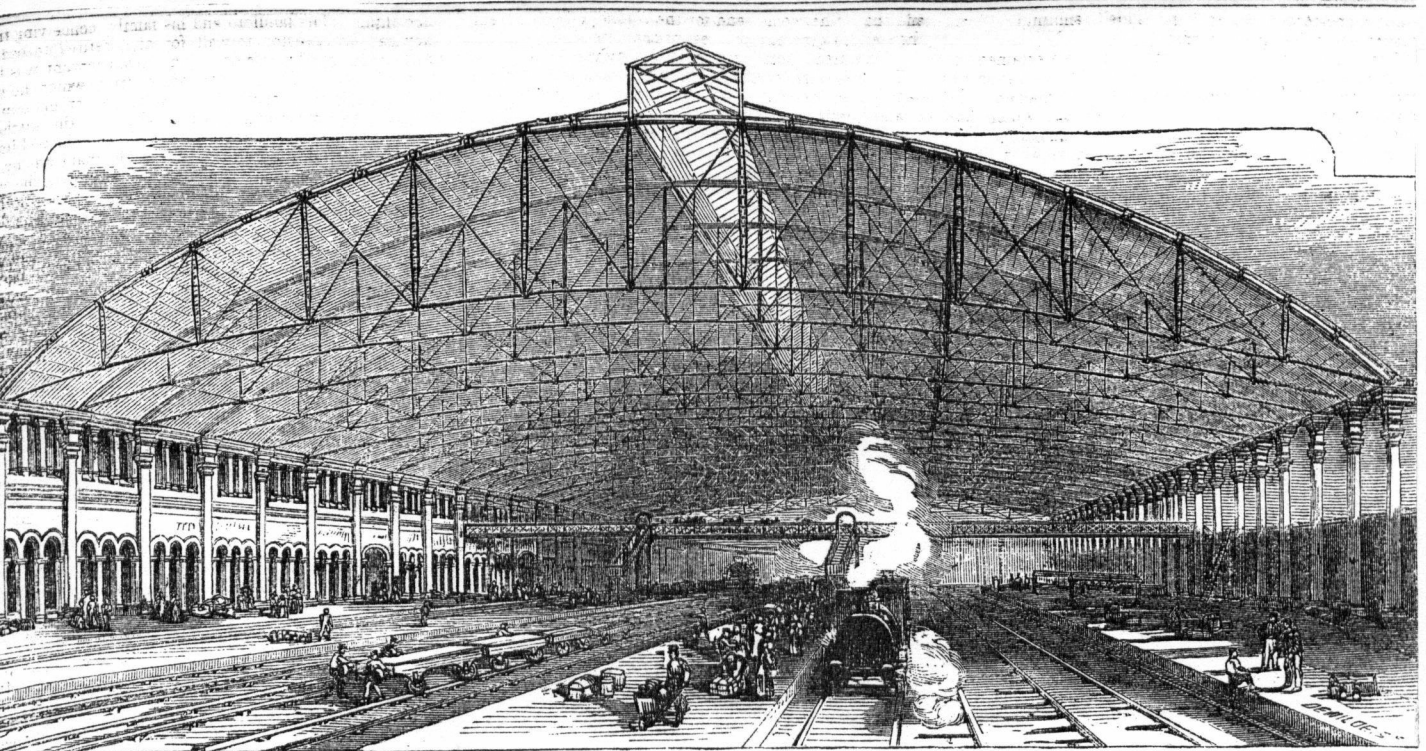
LIVING CELEBRITIES.



44

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY LORD BROUGHAM AND VAUX, P.C., ETC. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MAULL AND POLYBLANK.

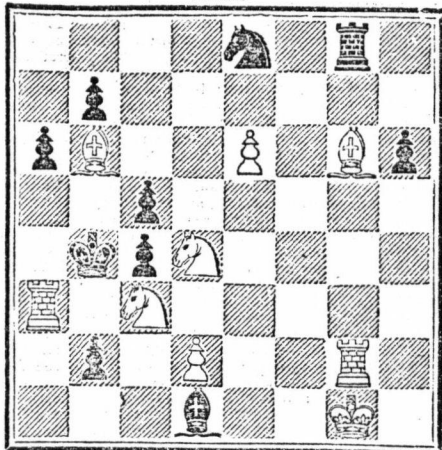
THE LONDON JOURNAL.



[THE BIRMINGHAM CENTRAL RAILWAY STATION.]

Chess.

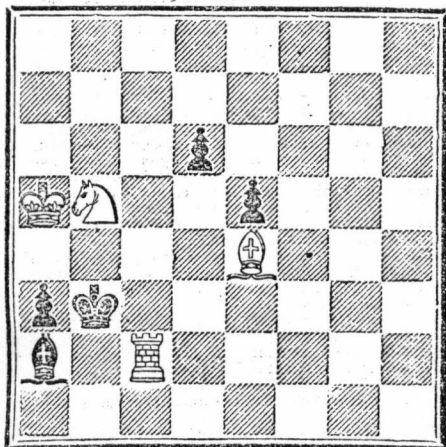
Problem No. 8. By R. B. WORMALD, Esq.
BLACK.



WHITE.

White to move, and checkmate in three moves.

Problem No. 9. By DOMINO.
BLACK.



WHITE.

White to move, and checkmate in three moves.

Solution of Problem No. 5.

WHITE.

1. B to Q 8
2. Kt to K B 7
3. P Knights and mates

(a)

BLACK.

1. B to K sq (a)
2. B takes Kt
1. K to K Kt 2
2. K to K R sq.

Solution of Problem No. 6.

WHITE.

1. B to K sq
2. R takes P
3. R or B mates

BLACK.

1. B to Q Kt 5 (a)
2. Any move

(a) If B to Q Kt 7, White replies with B to K B 2, and mates next move.

D. G. R.—The use of the White Pawn on Q Kt 2 is, obviously enough, to prevent Black from playing Q to Q Kt 3.

C. W. (Ipswich).—We beg to thank you for your courteous communication.

J. STONEHOUSE.—The removal of the White Kt in Problem No. 2, as suggested by you, would render the position defective.

LILE DELL.—Your Problems shall be reported upon next week. Blank chess diagrams can be forwarded to you on your sending a postage stamp for their transmission.

A. YOUNG NOVICE.—The FAMILY PAPER, commencing with No. 15 and terminating with No. 53, contains a series of progressive lessons on Chess.



ROMEO AND JULIET.

MISS CUSHMAN, as Romeo, we noticed before in our MISCELLANY, as well, also, as her early history and theatrical education. This play always invites a good

mastered all the traditions of the character. She rec-
correctly, and her acting throughout was delicate and
unobtrusive. Miss Swanborough is lady-like and has
countenance of much beauty and expression.



THE FASHIONS.

[FROM THE FRENCH.]

LENT has been closed by the old and absurd puppet-show called *Longchamps*. This fashion is evidently declining; for after all that was anticipated as to the grand display of fashions to take place at the above exhibition, it turned out to be the most miserable failure that can be conceived. Owing to the intense cold, the few ladies who were to be seen at this fashionable lounge were so entirely wrapped up in their large shawls and furs, that it was quite impossible to see what they wore beneath them; so that the fashions are as much in the dark, as far as *Longchamps* is concerned, as they were a month ago. Therefore, the little that is known about them has been gleaned from a few of the fashionable milliners and dress-makers.

First of all, for morning costume, felt colour will be the most in favour for *negligée*. *Taffetas*, with innumerable stripes, plain, or a *disposition*, are all made in the above colour, of different shades. A very pretty style, and one that will look very elegant for a *promenade* dress, is a *negligée*, made of felt-coloured *taffetas*, with myriads of stripes, the skirt of which is trimmed with four flounces a *disposition*, inlaid in shades of purple. These elegant

much more pleasing to the eye for a *negligée* toilet, than all those gaudy colours jumbled together in the former.

The bonnets that have already appeared at the fashionable milliners would make one think that we are in the month of July; for it is impossible that they can be intended for any other time of the year. Bonnets of rice straw trimmed with feathers, flowers, or ribands; light *capotes* made of crape, blond, mohair, and lace embroidered with Leghorn, cannot be intended for March winds or April showers.

The bonnets of rice straw that have already appeared are remarkable for the fineness of their texture, their dazzling whiteness, and above all for the novelty of their shape. The front is all of one piece, in the style of the Leghorn bonnets; the plait of straw, that generally trims the edges of these bonnets, is omitted. The first of these bonnets is trimmed on the right side with a fancy white feather, from whence comes a double riband with a blond edge, crossed twice, and brought over on the left side, where it forms a knot, and is then brought over the front of the bonnet, joining the flowers that trim the inside. Two long ends of riband hang from this knot on the left side, and descend down to the shoulder. The curtain is made of worked blond, and terminated by a plait of straw. White roses decorate the inside of this bonnet.



BATTLE OF ALMA: GENERAL BROWN LEADING ON THE 23RD REGIMENT TO THE RUSSIAN BATTERIES.

REYNOLDS'S MISCELLANY

Of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art.

EDITED BY GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS.

AUTHOR OF THE FIRST AND SECOND SERIES OF "THE MYSTERIES OF LONDON," "FAUST," "THE DAYS OF HOGARTH."

No. 62. VOL. III.—NEW SERIES.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1849.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]



THE BRONZE STATUE;

OR, THE VIRGIN'S KISS.

BY GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS.

CHAPTER LII.

A CONVERSATION ON A THRILLING TOPIC.

radiant being threw back her veil and thus made all the sun-lit glory of her charms burst upon the dazzled eyes of Sir Ernest de Colmar,—at that moment Ernach, who had reined in his steed beneath the shade of a wide-spreading oak on the way-side, gave utterance to an ejaculation of amazement as he caught sight of the resplendent countenance of Gloria.

But this expression of wonderment on his part escaped the ears of the rest: for the Knight had

The cavalcade now arranged itself in travelling order. Sir Ernest de Colmar and Gloria went first, the Knight riding on the lady's left hand, according to custom:—then came Linda and Beatrice, between whom the young page Ernach placed himself with a due observance of courtesy;—and the two grooms brought up the rear.

But we must observe that while these arrangements were making,—or rather, while all the members of the party thus fell into their proper

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No. 22. VOL. I.

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1847.

PRICE 1d.



WAGNER: THE WEHR-WOLF.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER LII.

THE GREEK PAGE.—SONG OF THE GREEK PAGE.—A REVELATION.

THREE months had now elapsed since Ibrahim-Pacha had risen to the exalted rank of Grand Vizier, and had married the sister of Solymán the Magnificent. The Sultan daily became more attached to him; and he, on his part, rapidly acquired an almost complete influence over his Imperial Master. Vested with a

power so nearly absolute that Solymán signed without ever perusing the hattî-sheriffs, or decrees, drawn up by Ibrahim,—and enjoying the confidence of the Divan, all the members of which were devoted to his interests,—the renegade administered according to his own discretion the affairs of that mighty empire. Avaricious and ever intent upon the aggrandizement of his own fortunes, he accumulated vast treasures; but he also maintained a household and lived in a style unequalled by any of his predecessors in office.

Having married a sister of the Sultan, he was not permitted a plurality of wives;—but he purchased the most beautiful slaves for his harem, and plunged headlong into a vortex of dissipation and pleasure.

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AUTHOR OF THE "MYSTERIES OF LONDON," "FAUST," "MASTER TIMOTHY'S BOOK-CASE," &c.

No. 18. VOL. I.

SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1847.

PRICE 1d.



WAGNER: THE WEHR-WOLF.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE TEMPTATION.—THE ANACONDA.

In the meantime Fernand Wagner was engaged in the attempt to cross the chain of mountains which intersected the island whereon the shipwreck had thrown him.

He had clambered over rugged rocks and leapt across many yawning chasms in that region of desolation,—a region which formed so remarkable a contrast with the delicious scenery which he had left behind him.

And now he reached the basis of a conical hill, the summit of which seemed to have been split into two distinct parts; and the sinuous traces of the lava-streams, now cold, and hard, and black, adown its sides, convinced him that this was the volcano, from whose rent crater had poured the bituminous fluid so fatal to the vegetation of that region.

Following a circuitous and naturally formed pathway round the base, he reached the opposite side; and now from a height of three hundred feet above the level of the sea, his eyes commanded a view of a scene as fair as that behind the range of mountains.

He was now for the first time convinced of what he had all along suspected—namely, that it was indeed an island on which the storm had cast him.

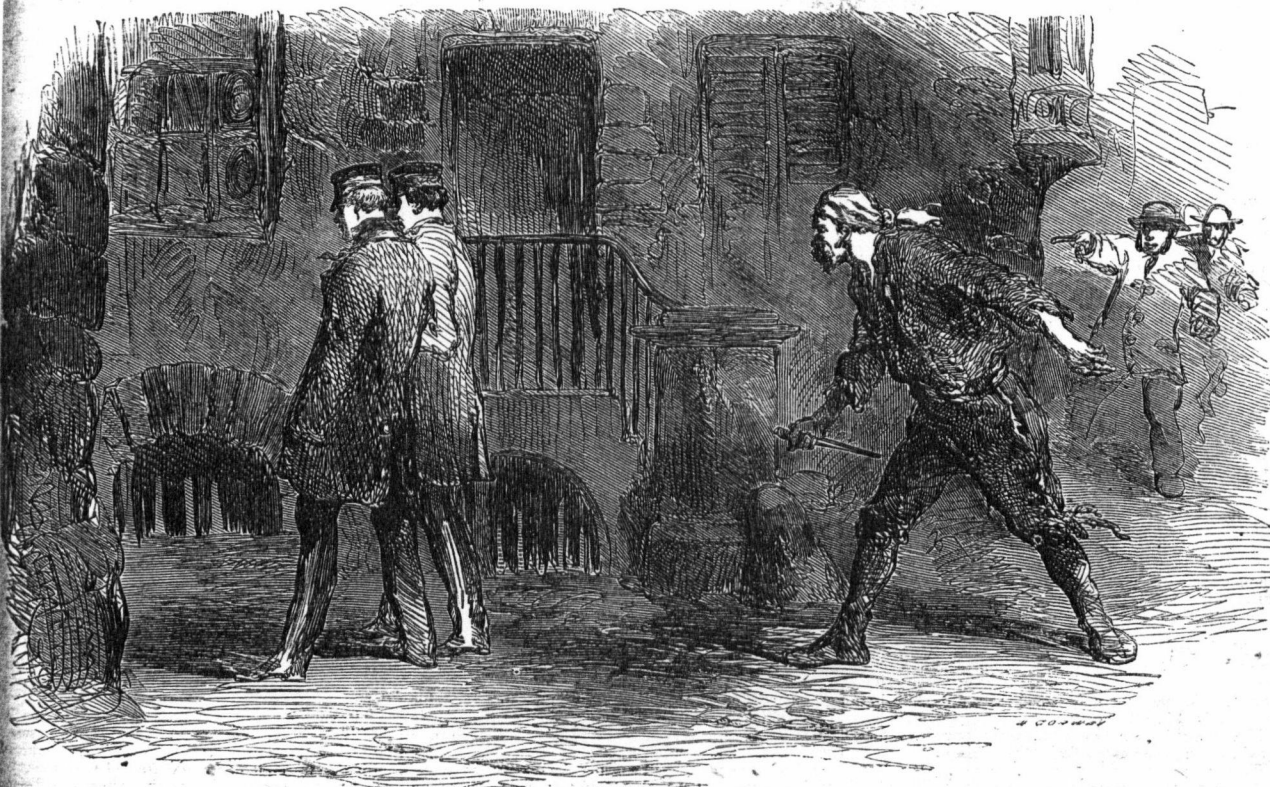
THE LONDON JOURNAL:

And Weekly Record of Literature, Science, and Art.

No. 483.—Vol. XIX.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 27, 1854.

PRICE ONE PENNY.



[ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF DICK VERNON, AT RIO DE JANEIRO.]

WOMAN AND HER MASTER.

CHAPTER CX.

Man is a child of sorrow, and this world
In which we breathe has cares enough to plague us;
But it hath means withal to soothe these cares;
And he who meditates on others' woe
Shall in that meditation lose his own. CUMBERLAND.

It is the last drop which makes the cup run over.
The touch of sympathy will wake the chord mute to
other hands. The kindness and deep feeling evinced
by the young Englishmen to the unhappy husband of
Mrs. Briancourt broke the seal of silence so long im-
posed upon his sorrows, and the pent-up waters flowed
forth.

Bitter as was the explanation, it was a relief both to
Fred and Dick to find that the being in whose misfor-
tunes they had taken so sudden and deep an interest
was guilty of no worse crime than being poor.

"Your tale must be a sad one!" observed the lieu-
tenant.

"So sad," said Mr. Stanley, "it might have drawn
iron tears from the stern eyes of Destiny! Shall I tell
you all that I have endured? It is not often that I am
garrulous—but there is something in your youth and
words which inspires confidence! The world," he
added, "has not hardened you yet!"

"I was young," he continued; "I cannot tell how
many years have elapsed since my hair was of the
same raven hue as yours, and my heart beat high with
energy and hope; but it seems ages—ages! I loved

added; "yet, strange to say, were happy—happy in
our love—happy in each other! My young wife at
last became a mother—presented me with an image
of herself—a tender, helpless girl!"

"The birth of my child awoke me from my dream
of life! I felt for the first time the necessity of exer-
tion, and I resolved to meet the spectre reality face to
face! I was a ripe scholar, and offered to teach—none
would employ me! Men feared to trust their sons to a
tutor in a threadbare coat, lest poverty should prove
infectious! I wrote a book—a poem—I scarce re-
member the subject! The publishers smiled when I
offered it for sale! I solicited employment—labour—
anything: my prayer was rejected! I had none to re-
commend me—the fact of my being a scholar and a gen-
tleman told against me!"



[THE RIGHT OF TRANSLATION AND REPUBLICATION IS RESERVED.]

NEW SERIES. VOL. I.—No. 10.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1858.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]

SMILES AND TEARS:*A Tale of our own Times.*

By J. F. SMITH,

AUTHOR OF "PHASES OF LIFE," "DICK TABLETON," ETC.

CHAPTER XIX.

I dwell amid the city,
And hear the flow of souls!
I do not hear the several contraries,
I do not hear the separate tone that rolls
In art or speech,
For pomp or trade, for merry-make or rolly
I hear the confluence and sum of each,
And that is melancholy!
Thy voice is a complaint, O crowned city,
The blue sky covering thee like God's great pity.

ELIZABETH BROWNING.

We cannot conceive a more desolate abode than London for those who, without kindred, friends, or some engrossing pursuit, seek to find a home in it.

It is animation without life, the world seen in a camera, a mart to spectators who have nothing to buy or sell, who soon tire of taking an interest in the interests of others—a raree-show where curiosity flags and repetition palls, a tinsel spectacle leaving the heart like a tired bird without one green bough to rest upon.

In London—as in most great cities—the affections and sympathies require to be well endorsed before humanity will discount them. The only bills which invariably possess a certain value are those drawn by the passions: there is little difficulty in cashing them. If first-class they are done in the bank parlour of society, and at a moderate premium. When the names are not quite so good, or doubtful, a heavier one has to be submitted to, frequently cent. per cent.—paid either in *suffering, character, or self-respect*. Some desperate speculators may always be found to dabble in such securities, even when they flood the market, gorging it to repletion.

London to the stranger is indeed a desert. In the

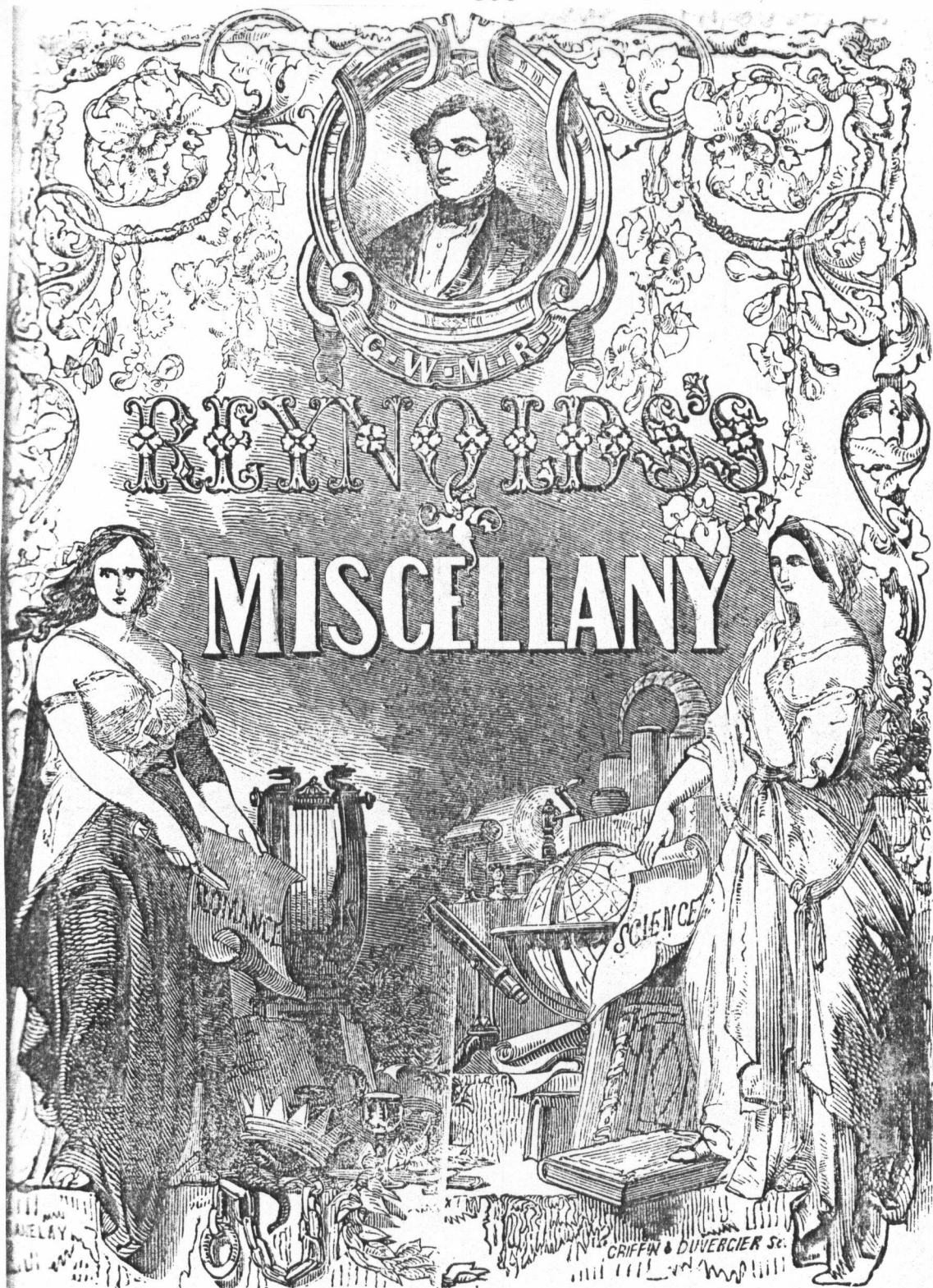
proper acceptance of the word, it is impossible to find a home in it, and it takes years to make one. Can anything be more cheerless than the sitting-room of one of its lodging-houses? the faded drugget with patches of grease as numerous as the spots in the skin of the leopard; the gaudy hearth-rug, regulation number of chairs, horse-hair sofa, dirty blinds, tawdry mirror over the chimney-piece, the half-dozen ill-washed glasses, and odd decanters—facetiously called a pair—on the rickety chiffoniere, to say nothing of the old moreen curtains with yellow fringe, and brass rings which set the inmate's teeth on edge as they rattle along the lacquered poles.

Then the beds, the—but no, we will not take our readers even in imagination *into them*; it would be a biting return for the years of kindness we have experienced at their hands; besides, not being a disciple of the Radcliff school, there are horrors into which we really cannot go.

Sometimes the wretched pariah who has no other shelter than one of these dens, rushes desperately into



LILLIAN STRUCK FOR THE FIRST TIME.



EDITED BY GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS,
 Author of "THE MYSTERIES OF LONDON," "FAUST," "PICKWICK ABROAD," &c., &c.

VOLUME I.

PUBLISHED FOR THE PROPRIETOR, BY JOHN DICKS.
 OFFICE, No. 7, BRIDGES STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1847.



56

ENFORCING THE SANITARY LAWS.

THIS picture, by Mr. Robert M. Innes, is one of those happy ideas which, however well or ill painted, are pretty sure to find their way into the print-shop windows. Fortunately for the public, in this case, the painting is a good one, independent of the pictorial pun in which its humour consists. The struggling boy in the hands of his determined nurse, or mother, vainly attempting to resist the application of clean water and rough towel, is an incident familiar to us all,—though not, perhaps, associated with fountains of such decorative beauty—for we Londoners are scarcely in the habit of taking our children to the cloisters of old cathedrals to give them a bath. This, however, detracts nothing from the merits of the picture, but rather the reverse. We remember an old fountain attached to the cathedral of many a venerable city, where the good wives fill their buckets at all hours of the day, and the weary wayfarer quenches his thirst in hot summer weather; ay, and many a long deep draught has the poor man taken at the pleasant spring, thanking God for giving him so sweet a liquor.

But to return to Mr. M. Innes' picture. The little child to the right, shivering from the effect of his recent ducking, is extremely well delineated; and the whole picture has a life-like effect, quite refreshing to behold. Mr. Gilke has quite caught the spirit of the artist, and transferred the picture to wood in the most satisfactory manner.

THERE is no selfishness where there is a wife and family. There the house is lighted up by mutual charities; everything achieved for them is a victory; everything endured is a triumph. How many vices are suppressed, that there may be no bad example! How many exertions made to recommend and inculcate a good one!

SUNLIGHT CHASING THE SHADOW.

BY FANNIE MORETON.

THIS shadow is deepening and casting a lengthening shade over Bessie Irvin's life. For months—months has she toiled in that little attic room. The sunshine has greeted but dimly that weary form. The window—the only one, is too small to admit but a feeble ray reflected from yonder stone mansion. Yet it enters *there*, and tiny feet leap joyfully and play in its beams, and little hands fling down book and toy, and try vainly to clasp its merry light. But poor Bessie! there she sits toiling on—oh! how wearily. The soft brown hair is parted on as pure a brow as eyes ever looked upon. The delicate features are beautiful in their contour. The form is as graceful as that of Lady Emma reclining on her velvet couch in that sumptuous mansion yonder. Ay! and her step was once as light; and her voice, though over sweet and gentle in its carolling, spoke of joy and *lightness* within. She has lost none of her guileless innocence, though sorrow has cast her withering bane over Bessie's young heart. Father, mother, brothers, sisters, all gone. She has bid, perhaps, an eternal adieu to the vine-covered cottage with its pleasant fields, and clear, running brook, and the little portico, with its wealth of flowers and gay singing birds.

Her flowers may bloom as beautifully, her birds warble as sweetly, and the little brook flow on in its unceasing gentle ripple—but Bessie hears them not. The sounds that greet her ears now are those of carts and freighted omnibuses, and luxurious carriages rolling on with unceasing din.

Once too she loved. But he, who had sworn to be hers, had been called away to distant climes—and the ship in which he had sailed had never been heard of more. Oh! poor Bessie! yours is a hard lot seemingly—

CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED FAMILY PAPER.



57

THE SWING. FROM A PAINTING BY F. GOODALL, A.R.A.



58

THE PEASANT-GIRL'S RETURN.

THE above wood engraving is from an original painting by Verheyden; and though so simple, is yet full of life and interest. We may fancy that the young German peasant-girl has gone forth to sell her eggs, her butter, and her poultry, and has brought home a good store of fruit, flowers, and vegetables in her ample basket and in the folds of her apron. She knocks at the door, saying, "It is I!"—and thereupon, a kind mother or worthy old father rises and opens for her admittance. A little later in life, and when she knocks at some other cottage-door, saying, "It is I!" a watchful husband will be ready to give her ingress.

REYNOLDS'S MISCELLANY

Of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art.

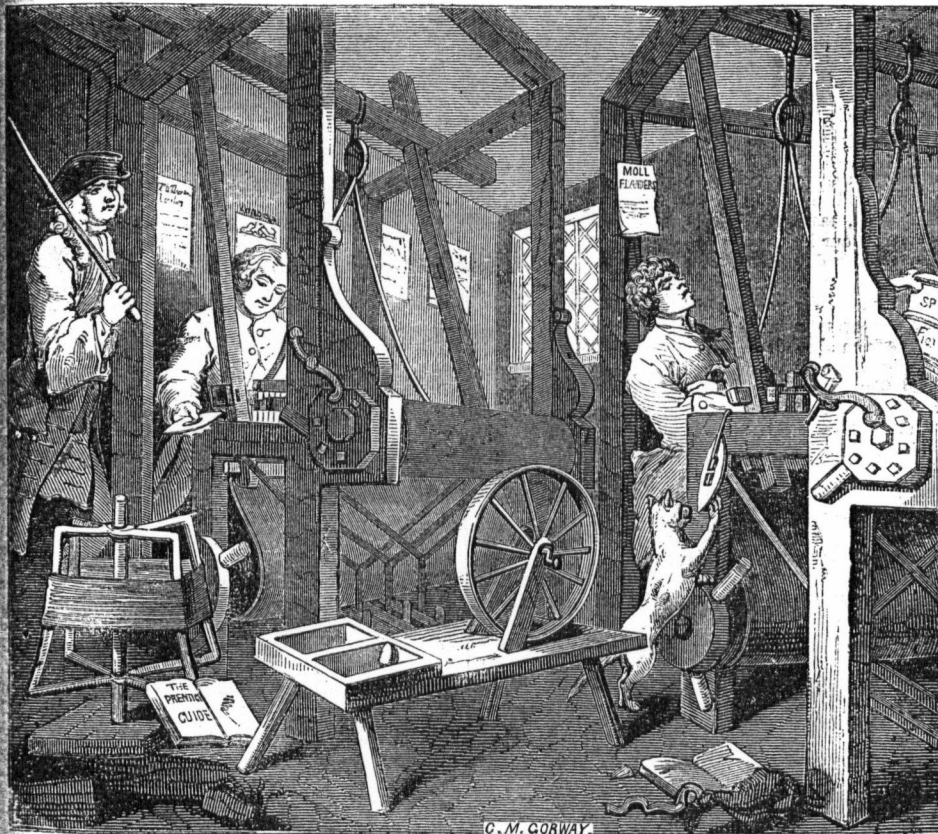
EDITED BY GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS,

AUTHOR OF "THE MYSTERIES OF LONDON," "FAUST," "PICKWICK ABROAD," &C. &C.

No. 32. VOL. II.

SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1847.

PRICE 1d.



59

THE DAYS OF HOGARTH: OR, THE MYSTERIES OF OLD LONDON.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER V.

THE TWO APPRENTICES.

It has been well said that man is the noblest work of God; but it is not equally easy to decide which is the noblest work of man. Though in contrast with all the wondrous achievements of Almighty Power, the efforts of the human race are as nothing,—though the most complicated, the most perfect results of mortal ingenuity are mean and contemptible when placed in

comparison with the stupendous creations of the Divine Architect,—nevertheless, the earth is covered with monuments, which excite our astonishment and our admiration at the intelligence, the power, and the perseverance of Man!

But of all the arts which, in their application, constitute the distinctions between social and savage life—between a glorious civilisation and an enduring barbarism,—that of WEAVING is decidedly one of the chief. For though the savage may affect the finery of shells and flowers—though he may study external adornment by means of the natural products most pleasing to his sight—and though he may even conceal his nakedness with leaves, or defend himself from the cold by the hides of animals,—yet it is only in

REYNOLDS'S MISCELLANY

Of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art.

EDITED BY GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS,

AUTHOR OF THE FIRST AND SECOND SERIES OF "THE MYSTERIES OF LONDON," "THE MYSTERIES OF THE COURT OF LONDON," &c., &c.

243. VOL. X.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1853.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]



MASSACRE OF GLENCOE:

A HISTORICAL TALE.

BY GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS.

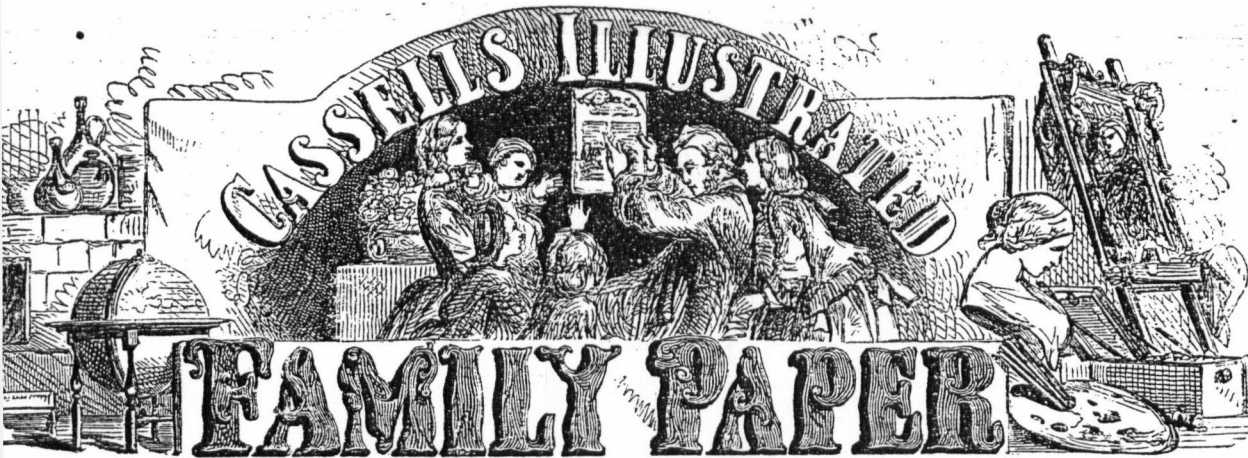
CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE HAGUE.

was invariably of a nature to lull this Admiral into a state of security. The chief officers on board the *Invincible* were no strangers to their commander's true motives; while the junior officers and sailors generally, saw through his proceedings: but they were all to a man devoted to the same cause, and they secretly rejoiced at serving under such a captain.

It was through the aid afforded by Lord Dumblaine's vessel that the Earl of Sunderland had corresponded with Prince William: or rather we should say, it was

the English fleet and go openly over to Holland. It was therefore his intention to receive his friend Henry Sidney on board, and convey him to the Hague. It would however appear that the *Bonnie Lassie of Dundee* had passed Harwich in the darkness of the night, and was thus missed by the *Invincible*: so that when the *Bonnie Lassie of Leith* hove in sight, it was immediately taken for its namesake of Dundee—the two vessels both alike answering the same description. As the reader has seen, the *Invincible* at once weighed anchor—spread



[THE RIGHT OF TRANSLATION AND REPUBLICATION IS RESERVED.]

RIES. VOL. II.—No. 47.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1858.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]

ES AND TEARS:*Tale of our own Times.*

By J. F. SMITH,

DICK TABLETON," "PHASES OF LIFE," "THE
FORTUNE," "THE YOUNG PRETENDER," ETC.**CHAPTER XCIX.**

ills the room up of my absent child,
his bed, walks up and down with me,
n his pretty looks, repeats his words,
abers me of all his gracious parts,
out his vacant garments with his form;
ave I reason to be fond of grief.

SHAKESPEARE.

g is the aspect of December, with its
and piercing cold; its withered leaves,
ie's path, like memories over a graveyard,

to remind us that another year is about to pass away
—a drop in the vast ocean of eternity.

Apart from the religious influences of the season,
even old Christmas would be dreary but for those
social feelings, ties, and sympathies which encircle
the domestic hearth with happy kindred faces, warm
the heart by recollections of the past, or smiling
anticipations—hope's sunbeams—of the future, awak-
ing, as it were, an earlier spring, rich in affection's
flowers amid the snows of winter.

Unfortunately, there are but too many of the
human family to whom such consolations are denied
—beings whom death has isolated, left like some
blighted tree in the world's wilderness alone—sad
monuments of sorrow.

Although Rachel could scarcely be classed with
these utterly desolate ones, having still the love of
her husband and Mary to sustain her, she was almost
as much to be pitied; for the worm was at the root
of life, poisoning its enjoyments with bitter regrets,

the pangs of hope deferred, and the tortures of uncer-
tainty. If her worn features sometimes wore a
smile, the expression proved but momentary; the
shadow quickly returned; its darkness was in her
heart, where, in secret, she continued to mourn the
loss of her eldest born, as a mother's heart alone can
mourn.

It was Christmas-eve, and the Markhams were
seated in their elegantly furnished drawing-room.
As a matter of course, Peter Mangles was with them;
where else could the old man spend his evenings! he
had given up his cottage on Blackheath on purpose
to be near them. George had become to him as a
son, and Mary—it would be difficult to describe the
love of the eccentric clerk for the fair and gentle girl,
who, as a child, had awakened so deep an interest in
his heart.

The impression that his employer either had con-
tracted, or was about to contract some absurdly
provoking marriage, haunted him; he could not

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THE
LONDON JOURNAL:

And Weekly Record of Literature, Science, and Art.

No. 436.—Vol. XVII.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 2 1853.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]



[OLD MARTIN POINTING OUT THE MURDERER OF SIR WILLIAM MOWBRAY.]

THE WILL AND THE WAY.

BY THE AUTHOR OF
"THE JESUIT," "THE PRELATE," "MINNIGREY," ETC.

CHAPTER CVI.

There is a judge from whose all-seeing eye
Man cannot hide himself. His needs
Not witness nor confession—in secret
He prepares the punishment reserved
For crime—bursts on him in a thunder-cloud,
And he is gone. OLD PLAY.

No sooner had the Khan succeeded in performing the operation which was to restore old Martin to reason, than he left him to the care of the medical men, whose presence had in some degree sanctioned the hazardous experiment: under their care, the patient gradually recovered his memory. At first his recollections were confused and indistinct as some hideous dream which had oppressed his sleeping hours; but the second day they returned with terrible reality. The scene of the murder—the victim and his assassin—all were remembered; and a second time the reason of the faithful and attached domestic all but sank beneath the excitement they produced.

After a consultation with the surgeons, it was decided by Colonel Butler and the rector, that he should be questioned magisterially before them.

A note was accordingly dispatched to General Bouchier and Sir Jasper Pepper—who were both in the commission of the peace for the county—to attend.

The library at the rectory was accordingly arranged for the occasion. A table and seats were placed for the magistrates, and Dr. Orme's large easy chair for the witness.

Colonel Butler, who presided, opened the proceedings, by reminding his brother magistrates of the mysterious death of the late Sir William Mowbray, and added, "that evidence had been unexpectedly obtained, to bring the murderer to justice." The minutes of the coroner's inquest were then read, as well as the verdict of "Willful murder against some person or persons unknown," returned by the jury.

At this stage of the proceedings Will Sidelar was led into the room, in charge of Joe Beans, the sexton, and the

village constable. The countenance of the ruffian was haggard—terror, remorse, and despair had ploughed deep furrows in his iron visage—his glance, usually so bold and fierce, was humble and subdued. He evidently felt like a man, over whom tardy but sure-footed justice had visibly suspended her avenging glaive.

No sooner did Henry Ashton, who was standing close to the chair of the rector, behold the man by whose hand the thread of his benefactor's life had been so rudely sundered, than his countenance became suddenly flushed, and his eyes lit with a fire which betrayed the feelings of hate, disgust, and indignation which took possession of his soul; those of the warrenner sank beneath his avenging glance.

"William Sidelar," said the presiding magistrate, in a tone which fell like the sound of a death-bell upon the assassin's ear, "you are brought before us to answer the accusation of murder—cruel and deliberate murder—perpetrated upon the person of your late master, Sir William Mowbray. It is my duty to warn you that any statement you may choose to make will be taken down, and used as evidence upon your trial."

"I have nothing to state," answered the prisoner doggedly, "but that I am innocent! This is an idle accusation trumped up against me by a madman and my enemies!"

"Whom do you consider your enemies?" demanded General Bouchier.

"Joe Beans and that young man!" exclaimed the ruffian, pointing at the same time to our hero—who noticed the accusation only by a calm but bitter smile.

"And the madman?" inquired Sir Jasper.

"Martin the groom," replied the warrenner; "from boys we were enemies—we both loved the same girl. It was my quarrel with him which drove me from my service with—"

The ruffian hesitated. He could not bring himself to pronounce the name of Sir William Mowbray.

"Your victim!" added Henry Ashton, for the first time breaking silence. "No wonder that his name falters on your tongue; it was his image which haunted you upon the pier at Calais—it will stand beside you at the hour of death, and accuse you at the judgment-seat of heaven!"

The prisoner shuddered so visibly, that a similar feeling ran through the veins of the magistrates. The sensation was like to that which the sight of some loath-

some reptile produces the first time that it meets our sight.

"You are well acquainted with Carrow Abbey?" observed Colonel Butler, resuming the examination.

"Yes."

"Are you aware of any secret passages or entrances to the house or apartments?"

"No."

"How came this gibber, then," exclaimed Dr. Orme—"which twenty witnesses can prove to have been yours—to be found in a vaulted chamber, at the end of a passage or recess opening from the library, the scene of the murder?"

Every eye was bent upon him; twice the warrenner essayed to speak, but the words died away upon his tongue.

"You cannot answer!" continued the speaker. "The letters it contains, prove how long and foully you have conspired against the honour and happiness of the generous man whose bread you had eaten from childhood!"

"I know not how they came there!" said the accused, endeavouring to assume a firmness which his whole demeanour gave the lie to; "but it is my firm belief my enemies placed them there to blacken me!"

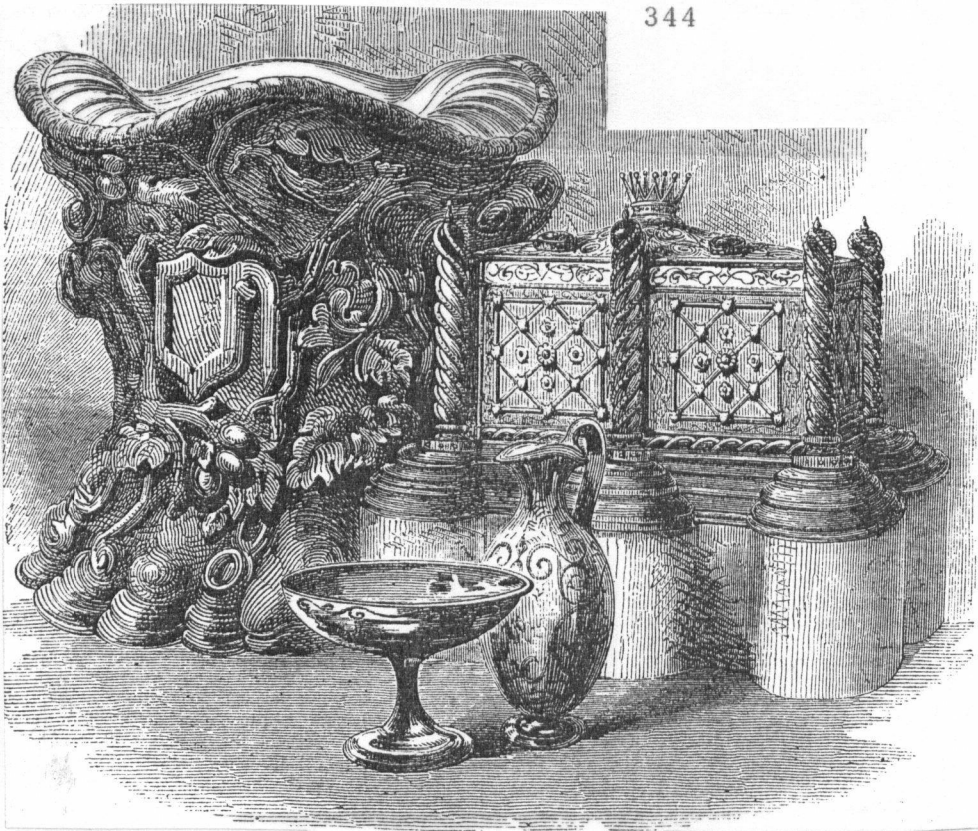
"Whom do you mean by your enemies?"

"Joe Beans and Henry Ashton," was the reply.

No sooner had the ruffian pronounced the name of Joe Beans, than the honest rustic, indignant at the villany of such a charge, burst out in a passionate but unnecessary denial.

"It be a lie!" he exclaimed; "a wicked, infernal lie—and will not serve thee, Will! Till the night I accompanied poor old Martin and the sexton, I wor never at abbey twice in my life—once when a boy and once since! These wor always a bad, revengeful man, but I never had concern or quarrel with thee! I would not raise my hand against a dog, unless he deserved it—much less a fellow-creature! Ask Chettleborough, your worship," he added; "he will tell 'ee how we found the bag: it's my belief it wor the finger of God—not our poor wits!"

The deep earnestness with which these few and simple words were uttered, must have convinced his hearers—even if they had previously entertained any doubt upon the subject—that he had spoken nothing but truth.



SILVER-GILT CASKET AND WINE-COOLER.

REYNOLDS'S MISCELLANY.



a



[POLISH BALL.]

b



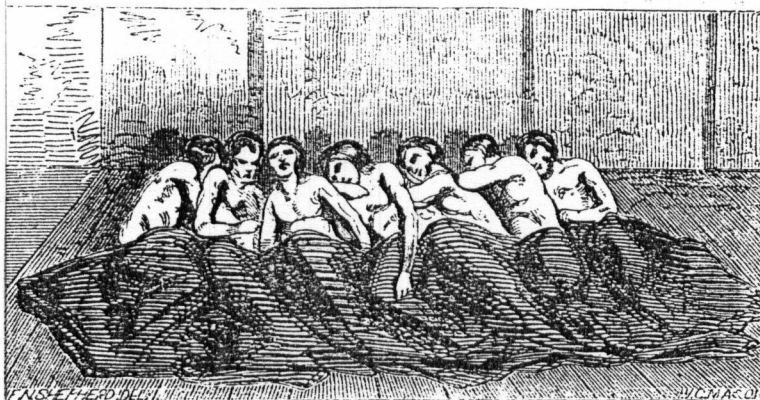
[WEST LONDON UNION.]

c



[EAST LONDON UNION.]

THE LONDON JOURNAL.



[GRAY'S INN WORKHOUSE.]

d



[THE AGED PAUPER.]

THE MYSTERIES OF LONDON.*

The French capital has not been more ably depicted by M. Eugene Sue, than London is by Mr. Reynolds in this work. Every section of English society—high and low, rich and poor—is graphically delineated in "The Mysteries of London." The mode of publication places it within the reach of all classes; and to this circumstance, connected with the vivid interest of the tale and the skill of the artist, may be ascribed the immense popularity which it enjoys. The publisher has kindly allowed us the use of a wood-cut which is to illustrate a Number not yet published, and has furnished us with the proofs of the adjunctive letter-press, from which latter we select the following powerfully written poem:—

"THE SONG OF THE WORKHOUSE.

"Stooping over the ample grate,
Where burnt an ounce of fuel,
That cheered not the gloom
Of the workhouse roop,
An aged and shivering female sate,
Sipping a pint of gruel:
And as she sopped a morsel of bread
In that liquid thin and poor,
With anguish she shook her aching head,
And thought of the days that were o'er.
"Through the deep mists of years gone by
Her mental glances wandered;
And the warm blood ran
To her features wan;
And fire for a moment lighted her eye,
As o'er the past she pondered.
For she had once tripped the meadow green
With a heart as blithe as May;
And she had been crowned the village-queen
In times that were far away!
"She'd been the pride of parents dear
And plenty banished sorrow;
And her love she gave
To a yeoman brave;
And a smiling offspring rose to cheer

Hearts that feared not for the morrow.
Oh! why should they fear? In the sweat of their
brow

They ate their daily bread;
And they thought, 'The earth will e'er yield as now
The fruits whereon we're fed!'

"But when their hair grew silvery white,
Sorrow their cot invaded,
And ravaged it then
As armies of men

Sack the defenceless town by night:—
Thus all Hope's blossoms faded!
From their little farm the stock was swept
By the owner of their land;
And the very bed on which they slept,
Was snatched by the bailiff's hand.

"One hope—one fond hope now was all
Each tender heart dared cherish—
That they might remain
Still linked by one chain,
And 'midst the sorrows that might befall,
Together live or perish.
But Want drove them on to the workhouse gate;
And when the door was pass'd
They found themselves doomed to separate—
To separate at last!

"And he fell sick:—she prayed in vain
To be where he was lying;
She poured forth her moan
Unto hearts of stone;
Never admittance she could gain
To the room where he was dying!
Then into her brain the sad thoughts stole
That brain with anguish reeling—
That the great ones, judging by their own soul,
Think that paupers have no feeling.

"So, thus before the cheerless grate,
Watching the flick'ring ember,
She rocked to and fro,
Her heart full of woe;
For into that heart the arrow of fate
Pierced like the cold of December.
And though she sopped a morsel of bread,
She could not eat for crying;
'Twas hard that she might not support the head
Of her much-lov'd husband dying."

LONDON JOURNAL;

And Weekly Record of Literature, Science, and Art.

VOL. VII.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 12, 1848.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]



67

MRS. KEELEY.

her youthful talent and lively disposition ensured comes doubly so. The celebrity Miss Goward
her warm friends and much encouragement, and earned in her provincial engagement had b

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THE PENNY MAGAZINE

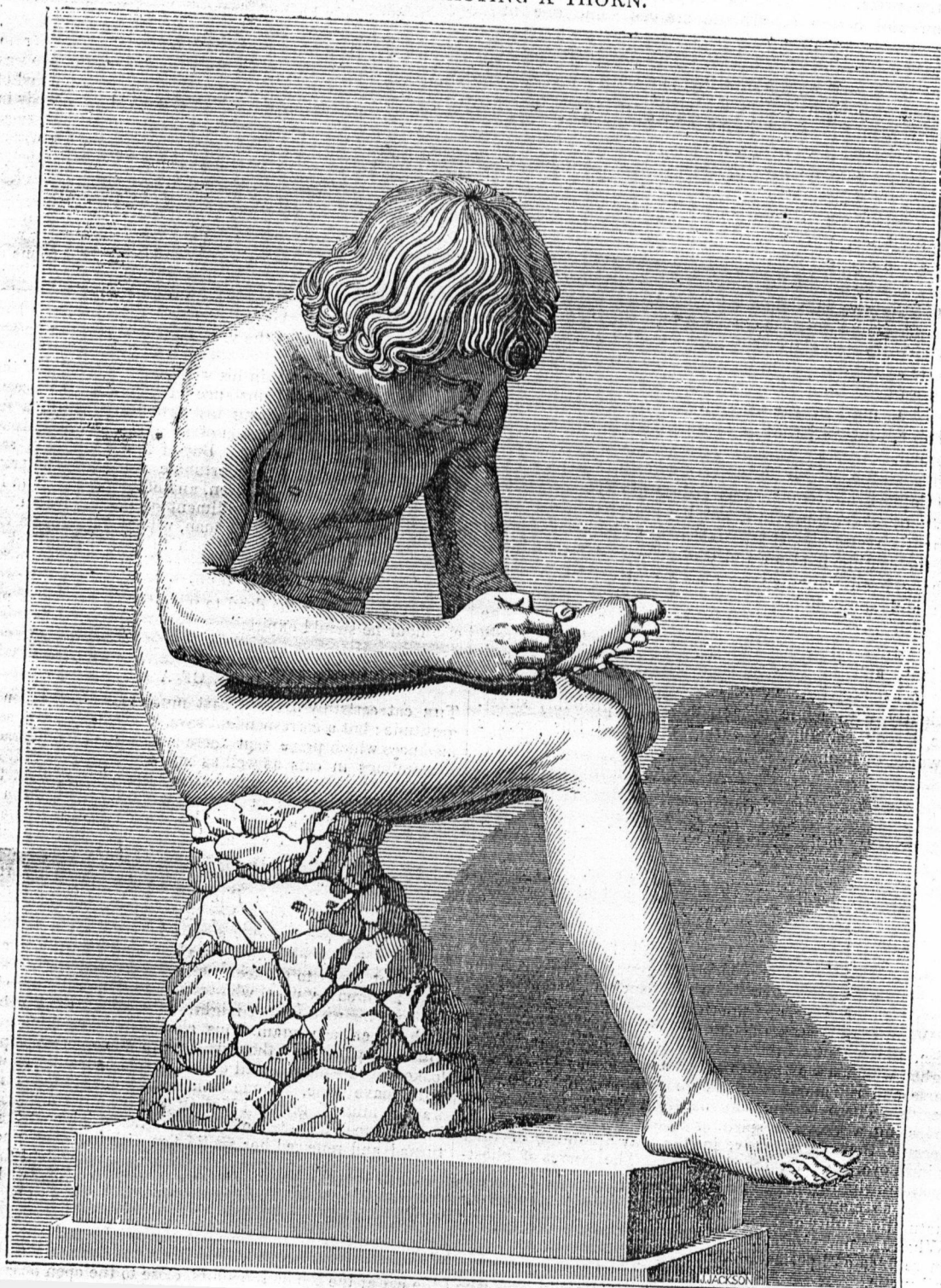
OF THE
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

142.]

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

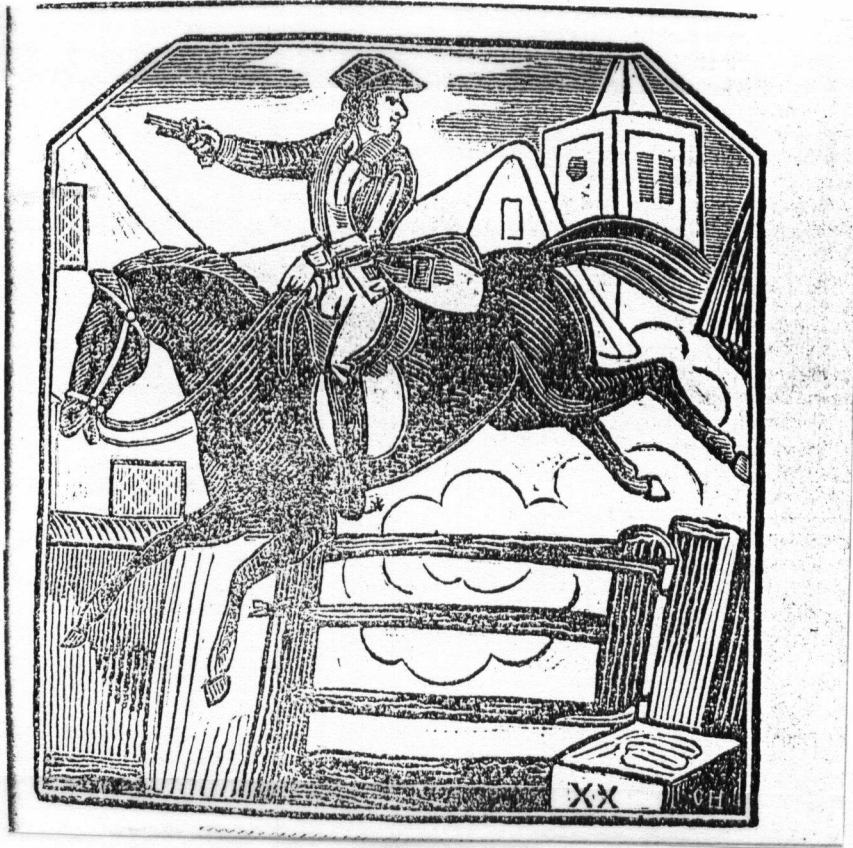
[JUNE 21, 1834.]

BOY EXTRACTING A THORN.



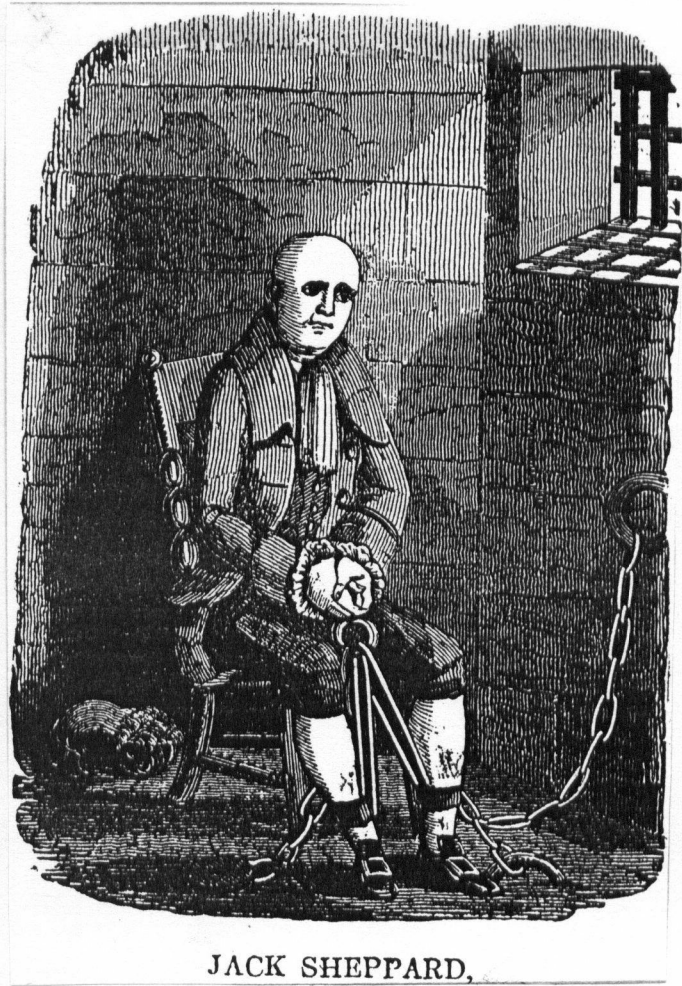
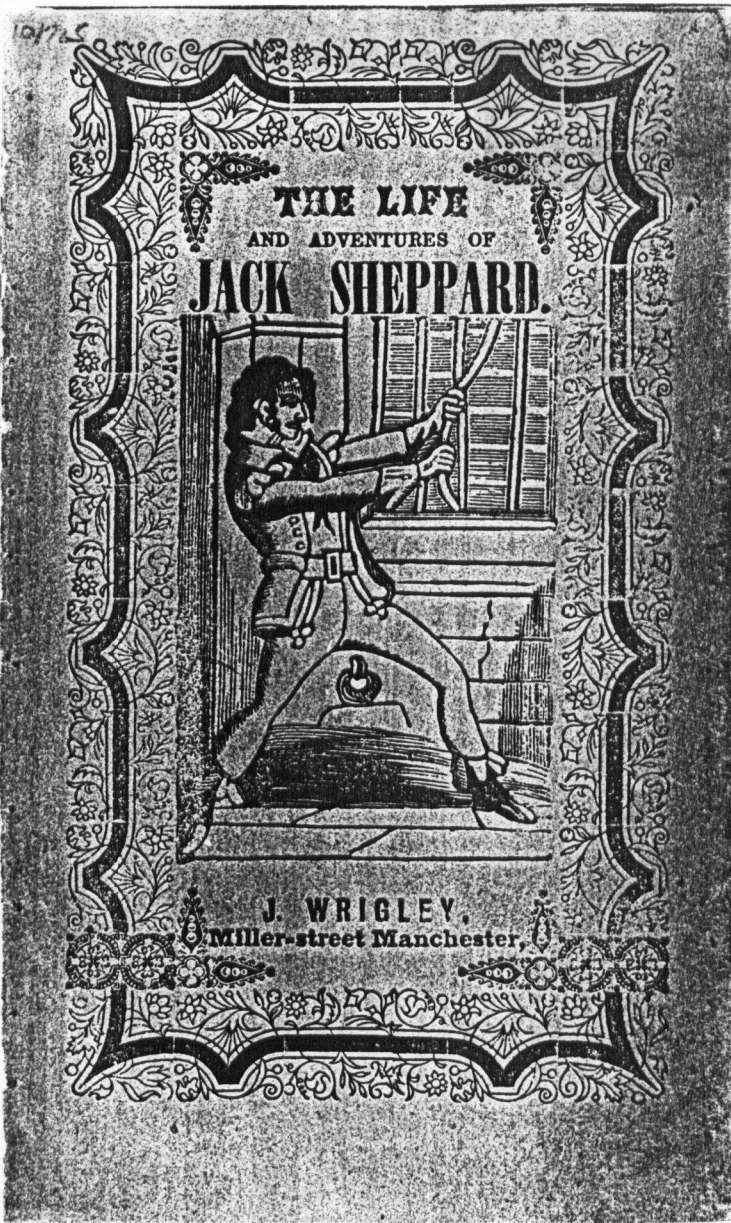


Greenacre the Murderer of Mr. Brown.



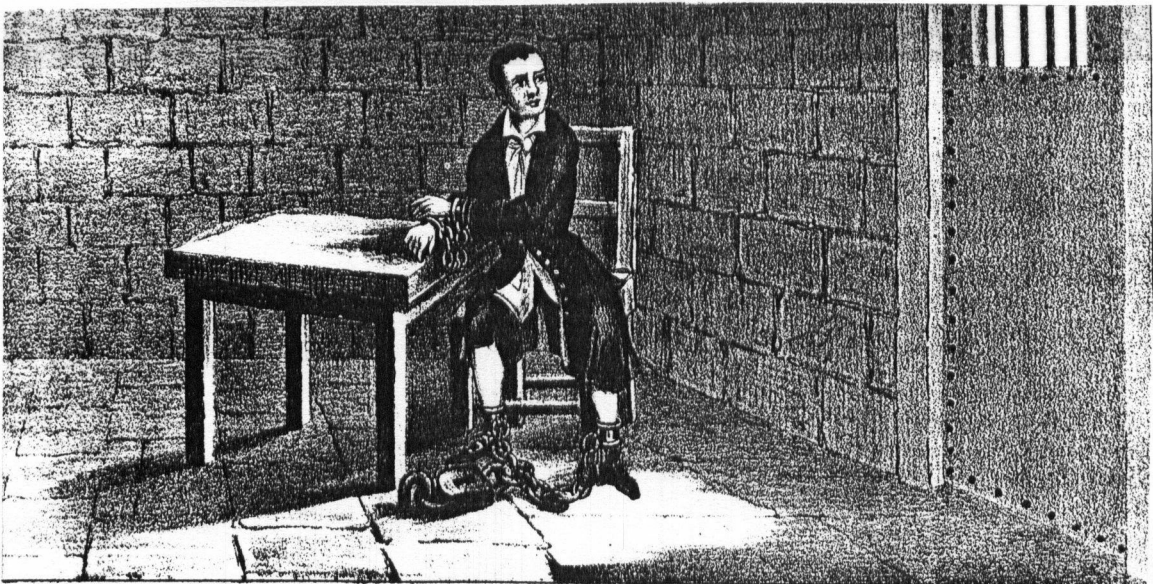
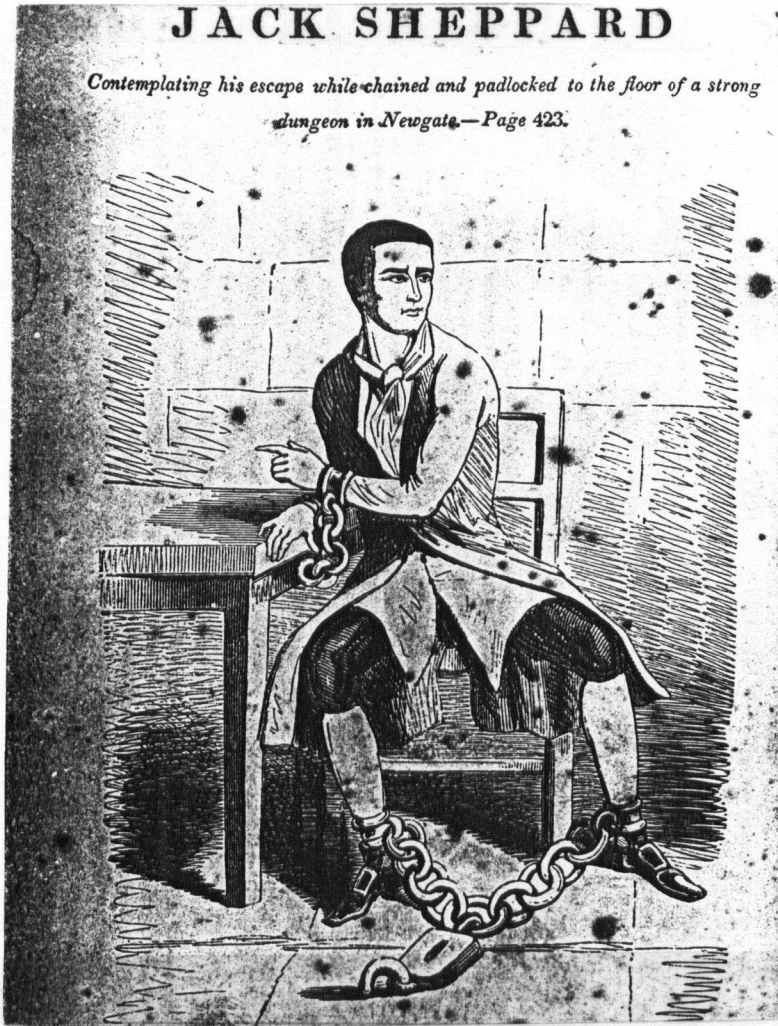
TURPIN'S RIDE TO YORK.





JACK SHEPPARD

*Contemplating his escape while chained and padlocked to the floor of a strong
dungeon in Newgate.—Page 423.*



N
JACK SHEPPARD IN THE CASTLE IN NEWGATE.

a

GREY HAIR RESTORED TO ITS NATURAL COLOUR.



NEURALGIA, Nervous Headache, Stiff Joints, and Rheumatism, cured by F. M. HERRING'S Patent Magnetic Brushes, 10s. and 15s. Combs, 2s. 6d. to 20s. Grey Hair and Baldness. PREVENTED by F. M. H.'s Patent Preventive Brush. Price 4s. and 5s.

Offices, 32, Basinghall-street, London, where may be had, gratis, the Illustrated Pamphlet, "Why Hair becomes Grey, and its Remedy." Sold by all Chemists and Perfumers of repute.



b

c



Set of 4 Side Dishes and Covers, on feet, as drawing, £12 per set.
E4013, ditto, without feet, £9 per set.



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 Pure, and without acidity.
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SOUTH AFRICAN PORT, SHERRY, &c., 20 & 24s. per dozen.
 The finest ever introduced into this country.

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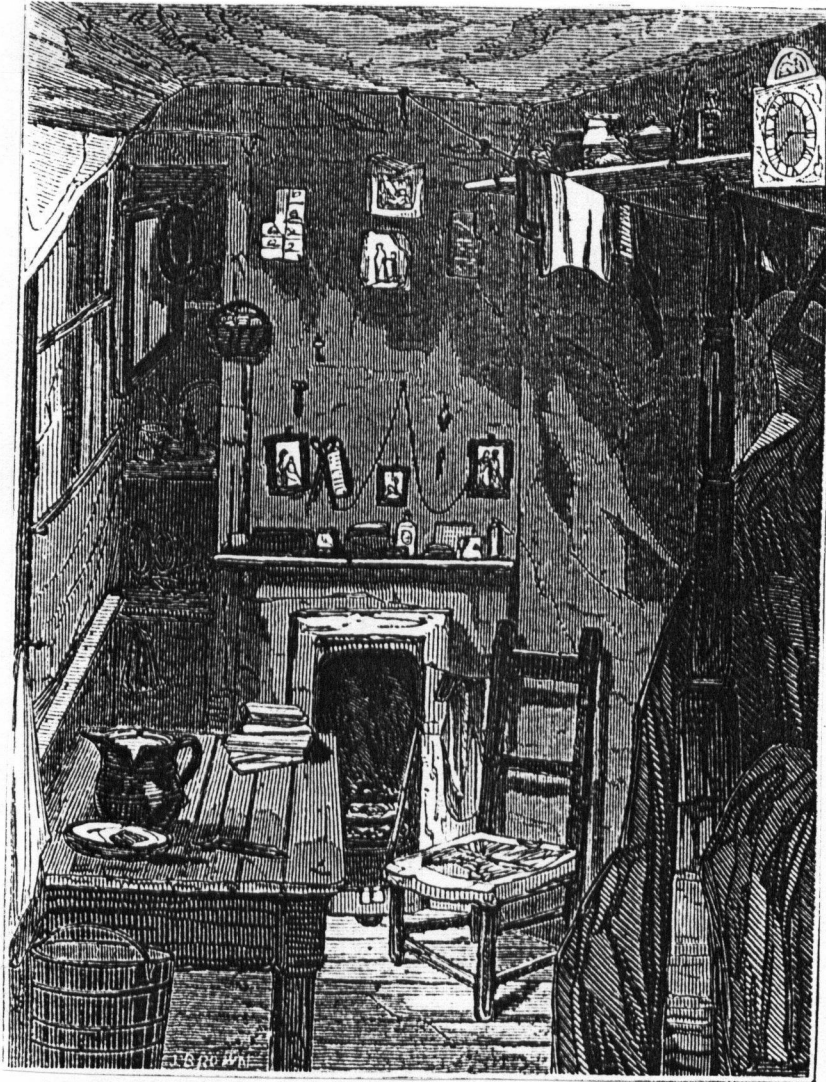
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TAYLOR BROTHERS' PATENT LENTILIZED COCOA
 Is pronounced by Professor Letheby and Dr. Hassall to be superior in nutritious element to all others. See their reports printed on the labels of each canister. Sold by all Grocers at 1s. 6d. per lb.

354

76d

BENZINE COLLAS
CLEANS AND REMOVES GREASE FROM GLOVES, &c.
 "Buckingham Palace, October, 1858.
 "The Benzine Collas has been used here in the removal of lamp-oil, grease, &c., from carpets, silks, &c., and given great satisfaction, as it leaves no stain.—R. CRIPPS, Master of the Royal Apartments."
 The BENZINE also destroys fleas and ticks in dogs, sheep, &c., and is a cure for itch and mange.
 In bottles, of all chemists and perfumers.
 Depôt, 114, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.

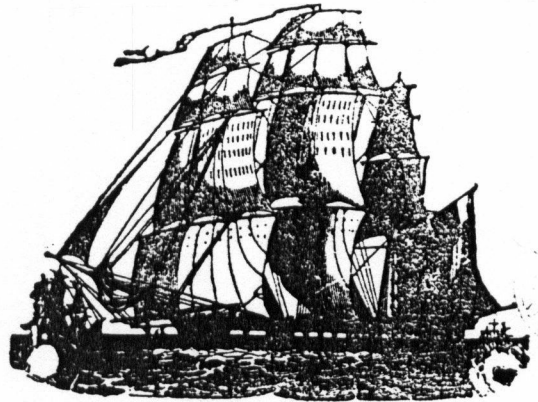






When Christian lift up his eyes, he beheld the palace of Beautiful, the porter's gate, and two lions. He was encouraged to come forward, being assured he should receive no harm, as they were chained. After a few interrogations from the Porter as to his intentions, and how he came to be so late at night, which was satisfactorily answered. Christian requested lodgings for the night. The Porter knocked at the door of the Palace, when a damsel called Discretion answered, and after a long conversation with her two sisters, Piety and Prudence, regarding the nature of his journey, the difficulties that had befallen him, and what could have moved him to leave his wife and family, to undertake such a journey, they found it was time to go to rest, when he was conducted to the Chamber of Peace.

Laid up in Port



THO' I'm laid up in port, I'm not out-
ward bound. (ing)

In my upper works there's nothing aili-
My rudder and compass are both
safe and sound.

And when call'd upon I'm ready for
sailing.

I'm pretty well stor'd with the comfort
of life. (fancy,

Have of friends just what number I
And whats more I have a birth in the
heart of my wife.

My lovely and valuable Nancy.

I well know that revels and rats play me
pranks,

At my cost who are eating & drinking
This nibbles my bisquit—that gnaws at
my planks (ing

And would fly off at once where I sink-
Lord help the poor thing, they can't hurt
my good name,

Let them filch away to their fancy,
They may pilfer my money, may injure
my fame,

Bu they never can rob me of Nancy.

As well may the French kick against
Dover rocks,

That keeps every threat at a distance.

All folly I pitty—at slander I mock,

And I envy no one in existance,

And when I am boarded by grim Cap-
tain Death,

No sorrow shall trouble my fancy,

I'll strike like a man and yield up my

