

# Places, Spaces, and the Victorian Periodical Press



Research Society for Victorian Periodicals

Forty-sixth Annual Conference 2014



September 12-13, 2014

University of Delaware, USA



TEWKESBURY, FROM THE SEVERN.

# Places, Spaces, and the Victorian Periodical Press

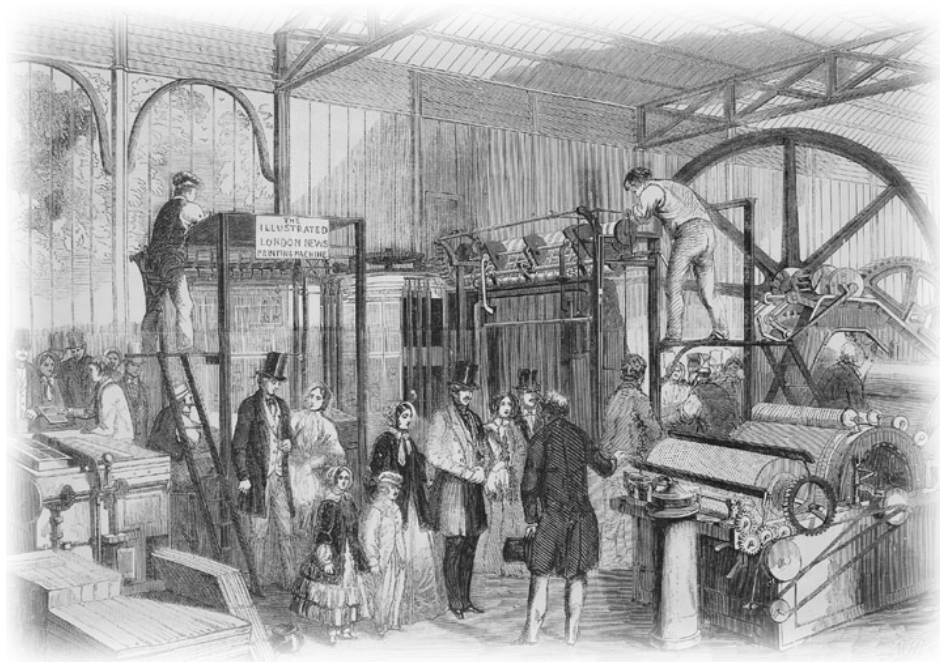


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The Illustrated London News, 7 June 1879 -





# Welcome to the 46th Annual Conference of RSVP



It is a great pleasure to welcome you to The First State, as well as to Wilmington, its largest city, and to the University of Delaware. In addition to our annual gathering together for two days of intellectual conviviality and sociable exchange, I hope that you will enjoy the rich cultural legacy of the Brandywine Valley and the region.

A conference such as this would be impossible without the hard work and support of many colleagues, and I would like to thank them here.

Maria Frawley, herself a UD alumna, chaired the Program Committee and she, Julie Codell, and Rob Breton have put together a rich and dynamic array of papers on a theme that matches well with our setting and the opportunities available through both the pre-conference visits and our Friday evening event at the Delaware Art Museum.

For making those visits possible, I am grateful to Margaretta Frederick and Saralyn Rosenfeld at the DAM, Mark Samuels Lasner and his collection at the University of Delaware Morris Library, Richard McKinstry and Emily Guthrie at Winterthur, and Eric Rau and Max Moeller at the Hagley Museum.

Previous hosts of the conference, including Alexis Easley, Kitty Ledbetter, Brian Maidment, and Linda Peterson were an invaluable source of information and advice, and I am grateful to them for sharing their experience and wisdom.

At the University of Delaware and beyond, a host of colleagues provided assistance and support. A complete listing is included at the end of this program, but I would like call out for special thanks here Ann Ardis, Deputy Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Nancy Brickhouse, Deputy Provost, Petra Clark, doctoral candidate in English, Christina Kelly, graduate student in English, Matthew Kinservik, then Associate Dean for Humanities, and Nina Warren, Administrative Assistant in English. Lea Asti, Sue Herst, and Gail Knapp in Conference Services were all wonderful colleagues to work with throughout the process of organizing the conference. Finally, thank you to Beth MacKenzie for designing this conference program.

Welcome again to Delaware, and I wish you all a rich and enjoyable conference and visit.

Iain Crawford

# Schedule At-a-Glance

## Thursday September 11

1.00-6.00	Registration and information
2.00-5.00	Pre-conference visits to Hagley Museum Library; Mark Samuels Lasner Collection, University of Delaware; Winterthur Library and Museum
6.00	Pre-conference reception
7.00	Executive Committee dinner and meeting

## Friday September 12

8.00-5.00	Registration
7.45 & 8.15	Bus from Sheraton to UD Wilmington campus
8.00-9.00	Breakfast
9.00	Welcome and conference opening
9.15-10.45	First sessions
10.45-11.15	Break
11.15-12.45	Second sessions
12.45-1.45	Lunch
	Graduate Student Organization meeting
1.45-3.15	Third sessions
3.15-3.30	Break
3.30-5.00	Fourth sessions
5.00 & 5.15	Bus to Delaware Art Museum
5.45	Wolff Lecture
7.00	Reception (cash bar)
7.45	Dinner
8.30 & 8.50	Bus to Sheraton

## Saturday September 13

8.00-5.00	Registration
7.45 & 8.15	Bus from Sheraton to UD Wilmington campus
8.00-9.00	Breakfast
9.00-10.45	Colby Lectures
10.45	Break
11.00 - 12.30	Fifth sessions
12.30-2.00	Lunch and Business meeting
2.00-3.30	Sixth sessions
3.30-3.45	Break
3.45-5.00	Seventh sessions
5.00	Closing session
5.15	Van transportation to Sheraton

# Program

## Thursday September 11

- 1.00-6.00 Registration and information: *Sheraton Suites lobby*  
2.00-5.00 Pre-conference visits:  
Hagley Museum Library  
Mark Samuels Lasner Collection, University of Delaware  
Winterthur Library and Museum  
6.00 Pre-conference reception: *Sheraton Suites*  
7.00 Executive Committee dinner and meeting: *Sheraton Suites*

## Friday September 12

- 8.00-5.00 Registration: *UD Wilmington, Goodstay Center lobby*  
7.45 & 8.15 Bus from Sheraton to UD Wilmington campus  
8.00-9.00 Breakfast: *Dining Room*  
9.00 Welcome and conference opening: *Ballroom*  
9.15-10.45 First sessions:
- 1) "Periodical Method" *Ballroom*  
Moderator: Leslie Howsam  
Nathan Hensley, "Periodical Method: Andrew Lang's Network Form"  
Rachel Sagner Buurma, "Periodical Method: Indexical Historicisms"  
Paul Fyfe, "Technologies of Serendipity"
- 2) "Dickens, Thackeray, Eliot, and the Periodical" *Gold Room*  
Moderator: Alexis Easley  
Kathleen McCormack, "Journalistic Networking at George Eliot's Priory: The Russian Presence"  
Iain Crawford, "In this Place: Delaware Irish Nationalists, Dickens, O'Connell, and the Transatlantic Press"  
Marysa Demoor, "Michel Angelo Titmarsh and *Fraser's Magazine*: the Role of Space and Place in Thackeray's Early Career"
- 3) "Visualizations" *Morning Room*  
Moderator: Margaret Stetz  
Julie Codell, "Colonial Spaces, Aristocratic Places: White Colony Landscapes and Country Homes"  
Sigrid Cordell, "The Slippery Evidence of Empire: Trick Photography and Late Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Journalism"  
Shannon Perry, "Trans-Atlantic Jottings within the Amateur Photographic Press: Maintaining Cordial Relationships with Like-Mined Amateurs in the Colonies"
- 10.45-11.15 Break: *Dining Room*  
11.15-12.45 Second sessions
- 1) "Working Class and Socialist Periodicals" *Gold Room*  
Moderator: Rob Breton  
Deborah Mutch, "Stories, Socialism and Periodical Space, 1884-1914"  
Anna Peak, "A Canon By and For the Working Class: Re-assessing the role of Music Periodicals in the English Musical Renaissance"  
Ann Ardis, "Selling *Julie*, Marketing Socialist Cultural Uplift in *The Clarion*"

2) "Mapping Scottish and Irish Periodical Practices" *Morning Room*

Moderator: Andrea Broomfield

Tim Lay, "The Return of the Iconic Highlander: The Press and Provincial Consumption of the Military and Empire in the Late-Nineteenth Century"

Melodee Beals, "Hunt or Gather, Share or Steal - Scottish News Networks, 1790-1840"

Elizabeth Tilley, "Penetrating patriotic public, plentifully purchase PAT'S periodical: Irish Comic Papers and the Construction of Reading Space"

Glenda Norquay, "'Weel, there's waur places, I believe.' *St. Ives*, 1897: Mapping the Spaces of Adventure in the Serialized Fiction of Stevenson and Quiller-Couch"

3) "Gendered Spaces" *Room 209*

Moderator: Laura Vorachek

Petra Clark, "'Simplicity combined with artistic effect': Girton College as an Aesthetic Space in the late-Victorian Periodical Press"

Jennifer Phegley, "Supplementary Spaces: Women Readers, Courtship, and *Bow Bells'* Valentine's Day Special Issues"

Marianne Van Remoortel, "The Fine Art of Satire: Gender and Class in the Magazine Illustrations of Florence and Adelaide Claxton"

4) "Research Archive Roundtable" *Ballroom*

Moderator: Laurel Brake

Troy Bassett, "The Place of Serialization: An Analysis of Victorian Serialization Practice"

Rachel Calder, "'Mechanics to the Book Trade': J. Whitaker & Sons, The *Bookseller* and Bibliographic Services in the Victorian Book Trade, 1849-1901"

Katherine Malone, "Making a Critical Edition: Digital Archives in the Gen-Ed Classroom"

12.45-1.45 Lunch: *Dining Room*

1.45-3.15 Third sessions

1) "Places for Poetry" *Gold Room*

Moderator: Brian Maidment

Natalie Houston, "The Place of Poetry in Periodicals of the 1860s"

Elizabeth Gray, "'Sentimental twaddle upon the subject': Dora Greenwell and the Relationship of Poetry and Journalism in the 1860s"

Linda Peterson, "Nineteenth-Century Women Poets and Periodical Spaces"

2) "Transatlantic Publishing Strategies" *Morning Room*

Moderator: Sally Mitchell

Michelle Elleray, "Slavery in the Pacific: Unveiling Violence in a Distant Sea"

Helena Goodwyn, "A Transatlantic Guide to Life: A Different Kind of Travel Narrative"

Alexis Easley, "Press Networks and Transatlantic Celebrity: Eliza Cook and Charlotte Cushman, 1845-54"

3) "Serialization" *Ballroom*

Moderator: Anne Humpherys

Siobhan Craft Brownson, "'*Tales will be completed*'— Space, Time, Fiction and *The New Quarterly Magazine* (1873-1880)"

Erica Haugtvedt, "Mincing the Meat of Medium: Serial Reading and Adapting Sweeney Todd"

Laurel Brake, "To be continued: serials, columns, and departments; the structure of issues"

4) John North, "Using online *The Waterloo Directory*: Irish, Scottish and Series 3 English" *Room 209*

3.15-3.30 Break: *Dining Room*

3.30-5.00 Fourth sessions

1) "Leisurely Places" *Ballroom*

Moderator: Jennifer Phegley

Laura Fiss, "Club Chatter and Literary Sociability in the *Idler Club*"

Shannon Smith, "On the Edge: the Representation of Victorian Suburban London's Velodromes and Cycle Racing in the *Penny Sporting Press*, 1870-1901"

Andrea Broomfield, "Intimidating Spaces and Questionable Places: How Nathaniel Newnham-Davis' Newspaper Reviews Initiated Victorians to the London Restaurant Scene"

2) "Women Editors and Journalists" *Room 209*

Moderator: Molly Youngkin

Laura Vorachek, "T. Sparrow and Women's Incognito Investigative Journalism at the Fin de Siècle"

Solveig Robinson, "'Putting things in their proper places': Victorian Women Editor-Critics and Question of Cultural Authority"

3) "Indexing" *Gold Room*

Moderator: Patrick Leary

Anne DeWitt, "Placing the Theological Novel in the Victorian Literary Field"

Gary Simons, "The *Curran Index* and the *Metropolitan Magazine*"

Amelia Joulain-Jay, "Using Digital Methods to Investigate the Representation of Places in the Victorian Periodical Press"

4) "Exotic and Unknown Places" *Morning Room*

Moderator: Sharon Weltman

Christina Kelly, "Reader's Access to Japan through Japanese Women in Periodical Fiction"

Jessica Queener, "Punch Sama's Yokohama: Image and Place in *The Japan Punch*"

Sarah Dewis, "Gardens for the Dead: *The Gardener's Magazine*, the Early Victorian Press and the Interment Debate"

Barbara Onslow: "Virtual Tourism" - Engraving the Landscape; Exploring Europe"

5.00 & 5.15 Bus to Delaware Art Museum

5.45 Wolff Lecture: *DuPont Auditorium*

Lorraine Janzen, "Reading between the Lines of Time and Space: Remediation and the Illustrated Periodical"

7.00 Reception (cash bar) *East Court*

7.45 Dinner: *Fusco Hall*

8.30 & 8.50 Bus to Sheraton

## Saturday September 13

8.00-5.00 Registration: UD Wilmington, Arsh Hall: *Lobby*

7.45 & 8.15 Bus from Sheraton to UD Wilmington campus

8.00-9.00 Breakfast: Arsh Hall: *Lobby*

9.00-10.45 Colby Lectures: *Arsh 105*

Fionnuala Dillane, "'In type' for Maga: Aesthetics, Affect and the Victorian periodical"

David Latane, "William Maginn and the Denial of Authorship"

10.45 Break: *Lobby*

1) "Plotting the Poor" *Arsht 117*

Moderator: Michelle Elleray

Miranda Mattingly, "William Booth's Salvationist Magazines and the Battle for Holy Space in the East End"

Rob Breton, "The Place of the Poor: Mapping Poverty in the Radical and Non-Radical Press"

Sophie Muller, "Rethinking the Domestic Angel: Children's Hospital Charity Campaigns and Working-Class Boyhood Identity, 1852-1900"

2) "Guidebooks and Special Correspondents" *Arsht 124*

Moderator: Marysa Demoor

Christopher Keirstead, "Verse Travels: (Re)locating Poetry in John Murray's European Guidebooks, 1836-1901"

Barbara Korte, "Germany as a Touristic Space in Victorian Popular Periodicals"

Catherine Waters, "Journalism on the Move: towards a Definition of Victorian 'special correspondence'"

3) "Blackwood's" *Arsht 218*

Moderator: Linda Peterson

Joanne Shattock, "The Sense of Place and *Blackwood's (Edinburgh) Magazine*"

Matthew Connolly, "Periodical Contexts and Modernist Periodization: *Heart of Darkness*, Adventure Romance, and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine's* Pro-Imperial Narrative"

Lindsay Lawrence, "'Afford[ing] me a Place:' Recovering the Poetry of Margaret Hodson, Catherine Godwin, and Eliza Hamilton in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*"

4) Women Writers, Women Readers, and Place *Arsht 219*

Moderator: Solveig Robinson

Andrew King, "Ouida: Journalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Aesthetics of Place"

Kitty Ledbetter, "Regulating Servants in Women's Periodicals"

Carol MacKay, "The Near and the Far: Spaces and Places in Annie Besant's *Our Corner*"

12.30-2.00 Lunch and Business meeting *Arsht 105*

2.00-3.30 Sixth sessions

1) "Specialty Columns" *Arsht 108*

Moderator: Cheryl Wilson

Linda Hughes, "Racing to Place a Poem: Memorial Verses and/as Journalism"

Lauren Boasso, "Prison Spaces in *The Illustrated London News*, 1842-1895"

Ann Hale, "Matrimony, Tenancy, And Anxiety: Legal Advice Columns and Economies of Space"

2) "Niche Papers" *Arsht 117*

Moderator: Maria Frawley

Molly Youngkin, "Blending Public and Private Spaces: Spiritualist Periodicals, Oral Testimony, and Legitimate Records of Phenomena at William Stainton Moses's Ghost Club"

Casey Smith, "*The Halfpenny Muse*. W. J. Ibbett's Private Press Periodical"

David Taylor, "Dreaming Spires and Radical Roots, Oxford in the 1850s: Godfrey Lushington and the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*"

3) “Children, Periodicals, and Poverty” *Arsht* 124

Moderator: Solveig Robinson

Meghan Rosing, “First Place Prizes and Back Page Stories: Competitive Charity in Juvenile Periodicals”

Annemarie McAllister, “‘Don’t Marry a Man if He Drinks’: Music Claims a Place in the Periodical”

4) John North, “Using online *The Waterloo Directory*: Irish, Scottish and Series 3 English” *Arsht* 218

3.30-3.45 Break : *Lobby*

3.45-5.00 Seventh sessions

1) “London” *Arsht* 108

Moderator: Chris Kent

Brian Maidment, “The (Un?) Welcome Guest: George Augustus Sala in Covent Garden”

Linda Friday, “London’s fin de siècle Gothic Cityscape viewed through the Lens of Contemporary Newsprint.

Gendered Nuance and Sexual Transaction in the Burlington Arcade, Piccadilly: a Case Study”

Sharon Weltman, “‘Newsboys . . . crying themselves hoarse along the footways’: Richard Mansfield as Jekyll and Hyde on Stage and Street”

2) “Commercial Places” *Arsht* 117

Moderator: Ann Ardis

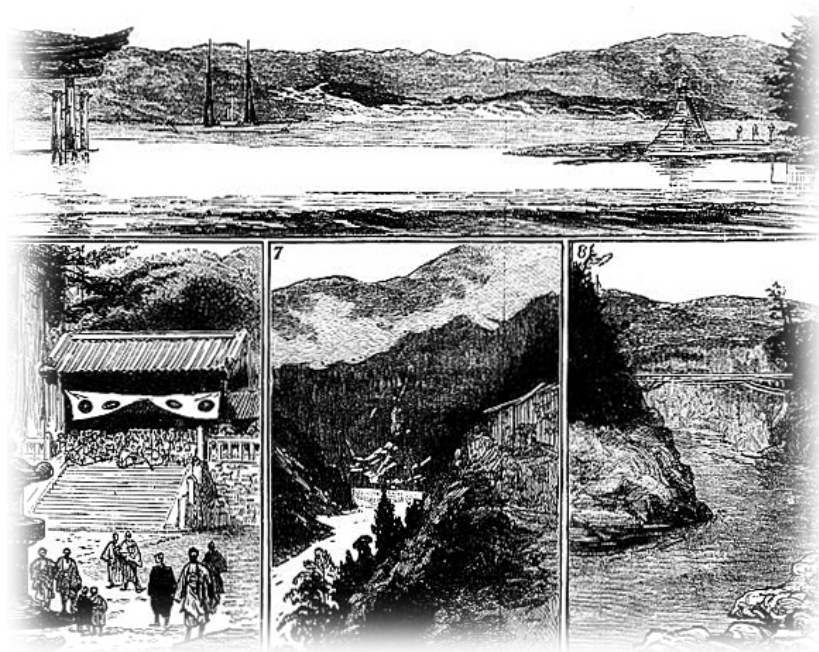
Eugenia Palmegiano, “Place...at the Heart?: Periodicals on Press Advertising”

Sharin Schroeder, “Andrew Lang and the Origin of Stories: Folklore Studies and Intellectual Property”

Mary Isbell, “Imperial and Shipboard Circulation: The Places and Spaces of The Young Idea”

5.00 Closing session: *Arsht* 105

5.15 Van transportation to Sheraton





Ann Ardis, University of Delaware  
Panel 2.1, Friday 11:15-12:45  
“Selling *Julie*, Marketing Socialist Cultural  
Uplift in *The Clarion*”

“Selling books is as much a business as selling soap, and you cannot do business unless you advertise. Now, I publish my own books, and therefore have no publisher to boom them. If I want them sold I must sell them. If I want the trumpet blown I must blow it. Why not? All other traders do it, and without reproach....”

Robert Blatchford, “Editorial Gossip,” *Clarion*, March 1901

“Poor old variety entertainer. Poor old versatile cheap showman. He came out to do a turn for the Fellowship; and lo, an audience of stern critics. Well, it was all splash and rattle; some of it, perhaps. And the old showman does not understand his trade....and the old showman does not take his little entertainment very, very seriously—and he wishes the audience didn’t either.”

Robert Blatchford, “The First Principles of His Art,” *Clarion*, January 1901

The comments above are from editorials that Robert Blatchford wrote in response to letters from his readers objecting to the way he chose to end “Julie,” a serialized novel about an artistic genius from the East End that he wrote and published in the *Clarion* from May to October 1900. In this RSVP presentation, I want to consider how the advertisements for the hardcover edition, together with the flurry of letters to and from the editor about the serial’s conclusion, serve as an occasion for Blatchford to comment on the class politics of the print media marketplace in which he and his fledgling penny weekly were operating—far more successfully than “an audience of stern critics” might like—at the turn of the twentieth century. Chris Waters has argued that “Julie” is “mostly concerned with depicting the marginality of the trained working-class artist and the complexity of class relations” (102). I suggest instead that, by reading Blatchford’s serial in tandem with both the ads for its hard-cover publication and his editorials about the serial in *The Clarion*, we begin to see how “Julie” functions as a self-reflexive commentary on competing discourses of aesthetics

and the class-related complexities of a print media marketplace that was expanding exponentially at the turn of the twentieth century even as it was increasingly saturated with, and funded by, commodity advertising.

This presentation will have two parts. I will begin by considering Blatchford’s thematization of aesthetics and aestheticism in the serial, which tells the story of a beautiful (of course) and musically gifted working-class girl who is “rescued” from the East End by an elderly West End dandy. Subsequently, I will analyze the ads designed to build *Clarion* readers’ interest in purchasing the hardcover edition. These ads and the editorials Blatchford wrote in response to reader’s objections to the conclusion of the serial register key points of tension between what can best be described (borrowing Raymond William’s phrasing) as the residual and emergent systems of value that Blatchford’s socialist penny weekly was negotiating. On the one hand lie the communal reading and gift-book practices of 19th century working-class periodical and print culture, as inflected by the *Clarion*’s distinctive engagement with modern advertising and commercial practices. On the other hand lie the values of the “modern” literary marketplace, where the professionalization of authorship and literary criticism set the terms for the evaluation of novels as “profound and complete” works and an emergent celebrity culture threatens to reinforce the class hierarchies that the “long revolution” of mass literacy and board school primary education had begun to undermine in the late 19th century.

Blatchford’s confidence in his defense of the democratization of art-making and the *Clarion*’s marketing strategies waivers in the face of these emergent values, for he ultimately concedes that the *Clarion* is a “music hall variety show” and that “Julie” is a “sketch,” a “little entertainment,” not a “profound and complete” work of art. Yet his editorials provide an important occasion for thinking further about the “mediamorphosis” of print, socialist commercial strategies, and the development of a socialist counter-public sphere at the turn of the twentieth century.

Troy J. Bassett, Indiana University-Purdue  
University Fort Wayne  
Panel 2.4, Friday 11:15-12:45  
“The Place of Serialization: An Analysis of  
Victorian Serialization Practice”

Graham Law and Robert L. Patten in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* posit a “serial revolution” in the nineteenth century in the number of books serialized, the types of serialization, and the networks of serialization. But despite the bibliographical work on serialization by many scholars—including *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*, J. Don Vann’s *Victorian Novels in Serial* (1985), Law’s *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* (2000), and the *Victorian Fiction Research Guides*—basic questions remain as to the extent of the practice: how many novels were serialized, how many periodicals carried serializations, where were they published, and how did serialization grow over the course of the Victorian period?

The database *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837-1901* (found at [www.victorianresearch.org/atcl](http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl)) was developed to quantitatively answer these questions. Currently, the database contains over 10,000 titles, including all multi-volume novels, produced during the years 1835-1901. In addition, the database has serialization information for over 1900 titles (including multiple serializations) from nearly 200 periodicals, such as *All the Year Round*, *Belgravia*, and *The Manchester Weekly Post*. The size of the database facilitates the analysis of overall serialization trends, such as rates of serialization, types of periodicals, and the gender of authors.

The database confirms the growth in the number of novel serializations as the century progresses: during 1835-60, fewer than twelve titles are serialized annually; during 1860-1900, more than 30 titles are serialized annually rising to 74 titles serialized in 1890. The increase is driven by the introduction of the shilling monthly magazine and the weekly family

miscellany: before 1860 serialized titles appear mostly in monthly miscellanies, during the years 1860-1880 serialized titles appear equally in monthlies and weeklies, and after 1880 serialized titles appear mostly in weekly periodicals and newspapers. Also, after 1875, the rise in various syndication networks leads to novels being simultaneously serialized in multiple periodicals or re-serialized in later years. Building on Law’s work on syndication, the data shows the geographical spread of serialization networks.

Going further, the database also shows the influence of gender on serialization. Before 1860, men write almost all serialized titles. Though women make great strides after 1860, male authors still write the majority of serialized titles. (Which runs counter to the trend of novel production overall, where women wrote the most titles.) With the exception of Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Margaret Oliphant, and Ellen Wood, the most prolific serialized novelists are men such as James Payn, W.H. Ainsworth, and Walter Besant. Likewise, certain periodicals show a decided gender bias: for instance, *Chambers’s Journal* features mostly male authors whereas *Temple Bar* features mainly female authors.

For the first time, our anecdotal perception of the growth and scale of serialization can be quantified and measured. And, because of this data, the factors of serialization as a mode of production—from authors to publishers to periodicals to readers—can be measured to show a large number of periodicals carrying the serialized novels written by a relatively small number of authors.

Melodee Beals, Sheffield Hallam University  
Panel 2.2, Friday 11:15-12:45  
“Hunt or Gather, Share or Steal - Scottish News  
Networks, 1790-1840”

Between 1783 and 1840, the number of newspapers published in Scotland grew tenfold and spread far beyond the key port towns of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen into market towns and centres throughout the region. Although these provincial newspapers remained weekly or bi-weekly publications throughout the period, they still required a significant amount of international reportage to fill their four to eight pages. This material was shamelessly, and often haphazardly, gleaned from international periodicals in the form of scissors-and-paste reprints. Through these half-hearted shortcuts, we can develop a significant understanding of newspaper networks before the rise of international telegraphy and the slow decline of the scissors-and-paste system.

Utilising highly detailed transcriptions of newspaper content from Scotland, England and the wider Anglophone world, this paper will trace key dissemination pathways of news content from its origin in various British colonies and the United States, through its many reprints, abridgments, summaries and commentaries, to the pages of Scottish periodical press. By mapping the shape and directionality of these network connections, a greater understanding of news dissemination and editorial links can be achieved. These networks can then form the

statistical basis of further qualitative studies into the spread of ideas or interpersonal connections.

The paper will demonstrate how, through a combination of traditional close reading, ‘big data’ edition tracking, and social network analysis, Georgian news networks, including periodicals with extremely short runs and no contextual records, can be significantly mapped and the quantitative influence of key hubs can be preliminarily determined. It will explore the relative value of manual and computer-assisted transcriptions at different stages of the project, the feasibility of training historians in high-level programming languages such as Python, the nature of the resulting network data and its interoperability with mathematical and sociology research, and the possibilities for wider dissemination and collective re-use of transcription data.

Finally, the piece will demonstrate, through select case studies, how basic quantitative data regarding network dissemination pathways can fundamentally alter our interpretation of the purpose of miscellany material in Scotland’s provincial press.

Lauren Boasso, Virginia Commonwealth University

Panel 6.1, Saturday 2:00-3:30

“Visualizing Prison Spaces in *The Illustrated London News*”

Victorian crime and its representation in a variety of media including photography, painting, and periodical engraving have long been of interest to scholars. The geographic and administrative seclusion of prisons in the Victorian period removed prisoners from the public eye and constructed punishment as a private enterprise. In *Discipline and Punish* Michel Foucault describes the move from the spectacle of the scaffold to the disciplinary regime of the nineteenth-century prison. Many art historical analyses that build on his work discuss the Victorian application of physiognomy and phrenology to representations of the criminal within a disciplinary apparatus that privileged categorization and identification. What has not yet been adequately addressed is the role of the visitor or bystander who encounters prisoners, and the ways in which this new, more intimate encounter with the prisoner altered norms of vision and subjectivity for both prisoners and the public.

That the press catered to readers' fascination with crime and prisons is well known. Artists and journalists were a critical source of information concerning prison procedures and culture, especially after mid-century

when officials increasingly restricted access to prisons. Seán McConville argues that conditions for acquiring and disseminating information about the prison changed drastically under the regime of Edmund Du Cane, chairman of convict prisons from 1869 – 1895, yet no studies address this significant period. This omission allows questions regarding the press's responses to the apparent remoteness of the prison and the role of visual representation as a form of punishment to go unanswered. Analyzing the extent to which journalists and artists navigated the shifting institutional parameters of the criminal justice system provides insight into Victorian perceptions of how best to apprehend the space of the prison, and the prisoners it struggled to contain.

McConville, Seán. “The Victorian Prison: England, 1865-1965.” *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*. 1995. Reprint. Eds. Norval Morris and David J. Rothman. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 117-50. Print.

Laurel Brake, Birkbeck, University of London

Panel 3.3, Friday 1:45-3:15

## “To Be Continued: Serials, Columns and Departments and the Structure of Issues”

This paper identifies the periodical issue as the space under scrutiny, and the considerable amount of space within issues occupied by repetitive elements of various types. Serialised fiction is among them, but the paper will treat it alongside other reiterated structural elements, such as the title page, table of contents, instalments of nonfiction, columns, departments, illustrations, and advertising space, all of which might be regarded as reliable ‘filler’ from the perspective of an editor or editors. It is an attempt to examine deep structures.

There is also a more subtle repetition, such as the regular presence in each issue of a ‘political’ article, and/or one on the arts. Moreover, the ‘order’ of periodical issues is arguably as structured as their regular appearance in time: not only are these elements present in issues, but they also tend to occupy the ‘same’ or a similar place in each issue. This raises the question of position in the organisation of space: the running order; different journals not only favour different types of reiterated material, and perhaps generically, but also the likelihood of the prime position to be X (for example, fiction), the leader to appear in the middle, or on page 2, or ?, possibly near correspondence may vary in different periods as well.

However, we are all aware of the penumbra of dates around the date stamp asserted on any single issue, and these reiterated structures of issues need to be understood as aspirational, bastions to withstand the chaos of authors, printers and publishers meeting deadlines. These reliable structures also serve as counter-cultural strategies, sea walls, to manage somehow the flow and pressure of ‘news’ and the new.

This paper will examine the various reiterated elements of journals through a selection of titles and genres across the 19C. How reliably repetitive are these structures of journals? What is the mixture of repetition and change, to be found in the various forms of these reiterated elements? And how do chaos, happenstance, ‘news’ or other types of copy disturb these symbolic, aspirational structures?

I shall select perhaps two or three titles as case studies from different periods and probably genres, to follow an introductory assessment (more coherent than the one above!) of the repeated elements in periodical issues across the 19C.

Rob Breton, Nipissing University  
Panel 5.1, Saturday 11:00-12:30  
“The Place of the Poor: Mapping Poverty in  
the Radical and Non-Radical Press”

My paper examines a number of early Victorian “Portraits of the Poor.” These sketches were popular in both mainstream and radical papers, and my paper looks at differences between the way Chartist and Owenite papers document poverty on the one hand and the way non-radical ones such as the *Morning Chronicle* do so on the other. Radical portrait writers tend to fuse essayistic and fictional discourses together. Their portraits raise epistemological, ethnographical, methodological, and narratological questions that render the portraits strangely incomplete. The essayistic material often includes statistics and other hard, fact-based evidence. But this was not deemed to capture what it is to be poor, and not only because state-produced official data was generally suspected of minimizing working-class misery. Individualized, anecdotal, and purportedly illustrative stories of decline and victimization were needed to fill out the picture and generate the sympathy that distinguishes portrait literature from parliamentary Bluebooks. And yet these too were highly suspect, as a focus on character can easily slip into blaming or at least explaining indigence by way of the individual’s character or actions. This results in portraits of the poor that generalize and obfuscate the poor.

Portraits of the poor were also common in the liberal media. The difference between the radical portrait and its mainstream counterpart is that where the former resists mapping out struggle and hardship, the latter shows little or no hesitation in detailing the poor and poverty. Henry Mayhew stressed that his findings were derived through systematic procedures and scientific methodologies. In addition to the science, however, is an emphasis on

individual profiling, and the more quirky or colorful the individual, the more detail Mayhew would include. Seen against Parliamentary reports, Mayhew humanized poverty, but he also explained it by rendering individuals and their habits as subject to his reader’s judgement. In the *Morning Chronicle*, Mayhew attempted to distinguish between “the real or fancied wrongs of their lot” (19 October, 1849). Later, in “London Labour and the London Poor” (1861), he would famously divide working people into endless types, beginning with those who work, “those who cannot work,” “those who will not work,” and so on. If the unnamed rule of the radical portrait were always historicize, Mayhew counters with a call to always categorize. Radical papers, I argue, were attempting to force the discussion to the societal reasons behind poverty simply by resisting classification and blurring differences among the poor, and especially by obfuscating the spaces occupied by the poor.

The “Portraits of the Poor” series in the Chartist *Northern Tribune* and a similar series called “The Things which I Saw and Heard” in the Owenite *Pioneer*, both hybrids of fiction and documentary, undermine the very genre of portrait literature even as they attempt to define it. Anxious not to objectify the poor, to appropriate their voice or experience, or to reduce what by definition is a protracted situation to a synecdochic moment of evidence, radical portrait writers struggle with representing poverty in a way that mainstream writers do not. My paper attempts to identify the differences by which radicals and non-radicals mapped Victorian poverty.

# Andrea Broomfield, Johnson County Community College

Panel 4.1, Friday 3:30-5:00

## “Intimidating Spaces and Questionable Places: How Nathaniel Newnham-Davis’ Newspaper Reviews Initiated Victorians to the London Restaurant Scene”

From soldier of the infantry to soldier of the fork: that’s how Lieutenant-Colonel Nathaniel Newnham-Davis (1854–1917) described himself to Britons who liked a good dinner, but who nonetheless struggled in what he called “the spider web of a carte de jour.” His *Pall-Mall Gazette and Town Topic* restaurant reviews were so successful that they were compiled and published as *Dinners and Diners: Where and How To Dine in London* (1899, 1901) and *Gourmet’s Guide to London* (1915). It might be said that this man launched a restaurant revolution. Unlike gastronomes before him who conscientiously worked to exclude all but the initiated from the pleasures of the table, Newnham-Davis demystified the protocols of restaurant dining for thousands of middle-class people who had been too intimidated to step inside one of them or to visit locales where the less expensive restaurant meals were to be had.

In recalling British life in the 1890s, former Prime Minister Harold Macmillan noted that his family “considered it bad form to talk about food,” and many of his contemporaries would have agreed. Food lubricated a business deal, facilitated networking, and served as fuel, but it was not there to obsess over. To focus on it at the expense of one’s companions was uncouth; to overeat was sinful; to devote time to debating what was the best peach, the best roasted pheasant, the most exquisite Stilton, was a disgraceful waste of time. The dinner party, which was for prosperous Victorians the most critical social statement that they could make, was a necessary but dreaded ritual. These stiff affairs subordinated pleasure in eating to the importance of showing off one’s possessions, and to the imperative of putting forth expensive foods in order to announce one’s prosperity rather than one’s interest in excellent cuisine.

Nonetheless, change was on the way, and as a journalist and connoisseur of London’s nightlife, Newnham-Davis was in an

excellent position to detect the incipient change and act on it. He perceived that the insular, domesticity-loving habits that defined middle-class Victorian society were being challenged by a host of technological, economic, and cultural factors. Grand hotels were opening their dining rooms to non-hotel guests at the same time that the cost of at-home entertaining grew increasingly prohibitive for all but the most wealthy. The in-vogue dining style, *service à la Russe*, demanded a bare minimum of six courses, each to be brought to the table and removed footmen. Several courses were French inspired and thus difficult to execute in home kitchens, thus pressuring the mistress to employ outside caterers and thus drive the cost of dining even higher. For roughly 16 shillings per person, however, a dinner party could be hosted in a restaurant, decreasing stress and anxiety on all involved—but only if a couple were willing to venture outside the domestic sphere.

Newnham-Davis dealt with these pressures and anxieties with humor, tact, and sympathy. In a highly engaging style, with each review working as a short story complete with characters, a plot, a conflict, and a resolution, he was able to instruct readers on what to expect at many of the city’s restaurants and to guide them towards the places where the best meals were to be had, even if those places were in areas that respectable people oftentimes avoided.

By disseminating a new food aesthetic, Newnham-Davis challenged entrenched attitudes towards dining, helping prosperous but not fabulously wealthy Victorians appreciate cuisine and develop the vocabulary to discuss it. Most importantly, he set a precedent for restaurant reviewing that was to become a mainstay of the early twentieth-century newspaper and magazine alike.



Siobhan Craft Brownson, Winthrop University

Panel 3.3, Friday 1:45-3:15

“‘*Tales will be completed*’ – Space, Time,  
Fiction and *The New Quarterly Magazine*  
(1873-1880)”

One of the more innovative of the late Victorian periodicals was the *New Quarterly Magazine*, founded in 1873. An examination of this quarterly reveals a good deal about periodical audience expectations during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The periodical was a curious hybrid of publishing intentions, what *Wellesley* calls a “bold experiment,” indicated both by its title and prospectus. The title itself announced the experiment proposed by its founder and first (two succeeded him) editor Oswald Crawford (1834-1909). For the first half of the nineteenth century, the terms “quarterly” and “review” were synonymous with one another. And though the title of the *New Quarterly Magazine* (NQM) recalled the *New Quarterly Review* (1852), Crawford’s new periodical was not a review. By 1873, quarterlies were virtually non-existent, and magazines such as *Macmillan’s Magazine*, *Tinsley’s Magazine*, and *Bentley’s Miscellany* were issued monthly. A quarterly *magazine*, made up of fiction and miscellaneous articles, of 220 pages or more per number, such as Crawford’s new periodical, was unheard of. Christopher Kent points out that the “stately quarterly rhythm was undercut by the monthly rhythm, which permitted . . . serialization of fiction,” for which the quarterly time span was too long. Furthermore, serialized fiction had become a popular draw for the readers of weeklies such as the *Graphic* and monthlies such as the *English Illustrated Magazine*, founded contemporaneously with the NQM.

However, Crawford’s prospectus for the *New Quarterly* clarifies his solution to the problem of serialization. His outright intention was to devote a majority of the periodical’s physical space to fiction. Not only would the magazine contain “Two or more Tales of considerable length by eminent Writers,” but the “*Tales will invariably be completed in the Number in which they appear*” (italics in prospectus). Crawford announced to his audience that in the space of his periodical, readers would be able to engage with a work of fiction in its complete state, and need not await an installment in a future

number. Thus, the editor consciously manipulated the finite space of his periodical to compete with the serialization market. Indeed, throughout its seven year history, the *New Quarterly* never serialized any fiction.

Unfortunately, in spite of Crawford’s intentions, the NQM was not a successful enterprise. *Wellesley* believes that the “experiment failed primarily . . . because of the quarterly appearance” which “prevented the publication of serialized fiction, still much in demand.” I would argue, however, that it was not the time span between numbers, but rather how Crawford chose to manipulate his venture’s material space. Indeed, periodical readers may have been too unprepared for and disappointed in the *New Quarterly*’s focus on short fiction unaccompanied by illustrations to become regular consumers. Crawford elected not to “spend” his space on visual content, but instead to privilege text. Familiar with short stories that appeared only in giftbooks and special Christmas numbers of weeklies such as the *Illustrated London News* and the *Graphic*, the *New Quarterly Magazine*’s audience was likely dissatisfied with the appearance of short fiction without adornment – that is, illustrations – in a magazine, even a quarterly, for which they had paid 2s6d. In spite of the quality of a good deal of the short fiction – authors included Thomas Hardy, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Eliza Lynn Linton – that appeared in the magazine, not enough readers shared the feelings of an 1899 reviewer who had occasion to recall the “*New Quarterly* which many of us read with so much interest a few decades ago.” Crawford’s failure to draw readers to a product whose material space was crammed with columns of text unrelieved by graphics, even completed stories, suggests that late Victorian readers favored the illustrated serialized novel over periodical short stories, and ultimately highlights Victorian authors’ ongoing struggle to have their creativity in the short fiction genre taken seriously.

Rachel Sagner Buurma, Swarthmore College  
Panel 1.1, Friday 9:15-10:45  
“Periodical Method: Indexical Historicisms”

Rachel Sagner Buurma’s paper, “Indexical Historicisms,” examines continuities and discontinuities between Victorian relationships to periodical indexes and our own as an index itself to larger attitudes about the relation between history and literature. It asks how the attitudes towards indexing specifically, and towards research and referentiality more generally, expressed by novelists (and Victorian periodicals researchers) like Charles Reade and Thomas Hardy might become newly legible in the contemporary debates over literary-critical methodology that seem to wish to leave historicisms (both new and old) behind in favor of a turn to formalism, aesthetic appreciation, and a respectful attention to texts’ surfaces rather than the uncomfortable plumbing of their ideological depths. Focusing on the indexing practices of individual Victorian researchers like Charles Reade and George Eliot alongside the practices used to generate indexes

for both individual periodicals (the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, *Household Words*) and collections of them (*Poole’s Index to Periodical Literature*, *Palmer’s Index to the Times*), it argues for a Victorian understanding of referentiality capable of sustaining a far more complex model of the relation between literature and social life than we are in habit of ascribing either to Victorian novelists or, for that matter, to historicist literary critics. The paper ends by suggesting that scholars of Victorian periodicals, in part because of their knowledge of and facility with major indexing projects like the *Wellesley Index* (and its continuation the *Curran Index*) already work with an understanding of historical indexicality and referentiality that could offer a new and useful model to current methodological debates over literary study.

Rachel Calder, University College London  
Panel 2.4, Friday 11:15-12:45  
“‘Mechanics to the Book Trade’: J Whitaker &  
Sons, *The Bookseller* and Bibliographic Services in  
the Victorian Book Trade, 1849-1901”

J Whitaker & Sons occupied a distinct position in the Victorian book trade. Although he became known for a famous almanack and published devotional and educational titles, Joseph Whitaker first made his name with a trade journal. David Whitaker, former editor of *The Bookseller* and former MD of Whitakers, described their work as that of ‘mechanics to the book trade’. (1) This paper will focus on *The Bookseller*, a trade journal founded in 1858 in response to a perceived lack of comprehensive bibliographic information about newly published titles.

Apprenticed to a bookseller at the age of 14 years old, Joseph Whitaker spent his entire adult life in the book trade and started publishing his own titles aged 29 in 1849. After quickly getting into financial difficulties, from 1856 to 1859 he edited the popular general interest periodical, *The Gentleman's Magazine* for J. W. Parker. The magazine included a list of forthcoming titles each month and Joseph became frustrated at the inconsistent and incomplete publication data available for new books in the existing trade journals, *Bent's Literary Advertiser* and *Publisher's Circular*, and was forced to hunt through publishers' and booksellers' catalogues and magazine advertisements himself. In response, he launched his own journal in 1858, *The Bookseller: A Handbook of British and Foreign Literature*, and declared that it would ‘do for the Bookselling trade what Bradshaws does for the railways’. (2) The journal was to be comprehensive and independent of the publishers and booksellers it reported on and was immediately successful, with each issue needing a larger printing than the last, carrying longer book lists and more publishers' advertisements. The journal contained several sections, including trade and literary gossip, a gazette of businesses merging and going bust, a listing of publications of the month, a letters page as well as advertisements, second-hand books for sale, situations vacant other ancillary services. *The Bookseller* was not the first book trade journal but was the most ambitious to date and it became the most influential and enduring.

The case for a study of Whitakers' publications is strong: trade journals are a fertile and under-used resource for literary and

historical studies. For instance, advertisements in *The Bookseller* included new and reprinted books, demonstrated strategies of marketing and represent the range of the books publishers invested in and had the highest hopes for. The announcements, editorials, obituaries and letters offer commentary on the issues of the day, snippets of literary history, biographical details about members of the trade, discussions of copyright reform and an almost continuous discussion of the evils of ‘underselling’ and the pricing of books. Although these opinions themselves may be partial, self-serving or ill-informed, they nonetheless reveal the attitudes, personalities and undercurrents in the Victorian book trade.

While research into the history of the book trade is increasing, there has been less research into trade journals, and little on Joseph Whitaker and his publications. Of the rival contemporary trade journals, *Publishers' Circular* has been looked at in some depth by Simon Eliot and John Sutherland. (3) This paper will look at how the editor of a new trade journal established its presence in a niche market by understanding and satisfying the requirements of the trade it served but also by having enough ambition and expertise/experience to attract readers and supporters from the wider literary culture.

Although I do not yet have my Ph.D., I have worked in the book trade for thirty years, mostly as a literary agent, and have used *The Bookseller* and other trade journals as tools of the trade. My current research investigates the early history of the journal, the establishment of the Whitaker business and the social and professional networks that contributed to the firm's success.

(1) interview with David Whitaker, 28th June 2012.

(2) *The Bookseller*, 3 May 1958 (Centenary Number), p1529.

(3) Simon Eliot and John Sutherland, *The Publishers' Circular 1837-1900, Guide to the Microfiche Edition*, (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1988).

Petra Clark, University of Delaware

Panel 2.3, Friday 11:15-12:45

“‘Simplicity combined with artistic effect’:  
Girton College as an Aesthetic Space in the  
late -Victorian Periodical Press”

In *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915*, Sally Mitchell asserts that Girton College “occupied a particularly strong emblematic space” (52) in the Victorian popular imagination, both as an exclusively female domain, as well as one which more specifically allowed young women to control the access to and appearance of their own space. Established in 1869, Girton was the first residential college for women in Britain, and was instrumental in changing Victorian attitudes towards women’s education and intellectual abilities. Mitchell furthermore notes that although many higher education reforms were taking place in the 1860s and 1870s, “the surge in interest” in women’s colleges only occurred in the 1880s onward, due in large part to the coverage of periodicals (49). While the so-called “Girton Girl” subsequently became one of the representatives of progressive *fin de siècle* femininity and was prominently featured in the fiction, poetry, and articles of contemporary novels and periodicals, late-Victorian periodicals less commonly examine Girton itself. Those that do, however, discuss the college in ways that reinforce its role as what Mitchell calls an “emblematic space.” In late-Victorian magazines as disparate as *Atalanta* and the *Idler*, articles about Girton College consistently discuss the school’s history, mission, and daily routine, but also show a particular insistence on describing and illustrating the architecture and interiors of the school. Such an emphasis suggests a strong investment in Girton’s material culture and domestic aesthetics, both as independent features and as traits implicitly tied to the greater intellectual aims of the institution on the part of late-Victorian journalists.

Since visual and physical access to Girton was restricted, the periodical press became the primary shaper of its public image in print, and thereby put depictions of the college space squarely in conversation with contemporary debates about Aestheticism and women’s participation in the Aesthetic movement. Through various accounts and illustrations, the college was visually characterized by its association with features such as William Morris wallpapers, Pre-Raphaelite prints, Japanese ceramics, and Aesthetic color schemes. From this evidence, I conclude that part of the periodical-reading audience’s fascination with Girton was its status as an aesthetic (and Aesthetic) heterotopic space—at once domestic and public, following popular taste while also setting a radical new precedent for women’s spaces. In part through descriptions of its tasteful and artistic interiors, mass-market periodicals offered a voyeuristic glimpse into the spaces of Girton College as a means of both sating curiosity and subduing suspicion about this enclave of educated women.

In this paper, I focus on two illustrated articles published in 1894: L. T. Meade’s “Girton College,” which appeared in *Atalanta* in the fall of that year, and an article with the same title by “A Girtonian,” which was published several months earlier in an issue of the *Idler*. Through these case studies, I will suggest the crucial role of late-Victorian periodicals in establishing the popular conception of this women-only space.

Julie Codell, Arizona State University  
Panel 1.3, Friday 9:45-10:45  
“Colonial Spaces, Aristocratic Places: White  
Colony Landscapes and Country Houses”

In two series in the 1880s, the *Magazine of Art* visually endorsed a relationship by contiguity between two entities, colonial landscape space in the white colonies and privileged English places in country homes, a para-heritage industry series. Through issues of perspective, boundaries, filled or empty spaces, scale and the material page, the magazine's two series proposed to determine where culture resided and who controlled nature. Pairing colonial space and English place through specifics of habitability and imperial and nationalistic inscriptions on the picturesque and the sublime, the magazine linked aristocratic country homes and “wild” colonial landscape through shared tendencies raised to a new importance: anti-urban, anti-modernist, and ideological nostalgia.

But why in a popular (and populist) art magazine? Exploring the magazine's two series, the visual organization of the images and the texts accompanying them, I will argue that images of country houses and white colonies' wildernesses, independently and in conjunction with one another, could be yoked through the magazine's illusion of its presumed aesthetic “neutrality” that could disguise the imperial and national subtexts of these yoked spaces and places. The magazine with its large readership could deploy its cultural authority to represent these two contested spaces as unified, stable and representative of the nation. Claiming to be a site of a seemingly neutral or disinterested aesthetic, this art magazine could appear to stabilize these places' dynamic social relations (and erase their classed and colonial histories) by providing juxtaposed images of vast colonial landscapes (sublime) and country house settings (picturesque) whose interiors were filled with *objets d'art* symbolized accumulated English culture.

Theorist Doreen Massey (*Space, Place, and Gender*, 1999) notes that space and place, with their multiple definitions and permeable boundaries, are constructed by and construct, in turn, social relations and thus are unstable in meanings as these relations change. Space and time are intertwined coordinates and exist in a joined dynamic. I will argue that

the periodical's pages attempt to stabilize these two sites' historical and social relationships to each other and to Britain. These virtual spaces re-defined and idealized social relations that ranged from the colonial “there” and the country house “here” to erase such negatives features as colonial deportations and prisons, depleted British land values and ejected rural workers to produce instead a spatial imaginary that promised to resuscitate a “lost” Britain through the *Magazine's* cultural authority as an aesthetic “disinterested” venue. Massey and Ernesto Laclau argue for an inherent dislocation of fractured and paradoxical space. The Magazine proposed to erase fractures and paradoxes through a master narrative, demonstrating that “simultaneity is relative, dependent on the choice of a frame of reference in motion” (Massey 11).

In this nostalgic and nationalistic framing, there is a curious modernity. Anthony Giddens has argued that a consequence of modernity is the intersection of space and place: “In conditions of modernity ... locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them” (cited Massey 12). But the link is older, dating back to East India Company 18th-century nabobs returning home to purchase country estates from impoverished aristocrats and to claim their own invented aristocratic status rooted in India from which their ill-gotten wealth was subsequently erased from memory, replaced by an illusion of aristocratic lineage embodied in the nabob's country house. India and Britain were thus linked in India but then decoupled in Britain, as the country house erased the nabob's Company misbehavior. Reinvented these links to construct an imaginary (re)unification, the *Magazine* ignored the historical struggles of both sites through its aestheticization and (re)presented these sites as obverse sides of the nation bolstered by the seemingly disinterested perspective of the cultural authority of the magazine. Such strategies indicate the power of the popular art press to construct close ties between art, nationalism and imperialist ideologies.

Matthew Connolly, The Ohio State University

Panel 5.3, Saturday 11:00-12:30

“Periodical Contexts and Modernist Periodization: *Heart of Darkness*, Adventure Romance and *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine’s* Pro-Imperial Narrative”

Perhaps the most crucial advantage of the steady digitization of Victorian periodicals is how increased accessibility to the archive improves our ability to work with original materials surrounding a text’s production. Paying attention to a text’s original publication context (its circulation, reception, and the paratexts that surrounded it) can help us to uncover complicating material that often serves to challenge our contemporary frame of reference, our faith in the narratives of literary history and the boundaries of periodization that we commonly accept as true. This paper will attempt to complicate the frame of reference that designates *Heart of Darkness* a foundational, distinctly modernist text by investigating the odd place of its original serial publication, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*. I will show that while Conrad criticism usually investigates the novella’s formalist experimentations and strong critique of imperialism, this reading seems incompatible with *Blackwood’s* general hostility to literary experimentation and romanticized imaginings of England’s imperial outposts at the turn of the century.

Cedric Watts has compared the presence of *Heart of Darkness* in *Blackwood’s* to the presence of a shark in a carp pond. How, then, could this subversive shark conceal its fin within the pro-imperial waters of a magazine that served as a recruitment space for new officers and colonial administrators, published tales of imperial adventure that glorified Empire, and became the nineteenth century’s most popular circulated magazine among Britain’s territories? The odd conjunction of what we now read as *Heart of Darkness’s* modernist elements—the text’s radical ambiguity, formalist experimentalism, epistemological bewilderment, and subversive potential— and the contradictory context

of its original publication, serves to throw a critical light on how designating a text “modernist” or assigning it a singular political agenda can be a retrospective practice that denies important circumstances of a text’s history. Periodical studies can help us to regain the problematic contexts we lose when such retrospective designations pre-determine our approaches to literary analysis.

This paper will investigate the items typically published in *Blackwood’s* in the late nineteenth century, reading its advertisements, editorials, and fictional stories as paratexts surrounding *Heart of Darkness* that influenced its immediate reception. I will argue that Conrad’s story was not considered radical in its time, as its position in *Blackwood’s*, alongside colonial narratives that painted British imperialism in a paternalist light, pre-determined interpretations of the text as necessarily aligned with the magazine’s ethos. Moreover, Conrad’s narrative exhibits the same distrust of liberal progressivism and critique of the misguided colonial exploits of France and Belgium that permeated *Blackwood’s* articles at the *fin de siècle*, which helped to bring critical attention away from an interpretation of *Heart of Darkness* as a universalist critique of imperialism implicating Britain. This paper will bring the perspectives of Conrad’s contemporaries and modern readers into juxtaposition. I will argue that the modern reader might be said to approach *Heart of Darkness* in the same way that the *Blackwood’s* reader did: with some idea of what to expect.



Sigrid Anderson Cordell, University of Michigan  
Panel 1.3, Friday 9:15-10:45  
“The Slippery Evidence of Empire:  
Trick Photography and Late Nineteenth-Century  
Illustrated Journalism”

In “Tragedies of a Camera,” published in the *Strand* in 1898, a “level-headed, cold-blooded [...] Scotchman” obtains a camera manufactured in India and takes to the streets of London to photograph the sights (545). To his horror, the developed plates reveal highly distorted images of the symbols of British pride that he had so eagerly recorded, and he is convinced that it is the work of the “demoniacal camera” (550). The article is accompanied by photographs showing schoolchildren, Trafalgar Square, the H.M.S. Virago, and other symbols of British pride in states of collapse or destruction. Although the anonymous author (most likely George Newnes) admits at the end that the distorted images *could* have been caused by damage to the plates, the article as a whole points to the slippery role of photography as verification in late nineteenth-century illustrated journalism about empire. As “Tragedies of a Camera” suggests, mass produced photography in late nineteenth-century British periodicals often played a dual rhetorical role: it could be used to verify sensational accounts of empire and to create what Daniel Akiva Novak terms “photographic fictions” illustrating narratives of colonial violence.

Nowhere is the slipperiness of colonial photographic evidence in British periodical print culture clearer than in the *Wide World* magazine, also published by Newnes and begun in 1898 with the announcement there would “be no fiction in the magazine,” but rather that the adventures featured in its pages would be backed up by “actual photographs.” The *Wide World’s* emphasis on authenticity and visual evidence is undercut by the relationship between text and image in the magazine itself; in practice, photography is rarely used to illustrate the narrow escapes and near-fatal encounters described

by its predominantly white British heroes and heroines throughout the magazine, but rather to provide evidence of each individual narrator’s respectability. The magazine thus visually argues that a narrator’s evident respectability verifies the “thrilling” episodes that he or she recounts. The *Wide World’s* reliance on authorial photographs to authenticate its “true” stories of imperial adventure reflects a broader Victorian discourse about the reliability of photography and eyewitness evidence.

Photography, as Kate Flint and Marcy Dinius have shown, was viewed from the outset both as representing the highest standard of accuracy and as potentially open to manipulation. As late-Victorian popular periodicals like the *Strand* and the *Wide World Magazine* reveal, the potential for photographic misrepresentation took on a political dimension when connected to fears about the vulnerability of British institutions within a world of permeable imperial borders. This paper will explore the slippage between fact and fiction in Victorian visual culture as seen in popular periodicals seeking to illustrate the empire for their readers. I will argue that these periodicals are a key site for understanding the vexed visual and evidentiary connections between metropole and empire, sensation and journalism.



Iain Crawford, University of Delaware

Panel 1.2, Friday 9:15-10:45

## “In this Place: Delaware Irish Nationalists, Dickens, and the Transatlantic Press”

On July 7, 1843, *The Times* published a report on Daniel O’Connell’s latest public meeting in support of the cause of Home Rule for Ireland. Included in the report and then mocked in the editorial that immediately followed were letters from the members of the Emmet Repeal Association of Delaware and the Wilmington Delaware Repeal Association expressing enthusiastic praise for the cause and the Liberator himself. Subsequent articles in the paper over the course of that summer continued to draw British readers’ attention to these passionate American supporters of Irish freedom and the challenging issues they and their cause raised.

One of those readers was Charles Dickens, who, at the time *The Times*’ July 7 article appeared, was six months into the serial publication of *Martin Chuzzlewit*. Seizing the opportunity *The Times* presented him, Dickens adapted the paper’s satiric representation of O’Connell’s American supporters and incorporated it into the ninth number of his novel, which he began writing late that July and which appeared in September. Recasting the enthusiastic Delawareans as “the Watertoast Association of United Sympathizers” and creating a fictitious Watertoast Gazette as their public voice, he drew extensively upon the language of their letters to burlesque Americans’ assertive national self-confidence and the hyper-inflated rhetoric of their public discourse.

This episode, and Dickens’s fictional response to it, have gone almost entirely without critical notice – what limited discussion they have received has presented them

simply as one more detail in his satiric representation of the New World. A closer examination, however, demonstrates the Delawareans’ unwitting part in a much larger consequence of Dickens’s travel across the Atlantic. For both *Chuzzlewit* and *American Notes* indicate how his visit to America gave Dickens a newfound appreciation of the power of the press in shaping mass culture. The two books, his 1843 correspondence, and two articles on the American press that John Forster wrote – with Dickens’s evident collaboration – for the *Foreign Quarterly Review* in October 1842 and April 1843, respectively, further reveal the extent to which his encounter with America played an essential formative role in the editorial aspirations that shaped his career from the early 1840s on.

By exploring this episode and tracing the response to Dickens’s writing about the American press that emerged on both sides of the Atlantic, this paper, then, will argue that revisiting a previously overlooked fictional detail allows us to see his American experience in an important new light. Examining his response to mass culture in the United States, it thus builds from the foundation that Juliet John has so richly laid out and focuses attention upon the specific impact of Dickens’s American visit upon his own editorial career and upon a wider transatlantic discussion that his visit prompted over the role of the press in shaping the public sphere.

Marysa Demoor, Ghent University  
Panel 1.2, Friday 9:15-10:45  
“Michel Angelo Titmarsh and *Fraser's*  
*Magazine*: the role of space and place in  
Thackeray's early career”

It is fairly well-known that Thackeray ran into financial problems as a young, married man which made him turn to journalism as a way of making money fast. Soon after, he discovered that he really had a talent to write witty and popular articles. Subsequently, he found his own niche when he started to write about the places he visited.

This paper wants to focus on Thackeray's career as a freelance contributor at the beginning of his professional career when he was writing for the periodical press under several pseudonyms. Indeed, his career took off after the publication of the *Paris Sketch Book*, a compilation of several of his previously published articles, but it was his work for another such travel series, called *Little Travels and Sketches* for which he travelled to Belgium that was to lay the basis for what was to be his biggest success, the novel *Vanity Fair*. After Belgium he was to choose Ireland and yet other places as his subjects.

In this paper then I will try to find out how Thackeray negotiated his planned contributions on spaces and places with the editors of the journals he aimed at. I will look at his financial affairs and try to detect the successful ingredients of his travel articles. In the last analysis I hope to prove that Thackeray was a consummate travel writer, a talent which he first discovered in his journalistic pieces but which he equally explored in *Vanity Fair*.

Sarah Dewis, Independent Scholar

Panel 4.4, Friday 3:30-5:00

## “Gardens for the Dead: The *Gardener’s Magazine*, the Early Victorian Press and the Interment Debate”

The journey of the dead to the burial ground, the location of the ground itself and the disposal of the dead were the subject of fierce disputes in the first half nineteenth century. The different interests of the Anglican Church, the state, the wealthy and the poor were contested through a wide range of periodicals and newspapers. In this paper I focus on the contributions of John Loudon (1783-1843) in the context of the radical press and of the Tory response published in the *Quarterly Review*.

Several factors contributed to the debate. The differences in the practices, funding and duties of churchyards, burial grounds and the more recently established cemeteries were a source of confusion and friction. The cost of burial had become a point of contention. The increase in the number of bodies in towns and cities resulting from the movement of labour from agriculture to manufacture led to an accumulation of corpses in highly populated areas which was seen as a threat to health. Books were written on this subject and government responses published, including the Select Committee report (1839) and Chadwick’s ‘Supplementary Report on the results of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns’ (1843). The presence of death was all-pervasive in a sense that is not generally felt in 21st century Britain; the mortality rate was high, particularly for children and greater income did not provide much protection. Moreover, there was a degree of uncertainty about the exact point at which death occurred.

The radical press, including the *Pioneer* (June 1834), the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Northern Star* and the *Sheffield Iris* recorded the funerals of working people. Some funerals were attended by thousands and read about by tens of thousands. The ritual of the funeral and the space of the

burial-ground were cultural spaces which the poor could claim for themselves; indeed they provided locations for political meetings, partly because the access of the urban poor to open spaces was minimal.

Loudon wrote a number of articles prior to the 1840s, but his main contribution, *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvements of Churchyards* was serialised in the *Gardener’s Magazine* (1826-44) in 1843 prior to its dissemination in book form. It was the result of a commission to design a cemetery in Cambridge and contained recommendations for the funding and design of cemeteries and new ways of organising churchyards. Illustrations of landscape and architectural plans were fundamental to his arguments. The reaction of Thomas James, of the *Quarterly Review* (March 1844) was unfavourable. He argued against Loudon’s ‘utilitarianism’ and suggested that the Church of England should retain control over all burial grounds. Above all, he was hostile to Loudon’s secular ‘scientific’ account of death and the disposal of the dead.

The Metropolitan Interments Act (1850) gave a Board of Health (the State) the power to establish further cemeteries in preference to the church. It also enshrined the influence of the church on their layout. Apart from Cambridge, the majority of Loudon’s site-specific designs were not carried out. However, as his publication, serialised in the *Gardener’s Magazine*, was the only practical guide available at that time and for a number of years, his influence endured in some aspects of the design of cemeteries of later decades.

# Anne DeWitt, New York University Gallatin

## Panel 4.3, Friday 3:30-5:00

### “Placing the Theological Novel in the Victorian Literary Field”

Recent work in the digital humanities has called for an expansion of what scholars of the nineteenth century read. Claiming that the current canon of British fiction represents .5% of what was published in the nineteenth century, Franco Moretti argues that we should attend to the forgotten 99.5% through “distant reading”: since the number of novels far exceeds the capacity of a human reader, he advocates the use of digital tools to analyze them, in order to generate “a new sense of the literary field as a whole.” (1) Similarly, Matt Jockers criticizes the focus on the representative text and advocates a “macroanalysis” that views literary history as “an aggregated ecosystem or economy of texts.” (2)

But for all their claims to capture a fuller picture of literary history, the arguments made by Moretti and Jockers are narrow in their exclusive focus on the novel; they neglect literary history’s many other participants, including other genres and forms of publication as well as the activities of readers, reviewers, and editors. Research on Victorian periodicals provides a fuller picture of this history through the study of the nineteenth-century press, a cultural institution that played a crucial role in the literary field. Natalie Houston, Dallas Liddle, Bob Nicholson, and others have recently applied digital analysis to the periodical archive, giving us new insights about Victorian readers and the Victorian press; as Houston, drawing on Bourdieu, has argued, “digital reading” is a means to discover the relations that constitute the literary field. (3)

This paper is part of my endeavor to understand the place in that field of the “theological novel,” a set of highly successful novels of religious experience published in the 1880s, including J. H. Shorthouse’s *John Inglesant* (1881), Edna Lyall’s *Donovan* (1883), Margaret Deland’s *John Ward, Preacher* (1888), and Mary Ward’s *Robert Elsmere* (1888). These bestsellers received a lot of attention from the press, but have been largely neglected by present-day

Victorianists. To understand them and their popularity, I am using network analysis of Victorian periodical articles to place them in relation to other works of Victorian fiction and non-fiction.

My procedure is to count “co-occurrences,” or the number of times two novels are mentioned together in the same article, then use the network-generating software Gephi to arrange this data in a network that provides a visual representation of the literary field. Such a network reveals which novels are most central, uncovering affiliations, associations, and patterns that simply reading articles does not yield. At the 2013 RSVP conference at the University of Salford, I presented a network focused on generic affiliation: that is, I counted only those co-occurrences where the article’s author described two novels as generically similar (see Figure 1). The network that emerged confirmed the centrality of *Robert Elsmere* (something that I anticipated based on my reading of the articles), but it surprised me in revealing the centrality of *John Inglesant* and in showing that *Inglesant* had an equal number of connections to historical novels as to theological novels.

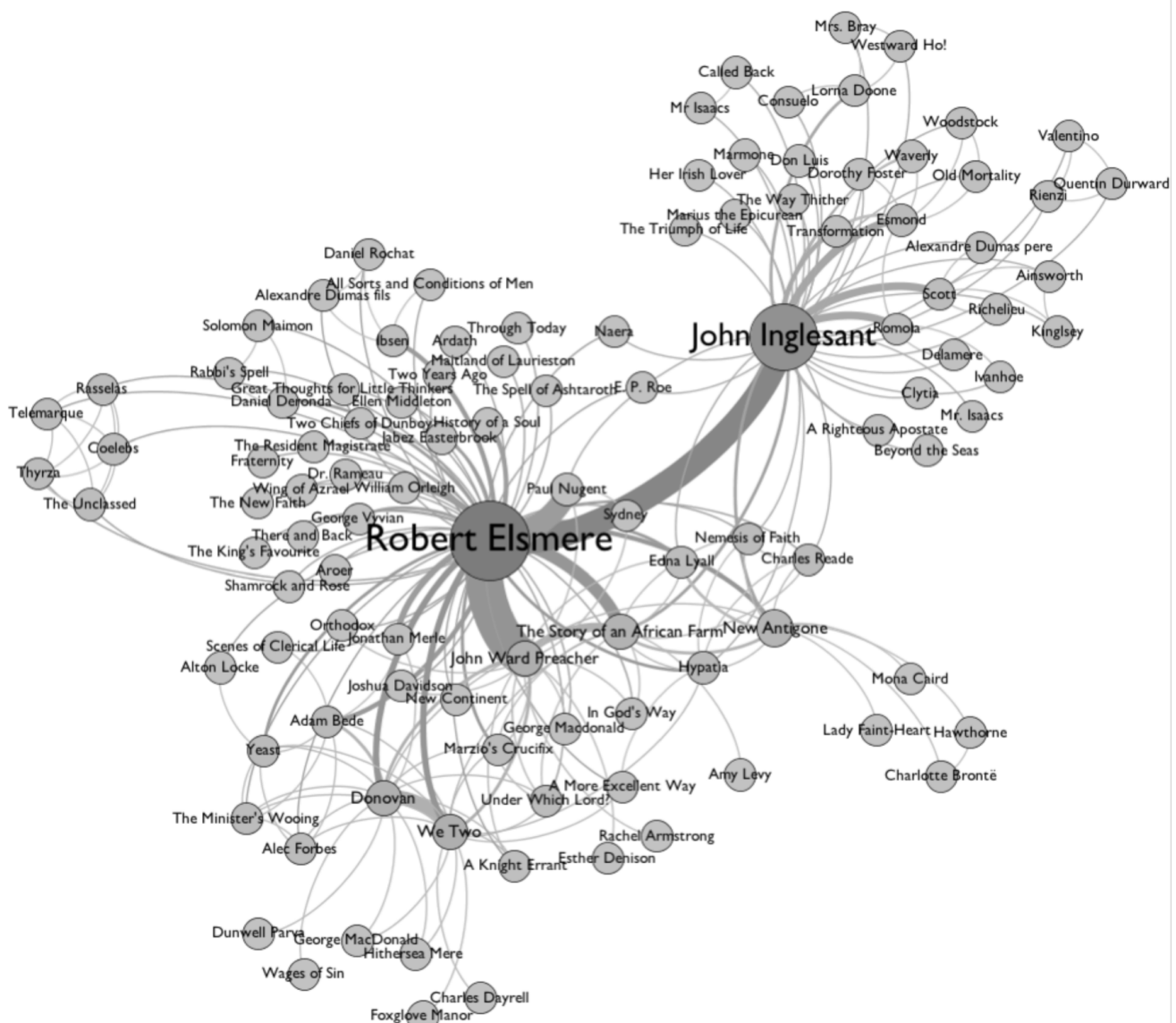
In this new paper I propose to take the next step in this research, expanding the network beyond generic affiliation to incorporate the full set of texts and authors discussed in periodical articles about theological romances, including non-theological works of fiction as well as non-fiction texts. My preliminary results suggest that this analysis promises to teach us something about what novelists occupied the most prominent places in the field of Victorian novels: George Eliot’s work is frequently invoked, but the equal centrality of Walter Scott’s novels suggests that the author of *Waverley* remains a central figure through the end of the century. These early results also show that *Elsmere* is unique among theological novels in being connected to

such works of nonfiction as Matthew Arnold's essays, suggesting that Ward's novel may be an unusual piece of Victorian literature that crosses the divide between fiction and non-fiction.

Through this investigation I hope to gain new insight into the place of the theological novel, and to suggest a new approach for understanding the Victorian literary field.

- (1) Franco Moretti, "The Slaughterhouse of Literature," *Modern Language Quarterly* 61 (2000), 207.
- (2) Matt Jockers, *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013).
- (3) See, for example, Natalie Houston, "What Can Digital Reading Tell Us About the Material Places of Victorian Poetry?" <http://nmhouston.com/digital-victorian/page/3/>.

Figure 1. The generic network of the theological novel. Each circle is a "node" that represents a novel mentioned in a periodical essay or review; the lines or "edges" that connect novels signify that both are mentioned in the same article. The thicker the edge, the greater the number of articles in which the two novels are both mentioned.



Alexis Easley, University of St. Thomas  
Panel 3.2, Friday 1:45-3:15  
“Press Networks and Transatlantic Celebrity: Eliza  
Cook and Charlotte Cushman, 1845-54”

Eliza Cook first met American actress Charlotte Cushman in 1845 after her celebrated performance as Bianca in a London production of *Fazio*. The two women met at a crucial point in their respective careers. Cushman had achieved success on the American stage and was now making her theatrical debut in Great Britain. Cook had published two collections of verse and was quickly developing a reputation as a “poet of the people.”

In this presentation, I will explore the ways Cook and Cushman promoted each other’s careers through their respective press networks in Britain and America, 1845-54. Cook promoted Cushman’s work by publishing poems celebrating her friend’s stage performances in the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Sheffield Independent*, and the *Glasgow Herald*. As Cook had learned during the first decade of her own career, publishing poetry in newspapers provided the kind of broad exposure necessary for effective self-marketing. To become a popular actress, Cushman must likewise become a recognizable “name” among the middlebrow readers of weekly newspapers. Indeed, when Cushman returned to America in 1849, she did so as a star of the British stage, partly due to Cook’s efforts. When Cushman returned to London in 1852, Cook celebrated her arrival by republishing two poems about Cushman in *Eliza Cook’s Journal*.

In turn, Cushman helped build Cook’s following in America by interceding on her behalf with H. G. Langley, who published an American edition of her *Poems* (1846), and with Sarah Josepha Hale, the influential editor of Godey’s *Lady’s Book*. In 1850, Cushman wrote to Hale, “I should be glad to have a *true woman* like yourself give to the world a true account of her.” Indeed, Hale not only published Cook’s work in an 1850 American gift book, *The Poets’ Offering*, but also published her fiction and poetry in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. Although Cook never traveled to America, her poetry proliferated in the pages of American periodicals and newspapers, in part due to Cushman’s networking on her behalf.

This presentation will illuminate the networking strategies—and the specific “nodes” in both American and British journalistic communities—that Cook and Cushman mobilized in their collaborative marketing efforts. Such elaborate marketing strategies were particularly important for Cook and Cushman because of their “mannish” dress and their romantic (most likely lesbian) relationships, which set them apart from many other women celebrities. Careful construction of their personae through press networks was thus necessary for managing their reputations as public figures.



Michelle Elleray, University of Guelph  
Panel 3.2, Friday 1:45-3:15  
“Slavery in the Pacific: Unveiling Violence  
in a Distant Sea”

In September 1863, the *Missionary Magazine* and *Chronicle* broke the news of the forcible removal of Pacific Islanders to Peru in an article titled “Slavery in the Pacific.” This and three subsequent pieces contained reports from British missionaries in the field and eyewitness accounts from Pacific Island missionaries resident on affected islands, as well as statements by an English captain and an Englishman resident in Peru about the effect of such forced removals on the Islanders, and an appeal to the British parliament to intervene. My paper on the periodical’s portrayal of this historical traffic coalesces around three concerns, each outlined further below: the implications of discursively transposing the transatlantic slave trade to events in the South Pacific; the positioning of the Pacific as a place in which competing claims to the moral authority of empire can be adjudicated; and the periodical as a space for the publication of indigenous voices on the labour trade to South America.

By titling the initial *Missionary Magazine* article “Slavery in the Pacific,” and deploying the term “slavery” in the title of subsequent articles as well as their content, the periodical mobilizes early nineteenth-century evangelical investments in the abolition of transatlantic slavery, and works to relocate the twinned discourses of slavery and its abolition to the South Pacific. But given the deployment of the historically laden term “slavery” for what others will subsequently term “blackbirding” or “the labour trade,” what is at stake in transporting a narrative of slavery and its abolition from one space to another—from the Atlantic to the Pacific?

Incipient in the articles is the positioning of the Pacific as a space for playing out the moral authority of empire.

In the articles the illegitimate labour trade is aligned with the former Spanish empire, and they thereby invoke stereotypes of the Spanish empire as cruel and rapacious, with no concern for indigenous peoples, while calling on assumptions of the British empire as beneficent, civilizing, and—as evident in Britain’s central role in curtailing the transatlantic slave trade—a protector of non-white peoples. The presumed dichotomy is evident in an article that calls on the British parliament to assert Britain’s presumed moral authority on behalf of the captured Islanders. The Pacific thus becomes a site for adjudicating the moral authority of former and current empires.

As recognized by various scholars, periodicals such as the *Missionary Magazine* performed an important function in disseminating information gathered by missionaries in the field to the British public, and thus of conveying a sense of the (informal) empire to their domestic audience. Less commented on is that in a region such as the South Pacific, with no tradition of alphabetic literacy prior to the arrival of the missionaries, such periodicals are a significant location of early indigenous writing. To my knowledge there are only four published or transcribed accounts of the labour trade to South America by Islanders who were personally involved. Two of these are in the “Slavery in the Pacific” article, both by Islander missionaries who witnessed the kidnapping of members of their congregation. By focusing on Maka and Samuela’s accounts, I examine the role of the periodical as a space for recording an indigenous voice, albeit one mediated by the demands of missionary culture.



Laura Kasson Fiss, Davidson College  
Panel 4.1, Friday 3:30-5:00  
“Club Chatter and Literary Sociability in  
the *Idler Circle*”



Under a headpiece depicting the smoking room of a club in which five young men lounge, one with his feet on the mantelpiece, the first “Idler’s Club” column begins: “And then there was another thing.” Clearly meant to replicate club conversation, this column continues in an established tradition of bringing the exclusive club space to the wider periodical-reading public. Yet unlike the scandal-inducing breaches of privacy practiced by columns such as Edmund Yates’s “Lounger at the Clubs,” the Idler’s Club does not invite readers into a real club, but instead creates one around them. Particularly in its early days (beginning in

February 1892), the Idler’s Club column made no claim to consequence and instead followed the ebb and flow of conversation among its several collaborators. For instance, in the first number, Robert Barr begins by discussing the aims of the paper (facetiously noting the dearth of monthlies), Barry Pain interrupts with a series of unrelated proposals, a contributor identified only as “Kennedy” discusses the charms of Venice, and Israel Zangwill’s talk of Christmas numbers reminds Jerome K. Jerome of an anecdote about buying Valentines.

As the *Idler* grew, these club columns would develop more or less explicit themes, and by the twentieth century, after the magazine changed hands a few times, they were written by a single contributor. But in the early days particularly, the “Idler’s Club” truly resembles a club smoking-room in that members drift in and out, yet a core group always seems to be loafing about the smoking room, including co-editors Jerome and Barr. The club also reflects the *Idler* in that its contributors’ work frequently appears in the preceding pages (“The Idler’s Club” is invariably the last feature). But more broadly, the Idler’s Club signals the sociability to which the magazine aspires. From early on, club members use the term “Idlers” to apply to all readers. This club requires no nominations and never wields the black ball; anyone may buy or borrow a way in.

Some singly-authored fiction published in the *Idler* also describes clubs of various formal and informal sorts, in which lounging young men exchange rambling anecdotes. Jerome’s first serial in the *Idler*, *Novel Notes* (1892-93), features such a group: four young men who plan to write a novel and never quite get around to it. In book form, Jerome added an introduction setting the book in his narrator’s idyllic past. Implying a connection to real-life literary London, he dedicates the book to Arthur Conan Doyle.

The first issue of the *Idler* also contains a story by Israel Zangwill describing the Mutual Depreciation Society, a club of journalists who pledge to insult each other within the club’s walls and puff each other’s pieces in public. This story later became incorporated into his 1892 novel *The Old Maid’s Club*. A review of the *Idler*’s first issue in the *Spectator* (February 6, 1892) links this society with the Idler’s Club and “the so-called ‘New Humorists.’” The

last is a pejorative term used to describe Jerome, Pain, Zangwill, and other members of the Idler’s Club. The reviewer continues, “There is obviously a danger that the New Humorists may form themselves into a close coterie, and may commit the mistake of thinking that the public are much more interested than they actually are, in the jokes they make at each other’s expense.” Yet the club atmosphere may be seen not a stiflingly close but as cozy.

But the *Idler*’s circle extends well beyond the New Humorists. Within its pages, Eden Phillpotts rubbed elbows with Rudyard Kipling, Robert Louis Stevenson, Mark Twain, and Andrew Lang. More literal sociability among journalists was facilitated by the “Idler At-Homes,” at one of which Doyle, an *Idler* contributor, met J. M. Barrie, who seems not to have contributed to the journal but who had met Jerome when both were writing for F. W. Robinson’s *Home Chimes*. Years later, Doyle met a young P. G. Wodehouse through Barrie’s cricket team. The landscape of Victorian journalism was club-like indeed.

The Idler’s Club does not represent a literal space. There is no such club, and it cannot be said to invoke the Idler’s offices. The atmosphere would inevitably be more work-place-like: shirtsleeves and ink stains would replace the rumpled formal dress and luxuriant smoke of the headpiece. No, the space of the Idler’s Club resembles more the leisure of the reader than the work of the journalist. The Idler’s Club is a purely imagined space, in which the common reader imaginatively socializes with friendly and witty journalists. This notion, that a newspaper’s readership and its contributors together constitute a club, sheds light on literary sociability in late-Victorian print culture.

Linda Friday, Edge Hill University

Panel 7.1, Saturday 3:45-5:00

“London’s fin de siècle Gothic Cityscape viewed  
through the Lens of Contemporary Newsprint.  
Gendered Nuance and Sexual Transaction in the  
Burlington Arcade, Piccadilly: a Case Study.”

This paper reads the location-specific narratives contained in late-Victorian gothic novels side by side with contemporary newspaper reportage, accessed digitally, in an attempt to establish contemporary readers’ responses to the urban spaces of the novels. Recent works have considered the relationship between Victorian literature and other forms of print such as newspapers and magazines, and have sought to establish the interaction between literature and journalism. This paper seeks to build on, and contribute to the body of work that considers location-specific importance within late Victorian gothic fiction, the relationship and influences of the journalistic reportage of the nineteenth century and the contemporary reader’s perception of the Victorian novel. Much of the current critical work on fin-de-siècle gothic literature fails to embrace the recent advances in print culture and periodical research, arguably obscuring location-specific nuance within the text. Rubery suggests, ‘the shape taken by the Victorian novel must be understood alongside the simultaneous development of the news as a commercial commodity read by up to a million readers a day’.

The paper will consider three key late -Victorian urban Gothic texts: Oscar Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897) and Richard Marsh’s *The Beetle* (1897) as location-specific narratives. This paper focuses on a single specific location within the narratives, Piccadilly London, and establishes the significance of that location for the contemporary reader by examining the contested commercial space of the Burlington Arcade. The texts will be considered in conjunction with contemporary press coverage of the space. This offers a new reading of the novels by examining the contemporary reader’s likely understanding of the sexually and commercially charged urban space in which *Dracula*, *Dorian Gray* and *Percy Woodville* move.

The eponymous characters all take up occupancy in and around the capital and within the narratives, *Dorian Gray*, *Dracula* and *Percy Woodville* as flâneur stroll in Piccadilly, anonymous and absorbed by the life of the metropolis, emphasising the gendered modernity of the urban environment. The location-specific narrative meets and intersects with the reportage from contemporary print culture within the space or locus of Piccadilly, providing a rich and significant perspective for the reader. Piccadilly, situated at the heart of the Empire, emerges as a space of transition and uncertainty. This emphasises fears of instability and the sexually transgressive nature of commercial transactions and interactions within the Burlington Arcade. The architecture of the building facilitated new encounters and codes of behaviour, which a vampiric invader and a sexual deviant would be able to exploit. Newspaper reportage of the time illustrates that the arcade was a contested space, a site of dangerous sexualities, commodities and consumption, where the flâneur might encounter the flâneuse, creating conflict and the potential for transgression. For the contemporary reader of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, *Dracula*, and *The Beetle* who was familiar with the newspaper reportage of activities within the contested space of the arcade, the location-specific narrative would hold contextual resonance, and create an enhanced perspective of the nuance of Piccadilly within the novel. This paper seeks to identify and reconstruct elements of lost spatial resonance, through consideration of the newspaper reports featuring Piccadilly and the Burlington Arcade, thereby facilitating a greater understanding of the meaning for the contemporary Victorian reader of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, *Dracula* and *The Beetle* which may have been lost to the modern reader.

Paul Fyfe, North Carolina State University  
Panel 1.1, Friday 9:15-10:45  
“Periodical Method: Technologies of Serendipity”

Paul Fyfe’s paper, “Technologies of Serendipity,” considers the remediation of desultory reading and serendipitous discovery which have historically characterized Victorian periodical reading as well as scholarly research on periodical archives. Even before digitization expanded the text-base of historical research materials, scholars accepted that “samplings and soundings”—as in the subtitle for Michael Wolff and Joanne Shattock’s 1982 collection of essays—characterized many of our approaches to the massive Victorian periodical archive. That experience has been technologized in the chance discoveries seemingly made possibly by the digital restructuring of the scholarly discourse network—or what Patrick Leary, in his 2005 essay in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, called “Googling the Victorians.” In the meantime, we have learned more about serendipity not merely as a consequence of

digital encounters with masses of texts or unlooked-for connections, but as a structural feature of the databases, platforms, and tools we use. However, while scholars of digitized historical materials continue to engage debates about what constitutes “evidence,” we have yet to grapple with the methodological implications or scholarly validity of serendipity as an approach to research. To approach this problem, this paper shares examples of how, quite recently, serendipitous machines been purpose-built for scholarship, including digital interfaces for historical periodical archives. It further asks that we explore the next phase of our methodological investments in serendipity to better formalize and evaluate the paths to unexpected scholarly discovery.

Helena Goodwyn, Queen Mary, University of London

Panel 3.2, Friday 1:45-3:15

## “A Transatlantic Guide to Life: A Different Kind of Travel Narrative”

In 1893 W. T. Stead visited Chicago. He followed in the footsteps of many of his countrymen and women in then producing a travel narrative, if it can be deemed as such, about his six month experience in that city and the surrounding areas. But unlike many of his predecessors, in creating *If Christ Came to Chicago* Stead was not writing for a British audience, eagerly listing the failings of that great democratic experiment in a mode established by de Tocqueville, Trollope, Dickens and many others. Instead he was addressing an English-speaking abstraction: a hybrid figure who existed in his imagined future reunification of all English-speaking nations. As in so many aspects of Stead's career as an innovator of the periodical press his text does not fit in the traditional space of the Anglo-American travel narrative as outlined by Christopher Mulvey in *Transatlantic Manners*. (1)

This paper presents *If Christ Came to Chicago* - first published to much consternation at railway stations and other public bookstores in Chicago, and latterly published in the U.K. by the *Review of Reviews* - as a unique example of Stead's attempt to create a transatlantic network or nexus, a virtual space, in which he could promote a new 'civic faith'. This modernised, mobilised religion, in its 'new catholicity', would be without national boundaries and would be, as Stead saw it, the unifying force of the twentieth century. (2)

*If Christ Came to Chicago* sold in excess of 150,000 copies in American and the U.K. within the first few years of its publication inspiring numerous responses, fictional and otherwise and influencing a hugely popular genre of fiction: the social gospel novel. (3) Most significantly, and as is asserted by Stead on the front cover of the 1899 U.K. reissue of the book, ICCTC inspired Charles Sheldon's

*In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do?* which became one of the best-selling novels of all time. The imitatio dei included in the title of Sheldon's novel was subsequently taken up by certain factions of the Christian faith as the mantra for a movement which continues to this day, and is often now abbreviated to WWJD.

In considering *If Christ Came to Chicago* and the texts it inspired we can begin to map a popular but overlooked transatlantic exchange taking place at the fin de siècle. The dramatic technological leaps accomplished during the nineteenth century allowed authors and editors, writers and reporters to imagine new ways of communicating to audiences not confined by national boundaries. The participants of this exchange were, this paper contends, engaged in an attempt to ensure that the new century would be a global project.

- (1) Christopher Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-century Anglo-American Travel Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- (2) W. T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago: A Plea for the Union of all who Love in the Service of all Who Suffer*, (Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1894), p.332; p.334
- (3) John P. Ferre, *A Social Gospel for Millions: The Religious Bestsellers of Charles Sheldon, Charles Gordon, and Harold Bell Wright* (Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988)

F. Elizabeth Gray, Massey University

Panel 3.1, Friday 1:45-3:15

## “‘Sentimental twaddle upon the subject’: Dora Greenwell, Poetry and Journalism in the 1860s”

Since Linda Hughes’ stirring contention that “poetry should matter to all who are interested in Victorian periodicals” (91), Victorianists have gained a number of important new ways of reading the contribution of poems to the periodicals in which they appeared, and of assessing poets’ debts to periodical publishing. Kitty Ledbetter, for example, has argued for the role periodical poetry played in producing Victorian femininity, and for the role of the periodical press in promoting and enriching (and, arguably, constructing) Tennyson. However, the relationship of poetry to journalism in the nineteenth century remains under-theorised, an under-theorisation perhaps grounded in lingering assumptions about the nature of post-Romantic poetry (personal, atemporal, of lasting import) and journalism (addressing serious topics; diurnal; ephemeral). Dallas Liddle has recently issued a challenge for scholars to focus on what he dubs “the peri-journalism of poets, historians, and... novelists” (167), and to identify for analysis “texts generated at points of contact and translation between genres” (167). What might be produced at such a contact point, when a poem takes as its subject a recognisable historical event, and is read alongside news reports treating the same event? How does such a poem work, and how does it work *within* and *on* the periodical that houses it?

This conference paper focuses on the complex and fluid relations between journalism and topical poetry in Victorian periodicals, through the lens of one mid-Victorian poet, Dora Greenwell. I read Greenwell’s topical verse and periodical journalism beside and through each other, arguing that by tracking the dynamic interactions between poetry and journalism we can greatly extend our understanding of an individual poet’s political and aesthetic ambitions – and we can also begin to reconceptualise the functions of the periodical and the processes of periodical reading for the Victorian reader.

Like Barrett Browning, whom she greatly admired, Greenwell found herself compelled to write poetry in response

to contemporary events and social issues, and she published a number of such topical poems in daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals including the *Leeds Mercury* and the *Sunday Magazine*. This conference paper will examine “Grand Coeur Pour Grande Heure,” which treats the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and was first published in *St. Paul’s Magazine* in December of that year, and “A Dialogue”, first published in *Good Words* in December 1862. “A Dialogue” draws readers’ attention to the sufferings of factory workers at the time of the Cotton Famine in the north of England, and closes with a call to charity and communal action. My readings of these poems argue that Greenwell’s poetry’s relationship to journalism is complex, simultaneously dependent, affirmative, and corrective. Greenwell’s verse assumes a journalistic context in order to be understood, and also offers an interpretive guide to that journalistic context, helping readers respond appropriately. It both grants itself interpretive authority, reifying factuality, and questions the very reliability of presented fact.

Examining the way in which Greenwell deployed topical poetry within the venue of periodicals helps enrich our reading of an interesting, challenging, and minor Victorian writer, and of the ways in which she conceptualises the ‘work’ of a poet and the ‘work’ of a periodical. But it also requires us to re-examine assumptions about the separability of producing literary art and producing literary work. Closely reading texts produced at the generic contact point between poetry and journalism enables illuminating interrogation of the claims made by both periodical and poem about significance, permanence, and impact on the reader.

### References

- (1) Hughes, Linda. “What the *Wellesley Index* Left Out: Why Poetry Matters to Periodical Studies,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 40, no.2 (2007), 115.
- (2) Liddle, Dallas. *The Dynamics of Genre: Journalism and the Practice of Literature in Mid-Victorian Britain*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2009.



# Ann Hale, University of Greenwich

## Panel 6.1, Saturday 2:00-3:30

### “Matrimony, Tenancy, and Anxiety: Legal Advice Columns and Economies of Space”

A variety of Victorian advice-column genres have received scholarly attention—everything from Margaret Beetham’s discussion of agony aunts and domestic science tips in her study of women’s magazines to Timothy David Harding’s history of chess columns. The legal advice column, however, remains unstudied. In this presentation I will take preliminary steps toward addressing this lacuna by examining and comparing legal advice columns published in a number of weekly newspapers and periodicals in England, Wales, and Australia. My goal is to illuminate how virtual and material space, content, and context facilitated the construction of a particular image of the legal system and presumptive readers’ status and power within it.

The content survey will focus on economies of space, by which I mean: (1) the allocation of content and its layout on the printed page; (2) the balance of publisher and reader interests within the space of the legal advice column; (3) the column’s intertextual intersections with other law-related material in the same issue, other issues of the periodical, or other equivalent columns; and (4) whether the virtual exchange between legal expert and correspondent is evocative of physical space and, in turn, representative of the accessibility of legal information.

The space devoted to the law in today’s popular media contributes to—and shapes—public knowledge and conceptions of the legal system. In the introduction to *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein suggest that nineteenth-century and present-day media have much in common: “many of the issues that confronted the producers and consumers of media in the nineteenth century were not so very different from those that have come to be associated with more recent technological phenomena” (7). Victorian authors and the popular press certainly drew heavily on the law—bankruptcies, sensational crimes, salacious divorce cases, and the need for legal change. Presumably, like today, Victorian periodicals and their advice columns addressed these and other legal topics in ways that simultaneously communicated information and shaped public perception.

Legal advice columns descend from “answers to correspondents,” which occasionally responded to legal queries. In her *Dictionary*

*of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* entry on “Answers to Readers,” Beetham highlights the columns’ hierarchical nature: “[they] usually consisted of didactic advice from an authoritative editorial figure . . . For most of the century . . . the questions were not printed, only the answers.” Correspondents’ voices are omitted from some, but not all, legal advice columns. The balance between expert and inquirer speaks to the co-existing, often-conflicting interests of publishers and readers. This, in turn, raises a number of questions, including: Who provided legal advice? Who was the advice intended for? What questions did readers ask? How much space was devoted to legal queries compared to other content? The answers to these questions, along with the evidence derived from the detailed survey and spatial analysis of the columns, will serve as the basis for my analysis of the ways in which Victorian legal advice columns constructed an image of the legal system and the balance of power between readers and the law.

My proposed presentation on “Legal Advice Columns and Economies of Space” will contribute to a deeper understanding of the ways in which Victorian general-audience periodicals mediated and manipulated information about and perceptions of the legal system.

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Erica Haugtvedt, The Ohio State University

Panel 3.3, Friday 1:45-3:15

## “Mincing the Meat of Medium: Serial Reading and Adapting Sweeney Todd”

Sean O’Sullivan defines serials as “broken on purpose” (59). Serialized prose fiction “calls attention to itself as an array of parts; it is the art of fracture, of separation, and it is the art of the energy required to stitch together those pieces” (59). In this essay, I examine the process of “stitching together the pieces” of serial fiction. Writing of current fans of serial narrative, Jennifer Hayward comments: “serial fans are simply honoring generic traditions when they pretend to see characters as real people” (67). I contend that what Hayward says of current fans of serials also holds true for Victorian devotees of serial fiction. Following the work of narratologists such as Hilary Dannenberg who are concerned with the counterfactual possibilities inherent in literary realism, in this paper I argue that *serial reading* opens up a space for imagining an endlessly proliferating fictional world that can be concretely realized in across media. Sweeney Todd arguably first appeared in *The String of Pearls, A Romance*, which was published in Edward Lloyd’s *The People’s Periodicals and Family Library* in eighteen weekly parts from 21 November to 20 March 1847. Before the serialization concluded, stage adaptations were already underway. George Dibdin Pitt staged “The String of Pearls; or, the Fiend of Fleet Street” on February 15, 1847 at the Royal Britannia Saloon. Pitt’s dramatic adaptation departs from the serial narrative in key ways, spawning the first of many melodramatic incarnations of the Sweeney Todd legend. When Dibdin Pitt prematurely intervenes in the serial narrative in order to project an ending that has not yet been written, Dibdin Pitt is tapping into an excitement that perhaps uniquely belongs to serial reading. Further, when Dibdin Pitt adapts the tale of Sweeney Todd, he begins the process of interpretation and transformation that continues in later iterations down to the present.

In this essay, I am specifically concerned with the literalized space of the serial narrative turned drama. What is entailed in the translation of serial fiction into the dramatic medium? I argue that serial reading encourages readers to imagine the fiction as always ongoing—the partial reports of installment narration imply that there is always more to report, another time. How do dramatic adaptations staged during serialization—such as Dibdin Pitt’s—intervene in serial reading, and how does the dramatic adaptation seek to answer and assuage readerly desire for concretization and closure? I conclude by arguing that responses to serial fiction like Dibdin Pitt’s dramatic adaptation reflect serial reading practices that particularly cultivate a sense of the ongoing real while also implying that the real is subject to “counterfactual” reimaginings; that the world as we know it “could have been otherwise.” Thus, the adaptations of serial fiction reflect something important about realism and reader response in the nineteenth century—these adaptations are evidence for an orientation toward the fictional world that implies that the audience can turn into creators, and that the narrative can prove an endless font of imaginative possibility.

Nathan Hensley, Georgetown University

Panel 1.1, Friday 9:15-10:45

## “Periodical Method: Andrew Lang’s Network Form”

Nathan K. Hensley’s paper, “Andrew Lang’s Network Form,” uses the case of this journalistic impresario and literary institution-builder to revive the conceptual dilemmas posed by late Victorian coterie production -- dilemmas that have renewed traction in our current networked era. Focusing on *Longman’s* during Lang’s tenure as columnist there (1882-1905), this paper traces Lang’s staggeringly productive life and places it in the context of the rapidly shifting late-Victorian mediascape, a “field of cultural production” (Bourdieu’s term) that Lang served importantly to shape. Translator, editor, author, critic, advocate, and journalist: “Andrew Lang” emerges here not so much as a figure of study in his own right, but as a node, transfer point, or station of connection that helped

convene a vast and interlinked network of disparate actors --including *Longman’s* itself. Locating Lang in his proper place at the center of the matrices of literary creativity he helped shape historicizes our understanding of the modern field of cultural production, tracing the emergence of this regime of value associations from the periodical wars of the 1880s; it also shows how the late-century big magazine --precursor and scorned other to the anticommercial “little magazines” of the modernist moment-- focalizes methodological questions of autonomy, mediation, and originality that our digital moment has yet to resolve.

# Natalie M. Houston, University of Houston

## Panel 3.1, Friday 1:45-3:15

### “The Place of Poetry in Periodicals of the 1860s”

All printed texts communicate historical and cultural information through three different kinds of features: bibliographic features, such as paper, typeface, size, prize, and organizational structure; visual or graphic features, such as the arrangement of text, images, and white space on the page; and linguistic features, such as the syntactic and semantic aspects of the words printed on the page. As Jerome McGann suggests in *Radiant Textuality*, “. . . text documents, while *coded* bibliographically and semantically, are all *marked* graphically” and that “A page of printed or scripted text should thus be understood as a certain kind of graphic interface” (138, 199). These features are present in all printed texts, but their interrelationship is of particular interest for periodical studies, since the periodical functions as a commodity object itself and as a discursive formation for the texts it presents. Scholars have, for example, fruitfully examined the juxtaposition of illustrations and text; of advertisements and editorial content; and the topical variety of the Victorian periodical. In this paper I examine the bibliographical, graphical, and semantic place of poetry in middle-class periodicals of the 1860s such as *Cornhill*, *Macmillan's*, *Blackwood's*, and *Temple Bar*. Nineteenth-century printing conventions visually distinguish poetic texts from prose with additional white space at one or all margins; by printing each poetic line as a separate line of print; and by capitalizing the first word of each line of the poem no matter its place in the syntactic unit. As Johanna Drucker suggests, “we see before we read and the recognition thus produced predisposes us to reading according to specific graphic codes before we engage with the language of the text” (242). The visual appearance of the poem on the page signals its genre and may well also signal particular aspects of its form, since in many instances, lines of poetry are indented to different degrees to visually mark the rhyme scheme of the poem. For example, a sonnet is visually recognizable on the page long before one reads its words.

In my analysis, the place of poetry in these periodicals encompasses:

- the positioning of full poems within the issue (a bibliographic code that often signals the importance of poetry to the mission of the periodical);
- the placement and typographic design of the poem on the page (a visual code made up of typeface, layout, white space, and ornament);
- the presence of book reviews or other essays about poetry and the related visual codes for quotations or lengthy extracts;
- the sentiments expressed about poetry in editorial material, articles, and reviews (semantic codes);
- the linguistic register occupied by the poetic texts of a particular issue or periodical title as compared with its prose texts (syntactic and semantic codes including word choice, word frequency, syntax, etc.)

To examine how poetry signified through these different codes in the pages of these 1860s periodicals is particularly interesting given the growth and dominance of the novel within popular culture at mid-century. I argue that a full understanding of poetry's cultural function at mid-century can best be approached through this entwined bibliographic, graphic, and linguistic analysis.

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Linda K. Hughes, Texas Christian University

Panel 6.1, Saturday 2:00-3:30

## “Racing to Place a Poem: Memorial Verses and/as Journalism”

If, as Laurel Brake argues (*Subjugated Knowledges*, 1994), Arnold and Pater sought to distance their critical writings from ephemera in transforming their journal articles into books, “ephemera-anxiety” assailed poets even more. Robert Browning, for example, repeatedly denied publishing periodical poems despite evidence to the contrary. “Racing to Place a Poem,” which grows out of my essay on “Poetry” for the *Ashgate Research Companion to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals*, examines memorial poems published in periodicals in the aftermath of the deaths of Robert Browning (12 December 1889), Alfred Tennyson (6 October 1892), and Christina Rossetti (29 December 1894) in terms of journalism and poetic aspiration to canonical status.

Theocritus, Milton, and Shelley each authored poetic tributes after rival poets died. Mass-produced periodicals and the news cycle, however, changed the conditions of production of memorial tributes. Poets had to write quickly enough to embed the memorial verse in the same news cycle as obituaries yet also sufficiently maintain poetic standards to demonstrate poetry’s importance and sustain the surviving poet’s reputation. Poets writing memorial verses thus became rival poet-journalists who competed to be first with a published tribute. Mapping poetic tributes along a timeline and relative to signature thus illuminates poetic rivalries from a journalistic standpoint, and competing journals viewed through the lens of poetry.

Poets who paid tribute to Browning in periodicals include Michael Field, Arthur Symonds, Algernon Swinburne, Theodore Martin, Aubrey de Vere, and H. D. Rawnsley. The number of memorial verse tributes to Tennyson was greater: two by Theodore Watts, plus poems by Martin, Rawnsley, George Simcox, Austin Dobson, and, in an omnibus gathering of verse in the November 1892 *Nineteenth Century*, T. H. Huxley, Frederick Myers, Roden Noel, F. T. Palgrave, de Vere, and James Knowles. The omnibus feature is both an intriguing intersection of poetry and journalism and a performance of networks and affiliations that shed luster on the men involved.

The memorial verses on Browning and Tennyson also highlight, by way of contrast, the function of gender in periodical memorial verses. Shockingly, a mere two tributes to Christina Rossetti surfaced in the ProQuest database (the source of all those noted above). Only Swinburne, from among those responding to the deaths of Browning and Tennyson, memorialized Christina Rossetti. The lyric’s title, “New Year’s Eve,” indicated composition two days after Rossetti’s death, though the lyric itself appeared in February 1895. By publishing the lyric, *Nineteenth Century* helped to consolidate that journal’s association with high-prestige poetry and poets.

Mary Isbell, Yale University  
Panel 7.2, Saturday 3:45-5:00  
“Imperial and Shipboard Circulation: The  
Places and Spaces of *The Young Idea*”

“Newspapers are not generally regarded on board men-of-war with a friendly eye,” explains A.D. McArthur in his preface to the facsimile edition of *The Young Idea: A Naval Journal edited on board H.M.S. Chesapeake in 1857, 1858, & 1859* (1867). McArthur edited *The Young Idea*, an illustrated, handwritten weekly paper, while serving as a clerk aboard HMS Chesapeake; his preface goes on to explain that officers viewed shipboard periodicals as vehicles of insubordination. Along with the insight it provides into contributors’ impressions of the foreign places they visit (including Calcutta, Trincomalee, Aden, and Singapore) and their role in protecting British interests, *The Young Idea* offers a detailed account of day-to-day life aboard a British warship. It includes, for example, an editorial remembrance of a sailor killed by a falling piece of rigging and a “letter to the editor” complaining that five gentlemen awakened the inhabitants of “forecastle street” singing “Annie Laurie” at the top of their lungs and then evaded the guardian of the night who tried to interrupt their revelry. But the very form through which we encounter such accounts demonstrates how the presence of a shipboard periodical influenced shipboard life by creating a community that could mourn and chastise in a publication that circulated aboard the ship.

Very few shipboard periodicals that remain are available in the forms in which they originally circulated, making it much more challenging to parse how such papers circulated. The actual pages of *The Young Idea* are not extant, but we have transcriptions from them in the diary of the ship’s chaplain, J.W.L. Bamfield, and the facsimile edition, printed by Paul Jerrard in London in 1867. (1) While researchers have devoted some attention to shipboard publishing and printing, (2) the only scholarship that mentions *The Young Idea* concerns Paul Jerrard, the publisher of the 1867 edition. (3) Because the editor of *The Young Idea* was a ship’s clerk (positioned somewhere on a continuum between commissioned officer and ordinary sailor in the ship’s hierarchy), it is particularly useful to

look at the demographics of the contributors to *The Young Idea*. Drawing on Bamfield’s transcriptions (which provide initials for contributors that match names mentioned frequently in the pages of the paper) and Muster Records of HMS *Chesapeake*, I am reconstructing the spaces in which the manuscript pages circulated aboard the *Chesapeake*. (4) My presentation will focus on the way I am using the advanced features of the Text Encoding Initiative to track and represent that circulation in “The Digital *Young Idea*,” a scholarly edition of the entire run (58 issues) of this Victorian shipboard periodical.

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- (4) Muster Records for the HMS Chesapeake: 1857 July-Dec. (ADM 38/2883); 1858 Jan.-June. (ADM 38/2884); 1858 July-Dec. (ADM 38/2885); 1859 Jan.-June (ADM 38/2886); 1859 July-Sept. (ADM 38/2887); 1859 Oct.-Dec. (ADM 38/2888). National Archive for England, Wales, and the United Kingdom.

Amelia Joulain-Jay, Lancaster University

Panel 4.3, Friday 3:30-5:00

## “Using Digital Methods to Investigate the Representation of Places in the Victorian Periodical Press”

The sheer volume of newspapers produced in the nineteenth-century presents a constant challenge to the Victorianist. Focus is often, perforce, restricted to *The Times* or to a small sample of successful papers (Hobbs 2013). Digitization of newspapers has proven helpful in facilitating access to historical newspapers but has not yet empowered scholars to broaden their scope to consider more than a small fraction of extant Victorian periodicals. The challenge is taking advantage of the ever-growing digital collections in order to arrive at a more detailed knowledge of Victorian discursive landscapes (Bingham 2010, Nicholson 2013). In the spirit of ‘distant reading’ (Moretti 2000, but for examples in Victorian history, see Gibbs and Cohen 2011 or Liddle 2012), this paper presents a pilot-study investigating the representation of places in a subset of the British Library’s digitized nineteenth-century newspaper collection. The British Library’s collection contains daily and weekly local, regional and national papers spanning the century (Fleming and King 2009). The sample used for this pilot-study contains over 350 million words from more than 3000 issues of *The Era* published between September 1838 and the end of 1900. The analysis deploys methods developed in the fields of Corpus Linguistics and Geographical Information Systems in order to map the places mentioned in the newspapers and to uncover systematic patterns of discursive representations of these places.

Corpus Linguistics is a set of computer-based methods that facilitate both quantitative and qualitative analysis of large volumes of text (McEnery and Hardie 2012). A key Corpus Linguistic concept is ‘collocation’ – a measure of the tendency of words to occur together, which may be revealing of ways of thinking that are shared within a given discourse community (for an example of application to Victorian newspapers, see Colella 2013). In this study, patterns of collocation with place-names are investigated in order to gain further understanding of common perceptions of places manifested in the Victorian media.

Geographical Information Systems is an approach that uses computerized tools to facilitate the analysis of spatial patterns within datasets (see Bailey and Schick 2009 or Marti-Henneberg 2011 for applications in history). In my analysis, ArcGIS (a Geographical Information Systems package) is used to map the places mentioned in the newspaper articles, along with patterns of discursive representation, in order to highlight emotional or ideological associations with particular places which are portrayed in the media (cf. Buchanan 2009, Howe 2009 for a similar analysis applied to contemporary newspapers).

The combination of Corpus Linguistic tools with Geographical Information Systems is a recent development (Gregory and Hardie 2011). The method employed in this study extends that developed by Cooper and Gregory (2011) to investigate the representation of places in the Lake District in the writings of Coleridge, Wordsworth and Gray. The method consists of identifying place-names mentioned in the texts, using Corpus Linguistic techniques (including concordance and collocation analysis) to summarise what is being associated with each place-name, and using GIS to produce maps highlighting spatial patterns of association with different emotional and ideological overtones.

This investigation is the first step of a study into the representation of places in the full digitized collection of the British Library’s nineteenth-century newspapers. The study is part of the *Spatial Humanities* project at Lancaster University (2012-2016), a project funded by the European Research Council which aims to develop ways of exploring text using Geographical Information Systems in order to benefit disciplines in the Humanities (see Gregory and Cooper 2013).

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Christopher M. Keirstead,  
Auburn University  
Panel 5.2, Saturday 11:00-12:30  
“Verse Travels: (Re)locating Poetry  
in John Murray’s European  
Guidebooks, 1836-1901”

My paper broadly considers the nature, extent, and rhetorical function of poetry and poetic references as a feature of John Murray’s English European “Handbooks” from the beginning of the series in 1836 to its conclusion in 1901. Over the past decade, as scholars of nineteenth-century British poetry have focused new attention on the genre’s significant presence in more popular, ephemeral forms such as newspapers, pamphlets, giftbooks, and literary annuals, there has yet to be a full and systematic study of the ways poetry—including references to specific poets and works as well as extracts of individual poems—prominently figured in the first mass-market guidebooks. What critical attention that poetry in the guidebooks has received—James Buzard’s ground-breaking *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (1993), for instance—has tended to stress more of the political or ideological function, often negative, that the extraction of poetry performed on the poems themselves and poets such as Byron. Taking more of an audience-based approach to this crossing of forms, I argue that the guidebook stages a unique and still in

many ways under-valued form of rhetorical ekphrasis, or translation across senses, linking poetry to visual engagement with sculpture, architecture, and other “sights” and sites of travel. Furthermore, I demonstrate how Murray’s guidebooks sought to re-contextualize poetry for English travelers as a transnational, pan-European discourse and mode of cosmopolitan engagement. Other fundamental questions my paper explores include: in which specific guidebooks, by region and country, do poetic references dominate? What kind of historical, national, or cultural range do we see among references? Historically, when do these references peak and what cultural and economic factors contribute to their decline? To what extent did Murray’s chief rival later in the century, the cheaper and more “practical” Baedeker series, also include poetry or seek to validate its relevance to the experience of travel? What do we know of how travelers themselves registered this literary knowledge, as seen in letters and in reviews of the guidebooks in the contemporary periodical press?

Christina J. Kelly, University of Delaware  
Panel 4.4, Friday 3:30-5:00  
“Reader’s Access to Japan through Japanese  
Women in Periodical Fiction”

After 200 years of isolation from the West, Japan reluctantly opened itself to the world in the middle of the nineteenth century. As an irresistible secret to Westerners, Japan was positioned in the Victorian imagination as an extraordinary and exotic place, a paradise for adventure and romance. Over the course of several decades, information trickled into the mainstream through major and minor papers, slowly revealing the face of Japan as envisioned by English writers, reporters, and explorers. This information, sometimes factual and other times purely fiction, fed the fancies of Victorian authors of fiction, prompting them to write fantasies about a land they knew only in print, yet could replicate for their readers with infinite detail. An examination of this sort of short fiction published in periodicals has yet to be conducted in earnest. In his study of the role that Japan has played in shaping Western literature, Earl Miner, the late professor of Japanese poetry, broached the subject of periodical fiction and dismissed it in one motion, advising his readers to spare themselves the time and trouble of finding and reading these stories because all were of “low literary quality.” Yet an investigation of the tales of adventure in Japan proves not to be a waste of time for the scholar who takes up such a challenge. A thorough search through print and digital archives yields an untapped pocket of stories about the then newly-opened country of Japan, penned by late Victorians. Published in popular monthlies such as *Pall Mall Magazine* and *The Strand*, these stories offered a glimpse into a strange and fantastic place to audiences who could not, by their own means, experience the country for themselves.

When one examines these stories carefully and compares them not only to themselves, but to other representations of Japan and its people in novels and drama, one can find a remarkable similarity of plot for fiction that was designed to give readers access to a foreign people. Rather than experiment with varied plots or characters to showcase the many facets of Japanese culture, periodical fiction about Japan written in the late-nineteenth, early-

twentieth century replicates with little variation the same settings, characters, incidents, and outcomes, and follows the theme of desertion. These stories (such as Mrs. Hugh Fraser’s “She Danced for Him” and Carlton Dawe’s series, “Rose and Chrysanthemum,” among others) open with a young Westerner in Japan whose desire for adventure and romance prompts him to explore the interior of the country. Without fail, the protagonist discovers a woman (normally, a temporary wife, commonly referred to as a *mousmé*) and falls in love. Complications arise, the hero must return to his work or his home, and the woman is left behind to die of a broken heart. Like Loti’s *Madame Chrysanthème* or Puccini’s *Madame Butterfly*, these short works indulge the reader by encouraging him to explore Japan’s culture, language, and countryside— all of its romantic and romanticized elements – from the safety of his armchair.

What facilitates these adventures is the Japanese woman, a delicate, artful, mystical creature who becomes the protagonist’s point of access in every tale. She is the hero’s gateway to all that is hidden and forbidden in Japan; without her, the protagonist is immobile and ignorant. Her almost inevitable abandonment and/or death at the end of the tale signifies to the reader that the adventure is over and that he, like the protagonist, must return to the life from whence he came, carrying back with him only the memory of his adventure as a souvenir. As the controlling trope in short periodical fiction about Japan, the guiding and deserted Japanese woman is the subject of my analyses, and through her the significance of the other separate and similar elements – setting, characters, events, and theme – will be revealed.

Andrew King, University of Greenwich

Panel 5.4, Saturday 11:00-12:30

## “Ouida: Journalism, Cosmopolitanism and the Aesthetics of Place”

The popular novelist and journalist Ouida (1839-1908) lived in Italy from 1871, with only one brief visit to London in 1886-7. While she had participated in public debates in the press since the late 1860s, from 1878 her sustained engagement with protest journalism began with articles in the *Whitehall Review* and letters in *The Times* about what we now call conservation and heritage, particularly of the modernisation of Florence (on the outskirts of which she lived) and of Rome. Her impact was substantial enough to generate numerous replies in *The Times* and elsewhere, and even a cartoon in *Fun* lampooning her insistence on the need for urban beauty and the preservation of history. Ouida believed she was arguing at root for individual happiness and pleasure over managerial and corporate efficiency and profit; however, she is not known to have written about the modernisation of London (or, say, Paris), so the question suggests itself of what her relationship to place in this journalism might be: how far can her rejection of Italian modernisation be linked to the imperial tourist gaze towards an aestheticized South, where peasants, decay and slums are merely opportunities for the generation of picturesque and sentimental narratives and points of view that would be untenable for Italians?

This paper will seek to answer that question by examining the responses to Ouida's denunciation of modernisation in English and Italian, while at the same time looking at her vexed relationship to cosmopolitanism. How far is it possible to argue that Ouida was arguing not from a northern imperialist perspective or indeed from a local one determined to save specific Italian antiquities for Italians, but from a feeling that the preservation of heritage was essential for a post-national, cosmopolitan, future history?

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It has been well established how after the Napoleonic Wars, technological developments and new infrastructures made travel increasingly available to the British middle classes. This development is mirrored in the great amount of travel and topographical writing through which Victorian periodicals made their readers

familiar with the wider world and suggested spaces and places for their own touristic activities. An essential part of magazines in particular, travel writing offered readers an accessible and pleasurable engagement with other countries, but one that had an impact precisely because it was 'easy' reading.

Much Victorian travel was directed at the Continent, which the transport revolution brought into close reach for Britons, thus helping to transform the traditional 'grand tour' into a more modern form of tourism practised by individuals as well as groups (in 1856, Thomas Cook offered his first 'Great Circular Tour of the Continent'). Germany had never been the most central destination of the classical, educational and male-biased grand tour, but the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries re-imagined Germany as a 'romantic' space and re-fashioned it as a popular destination for leisured travel. The Rhine in particular attracted landscape tourists from Britain (now of both sexes), and many English also came to Germany in order to find recreation and entertainment in its many spas. Victorian tourism continued this tradition, and Victorian magazines for the 'common' reader printed a significant number of travel pieces related to Germany and its places and people.

Many of these pieces took up the Romantic perspective and were dedicated to such German landscapes and towns that could offer aesthetic pleasure

and relaxation. But others recorded the changes brought about by modern travel, which threatened to subvert established touristic perceptions. The most radical departures from Romantic templates occur in articles that approach contemporary Germany as a political space undergoing significant change which concerned the Victorian public because it affected Britain's role in the concert of European nations.

Departing from such premises, my paper would show how travel writing in major and widely read Victorian family magazines (such as *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, the *Leisure Hour* and *Chambers's Journal*) constructed Germany as an ambivalent space during the period between c. 1850 and c. 1875, i.e. following the failed revolutions of 1848/9 to the first years of German unification after 1871. Germany here emerges as a country to be toured for its sights and scenery and to be appreciated for its culture, but also as a society that compared unfavourably to Britain in terms of its lack of democracy, its lack of a national centre, its strong Roman Catholic presence as well as other features of 'backwardness'. This results in an overall presentation of Germany as being both romantic and distinctly post-romantic, and as a space that provided leisure as much as opportunities for the study of socio-cultural otherness.

Lindsay Lawrence, University of Arkansas Fort Smith

Panel 5.3, Saturday 11:00-12:30

“‘Afford[ing] me a Place:’ Recovering the Poetry of Margaret Hodson, Catherine Godwin, and Eliza Hamilton in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*”

Stephen Behrendt argues that women writers in the Romantic period “were fully attuned to the actual, practical realities involved in public behavior, among which was of course publication” (3). The work of Behrendt and Susan Wolfson, among other scholars, resituates the literary landscape of the early nineteenth century by making visible the ways that women writers negotiated the publishing market. Work on literary annuals has also uncovered how these publications “...facilitated for some writers (especially women) access to canonical status” (Mourão 110). Yet much recovery work remains to be done on the work of poetry published in nineteenth-century periodicals, especially the work of women poets. I suggest that an examination of poetry publication patterns in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* alongside archival research into the author publisher relationships William Blackwood cultivated with several women poets asks us to reconsider *Blackwood’s* as an exclusively masculine space.

Using data on periodical poetry publication made available in The *Periodical Poetry Index*, this paper explores how *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* became a space more amenable to the work of women poets. Typically, considered as a space dominated by masculine voices, the magazine did publish the work of women poets, cultivating a long-term relationship with Felicia Hemans. Most importantly, William Blackwood made no effort to conceal Hemans’s gender, acceding to her request to sign her poetry under “Mrs. Hemans” in order to avoid confusion with another poet using the initials F.H. Between 1827 and 1834, 455 poems, exclusive of the songs in the Noctes Ambrosianae or other conversational articles, were published in *Blackwood’s*. Sonnet sequences, poems in series, lyrics, translations of Latin, Greek and German poetry, and songs in the Noctes Ambrosianae made the early nineteenth-century *Blackwood’s* a repository for a substantial body of poetry, hinting at the ubiquity

of periodical poetry in these spaces. Of these poems, 121 were by women poets explicitly signing under their own names. From April 1827 to July 1835, the work of Hemans appeared regularly in *Blackwood’s*, typically in six of the volumes that made up the year run of the magazine. Beginning in November of 1832, more women poets appear in the magazine under their signed name. These poets include Margaret Hodson, Catherine Godwin, Eliza Hamilton, Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, and Augusta Norton.

Through the patterns in poetry publication revealed by the *Periodical Poetry Index* and archival work done on the correspondence with William Blackwood by Hodson, Godwin, and Hamilton, I argue that the author publisher relationship developed between Hemans and Blackwood opened up a space for other women poets to publish in the magazine under their own name. Admittedly, not all of these women poets were successful in cultivating a long-term relationship with the magazine. Hodson, in particular, is offended when a poem is rejected, telling Blackwood that “As I see that you have not afforded me a place in the present No. of your Magazine, I have now no hesitation in expressing myself very seriously hurt” (MS 4036). Nevertheless, their correspondence reveals the ways that women poets negotiated the spaces that made up the periodical publication market.

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Tim Lay, Lee University  
Panel 2.2, Friday 11:15-12:45  
“The Return of the Iconic Highlander:  
The Press and the Provincial  
Consumption of the Military and Empire  
in the Late-Nineteenth Century”

Over the course of the mid to late-nineteenth century, British imperialism and the British military were inseparably linked as hardly a year passed when the British military was not being engaged somewhere and in some fashion on the imperial periphery. Those engagements raised questions both in the public and government spheres concerning the politics of military intervention and imperialism, as well as the standing and professionalism of the British military. While English and Scottish communities largely engaged the politics associated with British imperialism as a part of a national discourse and from common points of reference, this paper's examination of the provincial press teases out the regional distinctions in the way in which those communities engaged, consumed, and popularized the empire and the military.

On the one hand, the English public and presses tended to relate to the empire and the military as national enterprises and institutions. In doing so, the English and anglophile non-English frequently conflated “English” with “British” with relative ease. Scottish presses, on the other hand, were keen to see that Scottish contributions to the empire and military

were not lost within a broader national framework or overshadowed by the aggrandizement of England. To that end, as a significant vehicle for driving public opinion in general, Scottish presses did much to advance Scottish nationalism and a Scottish identity as the nineteenth century drew to a close. That identity was very much tied to the image of the iconic Highlander. This character had once been aggressively pushed aside as barbaric and a threat to civilized society in the eighteenth century and had faded much since the days of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott in the early part of the nineteenth century. However, toward the end of the nineteenth century the Highlander reemerged and was actively promoted in provincial newspapers and periodical literature as an estimable symbol for all of Scotland, Lowlander and Highlander alike. At the same time, the iconic Highlander transcended provincial importance as he came to appear in national publications that used his image to epitomize the strength and character of the entire British military and the British Empire.

Kitty Ledbetter, Texas State University  
Panel 5.4, Saturday 11:00-12:30  
“Regulating Servants in Victorian  
Women’s Periodicals”

The acquisition, management, and control of servants from the “downstairs” was a significant domestic task for women of certain financial status or social rank during the Victorian period. Advertising in Victorian women’s periodicals helped some women find positions and others to find servants. Titles such as the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* and the *Queen* feature instructive articles about using proper etiquette, displaying adequate personal interest, and monitoring dishonesty or carelessness among servants in the household. One author in the *British Mothers’ Magazine* (1 Dec 1850) blames the woman employer for inadequately training servants in Christian obedience: “The difficulty of obtaining a servant of good character, one in whom full confidence may be placed, is frequent matter of complaint; it may be well to inquire to what cause this want or principle is to be ascribed. There are many, very many exceptions; but taken as a class, female servants are mournfully deficient in vital religions . . . The evils we suffer are the natural consequence of neglect; we have sown the wind, and what wonder if we reap the whirlwind” (276). Obedient, respectful domestics signified class and gentility in the family, and women’s periodicals set out to instruct readers in managing unpredictable or bewildering elements of a servant class they viewed as potentially oversexed, radical, or otherwise immoral.

Magazines such as the *Servants’ Magazine*, superficially marketed toward interests of servants, extended these efforts through a pedagogical approach

aimed at teaching servants Christian obedience, thrift, and gratitude for employment. Its editors claimed to be on the same level with its “fellow-servants,” but the magazine’s mixture of information and didacticism clearly favors employers. Published as a penny monthly by Christian philanthropists of the London Female Mission, the *Servants’ Magazine* was one of several similar publications initiated during the 1830s and 1840s, indicating the anxieties harbored by newly propertied classes about sharing their homes with servants. The *Servants’ Magazine* grew from social concerns about fallen women, poverty, and radicalism particularly evident during this period. All thematic elements of the periodical focus on quotidian interests of women, much like many features found in middle-class women’s periodicals such as the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, but without the female bonding implied in the *EDM*.

I propose to examine ideologies of class and gender that dictate attitudes expressed in Victorian women’s periodicals toward female servants. My discussion will specifically interrogate discourses of the London Female Mission in the *Servants’ Magazine* volumes from the 1840s during a time of heightened anxiety about the servant class.



Carol MacKay, The University of  
Texas at Austin  
Panel 5.4, Saturday 11:00-12:30  
“The Near and the Far: Spaces and  
Places in Annie Besant’s *Our Corner*”

The title of Annie Besant’s monthly journal *Our Corner* (1883-1888) invites the sharing of domestic space, and the recurring departments, or “corners,” reinforce that sense of familiarity. During the years she founded and edited the journal, Besant was still England-bound, and these regular departments--“Political Corner,” “Science Corner,” “Art Corner,” “Gardening Corner,” “Publishers’ Corner,” “Young Folks’ Corner”--developed out of home-grown topics and concerns. Moreover, the events that were reviewed or announced in the journal were centered in London, and they reflected attention to the conditions of an urban environment, starting with the responses of the National Secular Society and later encompassing the agenda of the Fabian Socialists. Yet within this familiar scope, Besant sought from the outset to branch out to far-flung places and belief systems around the world, in effect foreshadowing the range she encompassed during the second half of her life when she presided from India as leader of the worldwide Theosophical movement.

A closer look at *Our Corner* during its six-year run reveals quite a range of foreign subject matter, variously including a focus on Ireland, Egypt, Afghanistan, and India, but examining its first volume of six issues alone yields the largest proportion of articles about other parts of the world and literature from other national traditions. For example, the first issue inaugurates a serialized translation of The Story of Ladislav Bolshi “after the French of Victor Cherbuliez,” features a diatribe by Charles Bradlaugh entitled “A Bull-fight in Madrid,” introduces a biographical sketch of Copernicus accompanied with a photogravure portrait, provides a travelogue by A. Sinclair “On the Way to Egypt” illustrated with an engraving of Gibraltar, and includes the beginning of an ongoing study of the American Thomas Paine. Supporting, and perhaps encouraging, this interest in the far-away and admittedly what might appeal to some readers as the “exotic” is the lavish use of illustrations,

a practice Besant could ill-afford after toting up the first volume’s expenses against her income from the journal, but even after she limited and eventually virtually excluded illustrations from her publication, she was well-launched on her broad scope of subject matter, itself prefiguring her own evolving political and religious advocacies.

Given her combined goals to inform, teach, and entertain, Besant’s concentrated interest in the “Young Folks’ Corner” is not surprising. The first issue addresses this interest through her presentation of “A Hindu Legend,” and subsequent issues provide other legends from the Greek, Christian, and Jewish traditions, and her series of “Real Heroes” starting with Paine proceeds to include figures like the Canadian banker and railway executive George Stephenson. Unlike other publications catering to children via imaginary storytelling, *Our Corner* sought to ground its stories in the real world by broadening its scope beyond the English-speaking experience. Moreover, this scope included comparative religious studies, not seen in other children’s literature at that time period.

Revisiting my previous scholarship on Besant and *Our Corner* in my edition of her *Autobiographical Sketches* (Broadview, 2009), my article in *Victorian Periodicals Review* (2009), and my forthcoming entry for the *Encyclopedia of Victorian Literature* (Blackwell) through the lens of the call for papers for the upcoming RSVP conference has been an eye opener for me. Although I was aware of Besant’s broad interests in general and *Our Corner* in particular, I tended to regard that breadth in terms of her anti-colonialism and her expanding critique of the British Empire. The focus for this conference helps me to uncover her strategy for making the unfamiliar familiar--and for doing so with a younger generation in which she might place more hope for the future.

Brian Maidment, Liverpool John  
Moore's University  
Panel 7.1, Saturday 3:45-5:00  
“The (Un?)Welcome Guest: George  
Augustus Sala in Covent Garden”

This paper offers a detailed reading of one of George Augustus Sala's contributions to the series *Twice Around the Clock* which he published in the first volume of the illustrated 2d. weekly journal, *The Welcome Guest*, in 1858. Each of Sala's urban sketches, organised to illustrate twenty four hours of London life through a series of hourly snapshots, were accompanied by two illustrations of street scenes by William McConnell. The focus of this paper, partly provoked by Vic Gatrell's recent study of Covent Garden in *The First Bohemians*, will be on '6 o'clock in the morning', a moment of the day when Sala and McConnell concentrate their attention on Covent Garden market just as it begins to stir for a day's trading.

As well as aligning Sala with the tradition of the urban sketch, a genre frequently to be found in Victorian periodicals, the paper tries to analyse Sala's 'spaciousness'. Spaciousness in this context has a double meaning. First, it relates to the way in which Sala observes and constructs urban spaces. Second it acts as a descriptor of Sala's astonishing literary style, a style which has affronted several important commentators on urban literature, Rick Allen, Carol Bernstein and Lynda Nead among them. Their focus, perhaps because they have all been somewhat overawed by what Allen calls 'the loquacious amplitude' of Sala's writing, has been firmly on Sala's text rather than McConnell's images. One scholar, Nancy Rose Marshall, has however discussed *Twice Around the Clock* as part of a tradition of visual representations of London in her study *City of Gold and Mud*. All these accounts of Sala's London sketches agree in locating Covent Garden at the heart of his vision of London, and in regarding the ingenious structure of the work as particularly appropriate to the serial structure of magazine publication.

This paper seeks to align the verbal and visual elements of Sala and McConnell's Covent Garden, suggesting that it is developed out of a dialogue between two key ideas. The first represents the streets of London optimistically as a picaresque and benign structure of accommodated difference in which close proximity seldom results in social interaction but rather in varied urban panoramas. The second is formed out of a growing sense of anxiety that Nead has called the 'urban uncanny' and which can only be contained by extreme rhetorical gestures. The paper will also discuss the particular elements in Sala and McConnell's representation of Covent Garden that acknowledge the place of publication, readership and overall structure of *The Welcome Guest*, a cheap fiction bearing weekly magazine seemingly aimed at a readership poised somewhere between the sensationalism of *The London Journal* and the more evident respectability and gentility of, say, *Good Words*. Consideration will also be made of the magazine's role within Henry Vizetelly's stable of illustrated publications.

The *DNCJ* entry for *The Welcome Guest* describes the original incarnation of the journal as a 'penny dreadful' (it actually cost twopence). Is this rather dismissive term the most appropriate way to describe Sala and McConnell's feverish vision of London as a 'twenty four hour city'? Did melodrama and verbal facility entirely overwhelm social observation in *Twice Around the Clock*? And, if so, might such fervid rhetoric offer something of a clue to the moral panics of the mid-Victorian city as well as a guide to the tastes and interests of the readers of *The Welcome Guest*? And how does so extreme a literary style sit alongside the more restrained urban tropes of McConnell's wood engraved illustrations?

Katherine Malone, South Dakota  
State University  
Panel 2.4, Friday 11:15-12:45  
“Making a Critical Edition: Digital  
Archives in the Gen-Ed Classroom”

This presentation will discuss a footnoting assignment designed to introduce general education students to periodicals research and promote critical thinking. I will demonstrate how students can use subscription databases, public-domain resources, and web-based annotation services to create their own “critical edition” of a text.

# Miranda Mattingly, University of Missouri-Columbia

Panel 5.1, Saturday 11:00-12:30

## “William Booth’s Salvationist Magazines and the Battle for Holy Space in the East End”

For William Booth and his Army of Salvationists, the spiritual world was a global environment that was accessible to all. While there are many “who postpone all the certain, enjoyable, realisable parts of religion to the next state,” Booth declares in *The Salvationist*, “we publish what we have heard and seen and handled and experienced” in the spiritual world of today. People did not have to wait for their salvation; they could access the spiritual world now. Holiness was everywhere because, according to Booth, the spiritual world had no bounds. Therefore, when Booth and his wife, Catherine, came to London’s East End in 1865, he firmly believed that the East End would be no different. The East End was Booth’s first step to establishing the spiritual world as a global space. In each of his early Salvationist magazines—*The East London Evangelist* (1868-1869), *The Christian Mission* magazine (1870-1878), and *The Salvationist* (1879)—, Booth reported on “Revival Facts and Incidents” from around the world, as if to promote the East End as an interconnected part of a global, spiritual world.

Yet Booth’s East End mission never quite fit this mould. There was a disjoint between Booth’s global aspirations and the way in which urban experience within the East End affected how the spiritual world could be seen and experienced. Places of worship did not hold the same authority for East Enders, as their search for work and struggle to survive kept them tied to a world of urban experience. The strongest connection to a particular place resided with wherever individuals could find work, which often left men and women wandering the streets in search of employment as opposed rooted within a community. Limited to the space of this daily search for work, many felt trapped by the East End—a sentiment later popularized by the slum fiction of George Gissing

and Margaret Harkness—and disconnected from the world outside.

If Booth was to have any success in London, he would have to settle for making the East End into a holy space all its own. While scholars have acknowledged Booth’s transformation of music halls and penny gaffs into Salvation Army missions as an attempt to infuse holiness into the East End, this presentation explores how Booth first utilized the press as a means to create a holy space—or holy environment—within the East End. Booth realized preaching salvation’s message alone would not make the spiritual world accessible to East Enders; therefore, he began by transforming not the message of his weekly publications but the space in which his words were presented—how words and titles appeared in print, what his sermons were coupled alongside and later how his readers engaged with the material within his magazines. Guided by the principle that holiness needed to be made visible first and experienced second, Booth experimented with how to illustrate acts of holiness that could be directly incorporate into the East End environment. Booth regularly outlined sermons for use in open-air mission halls, printed sketches of devout Christians that were mirrored in the dress and demeanor of his Army’s “soldiers,” and challenged East Enders to rewrite familiar, street tunes into Salvationist hymns. This presentation, in turn, will demonstrate how Booth theorized the creation of holy space as existing within the transformation from written word to living word, while also acknowledging how his practices raise questions about whether the space of the periodical was and still is a living environment.

Annemarie McAllister, University of  
Central Lancaster

Panel 6.3, Saturday 2:00-3:30

“‘Don’t Marry a Man if He Drinks’:  
Music Claims a Place in the Periodical”

Before sound files, embedded links or YouTube, there was a well-used space for music in popular media and an added auditory dimension provided for readers – by publication of songs. Certain periodical titles regularly printed songs as part of their menu, with notation in both conventional musical and tonic sol-fa systems. These were apparently popular, given the persistence of this feature over time. More attention deserves to be paid to these reserved spaces, which led and fed into other aspects of the readers’ lives and gave the publications further dimensions.

This paper examines the songs printed in the children’s temperance periodical, *Onward* (monthly, 1865-1910), establishing how often and in what position they appeared, and giving results of a content analysis of all titles, content, and musical style. It will argue that within these spaces reserved for music, issues were raised of emancipation and the empowerment of children, perhaps even more effectively than in the accompanying

articles, poems, and news items. The tonic sol-fa system had been developed to enable less-privileged children to take part in choral singing, and its regular use can be seen as an empowering and even political device. *Onward* was produced by the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union and distributed by subscription as well as sold on the market, so the songs played a part in creating an imagined community and sustaining members. Songs acted as vehicles for propaganda, instilling principles and offering guidance. But, significantly, they also encouraged children to act as agents in the war against ‘Giant Alcohol’ and challenge adult drinking. Some songs are designed to rouse the reader – the singer – into action. The paper will be illustrated with brief musical examples in an attempt to enter into some of the pleasures of the original Victorian musical spaces.

# Kathleen McCormack, Florida International University

Panel 1.2, Friday 9:15-10:45

## “Journalistic Networking at George Eliot’s Priory: The Russian Presence”

The drawing room space in George Eliot’s home in St. John’s Wood, where she and George Henry Lewes hosted the afternoon salons known as Sundays at the Priory, often had to accommodate guests whose national places of origin did not encourage congenial interactions. When the salons began in 1869, the looming Franco-Prussian War resulted in encounters between supporters of both sides in the conflict, and, as the following decade advanced, volatile relations between England and Russia also placed guests with antagonistic allegiances side by side. Although details in GE’s novels and elsewhere suggest that she did not favor Russian interests, members of the Kovalevsky family, on a few occasions Turgenev himself, and, more frequently, Russian propagandist Olga Novikoff all visited the Priory on Sundays during the 1870s.

Although my book on George Eliot in *Society* lists most of the salon guests who came to the Priory, limited space required leaving out many of the resulting relationships, some of the freshest and most provocative having to do with 19th-century journalists who networked there.\* Among the guests not fully described in GE in *Society*, Russian Olga Novikoff shared the Priory drawing room space with people unsympathetic

to her place of origin, exactly the audience she later attempted to educate on Russian attitudes in such periodicals as W. T. Stead’s *Northern Echo* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, as well as in letters to *The Times*. My paper draws on the material in these periodicals to argue that Novikoff’s presence at the Priory, as well as at other London social gatherings, though it allowed her to draw on the interactions there when composing her articles, did not effectively further the sympathetic understanding she was seeking. Although the drawing room space in St. Johns Wood allowed interminglings of guests who were visiting London from places in uneasy relationships with Britain, the pieces Novikoff published in Victorian periodicals suggest that neither hosts nor guests revised the opinions that contributed to the growing unease in Europe as the century advanced.

\*An essay on “Journalists at GE’s Priory,” forthcoming in the *VPR*, also depends on GE and *Society* as a point of departure concerning networking journalists not discussed in the book, in that case editors of British periodicals, women authors, and the founders of *Mind*.

Sophie Muller, CUNY  
Panel 5.1, Saturday 11:00-12:30  
“Rethinking the Domestic Angel:  
Children’s Hospital Charity Campaigns  
and Working-Class Boyhood Identity,  
1852-1900”

In 1852, with the founding of Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children, the brand new space of the children’s hospital emerged in London and began to spread throughout England. While children’s hospitals were created to be locations of medical research and healing, the fact that they were funded almost entirely through solicited donations meant that they merged with the larger middle and upper class reform movements that were taking place throughout the Victorian Era. By examining the charity campaigns run through children’s periodicals, my paper will explore intended behavioral reforms that donors believed came with the medical treatment in the hospital. Particularly in the case of working-class boys, a fine line had to be walked in donation solicitation between proving that these boys were in need of assistance but also proving that they are worthy of assistance. Seeing as these sick and invalid boys were unable to conform to the emerging Victorian masculine ideal of muscular Christianity, these charity campaigns in the children’s periodical press had to create a new masculine ideal for the “little victims”.

Through these charity campaigns, readers of nineteenth century children’s periodicals were provided a glimpse into children’s hospitals throughout London. Publications like *Aunt Judy’s Magazine*, *The Monthly Packet*, and *Little Folks*, among a number of others, shared the story of visits to these children’s hospitals and updates on the poor children who resided within the sponsored charity cots. From the initial campaigns to fund the establishment of the children’s hospitals to the extensive campaigns

to sponsor cots, Victorian children’s periodicals utilized poverty to explain the importance of the hospitals and also to show how the hospitals were transforming their impoverished patients. The charity campaigns discussed poverty when describing the conditions which made the charity and the hospitals necessary and also showed the patients learning to accept poverty but also the struggle to leave the comfort of the hospital. All of these efforts spoke to the wider question of, how do we handle the urban poor? At least for the children, these new hospitals were spaces of urban behavioral transformation which could then be unleashed back into the wider working-class communities.

My paper will go on to show how, through the periodical press, reformers presented the children’s hospital as a space of transformation in which working-class boys were uplifted from poor, purposeless victims to religiously empowered angel-messengers. Using a variation of the standard salvation narrative, the charity campaigns presented boys who succumb to their illness as saved souls being called up to heaven and boys who were cured as missionaries returning to their awful, working-class homes as preachers of Christian submission and the acceptance of poverty. My paper will argue that the charity campaigns presented these boys as simultaneously cured and saved, returning home as domestic angels to fulfill a role in which their working class mothers were seen to have failed.



Deborah Mutch, De Montfort University

Panel 2.1, Friday 11:15-12:45

“Stories, Socialism and Periodical Space,  
1884-1914”

The recent resurgence of interest in space and literature has moved critical readings of literary geographic space beyond it being simply narrative ‘background’ and toward the development of what Sheila Hones describes as the ‘complex appreciation of the ways in which text and space, fiction and location, might be understood as inseparable and co-productive’ (*Literary Geography*, 2011). The study of fiction – both serial and complete – published in nineteenth-century British periodicals brings an additional dimension to the study of literary space as the fictional landscape is contained within the space allocated to fiction among the pages of the periodical.

Attitudes towards making space for fiction in British socialist periodicals depended on the editor and group the journal represented. It is perhaps unsurprising that the *Clarion* (1891-1934), edited by the whiskey-drinking, theatre-loving atheist Robert Blatchford, carried a high volume of literature and developed a readership of sociable ‘Clarionettes’ or that Blatchford’s friend and renowned comic dialect author, Charles Allen Clarke, should also publish a great deal of fiction in his *Teddy Ashton’s Journal* (1896-1908). Even the dour, teetotal Congregationalist Keir Hardie and the politically strategic John Bruce Glasier included fiction in the *Labour Leader* (1888-1987). Nevertheless, it was not only the ‘ethical socialists’ of the Independent Labour Party, and the those associated – more or less

loosely – with it, which devoted periodical space to the promotion of socialism through fiction as well as journalism: Marxist Henry Hyndman’s *Justice* (1884-1925), criticized by the John Bruce Glasier for its ‘dry presentation of the socialist ideal’, also gave considerable space to fiction. What is perhaps more surprising is the difference in volume of the fiction carried by *Justice* and its nearest rival, William Morris’s *Commonweal* (1885-94). Morris’s socialist literary legacy – particularly the serial fictions *News from Nowhere* and *A Dream of John Ball* – casts a long shadow over the over the volume and range of British socialist fiction published during the fin de siècle. Nevertheless, over the period when the *Commonweal* was competing with *Justice* for readers, both carried the same number of serialized fiction (two: Morris’s *News* (1886-87) and *Dream* (1890); J. S. Borlase’s ‘Darker Than Death’ (1885) and H. J. Bramsbury’s ‘A Working Class Tragedy’ (1888-89) in *Justice*) and *Justice* published three times the volume of short stories than the *Commonweal*.

This paper will consider the different approaches to the allocation of space for fiction in a range of British socialist groups and their periodicals and, using Henri Lefebvre’s concept of dominated and appropriated space, the ways in which both the fiction and the periodical appropriate space for socialism.

Glenda Norquay, Liverpool John Moores University

Panel 2.2, Friday 11:15-12:45

“‘Weel, there’s waur places, I believe.’ *St Ives*  
(1897): mapping the spaces of adventure in the  
serialized fiction of Stevenson and Quiller-Couch”

In the 1890s Robert Louis Stevenson and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch drew on highly specific, regional settings for adventure fiction marketed to American and English readerships. Each worked at considerable distance from metropolitan and literary centers; as a result their work was particularly mediated by agents, publishers and literary advisers on both sides of the Atlantic. Situated within a real geographic dynamic in terms of its literary production, their fiction raises questions about the spatial identities of their narratives but also the geographic identification of their audiences. This paper explores locale in the transatlantic serialization of adventure fiction at the end of the century through the geographies of fiction, illustration and market. By comparing the deployment of a Scottish setting in the late work of Stevenson with Quiller-Couch’s focus on Cornwall it presents an analysis of their fiction, its production and its reception in both American and British periodical contexts.

Stevenson’s last and unfinished novels, *St Ives* and *Weir of Hermiston*, represent a return to a Scottish setting. Drafts for future novels suggest that, although well established in Samoa, he was set to continue this pattern. Advice from friends back home and from publishers indicates approval for this as a strategy. Yet *St Ives* (1897), subtitled ‘The Adventures of a French Prisoner in England’ and with a narrative structure that allows Scotland to be viewed through the eyes of a foreigner, suggests a more questioning relationship to locale. While the novel maintains that traversal of space expected of the adventure genre, it presents, as its narrator claims, ‘a singular view of that poor, barren, and yet illustrious country through which I travelled.’ Its knowing engagement with its Scottish context is particularly evident in its attention to the literary and non-literary aspects of the Scottish Borders.

More than any of Stevenson’s other novels *St Ives* was also the subject of long and difficult negotiations that took place between Samoa, London, New York and Chicago. The correspondence this generated reveals the expectations and assumptions of publishers and literary friends on both sides of the Atlantic. Decisions made about the novel’s completion after Stevenson’s death and about its

publication were informed by an attention to the novel’s spatiality and by an understanding of its transnational appeal. Invited to complete *St Ives* for publication, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch disputed and changed the historical and geographical mapping of the novel’s conclusion. When the novel was published in serial form on both sides of the Atlantic Quiller-Couch’s ending completed the *Pall Mall Magazine* publication but not that of *McChure’s Magazine*. In the English serialization the picaresque elements of *St Ives* reaches rather a different conclusion from the bold fusion of American privateers, Scottish seas and Napoleonic adventurer envisaged by Stevenson. Differences between the (incomplete) magazine publication in the United States and its serialization in the *Pall Mall Magazine* in the U.K. raise further questions about the appeal to different audiences and the perceptions of geographic boundaries.

Quiller-Couch himself presents a case study of the changing dynamics of the local and international in transatlantic serialization. His early fiction, such as *Dead Man’s Rock* (1887), follows Stevenson in its deployment of the local in an adventure context. *The Ship of Stars* (serialised in *Scribner’s Magazine* 1898-9; published by Cassells in Britain), while still successful, deepens an attention to place that is in tension with its author’s adherence to the movement of adventure romance. Its own ‘singular view’ of a specific territory nevertheless convinced publishers of an international appeal. The specificity of a Cornish setting in later fiction by ‘Q’, such as Hocken and Hunken (1912), was less successful in an American market. Quiller-Couch’s increasing uncertainty about the relationship between his work, its location, the wider marketplace and his American audiences, as revealed in his letters to Charles Scribner’s Sons, suggest larger questions about literary peripheries.

Drawing on archival research in the Scribner’s Archives into exchanges between authors, publishers, and magazine editors and through readings of the serial publication and illustration of both novels, the paper maps out the literary and commercial geographies of *St Ives* and *The Ship of Stars* within the dynamics of these real and imaginative spaces.

John North, University of Waterloo

Panel 3.4, Friday 1:45-3:15; Panel 6.4, Saturday 2:00-3:30

“*The Waterloo Directory*: Ireland/Scotland Releases and a  
Series 3 Illustrated User’s Guide”

*The Directory* is billed as the gateway to possibly the largest corpus of historical documents of the greatest empire in the history of civilization, as measured by the proportion of the world’s geography and people which Britain administered.

The User’s Guide will demo creative uses of the online edition, including a SuperSearch, and will survey project stats.

Barbara Onslow, University of Reading

Panel 4.4, Friday 3:30-5:00

“Virtual Tourism” – Engraving the Landscape;  
Exploring Europe

Topographical engraving had enjoyed considerable popularity in the eighteenth century. This paper will explore some of the ways in which the Landscape Annuals of the early nineteenth century, employing the advantages of the development of steel engraving, attempted to exploit the potential market provided by a burgeoning middle- class.

It will focus on two or three of Charles Heath’s (later Jennings’) Landscape Annuals of the 1830s, with letterpress by Thomas Roscoe, but will also make brief

comparison with other titles in the landscape genre to consider such questions as:

How was the concept of a “virtual tour” of countries and regions presented to the anticipated readership?

How did the letterpress complement the image? and,

What strategies were employed to try and sustain an annual title year on year?

Eugenia M. Palmegiano, Saint  
Peter's University  
Panel 7.2, Saturday 3:45-5:00  
“Place...at the Heart: Periodicals on  
Press Advertising”

Nineteenth-century British periodical writers devoted many paragraphs to the place of press advertisements but did not agree on the word's meaning. To define place, commentators tended to rely on familiar journalistic categories. Unambiguous essays referred to place as location, the “where” of page or publication, and as appearance, the “when” of time or the “what” of look. More sophisticated contributors, however, construed place as rank, one they graded high for advertising because, they argued, it was at the heart of culture, significantly shaping it for good or evil.

To verify “why” place was important, columnists used several gauges. Most were specific, such as advertising's impact on economics, politics and art. But even the narrowest implied what the wider spelled out, namely that Victorian advertising had “pride of place” because it valued entrenched or new ideas, activities and styles. And in an ever-expanding press it influenced a growing multitude of readers, autodidacts and then compulsory education graduates. Critics of that influence on culture inadvertently presaged or echoed Matthew Arnold's thesis that “seducers” extolling “exterior goods” – and one might add services and causes – distracted, debased or deceived the “raw person.” Alternatively, advertising's fans suggested that its substitution of cosmopolitanism for parochialism promoted learning and discernment, though they sidestepped the issue of integrity.

Irrespective of their disagreement, both sides were well aware that advertisements would probably tell more about them as a people than other sources. Indeed, one of their repetitive themes was how advertisements

would serve future historians. Unfortunate for researchers today, attention to inclusion – in elite and cheap, religious and secular, thoughtful and thoughtless serials – dominated the conversation. Few observers talked about advertising's power of exclusion, whose effects are at best the erosion and at worst the suppression of alternatives.

This paper therefore examines the perception of the consequences of advertisements in circulation. Drawn from twenty-four British titles (1820s-1890s) with a broad array of audiences, it offers two unique perspectives. First, it relies on articles by analysts who considered themselves press insiders. This belief, accurate or not, lent an air of authority to their assessments of press advertising. But their work was not merely an introspective exercise. Because they routinely measured domestic advertising against foreign, their discussions reveal an international perspective as well. The result was to place advertising as a central, rather than a peripheral constituent in the construct of any society.

Given the time constraint on RSVP conference presentations, this paper will focus on three questions of reviewers: was advertising instructive; was it tasteful; was it honest. These questions, which incidentally still matter in the twenty-first century, were pivotal to Victorians who understood that advertising would bequeath to later generations a commendable or contemptible record of their culture.

Anna Peak, Temple University  
Panel 2.1, Friday 11:15-12:45  
“A Canon By and For the Working Class:  
Re-assessing the role of music periodicals in  
the English Musical Renaissance”

England at the fin de siècle was one of the birthplaces of the concept of a musical canon. During this period, music therapy and music appreciation classes both came into being, and university music curricula were significantly revised (Rainbow, Wollenburg, et al), all trends which led to a more codified sense of what music was “great” and worthy of study. This same period is also often called “the English Musical Renaissance,” as English composers such as Elgar gained prominence.

Most scholars consider this process of canon formation to have been about nationalistic and upper-class spaces. Meirion Hughes and R.A. Stradling have argued that the English Musical Renaissance was the self-conscious creation of the elite, for the elite, and other commentators have focused on the role that nationalism played in creating a canon. In this view, canons are exclusionary spaces imposed on the lower classes from above.

However, music periodicals, particularly those aimed at a more working-class audience, played a significant early role in the formation of a musical canon - a canon that was dominated by foreign composers, not British ones. While individual composers were often discussed in a broad range of Victorian periodicals, including more elite venues such as *Academy* and *Athenaeum*, more working-class periodicals, such as *Bow Bells* and most especially *The Musical Times & Singing-Class Circular*, emphasized instead articles with titles like “The Great Composers” or “The Great Musicians,” often published

in series such as Joseph Bennett’s multi-decade Great Composers series. Such articles helped shape a sense of a musical canon by informing readers which composers were great and which were not; which composers were of minor greatness and which were truly great.

This more working-class, inclusive canon is extremely large; dozens upon dozens upon dozens of composers are included; French, Jewish, and operatic composers rub elbows with English, gentile composers of symphonies. Many names now obscure are lauded; now-famous composers such as Bach are included, but with little sense they are especially superior. Economic motivations are at work here: *The Musical Times*, with many other music periodicals, was published by Novello, which also sold sheet music; the more composers who were labeled “great,” the more sheet music they could sell. A more working-class audience was also eager to gain status by the acquisition of a wide range of knowledge. Over and over, these articles and series on Great Composers also emphasize the struggles of the greats, their money troubles, and the virtues of hard work in the face of prejudice and adversity.

Altogether, these articles suggest that a working-class audience played a significant role in the formation of a musical canon, one that was more inclusive than has previously been understood.

Shannon Perry, De Montfort University  
Panel 1.3, Friday 9:15-10:45  
“Trans-Atlantic Jottings within  
the Amateur Photographic Press:  
Maintaining Cordial Relationships with  
Like-Minded Amateurs in the Colonies.”

As part of my current doctoral research, I am employing actor-network and trading zone theory to map the photographic network that existed (both formally/informally) within the photographic marketplace between 1880-1914. This period was a time of massive change within the industry, partly brought on by the introduction of the Kodak camera. The other key agent of change was the increased and varied instances of photography within journals and newspapers. The repeated exposure of amateur photography help normalize the practice, and as the public's interest began to grow, so did the demand for more information. Amateur journals began to flourish, and photographic features began to feature regularly in non-photographic press. For my research purposes, I have focused on Canada as a case study, as I felt that it provided an unique opportunity to study how the Canadian journals and newspapers informed their readers about the changes within photography, largely by 'borrowing' from British published material. This intellectual exchange went the other way as well. For example, the 'Queries and Answers' section of the (British) *Amateur Photographer*, has numerous examples of would-be travelers to Canada simultaneously anxious about the availability of purchasing photographic materials in Canada, and worried about bringing their own stock of plates, due to the high tariffs. It is interesting to note that travelers to Canada in the 1880's were still concerned about buying basic

photographic supplies, perhaps still viewing Canada as a wild frontier that lacked basic provisions. The journals helped quell that fear, both through British amateurs' response, as well as the postings from their Canadian brethren. A regular feature within several of the best know British photographic journals was usually worded as "Trans-Atlantic Jottings" or something similar. Amateur Camera Clubs from Canada would publish notes from their meetings in British journals, both for the prestige but also because they knew that Canadians were regularly subscribing and contributing to the British Journal (often to the detriment of struggling Canadian publishers). In the RSVP paper I am proposing, I will focus on the trans-Atlantic exchanges between Britain and Canada, and how this exchange informs my understanding of the photographic network. I will center my research on two British journals - the *Amateur Photographer* (1884- ) and *Photographic News* (1858-1908 when it was merged with the *Amateur Photographer*) - as well as the *Canadian Photographic Journal* (1892-1897). The information presented will help inform similar studies involving British colonial exchanges, and also technological studies featuring often complex ideas regarding new or evolving technology, and how this information is disseminated and discussed within Victorian journals and newspapers.

Linda Peterson, Yale University  
Panel 3.1, Friday 1:45-3:15  
“Nineteenth-Century Women Poets and  
Periodical Spaces”

What spaces within periodicals were available to aspiring women poets who wished to make a public debut? This paper will consider two earlier 19th-century poets, Felicia Hemans in *Blackwood's Magazine* and Laetitia Landon in the *Literary Gazette*, and possibly two later 19th-century poets, Christina Rossetti in Macmillan's and Alice Meynell in the *Scots Observer*. It will contrast magazines with specific spaces for poetry (the “Original Poetry” column of the *Gazette*) with periodicals without specific spaces (the variable placement of poems within Blackwood's or the *Observer*), and ask whether this difference in placement impacted a poet's debut. The paper will also observe differences in the treatment of male and female poets to the extent possible, and discuss an interesting clustering of women's poetry that emerged in Blackwood's in 1833.

Perhaps the most famous case of using periodicals to make a literary debut is that of Laetitia Landon, “L.E.L.” Landon's proud grandmother sent samples of Laetitia's poetry to their neighbor William Jerdan, editor of the *Literary Gazette*. The *Gazette* regularly featured an “Original Poetry” column, with some verses by known authors, but most by amateur and aspiring poets. Landon fell into the latter category. Her first poem in the *Gazette*, “Rome,” appeared on 11 March 1820—not with the initials “L.E.L.” but simply signed “L,” not as a featured poet but merely as a “correspondent.” Later that year, the *Gazette* published other poems: “To a Michaelmas Daisy” (18 March 1820), “A West Indian Anecdote” (5 August 1820), and a “Fragment” (19 August 1820). In this fourth poem Landon found her subject matter (the joys and woes of love) and a successful mode of self-presentation (as a modern-day Sappho). Yet, to make a successful debut, she also needed a signature to distinguish her from other contributors and a regular appearance not as a “correspondent” but as an acknowledged poet. These she found in the initials “L.E.L.” and in a series of

“Poetic Sketches” she launched in January 1822, which announced as their subject: “A Woman's whole life is a history of the affections.” In her rise to fame as a poetess, the periodical, with its regular “Original Poetry” column, and the distinctive signature and subject, were all crucial to success. Eventually, Landon's poems led off the column as the featured verse of the issue.

In contrast, Felicia Hemans made her debut with a volume published by subscription (*Poems*, 1808), and only later did she use periodical publication to increase her profits and widen her reputation. (Paula Feldman notes that between 1823 until her death in 1835 Hemans accrued £227 /1s /6d for poetry in Blackwood's, and £280 /16s /1d for poetry in the *Monthly Magazine*, together representing over twenty percent of her income for this period.) (1) Hemans's poems in Blackwood's initially seem to appear randomly in the magazine, but on closer look, several were placed shrewdly to offer commentary on the lead articles; for example, “The Homes of England” appeared right after a lead article for April 1827, “The Surplus Population of the United Kingdom”—with the implicit suggestion that English homes might be created in the colonies by encouraging those surplus men and women to emigrate. Perhaps more interestingly, in the early 1830's *Blackwood's* began to cluster women's writing near the end of each volume, often around Hemans's verse. In January 1833, it published two of Hemans's “Hymns of Life” before the Hon. Augusta Norton's “Despair” and the first installment of Anna Jameson's “Characteristics of Women.” This clustering continued throughout the year with Hemans's verse leading off clusters of poetry by such writers as Lady E.S. Wortley and Mrs. Godwin and sometimes an installment of “Characteristics.”

It may be that a 15-17 minutes paper will allow time only to discuss Landon and Hemans. Yet, if my research produces interesting results, I'd like to add Christina



Rossetti's debut in *The Germ* in the 1840's and her re-debut in Macmillan's in the 1860's, along with Alice Meynell's re-debut as a poet in *The Scots Observer* in the 1890's. Mid-to-late Victorian magazines generally do not cluster poetry together as in the *Literary Gazette's* column or the unofficial women's cluster in the 1833 volume of *Blackwood's*. Yet publication in *Macmillan's* or the *Observer* carried a great deal of cultural prestige for an aspiring poet. In January 1861 Rossetti submitted her poems, "Uphill" and "A Birthday," to the editor David Masson and saw them in print in the February volume of *Macmillan's* (when "Uphill" was placed seemingly randomly between an article on trade unions and serial fiction, "The Ghost He Didn't See") and in April (when "A Birthday" appeared between an article on the Ramsgate Life-Boat and another on the rifle volunteer corps). Happy to receive the standard guinea fee, Rossetti didn't seem concerned with placement, simply writing to Alexander Macmillan, "you may think whether I am not happy to attain fame (!) and guineas by means of the Magazine," noting also, "I am in great hopes of being able to put a volume together." (2) Macmillan issued her now-famous *Goblin Market and Other Poems* (1862)—suggesting that the book was more important to her than the periodical publication.

Alice Meynell's appearance in *The Scots Observer* may seem similarly insignificant and random, but I suggest that the placement of her poems in the middle sections of this "review of politics, economics, literature, science and art" signaled its high aesthetic quality. Henley used the middle pages to launch his "literary" essays—including Meynell's now-famous essay "Rhythm of Life." So while it might have been inevitable that her poetry would appear where it did, in fact its placement was a mark of prestige. Moreover, publication in the *Observer* led to the book publication of both her poetry and her prose by the Bodley Head Press in 1892—an important instance of the crucial role that periodicals played in her career.

(1) Paula R. Feldman, "The Poet and the Profits: Felicia Hemans," in *Women's Poetry, Late Romantic to Late Victorian*, ed. Isobel Armstrong and Virginia Blain (London: Macmillan, 1999), p. 73.

(2) Quoted in Jan Marsh, *Christina Rossetti* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1995), pp. 269-70.

Jennifer Phegley, University of Missouri  
Kansas City  
Panel 2.3, Friday 11:15-12:45  
“Supplementary Spaces: Women Readers,  
Courtship, and *Bow Bells*’ Valentine’s Day  
Special Issues”

Kate Flint begins her foundational study of women readers by contemplating five paintings of middle-class women who read “for recreation, idly, passively, rather than engaging in any scheme of programmed self education.” Reading, for them, is “an essentially private activity” that takes them away from familial and social concerns (*The Woman Reader*, 1837-1914 3). Even when reading is presented as a more social experience, say with the depiction of a mother and daughter reading together, the reader is self-absorbed and seemingly devoid of social awareness. Likewise, in her study of working-class women readers, Sally Mitchell explains that women readers found penny fiction attractive because it fed their “individual daydreams” by providing “satisfaction for needs that [were] not met . . . in circumstances of ordinary life” (*The Fallen Angel: Chastity, Class and Women’s Reading 1835-1880* 166).

Our understanding of women’s reading primarily as a form of daydreaming, fantasy, and leisure, as both Mitchel and Flint outline, does not fully account for the ways in which women readers are visually represented in the working-class magazine *Bow Bells*. In contrast to the imagined women readers who appear in the paintings Flint discusses and the real women readers Mitchell profiles, the images that appear alongside *Bow Bells*’ fiction are not solitary, relaxed, or absorbed readers detached from society. These women do not usually lounge in chairs or on couches with novels in hand. Instead, their reading is more social and active; it is more often focused on correspondence with friends and family than on novels. Whether they read in private or aloud in public, for the women in *Bow Bells*’ illustrations reading is a means of engaging with the people and events that directly impact their lives. These working-class women readers are pulled into intrigue, sensation, and even tragedy through the letters they read. Their reception

of letters involves secrets, surprises, mysteries, and conflicts that inevitably lead to love or the loss of love. These women do not read solely for pleasure or escape, but rather to achieve the goal of marriage, which is a major focus of *Bow Bells* generally.

The centrality of love and marriage to representations of women’s reading in *Bow Bells* leads directly to my particular interest in the Valentine’s Day special issues of the magazine that ran between 1865 and 1869. *Bow Bells* frequently associated reading with courtship correspondence. In fact, this coincides with the magazine’s self-improving mission since women’s primary means of self-improvement (socially and financially) was marriage. This may explain why so many of the scenes of women reading in *Bow Bells* are clustered around the magazine’s special Valentine’s Day supplements. Valentine’s Day was a potentially pivotal moment in a woman’s quest for a suitable husband and it involved the expectation of mysterious, exciting, and perhaps even devastating news delivered in the form of valentines. Indeed, the arrival of Valentine’s Day cards and letters was an eagerly awaited annual event that carried with it elements of both communal engagement and public display.

This paper will focus on the *Bow Bells*’ Valentine’s Day supplements as a space in which women’s reading was inextricably intertwined with courtship correspondence. I will argue that the creation of a Valentine’s Day supplement indicates that *Bow Bells* was positioning itself as a woman’s magazine. I will contextualize the creation and marketing of the Valentine’s Day supplement within the development of women’s periodicals during the 1850s and 60s, which regularly used supplements to lure new readers and gain the loyalty of existing readers.

Jessica Queener, West Virginia University

Panel 4.4, Friday 3:30-5:00

“Punch Sama’s Yokohama: Image and  
Place in *The Japan Punch*”

Charles Wirgman left England in the 1850s, traveling east and sending back illustrations and reports at the behest of the *Illustrated London News*. After covering War in China and producing views of life in Thailand, Malta, and elsewhere for ILN readers, Wirgman settled in Yokohama, Japan. By 1862 Wirgman had become part of the foreign settlement, a section of Yokohama where a group of westerners, mostly merchants, sought to profit from the bustling port city of a country that had only opened to Western trade in the previous decade. For a short time he would continue to share visions of Japan with the *Illustrated London News*; he would also create and publish his own monthly based on another institution of Victorian print cultures, *The Japan Punch*. By re-imagining Punch within a constructed vision of Japan, Wirgman manipulates ideas about place to suit the needs of his new community. Whereas his work in the *ILN* allowed Wirgman to create images of Asia for its faraway audience, the *Japan Punch* used a western experience of Japan to define a new, hybrid identity for residents of Yokohama’s foreign settlement.

This paper will examine how Wirgman’s work depicted Asian locales first ethnographically (almost photographically) for the ILN and then shifted to more abstract representations of place in the *Japan Punch*. In the caricature and visual satire of the latter publication, Wirgman’s spatial reproduction of Yokohama works as a catalyst for a cohesive sense of expatriate identity among the residents of the foreign settlement. The scarcely studied *Japan Punch* thus has the potential to contribute to our understanding of how Victorian print culture made use of its audience’s sense of place, particularly when it works to draw disparate identities together in a tenuous foreign context.

Solveig C. Robinson, Pacific Lutheran  
University

Panel 4.2, Friday 3:30-5:00

“‘Putting things in their proper places’:  
Victorian Women Editor-Critics and  
Question of Cultural Authority”

In *Uneven Developments* (1988), her classic study of the Victorian novel, Mary Poovey suggests that Victorian men of letters and domestic angels performed the same ideological work:

Like a good housekeeper, the good writer works invisibly, quietly, without calling attention to his labor; both master dirt and misery by putting things in their proper places; both create a sphere to which one can retreat—a literal or imaginative hearth where anxiety and competition subside, where one’s motives do not appear as something other than what they are because self-interest and self-denial really are the same. (122)

As Poovey explains, the cultural authority of both literary men and housekeeping women derived from a distinct sense of place, whether that place was the ivory towers of art, the ivy-covered halls of scholarship, or the ivory-filled and doily-covered parlors of the Victorian middle-class home.

But what happened to Victorian cultural authority when the literary and the housekeeping roles were conflated? Specifically, what happened when the “man of letters” was a “woman of letters”—when the public work of periodical editing and literary criticism occurred in the private confines of the home? What happened, in fact, when such work was not conducted in its “proper” place?

This paper represents the culmination of the scholarly project I have been engaged in for 20+ years: a detailed study of the crucial role women played in shaping the production of literary taste and standards in Victorian England. (By the time RSVP meets in September, my monograph will finally have been completed and submitted for editorial consideration.) Using examples drawn from my work on representative women editors and writers for a wide range of Victorian periodicals—including those intended for general audiences and for women readers all along the spectrum from traditional domesticity to political and social radicalism—this paper will highlight how these critical women countered and overcame institutional and ideological resistance to their professional work and offer an assessment of the significance of their work to the Victorian publishing world and to our literary heritage.

Meghan Rosing, Lehigh University  
Panel 6.3, Saturday 2:00-3:30  
“First Place Prizes and Back Page  
Stories: Competitive Charity in  
Juvenile Periodicals”

In an 1882 issue of *The Girl's Own Paper*, the editor takes a moment to chide his readers for their lackluster charitable efforts: “The Editor ... wishes to express his great dissatisfaction at the lack of enthusiasm shown by his readers in collecting money for the establishment of their home, which is intended for the poor work-girls of London. It has taken fourteen months to collect 630—only half the amount required. The readers of *The Boy's Own Paper* collected more than 1,600 in less time. Surely the girls will not allow such a disgraceful contrast to the generosity of the masculine gender to remain ...” Although not usually framed in such gendered terms, many Victorian periodicals aimed at young audiences similarly mobilized their readers to support charitable causes by encouraging a spirit of competition. Periodicals for younger readers like *The Child's Companion*, *Good Words for the Young*, *Kind Words for Boys and Girls*, and *Little Folks* featured competitions in which readers entered knitted garments, doll clothing, and other handmade objects. The child responsible for the best entry received a prize of cash or books, and the items were donated to an orphanage or children's hospital.

The model of competitive charity in this set of children's magazines is radically different from the charity project formulated by the contemporary juvenile periodical *Aunt Judy's Magazine*, which offered brief biographical portraits of child patients to encourage readers to invest in long-term sponsorship of the “Aunt Judy” cot in London's Hospital for Sick Children. In spite of their distinct methods, however, narrative charity and competitive charity projects both exemplify what F.J. Harvey Darton termed a “serial soul,” in the sense that their structure and goals are intrinsically tied to the periodical's recurring cycles and extended storytelling. These charitable projects also occupy a particular space in the juvenile periodicals, usually as part of each issue's “back matter” along with correspondence columns, puzzles, riddles, and advertisements. This placement might suggest that these charitable projects are simply another kind of game for middle-class readers, rather than real attempts to relieve the suffering of the poor. This paper argues, however, that this placement situates these charitable projects as an intrinsic part of the ongoing life of the magazine, presenting readers' involvement in charitable projects (whether competitive or narrative) as an everyday practice rather than a rare act of philanthropy.

Sharin Schroeder, National Taipei University  
of Technology

Panel 7.2, Saturday 3:45-5:00

“Andrew Lang and the Origin of Stories:  
Folklore Studies and Intellectual Property”

The following heartless case of plagiarism has only today come within my knowledge. The criminals are beyond the reach of public opinion, perhaps, though we do not know for certain, for they died some three thousand years ago. But if there is an Amenti, as they probably believed, where the souls of bad Egyptians are devoured by serpents and mocked by monkeys, in that Amenti they should be expiating their offenses. —Andrew Lang, “At the Sign of the Ship,” July 1889

In this project I examine how Andrew Lang’s folklore scholarship impacted his journalism on originality and plagiarism. Lang made outstanding original contributions to folklore studies (most notably by disproving Max Müller’s Solar Myth theory), but he was also a popularizer of ideas: although he wrote articles and books for specialists, he also produced monthly, weekly, and daily journalism for the general public in various venues (including, among others, Longman’s, the *Contemporary Review*, the *Nineteenth Century*, the *Cornhill*, the *Illustrated London News*, the *Athenæum*, and the *Daily News*). Lang was famous for writing for numerous periodicals at the same time, thereby making his voice nearly ubiquitous in late nineteenth century reading spaces. Nonetheless, Lang’s style and tone naturally varied from publication to publication, and, in order to more fully understand Lang’s influence

as a critic and scholar, more scholarship needs to be done both on the connections among his varied essay subjects and on the overlap, or lack thereof, of his reading audiences.

In my paper, I will particularly address one of these connections, demonstrating that Lang’s views on plagiarism and copyright were indebted to his understandings of how stories themselves were invented and transmitted, ideas that he held not only because of his experience as a critic and writer of fiction but also because of his involvement in folklore studies. The rise of folklore as a discipline (which began to be professionalized in 1878 with the establishment of the Folklore Society), occurred simultaneously with British writers’ ever-increasing anxieties over intellectual property, anxieties that only began to be resolved by international copyright agreements among some European countries at the Berne Convention in 1886 and with America in 1891. In his journalism, Lang was able to connect his studies in folklore with the questions of originality, plagiarism, and copyright that were then foremost in the minds of English publishers and authors.

Joanne Shattock, University of Leicester

Panel 5.3, Saturday 11:00-12:30

“The Sense of Place and *Blackwood’s*  
(*Edinburgh*) *Magazine*”

This paper will explore the changing identity of *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* under the successive editorships of John Blackwood (1845-79) and his nephew William Blackwood III (1879-1910), with particular reference to its place of publication. The dropping of ‘Edinburgh’ from the title long before it was officially changed to *Blackwood’s Magazine* suggests that its conductors sought to make it a British as distinct from a Scottish or Edinburgh publication probably as early as the 1840s when the firm opened its first London office on Pall Mall. Whereas the magazine founded by William Blackwood I presented itself aggressively as an Edinburgh as opposed to a London periodical, and thrived on a distinctive North of the Border approach to politics as well as literature, the editors from the mid-century onward sought to integrate

the monthly into the mainstream, and to position it as a competitor of metropolitan publications. Yet just as the publishing house retained a loyalty to its Scottish authors and to Scottish intellectual interests, so the magazine sought to balance a commitment to Scottish subjects with a contents page that resembled those of its competitors. The paper will draw on the extensive archives of William Blackwood and Sons in the National Library of Scotland, notably the firm’s letterbooks, the correspondence between John Blackwood and William Blackwood III and the managers of their London and Edinburgh offices, and their correspondence with key contributors during the period.



Gary Simons, Editor, *Curran Index*

Panel 4.3, Friday 3:30-5:00

“The *Curran Index* and the  
*Metropolitan Magazine*”

The late Eileen Curran's life mission was to identify contributors and their contributions to 19th century periodicals. Eileen was a central participant in the *Wellesley Index*; later, she produced a series of related “Additions and Corrections,” first in the *Victorian Periodicals Review*, and afterward, at the suggestion of Patrick Leary, in the on-line *Curran Index* hosted on the Victoria Research Web. “Additions and Corrections” sounds like nitpicking, but the life blood of Victorian periodical studies often resides in the details, in recognizing and interpreting specifics regarding the individual writings of thousands of contributors who represent differing vantage points of gender, interest, status, and situation. The premise of the continuing *Curran Index* is that determinations of who wrote what, where and when, are intrinsically valuable, both in their own right and as prospective building blocks for use by the community of Victorian periodical scholars. This paper addresses the extension of the *Curran Index* through new digital tools and into new periodical domains.

In 2013 and 2014 Google Book Search, on-line sales and auctions of holographs of manuscript pages, and various genealogical websites have been employed to fill authorship gaps in early and mid-Victorian miscellanies included within the *Wellesley Index*, particularly in *Ainsworth's Magazine*, *Bentley's Miscellany*, *Fraser's Magazine*, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, and the *New Monthly Magazine*. Further, careful readings and analyses of contexts and articles by various contributors to the *Curran Index* have uncovered articles by intriguing new personalities as well as major authors such as Mary Shelley. No less important, both contextual examinations and textual (i.e. Burrows method) studies have challenged previously accepted *Wellesley Index* attributions. These new methods, insights, and understandings will be summarized and discussed in this paper.

An emerging *Curran Index* mission is to extend beyond the *Wellesley Index* periodicals. Partly because of the size and cost limitations posed by book and paper, and partly echoing the research interests and priorities of the 60s, 70s, and 80s, the *Wellesley Index* covered only 40 periodicals. In the 21st century, with on-line publication a reality and with scholars interested in a broader range of periodicals, these limitations need no longer apply. To initiate this broadened mission, the authorship of *The Metropolitan*, an influential miscellany of the 1830s and 1840s already notable for its early serialized fiction and non-fiction and for the naval stories of Frederick Marryat and others, has been studied. Although formal publisher's records have not been located, on-line tools, including digitized contemporary advertisements and web-accessible major library catalogs, have enabled the identification of many authors; these include well-known contributors to other Victorian periodicals as well as men and women new to periodical scholarship. Additionally, two caches of letters from Marryat to his sub-editor, Edward Howard, have been identified and found useful. Moving beyond individual articles, this investigation establishes that *The Metropolitan* was a chameleon publication, occupying different places within the spectrum of monthly periodicals, and publishing different sorts of materials, at different times. This paper will report salient results of this study, including the evolving nature of authorship and contributions to *The Metropolitan*, and various shifts of editorial policies, practices, and positioning.

# Casey Smith, Corcoran College of Art

Panel 6.2, Saturday 2:00-3:30

## “*The Halfpenny Muse*: W. J. Ibbett’s Private Press Periodical”

Perhaps the most minimal and obscure of all Victorian periodicals, *The Halfpenny Muse* occupies a curious place in literary and printing history. William Joseph Ibbett (1858-1934) was a postman-poet-printer who printed and published most of his work from his home on Church Street in Epsom. His sole excursion in the periodical press was *The Halfpenny Muse*, which ran from 14 April 1890 through 12 March 1892. Publication was roughly bi-weekly (49 numbers altogether) and the price was advertised in its title. The content of *The Halfpenny Muse* was almost exclusively Ibbett’s own poems, 47 of which he printed himself (on recto pages only), and which he mailed to a small number of subscribers and friends. Precise numbers are impossible to determine, and only three copies of the collected *Halfpenny Muse* have survived: The Newberry Library, The University of British Columbia, and the Mark Samuels Lasner collection at the University of Delaware. The Bodleian Library has two unbound sheets (as issued). *The Halfpenny Muse* is unique in many ways, notably its complete lack of advertisements and paratextual coding. Ibbett’s presswork was distinguished for its amateurish sophistication; in most respects it was a harbinger of 20th century DIY ‘zines and mail art. Ibbett benefitted from his relationship to H. Buxton Forman (of literary forgery fame), who was a colleague of his in the Post Office. Ibbett issued other work of his from his home printing press, some on handmade paper, and some that showed an awareness of the broad currents of the Revival of Printing and the Kelmscott Press. One of his books was published by Elkin Mathews, and he had several of his works printed

at the Chiswick Press. But Ibbett cemented his outsider status by self-publishing *The Benignity of Venus in the Vegetable World, Attempted to be Displayed in a Letter from W.J. Ibbett to his Friend H. Buxton Forman*. His poetry is notably bad. Only Ibbett could write, publish, and re-publish a poem titled “To a Dead Mistress.”

The paper ties into the 2014 conference theme of “Places and Spaces,” but only obliquely. There is nothing to brand *The Halfpenny Muse* as an Epsom or suburban publication. It was, in most respects, wholly absent of conventional markers of place or space. This is in itself significant. For Ibbett’s purposes, “spaces and places” were immaterial. He had his poems, his basement press, and his mailing list, and that was all he needed. He didn’t need to be in central London; he could have as easily been in Swansea. Ibbett is an obscure figure; very little is known about his life and work. Even less is known about *The Halfpenny Muse*. This paper, and the research behind it, looks to rectify this.

With the assistance and guidance of Mark Samuels Lasner, I will be curating an exhibition of some of the Victorian periodicals in his collection at the University of Delaware Library, with *The Halfpenny Muse* as a centerpiece. A checklist with a brief essay will be printed letterpress by Ray Nichols at Lead Graffiti Press in Newark, Delaware, and will be provided to all RSVP conference registrants.

Shannon R. Smith, BISC/Queen's University

Panel 4.1, Friday 3:30-5:00

“On the Edge: The Representation of  
Victorian Suburban London's Velodromes  
and Cycle Racing in the Penny Sporting  
Press, 1870-1901.”

For the past fifteen years, scholars have sought to map the ‘leisure’ terrain of nineteenth and twentieth-century London, examining the way in which recreational spaces such as music halls (Bailey, 1998), pleasure gardens (Nead, 2001), legitimate theatre (Davis and Emeljanow, 2001), shopping areas (Rappaport, 2001), and restaurants (Walkowitz, 2013) were perceived in the public imagination. While these discussions of London's leisure spaces have helped to tease out both public perception and the role Victorian and early twentieth century print media played in constructing that perception, there remain important urban and suburban leisure spheres that have been overlooked. The most significant of these is the urban and suburban sporting sphere, a geographical and imaginary space that grew in prominence as ‘modern’ sport – with its rules and governing bodies – became a major part of Victorian life in the second half of the period. Rule books, fixture lists, and team tables were published, and along with these print affirmations of organised sport's growing popularity, football grounds were cultivated and the Thames was reinvented as the Epsom Downs of the rowing world. This paper is concerned with investigating the way in which the Victorian penny sporting press represented another vital sport in London's urban and suburban landscape: cycle racing.

Some of the biggest developments in sporting technology in the second half of the nineteenth century occurred in cycling; both the big-wheel ‘Ordinary’ and the more modern ‘Safety’ bicycles proved popular with recreational and competitive cyclists alike (Herlihy 2004). The popularity of cycle racing as a spectator sport is evidenced by the number of purpose-built velodromes that dotted the London suburbs from 1870-1900, yet public discourse about the ‘health’ of cycling was ambivalent. While magazines such as Henry Sturmeys’ *Cyclist* captured the spirit of the Victorian cycling community, sensational popular press articles, such as Cesare

Lombroso's “The Bicycle and Crime” in *Pall Mall Magazine* (1900), and short stories, such as Arthur Morrison's “The Affair of the ‘Avalanche Bicycle and Tyre Co. Limited’” in *The Windsor Magazine* (1897), indicate that the Victorian imagination also associated moral and physical disease with the sport. This paper will use the representation in the Victorian penny sporting press of the Lillie Bridge, Herne Hill and Putney velodromes in suburban London (and the events they hosted, such as David Stanton's significant 1875 seven-day endurance track run) to ascertain exactly how Victorians viewed these popular recreational spaces. Along with considering the representation of these spaces in key titles from the nineteenth-century sporting press, the chapter will also examine the way in which the medical discourse about criminal bodies, shaped by writers such as Lombroso, contributed to the construction of these spaces in the Victorian imagination.

This paper is part of a larger project that is interested in determining how Victorians understood the spaces in which sport occurred in, and on the edges of, the city in the second half of the nineteenth century. By doing so, we can better understand what role these spaces played in the urban recreational landscape of the Victorian city. I argue that in the nineteenth-century these spaces were viewed through a lens coloured by gender ideology and public health debates. If we are to truly understand the way in which the Victorians perceived spaces of urban sporting recreation, we need to account for the way in which a variety of print media sources both represented these spaces and their attendant activities as well as contributed to larger debates about issues such as public health, the development of ‘manliness’, and the growth of the professions.

David Taylor, Hon. Research Fellow, University of Roehampton

Panel 6.2, Saturday 2:00-3:30

“Dreaming Spires and Radical Roots: Oxford in the 1850s.  
Godfrey Lushington and the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*.”

The *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* appeared in 1856. It was founded by William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones while both were students at Oxford University. They were joined in the venture by other undergraduates including the twins Vernon and Godfrey Lushington who became disciples of Auguste Comte and leading advocates of Positivism and the Religion of Humanity.

Although always known and recognised for their role in the attempt to spread Positivism during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Lushington brothers remained shadowy figures until my recent acquisition of the important Lushington family archive. My resulting doctoral thesis and ongoing work cataloguing the papers, is bringing the Lushingtons more to the fore of the stage in the cultural and intellectual world of the fin-de-siècle.

Whilst Vernon Lushington was busy at Cambridge attempting to win converts for Comte (and taking time to introduce Burne Jones to Rossetti, thereby setting in motion the development of the second phase of the Pre-Raphaelite movement), Godfrey was at Oxford where he fell in with Morris and other like-minded students.

The *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* was devised by Morris and his friends as a successor to the short-lived Pre-Raphaelite periodical, *The Germ*. The enthusiastic students formed a “Brotherhood” to take up the ideals of Rossetti, Holman Hunt, Millais and others who formed the original Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. But the new “Brotherhood” was not to be an imitation of *The Germ*. Its aim, in the words of Burne-Jones, was to be as a weapon in a “Crusade and Holy Warfare against the age,” meaning specifically the appalling conditions of life in the great industrial areas and the indifference toward them of the upper classes, and more broadly the lack of idealism in contemporary society. In addition to the original P.R.B., the inspirers of the new group were Carlyle, Ruskin and Tennyson.

The twelve numbers of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* that appeared in print, first under Morris’s editorship and financial backing, were conceived with the “central notion” “to advocate moral earnestness and purpose in literature, art, and society.” It was in this magazine that some of Morris’s first writings appeared together with contributions of

verses by Rossetti. The names of contributors of individual essays are not printed leading to much debate as to attribution of authorships. I have been fortunate to acquire Vernon Lushington’s own bound copies of the magazine in which he has added the names of many of the contributors against the essay titles. From this we know that the essay on Oxford was by his brother Godfrey. In fact this was Godfrey’s sole contribution; Vernon contributing a series of essays on Carlyle which form an important, early, critique of the great prophet of the age.

Godfrey Lushington’s essay is not another eulogy on the glories of Oxford. He makes the point of the essay at the outset by quoting from Carlyle’s *Life of Sterling*, “Alas, the question of University Reform goes deep at present; deep as the world; - and the real University of these epochs is yet a great was from us.”

Reform ran deep in the veins of the Lushingtons. Their father had been a Whig MP with advanced ideas who supported the Reform Bill of 1832 and who strove for the abolition of slavery and other social ills. The call for University Reform voiced by Lushington in the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* amounted to an attack on the “social position” and the “classed space” that the universities represented at this time. The demands surprisingly came from young radicals such as Lushington and his brother who were themselves members of the very same privileged elite he was criticising.

Matthew Arnold, coincidentally a friend and neighbour of Vernon Lushington, elevated Oxford to a “sweet city with her dreaming spires”. Drawing upon the resources of newly discovered archive, I will look at the radical roots which lay beneath the veneer of Oxford’s romantic façade in the middle years of the nineteenth-century. I will consider the background of Lushington’s attack on the university system and the role that the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* in giving voice to that attack and its effectiveness in bringing about the changes that ultimate followed. I will also show the importance of the magazine as a launching place for the pursuit of reform which can be traced throughout the brothers’ professional careers in the civil service and the judiciary.

Elizabeth Tilley, National University of Ireland, Galway

Panel 2.2, Friday 11:15-12:45

“‘Penetrating Patriotic Public, Plentifully Purchase  
*PAT’S* Periodical:’ Irish Comic Papers and the  
Construction of Reading Space”

While the general influence of Irish newspapers on politics in Ireland in the 1880s is fairly well understood now, little scholarship has explored Irish illustrated comic papers, which superficially offer very different fare, but historically, representationally, and iconographically intersected with their more serious cousins. By the 1870s and 1880s, the cartoon was a common supplement to serious editorial content on the concerns of the day. As such, the comic paper cannot be separated from its sober-faced competitors. Both cartoons and articles addressed the same audience, worked for the same ends, and, most crucially, used the same tools. Further, cartoons themselves were often shared between titles. It is important, then, that the so-called ephemera of the press be properly recognized. The pictures, cartoons, and advertisements that acted as a corollary to the editorial matter and leaders in many of these papers were part of a web of meaning that extended across formats. This was possible largely because of the compact nature of the Irish publishing industry, and the relative homogeneity of the audience.

This paper offers a reading of a comic weekly entitled *Pat*, founded in 1879 by Edwin Hamilton and cartoonist John Fergus O’Hea, and running (with one interruption in 1880) until 1883. Both men had extensive experience in the production of periodicals, and *Pat* certainly lasted longer than most. As there was very little material of note in the paper beyond the cartoons of O’Hea, it follows that those same cartoons must have drawn and sustained a loyal readership. *Pat* is unique amongst political papers of the time in the sense that it lacked editorials and articles on politics. Instead of text and in the space usually reserved for a strong editorial voice, *Pat* offered rhetorically complex visual material, usually by O’Hea. His clearly identifiable style supplied the place of a stable of authors, and connected *Pat* to other text-heavy papers like the *Weekly Freeman* and *United Ireland*—both of which used O’Hea’s work. In other words, readers were required to read ‘laterally’—to participate in the creation of meaning through piecing together text from one paper and illustration from another. The result is an interesting violation of both periodical space and reader expectation.

Marianne Van Remoortel, Ghent University

Panel 2.3, Friday 11:15-12:45

## “The Fine Art of Satire: Gender and Class in the Magazine Illustrations of Florence and Adelaide Claxton”

The daughters of portrait and genre painter Marshall Claxton, Florence (1838–1920) and Adelaide Claxton (1841–1927) made their debut in the London art world in 1858 at the annual exhibition of the Society of Female Artists. The SFA had been founded in 1855 to provide institutional support and exhibition space to professional as well as amateur women artists. The first of its kind in Britain, it bypassed the limited or non-existent membership opportunities for women in established organizations such as the Royal Academy and the Society of British Artists. As both the mainstream and feminist press were quick to point out, it was thus at the forefront of promoting the professionalization of women’s artistic activities. For Florence and Adelaide Claxton, the exposure it provided proved instrumental in establishing their relationship with the periodical press. Both became frequent contributors of illustrations to the magazines from the late 1850s onwards, including the *London Society*, *Judy* and the *Churchman’s Family Magazine*.

My paper aims to examine how their struggle to be taken seriously by the male establishment enabled the Claxton sisters to develop their own distinct style and voice as women artists. Their magazine illustrations, I will demonstrate, functioned as a medium for exploring the public and private spaces of respectably *London society*. Many of the scenes were drawn directly from the lives of the urban elite: dinner parties, fancy balls, the opera, the ballet, the salon, the boudoir... The tone was mildly ironic, gently mocking the habits and values of genteel society. In Florence Claxton’s “Social Science: A New Opening for Female Labour” (*London Society*, October 1863), accompanying a poem entitled “Boat Song for 1863,” two ladies are rowing a boat while their male companion reclines in the shade of his

umbrella. “The Daily Governess” by Adelaide Claxton (*London Society*, June 1862) hints at the difficult social position of governesses by showing a young woman dressed in black, shielding her face from the pouring rain as she reluctantly rings the servants’ rather than the visitors’ bell.

My paper will pay special attention to the ways in which the Claxton sisters used the classed and gendered space of the periodical itself to reinforce the satirical (occasionally self-mocking) spirit of their illustrations. Florence Claxton’s “Art Students,” for instance, presents a series of caricatures of women artists (from independent and masculine to flirty to fragile and in need of manly guidance) that derive much of their satirical vigour from appearing as a wood engraving in the upmarket, aspirational context of the Queen. In “Ye Spring Fashions” (*London Society*, March 1862), Claxton pokes fun at the money-driven fashion industry by depicting a gaggle of crinolined ladies tumbling down a flight of stairs, juggling bonnets, hat boxes, paper patterns and a copy of *La Mode*.

By the same token, Adelaide Claxton’s “The Standard-Bearer” in the *Illustrated Times* for 19 March 1859 (see attachment) through keen attention to detail offers a sharp-witted view of class difference. The work revisits the popular theme of the flag-bearer, deflating its traditional symbolic significance in the political and military world by depicting a newsboy bearing, quite literally, a copy of the Standard. Dressed in shabby clothes, with signature cap, the boy is chasing an omnibus in a vain attempt to sell the newspaper to its passengers. A man with a large moustache and top hat is peering disinterestedly out of the back window, while the veiled woman in front of him appears to be



completely unaware of the boy's presence. The whole scene is witnessed from the pavement by another tall-hatted gentleman in fashionable checkered trousers, who happens to be strolling by in the company of two elegantly dressed ladies.

"The Standard-Bearer" is as much about social class as it is about its economic implications and relationship to the news industry. At the centre of the picture is the boy's moneybag, suggestive of the small income he is making from news-vending (he would have earned around six shillings a week, perhaps more if he could squeeze a few extra pennies out of his customers by pretending not to have change.) On the back of the omnibus, by contrast, the (illegible) table of fares and the names of three stops – Piccadilly, Strand and the Bank – allude to the higher economic capital of the passengers inside.

If "The Standard-Bearer" begs for comparison with William Maw Egley's much more famous "Omnibus Life in London" (first exhibited in the same year as "The Standard-Bearer" and now held by the Tate Gallery in London), it is not only because Claxton and Egley were early examples of artists' growing interest in exploring urban spaces such as public transport. For Egley, the omnibus was a space where class distinctions were blurred. Claxton, on the contrary, chose to draw these distinctions more sharply. By means of subtle economic markers of class hierarchy, she distinguishes news readers from news sellers, silhouetting the eagerness of the newsboy against the indifference of the omnibus passengers. It is through this kind of subtle rhetoric of space, I will argue, that Florence and Adelaide Claxton established their reputation as master satirists of class, of gender and ultimately also of themselves as professional female artists in what was still a predominantly masculine world.



Laura Vorachek, University of Dayton

Panel 4.2, Friday 3:30-5:00

“T. Sparrow and Women’s Incognito  
Investigative Journalism at the Fin de Siècle”

In recent years scholars have sought to recover the work of nineteenth-century journalists, women in particular, who were often ignored or discounted in early studies of the field. One reporter who has yet to receive critical attention is T. (Anna Mary) Sparrow, who turned to journalism in the last decade of the century after publishing two unsuccessful novels. Her métier was incognito investigations of the working poor and life in London’s slums, and she contributed to a variety of daily and monthly periodicals. These journals include the critically esteemed *New Review*, the popular *Strand Magazine*, and the religiously-oriented *Newbery House Magazine* and *Quiver*. Although as prolific and daring as several of her more well-known counterparts, Sparrow has been all but forgotten. This paper will examine Sparrow’s career in the context of her contemporaries, Elizabeth Banks and Olive Christian Malvery, and consider why Banks’s and Malvery’s incognito investigative reporting has remained in the critical eye while Sparrow’s has not.

Like Banks and Malvery, Sparrow asserted her middle class femininity while describing time spent among the poor and in areas where respectable middle-class women did not venture alone. She chose “feminine” subject matter, focusing, for example, on the plight of working-class women and children in her *Quiver* series “One of the Penniless Poor”; anatomizing working-class romance in her “Love in the Slums” series; and writing about working-class love of animals in “Poverty’s Pets.” However, Sparrow did not have Banks’s and Malvery’s acumen for self-promotion. While Banks and Malvery included studio photographs of themselves in working-class costume, drawing attention to their femininity

and artfulness but also to themselves as subject matter, Sparrow’s articles are illustrated almost exclusively with line drawings of her working-class subjects. Indeed, Sparrow was less willing than her counterparts to make herself a character in her articles. Moreover, Banks and Sparrow were both adept at positioning themselves as public figures (1), while Sparrow’s name only came before the public in her byline or when listed as “principle contributor” on *Quiver*’s masthead. Banks and Malvery were also exotic figures in fin de siècle London—Banks an American and Malvery an Anglo-Indian—and used their outsider status to generate interest in their work.

While all three reporters engaged in similar strategies to maintain their social position and femininity while investigating working-class spaces and places, Sparrow alone remains in relative obscurity. An examination of the career of a female incognito investigative reporter who did not achieve the renown of Banks or Malvery reveals the challenges facing British women hoping to make a career in journalism beyond fashion, domestic, and society news. The contrast of these women’s careers suggests that in addition to a willingness to don costumes and enter working-class spaces, female reporters needed to court celebrity in order to remain newsworthy.

(1) See Seth Koven’s *Slumming* (2004) for more on Banks’s self-marketing strategies and Judith Walkowitz’s “The Indian Woman, the Flower Girl, and the Jew” (1999) on Malvery’s.

Catherine Waters, University of Kent

Panel 5.2, Saturday 11:00-12:30

## “Journalism on the Move: towards a Definition of Victorian ‘special correspondence’”

In an 1868 article on ‘Our Own Correspondent’ devoted to explaining the identity of this ‘mysterious and apparently ubiquitous functionary that figures every morning under the above designation in the columns of the newspaper’, the Leisure Hour sought to clarify the role of the Victorian ‘Special Correspondent’:

We are not speaking now of the regular correspondent, who, residing constantly in some foreign capital, gleans from the officials of the Government such information as they choose to impart, and as much more as he can; but of him who is the special messenger of the London press, and is ready to start to any quarter of the globe at a moment’s notice.

The article attempts to distinguish between the foreign correspondent – based in one place and charged with keeping the public at home abreast of political affairs transpiring elsewhere – and the roving reporter whose exceptional duties were aptly designated by the adjective ‘Special’. But the distinction is at the same time obscured here by the use of the common by-line, from ‘Our Own Correspondent’, for both journalists.

In her seminal study of *Victorian News and Newspapers* in 1985, Lucy Brown distinguished the foreign correspondent from the war correspondent, and argued that ‘the phrase “special correspondent” had no very precise meaning’ in the nineteenth century, but that it nevertheless described someone who was working on a particular assignment and who typically presented his investigations ‘in a series of letters in successive issues’ of the newspaper (216-217). It is perhaps in part because of this lack of precise definition that no major study has yet been devoted to Victorian ‘special correspondence’ (as opposed to war correspondence) – a project that I am now engaged in.

War correspondence was certainly one key form of ‘special correspondence’ and Joel Wiener notes that the term ‘special correspondent’ ‘came to be used synonymously with “war reporter”’ during the Crimean campaign (*The Americanization of the British Press*, 98.n3). But Victorian ‘Specials’ had to turn their hands to cover all manner of events in any location as required by their newspaper. What distinguished their journalism was its mobility, versatility and descriptive power: an ability to observe and seize upon events wherever they happened, rendering them for the press in sufficiently graphic prose so as to transport readers through vivid eye-witness accounts. ‘Special correspondence’ was a new technology – like the railroad or the telegraph, both of which it was associated with – that brought the world closer, shrinking space and conveying readers to distant places. Indeed, the opposition between space and place in recent geographical and spatial theory (‘space’ indicating a sense of movement, of history, while ‘place’ is thought to imply a static sense of location) offers one model for theorising an approach to ‘special correspondence’ and its distinctive features. This paper will seek to define Victorian ‘special correspondence’ and to consider some of the ways in which these ‘letters’ despatched from elsewhere helped to create a geographical imagination at home.

Sharon Aronofsky Weltman, Louisiana  
State University

Panel 7.1, Saturday 3:45-5:00

“‘Newsboys . . . crying themselves hoarse  
along the footways’: Richard Mansfield as  
Jekyll and Hyde on Stage and Street”

In the autumn of 1888 Richard Mansfield's performance at the Lyceum Theatre in Thomas Russell Sullivan's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* earned a surprising sort of plaudit from one of his viewers. So convincing was the actor's portrayal of transition between the two title characters and so terrifying was his rendition of Hyde that one audience member wrote to the City of London Police to accuse Mansfield of being Jack the Ripper, who was at that time terrorizing Whitechapel. The only evidence? Good acting. The letter denouncing Mansfield explains, "I do not think there is A man Living So well able to disguise Himself in A moment as he does in front of the Public. Who So well able to Baffle the Police, or Public he Could be A dark man. Fair man. Short man. Or Tall in A five Seconds if he carried A fine Faulse Wiskers &c in A Bag" (Danahay *Jekyll and Hyde Dramatized* 180).

This accusation against Mansfield highlights the Victorian anxiety about identity as performed. That one person can effectively play two or more distinct characters on the same stage—in plain sight of the audience, physically altering his appearance as well as projecting different personalities—unsettles a unitary notion of the self or subjectivity. In a sense, actors embody the very phenomenon that Henry Jekyll predicts in the novella: that because of his research people will not merely be proven to have a dual nature but that "man will ultimately be known for a mere polity of multifarious, incongruous and independent denizens" (79). Mansfield's ability to "baffle the police," to appear "short," "tall," "dark," or "fair" echoes the bafflement of Stevenson's character Enfield, who says of Edward Hyde: "He is not easy to describe. There is something wrong with his appearance. . . He

must be deformed somewhere; he gives a strong feeling of deformity, although I couldn't specify the point. . . He's an extraordinary looking man, and yet I really can name nothing out of the way. No, sir . . . I can't describe him. And it's not want of memory; for I declare I can see him at this moment" (35-36). Part of the interest here is Stevenson's use of the discourse of visibility and embodiment for something that exceeds visibility and is embodied only through the unnatural intervention of Jekyll's experimentation. The actor's challenge, then, is to embody on stage in full view of his spectators that which the novel states cannot be embodied except in the imagination of the speaker, author, and reader. The impossibility of expressing precisely what Hyde looks like (and what makes him appear to be so evil) is an aspect of both the novel and its adaptations that has received significant critical attention, beginning with a spate of theater reviews and celebrity interviews in 1888, appearing in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Star*, all covering the Jack the Ripper's murders on the streets of London's East End at the same time.

In developing the dual role, Mansfield selected a masculine Hyde and a feminine Jekyll from the myriad possibilities in Stevenson's book, explaining his choice to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in this way: "I have a theory that all that is good in a man's character—his affection for others, his love of truth and mercy, his self-sacrifice, patience, and other virtues—all come to him from his mother; and so I make Jekyll somewhat effeminate, that is to say, gentle in his manner and passionate and self-sacrificing in his love" ("Real" 103). This would not work if Jekyll were, as the 1887 *Pall Mall Gazette* interprets Stevenson's conception, "a clever scientific

gentleman with the very devil inside him,” instead of what Mansfield portrays, “a mixture of a smug young shopwalker and an aesthetic curate, who wishes to be well with the ladies” (“Nightmare” 126). The notion of Jekyll as Hyde’s polar opposite—what Mansfield calls purely “the good” in direct contrast to Hyde, “the impersonation of all that was bad”—enters the popular imagination not in the novella, but here, through Mansfield’s need in performance to be able to create a greater contrast between the characters for a maximum dramatic effect (“Real” 103) and through the press’s dissemination of that effect to the many readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette* who would never see Mansfield on stage.

However Mansfield theorized it, and despite widespread critical disappointment in his interpretation of Jekyll, the press unanimously lauded Mansfield’s performance of Hyde, which they found entirely convincing; a “tour de force,” said both the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* (“Lyceum” 123, “Nightmare” 127). It was so fierce and shocking that women and men fainted and people couldn’t sleep after seeing the show (“Real” 103). Many contemporary reviews and many press interviews with Mansfield play up the public’s fascination with the star’s ability to portray the startling differences between Jekyll and Hyde entirely through acting, that is, through posture, gesture, and physical contortions, through altering

the voice, disheveling the hair, and shifting costume elements (Danahay and Chisolm 100-132).

We’ve seen that several characters in the novella describe the horror of Hyde as an illegible blank. If the fiction’s horror stems from readers’ ability to project their private sense of deformity onto him because he is indescribable or because his form is malleable, then the horror Hyde generates is so profound precisely because it is so performable. In other words, there is an important link between deformity and performability. While Enfield can’t describe Hyde other than to say that, although the deformity is invisible, he must be deformed somewhere, the 1888 letter-writer’s denouncement of Mansfield suggests that because the actor’s transformation is entirely and explicitly visible on West End stage, it must also be performed elsewhere invisibly, secretly, on the streets of London’s East End. And that performance is played out in the press not only in sensational coverage of the Whitechapel murders but also in the entertainment pages of mainstream periodicals, where—as in Stevenson—a “Special edition. Shocking murder” is announced by “newsboys . . . crying themselves hoarse along the footways” (52).

# Molly Youngkin, Loyola Marymount University

## Panel 6.2, Saturday 2:00-3:30

### “Blending Public and Private Spaces: Spiritualist Periodicals, Oral Testimony, and Legitimate Records of Phenomena at William Stainton Moses’s Ghost Club”

On November 1, 1882, All Souls’ Day, William Stainton Moses, editor of the spiritualist periodical *Light*, founded the Ghost Club, a club devoted to the sharing of “personal knowledge” and “accredited testimony” of ghosts and other “psychological experiences” in a confidential setting (British Library, Add. Ms. 52258). With his friend, Alaric Alfred Watts, Stainton Moses asked eight other men (including influential spiritualists Stanhope Speer and Charles Massey) to join them in their endeavor to share ghost stories in the first year of the Club’s existence. The club continued through 1936, and later members included William Crookes and William Butler Yeats.

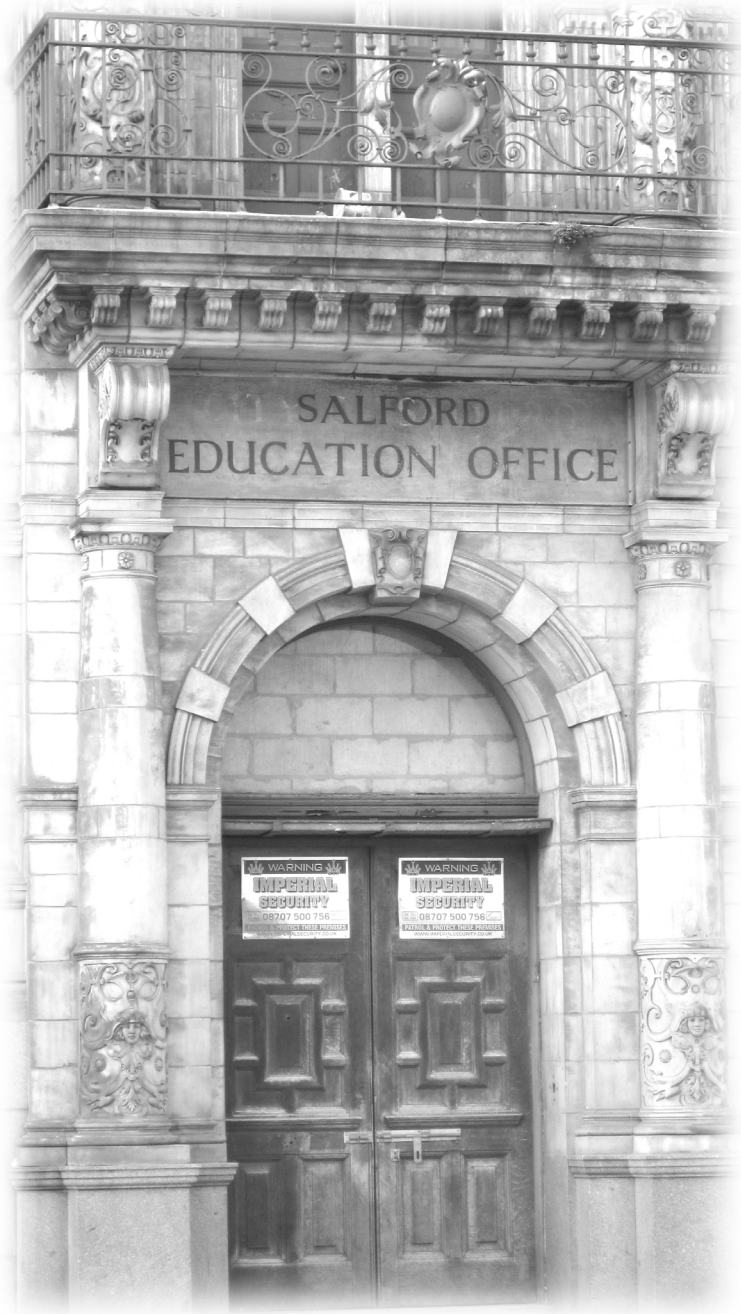
As Roger Luckhurst points out in *Mummy’s Curse: The True History of a Dark Fantasy* (2012), members of the Ghost Club “took secrecy very seriously,” and only one “public breach into print” occurred, in 1908, when *The Observer* ran a story about the recently departed Club member Churton Collins and a sporadic visitor to the Club Henry Stanley (47, 251). The concern over secrecy was legitimate, Luckhurst argues, since members who made their experiences public often suffered financially and personally (47). Still, while keeping the Club’s discussion private was of utmost importance, accounts of spiritualist phenomena from the public realm, especially those in print in the spiritualist press, often fuelled discussion at the Ghost Club. This paper examines the interplay between published accounts brought into the Club and the private, unpublished accounts that were central to the Club’s activities.

Club membership required each member to present a ghost story or similar experience once per year, but the detailed minutes of the Club indicate that many of the meetings did not have an assigned presenter. On these evenings, conversation was more impromptu; Stainton Moses often ignited discussion by sharing a clipping from *Light*. For example, at the May 6, 1887 meeting, Stainton Moses

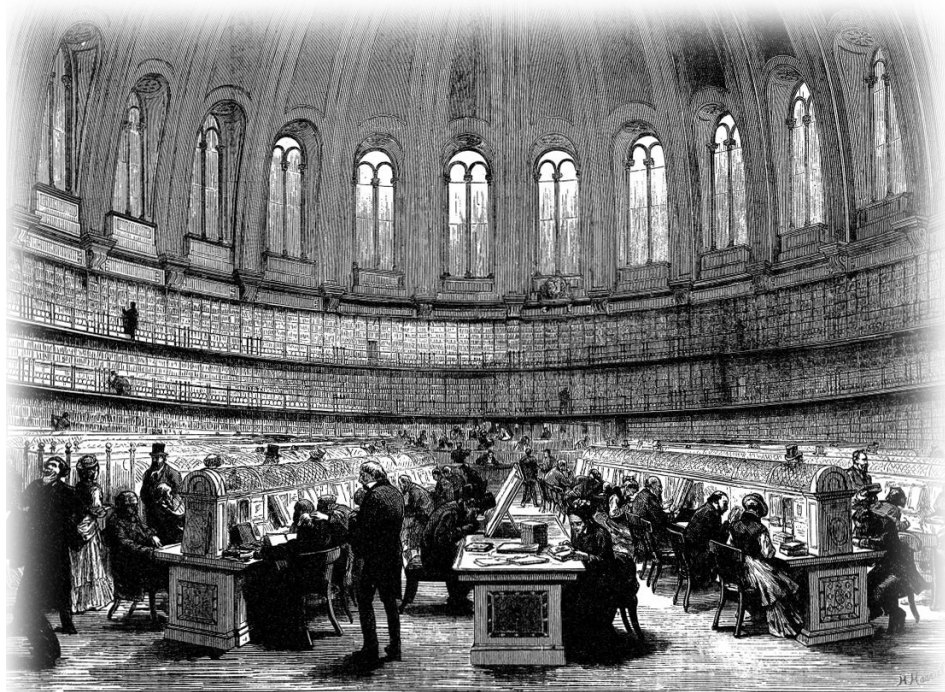
presented an account regarding double consciousness, which had appeared first in the American paper *Path* and then in *Light* (Add. Ms. 52258). After reading the account, which is pasted into the minutes book, Stainton Moses asked members of the Club what the account illustrated about spirit identity and how this account compared to a case included in recent proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research (Add. Ms. 52258).

By bringing a published account to a private space and using this private space to compare this account to another published record of spiritual phenomena, Stainton Moses blurred the boundaries of what constituted legitimate records of spiritual phenomena, suggesting that private accounts were as important as public ones. Further, some of the articles Stainton Moses brought to the group had not yet been printed in *Light* when he shared them, and the group’s reactions, such as their thoughts about second-sight cases in Theophilus Insulanus’s 1763 book on the topic, shaped the final draft published in *Light*, further blurring the boundaries between public and private spaces.

This paper will review key articles shared by Stainton Moses with the Ghost Club and show how this group of spiritual storytellers blurred the boundaries of public and private spaces, redefining what constituted legitimate testimony of spiritualist phenomena. This paper also will discuss how Stainton Moses’s efforts to redefine legitimate testimony were part of a larger concern in the spiritualist movement. By comparing and contrasting Stainton Moses’s efforts to those of other spiritualist periodical editors, such as Emma Hardinge Britten (whose work I have presented at RSVP before), we can see the centrality of periodicals in this redefinition.







LONDON SKETCHES—THE READING ROOM AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM



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# Notes









## Places, Spaces, and the Victorian Periodical Press

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