

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK *to* NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS



Edited by

ANDREW KING, ALEXIS EASLEY,
AND JOHN MORTON

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK
TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH
PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

Providing a comprehensive, interdisciplinary examination of scholarship on nineteenth-century British periodicals and newspapers, this volume surveys the current state of research and offers an in-depth examination of contemporary methodologies. The impact of digital media and archives on the field informs all discussions of the print archive. Contributors illustrate their arguments with examples and contextualize their topics within broader areas of study, while also reflecting on how the study of periodicals may evolve in the future. The *Handbook* will serve as a valuable resource for scholars and students of nineteenth-century culture who are interested in issues of cultural formation, transformation, and transmission in a developing industrial and globalizing age, as well as those whose research focuses on the bibliographical and the micro case study. In addition to rendering a comprehensive review and critique of current research on nineteenth-century British periodicals, the *Handbook* suggests new avenues for research in the twenty-first century.

Andrew King is Professor of English Literature and Literary Studies at the University of Greenwich, UK.

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Ranging from explorations of regional presses to the transformation of periodical scholarship through digitalization, this *Handbook* provides an overview of the history and theory of nineteenth-century British periodicals and newspapers. By offering an expansive view of the state of this rapidly developing field, these 30 essays suggest a variety of routes for that development in both future research and pedagogy. The multiple perspectives demonstrate exciting interventions by periodicals in art, politics, economics, and the everyday life and work of their readers.

Mark Schoenfield, Vanderbilt University, USA,
author of *British Periodicals and Romantic Identity: The 'Literary Lower Empire'*

This *Handbook* succeeds brilliantly in conveying the diversity and depth of the field of nineteenth-century periodical and newspaper studies. At a time when new digital resources have enabled far greater access to this crucial material, this wide-ranging and rich resource—theoretically probing and full of new research and thinking—will quickly establish itself as the first port of call for students and scholars alike. A wonderful and welcome achievement.

Mark W. Turner, King's College London, UK

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CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	viii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xviii
Introduction	1
ANDREW KING, ALEXIS EASLEY, AND JOHN MORTON	
 SECTION I	
Production and Reproduction	15
1 Digitization	17
JAMES MUSSELL	
2 Technologies of Production	29
SHANNON ROSE SMITH	
3 Distribution	42
GRAHAM LAW	
4 Periodical Economics	60
ANDREW KING	
 SECTION II	
Contributors and Contributions	75
5 Writing for Periodicals	77
LINDA H. PETERSON	
6 Editors and the Nineteenth-Century Press	89
MARYSA DEMOOR	
7 Illustration	102
BRIAN MAIDMENT	

CONTENTS

8	Poetry	124
	LINDA K. HUGHES	
9	Prose	138
	BETH PALMER	
SECTION III		
Geographies		151
10	Empire and the Periodical Press	153
	MICHELLE TUSAN	
11	Transatlantic Connections	163
	BOB NICHOLSON	
12	Transnational Connections	175
	JANE CHAPMAN	
13	Periodicals in Scotland	185
	DAVID FINKELSTEIN	
14	Welsh Periodicals and Newspapers	194
	LISA PETERS	
15	Periodicals in Ireland	208
	ELIZABETH TILLEY	
16	Provincial Periodicals	221
	ANDREW HOBBS	
SECTION IV		
Taxonomies		235
17	Markets, Genres, Iterations	237
	LAUREL BRAKE	
18	Men and the Periodical Press	249
	STEPHANIE OLSEN	
19	Periodicals for Women	260
	KATHRYN LEDBETTER	
20	Family Magazines	276
	JENNIFER PHEGLEY	
21	Children's Periodicals	293
	KRISTINE MORUZI	

CONTENTS

22	Sporting Periodicals	307
	YURI COWAN	
23	Comic/Satiric Periodicals	318
	CRAIG HOWES	
24	Social Purpose Periodicals	328
	DEBORAH MUTCH	
25	Temperance Periodicals	342
	ANNEMARIE MCALLISTER	
26	Periodicals and Religion	355
	MARK KNIGHT	
27	Theater and the Periodical Press	365
	KATHERINE NEWHEY	
28	Art Periodicals	377
	JULIE CODELL	
29	Music Periodicals	390
	LAURA VORACHEK	
	<i>Chronology of the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press</i>	400
	GARY SIMONS	
	<i>Bibliography</i>	406
	<i>Index</i>	461

FIGURES

1.1	Robert Walker Macbeth, <i>Our First Tiff</i> , etching, 22.8 cm × 26.5 cm, 1880.	xx
2.1	“He is scratching, scratching, scratching with a furious-driven nib,” <i>Pall Mall Magazine</i> 24 (June 1901): 244.	30
2.2	“Applegarth’s Patent Printing Machine,” <i>Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition. By the Authority of the Royal Commission</i> , 3 vols. (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851), 1:275.	35
2.3	“Patent Vertical Printing Machine, in the Great Exhibition Class C, No. 122 / The ‘Illustrated London News’ (Applegarth) Printing Machine,” <i>Illustrated London News</i> 18 (May 31, 1851): 502.	37
2.4	Paul Destez, “The ‘Graphic’ Exhibit at the Paris Exhibition, Awarded a Gold Medal,” <i>Graphic</i> 62 (September 15, 1900): 375.	41
4.1	Production costs of annuals in the 1820s (adapted from S.C. Hall, “Annuals”).	69
4.2	Newspaper production costs in the late 1840s (adapted from J.P., “Daily Press”).	70
4.3	Brewing Trade Review Limited, balance sheet for the year ending October, 1887.	73
6.1	“While the Editor Is at Lunch,” <i>Judy: or The London Serio-Comic Journal</i> 70 (November 1, 1905): 519.	93
6.2	“Some Magazine Editors,” <i>Review of Reviews</i> 3, no. 17 (May 1891): 508.	100
7.1	H.G. Hine, wood-engraved illustrations for “The Monster City,” <i>Illuminated Magazine</i> 3 (September 1844): 286.	103
7.2	Wood-engraved headpiece to the index of <i>Punch</i> 5 (1843).	104
7.3	Robert Seymour, detail from the wood-engraved masthead for <i>Figaro in London</i> 5 no. 239 (July 2, 1836): 105.	105
7.4	Wood-engraved title page for the <i>Saturday Magazine</i> 1, no. 20 (October 27, 1832): 153.	109
7.5	Wood engraving showing a “Proposed Metropolitan Subway,” <i>Illustrated London News</i> 23 (October 29, 1853): 367.	110
7.6	Wood-engraved illustration to “Leaf Insects,” <i>Weekly Visitor</i> 2, no. 98 (August 19, 1835): 297.	111
7.7	Charles Keene, wood-engraved illustration to George Meredith’s <i>Evan Harrington</i> , <i>Once A Week</i> 2, no. 38 (March 17, 1860): 243.	113

7.8	“The Demon Shows Theresa to Faust,” wood-engraved illustration for G.W.M. Reynolds’s <i>Faust</i> , <i>London Journal</i> 2, no. 32 (October 4, 1845): 49.	114
7.9	John Gilbert, “The Ship on Fire,” wood-engraved title page illustration for the <i>British Workman</i> 107 (November 1863): 425.	117
7.10	Engraved title page to volume 2 of the <i>Puppet Show</i> (1849).	119
7.11	C.J. Grant, “The Irish Schoolmaster and His Pupils,” <i>Political Drama</i> , No. 128 (London: Drake, c. 1834).	120
7.12	“A.P.,” process-engraved illustration for “Why He Failed,” <i>Strand Magazine</i> 2 (July 1891): 30.	122
11.1	Full-text search for “Americ*” OR “United States” in twenty-nine British newspapers.	168
14.1	<i>Baner ac Amserau Cymru</i> 43, no. 2276 (October 10, 1900): 1.	198
14.2	<i>Wrexham and Denbigh Weekly Advertiser</i> 2, no. 70 (July 7, 1855): 1.	199
15.1	Cover of <i>Dublin University Magazine</i> 36, no. 212 (August 1850).	214
15.2	Paper issue cover of Charles Lever, <i>Charles O’Malley, the Irish Dragoon</i> (Dublin: William Curry, 1841).	216
16.1	Approximate numbers of metropolitan and provincial newspapers and magazines, 1800 and 1900.	223
16.2	Masthead of <i>Dudley and Midland Counties Express and Mining Gazette</i> 1, no. 16 (January 2, 1858).	224
16.3	Metropolitan versus provincial annual newspaper sales, 1821 and 1864.	225
18.1	Frontispiece to the <i>Leisure Hour</i> (1860), detail.	254
19.1	Copper-plate engraving of the “Princess Royal as She Appear’d at Court on the Queen’s Birth-Day,” <i>Lady’s Magazine</i> 12 (February 1781): 62.	262
19.2	Frontispiece engraving featuring fabric swatches from textile manufacturers, <i>Ackermann’s Repository of Arts</i> 12, no. 72 (December 1814).	263
19.3	Hand-colored fashion plate, <i>New Monthly Belle Assemblée</i> 8 (January 1838): 58.	265
19.4	Two-page spread showing arrangement of the “Englishwoman’s Conversazione” feature next to hand-colored fashion plates, <i>Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine</i> 9 (November 1864): 288.	270
19.5	Frontispiece illustration from the first issue of the <i>Lady’s Newspaper</i> 1, no. 1 (January 2, 1847): 1.	272
19.6	Embroidery pattern from the <i>Queen</i> 55 (January 17, 1874): 64.	273
20.1	Frontispiece of the <i>Family Friend</i> 4 (January–June 1851).	277
20.2	“Lady De Vere Makes a Discovery,” <i>London Journal</i> 43, no. 1103 (March 31, 1866): 193.	281
20.3	“Notices to Correspondents,” <i>London Journal</i> 43 (March 31, 1866): 208.	283
20.4	Masthead of <i>Bow Bells</i> 4 (February 14, 1866): 49.	285
20.5	Cover of the <i>Argosy</i> 23, no. 137 (April 1877).	286
20.6	“Laura’s Fireside,” <i>Cornhill Magazine</i> 3 (April 1861): 385.	289
21.1	Reissue cover of <i>Boys of England</i> 19, no. 490 (September 4, 1883).	297
21.2	Cover of the <i>Girl’s Own Paper</i> 19, no. 970 (July 30, 1898).	299

FIGURES

22.1	Page from J. Mason, "The Money We Spend on Sport," <i>Pearson's Magazine</i> 1 (May 1896): 534.	309
24.1	"I'll Go Back, I'll Not Pledge the Clock," <i>British Workman</i> , no. 98 (February 1863): 1.	330
24.2	"The Harvest Field: Maternal Love," <i>British Workwoman</i> , no. 107 (September 1872): 88.	338
25.1	Cover of first issue of <i>Onward</i> (July 1865).	346
25.2	Cover of the <i>Temperance Mirror</i> 7, no. 81 (September 1887): 193.	349

TABLES

2.1	Selective timeline of technology	33
3.1	Distribution timeline	56
4.1	Debits and credits of annuals in 1829	68
4.2	Debits and credits of a newspaper in the late 1840s	68
4.3	Costs of advertising in the <i>Brewing Trade Review</i> 1887, 1891	72

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It is with heartfelt regret that we record here the passing in June 2015 of Professor Linda H. Peterson who, even though she was very ill, was determined to aid our undertaking. Over her illustrious career, she contributed a great deal to Victorian studies not only through her extraordinarily perceptive and exquisitely crafted publications but also through her good humor, wit, grace, and generosity.

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Figure 1.1 Robert Walker Macbeth, *Our First Tiff*, etching, 22.8 cm x 26.5 cm, 1880. From the editors' collection.

INTRODUCTION

Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton

Periodical Literature—how sweet is the name! 'Tis a type of many of the most beautiful things and events in nature; or say, rather, that they are *types* of it, both the flowers and stars. . . . The flowers are the periodicals of the earth—the stars are those of heaven. . . . Look, then, at all our paper Periodicals with pleasure, for sake of the flowers and the stars. Suppose them all extinct, and life would be like a flowerless earth, a starless heaven. We should soon forget the seasons themselves—the days of the week—and the weeks of the month—and the months of the year—and the years of the century—and the centuries of all Time—and all Time itself flowing away on into eternity.¹

This playful passage from an 1829 article in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* imagines periodical literature as a natural part of everyday life which structures time and imbues it with meaning. It is both ephemeral like the flowers that brighten our lives and permanent like the stars that guide us on life's voyage. Over the course of the nineteenth century, periodicals and newspapers became a ubiquitous feature of daily life, serving as vehicles of entertainment, political discourse, historical retrospection, popular education, and countless other modes of thought. Displacing the centrality and status of oral modes of communication even further than in the previous century, when theories of print and oral cultures were first adumbrated, they prepared the way for the densely mediated society we experience today.² Journalism and daily life were increasingly entwined due to improvements in printing technology; advances in methods of information gathering and dissemination; increases in literacy rates; and the elimination of the taxes on knowledge. According to John North, in his introduction to that essential map of the nineteenth-century British press, *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals*, there were 125,000 newspaper and periodical titles published in England between 1800 and 1900.³ Adding in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the British Empire (let alone the newspapers and periodicals from elsewhere) raises the number of titles markedly, creating what the

1. [Wilson], "Monologue," 948.

2. McDowell, "Towards a Genealogy." Vincent's *Literacy and Popular Culture* remains a key resource for charting this transition.

3. North, introduction.

Saturday Review called a “surging sea of print on which we are all afloat,” a profusion of material that was disorienting, threatening, sublime, addictive, and exciting.⁴

Periodicals and newspapers structured readers’ days, weeks, and months, providing news, updates on the latest fashions in London, commentary on intellectual and political debates, or the next installment of a gripping serial novel. Eliza Cook wrote in 1849 that a “family would often drink the tea of Lethe, and eat the toast of taciturnity, were they not happily relieved from torpor of thought, and immobility of tongue, by the entrance of a newspaper.”⁵ At the same time, as illustrated in our cover image and in Figure 1.1, a newspaper (or a periodical) could separate readers from their immediate surroundings, launching them into what Benedict Anderson has called an “imagined community” of national affiliation, the idea of a reading public.⁶ Of course, in the nineteenth century, the idea that individuals were no longer confined to the community in their immediate vicinity was not a new concept. Neither was the reality that there were many different communities created and maintained by print. What was new was the diversity of communities, the intensity of the social permeation of print, and the rapidity of its increase (phenomena that many contributors to this volume address). Even while publishers had long recognized that the reading public was divided into particular sectors,⁷ some, such as W.M. Thackeray and Wilkie Collins, were still attempting to imagine a unified audience well into the 1850s.⁸ The massive and rhizomatic growth of the press increasingly made this vision untenable, especially as prices fell and regulation diminished. Provincial newspapers, women’s magazines, children’s periodicals, and illustrated fiction weeklies, along with temperance, trade, and myriad other classes of periodicals either sprang into being or proliferated into other formats and titles. By the second half of the nineteenth century, it was generally acknowledged that choice of reading matter marked membership not only in a national framework but also in overlapping sets of niche markets and interest groups. Issues raised in the nineteenth century—for instance, how readers classified and were classified by the media and how media industries were organized and understood by readers and the state—still resonate with us today. Even if our technologies have changed dramatically, we still think through—and experience the effects of—these issues today.

The *Handbook* presents a comprehensive exploration of the rich diversity of newspapers and periodicals that gave birth to today’s media saturation. We have designed it to provide readers with a survey of current scholarship and contemporary methodologies, along with indications of areas ripe for further research. It assesses the impact of digital media and archives, which in recent years have provided unprecedented access to rare periodicals and newspapers while presenting a host of methodological quandaries. As James Mussell points out in Chapter 1, “Those familiar with periodicals in print readily notice what has been left out, whether properties related to the shift in materiality (weight, size, the texture of the page, colors of

4. “Repose,” 110.

5. Cook, “Newspapers,” 111.

6. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

7. Klancher, *Making of English Reading Audiences*, especially chapter 1.

8. Thackeray, “Half-a-Crown’s Worth”; [Collins], “Unknown Public.” On this shift in the conceptualization of the market, see King, *London Journal*, 24–25, 36–67.

paper and ink) or the way the resource organizes its content (perhaps making it difficult to browse, for instance).⁹ Yet, he notes, “Just as there are things that it is only possible to learn by consulting the print periodicals in the archive, so there are also things that can only be learned from interrogating data produced from these archival objects.”¹⁰ This volume amply illustrates the opportunities and insights that such data can provide.

Previous guides to the field, such as those edited by Vann and VanArsdel, offered maps of the field by directing scholars to paper periodicals and archives. *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals*, and *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* also serve, in differing ways, as finding aids and factual reference guides. The *Handbook* continues the rigorous approach modeled by these forebears, offering guidance to help readers identify and locate material for research and place it in a wider context. However, the *Handbook* differs from earlier volumes by celebrating diversity, promoting broader theoretical discussion of the press, and highlighting new methodological questions and approaches.

The fundamental question we must ask is how we can interpret the wealth of data we find when researching the nineteenth-century press. The *Handbook* collectively answers this question through explicit theoretical discussion but also through proposing answers that differ from one another and are at times contradictory. The striking diversity of the chapters reflects the current heterogeneity of the field. That the *Handbook* embraces heterodoxy stems from our belief that only plural approaches can address the protean nature of our subject.

We hope this volume addresses the needs of scholars who research issues of long-term cultural formation, transformation, and transmission in a developing industrial and globalizing age. Early on, we made the decision to focus on British periodicals and newspapers of the nineteenth century as a whole. While the idea of Romantic and Victorian periodization helps to define academic fields of inquiry and provides manageable boundaries in the vast archive of print, newspaper and periodicals scholarship has rightly become more attentive to the nineteenth century as a whole. This is demonstrated by the coverage of the *Waterloo Directory* (1976–), which spans from 1800 to 1900, and the contents of *Victorian Periodicals Review* (1968–), which often includes research on material from the long nineteenth century, 1780 to 1914. Our decision to incorporate research on periodicals and newspapers from across the century and beyond was also motivated by the fact that many important titles, such as *The Times* (1785–) or the *Strand Magazine* (1891–1950), extend beyond the boundaries of the nineteenth century.

National and geographical limits are just as hard to justify as temporal boundaries.¹¹ Periodicals and newspapers published within the British Empire were influenced in both form and content by those printed in Germany, France, America, and many other countries. In order to explore intersections between these national contexts, we included chapters focused on empire, transatlanticism, and transnationalism and the press. From the mid-1880s, press directories, inspired by *Sell's Dictionary of the World's Press* (founded in 1884), began to link the individual economies of newspapers and periodicals to a world economy through long articles

9. See Mussell, “Digitization,” 25 below.

10. *Ibid.*, 28 below.

11. See Ogborn and Withers, “Introduction,” 1.

on colonial imports and exports. For example, they classified the press in India according to area, demographics, and kinds of goods imported and exported to different regions. By 1891, *Mitchell's Advertising Press Directory* provided a comprehensive guide to the world's press, including titles produced in Algeria, Pondicherry, Senegal, the French provinces, and many other locales, demonstrating that press advertising was a conduit for exporting British goods during a time of domestic overproduction. By paying for advertisements in foreign papers, British manufacturers were—to varying extents—helping to support the press of many other countries, just as manufacturers from other countries helped finance the British press with advertisements for their products.

In addition to interpreting “British” as a node in an international network rather than as a sealed box, we also wanted to emphasize that “British” was not a synonym for either “English” or “London.” As will be clear from chapters 13–16, the majority of newspapers published inside Britain came from outside the metropolis, and there were many in languages other than English. In Britain, newspapers and periodicals were published in Welsh, French, German, Italian, Yiddish, Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, and other languages. We interpret “Britain” not only as intrinsically diverse within itself but as an extendable conceptual, geographic, and political space that often overlaps with locations of other social groupings not just of nations but of reading communities.

In determining the focus of the *Handbook* we also made the decision to be inclusive of both periodicals and newspapers while wishing to acknowledge the similarities and differences between the two publishing formats. As the *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* notes,

Whereas newspapers are focused around a very delimited notion of the present and are designed to be superseded once that moment has passed, a periodical—despite also being predicated on the notion of the moment—tends to provide apparatus that is oriented to its continuing relevance in the future. Although both newspapers and serials are date-stamped, feature regular departments and foster links between present and past numbers, periodicals offer themselves as having relevance beyond the moment of reading.¹²

Nineteenth-century discussions of the press often differentiated between newspapers and periodicals, as Laurel Brake reminds us in Chapter 17. Perusal of the press directories shows that in 1861 there were 791 newspapers in England, 28 in Wales, 138 in Scotland, 132 in Ireland, with an additional 13 on the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands. Dailies numbered 39 in England, 8 in Scotland, 12 in Ireland, 2 on the islands, and none in Wales. The press directories list 481 magazines (including the quarterly reviews) but do not locate them with such geographical specificity.¹³ In Chapter 16, Andrew Hobbs observes that there was a geographical difference between newspapers and periodicals, with the majority of papers produced in the

12. “Serials, Periodicals and Newspapers,” in “Terminology,” *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition*, <http://www.ncse.ac.uk>.

13. *Mitchell's Press Directory*, 1861, back of title page, n.p.

provinces and the majority of magazines published in London. Newspapers, in other words, were conceptually defined by place while periodicals were not, even though location affected their production, circulation, and contents.

The 1851 “Report from the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps,” which Graham Law discusses in Chapter 3, highlights the vagueness of the term “newspaper.” The same year, Mitchell’s *Press Directory* wryly noted how difficult it was to define a newspaper legally, for “‘news’ are events of recent recurrence, as what is recent is relative: i.e. relates to people’s means of information; so that without going so far as to suggest, with some wag, that to ignorant persons Rollin’s Ancient History might be news—it is obvious that the idea of what is *recent* is *uncertain*, and the definition of it must be arbitrary.”¹⁴ The weekly periodical included time-sensitive content (however recent or old that “news” might be) along with the kind of literary miscellany associated with magazines. The permeability between the newspaper and the periodical was also evident when titles changed their frequency of publication. For example, as Lisa Peters demonstrates in Chapter 14, *Yr Amersau* (1843–59) began as a fortnightly periodical and became a weekly newspaper after 1848. Perhaps most importantly, periodicals and newspapers shared audiences, contributors, editors, and subject matter. Harriet Martineau wrote leaders for the *Daily News* (1846–1912) in the 1850s but simultaneously published her work in periodicals, including the weekly *Leader* (1850–60) and the quarterly *Westminster Review* (1824–1914). Between 1842 and 1848, G.W.M. Reynolds was foreign editor of the *Weekly Dispatch* (1795–1961) while writing for and editing the *London Journal* (1845–1928) and later *Reynolds’s Miscellany* (1846–69).¹⁵ Periodicals and newspapers shared an interest in the same subject matter and reprinted material from each other: drama reviews appeared in daily newspapers such as *The Times*; in weeklies such as the *Observer* (1791–), the *Illustrated London News* (1842–1989), and the *Theatrical Journal* (1839–73); and in monthlies such as the *New Monthly Magazine* (1814–84). As the speediest search through a newspaper and periodical database will demonstrate, the weekly *Punch* (1841–2002) was a carcass freely picked over by a wide variety of publications, especially when they needed filler.

There is sometimes a divide between those who study newspapers and those who study periodicals, a division that falls along disciplinary boundaries: nineteenth-century newspapers are studied more in history and media departments, whereas nineteenth-century periodicals are the subject of research in literature departments. To isolate periodicals from newspapers, however, is to create an arbitrary division that obfuscates more than it illuminates. While the distinction between the two publishing media is helpful in some respects—particularly where the economics of publishing are concerned—we need to think of them as a set of binary oppositions that we can easily deconstruct and also as a nineteenth-century British invention—sets in a Venn diagram, with core meanings and huge areas of practice and conceptualization overlapping one another.¹⁶

14. Mitchell, “Law of Newspapers,” 40. Rollin’s thirteen-volume *Histoire ancienne* had been published in Paris, 1730–38.

15. King, “*Reynolds’s Miscellany*,” 66–67.

16. Venn diagrams first appeared in a periodical, in the *London, Dublin and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science* in 1880 (Venn, “Diagrammatic and Mechanical Representation”).

Sectional Debates

The *Handbook*, comprising a sequence of thirty essays, a timeline, and a bibliography, does not require linear reading. Like an issue of a periodical or newspaper, it does not oblige readers to start at page one and read to the last. As with issues of periodicals, non-linearity does not mean neglect of form, for we have juxtaposed chapters we believe overlap in theme, if not approach, so that readers can read them in combination and conversation with each other. What follows is a brief outline of some of the debates and general research topics we hope to highlight through this organization. We have not sought to give summaries of individual chapters but rather to draw attention to overarching research questions raised in the volume as a whole.

The first section, "Production and Reproduction," comprises four chapters designed to help readers think about how we use data to tell different kinds of explanatory stories. It begins with James Mussell's discussion of how recent digitization efforts have dramatically influenced the ways we engage with, understand, and research journalistic texts, focusing first on the technological constraints and enablers of the digitization process and then, by comparing and contrasting the digital data with its paper predecessors, on how these affect our understandings of what has been digitized. The second chapter, by Shannon Rose Smith, goes on to address what stories we can tell about the technological underpinnings of the nineteenth-century press. Rather than simply providing a technological chronology, Smith questions assumptions about the notion of technological progress by focusing on two representations of technological innovation—Applegarth's vertical rotary press and the Linotype—and by probing the ways in which such innovations had to be integrated into narrative frameworks if they were to be accepted. Graham Law's chapter centers on the 1851 "Report to the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps," offering a panoptical view of how the processes and practices of distribution changed over the course of the nineteenth century. He includes discussion of the fiscal and legal regulations, as well as the technological and economic arrangements, that helped or hindered the press. In the final chapter of this section, Andrew King explores economic considerations that determined the form and content of newspapers and periodicals. Given that the study of print economics has principally been linked with the research of media management, this chapter is keen to show that ideological commitment could be as powerful as capital investment during the nineteenth century. It also provides three different commercial models demonstrating the relative costs of content in newspapers and periodicals.

The next section of the *Handbook* is focused on "Contributors and Contributions." Study of the nineteenth-century press raises the question of what to call those who wrote, drew, engraved, or photographed the material it published. Linda K. Hughes has written persuasively on the problematic decision to omit all poetry from the *Wellesley Index*, an editorial choice which seemed to assume that poets could not be classified as journalists and which belied the important contribution of poetry to the nineteenth-century press.¹⁷ As Andrew Hobbs notes, at least five million poems were published in the provincial press alone.¹⁸ Many writers who

17. Hughes, "What the *Wellesley Index* Left Out."

18. Hobbs, "Five Million Poems."

regularly published poetry in periodicals—for example, Algernon Swinburne—contributed a substantial amount of prose to magazines as well. Illustrators, too, contributed to the press in significant ways. In 1863, Baudelaire referred to Constantin Guys, an artist for the *Illustrated London News*, as the “Painter of Modern Life,” whose images enabled readers to grasp the details of the Crimean War more clearly than any other source.¹⁹ Baudelaire’s repeated use of the term *journalier* (“every-day,” “daily”) to describe Guy’s drawings suggests that for him the news illustrator was the most modern kind of *journaliste*.

Given the diverse roles contributors played in the nineteenth-century press, it is difficult to draw the line between poet, novelist, artist, and journalist. It would be difficult to argue that, for instance, Walter Pater was viewed by his contemporaries as primarily a journalist despite the fact that, as Laurel Brake notes, he “constructed most of his books from his journalism.”²⁰ Many other prominent contributors to nineteenth-century periodicals would potentially have bridled at such a designation, not least Thomas Carlyle, whose own anguished position as a contributor to magazines is discussed by Linda H. Peterson in Chapter 5 below.

This problem of definition arises partly in the different associations we bring today to the terms “journalist” and “journalism.” While both words can be traced back hundreds of years, “journalist” only began to be used with any frequency in the wake of the French Revolution, when it was used to refer to someone who wrote for newspapers rather than for periodicals. Although we recognize that in many circles “literary” and “artistic” remain privileged terms, we affirm that journalism is no longer comprised of “subjugated knowledges” locked in a closet, as Brake defined it, echoing Foucault.²¹ To prove that, the contributors to this volume demonstrate the importance of recovering the lived economic realities of writers in the nineteenth century, as shown in Linda Peterson’s and Marysa Demoor’s discussions of the remuneration received by writers and editors.

Of course, genre, just as much as authorship, is a crucial consideration in the history of the press. The fundamental formal categories on the page—illustration, poetry, and prose—functioned in different ways in different contexts. There are several recurring implications of this. One concerns recycling, for the same subject matter was very often either reprinted verbatim, summarized, commented on, or remediated into verbal or visual form. There is much work still to be done on where and when items were first published and on how, when, and why they were reprinted and with what effects (insofar as this is possible to determine). Second, dialogues between readers and textual producers emerge as crucial in determining how we should subdivide umbrella terms such as “news.” A focus on reader-producer interactions—rather than on the legal definitions based on content which so preoccupied the 1851 Newspaper Stamp Committee—allows us to see “news” afresh and in a wider perspective so that the role of topical poetry, prose, and illustration can all be taken into account.

Classification proves another preoccupation, for within each formal category that the chapters on poetry, prose, and illustration address, there are also methodological questions of

19. Baudelaire, “Peintre,” 3.

20. Brake, “Walter Pater,” 482. See also Brake, *Walter Pater*, chapters 3–6, and *Subjugated Knowledges*, chapter 1.

21. Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges*, ix.

how they are to be categorized. Brian Maidment shows that the apparently simple term “illustration” is a case in point. Centering on wood engravings, he suggests illustration be analyzed in relation to three subcategories: the representational, the pictorial, and the comic. In the next chapter, Linda K. Hughes points out intersections between verse and various forms of commentary, including memorializations of recent events and demands for change in political consciousness. She reminds us, too, that poetry and illustration often worked in tandem. Beth Palmer, even while marking the most obvious division in prose between fiction and non-fiction, alerts us to the porosity between them and demonstrates how various kinds of prose can be read as symptomatic of power differentials between individuals or social groups. Taken as a whole, all the contributors to this section are concerned with how we can mobilize ways of classifying material to create new ways of understanding both the individual case study and the nineteenth-century press as a whole.

As noted above, geography was important in nineteenth-century press directories. This notion of place had many other resonances in the nineteenth-century press, as is demonstrated in the next section of the *Handbook*, “Geographies.” The first three chapters, by Michelle Tusan, Bob Nicholson, and Jane Chapman, stress kinetic geographies of circulation, interrelation, and interactivity rather than maps of fixed points. If empire necessarily suggests dynamics of dominance and subordination—and Tusan considers Scotland, Wales, and Ireland as parts of an English empire—that is not the case with either the transatlantic or the transnational, both of which underline exchange and, to some extent, mutuality as key conceptual underpinnings. By comparing all three chapters, however, another instance of the long-lamented “digital divide” between rich and poor becomes apparent.²² Digitization has opened up new possibilities for researching first-world publications but these materials are only slowly becoming available to other nations and social groups. The prevalence of paywalls in digital archives provides a further barrier to access, which has consequent effects on both scholarly and public understanding of national histories and identities.²³

The four authors of the chapters on the Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and provincial press (chapters 13, 14, 15, and 16) raise other questions about how large numbers of periodicals and newspapers can be studied. Finkelstein, acceding to the impossibility of doing justice to the enormous number of periodicals published in nineteenth-century Scotland, focuses on five canonical English-language literary periodicals known for their integration into British literary culture at large. Peters, by contrast, emphasizes the breadth of Welsh print culture by covering a large quantity of both Welsh- and English-language newspapers and periodicals, including material produced for and by the Welsh diaspora in the United States and South America. Tilley elects to exclude Irish Gaelic material and, like Finkelstein, offers case studies of publications that were influential both inside and outside Ireland. Hobbs polemically theorizes the relation of the press to place, raises important questions about the role of quantitative

22. Norris, *Digital Divide*.

23. Important initiatives include the *Readex Collection* (which includes *African Newspapers, 1800–1922*, and *Caribbean Newspapers, Series 1, 1718–1876*) and the *World Newspaper Archive*.

methods, and demonstrates the usefulness of case studies that demonstrate the “rich profusion of provincial print.”²⁴

The question of national affiliation presents a challenge. Finkelstein discusses how the title of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817–1980) seems to denote its Scottishness in an unambiguous way. Yet many readers of *Blackwood's*, particularly in the later nineteenth century, might well have seen it as British, not least because of its generally pro-imperialist outlook, which distinguished it from much of the national press of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Likewise, as both Lisa Peters and Elizabeth Tilley demonstrate, a sizeable part of the readership for periodicals from these countries was located in England and beyond the British Isles. The editor of the *Irish Penny Journal*, for example, complained that the unsustainability of his periodical was partly due to the fact that his only regular readers were in England.²⁵

The next section of the *Handbook*, “Taxonomies,” is designed to contribute to ongoing debates about how newspaper and periodical genres should be defined. The Aristotelian generic classification of texts by form and subject matter is of little help in discussing commodity texts in an industrial age unless notions of form and subject matter are radically reconsidered, and this is, in effect, what most of the chapters in this section seek to do. Implicitly or explicitly, they are focused on identifying the elements, both formal and content-based, associated with particular periodical genres. But they also identify the parameters within which periodicals and newspapers can operate without losing their identities as members of a genre.

In her introductory essay to this section, Laurel Brake argues that frequency, along with price, content, and location, are the primary formal features that determine genre. The long publication cycles of some periodicals may have contributed to their status and value—the quarterlies being more prestigious than the monthlies, and the monthlies being more entertaining than quarterlies but more respectable than weeklies. But this appertained only at a certain time in the century. By the fin de siècle, the quarterlies had lost the greater part of their luster, and the monthly *Blackwood's*, even though it serialized Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* in 1899, had become a tub-thumping mess-hall read for the military with far lower prestige amongst cultural elites than, say, the *Academy* (1869–1916). Similarly, the division between morning and evening dailies is not clear cut when we look at the realities of publication and distribution schedules. As Brake also points out, nineteenth-century advertising guides were not only aware of price, frequency, and place, but also of specific readerships. “Readership” implies not only form but also subject matter, and the taxonomy that follows her chapter is based fundamentally on a classification of readers defined largely by content. That said, throughout this volume we remain keenly alert to the unsettled nature of generic classification. Two particularly significant sources that contribute to this uncertainty are the correspondence columns and advertisements that several chapters mention. Although often considered in passing, they remain ripe for large-scale quantitative study. While huge gaps in newspaper and periodicals databases currently prevent the creation of a truly representative overview, it may be that eventually new taxonomies will emerge by attending to interactivity.

24. Hobbs, “Provincial Periodicals,” 223 below.

25. Tilley, “Periodicals in Ireland,” 210 below.

Gender is one of the most salient characteristics of newspapers, periodicals, and their readerships. We chose to place the chapter on men first to emphasize the need for work in this area, for while there has rightly been a good deal of work on women and the periodical press in recent years, there has been considerably less on men and masculinities. Even if “gender is not a synonym for women” as Terrell Carver reminded us a generation ago, masculinity often remains the silent norm.²⁶ Starting from the thesis that gendering is always in process and contestation, Olsen considers periodicals and newspapers addressed to men, such as Cobbett’s *Political Register* (1802–35), along with sporting or boys’ periodicals (both of which are explored in greater depth in later chapters). Acknowledging that most professions were still bastions of middle-class masculinity during the nineteenth century, she also examines professional periodicals such as the *Law Times* (1843–1965) and the *Lancet* (1823–). The title of her chapter is also significant, for she asks us to consider issues of masculinity in material addressed to women and children, and she is alert to how the gender address of a periodical or newspaper can change during its lifetime.

In her examination of women’s periodicals, Kathryn Ledbetter is also keen to demonstrate how they pushed the boundaries of gender, not only in terms of content but also in terms of the vocational opportunities they provided. Many periodicals and newspapers had women editors as well as women contributors, and from 1859 the Victoria Press employed women compositors. Over the course of the nineteenth century, women’s roles expanded, partly due to the rise of Christian evangelism and its associated press (which justified missionary work and management outside the home). The emergence of a feminist press was crucial in promoting women’s work as well. Beginning with the *English Woman’s Journal* (1858–63), the feminist press always had a limited circulation, but it was nonetheless influential on print culture as a whole. For example, Mona Caird’s explosive 1888 article on “Marriage” in the *Westminster Review* created a furore which led to a subsequent inquiry in the *Telegraph*.²⁷

Jennifer Phegley’s chapter examines penny and shilling family magazines, emphasizing the genre’s hybridity. Such periodicals combined titillation with respectability, entertainment with education, text with image, and solitary reflection with communal reading experiences. Of relevance here is how weekly newspapers such as the *Illustrated London News* (1842–1989) often sought to provide content for the entire family, not just male readers, and this has implications not only for the gendering and genre of a newspaper or periodical but also for its overall identity.

In the next two chapters on children’s periodicals and the sporting press, gender intersects with a common set of issues: class, celebrity, interactivity, and interpellation into national and imperial citizenship. What emerges as truly characteristic of each genre is perhaps surprising. Kristine Moruzi notes a significant gendering of the children’s periodical market in the 1850s when long-lasting magazines targeting boys and girls as separate identities were established. While gender-inclusive periodicals continued to exist (and of course girls read boys’ magazines and vice versa), they were often constructed around celebrity editors or authors. Later in the century, interactivity comes to the fore: competitions, quizzes, puzzles, and correspondence.

26. Carver, *Gender Is Not a Synonym for Women*.

27. For detail on Caird’s reception following her *Westminster Review* article, see Rosenberg, “Breaking Out.”

What had been most characteristic of children's periodicals early in the century—monologic education—came to be fused with entertainment and dialogue.

In his chapter on sporting periodicals, Yuri Cowan not only highlights their concern with issues of gender exclusivity, celebrity, and interactivity but also examines their fascination with numbers and tables and the closely related notions of time and risk management (the fixing of sporting events in the calendar and the prediction of sporting results). The latter can be discerned in the provision of arcane knowledge that might prove advantageous either in practicing the sport itself or in gambling. Such knowledge, when combined with anecdotes and news, can also serve as badges of belonging to groups defined according to criteria more specific than just class, such as supporters of a precise football club, Alpine climbers, polo players, or the sector of the landed gentry marked by an interest in hunting and shooting. Yet, as Cowan points out, the same information, supplied by press agencies, might be relayed and reprinted in various formats across a wide area of the field. This again alerts us to the overlapping nature of our taxonomy: material relevant to any one chapter can appear in almost any other, but here Cowan alerts us to how recycling and overlapping came to be centrally controlled by the changing macro-organization of the press. The rise of press agencies, while known to scholars for a long time, still deserves additional research.

Contributors to the *Handbook* focus less on party politics with its huge social visions, than on practical politics understood as the power arrangements involved in the distribution of resources and, as with temperance, on single-issue politics. They look at how access to the production and consumption of periodicals and newspapers was unevenly spread between social groups and was always open to dispute. Chapters 23–26 are concerned with periodicals and newspapers that attempted to assess present circumstances with the aim of working toward achievable ideals, either in the material world or beyond it.

Contrasting the real and the ideal is one of the key definitions of satire. In his chapter, Craig Howes demonstrates that satirical material was very common across the entire range of elite and popular publications during the nineteenth century. Social-purpose periodicals also strove to address the gap between a troubled world and its ideals, although they usually sought to achieve their aims through less comic means. As Deborah Mutch highlights in her chapter, when defining social ideals, one group's vision of heaven might be another's idea of hell, and this almost always leads to conflict. She links class politics to topics raised in other chapters of the *Handbook*—temperance, religious, and women's activism—in order to illustrate similarities and differences in each group's approach and ideological stance. While there is a long and honorable tradition of studying the radical, feminist, and socialist press, Annemarie McAllister rightly calls attention to a vast but neglected field of discourse—temperance—noting how it empowered not only working-class men but also women and children. Mark Knight, by contrast, asks us to rethink current materialist paradigms not just in our study of the declaredly religious press but of nineteenth-century periodicals and newspapers in general. Knight provocatively questions our fetishization of quantitative methods and Marxian approaches, challenging us to understand religious periodicals on their own terms.

The range of aesthetic interests for both writers and readers was vast, from macramé to grand opera, from walking sticks to the Victoria and Albert Museum, from tending roses in a cottage garden to the dressing of a table for a state dinner. The last part of the "Taxonomies"

section focuses on three fields that received a great deal of attention: theater, art, and music. Material relevant to these fields can easily be found in a variety of forms. For example, music for domestic performance appeared every week in the penny fiction weekly *Bow Bells* (1862–97) during the 1860s; art history and reproductions were a feature of the latter years of the *Penny Magazine* (1832–45), which included contributions from Anna Jameson,²⁸ and the dramatic poses in acting manuals were reproduced in myriad illustrations.²⁹ Recycling, allusion and reference were the order of the day.

Theater, music, and art each had dedicated titles that separated professionals from amateurs. Study of periodicals and newspapers in each category has suffered from a “grab and run” approach by historians of those fields who, when raiding them for information, have often neglected the medium itself and the conditions under which content was produced. The final chapters in the *Handbook* seek to rectify this. In her chapter, Katherine Newey draws attention to the discursive constraints of theater journalism and its important intersections with the mainstream press. Discussions of the theater, and indeed of all the arts, were concerned that performances should morally improve their audiences, a notion that connects with characteristics of other genres which aimed to narrow the gap between ideal and real. Julie Codell, like Katherine Newey, focuses on the overarching discursive rules that governed what could be said, while at the same time offering a Bourdieu-inflected take on art periodicals. Laura Vorachek highlights the transnational nature of music and in the process alerts us to how much we still do not know about music periodicals and their audiences.

Throughout the *Handbook* we have tried to draw attention to the process of remediation, which demonstrates links between what seem to be disparate titles, genres, and realms of display. For example, the original of the picture reproduced on the *Handbook* dust jacket, *Our First Tiff*, was painted by Robert Walker Macbeth, an artist who had drawn scenes of the Paris Commune for the *Graphic* in 1871 and contributed illustrations to periodicals such as the *English Illustrated Magazine* (1883–1913) and *Once a Week* (1859–80). *Our First Tiff* was not only hung at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1879 but had a resonant afterlife in the press. For *Punch*, the painting was an excuse for a bad but affectionate pun (“a sulky gentleman turning away from a silky lady”) while for the *University Magazine* (1878–80), it was an example of bad realism rather than “real” art.³⁰ Macbeth also made an etching of *Our First Tiff* that was exhibited at galleries; copies were sold for a guinea and were of course advertised in the press. The etched version was subject to a verbal remediation that was different from the painting in that articles and reviews focused on its technical production.³¹

This constant movement of artist and item across, as well as in and out of, the press applies equally well to other kinds of published material. The quotation at the beginning of this introduction, in fact, comes from an article that was probably written as not much more than an

28. Holcomb, “Anna Jameson.”

29. See, for example, Figure 7.8 below.

30. “Grosvenor Gallery Review”; “Gossip on the Grosvenor.”

31. See, for example, “Exhibition of Works in Black and White,” 3. We use a reproduction of the etched version as Figure 1.1.

extended filler for the December 1829 number of *Blackwood's* by its editor John Wilson who, around this time, regularly supplied the first and last pieces in individual issues (in this case, the last). Extravagantly extended over several pages, the metaphor of periodicals as stars and flowers in the *Blackwood's* of the *Noctes Ambrosianae* and other witty conversation pieces functions as a rather silly throwaway jeu d'esprit in celebration of the periodical's 148 months of survival—an odd anniversary to mark. Its position and its frothiness suggest that it was a way of ensuring that the issue had a decorous bulk worthy of its retail price. It would amuse regular readers and humorously assure them of the periodical's value in several ways at once. As soon as it appeared, it was freely extracted and circulated, reprinted (with slight variations) in the December 26, 1829 number of the twopenny weekly *Mirror of Literature* and in the *Polar Star of Entertainment and Popular Science* (1829–32), an obscure London quarterly which published compilations of extracts from other periodicals, both British and American.³² The *Blackwood's* piece very quickly crossed the Atlantic to appear in the *Athenaeum: Spirit of the English Magazines* in January 1830, followed by a slightly different version in the *American Masonick Record and Albany Literary Journal* (March 6, 1830).³³ Almost twenty years later, it was printed yet again in the *Randolph County Journal*, where its source was named as the “Excelsior” and its original context was entirely obscured through excision of any reference to *Blackwood's*.³⁴ In all its reprints, some with the source redacted, the piece nonetheless still includes almost all the same words. It is still filler in all the periodicals that print it; however, rather than being a fizzy local marker of a particular occasion, it has become a generalized celebration of the periodical press and its social and technological progress. By 1858, it is treated as a serious reflection on the press—as if its ridiculous comparisons of periodicals to stars and flowers had become self-evident poetic truths.

Attention to dissemination, recycling, and repurposing across texts and across nations is easier nowadays than it was before the age of the Internet, as several contributors remark. A focus on the detail, form, and context of our material, while essential, should not blind us to the wider concerns of the press and its multiple and contradictory roles in politics, aesthetics, pleasures, beliefs, the distribution of resources, and the regulation and formation of social groups. Several of the essays included in the *Handbook* challenge us to reconsider how we conceptualize our subject matter at a very basic level—asking, what is a nineteenth-century periodical or newspaper?—as much as they point us in the direction of possible answers. If the approaches, narratives, and topics represented here vary widely, we celebrate this diversity and the energy behind it. This volume is proof of the vitality of our field. Whether we are novices or experienced scholars, it is ultimately our decision and our responsibility to determine where and how we proceed. This *Handbook* aims to illuminate our decisions and responsibilities while lighting the way toward future explorations.

32. “Spirit of the Public Journals,” *Mirror of Literature*, 440–2; “Soliloquy,” *Polar Star of Entertainment*, 336–8.

33. “Periodical Literature,” *Athenaeum: Spirit of the English Magazines*, 352–4; “Essayist-Periodical Literature,” *American Masonick Record*, 44–5.

34. “Periodicals,” *Randolph County Journal*, 4.

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Section I

PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION

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DIGITIZATION

James Mussell

It is difficult to overstate the impact of digitization on the study of nineteenth-century periodicals. By transforming periodicals into processable data, digital resources tackle two of the most significant challenges for scholars interested in this material. Firstly, they exert a measure of bibliographical control over what is a complex archive, offering lists of periodicals and indexing their contents. Secondly, they allow anyone with a web browser (and, more often than not, the necessary subscription) to access material from wherever they are, whenever they want. The range of content might vary from resource to resource, but even relying on large (and largely indiscriminate) freely accessible resources over the web, such as *Google Books*, the *Internet Archive*, and the *HathiTrust Digital Library*, provides researchers with a collection that surpasses that of most individual libraries and has much more amenable opening hours. Despite limitations in the quality of the data (page images, transcripts, and metadata), the uneven selection of periodicals digitized, and the often prohibitive barriers to access (mainly in terms of subscription but also the necessary skills to make the most of the resources), it has not been so easy to read nineteenth-century periodicals since the time when they were first published. In fact, given the often-noted difficulties with staying abreast of what was published in the period, one might argue that it is easier today.

Even though only a fraction of what was printed in the nineteenth century has survived, there remains far too much to read in the print archive, and what has survived appears in a perplexing diversity of forms. By transforming periodicals into something else, something digital, we create new ways that they can be interrogated, which, in turn, help us to understand both the surviving printed periodicals and the culture that produced them. It is easy to assume that the more accurate the digital reproduction, the better the resource; however, because of the necessary transformation from one medium to another, complete reproduction of print periodicals in digital form is impossible. Rather than lament this as a shortcoming of digital resources, this chapter takes the way digital resources differ from periodicals in print as a productive starting point. Digital resources are effective because of the ways that the digital medium differs from print. To use digital resources effectively, I argue, it is important that researchers understand how they differ so that the print archive can be approached anew.

The chapter is in two parts. In the first, I account for some of the common features of digital resources by linking them to the way that they are produced. Just as scholars

using printed periodicals need to understand something about their mode of production, the same is true when using digital resources. In the second, I consider the relationship between the new digital archive of nineteenth-century periodicals and its predecessor in print. As the power of digital resources results from the way they modify the printed periodicals on which they are based, it is crucial that the two be consulted alongside one another. Such a comparison makes explicit the differences introduced through digitization. However, rather than condemn these as deficiencies—the ways in which the digital resource fails to adequately reproduce aspects of the printed periodical—they are more usefully recognized as opportunities, distinctly digital features that can be manipulated in various ways. Whether in print or digital form, what can be learned about periodicals depends on what can be done with them. Our knowledge of nineteenth-century periodicals to date is the result of the material that survives, often in distinct forms, on the shelves of the archive. But digital resources too have their own lessons to teach about the nineteenth-century press, its modes of production, and the period that it served.

Digitization

Periodical publication has always caused bibliographical problems. Even as nineteenth-century writers praised the press as an icon of modernity, they also lamented the amount of material that was produced and the difficulty of reading it all. There were various attempts in the period to devise ways to stay on top of what was published. Periodicals frequently reviewed each other, allowing their readers to glimpse inside the covers of rival publications. Most periodicals also provided indexes at the end of the volume that allowed readers to search for articles retrospectively. The *Cornhill Magazine*, for instance, indexed the title words for each article it published.¹ As useful as these volume indexes are, readers still had to know which volume was likely to contain the article they wanted. This problem was addressed for newspapers by Samuel Palmer's *Index to the Times Newspaper*, first published in 1868, which indexed the whole paper retrospectively while keeping up with each new issue as it appeared. For periodicals, Sampson Low's short-lived *Index to Current Literature* (1859–60) used title information to derive subject indexes for current periodicals, but it was not until the appearance of William Frederick Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* (1882) that back numbers were indexed. W.T. Stead, who had instituted the *Pall Mall Gazette*'s shilling biannual indexes in 1884 during his tenure as editor, began his annual *Index to the Periodical Literature of the World* in 1891 after leaving the newspaper and beginning his monthly *Review of Reviews*.² Like its predecessors, this was primarily a subject index but, like Low's and unlike Poole's, Stead's indexes were a serial designed to stay abreast of the press year by year.

Digital resources should be situated in this tradition of attempts to exert bibliographic control over the periodical archive. Scott Bennett's "The Bibliographic Control of Victorian Periodicals," published in 1978, described such work as "indexing and inventorying," the two

1. See Hetherington, "Indexing of Periodicals," 3–7.

2. See Brake, "Stead Alone" and *Subjugated Knowledge*, 99–100.

primary functions of bibliographic control.³ For Bennett, recent innovations such as the *Wellesley Index* and *Waterloo Directory* were the latest attempts to open up the historical print archive by listing its contents. However, Bennett looked forward to what he called the “next bibliographic horizon,” one that would include “analytical bibliography and textual analysis.”⁴ Bennett recognized that indexing and inventorying depended upon the fiction that the periodical archive was fixed and consistent, with every run containing the same identical content. However, what survives in the archive are the remains of a complex and competitive publishing process which has subsequently been subjected to a wide range of archival practices. It is an archive characterized by abundance and complexity: indexing and inventorying address the abundance but do so by eliding the complexity.

Digitization necessitates an engagement with both analytical bibliography and textual analysis, although this engagement is not often recognized as such. The choice of which run to scan, for instance, is an editorial decision, as the same publication is likely to exist in different forms. Digitization projects will have their own criteria for selecting one run over another: a large project might simply digitize the holdings of a particular library, not giving much consideration to the status of individual publications; a more focused project, however, might merge different runs in order to provide as complete a set as possible. In either case, a decision must be made to nominate a particular set of materials to represent the publication as a whole, and then a further set of decisions must be made about what content constitutes the periodical proper (and so what might be left out).⁵

The use of specific, individuated copies of a periodical to represent all others means that there is a tension at the heart of all digitization projects. Bennett’s critique of “indexing and inventorying” was that these methods did not recognize the bibliographical complexity of the surviving print objects. Indexes such as the *Wellesley* provide information about an idealized version of the periodical that can be applied to the specific material at hand. Something similar happens with digital resources, which offer one particular set of materials, perhaps collated from different runs, as a copy text to stand for all others. This is a common editorial technique, but the use of facsimile page images in a digital resource makes the provenance of the source material persistently present in a way that it is not in a print edition. While most digital resources are a kind of critical edition, attempting to offer a “best” representative text, the page images are also facsimile editions that document particular material witnesses with their own individual histories.

As the periodical must be recreated from scratch in digital form, those doing the digitizing need a good sense of what it is about the source object, the printed periodical, that they want to present. As paper-based printed objects designed (primarily) to be read, simply scanning the pages will produce a sequence of page images that can be distributed over the web,

3. Bennett, “Bibliographical Control,” 50. For a further discussion of this chapter, see Mussell, *Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age*, 3–6.

4. Bennett, “Bibliographical Control,” 50.

5. For accounts of how two different digital projects went about sourcing their material, see Cayley, “Creating the *Daily Mail*,” and “Editorial Commentary.”

displayed onscreen, and read more or less as they would in print. The symmetry between the linear sequence of page images and the page sequence in the printed volume can be useful, as it provides a possible structure for the digital periodical that is already understood by its users. However, it endorses the codex form of the bound volume (and the decisions made by various librarians and archivists as to what should be preserved and in what shape) rather than any of the other possible states in which periodicals were issued and read. While this basic resource might be accessed over the web, allowing many people to read it at once, it asserts the page as the periodical's constituent unit and restricts its users to turning them one by one.

To really open up the content on the page, page images need to be accompanied by textual transcripts. The process for creating these is called Optical Character Recognition (OCR), a technology that produces encoded alphanumeric characters from the printed letterforms displayed on the page image which are readable both by humans and machines. It is easy to mistake the OCR-generated transcript as the "content" of the periodical—its processable soul, perhaps—but this reduces content to the words on the page. Natalia Cecire has described OCR as a "strange backwards ekphrasis," where the text becomes an image from which another, corrupted, text is generated.⁶ As she remarks, the transcript constitutes a kind of "silent diplomatic edition," offering a version of the periodical's verbal text.⁷ Even though it is derived from the page images, the transcript provides a complementary version of what the images represent. Rather than the pure content of the periodical—liberated from the embodied forms of paper and ink, layout and letterform—the transcript serves as a representation of the page that complements the way it is represented in the scan. The transcript provides a processable representation of what is written in the periodical; the image provides a representation of how it looks (which, of course, includes what it says).

OCR is a well-established technology with a wide commercial application. Although fancy typefaces and unusual layout can still cause problems, the performance of OCR likely depends on the quality of the original page impression rather than the text printed on the page. While the letterpress in most periodicals is quite clear, printing errors, degraded type, and closely printed text can obscure the letterforms. This means that some types of periodicals have more accurate transcripts than others: quarterlies and monthlies, especially the more upmarket publications, tend to produce quite accurate transcripts, whereas those produced from cheaper and more frequent publications, especially the more newspaper-like titles, contain significantly more errors.⁸ The condition of the volume can also cause problems. If tightly bound, the pages bend when opened, distorting the letterforms; if the leaves are not bound flush to the binding, the resulting images need to be "de-skewed" so that the OCR can run on horizontal lines of text. The quality of the scan, too, makes a difference. The best results from OCR are achieved when the letterpress is starkly defined against the page. This effect can be enhanced by increasing the contrast of the scan; however, because the same image is used as the basis for the one that appears onscreen, such settings misrepresent the appearance of the page. Since they result

6. Cecire, "Visible Hand," n.p.

7. Ibid.

8. Tanner, Muñoz, and Ros, "Measuring Mass Text," n.p.; Holley, "How Good Can It Get?," n.p.

in smaller file sizes (compared to grayscale images), bitonal images are considered ideal for OCR. Further, because every pixel is black or white, bitonal images make the back letterpress stand out clearly from the white of the page. However, such scans render engravings, with their subtle use of line, as dense blocks of black and white. Grayscale page images, or in some cases color, are now more common, but these produce larger files that are more costly to store and serve to users. Of course, digital images produced from microfilm can only produce the image that was filmed, and this is likely to be in black and white and under high contrast.

The textual transcripts produced through OCR are seldom entirely accurate, even with further processing (for instance, referencing against a corpus of known words); only a human reader is capable of catching all the errors by checking the OCR against the original source. Although expensive and time-consuming to correct, a corrected transcript makes more of the verbal content of a periodical accessible. It allows the periodical to be subjected to further analysis, for instance through text mining or additional markup (picking out key names, texts, or events), and permits richer modeling of the text's structure. It also enables further functionality such as text-to-speech, which affords blind or visually impaired users better access to the resource's contents.

However, it is difficult to establish the precise accuracy of a transcript. Without a corrected version to check against, accuracy rates cited by vendors remain only estimates. Rather than pay others to correct transcripts, some projects have turned to their potential users. Crowdsourcing correction is cost-effective and, if managed well, can also cohere volunteers into a community of advocates. The success of the Australian Newspapers Digitisation Programme's text correction project (begun in 2008) demonstrated that it was possible to work with volunteers to correct transcripts and mark them up with keywords.⁹ *Dickens Journals Online* ran a similar project from January 2011 until May 2012 which provided corrected transcripts for complete runs of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, as well as the *Household Words Narrative* and *Almanac*. This textual corpus allowed the project, in collaboration with the Centre for Literary and Linguistic Computing at the University of Newcastle, Australia, to use corpus methods to explore whether Dickens was the author of a previously unattributed article in *All the Year Round*.¹⁰

There is more to a periodical's contents than what is represented by a series of page images or the linear text of an OCR-generated transcript. The pages of periodicals signal all kinds of other structures. Mastheads (where they appear) indicate that another issue has commenced, other headings do the same at the level of articles, and there are a whole range of textual marks—for example, rules or different typefaces—that give the page texture. In print, the reader processes the signs that mark these structures, allowing the text's materiality to emerge as it is read. In digital form, however, these structural components can also be marked up and encoded so that they become part of the digital object. In a classic examination of the poetics of markup, Jerome McGann and Dino Buzzetti argue that it makes “explicit certain features of that originally paper-based text, it exhibits them by bringing them forth visibly into the

9. Holley, “Many Hands Make Light Work.”

10. Drew and Craig, “Did Dickens Write ‘Temperate Temperance’?”

expression of the text.”¹¹ Markup acknowledges the structural and semiotic functions of formal features and, crucially, makes them operational, enabling a wide range of potential functions. It becomes possible, for instance, to represent structure in various ways, reconfiguring the periodical as required and allowing the different constituent units to be exported and extracted, combined and compared, and subjected to further analysis.

There are different ways to write structure into the digital resource. The end goal is a robust data architecture that delineates the constituent units of the periodical and places them in some sort of order. For less complex periodicals, or those in shorter runs, this might simply be a case of marking up the transcript, perhaps using an established XML schema such as TEI, and associating it with the relevant page image.¹² Some OCR engines even produce transcripts with rudimentary markup that can then be further developed. For more complex periodicals, particularly those with multiple articles on the page, more sophisticated methods are required. Commercial publishers often have their own tools that allow operators to mark up the page directly, delimiting key textual units, such as articles, and adding metadata as appropriate. These marked-up pages are then processed to produce OCR-generated transcripts and image files for the designated textual units as well as the data structure, usually in XML, that organizes them.¹³

Although this seems like a technical process, it is also interpretive, as choices have to be made as to which structures are represented and how. To create a data structure for a periodical, its components need to be classified, named, and related to one another. This is straightforward in many instances; one could use a well-established metadata schema, such as Dublin Core, and there are plenty of precedents when it comes to classifying periodicals. Features such as publication titles, volume numbers, issue numbers, and article titles—metadata recorded on the printed periodicals—are usually easy to identify and mark up. However, periodicals pose their own classificatory problems. Publications often amended their titles over the course of the run, or, for example, they might have published a new series, creating two volumes with the same number. Equally, although the date of publication is usually given on every issue, these dates might not correspond to the actual dates of publication. As dates are also likely to be at different levels of granularity—a day for a weekly, a month for a monthly, or a period of three months for a quarterly—they can be difficult to aggregate, causing problems when searching.¹⁴ All these problems can be solved, but those producing the resource must negotiate between the strictures of a general metadata schema and the idiosyncratic demands of the source material.

Publishers often prefer to devote resources to metadata rather than the OCR-generated transcripts because metadata, once corrected, is likely to compensate sufficiently for any remaining errors when it comes to searching.¹⁵ In such cases, the transcript is still used for searching; however, because the user is given a page image to read, it can be relegated to the

11. Buzzetti and McGann, “Electronic Textual Editing,” n.p.

12. This method, for instance, was more or less adopted for the index and metadata in the *Internet Library of Early Journals* (1999). See “ILEJ: Final Report.”

13. For two accounts of this, see “Editorial Commentary” and Cayley, “Creating the *Daily Mail*.”

14. See Mussell and Paylor, “Editions and Archives.”

15. See Cayley, “Creating the *Daily Mail*,” 6.

index, keeping its errors away from the eyes of users. It is particularly important to correct the titles of articles. As the publishers of the *Cornhill* realized, titles can provide a good sense of an article's content; however, in digital resources, they function more as a set of keywords than as a verbal description. Titles are also useful when it comes to browsing lists of search results. For this reason, publishers of digital resources prioritize corrections to titles. The dominance of Google means that users are familiar with entering a search term and then wading through long lists of results, rarely reaching the end of the list. Metadata plays a vital role here, helping users to decide between articles without having to open them up and read them.

Metadata can also provide the framework for faceted browsing, offering a way for users to visualize a resource's content and take more control over how it is delimited. Faceted browsing requires all content to be associated with various predetermined facets, allowing users to add or take them away to reduce or increase the pool of articles to be read. Brightsolid's *British Newspaper Archive* (2011–), for instance, combines free-text searching, which runs on the underlying OCR-generated transcript, with a faceted browse, displaying metadata categories in a left-hand sidebar that shows the number of hits under each. The state of the transcripts means that such searches will never be exhaustive, but at least readers have a way of managing—and maybe exhausting—their search results.

As Patrick Leary has noted, free-text searching can be very effective, but it raises its own methodological problems. If users want to find an article about something, they need to come up with a search term likely to appear within the article.¹⁶ Given the size of many databases, it is likely that users will find something of use, but the more familiar they are with the material (and the language used within it), the more successful they will be. Metadata can complement free-text searching by opening up the content in different ways, but the extent to which it can be developed and applied depends on the size of the corpus and the resources available. Metadata is particularly important for images since without verbal information they remain outside of the search index. *The Database of Mid-Victorian Illustration* (2007) devised its own schema for describing the content of images, and this was later adapted by the *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* (2008) to mark up the images in its periodicals. Gale Cengage's *Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842–2003* (2010) relies on the text strings in captions and accompanying articles to make its images searchable but has included metadata so that images can be delimited by type (for example, as a photograph or an engraving). More recently, the team behind the *Database of Mid-Victorian Illustration* have launched *Illustration Archive*, a project that uses a combination of computational means and crowdsourcing to identify images and supply metadata in a large corpus of nineteenth-century books.

Verbal content, too, can be marked up and, as with images, this often necessitates someone reading the content and making a judgment. Gale Cengage uses a standard set of content categories in its various products (for example, “business and finance” or “front page”), which it assigns by hand.¹⁷ This can be very time-consuming, especially if the editors have to make difficult decisions regarding the appropriate categories. To avoid having to read every article in

16. Leary, “Googling the Victorians,” 80–2.

17. Cayley, “Creating the *Daily Mail*,” 7.

the database, the editors of the *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* used text-mining techniques from corpus linguistics to assign metadata categories, including a semantic tagger to identify different types of content.¹⁸ A further solution—one that is increasingly common—is to let users assign their own tags. A number of commercial publishers have implemented this “social” element with varying degrees of success. Three years after its launch, for instance, there is only one instance of the tag “Victoria” in the *British Newspaper Archive*. Even “Titanic,” the example provided by the archive, has only been tagged once.

Simply by making nineteenth-century periodicals searchable (and cross-searchable), digitization has transformed both the study of the press and of the period. By providing solutions to many (but by no means all) of the methodological problems associated with working with periodicals, digital resources have placed this material in some sort of order and opened it up. However, these results are achieved through transformation. In such resources, periodicals become databases of articles, searched by an index that reduces their content to sequences of characters derived from page images. Such resources make their contents much more accessible, reinforcing the importance of the periodical press to the period, yet their design necessarily shapes the form periodicals take and what can be done with them. Despite the real and important achievement represented by these resources, they remain predicated on allowing users to read articles one at a time.

Periodicals, Old and New

What is read in a digital resource is not a nineteenth-century periodical but is instead often an image from a page that is accessed and presented in such a way as to simulate the printed object. At present, digital resources take advantage of data to make page images accessible to keyword searching. As the page images are read much as they would be in print, this separates off the “digital” part of the user’s experience—for example, browsing, reading about the resource, or entering search terms—and marks it as belonging to the mediating framework of the interface. The page images, which are made accessible by this activity, appear distinct, marked as “content” and offered as a kind of surrogate for the similar (but not identical) reading experience that occurs with print off screen. This distinction between mediating form and mediated content is intended to reduce the difference between digital and print editions, ensuring that users, when they find the content they want, know what to do with it. Most users come to digital resources to gain access to articles and so want to encounter as few barriers as possible. Given the high up-front costs associated with digitization, it is particularly important that their producers (and not just commercial publishers) recognize and anticipate their users’ expectations and needs. Yet this model of digitization, which relies on an (undisclosed) index to provide access to images that stand in place of pages, creates a situation where the resource can only ever offer a deficient representation of the printed periodical.

If digital objects are conceived as surrogates of non-digital objects, then they will always be thought of as deficient in some way. This is mitigated by identifying the key features of the

18. “Visual Material.”

source material—for instance, the way it looks, if it is to be read—and reproducing these at the cost of other, less important features. Those familiar with periodicals in print readily notice what has been left out, whether properties related to the shift in materiality (weight, size, the texture of the page, and the colors of paper and ink) or the way the resource organizes its content (perhaps making it difficult to browse, for instance). In this view, the digital resource, despite its impressive functionality, can only ever fail to capture the richness of the print object. Yet digitization takes place in an economy of loss *and* gain: while it is important to register how a digitized periodical differs from one in print, especially for those who may not be familiar with printed periodicals, conceiving of these differences as deficiencies only tells half the story.

Using data to identify what to read is one possible way of exploiting the digital difference, and it is the one implemented most often. However, data is processable and can be used much more creatively. An uncorrected OCR transcript is already a bountiful source of data, and any further encoding makes it richer. A number of resources use the processable nature of the transcripts to combine different types of materials. Gale Cengage's *Nineteenth-Century Collections Online* (2012–), for instance, brings together a wide range of material from the period to create a cross-searchable database of primary sources. The material was mostly sourced from discrete library and archive collections, but it includes periodical material (although “periodical,” unlike “newspaper,” is not defined as a content type). Perhaps more useful is their *NewsVault* (2010–), which is designed to search across what Gale Cengage classes as its “newspaper archives,” although this includes *19th Century UK Periodicals* (series 1 and 2, 2007 and 2008, respectively), the *Economist Historical Archive, 1843–2007* (2007), the *Illustrated London News Historical Archive* (2010), and *Punch Historical Archive 1841–1992* (2014), as well as their newspaper collections *The Times Digital Archive* (2002), *Sunday Times Digital Archive, 1822–2006* (2012), and *19th Century British Library Newspapers* (2007, incorporated into *British Newspapers, 1600–1900* in 2009).

Gale Cengage can aggregate their resources in this way because of the common digitization strategies adopted by their various databases. However, a number of academic projects have worked to aggregate discrete resources, no matter how they were created. *Connected Histories* (2011–), for instance, brings together a number of different datasets, including those based on periodicals such as *SciPer: Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical* (2005–2007), the *Database of Mid-Victorian Illustration*, and the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online, 1674–1913* (2003–), as well as related resources such as the *John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera* (2008), *Nineteenth-Century British Pamphlets* (2009), and *British Newspapers, 1600–1900*. Each of these resources was produced independently; what *Connected Histories* has done is produce a further set of indexes, derived from data supplied by the contributing projects, which links them together. In some cases, this was semi-structured data from databases and in others, from marked-up XML, but some was produced from uncorrected OCR-generated transcripts. *NINES: Nineteenth-Century Scholarship Online* (2003–) does something similar, using a separate layer of metadata to aggregate the contents of a number of discrete resources. Like *Connected Histories*, *NINES* brings together resources dedicated to digitized periodicals (for instance, the *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition*), but it also includes databases that incorporate periodicals as part of wider projects, such as the *Yellow Nineties Online* (2010), *Poetess Archive* (2005–),

and *Rossetti Archive* (2000–2008), as well as databases that focus on different types of content entirely, such as the *William Blake Archive* (1995–). Both *Connected Histories* and *NINES* allow free-text searching across their constituent resources; however, whereas *Connected Histories* produces its own separate indexes of names, places, and dates in order to redirect users to the specific resource, *NINES* uses metadata prepared by its contributors that enable the entries to function as objects in their own right. This allows users of *NINES* to collect and repurpose this metadata, generating and publishing their own collections based on the objects provided by contributing projects.

These resources partly adopt the same logic as the large databases of nineteenth-century periodicals such as Gale Cengage's *19th Century UK Periodicals* or ProQuest's *British Periodicals* (2006–2007). By aggregating as much content as possible, resources like *Connected Histories* and *NINES* help users locate relevant content by broadening their searchable content. Like the publishers of periodical databases, the creators of aggregated sites argue that the larger the scope of the database, the more chance that users will find the specific information they need. It is undoubtedly true that combining disparate datasets can provide a richer account of the period. Users searching for something in particular will get hits in a wide range of materials, revealing the many traces it has left in the archive (or at least those parts of the archive that are part of the resource). Even canonical figures or events can become defamiliarized as they crop up in unexpected places. Such searches will never be exhaustive, but they do at least juxtapose different types of material, potentially complicating dominant historical narratives.

Periodicals constitute a particularly useful set of materials in this regard, as their inherent miscellaneity can provide specific articles on a wide range of subjects while also offering a range of different views of the same subject. However, while including periodicals amongst other types of content restores them to their central place in nineteenth-century culture, the way in which they are digitized transforms them into a database of articles. These digital resources decontextualize their contents, isolating articles from the pages, sections, issues, and volumes to which they are inextricably connected. While such resources provide access to periodical material of which the user would otherwise be unaware, they encourage a form of research where such material is mined indiscriminately for the content that it contains.

Recently, a number of scholars working with newspapers have begun to take advantage of processable data to explore features of the press that would be beyond the reach of those using more traditional methods. One of the main problems presented by the abundance of periodicals surviving in the archive is how to understand the periodical as a print genre responding to changing cultural conditions over time. Critics since the nineteenth century have offered surveys of the press that describe its main features, but such surveys are necessarily impressionistic, based on whatever periodicals the author has happened to come across. However, the data produced through digitization can be used to detect and make visible patterns within the corpus without having to read its entire contents. Bridget Baird and Cameron Blevins's *ImageGrid* (2012), produced as part of the larger *Mapping Texts* (2010–11) project, uses a bespoke visual interface that functions in a similar way to those used by commercial publishers to segment periodicals and newspapers. Using the tool, they were able to quantify discussions of space within newspapers (in other words, to capture how much content is devoted to a particular location) and track the spaces of the newspaper in which such discussions appeared. Blevins calls

this “middle reading,” a way of interrogating newspapers that is situated between the close reading associated with traditional literary studies and the distant reading of large datasets.¹⁹ Tim Sherratt’s *The front page* (2012) visualizes the newspaper data within *Trove*, the National Library of Australia’s digital repository. Taking the data—including the OCR transcripts that were part of the text correction project—Sherratt devised a tool that allows users to explore the constitution of the front page for every issue of every Australian newspaper in the collection.²⁰ This data can be quickly plotted on a graph, allowing researchers to see the number of words, articles, and article types over time. One further example is *Viral Texts: Mapping Networks of Reprinting in 19th-Century Newspapers and Magazines* (2013–). Drawing on the data from *Chronicling America*, this project visualizes the reprinting of content between publications, allowing users to see relationships between individual titles, as well as the type of content that was reprinted.

Underpinning all these projects is the recognition that there are things to learn about nineteenth-century serials that cannot be discovered from reading them alone. Like newspapers, periodicals were published in a competitive marketplace over time, and so the surviving archive is shaped by a number of formal patterns that are readily discernible through computational methods. However, such methods—and the maps and graphs they tend to produce—seem to take scholars even further away from printed periodicals. If the digital resources based on nineteenth-century periodicals fail to capture the richness of the printed objects or evacuate their “periodicalness,” turning them into a database of articles, then these projects transform them further, combining them in ways that solely depend on patterns in the data which are then visualized in some way. Printed periodicals have an important role to play here, reminding scholars what it is that they are attempting to model and making clear the extent to which this content has been transformed through digitization. In fact, as digital resources increasingly provide students and scholars with access to nineteenth-century periodicals, it becomes even more important that these resources be put into dialogue with printed periodicals in the archive.

It is important that this be an actual dialogue, however. If the archival objects are considered the pure, original source for the resulting digital resource, then the digital resource will always seem deficient. Such an approach, which positions digital resources as surrogates for print, misinterprets the relation of printed material to the past. Rather than originals, these archival objects are better considered as what textual scholars call “witnesses,” documenting the processes that produced them, the society in which they circulated, and the archival practices that kept them safe. Periodicals in the archive witness these idiosyncratic and composite histories through their material forms: by transforming their materiality, digitization might imperil some of the ways printed periodicals document these histories, but at the same time, it can open up other ways of witnessing the past. For instance, while it is possible to learn about reprinting by looking for repeated material in printed periodicals, digitized transcripts provide

19. Blevins, “Coding a Middle Ground.” For close and distant reading newspapers, see Liddle, “Reflections on 20,000,” and Nicholson, “Counting Culture.”

20. Sherratt, “4 Million Articles Later.”

a ready way of visualizing repetition and doing so at scale. As it is new material facets that give digital resources their analytical power, the goal of digitization is modification, not simulation.

Rather than use print material to check the accuracy of digital reproductions we should put these media into dialogue so we can learn what each has to offer for historical, literary, and cultural research. Just as there are things that it is only possible to learn by consulting print periodicals in the archive, so there are also things that can only be learned from interrogating data produced from these archival objects. The reason for this is that the print periodicals are themselves a kind of interface. They may look deceptively complete when encountered as a series of bound volumes on the library shelf, but they are actually the surviving fragments of a complex publishing process. Printed periodicals might record a moment from the past, but this moment can only be reconstructed retrospectively by studying the periodical in the form in which it survives. When scholars talk about a particular publication, this is an abstraction based on the individual examples that they have seen; likewise, when discussing a particular issue, this is usually imagined on the basis of material that survives in a particular bound volume. It is these broader, abstract conceptions of periodicals and periodical culture (the “work” in textual scholarship) that digital resources provide an alternative way of studying. The widespread reliance on page images, usually derived from some identifiable source, as reading texts means that the reading experience will always be based on a specific set of printed objects, but digitization, because it is predicated on transformation, allows for richer models than those afforded by simple reproduction. Digital resources might reduce the complexity of printed material, but scholars also do this when they posit the printed periodicals as simple, unitary originals from which digital resources derive. By taking us further away from printed periodicals, digital resources help us understand what it is that the printed periodicals represent.

TECHNOLOGIES OF PRODUCTION

Shannon Rose Smith

In the sixth and final entry in the “Common Heroes” series for the *Pall Mall Magazine*, Harold Begbie presents the journalist as one of his unsung heroes (Figure 2.1).¹ Like the other five entries in the series, which ran from January to June 1901, Begbie’s account of the journalist included a full-page, wood-engraved illustration and, on the facing page, a twenty-line poem celebrating his day-to-day efforts.² Begbie presents the journalist as a late-night figure of industry who works to meet the demand for copy from both the newspaper industry and its customers. Begbie contrasts the indefatigable industry of the journalist with the idleness of the implied reader of the poem. While the former is “scratching, scratching, scratching with a furious-driven nib,” the latter is “wrapt in easy slumber in [his] comfortable crib.”³ In celebrating the journalist’s capacity for work, the poem also provides a succinct and detailed study of the of the print-culture industry at the close of the nineteenth century and perhaps most importantly, the technologies of production that defined it. The poem shows how the journalist locates material for stories, how stories are turned into copy and thus rendered suitable for printing, and how stories are printed, distributed, and sold to the customer. It also highlights the network of machines integral to the job of producing a newspaper or periodical in 1901: the telegraph, the Linotype, the rotary press, and the railway.

While the image of the journalist caught in a mad flurry of productivity is striking, it is the poem’s references to the technologies of production in the print culture industry that twenty-first-century readers are likely to find most absorbing. The poem provides many telling details about the journalist’s information-gathering process, including the “clicking of the cables from the ocean’s quiet bed,” a reference to the transatlantic cable, first laid in 1858, and to the development of news agencies such as Reuters that worked under contract to both newspapers and commercial interests as consolidators and relayers of news from around the globe via telegram.⁴ Begbie’s anonymous journalist is also represented as preparing material for two formidable machines: the Linotype, with its “loud, harsh, clanging thunder” and “roar” for copy,

1. For details of Begbie’s biography and literary output, see Maume’s introduction to the 2006 edition of Begbie’s *The Lady Next Door* (1912).

2. For the other works in the series, see Begbie, “Common Heroes.”

3. Begbie, “Journalist,” 245.

4. For introductory discussions of the role of the telegraph and news agencies such as Reuters in defining the media space of empire, see Blondheim, *News over the Wires*; Rantanen, “Globalization of Electronic News”; Read, *Power of*