

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces?
19th-Century Popular Literature
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Catalogue by **Patrick Warner**
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Cover Image

J.M. Carrick. “An Episode from Life.” In *The Home Affections Pourtrayed by the Poets*, by Charles Mackay. London: Routledge & Co., 1858.

Title Page Image

J.M. Millais. “The Lost Piece of Silver.” In *The Parables of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1864.

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Introduction

Taking as its subject English 19th-century popular literature in print form, this catalogue looks at a range of publications aimed at mass audiences, including works of a religious or political stripe, self-help literature, as well as fiction. Numerous social forces influenced both the content of this literature and its production. The struggle for more democratic institutions and for better education and freedom of expression gave rise to increased reading appetites and a demand for different types of reading materials. New business models and new printing and book-manufacturing technologies drove explosive output in the publishing world. Nowhere was this more evident than in newspapers and periodicals, which rapidly became the medium through which the public voiced its opinions (Altick 322). The publishing world in the 19th century was both competitive and contested. Who should read and what should they read? Was it the task of writers and publishers to cater to readers' appetites, no matter how sensational, or should the reading public be given only what would better them? And if the latter, who decided? Such ideas informed the development of both popular literature and the mass reading audience in the 19th century and set the parameters for the media revolutions that followed.

The Social Context

The 19th century, and the Victorian era in particular, was a time of intense social upheaval in England. Over the first half of the century, the population increased from approximately 9 to 18 million and doubled again to over 32 million in the next 50 years (Altick 81). Industrialization prompted massive rural-to-urban migration, which came with an increased demand for both skilled and unskilled workers. The proportion of civil servants and other white-collar workers grew, as did other segments of the population that would have had the time and opportunity for leisure reading, for example, the population of domestic servants increased to over 1 million by the 1860s (Altick 83). Overall literacy, which stood at about 50 per cent in 1801, increased to almost 100 per cent by the end of the century.

The reading horizons of the working classes expanded in response to changing social conditions. Contributing social factors included a shortened workday and work week, better elementary education, Sunday schools, and the secular exertions of the mechanics institutes, as well as more practical improvements such as better indoor lighting and the availability of reading glasses

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(Altick 87–93). In response, writers and publishers steadily increased the amount and variety of affordable reading materials.

In the publishing world, the copyright battles of the 18th century introduced the concept of the public domain and for publishers the chance to reprint out-of-copyright materials. In the 19th century, cheap reprints were to play an important role in making more affordable books available to the general public, which soon put an end to the established practice of publishing houses issuing small, high-priced editions. Cheap magazines, newspapers, and books issued in penny parts found an enormous untapped readership. Other economic factors which reduced the price and therefore increased the availability of printed material included the repeal of the stamp tax and paper taxes after the mid-century (Howsam 118).

With many more publications available and at ever more affordable prices, the question became one of deciding what an ever-expanding readership wanted to read. The answer to this question played out in the context of two powerful social movements: evangelical religion and utilitarianism. Both sought the betterment of mankind: the former working to impose Christian morality, the latter looking to impose its secular program by propagating scientific and practical knowledge. Both camps invested heavily in the printed word.

At the same time, other purely commercial publishers grasped that many people wanted to read for pleasure, as opposed to reading what was instructive and thought to be good for them. It was these publishers who seized on the mass market potential of fiction.

All of these publishers, no matter their ideological or commercial aims, took full advantage of the new printing technologies ushered in by the Industrial Revolution: machine-made paper, steam-press printing, stereotyping, typesetting machines, case binding, chromolithography (which brought colour to mass market publication), and later, toward the end of the century, electrotype plates and photography.

Popular Literature 1800–1850

Publishing in the early 19th century catered almost exclusively to upper- and middle-class readers. A typical press run for books during this period was small, usually a few hundred copies. Books were expensive, even for middle-class readers to purchase, and this was especially true of the novel, which was typically released in three volumes, or as a “triple-decker,” with each volume priced at 10s and 6d (Altick 297). In response, the avid middle-class reader often found access and variety through book clubs. The most popular alternative to purchasing expensive volumes, however, was the circulating library, where readers could pay a yearly subscription and be guaranteed access to a steady stream of triple-decker novels and other reading materials. The most famous of the circulating libraries was Mudie’s, established in the 1840s (Figs. 9–11). Mudie’s advertised extensively, and for a subscription fee of 1gn per year, subscribers could visit the premises on Oxford Street or have the latest publications delivered to them (Altick 296–297).

Disadvantaged doubly by both the high price of books and high lending library fees, the literate working-class man or woman still had access to reading materials in the form of blue books, usually abridgments of gothic novels sewn together between soft blue covers, and sold at 6d (32 pages) or 1s (72 pages) (Figs. 7–8) (Dalziel 6). Other examples of cheaper literature included political and religious tracts and pamphlets (Figs. 3–5), illegal and radical newspapers (Fig. 32), and almanacs. Most popular, however, were the chapbooks and single sheet or broadside publications sold on the streets by hawkers and which covered a variety of subjects: religion, romance, horror, crime, astrology, and revolution, to name a few (Dalziel 7) (Figs. 1–2).

Broadside ballads were enormously popular, with sales running into the hundreds of thousands and occasionally into the millions (Neuburg 143). This was the true literature of the urban working class in the early 19th century. Sometimes sentimental in casting a backward glance toward rural life, these broadside ballads and chapbooks focused mostly on sensational subjects, royalty, sex, and particularly crime (Neuburg 143). In many ways, they were the forerunners of tabloid newspapers. Among the most famous of the broadside printers was Scottish-born James Catnach, who founded his printing empire in the Seven Dials area of London (Fig. 1).

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As literacy grew, so did the market for affordable reading materials. Several developments in the early decades of the century catered to the demand and the supply. Perhaps the first of these, and one that had its roots in the pamphlet, chapbook, and newspaper trade, was the publication of penny magazines and books in penny parts. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge promoted cheap literature that was neither religious, trivial, radical, nor overly aesthetical in its aims (Dalziel 8). The year 1832 saw the first publication of Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine* (Fig. 30) and *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*. Knight's magazine included information about practical matters that the publisher thought his readers would find interesting; Chambers' offered similar educational material but included sketches and stories. Both soon established enormous circulations, with the *Penny Magazine* hitting a circulation of over 200,000 within its first year (Dalziel 8). At the same time, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge published the *Saturday Magazine* (Fig. 31) to compete with Knight's publication (Dalziel 8). Ultimately, both the *Saturday Magazine* and *Penny Magazine* failed to hold the working-class reader's attention; both ceased publication in the mid-1840s. Meanwhile, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* continued to publish until the mid-20th century. The lesson was clear: the growing readership wanted fiction.

The Penny Revolution

Though printed works in serialized form had existed for some time, the serial publication in 1836 of Charles Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* tapped into and exploited a convergence between the traditional small press-run book publication and the voluminous periodical and newspaper publication of the period. Selling as many as 40,000 copies per part issue, the serialized *Pickwick* demonstrated to publishers the enormous untapped market for fiction (Altick 279). Not only could novels be sold in serialized penny parts or in magazines, but the individual numbers could then be gathered together in different editions to be sold as books (Howsam 183).

The opportunities afforded by this new market attracted a host of commercial publishers, with none savvier, in terms of marketing and sales, than those whose printing premises congregated around Salisbury Square in London. Foremost among these publishers was Edward Lloyd, the mastermind behind the "penny periodical" and the "penny dreadful" book. These were tales of

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terror, violence, sexual aberration, and crime that had their roots in the gothic novel. Lloyd also commissioned authorized plagiarisms of Dickens's novels (Figs. 17–18).

Lloyd championed J.F. Smith, J.M. Rymer, Pierce Egan Junior, T.P. Prest, and Emma Robinson, all best-selling authors in their time. None was more popular, however, than the prolific George M. Reynolds. Between 1841 and 1856, Reynolds wrote 34 novels that appeared in penny weekly numbers or six penny monthly parts, including *The Mysteries of London* and the *Mysteries of the Court of London* (Figs. 19–20). He also wrote a penny weekly journal entitled *Reynolds's Miscellany* (Neuburg 170–175). Edward Lloyd's "penny" success demonstrated a publishing and marketing model that others soon followed. Notable among his imitators were John Dicks (Figs. 18, 33), George Vickers (Figs. 32–33), and William Millner.

The Backlash

The success of the so-called Salisbury Square publishers and other publishers of sensational literature raised a moral objection among both religious and secular readers, who called for a better literature for the masses (Dalziel 46). Charles Dickens responded with his weekly publication, *Household Words*. Other new publications of the period included *The London Journal* (Fig. 29), *Family Herald* (Fig. 28), *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, and *Eliza Cook's Journal*. Publishers produced reprints of less sensational novels: William Milner founded the *Cottage Library Series* and the *New Novelist's Library*, both of which offered an alternative to the "penny dreadful" (Neuburg 178).

About half the number of the cheap periodicals that appeared between the mid-1840s and mid-1850s were put out by religious organizations or demonstrated positive religious opinions. Among these were the *Christian Ladies Magazine*, the *Family Treasury of Sunday Reading*, and *The Leisure Hour*, all of which included fiction (Dalziel 11).

The backlash had its effect. By the 1850s, George M. Reynolds began to write less salacious material. Edward Lloyd went on to have a more conservative career as a newspaper publisher, and the publisher John Dicks began to put out more high-quality lines, including *Dicks' English Novels* (Fig. 33) and *Dicks' English Library of Standard Works*.

Popular Literature 1850–1890

The moral backlash notwithstanding, publishing in the 1840s and 1850s brought into focus a new readership and revealed a high demand for cheaper literature. Initially, this market was satisfied by serialization in periodicals and newspapers and by publication in penny parts, but as the readership developed, there was also an increasing demand for new novel-length works at affordable prices (Dalziel 4).

At the same time, England was undergoing a railway boom, which transformed the distribution networks for newspapers, periodicals, and books. Publishers and retailers set out to exploit the new market. In November 1848, WH Smith and Son opened their first bookstall at Euston station, and by 1850 they had similar stalls along the various British rail lines. They even opened a circulating library that would allow a reader to borrow a book at one railway branch and return at another (King 122). Publishers such as Routledge began publishing 1s or 2s single-volume railway library editions known as yellow books (Figs. 38–41). The series *John Cassell's Library* began exploiting on a large scale the old practice of issuing standard and educational works in cheap parts. William and Robert Chambers continued to provide “improving literature” in ever more affordable editions. Thomas Tegg, whose business was founded on reselling remaindered books, began to take full advantage of the public domain by offering cheap reprints. Others followed suit. From the 1860s onward, a book bound in paper could be had for as little as 6d (Altick 307). By the end of the century, an abridged version of a novel could be had for as little as 1d (Altick 314).

Fin de siècle

The availability of cheap print matter and the establishment of public libraries in the latter half of the 19th century broke the grip that lending libraries had on the publishing world. By the 1890s, Mudie's was offering triple-deckers at reduced prices. Not that lower prices completely killed the lending libraries business, Mudie's continued to operate until the 1930s. New commercial lending libraries also sprung up, including the pharmacy chain *Boot's Book Lovers Library*, which began at the end of the century and continued to operate until the 1950s (Altick 312–315).

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Another consequence of mass-produced cheap literature was a decline in the aesthetic appeal and durability of the book. Popular literature of the 19th century was not designed to survive. The small press/beautiful book movement arose in response to such carelessness (Fig. 42). Kelmscott Press (Fig. 43), The Doves Press, and The Bodley Head, to name a few, created a market for well-made and artistically designed books. These design values soon had an effect on the mass market which saw the publication of aesthetically pleasing and affordable editions in such series as J.M. Dent's *Everymans' Library* (Fig. 44) (Altick 315–316).

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CATALOGUE

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces? 19th-Century Popular Literature

Forerunners: Broadside Ballads, Religious Tracts,
Political Pamphlets, Gothic Novels, and Blue Books

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**The New
Sailor's Farewell.**

Printed by J. Catnach, 2, Monmouth-court, 7 Dials.
Battledores, Primers, &c. Sold very Cheap.

A DIEU my dearest Betsy, ten thousand times
adieu, (thing new,
I'm going to cross the ocean love to see for some-
time here and change your ring dear girl come here
and change with me,
It shall be a token of true love while I am on the sea.
While I am on the seas dear girl you know not where
I am, (land,
There letters I will send to you from many a foreign
With secrets of my breast dear girl, I owe you free
good will, (still)
O let my body be where it will my heart is with you
There's tinkers, tailors and shoemakers lie snoring
fast asleep, (the deep)
While we poor jovial hearts of gold are ploughing
There's nothing to defend us love nor keep us from
the cold, sailors bold.
But on the wide ocean we must plough like jolly
There's a heavy storm arising see how its gathering
round, (the crew,
While we poor jovial hearts of gold are fighting for
Our officers command us boys and we them must obey
Expecting every moment we should be cast away.
But now the storm is over and peace on every shore,
Our ship she being scattered and our rigging being
torn, (tore,
Our ship she being scattered and our rigging being
was afraid I ne'er should see my native home any
more.
But now the war is over and peace on every shore,
We'll drink to our wives and sweethearts and the
girls that we adore, (free,
We'll call for liquor merrily, and spend our money
But when our money is all gone we'll boldly go to
sea.



The Dark-Ey'd
SAILOR.

Printed by J. Catnach, 2, Monmouth-court, 7 Dials.
Battledores, Primers, &c. Sold very Cheap.

AS I was going down Ratcliffe highway,
It was one morning early,
'Twas there I met a handsome youth,
His hair it was quite curly;
His dress it was of navy blue,
He appeared to be no railer,
So kindly he saluted me,
He was a dark-ey'd Sailor.
He said, fair maid, what brought you here,
In the highway so early,
I think that you are deep in love,
Indeed you look quite poorly;
Oh! yes, dear youth, the maid replied,
In truth I am no railer,
I'm come here to seek a youth,
Who is called the dark-ey'd Sailor.
Then come with me you blooming maid,
You look so blythe and bonny,
I'll make you my wife without delay,
For I have plenty of money;
For I do love you pretty maid,
By my soul I am no railer,
Then take the hand and take the heart
Of an honest dark-ey'd Sailor.
Now since you wish me for to wed,
I will no longer tarry,
You are the tar that's won my heart,
It's you that I will marry.
Then I'm the girl that will prove true
Indeed I am no railer,
But I'll be the wife, the joy, and life,
Of my pretty dark-ey'd Sailor.
Then round her waist he clasp'd his arms,
and gave her kisses plenty,
Saying, now away to church let's go,
For money is not scanty.
The parson he did tie the knot,
Indeed, he was no railer,
For in nine months she brought him forth,
A bouncing dark-ey'd Sailor.

Rare
Books
M
1739
.3
L82
Fold. 3
no. 2

Figure 1: Broadside: The New Sailor's Farewell / The Dark-Ey'd Sailor.

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1. *The New Sailor's Farewell* and *The Dark-Ey'd Sailor*. Printed by J. Catnach, 2, Monmouth-court, 7 Dials. Battledores, Primers & c. Sold very Cheap. [nd].

From the Lubrano Broadside Collection: Folder 3: No. 2. Memorial University of Newfoundland, Special Collections.

A broadside publication is a single sheet printed on one side with text that might be verse, prose, or pictures, or a combination of all three. Sometimes two ballads were printed together on the same broadside with or without an illustration (Fig. 1). A single ballad could also be printed on a half-sheet. When included, accompanying woodcut illustrations were usually crude and often bear no obvious relationship to the text. In fact, they were frequently reused on different broadsides. "The term 'broadsheet' is frequently used synonymously with 'broadside,' but strictly speaking a broadsheet is either a large uncut sheet printed on both sides, or a pamphlet formed from one" (Shepherd 14). The penny broadside ballad was the true popular literature of the masses from the 16th century onward, reaching a peak of production in the early 19th century, when a single broadside, especially if it was topical and sensational, could sell in the hundreds of thousands.

The two most famous broadside publishers of the period were James Pitts, a former printer of *Cheap Repository Tracts* (Fig. 3), who reinvigorated the trade when he set up business in the Seven Dials district of London. Pitts was soon eclipsed by transplanted Scotsman James Catnach, whose output of sensational materials geared to an urban audience found an enormous market. Catnach reputedly took sacksful of pennies to the bank each week. He is also said to have paved his parlour with counterfeit coins. Catnach printed many traditional songs, but he specialized in printing the news in verse. He published hundreds of crudely written ballads that became the poor man's newspapers, dealing with politics, sport, fashions, murders, deathbed speeches, and confessions. Catnach became famous for his 'cocks' and 'catchpennies,' fictitious narratives printed up when real news was scarce.

141

POOR BLACK BESS.



Tune. Poor Dog Tray.

WHEN fortune, blind goddess, she fled
my abode,
Old friends proved ungrateful, I took to the
road,
To plunder the wealthy to aid my distress,
I bought thee to aid me my poor Black Bess.

When dark sable night its mantle had thrown,
O'er the bright face of nature how oft have we
gone,
To fam'd Hounslow heath, tho' an unwelcome
guest,
To the minions of fortune my poor Black Bess.

How silent thou stood when a carriage I've stopt,
And their gold and their jewels its inmates have
dropt,
No poor man I plunder'd or e'er did oppress,
The widow or orphan, my poor Black Bess.

When Argus-eyed justice did me hotly pursue,
From London to York like lightning we flew,
No toll-bar could stop thee, thou the river did'st
breast,
And in twelve hours reached it my poor Black
Bess.

But fate darkens o'er us, despair is my lot,
The law does pursue me, through a cock which
I shot,
To save me poor brute, thou did'st do thy best,
Thou art worn out and weary my poor Black
Bess.

Hark the bloodhounds approach, they never
shall have,
A beast like thee noble, so faithful and brave,
Thou must die my dumb friend, tho' it does me
distress,
There, there, I have shot thee, my poor Black
Bess.

And in after ages, when I'm dead and gone,
This tale will be handed from father to son,
My fate some may pity, but all will confess,
'Twas in kindness I killed thee my poor Black
Bess.

No one can say that ingratitude dwelt,
In the bosom of Turpin, 'twas a vice he ne'er felt
I shall die like a man, and soon be at rest,
Then farewell for ever my poor Black Bess.

Rare
Books
M
1739
.3
L62
Fold. 3
no. 20

W. S. FORTEY, Steam Printer & Publisher,
2 & 3, Monmouth-court, Seven Dials, London.

Figure 2: Poor Black Bess.

2. *Poor Black Bess*. Printed by W. S. Fortey. Steam Printer & Publisher, 2 & 3 Monmouth-Court. Seven Dials, London. [nd].

From the Lubrano Broadside Collection: Folder 3: No. 20. Memorial University of Newfoundland, Special Collections.

The rivalry between London broadside printers James Pitts and “Jemmy” Catnach benefitted the next generation of broadside printers, particularly William S. Fortey, who came into possession of the backlists of both publishers, reissuing many of them under his own imprint. He also took over Catnach’s premises at Monmouth-Court. Fortey was one of the last generation of broadside printers and one of only three printers of broadsides still active in 1892. As the century progressed, the broadside-ballad trade declined, eclipsed by cheap newspapers and periodicals.

The following is taken from an interview with a street hawker in Brighton in August 1869, who on that day was selling a half-penny newspaper. “Have you got any real old ‘cocks’ by you?” He replied, “No, not a bit of a one; I’ve worked ’em for a good many years, but it ’aint much of a go now. Oh, yes, I know’d ‘old Jemmy Catnach’ fast enough—bought many hundreds, if not thousands of quires of him. Not old enough? Oh, ’aint I though; why I’m turned fifty, and I’ve been a ‘street-paper’ seller all my life. I knows Muster Fortey very well; him as is got the business now in the Dials—he knows his way about, let him alone for that; and he’s a rare good business man let me tell you, and always been good and fair to me; that I will say of him” (*The History of the Catnach Press* xii).

When Fortey died in 1901, his stock was auctioned off by Sotheby’s. Much of it can now be found at the Printing Library of the St. Bride Foundation, London. The broadside on the left (Fig. 2), *Poor Black Bess*, tells the story of the highwayman Dick Turpin and his faithful horse Black Bess, pursued by “Argus-eyed justice.” Turpin and Black Bess made it from London to York in 12 hours, but eventually, cornered and exhausted, Turpin decided to shoot his mount to save her from the bloodhounds. “’Twas in kindness I killed thee my poor Black Bess.”

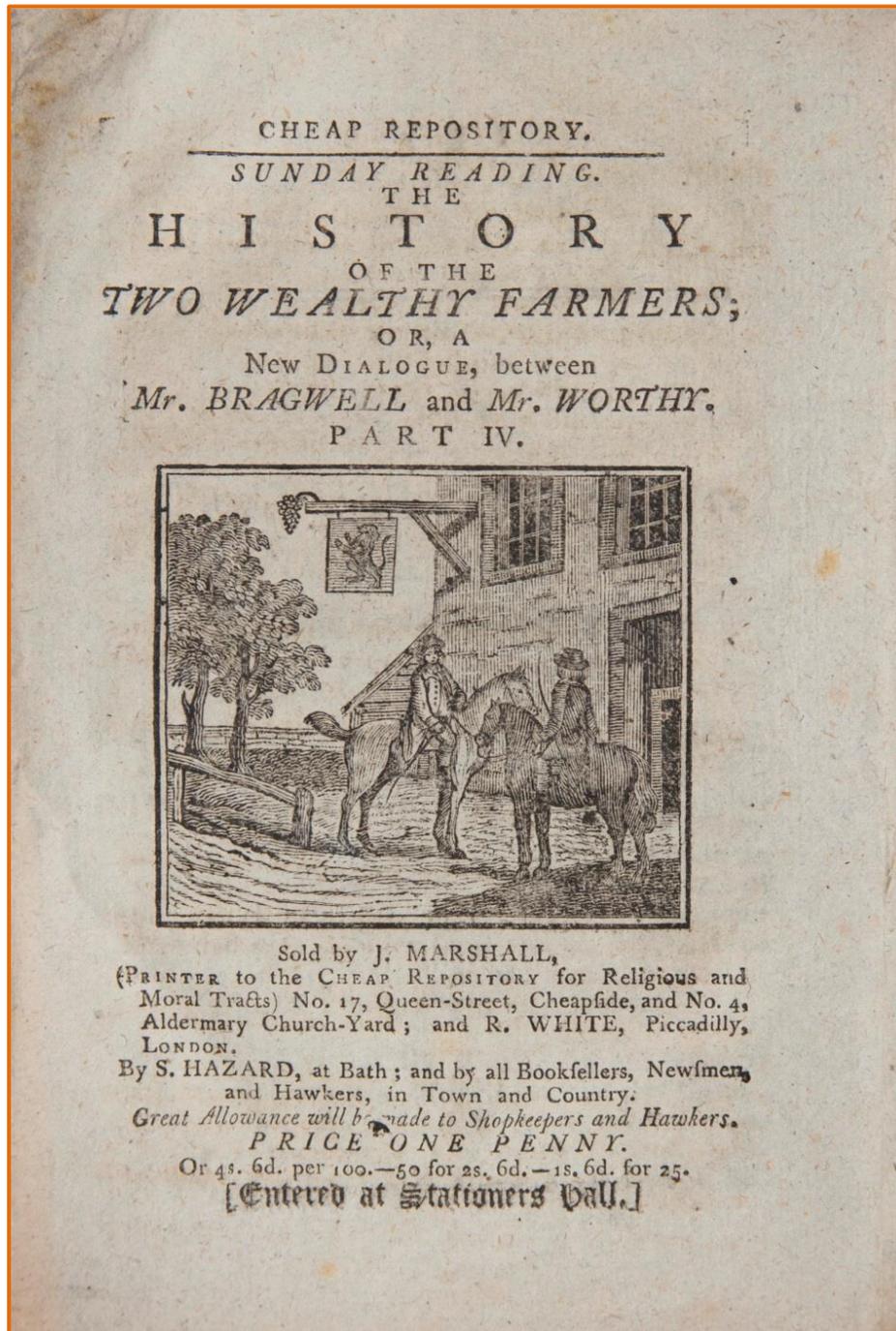


Figure 3: The History of the Two Wealthy Farmers.

3. [More, Hannah]. *The History of the Two Wealthy Farmers; or, a New Dialogue, between Mr. Bragwell and Mr. Worthy*. Part IV. [London]: Sold by J. Marshall; and R. White, London. By S. Hazard, at Bath, [1796].

190 x 120 mm. Pp. 15 [1]. A single folded sheet. "Cheap repository. Sunday reading" at the head of the title. Pages 15 to 16 contain a list of Cheap Repository tracts from June 1, 1795. Signed at end: Z, that is, Hannah More. The front page contains a woodcut illustration of the two travellers outside the Golden Lion Inn.

In the late 18th century, religious and political ideals competed vigorously to reach a growing readership through the printed word. Among those of religious vocation, Hannah More (1745–1833), a writer and philanthropist, was instrumental in bringing literature to the common English reader (Altick 77). Early literary success brought her fame and access to London society. Disillusioned by the moral vacuity of the literary world, however, More turned her attention first to the aristocracy and then to the lower classes, attempting to instruct both in morality and in how to live a Christian life. With her sisters, she set up a number of charity schools. In the 1790s, appalled by the atheism espoused in the radical pamphlets circulating in England during the French Revolution, she set out to defend revealed religion in a series of Christian tales, published anonymously as *Cheap Repository Tracts*. Three tracts were published per month between 1795 and 1798. As well as overseeing the whole operation, More personally wrote 49 of the 144 tracts. Sales were enormous, with over 2 million sold within the first year. The series paved the way for the work of the *Religious Tract Society* (RTS), founded in 1799. The RTS and other associated religious societies, the *British and Foreign Bible Society* (BFBS) and the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (SPCK), were highly influential in 19th-century publishing, both in England and abroad, increasing literacy by making available bibles and cheap reading materials, as well as setting a moral tone with which others in the publishing industry had to contend with.

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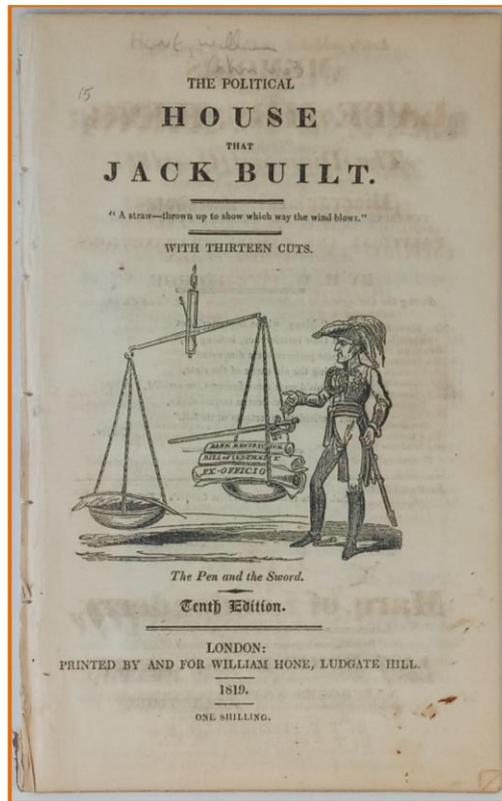


Figure 4: Hone: The Political House that Jack Built.

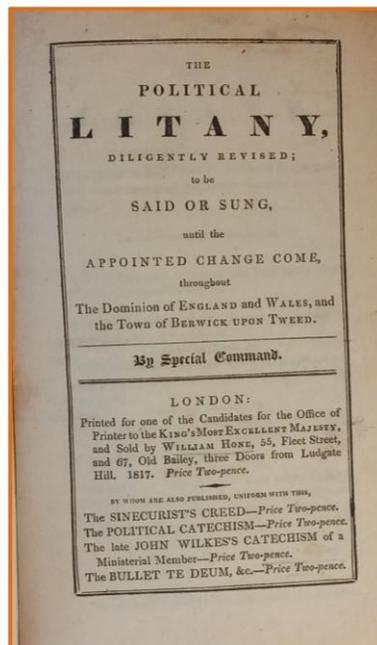


Figure 5: Hone: The Political Litany, diligently revised ...

4. Hone, William. *The Political House that Jack Built*. London: Printed by and for William Hone, 1819. 13 wood-engraved text illus. by George Cruikshank (incl. title vignette). [pp. 24].

5. Hone, William. *The Political litany, diligently revised; to be said or sung, until the appointed change come, throughout the dominion of England and Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed. By special command*. London, J.D. Dewick for William Hone, 1817. pp. 8.

William Hone (1780–1842), a writer, publisher, and bookseller, was public-minded and showed strong activist tendencies, campaigning on behalf of the rights both of the mentally ill and the wrongfully convicted. In 1814, he wrote and published the parody *The Political House that Jack Built* (Fig. 4), which went on to sell more than 100,000 copies in 54 editions. In his writings, he frequently collaborated with the illustrator George Cruikshank (1792–1878). Hone was famously put on trial for blasphemy in 1817. His offence: penning and publishing the three parodies “The Late John Wilkes’s Catechism of a Ministerial Member,” “The Political Litany Diligently Revised to be Said or Sung until the Appointed Change Come” (Fig. 5), and “The Sinecurists’ Creed or Belief, as the Same Can or May be Said.” Hone was charged separately for each of the parodies, with trials held on three successive days. He chose to defend himself in court, which entitled him to call witnesses, cross-examine them, and review the case for the jury. The case attracted enormous public attention. Hone argued that he was charged with blasphemy and not sedition and defended himself against the government’s charges by claiming that it, not religion, was the subject of his ridicule. He was acquitted at all three trials and claimed victory for the free press and the trial-by-jury system. He was acclaimed as a champion of the people.

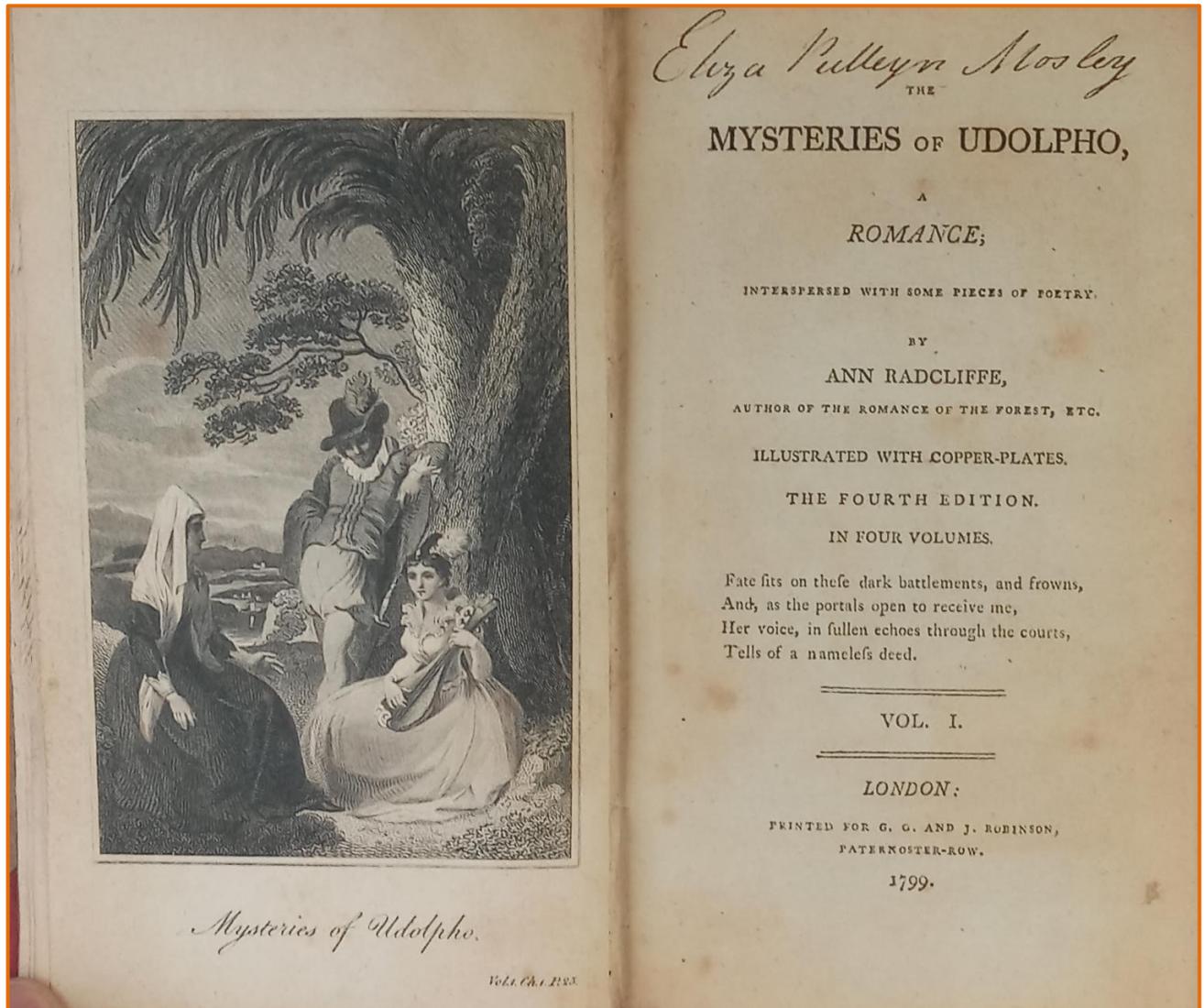


Figure 6: Radcliffe: The Mysteries of Udolpho.

6. Radcliffe, Ann (1764–1823). *The Mysteries of Udolpho, a Romance; Interspersed with some pieces of poetry*. London: Printed for G.G. and J. Robinson, 1799. Fourth Edition. In four volumes.

In *A Rogue's Life*, first published in 1879, the writer Wilkie Collins asks: "Anybody may cram their poor heads; but who will brighten their grave faces?" Collins's point was that people read for pleasure and escape as much as for information. It was no different in the 18th century. In fact, an increasingly literate public demonstrated an insatiable interest for escapism through sensational fiction. One popular form was the gothic story, which was based on romance and feeling. Ann Radcliffe's (1764–1823) novel *The Mysteries of Udolpho* tells the tale of Emily St. Aubert, who suffers misadventures that include the death of her parents, supernatural terrors in a remote castle, and the unsavoury manoeuvrings of an Italian criminal. Radcliffe's story, like those of her many imitators, presented traumatic disruption to the lives of heroes and heroines, trials that are ultimately rectified in the end in a way that upheld virtue and rightful inheritance, as well as punishing those who sought to exploit others (Hughes 9). The book, a bestseller in its day, was a particularly influential text in the subsequent development of not only of gothic literature but on literature of all levels. Cheap chapbook editions of such stories were available in the early 19th century in the form of "Shilling Shockers" and "Sixpenny Shockers," otherwise known as gothic bluebooks. Many were abridgements (36 or 72 pages long) of full-length gothic novels, often plagiarized (Figs. 7–8). The work also sparked an explosion of sensationalist fiction associated with the Salisbury Square group of publishers and writers who produced "penny dreadfuls." *The Mysteries of Udolpho* also influenced the middle- and highbrow literature of Jane Austen, Walter Scott, and Edgar Allan Poe.

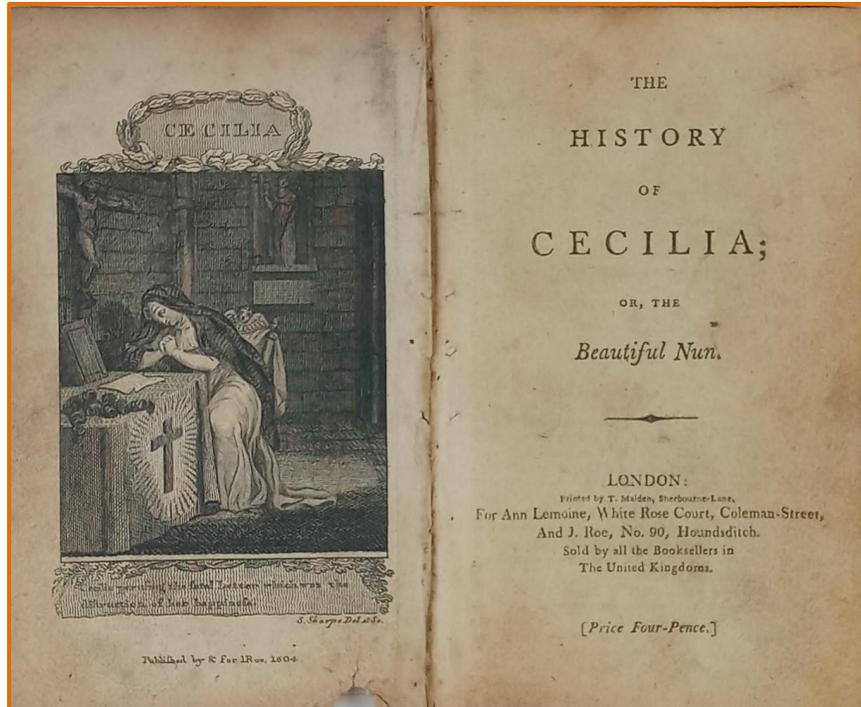


Figure 7: The History of Cecilia; or, the Beautiful Nun.

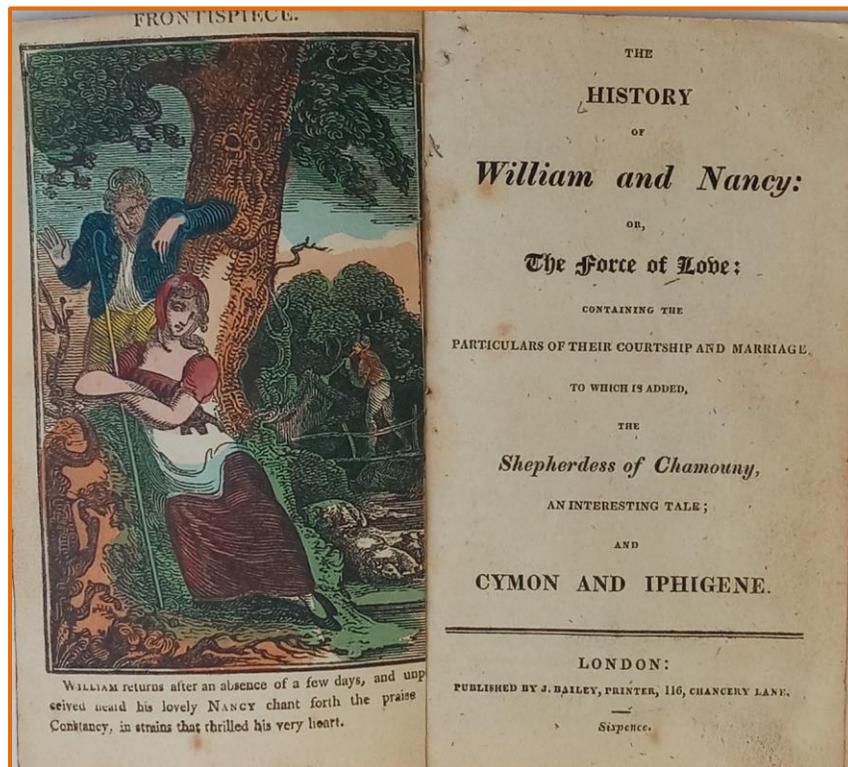


Figure 8: The History of William and Nancy ...

7. Madame Genlis. *The History of Cecilia; or, the Beautiful Nun*. London: Printed by T. Maiden for Ann Lemoine and J. Roe, 1804. Disbound chapbook with frontispiece. 36pp.

8. *The History of William and Nancy: or The Force of Love: containing the particulars of their courtship and marriage to which is added The Shepherdess of Chamouny, an interesting tale; and Cymon and Iphigene*. London: Published by J. Bailey. [c.1820]. Disbound chapbook (missing *Cymon and Iphigene*) with colour frontispiece. 24pp. [Price 6d.]

The History of Cecilia; or, the Beautiful Nun is a redaction of the story “Cécile” from *Adèle et Théodore* by Stéphanie de Genlis, written in 1782 and first translated into English in 1783. It is a gothic tale that was printed for Ann Lemoine (born Ann Swires, fl. 1786–1820), a British chapbook bookseller and publisher who specialized in gothic blue books. Lemoine innovated the marketing and distribution of short gothic tales, capitalizing on the craze for gothic literature (Figs. 7–8). She was the first fully independent female publisher in England. Between 1795 and 1820, she published well over 400 separate chapbooks. While she may have written some of the chapbooks herself, she was known to have employed writers, including one of the more popular chapbook writers of the time, Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson (1779–1831). Lemoine also published songbooks, jokebooks, adventure stories, and children’s tales. The small, paper-bound chapbooks, which were quickly produced using poor materials, and distributed by peddlers and itinerant salesmen, sold for less than 1s. Bluebooks were simply chapbooks with soft blue wrappers. Frederick Frank described the gothic bluebook as “a primitive paperback or ur-pulp publication, cheaply manufactured, sometimes garishly illustrated, and meant to be thrown away after being ‘read to pieces’” (Frank 132).

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces? 19th-Century Popular Literature

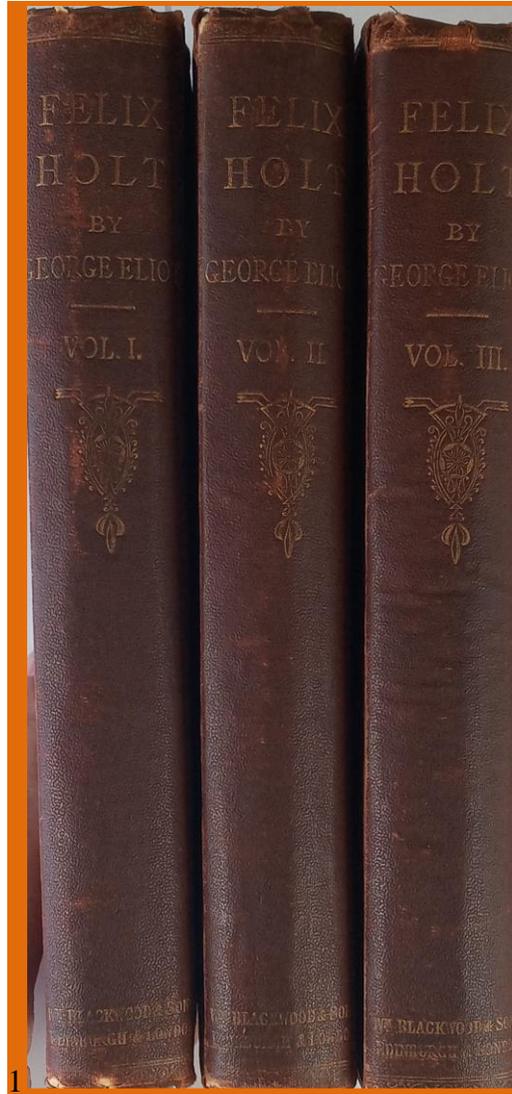


Figure 9: Eliot: Felix Holt.

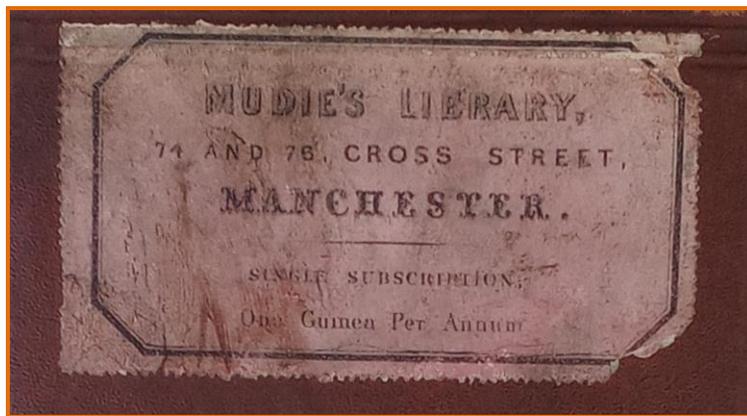


Figure 10: Mudie's Lending Library Sticker.

9. Eliot, George. *Felix Holt, The Radical*. Edinburg: William Blackwood and Sons, 1866. In three volumes, with Mudie's Lending Library sticker.

Publishing in the early 19th century catered almost exclusively to upper- and middle-class readers. A typical press run for books during this period was small, usually a few hundred copies. Books were expensive, even for middle-class readers to purchase, and this was especially true of the novel, which was typically released in three volumes, or as a "triple-decker," with each volume priced at 10s and 6d (Altick 297). Such pricing put the novel beyond the reach even of many middle-class readers, who were forced to explore other avenues of access. The most popular alternative was the lending or circulating library, where readers could pay a yearly subscription and be guaranteed access to a steady stream of triple-decker novels, as well as to non-fiction works and periodicals. The most famous of the circulating libraries was Mudie's, established in the 1840s. Mudie's advertised extensively, and for a subscription fee of 1gn per year, subscribers could visit his premises on Oxford Street or have the latest publications delivered to them.

George Eliot was the pseudonym of Marian Evans (1819–1880), who also went by several names during her life: Mary Anne Evans (at birth), Mary Ann Evans (from 1837), Marian Evans (from 1851), Marian Evans Lewes (from 1854), and Mary Ann Cross (1880). Marian Evans (George Eliot) was acknowledged in her time as a master of the novel. *Felix Holt, the Radical* is one of her later fictional works and also one of her least read. Its subject is the upheavals of society at the time of the first Reform Act of 1832. The story is of an election contested by Harold Transome, a local landowner who goes against his family's Tory traditions by running for election as a radical. Contrasting with the opportunism of Transome is the sincere, but opinionated, radical, Felix Holt, who chooses working-class poverty over comfortable wealth. Both men fall in love with the same woman, Esther Lyon.

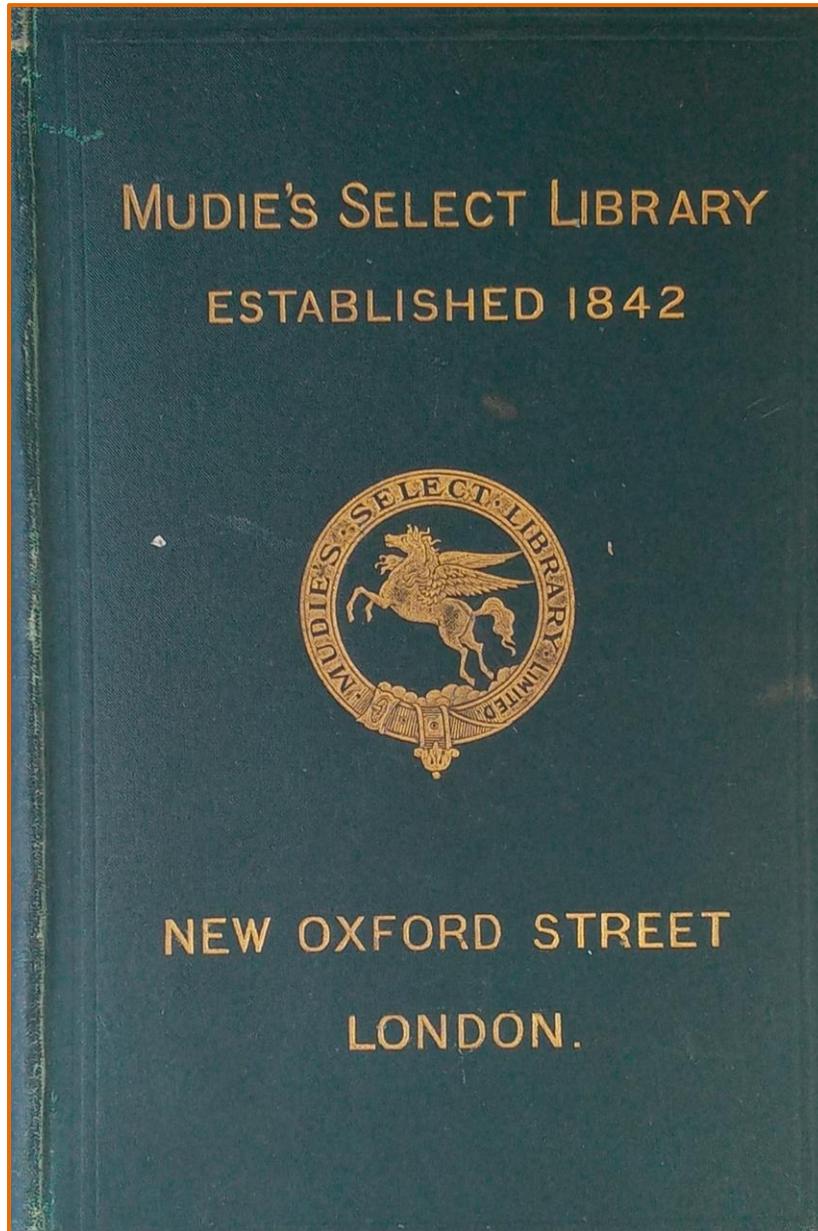


Figure 11: Mudie's Select Library catalogue for 1891.

10. *Mudie's Select Library*. London: Mudie's Select Library, January 1891. Including works of History, Biography etc. pages 1-22: Works of Fiction, pages 222-390; followed by a 24-page section entitled "Sets of Works from Authors" and lastly by a section entitled "Books of the Best Authors". Various "terms of subscription" are laid out verso of the title page. 450 pp. This copy has the original cover. An inscription on the front blank indicates it was the property of the "Tralee Young Men's Christian Association."

Charles Edward Mudie was born in London in 1818, the son of Scottish-born Thomas Mudie, a newspaper agent, bookseller, stationer, and lending librarian. The son learned the trade from his father and, in 1840, he opened a shop at 28 Upper King Street, supplying newspapers and stationery as well as lending books, which soon became his main business. The three-volume novel was a standard publishing format in the 19th century. Mudie's demand that publishers produce only three-decker novels allowed him to divide up one novel among three subscribers, a practice that kept the format healthy until the 1890s. He also advertised his catalogues widely, creating bestseller lists. Mudie's Lending Library offered unlimited borrowing of fiction and prose works at low subscription rates, starting at 1gn per year. In doing so, he greatly expanded the amount and kinds of reading materials available to readers. By mid-century, he had over 25,000 subscribers. In 1852, he opened new premises on London's New Oxford Street. He also established branches in Birmingham, Manchester, and other regional centres. Between 1853 and 1862, Mudie is said to have added almost 1 million volumes to his book stock, becoming one of the major distributors of fiction in Britain at the time. His business also catered to readers overseas, shipping tin trunks of books to India, Egypt, and other British colonies.

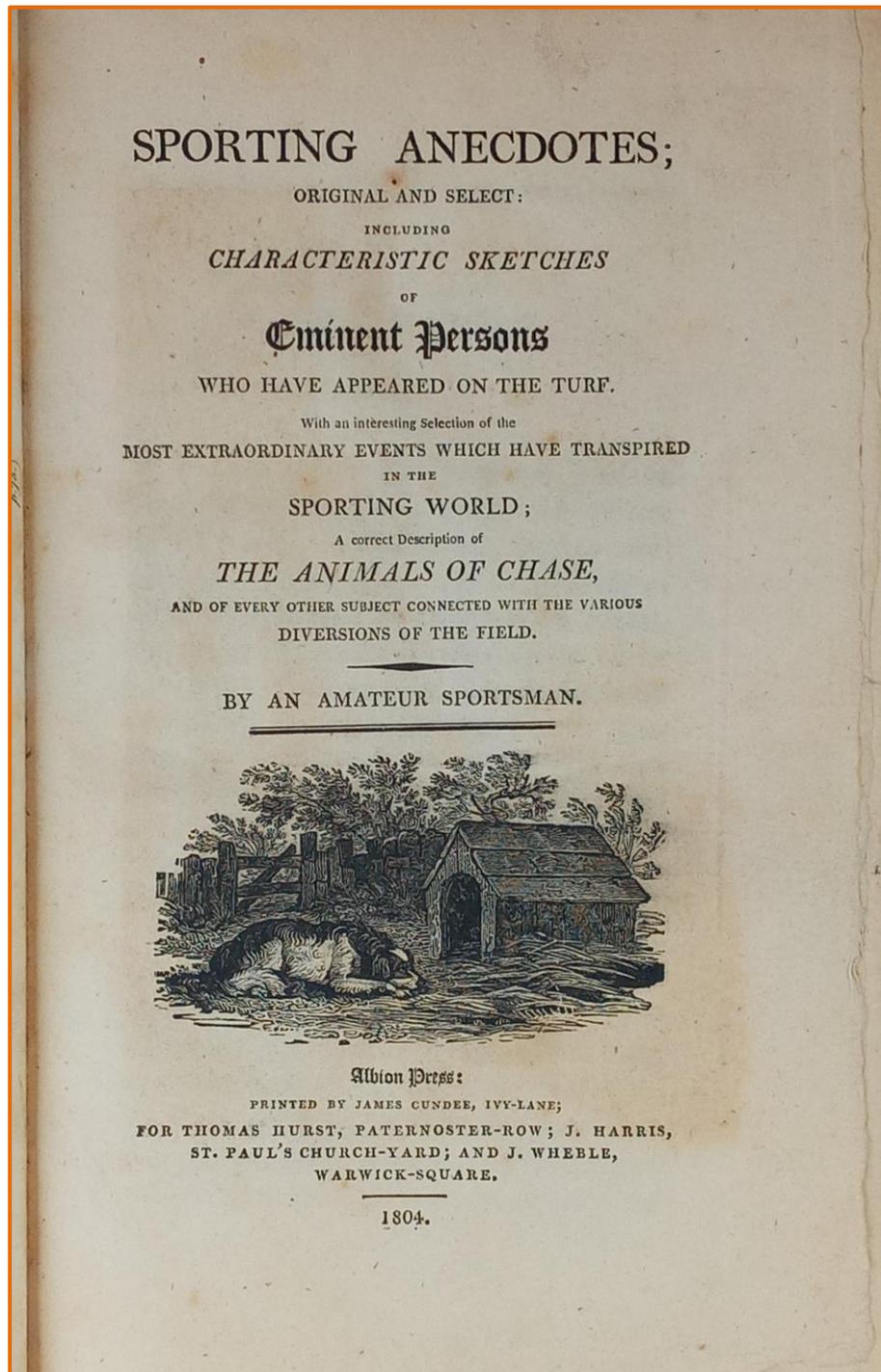


Figure 12: Egan: Sporting Anecdotes.

11. Egan, Pierce. *Sporting Anecdotes: original and select, including characteristic sketches of eminent persons who have appeared on the turf. With an interesting selection of the most extraordinary events which have transpired in the sporting world a correct description of the animals of chase, and of every other subject connected with the various diversions of the field. By an amateur sportsman.* London: Albion Press, printed by James Cundee for Thomas Hurst, J. Harris and J. Wheble, 1804. vi, [10], 542 pp. With 16 engraved plates; woodcut vignette on title page.

Pierce Egan (1772–1849), a sporting journalist and author, was born in London of Irish ancestry. Egan entered the printing trade and trained as a compositor. In 1812, he began working as a compositor for George Smeeton on a serial publication: *Boxiana, or, Sketches of ancient and modern pugilism, from the days of the renowned Broughton and Slack to the heroes of the present milling era.* Authorship was ascribed to “one of the Fancy” (“the Fancy” being the sporting set in fashionable society) but was subsequently ascribed to Egan when the second edition appeared in 1818. Egan is best known for his work *Life in London* (1821), which follows characters Tom and Jerry on their “rambles and sprees.” The work was an immediate hit. His other works include *Pierce Egan’s Book of Sports* (1832). He also wrote humorous travel guides to various cities, including London, Liverpool, and Dublin. Curiously absent from many accounts of Egan’s life and work is any reference to *Sporting Anecdotes: original and select, including characteristic sketches of eminent persons who have appeared on the turf ...*, perhaps Egan’s first book. The work is a hodgepodge of sporting anecdotes in prose and verse, with titles ranging from “A monkey cured of hunting” to “Genealogy of a jockey” to “Canine ingratitude,” some of which were reprinted in later works. Though the popularity of his work waned later in his life, Egan is now thought to be an influential figure in the development of illustrated sports journalism. His son Pierce James Egan (1814–1880) was a bestselling author of historical fiction.

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces? 19th-Century Popular Literature

Salisbury Square Fiction: The Penny Dreadful

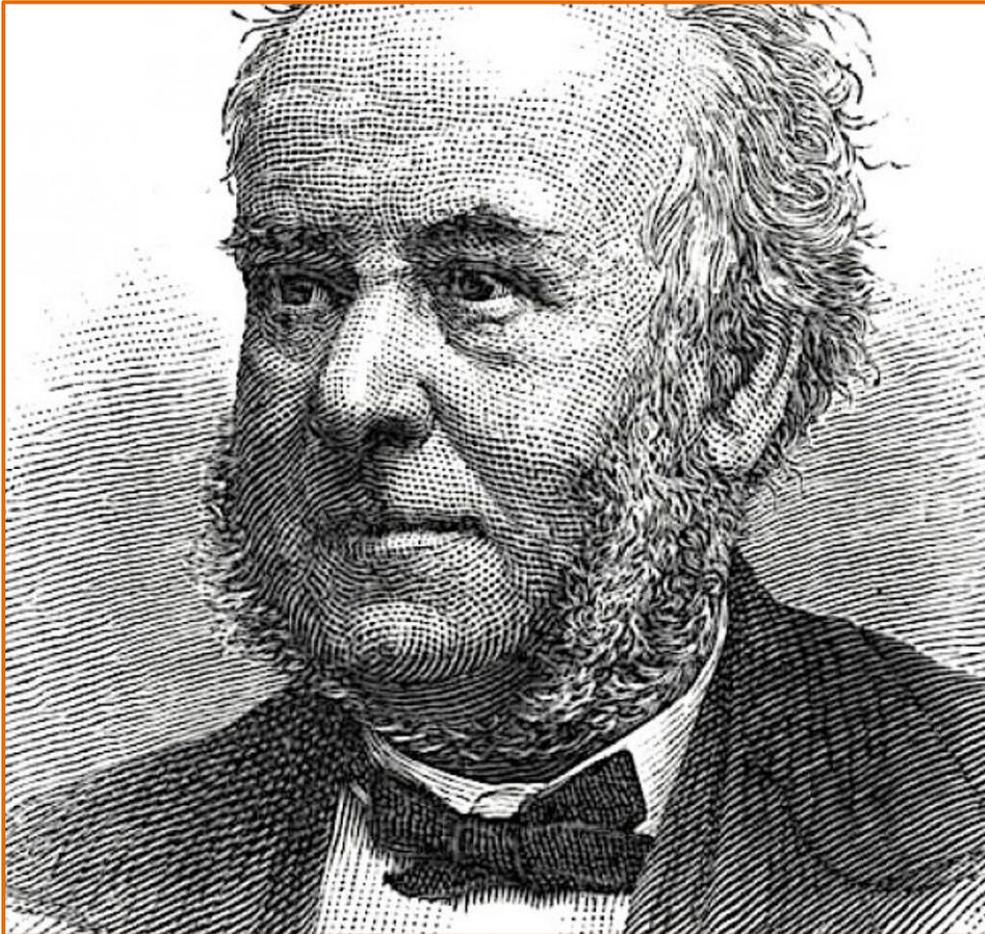


Figure 13: Edward Lloyd.

12. Salisbury Square Fiction: Edward Lloyd and John Dicks

Salisbury Square fiction is the name given to popular literature, particularly the flood of penny dreadfuls, bloods, romances, and penny periodicals put out by publishers who had their premises in or around Salisbury Square in London after 1841. Chief among these was the publisher Edward Lloyd.

Edward Lloyd (1815–1890) was born in Surrey. In 1836, he entered the London publishing scene. From his address at 12 Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, he began publishing weekly magazines, for example, *Lloyd's Penny Weekly Miscellany*. He also commissioned books, publishing over 200 works of fiction between 1836 and 1856. Many were “penny dreadfuls” and “penny bloods,” but the majority were “domestic romances,” which Lloyd published in deference to a loyal female readership. Best known among these is *Ada, the Betrayed*. According to John Medcraft, Lloyd “eliminated highwaymen and vampires, added an innocuous title, and confined himself to the milder themes of pirates and smugglers, murder and rape, seductions and abductions” (15). Lloyd knew his readership and often used working-class readers as focus groups before deciding to publish a particular title. Working with T.P. Prest, Lloyd published many unauthorized Dickens works. Later in his career, he became a respectable publisher of newspapers, among them *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, and actively downplayed his early lucrative publishing ventures in sensational fiction.

John Thomas Dicks (*bap.* 1818, *d.* 1881) published sensational fiction but also cheap editions of the classics. Teaming up in the 1850s with the writer George Reynolds made Dicks one of the most successful publishers in London. Dicks published *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* as well as Reynolds's multi-novel series *Mysteries of the Court of London* (1849–1856). In 1863, the two men formed a partnership, and eventually (probably at Reynolds's death in 1879) Dicks purchased the name and copyrights of G.W.M. Reynolds. In the 1860s, Dicks began reprinting novels, plays, “classics,” and miscellaneous material rather than originating new works. His series included *Dicks' English Novels* (Fig. 33), *Dicks' Shakespeare*, and *Dicks' Standard Plays*.

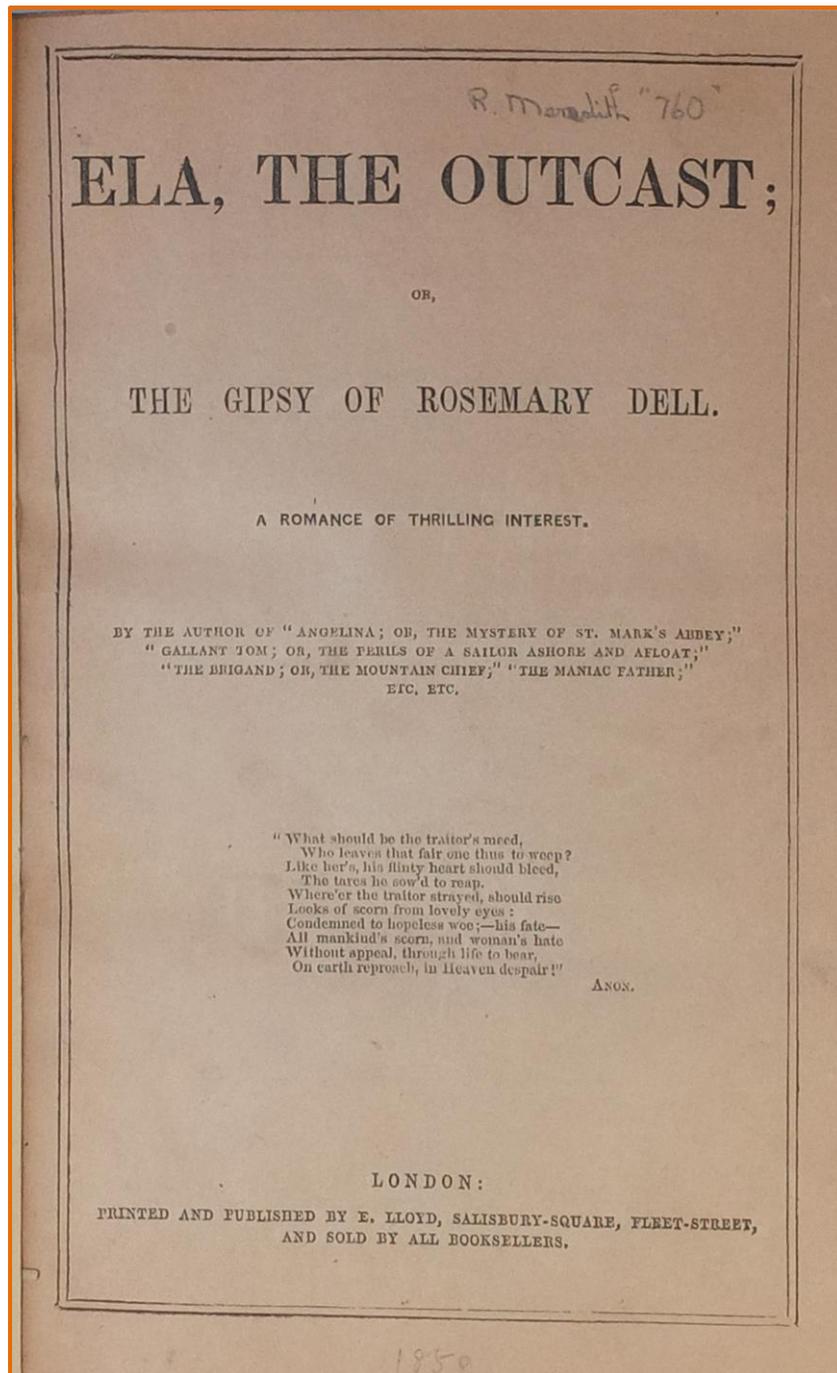


Figure 14: Prest: Ela, the Outcast; or, the Gipsy of Rosemary Dell.

13. Prest, Thomas Peckett. *Ela, The Outcast; or, The Gipsy of Rosemary Dell*. A Romance of Thrilling Interest Printed and Published by E. Lloyd, Salisbury-Square, Fleet-Street, London, 1850. Re-issue. Illustrated; [iv], 572 pp. in double columns. 1 vol. 8vo.

Thomas Peckett Prest (1809/10–1859) was born in London, the son of a blacksmith. He apprenticed to a printer and began his career as a compositor. In the 1830s, he began to write and perform songs for saloons and singing clubs. He also wrote for minor publishers of the unstamped press, mostly in ephemeral penny periodicals. In 1836, he began to work with the Salisbury Square publisher Edward Lloyd. Looking to capitalize on the popularity of Dickens, Prest began to write imitations, which included a penny weekly serial *The Posthumorous Notes of the Pickwick Club*, or, *The Penny Pickwick*, by “Bos” (1837–1838). Prest’s version liberally adapted and expanded Dickens’s work for a working-class readership. The work, augmented by woodcuts by the cartoonist C.J. Grant, was extremely popular and is said to have sold more copies than the real *Pickwick Papers*. Prest followed with other adaptations, including *Oliver Twiss* (1838), *Nickelas Nicklebery* (1838), and *Pickwick in America!* (1839). Prest has also often been credited with being the author of *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street*, but scholarship has shown that the tale was really the work of James Malcolm Rymer. Early number editions of *Ela, the Outcast*, Prest’s most popular work, sold as many as 30,000 copies per week. Prest followed it up by writing over 60 “bloods” for Lloyd in the 1840s. This edition of *Ela* (Fig. 14) dated 1850, was issued in 72 parts.

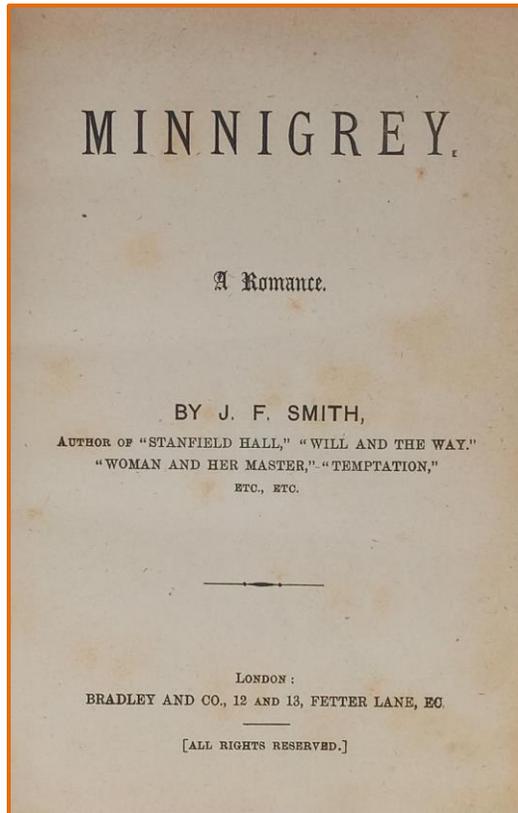


Figure 15: Smith: Minnigrey.

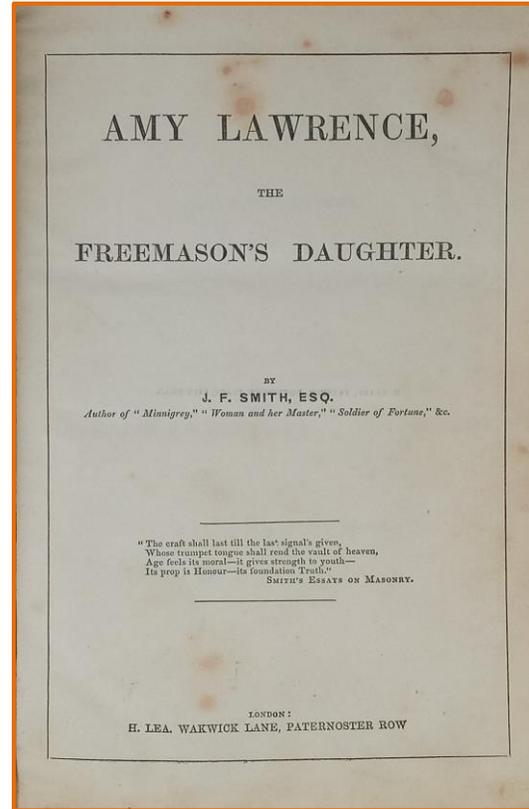


Figure 16: Smith: Amy Lawrence ...

14. Smith, J.F. [John Frederick]. *Minnigrey*. A romance. London: Bradley, [1888].
15. Smith, J.F. [John Frederick]. *Amy Lawrence, the Freemason's Daughter*. London: H. Lea, [1851].

John Frederick Smith (1806–1890) was one of the bestselling fiction writers of the 19th century. As a young man, he worked as an actor in England and on the continent. He spent time in Rome, where he was involved with the Roman Catholic church. His first novels reflect his early vocation: *The Jesuit* (1832) and *The Prelate* (1840). His emergence as a bestselling author did not come until 1849, when he returned to England and began to write for the *London Journal*. Smith is credited with increasing the magazine's circulation to 100,000 copies that year, on the strength of his short story "Marianne, a Tale of the Temple" and then with instalments of his novel *Stanfield Hall*. His next novel, *Minnigrey*, serialized between 1851 and 1852, is said to have increased sales of the *London Journal* to 500,000 copies, for which newsagents had to send special wagons to the station (ODNB). *Minnigrey* was serialized a second time in 1861. It was also adapted for the stage as well as being translated into Dutch and Danish. Other J.F. Smith novels include *Amy Lawrence, the Freemason's Daughter* (1851), *Woman and Her Master* (1854), *The City Banker* (1856), *Milly Mogue* (1859), *Warp and Weft* (1863), and *Sir Bernard Gaston* (1867). The romances of Mr. Smith and his imitators, it was said, "contain plenty of vice and not a little crime, but the criminal always comes to grief in the end, and virtue is duly rewarded with wealth and titles and honour. The villains are generally of high birth and repulsive appearance, the lowly personages always of ravishing beauty and unsullied virtue. Innocence and loveliness in a gingham gown are perpetually pursued by vice and debauchery in varnished boots and spotless gloves" (Hitchman 1890). Little is known about Smith's life. He reportedly lived a bohemian lifestyle and was also said to be deaf. Later in life, he moved to New York, where he died poor and unknown in 1890.

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces? 19th-Century Popular Literature

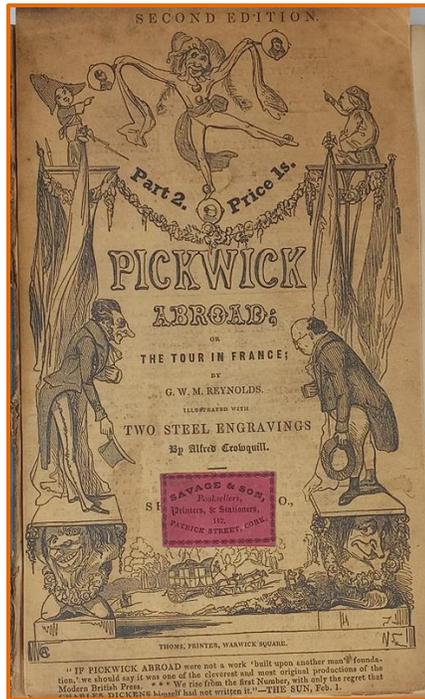


Figure 17: Reynolds: Pickwick Abroad ...

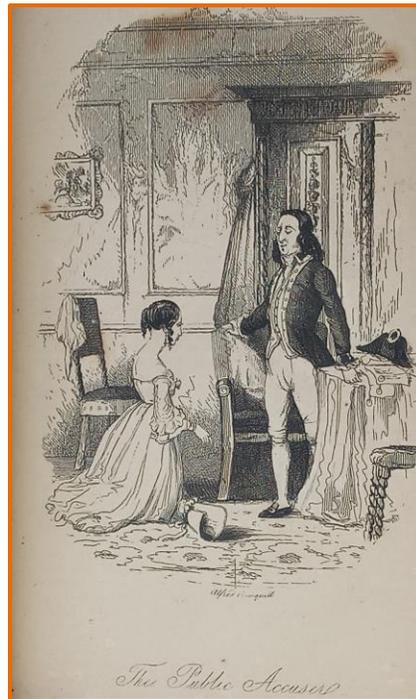


Figure 18: Pickwick Abroad (illustration).

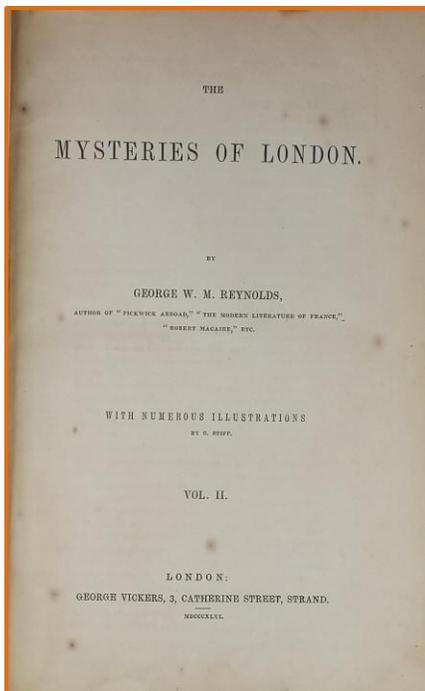


Figure 19: Reynolds: Mysteries of London.

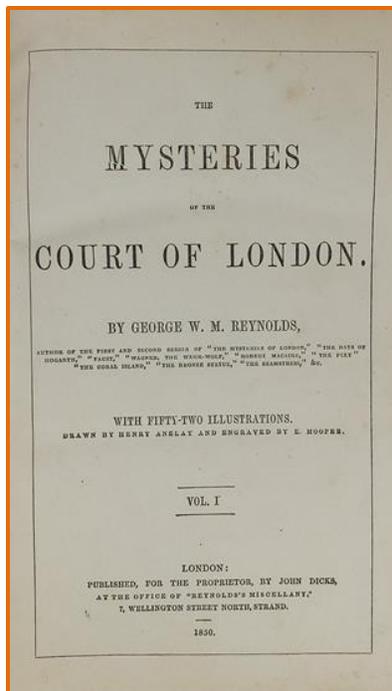


Figure 20: Reynolds: Mysteries of the Court of London.

16. Reynolds, George W.M. *Pickwick Abroad, or The Tour in France*. London: Willoughby & Co., 1840.
17. Reynolds, George W.M. *The Mysteries of London*. Vol. II. London; G. Vickers, 1846. Illus. by George Stiff.
18. Reynolds, George W.M. *The Mysteries of the Court of London*. 1st series, Vols. I–II. London: John Dicks. Stereotyped reprints of the First series. 1850-51. Illustrated: drawings by H. Anelay, engravings by E. Hooper.

George Reynolds was a novelist, journalist, and radical. In 1837, he began work as editor of the *Monthly Magazine*. In 1837–1838, he offered in the magazine a serialized and a racy fiction/guidebook to Paris, *Pickwick Abroad, or, The Tour in France* (1837–1838), in which he plagiarized Dickens’s characters. The series was popular and, although it increased the magazine’s circulation, it also offended the magazine’s owners, who quickly terminated Reynolds as editor. Reynolds completed *Pickwick Abroad* in penny monthly parts, and the novel in its complete form went through many editions. Encouraged by the success, he wrote more fiction. In 1844, Reynolds began the penny-issue serial that made him famous, *The Mysteries of London*, published by George Vickers. The series was set among the squalor of slums and criminal life, a subject that had a great deal of resonance with readers living in the rapidly expanding Victorian cities. He presented readers with violent and sexualized crime stories that highlighted a society split between the decadent wealthy and the suffering poor. In 1847, after a falling out with Vickers, Reynolds began his association with John Dicks. No longer able to publish under the title *The Mysteries of London*, Reynolds continued the series as *The Mysteries of the Court of London* (1848–1855). Taken together, the two series, published in 624 penny numbers between 1844 and 1856, comprised approximately 4.5 million words in 6,000 pages of densely printed double columns. The two series sold millions of copies. At the same time, Reynolds wrote over 20 other novels, as well as many short stories and magazine pieces. He was active in journalism, editing *The London Journal* and later starting his own magazine, the sensational and radical *Reynolds’s Miscellany* (1846–69), which quickly reached a circulation of 30,000. His political interests produced *Reynolds’s Weekly Newspaper: A Journal of Democratic Progress and General Intelligence* (start date: 1850), which was highly influential among the working classes, especially in the north of England. “*The Bookseller* noted that Reynolds’s works outsold those even of Dickens, and in his obituary in 1879 it called Reynolds ‘the most popular writer of our time’” (ODNB).

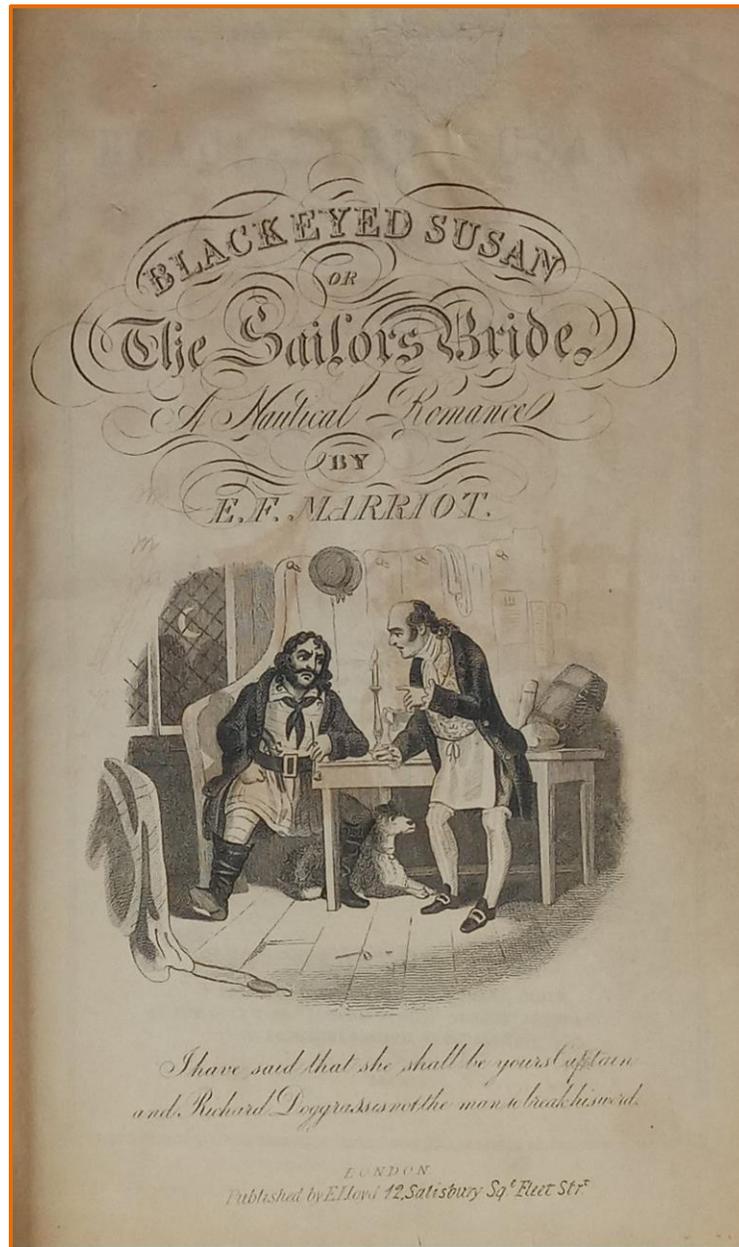


Figure 21: Marriot: BlackEyed SUSAN; or, the Sailor's Bride.

19. [Marriot, E.F.] *BlackEyed Susan; or, the Sailor's Bride*. Edward Lloyd, London, 1845. Second edition, bound from 25 penny parts. Steel-engraved frontispiece and title page on India paper, 25 wood-engraved illustrations to text; [ii], 198 pp. 8vo. Bound together with: [RYMER, James Malcolm]. *The First False Step. A Novel*. London: Edward Lloyd, 1846. 22 wood-engraved illustrations to text; [ii], 174 pp. First edition, bound from 22 penny parts.

As is sometimes the case with both serialized literature and popular fiction of the 19th century, the author was not listed or went by a pseudonym. In the case of the first of these two works, *BlackEyed Susan; or, the Sailor's Bride*, the author is unknown. The pseudonym E.F. Marriot may have been the publisher's attempt to associate the work with Captain Marryat, or Captain Frederick Marryat (1792–1848), a Royal Navy officer, a novelist, and an acquaintance of Charles Dickens.

In other cases, authorship is assigned incorrectly. In the case of *The First False Step. A Novel*, authorship is ascribed as follows: "By the author of 'Varney, the Vampyre,' 'The Rivals,' and 'Jane Shore,' etc." Based on this, several bibliographers list the author as Thomas Peckett Prest (1810–1859). The work is now generally ascribed to novelist and journal editor James Malcolm Rymer (1814–1884), one of the most popular novelists of the era but who never published under his own name. He used a variety of pseudonyms, including M.J. Errym, Malcolm J. Merry, Marianne Blimber, Nelson Percival, J.D. Conroy, Septimus R. Urban, Bertha Thorne Bishop, and Captain Merry. Rymer was said to have written up to ten stories simultaneously and has been credited with over 120 titles. Rymer also edited a number of periodicals, including the *Queen's Magazine* (1842) and *Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany* (1845).

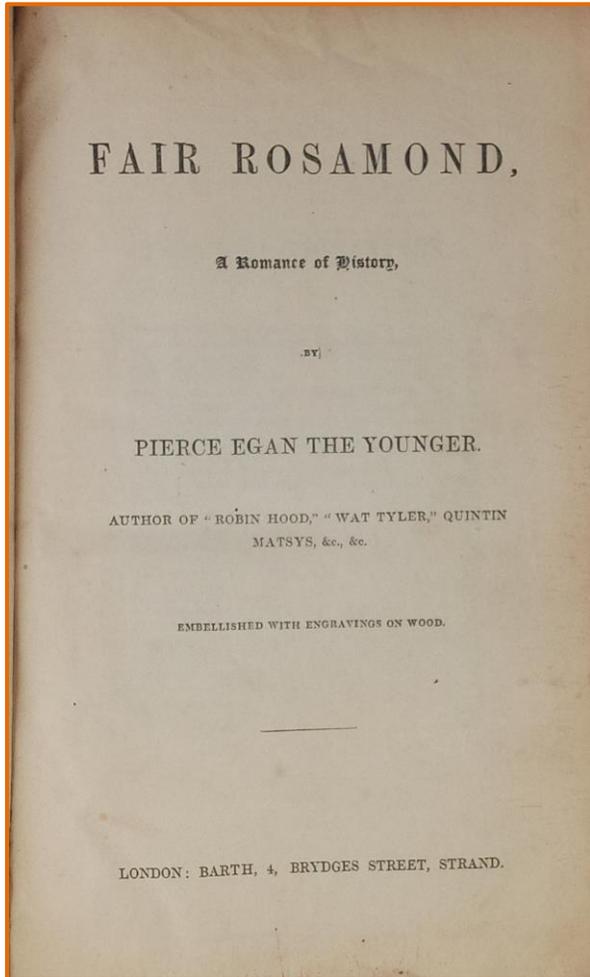


Figure 22: Egan: Fair Rosamond, a Romance of History.

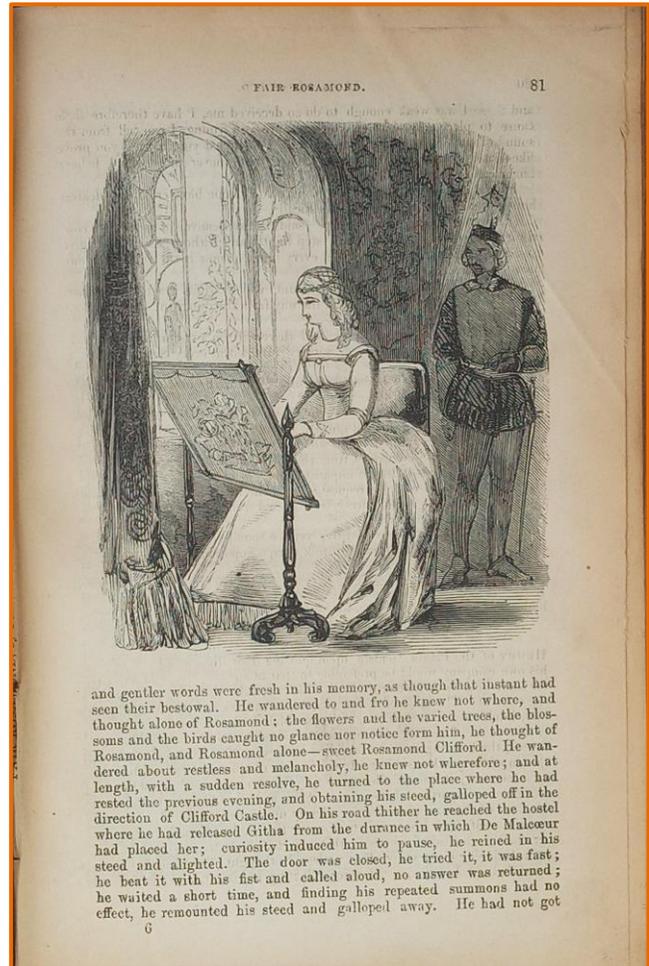


Figure 23: Fair Rosamond (illustration).

20. Egan, Pierce (The Younger). *Fair Rosamond, a Romance of History*. London: Barth, [1851]. Illustrated in 33 parts. Note: Cambridge University Library catalogue dates this edition as c.1851 because of a gutter advertisement in part 8 (not present in this copy). It was advertised to begin in 1850 in *Reynolds's Miscellany*. The front pastedown shows the bookplate of Arthur E. Waite (1857–942), a student of the occult and a bibliographer of early penny literature.
21. Egan, Pierce (The Younger). *Wat Tyler*. London: F. Hextall, 1841. Illustrated.

Novelist Pierce James Egan (1814–1880) was the son of Pierce Egan (1772–1849), pioneering sporting journalist and author (Fig. 12). Egan the younger's earliest work was as an artist and etcher. He issued his novels in weekly numbers and later collected them in volumes. He specialized in historical fiction, particularly “unreal and bloody stories of the Middle Ages” (Kunitz and Haycraft 209), such as his *Wat Tyler* (1841), in which scenes of slaughter were juxtaposed with romantic interludes. His *Robin Hood and Little John* (1840) was reprinted many times; it started a trend that has been called “a whole Robin Hood industry in popular fiction” (Sutherland 209). These novels were followed by *Paul Jones* (1842), a tale of a privateer, illustrated with woodcuts by Egan; *Fair Rosamond, a Romance of History* [1851]; and *Edward the Black Prince, or, A Tale of the Feudal Times* (1855). Egan also contributed to early volumes of the *Illustrated London News*. Between 1849 and 1852, he edited the *Home Circle*. He became a frequent contributor to *Reynolds's Miscellany*. From 1857 onward, he wrote for the *London Journal*, remaining one of its most frequent contributors until the end of his life. The subject matter of Egan's later fiction shifted from his earlier feudal stories to depictions of rural life, characterized by sensationalism and the juxtaposition of different social ranks and classes.

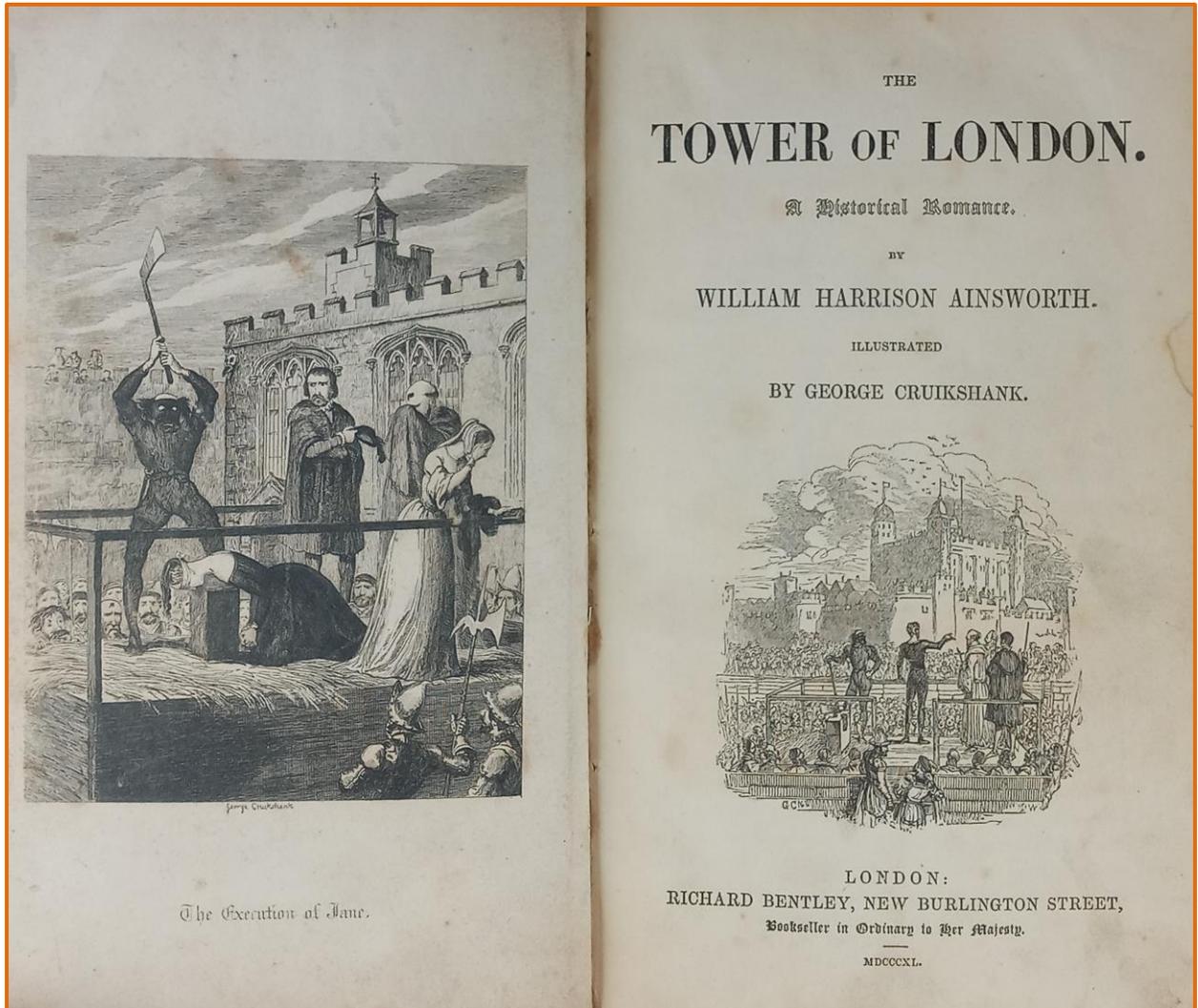


Figure 24: Ainsworth: The Tower of London.

22. Ainsworth, William Harrison. *The Tower of London*. A Historical Romance. London: Richard Bentley, 1840. Illustrated by George Cruikshank.

William Harrison Ainsworth's (1805–1882) first success as a novelist came with the 1834 publication of *Rookwood*. The work invented the legendary ride of the highwayman Dick Turpin from London to York (Fig. 2). Other novels followed, including *Jack Sheppard* (1839), before Ainsworth switched from crime to historical fiction with *Guy Fawkes* (1840), *The Tower of London* (1840), and *Old Saint Paul's* (1841). *The Tower of London* was serially published in 1840. It describes the history of Lady Jane Grey, from her short-lived time as queen of England to her execution. The work is illustrated by George Cruikshank. Ainsworth published 40 novels in total. He was a friend of Dickens, taking over editorship of *Bentley's Miscellany* from him before starting his own magazine, *Ainsworth's Magazine* (1841–1854). He also owned and edited the *New Monthly Magazine* from 1845 until 1870.

Illustrator and satirist George Cruikshank (1792–1878) produced thousands of prints and book illustrations over his lifetime. His style “derived not only from London street culture but also from the vivid pictorialism of the *Bible*, Aesop's *Fables*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, and from the design vocabulary of visual satire sharpened and elaborated by such past masters as William Hogarth and contemporaries such as Thomas Rowlandson and James Gillray” (ODNB). Cruikshank was also a collaborator with radical satirist and publisher William Hone (Figs. 4–5). He illustrated the English translation of *Grimm's Fairy Tales* and later worked with Charles Dickens on two series of *Sketches by Boz*. Between 1835 and 1853, he published an annual: *Cruikshank's Comic Almanack*. His work was admired by many, including John Ruskin and Charles Baudelaire.

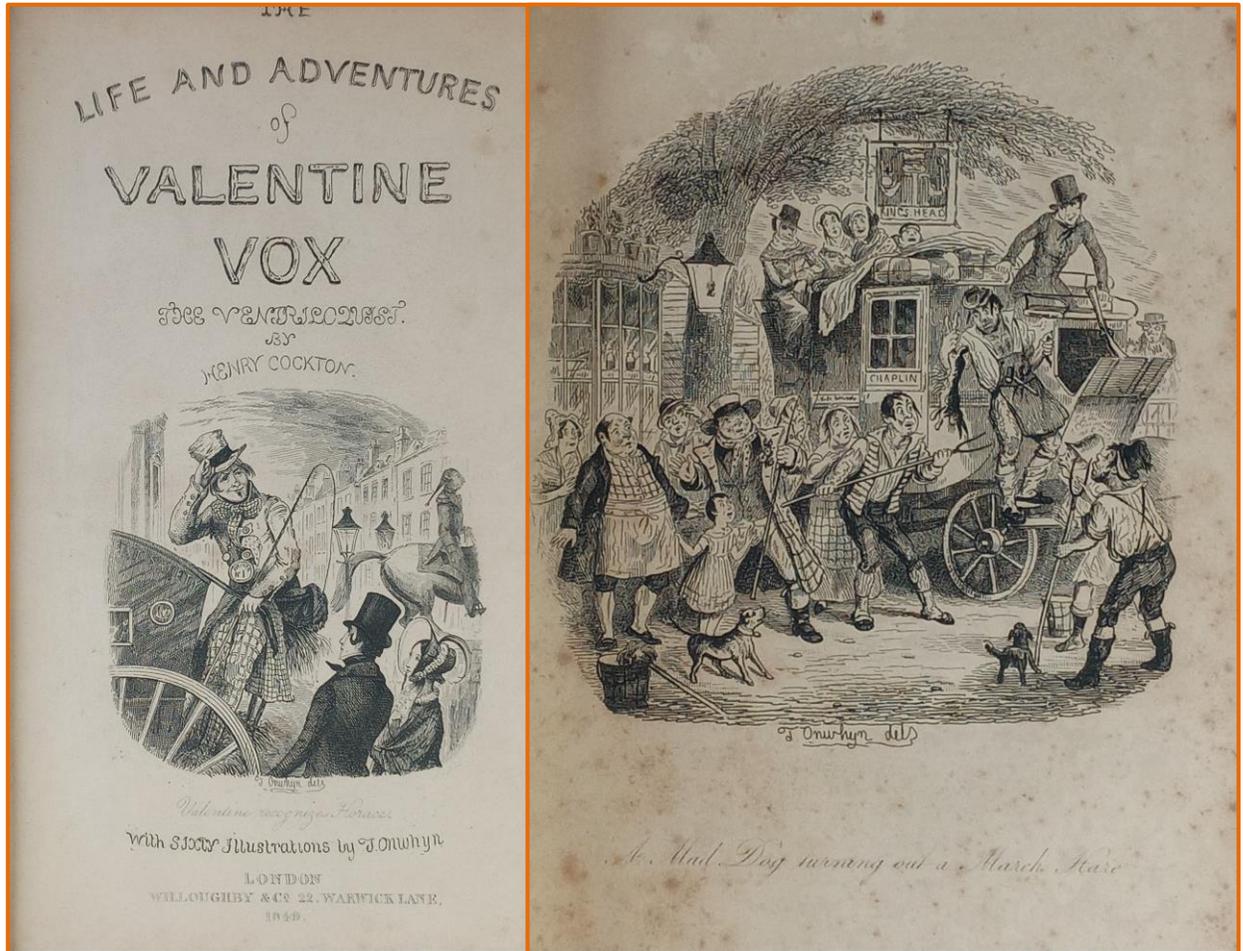


Figure 25: Cockton: The Life and Adventures of Valentine Vox. Title page and illustration.

23. Cockton, Henry. *The Life and Adventures of Valentine Vox, the Ventriloquist*. London: Willoughby & Co., 1849. Engraved frontispiece, title page, and 60 plates by Thomas Onwhyn.

The Life and Adventures of Valentine Vox was Henry Cockton's (1807–1853) first and most successful novel. He published the work under the pseudonym Sherry, issuing it in monthly numbers between 1839 and 1840. It is a comic novel about a ventriloquist with a taste for practical jokes. A subplot tells the story of Valentine's uncle, Grimwood Goodman, who was unfairly determined insane and locked up in an asylum by scheming relatives. The work was extremely popular, inspiring Thomas Prest to write a plagiarized serial, *Valentine Vaux*, under the pseudonym Timothy Portwine. *Valentine Vox* remained in print until the 1920s, and Routledge editions are said to have sold as many as 400,000 copies (ODNB). Cockton made little money from the work, however, and he died of consumption at 46 years of age.

Thomas Onwhyn (1814–1886) is best known for contributing 21 of the whole series of 32 illustrations to the serialized 1837 edition of *The Pickwick Papers*, issued by E. Grattan. Most of the illustrations were signed with the pseudonym Samuel Weller, but some also show Onwhyn's initials. In 1838–1839, Grattan issued a series of 40 Onwhyn etchings illustrating *Nicholas Nickleby*. Dickens did not approve. "In a letter of 13 July 1838, he referred to 'the singular Vileness of the Illustrations'" (ODNB). In the 1840s and 1850s, Onwhyn produced illustrations for many short-lived publications illustrating the comic side of everyday life. Onwhyn had an eye for humour, and he satirized tourism, teetotalism, and fashion in works such as *Etiquette Illustrated* (1849), *What I Saw at the World's Fair* (1851), *A Glass of Grog Drawn from the Bottle* (1853), and *Nothing to Wear* (1858). He also illustrated six novels by Henry Cockton. Onwhyn abandoned illustration in the 1860s and for his final decades worked as a newsagent.

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces? 19th-Century Popular Literature

Periodicals



Figure 26: Cockney Adventures and Tales of London Life. No 2. Nov 11, 1837.

24. *Cockney Adventures and Tales of London Life*. Nos. 1–5. Saturday 4 Nov. – 2 Dec. 1837.

Printed by Joseph Last; published by W.M. Clark & A. Forrester. Illus. Individual parts.

Disbound. pp. 1–40 in 8pp. pts in two columns of a work completed in 21 numbers. Some of the illustrations are signed, C.J. Grant.

“Among the lighter early penny periodicals with a London theme was *Cockney Adventures and Tales of London Life*, published weekly from 1838. Each issue contained a short story—said by the author, Renton Nicholson, to have been drawn from real characters and incidents—that aimed to encapsulate the feeling of cockney life, often using examples of the dialect. The tone is mainly humorous, finding amusement rather than moral outrage in the failings and foibles of everyday characters” (British Library).

Renton Nicholson (1809–1861) had a varied career as a pawnbroker, jeweller, gambler, cigar seller, wine merchant, and finally as a writer and editor. He frequently went bankrupt and was imprisoned numerous times. As well as producing *Cockney Adventures and Tales of London Life*, he edited *The Town*, a weekly paper, the first number of which appeared in 1837. It was a sensationalist, semi-pornographic paper, concentrating on scandal in high life. He also was involved with another periodical, *The Crown*, a weekly paper supporting the beer trade. In 1841, he opened Garrick’s Head and Town Hotel, in Covent Garden, where under the title of “the Lord Chief Baron” he hosted the well-known Judge and Jury Society. Members of both houses of parliament, statesmen, poets, actors, and others visited Garrick’s Head to witness the mock trials. Humorous, these gave occasion for much eloquence, brilliant repartee, fluent satire, and double entendre.

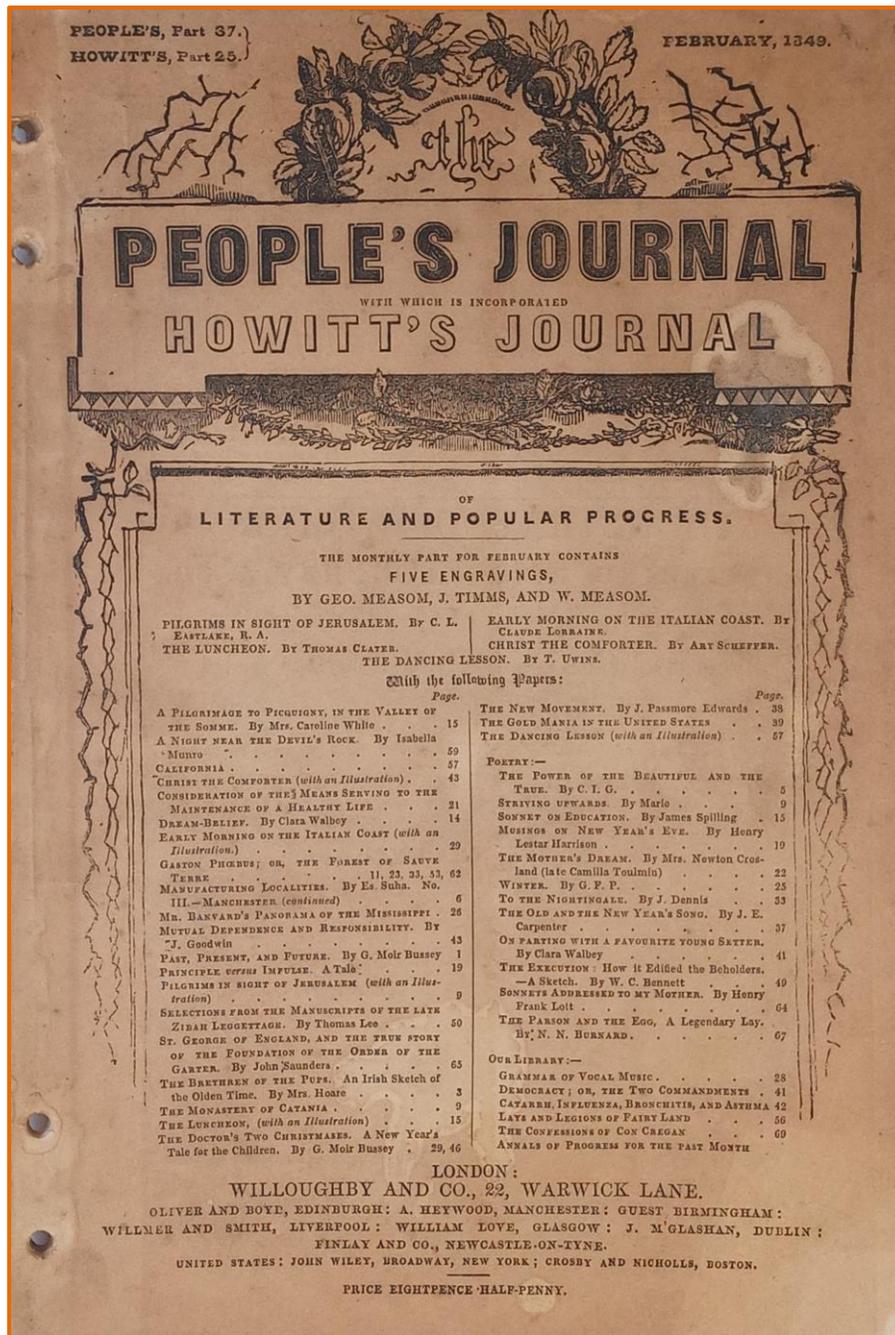


Figure 27: The People's Journal / Howitt's Journal of Literature and Popular Progress.

25. *The People's Journal With Which Is Incorporated Howitt's Journal of Literature and Popular Progress*. London: Willoughby and Company. Illustrated with 5 engraved prints. {People's Part 37. Howitt's Part 25}. February 1849. [price 8½ d].

According to *The Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*, this journal, started by John Saunders and William Howitt in 1846 and published as *The People's and Howitt's Journal* until 1851, “gives testimony to the hopes and ambitions that concerned metropolitan journalists had of the power of periodicals to elevate, encourage and educate the urban working classes.” The journal published poems, stories, reports about urban life, and “extensive and thoughtful articles on contemporary issues and political thought” (ODNB). It is probably best remembered for publishing work by Elizabeth Gaskell, whom Howitt knew through Unitarian connections. At its peak, the journal had a circulation of about 30,000.

This issue of the monthly journal is notable for containing two articles about the California gold rush. Among the earliest reports of the gold find, it was instrumental in attracting prospectors from England. As well, there is a report on a series of literary and scientific “re-unions” at the Aylesbury Mechanics Institution. There is also a short anti-slavery piece: “Slavery is the retarder of civilizations, the suggester of vice, and the result of inhumanity; is it then surprising that man refused to be linked to such a chain of demoralization.” In the same issue, however, is a notice approving the transfer to Australia of orphan girls from workhouses who were 13 years and older, to be placed with trustworthy families: “The candidates must be fit for labour, have been vaccinated, or have had the small-pox, and must be free from contagious or infectious diseases.” There is also verse, of the sentimental kind—“The Mother’s Dream,” by Mrs. Newton Crosland (late Camilla Toulmin):

By her Dead Child she still is kneeling,
The solemn bell has stayed its pealing;
The clouds have wept themselves away,
The sun resumed his gorgeous sway,
And through the antique oriel pane
Streams with a sapphire-emerald stain,
And falling, as through ruby deep,
Makes Death but seem a rosy sleep.

FAMILY HERALD

A Domestic Magazine of Useful Information and Amusement.

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A WISE AND GOOD MAN MAY BE PREVAILED UPON TO GAMBLE;



BUT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR A PROFESSED GAMESTER TO BE A WISE AND GOOD MAN.

No. 552.—VOL. XL]
FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 3, 1853.
[PRICE ONE PENNY.

THE REJECTED SUITOR.

Oh, that I could find out some plan
To drive away that ugly man!
He teases me day after day;
I cannot make him stop away;
I've told him plainly he might go,
But he will not be answer'd "No."

Ma says he is a gentleman,
And sounds his praise whene'er she can;
A man of station, wealth, and sense,
A paragon of excellence;
But through her meaning I can see—
The old man will not do for me!

He's very rich, and she would make
Me have him for his money's sake;
But I will not act a servile part,
Nor give my hand without my heart;
He's not the person I would choose,
So I'm determined to refuse.

I'll answer "No!" I'll sulk and pout;
I'll try all ways to tire him out;
And if he still doth tease my life,
Ere I'll consent to be his wife—
What'er my high-born friends may say—
With William Jones I'll run away!

J. H. E.

theirs, when these portraits were painted; yet even then the worm was gnawing at the heart of the rose. The bright flush upon the mother's cheek came and went too changeably for perfect health; the light within her mildly-beaming eyes became brighter, but it was the feverish glow of consumption. Death had already marked her for his victim. In a few short months she became the prey of the relentless spoiler.

"Darkness and desolation dwell by the once happy fireside. The ringing laughter of childhood was hushed, for the shadow of the grave brooded over their young spirits, and the solitary husband turned from the once loved tranquillity of his home to a more reckless pursuit of his idol—Fame."

"Meantime his fair young daughters, Ellen, Virginia, and Eliza, lived in the solitude of their home and passed from children into lovely girls. The years that wrote their traces in deep furrows upon the lofty brow of their father, and in grey hairs amongst his once dark locks, only added new beauty and bloom to the graceful girls, that grew like fresh flowers in loneliness and seclusion. But at last the scene was changed, for the father led another bride to his stately mansion, less fair and gentle than their own kind mother, but still beautiful and young. Again the apartments rang with the sound of revelry and rejoicing, and the doors were opened for the reception of visitors.

"But his daughters found no kindred heart to rest upon, no gentle counsellor in the lady who seemed devoted to pleasure, and whose happiness consisted only in the bustle and amusements of this world. In a short time they yielded to the irresistible impulse, and were drawn into the whirlpool of vanity, becoming as gay and careless as the rest of the giddy throng. But this was only in outward appearance; the remembrances of childhood, the prayers offered at the mother's knee, the hymn with which she lulled them to their nightly rest, the kind words of maternal admiration, were not so easily forgotten, and these memories often pressed upon the heart when the laugh and song were upon the lip.

"Many admirers thronged around the fair sisters; the wealthy and the proud sued for their hands, and genius and learning laid their laurels at their feet; but the elder sister loved one whose only wealth was an irreproachable name and a brave and fearless heart. He was a young officer in the navy, of respectable connections, but not in affluent circumstances, and her father refused to give his consent to their union. With the hope that time would overcome all obstacles, they were privately married, and the lover set off on another voyage, while the lady remained at home. Some time passed, when it was announced that the ship in which he sailed was wrecked, and he, with the greater part of the crew, buried in a watery grave. His bride was seated with the rest of her family when this intelligence reached her. It was a cold, stormy winter evening, and from the comfort and luxury of her own fireside her thoughts turned anxiously to him whom she feared was exposed to the rage of the billows. The rest of the family were engaged with their usual occupation, when their father, who had been perusing the newspaper, casually mentioned the loss of the ship; the sound fell like the knell of death upon the heart of the unhappy daughter; she arose and stood before him, her face pale, but fearfully calm. "Is it indeed true?" she asked.—"I fear it is," was his reply. She turned away and attempted to pass out of the apartment, but fell senseless upon the floor.

"Assistance was immediately procured, and she was conveyed to her chamber. She awoke only too soon to the consciousness of her misery. She raved wildly at first of his death and of her love and despair, but after a few days she became composed, and appeared to be partially recovered. For a while she moved about the house with the noiseless tread and pale check of a spectre. No smile was ever seen upon her pallid lips. She gradually wasted away, and in a short time was consigned to the tomb.

"Again was the mansion lonely and deserted. The premature death of her sister was deeply felt by Virginia. They had scarcely ever been separated; they had always loved one another dearly, and it seemed as if she could not be comforted. Each familiar scene was full of memories of the loved and lost. The books they had read; the embroidery they had worked; the songs they had sung; the walks where they had rambled; the places where they had sat together, conversing gaily on a thousand happy themes, or building bright castles in the fairy realms of thought—all these recalled her image to the mind of her sorrowing sister, till Time, who is the most potent physician for such griefs, softened her regret, and mingled a melancholy pleasure with the tenderness with which she still continued to regard her.

"It was a long time, however, before she consented again to mingle in company, and when she at last suffered herself to appear in public, her dejected countenance and dark mourning dress attracted universal sympathy. Some time after this she became acquainted with a young gentleman who sought her hand, and she finally consented to become his wife. Their marriage was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. Her husband was handsome, wealthy, and a general favourite with the gay and distinguished circles in which

THE STORY-TELLER.

THE THREE SISTERS.

"Jane," said my mother, one night, as I lit my candle, before retiring, "to-morrow you must go and spend the afternoon with your Aunt Hannah."

"Dear mother," I replied, dolefully, "what crime have I committed, that I must do penance the whole evening?"

"Why your sister and I are too much engaged to visit the old lady this week, so I have sent her word that you are coming instead."

Aunt Hannah was a distant relation of my mother's, who was called aunt by the juvenile members of our family from the respect due to her advanced age; but she had been very kind to me when a child, but as I grew older the weekly visit became more a dull task than a pleasure; until the duty devolved almost entirely upon my mother and my elder sister.

It was some months since I had seen her, and the good old lady welcomed me very cordially; but after the first words of greeting, and the usual inquiries about health, a solemn silence stole over us. I looked at Aunt Hannah, as she sat knitting in her accustomed corner, in her snow-white cap and spectacles, with her snuff-box lying on a table at her side; at two large tabby cats that were dozing on the hearth-rug in front of the fire; at the geraniums and roses in the window, and at the various articles of furniture which the room contained; but all was in vain, and I felt very uncomfortably restless, and a wearisome inclination to yawn. At last, raising my eyes in despair, I noticed a large painting in a richly gilt frame, which I had often seen before, but never examined particularly.

"Aunt Hannah," I said, "that is a very pretty picture; what does it represent?"

My aunt glanced up at it very sorrowfully, and said, "Yes, but there is a melancholy history connected with it; it is the portrait of one of my early friends and her children."

I approached the picture, and examined it attentively. It represented a lady with a sweet and engaging countenance, expressive of mildness and innocence, yet with a slight trace of melancholy mingled with its calm beauty. A lovely child was reposing peacefully in her arms, and two others were playing at her feet; one with large laughing, black eyes and dark hair, and the other with bright golden ringlets shading her blooming cheeks and dark blue eyes.

"These are beautiful children, aunt," I said; "I can hardly imagine that they were destined for any sorrow, and the mother looks too fair and fragile for the trials of this world."

"She was indeed too gentle and too good for this earth," was the reply of my aunt; "and if you would like to hear it, I will relate their story to you."

"Eliza Melford," said my aunt, "was a schoolmate of mine, and her sweet and innocent face was a true type of the purity and goodness of her disposition. After we left school our intimacy continued, and I was often with her in the gay and fashionable circles in which her family associated. Yet amidst all she preserved her calm dignity of manner, and was reserved and timid. When still very young, her hand was sought and given to one who was much her superior in years, but in whom talent and learning were united to a fine person and polished manners.

"For a time she lived happily. But at last she discovered that the place which in her heart was filled by his image, was in his usurped by the worldly honour which he was so eagerly seeking. She had little ambition, while it was his master passion. Her love now concentrated itself on her children, who were more idolised than loved. They were three lovely little girls, and the eldest had her mother's regular and delicate features; the second, the dark flashing eyes and noble features of her father. But all three were singularly beautiful, and warmly attached to their parents and to each other.

"It would have been difficult to imagine a fairer and happier family than

Figure 28: Family Herald: No. 552.

26. *Family Herald. A Domestic Magazine of Useful Information and Amusement*. No. 552 Volume XI December 3rd, 1853 to- No. 615 Volume XII Feb 10th, 1855. George Biggs, London, 1853-1855. pp. 968. [Price 1d].

In 1842, George Biggs launched the *Family Herald*. It was the first of the four highest selling penny fiction magazines of the mid-19th century. Although unillustrated, its format was soon taken up by other publications, among them the *London Journal* (Fig. 29), *Reynolds' Miscellany* and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, all of which added illustrations. The *Family Herald* avoided the sober realism of *Chambers' Journal* and the *Penny Magazine*, while still presenting useful and even scientific information. More importantly, it offered members of the public what they really wanted, fiction, in the form of short stories and novels in serial form. In doing so, they avoided the vulgar realism of Salisbury Square fiction, while at the same time offered an exciting reading experience. Margaret Dalziel argues that *Family Herald* and other middlebrow magazines offered fiction in which the “the characters were not so low born but were middle or upper class” (Dalziel 22). By 1854, Charles Knight estimated that *Family Herald* had a circulation of 300,000 (Dalziel 23). The magazine was sold in weekly penny issues or in annual volumes. It ceased publication in 1940.

Each issue contains a different motto on the masthead. For this edition (No. 552) it reads, “It is possible that a wise and good man may be prevailed upon to gamble; but it is impossible for a professed gamester to be a wise and good man.” The same issue contains verse, a short story, two chapters from serialized novels (chapters IX and X of *Kate Donlavy or the Heiress of Castle Conor*; and no. 90 of *The Fly*). There is also a section addressed “To Correspondents”; a “Certain Cure for Consumption”; “New Publications”; and essay “England Among the Nations”; “Family Matters”; “Scientific and Useful”; “Statistics” (‘The London and North-Western Railway Company frequently receive at the station in Liverpool, in one day, from Ireland alone, upwards of 1,000,000 of eggs.’); as well as “Varieties”; “The Riddler”; and “Random Readings.”

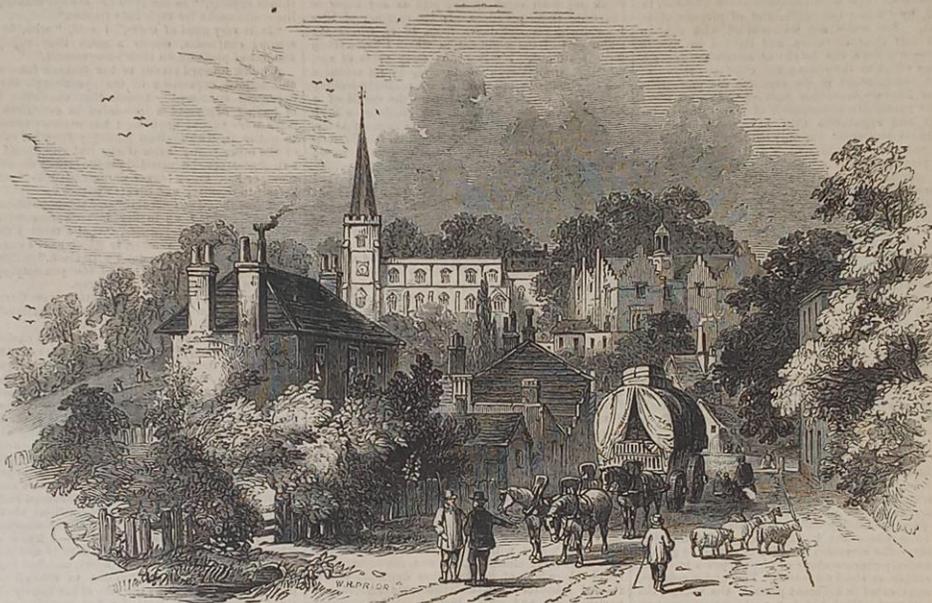
THE
LONDON JOURNAL:

And Weekly Record of Literature, Science and Art.

No. 177. Vol. VII.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 15, 1848.

[PRICE ONE PENNY



[HARROW-ON-THE-HILL]

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL.

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL is a village of undeniable antiquity, and was originally called "Hearges," from the Saxon "Herige," a word that has sometimes been construed to mean a *troop of soldiers*, and at other times a *church*. "Herga-super-Montem" was the old Latin name of this place, which in early English records is called "Harewo-atte-Hulle," or "On the Hill," from which its present appellation is derived. It was a village of some importance previous to the Norman invasion, and has always possessed a considerable claim to notice from the singular beauty of its situation, although the more substantial ground of interest arises from its celebrated Free School, founded in the thirty-third year of Queen Elizabeth (1590) by John Lyon, a wealthy yeoman of the hamlet of Preston in the same parish. The hill on which the village is built rises singly out of an extensive and fertile vale, and is of a somewhat remarkable form, the brow of it being considerably depressed in the centre, and rising into two very conspicuous eminences at the extremes. The approach from London, from which Harrow is ten miles distant, ascends the more southerly of these eminences, the one towards the north being crowned by the church, at the west end of which, on a square tower of considerable elevation, is placed a lofty spire, that renders the whole a conspicuous feature throughout nearly the whole of Middlesex

and several adjoining counties. From the churchyard the prospect is varied, and almost unrivalled in extent and beauty: towards the east it is bounded by the massive domes and towering spires of the metropolis; to the south, the hills of Surrey rise gracefully towards the horizon; the northern range is more confined, being intercepted by the high grounds of Stanmore and Harrow Weald; but towards the west and south-west the eye luxuriates over a range of fertile and beautifully varied country, embracing within its limit the regal towers of Windsor and a considerable portion of the counties of Becks and Buckingham. This elevated and widely-conspicuous situation of the church of Harrow gave occasion to Charles II., of whom Buckingham, with more wit than truth, said, in his proposed epitaph,

"He never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one."

to remark, when some theologians were disputing in his presence concerning the "visible church of God," that he considered the church of Harrow-on-the-Hill would assist them in arriving at a conclusion, as it conveyed to him the clearest idea of the subject of their discussion. The present edifice appears to have been built in the fourteenth century, but there are remains of far more ancient architecture included in the structure, among which is a curious Saxon arch at the bottom of the western

tower, and some circular columns in the interior, dividing the chancel from the nave: the original building of which these vestiges formed part was erected by Archbishop Lanfranc, in the time of William the Conqueror. The present church has once been nearly destroyed by fire, and in March, 1763, the spire was struck by lightning, and upwards of fifteen feet of it speedily consumed.

On the same eminence as the church, and a little below it to the south, stands the Free School of Harrow; a building little calculated by external embellishment to call forth admiration, but which is nevertheless regarded with almost filial veneration by a very considerable proportion of the higher orders of society, and is an object of curiosity and interest to every stranger who in the simple and unostentatious structure contemplates one of the most celebrated public seminaries of classical learning in this country.

Of the founder of Harrow Free School little more is known than that he was a yeoman of considerable wealth. His property, from expressions used by himself in his testamentary papers, appears to have been almost wholly acquired by his own industry, and his gratitude to Divine Providence for his success in life is frequently expressed there in strong terms. He died in 1692, and is buried at the east end of the nave of the parish church. His gravestone is ornamented with his effigy in brass, and bears the following inscription:—

Figure 29: The London Journal. No. 177.

27. *The London Journal: and Weekly Record of Literature, Science and Art*. No. 177. Vol II. For the week ending July 15, 1848. George Vickers: London, England, 1848. 16 pp. in three columns, illustrated. Disbound from a compilation. [Price 1d].

One of the highest selling penny fiction magazines of the mid-19th century, with a weekly circulation, at its height, in the mid-1850s, of over 500,000. The journal was established in 1845 by George Stiff, an engraver and newspaper publisher. *Bookseller* described Stiff as “one of the principal pioneers of illustrated literature in its present form” (ODNB). The early issues were written and edited by the bestselling author G.W.M. Reynolds, who left the journal in 1846 to start his own magazine, *Reynolds’s Miscellany*.

The *London Magazine* was published by George Vickers (1817–1886). Vickers was well known as a publisher of penny magazines and “penny dreadfuls.” *The London Journal* aimed at a more sophisticated readership, one that was more entertaining than the sober *Chambers Journal* and the *Penny Magazine*, while at the same time avoiding the sensational tone and content of Salisbury Square fiction. This particular issue begins with local history, “Harrow-on-the-Hill”; continues with a short story “How Alice Huntingfield Was Lost and Won” by Mrs. White; offers a florid report about a literary group whose members included Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Wordsworth, Godwin and others; a section called “Gems of Thought” includes the following: “Test of Ill Nature ... The first part of a newspaper which an ill-natured man examines is a list of the bankrupts.” There is also verse, several more pieces on local history, a treatise on women and cancer, and a second piece of fiction “Look before You Leap” by Mazeppa. The issue concludes with an essay on the subject of candour, notices to correspondents, as well as advertisements for works published by G. Vickers.

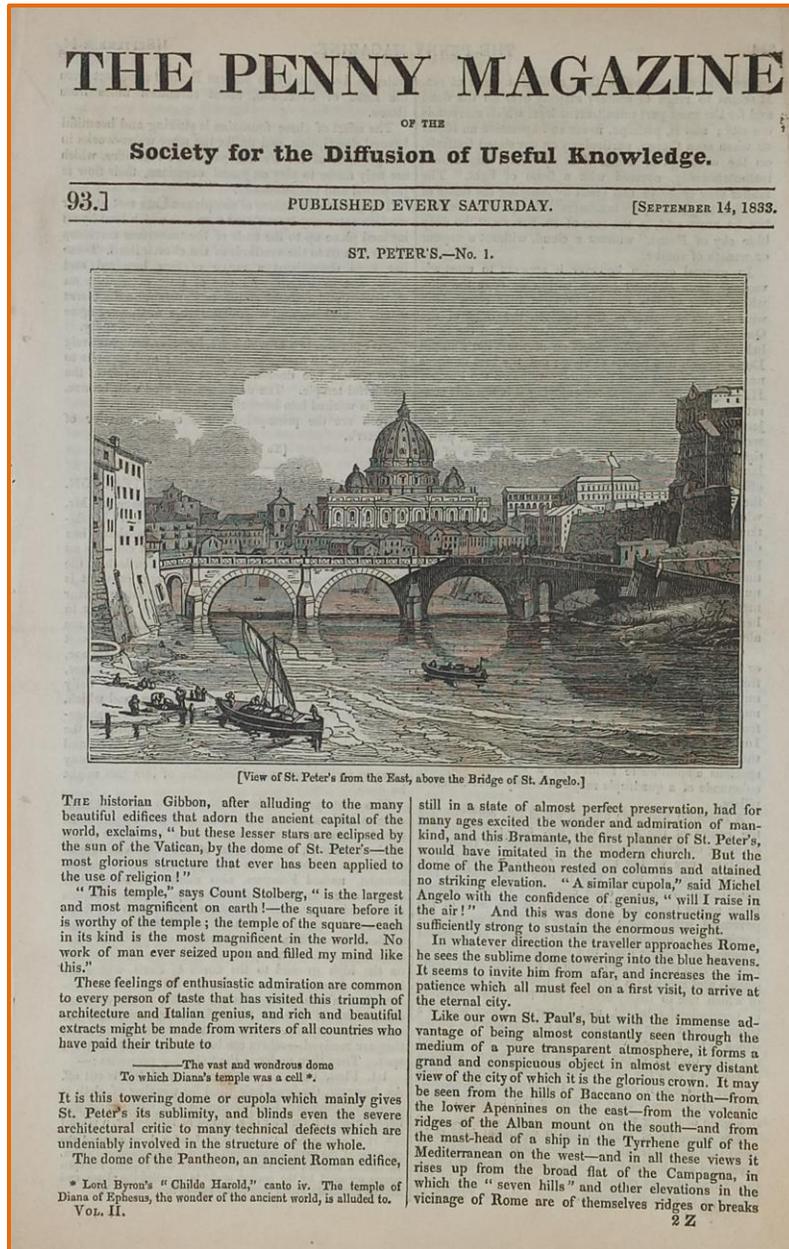


Figure 30: The Penny Magazine. No. 93.

28. *The Penny Magazine* of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. St. Peter's Temple (Part 1), Rome; The Burrowing-Owl and Prairie Dog; The Fountain of The Elephant at Paris, etc. No. 93, September 14, 1833. 8pp. in two columns, illustrated.

In 1826, mainly through the efforts of Lord Brougham, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) was founded with the object of publishing information for people who were unable to obtain formal teaching or who preferred self-education. The Society aimed to publish inexpensive texts that adapted scientific and other intellectual material for the rapidly expanding reading public. In July 1827, writer, publisher, and bibliophile Charles Knight took over the position as reader and superintendent for Society publications.

As an editor, Knight oversaw many publications, but chief among them was the popular *Penny Magazine* (1832–1845). Knight described the magazine as “the most successful experiment in popular literature that England had seen” (ODNB). True to the aims of the Society, the magazine was directed primarily at a working-class readership and served up informative articles on art, literature, natural history, science, history, and biography (but not politics or religion). The magazine also offered secular self-help: encouraging thrift, self-discipline, self-education, and other social and moral desiderata. Although its intended readership was the self-improving artisan, it probably enjoyed a much larger audience among the middle classes than the working class. A key to its success was its lavish illustration. By 1832, it had a circulation of almost 200,000 in weekly numbers and monthly parts, outselling its main rivals *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* and the *Saturday Magazine*. Together with its competitors, the *Penny Magazine* prompted something of a magazine boom. Its popularity was short-lived, however, as it ultimately failed to provide what a rapidly expanding readership most wanted: fiction. In contrast, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, which did offer some fiction, continued to thrive into the 20th century.



Figure 31: The Saturday Magazine. No. 600.

29. *The Saturday Magazine*. No. 600. November 6th, 1841 Vol. XIX. London: John William Parker, West Strand. Published in Weekly Numbers, Price One Penny, and in monthly parts, Price Sixpence, 18, 1841. Disbound magazine. pp.177–84. Illustrated. Front page illustration: “The Milk-Girl. From A Picture By Gainsborough.”

First published in 1832 (to 1844) and bearing the motto “It is not good that the soul be without knowledge,” *The Saturday Magazine* aimed at those among an expanding 19th-century readership who wished to self-educate. It was published by the Committee of General Literature and Education, which was in turn sponsored by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). Under SPCK auspices, the penny-per-copy *Saturday Magazine* offered an alternative to what the Society considered disreputable journals directed at the poorer classes. *The Saturday Magazine* competed with *Penny Magazine* (Fig. 30) and *Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal* for a growing magazine readership. A typical issue contained articles about nature, science, history, and technology. It contained verse but no fiction. Because of the expansion of the British Empire, there was an appetite among English readers for accounts from foreign places. This issue contains an entry entitled “Canadian Foliage.”

“Both the spring and autumnal colouring of the vegetable world are richer and fresher here than at home. Vegetation, long oppressed by a severe winter, bursts at once into luxuriousness and liberty, with the apparent gusto of animal sensation, as if determined to enjoy the genial but transient summer to the utmost. In the autumn the juices are not fried up in the leaves by a slow sereing process, as in England, before they fall off shrivelled and discoloured, but the first smart night-frost in September changes the foliage at once, with much sap still circulating vigorously, into red, brown, yellow, and other tints, as if by a direct chemical or dying operation” (*Trifles from My Portfolio*, 183).

THE
POOR MAN'S GUARDIAN,
A *Weekly Paper*
FOR THE PEOPLE.

PUBLISHED IN DEFIANCE OF "LAW," TO TRY THE POWER
OF "RIGHT" AGAINST "MIGHT."

"TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY, AND OUGHT TO BE RESISTED."



No. 79.] Saturday, December 8, 1832. [Price 1d.

TITHE "REIGN OF TERROR" IN IRELAND.--INSURRECTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE COUNTY OF CORK, &c. &c.

Friends, Brethren, and Fellow-Countrymen,

Talk of Robespierre's "Reign of Terror," indeed! That was but the terror of national justice, its only intended victims were the deadly enemies of France. No virtuous man would have suffered by it, were it not for the intrigues of aristocrats, who plunged every thing into confusion. It was a reign of terror instituted against brigands, traitors, and paricides, for the protection of a new-born Republic, and the man who directed it was a "TYRANT" without an army, without treasures, and whose whole power consisted in the eloquence with which he pleaded the cause of humanity before the tribunal of human reason. But what are we to say of that "reign of terror" in Ireland which has lasted for centuries? What are we to say of a reign of terror which is instituted, not like Robespierre's to prevent public robbery, but to promote it; not for the protection of innocence and industry, but to enable clerical wolves to destroy the one and devour the other? What are we to say of those terrorists who are now scouring some of the most fertile districts of the south of Ireland, with regiments of infantry, troops of cavalry, and parks of artillery, and carrying away the poor man's "corn, hay, and straw, seized on the part of the crown as public property," and housing them in the soldiers' barracks, for the benefit of those whose mission it is to preach "Glory to God, and peace on earth to men of good will?" Pray read the following circular which has been just issued from the Office of Ordnance to the several barrack-masters in Ireland.

"Office of Ordnance, Dublin, Nov. 26.

"Sir--It being the wish of his Majesty's Government that such corn, hay, and straw, as may be seized on account of tithes in Ireland on the part of the Crown, shall receive temporary accommodation in the barracks nearest to the point at which it may be seized, and the Master-General having accordingly desired (as notified in the Hon. Board's order of the 24th inst.) that immediate directions might be given to ensure the fulfilment of this arrangement, it being, however, distinctly understood that this temporary accommodation is to be strictly confined to the corn, hay, and straw, seized on the part of

VOL. 2.

the Crown as public property, which has been already purchased on behalf of the public by the advance to the Clergy, under the Act of last Session of Parliament, and is not to be extended to that seized by individual clergymen or tithe-owners; I am directed by the respective officers to acquaint you therewith, and to request you will afford the temporary accommodation alluded to, in the event of circumstances rendering it necessary, and under the express limitation stated by the Master-General," &c.

Well, if this be not a church militant of apostolic institution, the Devil himself cannot deny that at least it knows something of cannon law. But do, reader, for God's sake, mark the words we have printed in italics---"Seized on the part of the crown as public property, which has been already purchased, on behalf of the public, by the advance to the clergy," &c. &c.

Fellow-Countrymen! we are fairly knocked on the head. This passage absolutely bewilders us, for there is no understanding it without supposing the Governors of Ireland to be such audacious liars and robbers that no honest man ought to hold communion with them. They have been for years denying that tithes were public property, and calling people spoliators for alleging they were, and now they publish in a circular that tithes are to be seized on the part of the crown "as public property!!" God help our ignorance! We foolishly thought that "public property" meant property belonging to the public, and that, as such, the public alone ought to have the controul and appropriation of it. But no such thing! Lord Anglesey's circular shows that "public property"--at least in Ireland--means property which the public must give up to their bitterest enemies, nay, to the Devil himself, should the Anglesey government think proper to seize it for his use!

"Stay, stay, Mr. Guardian, you are misrepresenting the Irish government. There is no inconsistency in their former denial, and present avowal that tithes are public property, for the circular has reference only to those portions of tithe which the government may seize by way of indemnification for the 'advance made to the clergy under the Act of last session of Parliament,' which Act alone has made them public property."

Say "made them the property of the crown rather," (whoever you are that would teach us Whig logic)

Figure 32: The Poor Man's Guardian. Vol. 2. No. 79.

30. *The Poor Man's Guardian. A Weekly Paper for the People*. Editor: Henry Hetherington. [London]:13, Kingsgate St. Holborn, Saturday, December 8, 1832. Vol. 2. No. 79. 4 pp. [Price 1d].

Henry Hetherington (1792–1849) was an English printer, bookseller, publisher, and newspaper proprietor who campaigned for social justice, a free press, universal suffrage, and religious freethought. Together with his close associates William Lovett, John Cleave, and James Watson, Hetherington was a leading member of numerous co-operative and radical groups, including the Owenite British Association for the Promotion of Co-operative Knowledge, the National Union of the Working Classes, and the London Working Men's Association. He was a leader of the “moral” wing of the Chartist movement and a supporter of pro-democracy movements in other countries. In 1831, he began publishing *The Poor Man's Guardian*. As proprietor of the paper, Hetherington defied the stamp law, which many considered a tax on knowledge. The tax was first introduced in 1712. By 1819, when a 4d tax was applied to all journals issued on a regular basis, it had become prohibitive to mass circulation: The motto of *The Poor Man's Guardian* was “Taxation without representation is tyranny, and ought to be resisted.” In place of the government's red stamp (indicating that tax had been paid), Hetherington printed the logo seen to the right of the masthead in Figure 32. Hetherington played a major role in the “War of the Unstamped” and was imprisoned three times for refusing to pay the newspaper stamp duty. The *Poor Man's Guardian* was one of as many as 500 publications that circulated unstamped. Hetherington also published other illegal papers, including the *Republican* (1831–1832), the “*Destructive*” and *Poor Man's Conservative* (1833–1834), *Hetherington's Twopenny Dispatch*, and the *People's Police Register* (1834–1836). *The Poor Man's Guardian* ceased publication in 1835. The following year the stamp tax was reduced from 4d to 1d.

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces? 19th-Century Popular Literature

Cheap Editions: Yellowbacks, Railway Books, and the Aesthetic Backlash

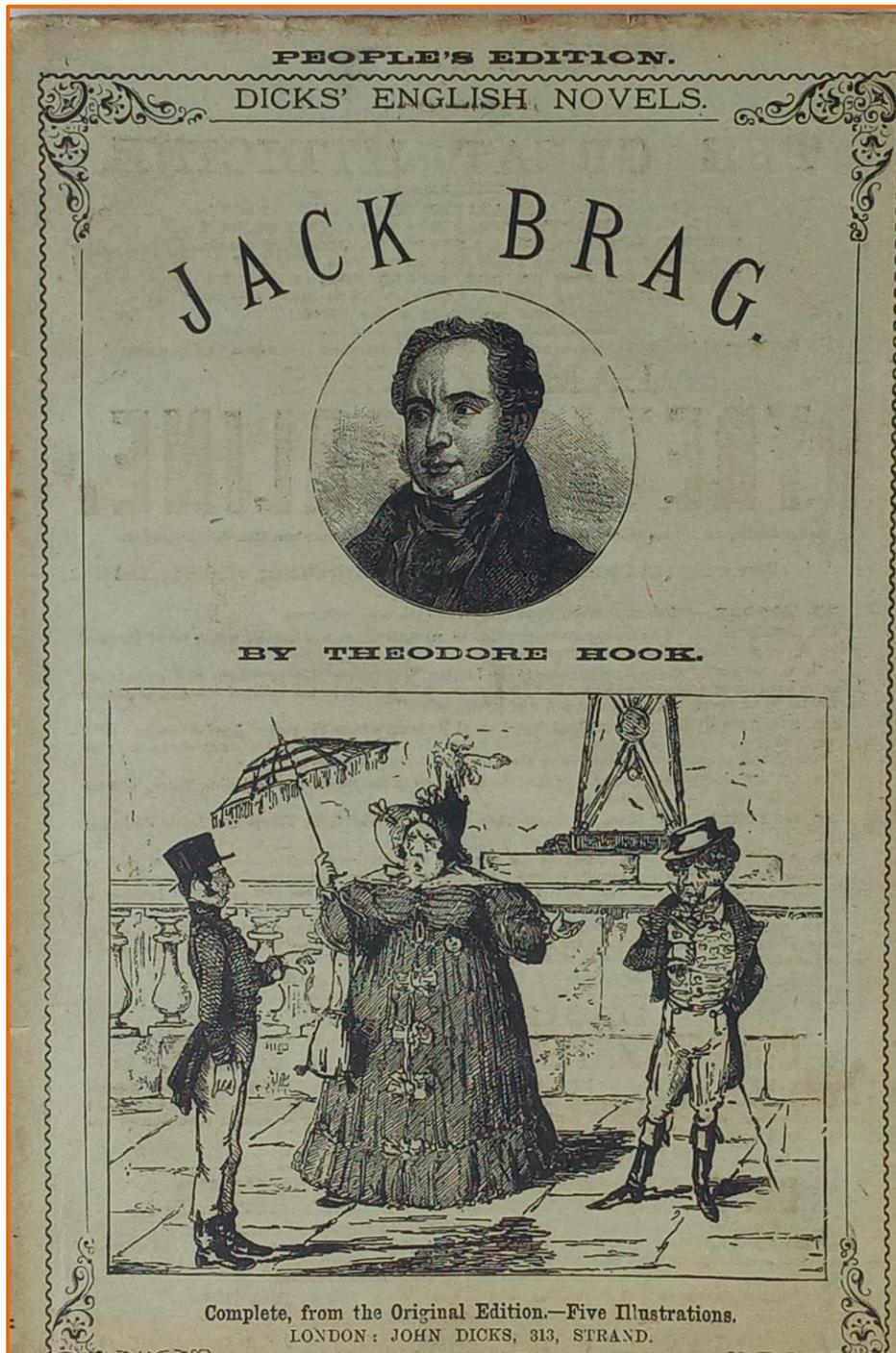


Figure 33: Jack Brag from Dicks' English Novels.

31. Hook, Theodore. *Jack Brag*. London: John Dicks, [nd]. From the series *Dicks' English Novels* (People's Edition). 122 pp. in two columns, with five black and white illustrations and six pages of advertisements, in illustrated green paper wrappers. [Price 6d].

Theodore Edward Hook is described in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* as a writer and hoaxer. His most celebrated hoax took place in 1810 when he bet that he could make a random house the most talked about in London. "Having falsely ordered a range of goods and sent out bogus invitations to dignitaries and notables, Hook and his accomplices watched from a room opposite as wagonloads of coal from the Paddington wharves, upholsterers' goods in cartloads, organs, pianofortes, linen, jewellery, and all types of furniture arrived in unison at the woman's Berners Street door. The lord mayor of London, governor of the Bank of England, chairman of the East India Company, and the duke of Gloucester were equally tricked into making an appearance. An amused crowd blocked the street for the entire day; yet, although he was suspected, Hook escaped without his involvement being proved" (ODNB). In addition to being a prankster, Hook wrote librettos, songs, and farces and later became editor of several magazines, including the satirical magazine *John Bull*. He also produced novellas and novels, including *Jack Brag* (1826), a satire on freeloading.

John Thomas Dicks (*bap.* 1818, *d.* 1881) published sensational fiction but also cheap editions of the classics. Teaming up in the 1850s with the writer George Reynolds made Dicks one of the most successful publishers in London. In the 1860s, taking advantage of increased literacy among the poorer classes, as well as increased leisure time, Dicks began reprinting cheap versions of novels, plays, "classics," and miscellaneous material. His imprints included *Dicks' English Novels* (6d per volume), *Dicks' Waverly Novels*, *Dicks' Shakespeare*, and *Dicks' Standard Plays*. The series *Dicks' English Novels* ran to approximately 240 titles.

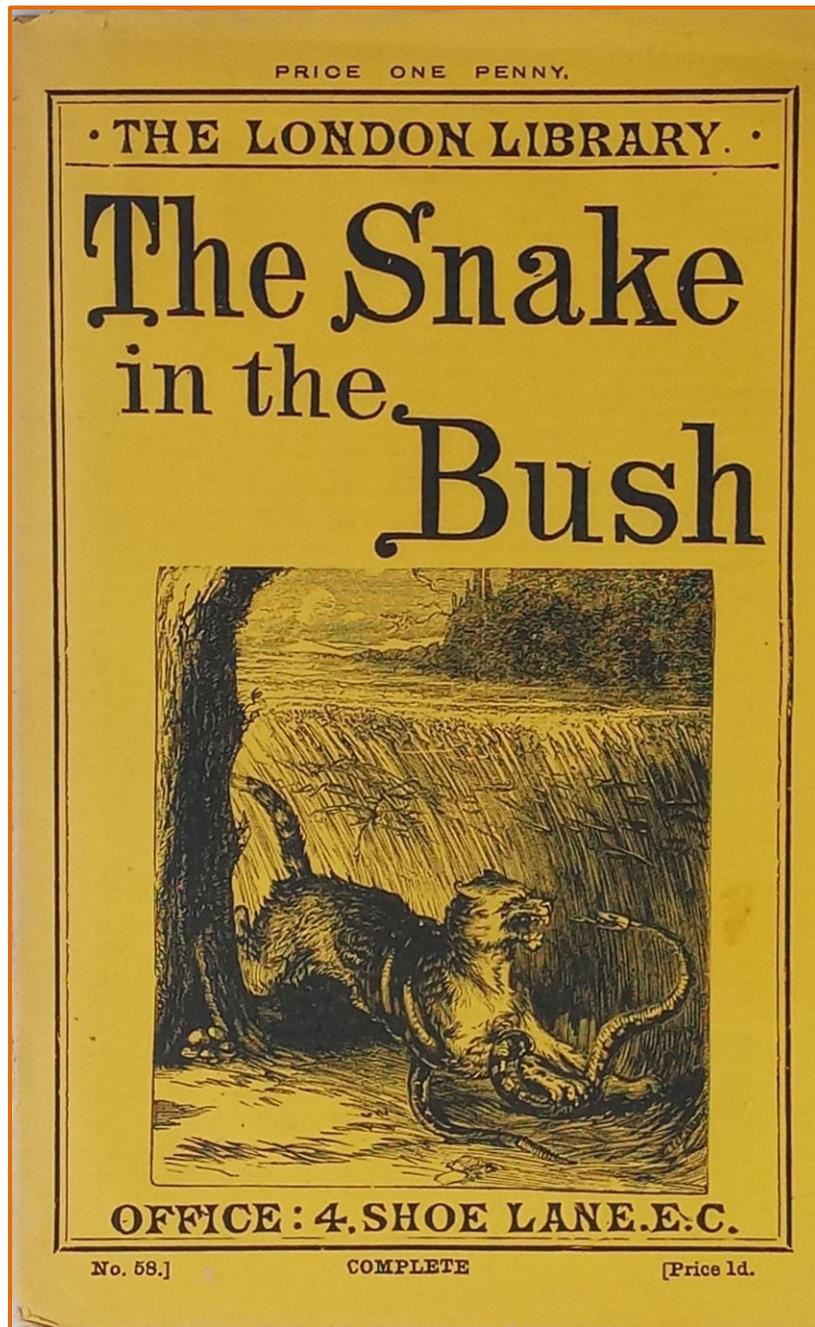


Figure 34: The Snake in the Bush, from the London Library series.

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces? 19th-Century Popular Literature

32. *The Snake in the Bush*. No. 58 in The London Library series. London: J & R Maxwell; George Vickers. [nd]. 8vo, 32 pp. In original yellow printed wraps, with engraving on front.

33. *The Guerilla Spy*. No. 64 in The London Library series. London: J & R Maxwell; George Vickers. [n.d.] 8vo, 32 pp. In original yellow printed wraps, with engraving on front.

Two examples of “pamphlet,” or “yellow back,” or “penny dreadful,” or “railway literature” from the latter half of the 19th century. They are essentially short stories. *The Snake in the Bush* tells the American tale of Tim Timberlick, “whom everybody liked except Indians, for in past years he had made many of them bite the leaves” and whose “ranch was well known to hunters, trappers, and miners.” *The Guerrilla Spy* is an American Civil War story about the life and confession of Henry C. Magruder, the original “Sue Munday, the scourge of Kentucky.” According to Richard Altick, one of the difficulties for publishers of “yellow backs was that there were not enough copyrights to go around. A select number of firms held reprint rights to their most popular authors. The solution was to reprint contemporary American literature, which until 1891 was largely unprotected under British law” (Altick 300). Both copies are unopened and both contain advertisements for The London Library series in the back pages. “In Penny Numbers, every Number a Complete Story, containing Thirty-two Pages of well-printed matter, in book size, folded into an Illustrated Wrapper.” Both were priced at 1d. Bound compilations of the series could be had for 8d. The two copies listed above may not be part of the original London Library series printed in the 1860s, but may be reprints issued in the 1880s by J & R Maxwell.

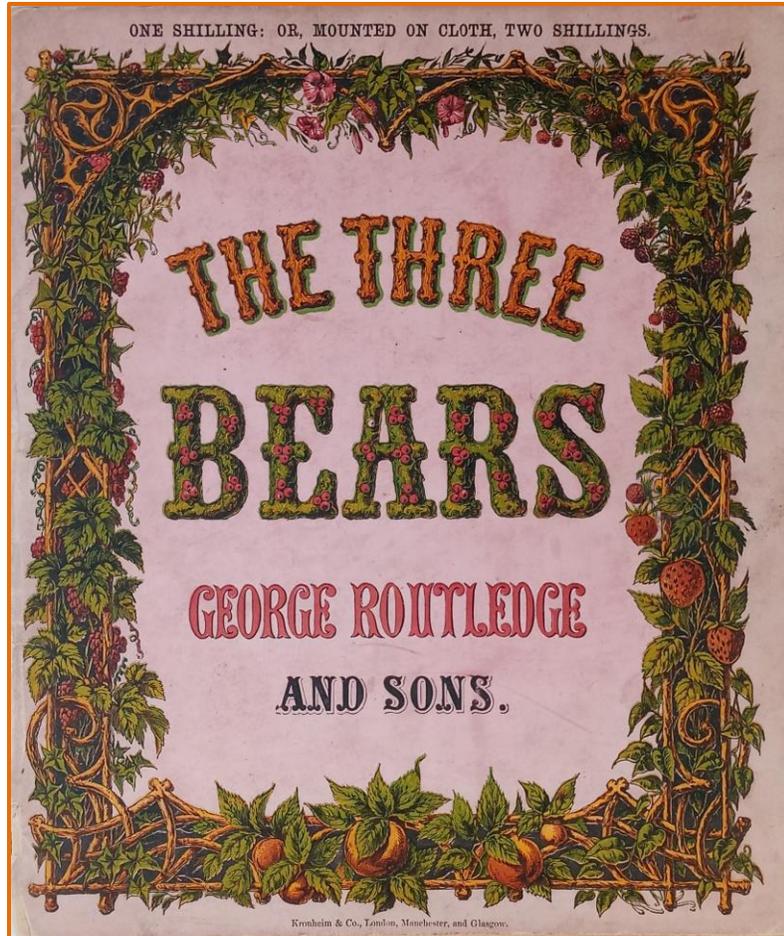


Figure 35: The Three Bears cover, 1872.

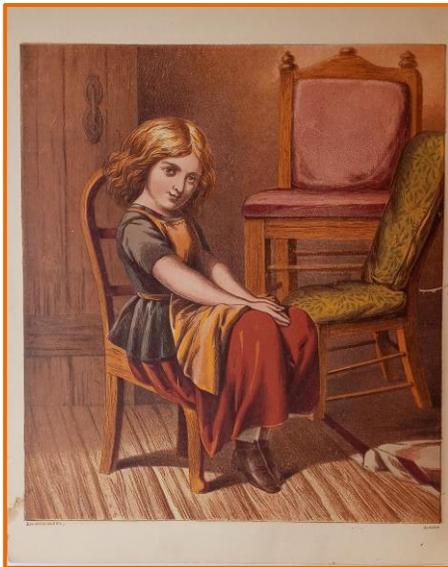


Figure 36: Goldilocks, from the Three Bears.



Figure 37: The Three Bears.

34. Anon. *The Three Bears*. Routledge's New Series of Shilling Toy Books. [London]: George Routledge and Sons, [1872]; 6pp of text, with 6 full-page colour illustrations by H.S. Marks, J. D. Watson, H. Weir, and F. Keyl. Cover in decorative light pink stiff paper wraps, with a decorative "wood font" border around title.

The railway boom in the mid-19th century was a publishing opportunity for many. Among them was George Routledge (1812–1888), who essentially built his publishing empire on cheap reprints. The first of his cheap reprint series was his *Railway Library*, launched in 1848 and consisting of American editions. Many other reprint series followed. Routledge was at the forefront of those who understood the value of illustrations in their publications. He promoted collaboration between the artist Walter Crane and the colour printer Edmund Evans, so that Crane's pictures appeared in children's stories, collections of poetry, and in the "yellowbacks" sold in bookshops and railway stalls. In the 1860s, he added *Routledge's New Series of Shilling Toy Books*.

According to the *Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, "toy book" is a "term used particularly for a type of picture book which became popular in Britain in the mid-19th century. The format was eventually standardized and consisted of a large, almost square page (often 26 × 22 cm.), with six or eight colour pages sometimes interspersed with pages of text (though usually there was very little reading matter). The covers were of paper and the original pricing was generally sixpence, or a shilling for an 'indestructible' version 'printed on linen.'" In the case of Routledge's *The Three Bears*, the price was "one shilling; or, mounted on cloth, two shillings." Colour was a main selling point in toy books. The subject matter was usually folk tales and rhymes. According to Routledge, toy books required large print orders to keep their price low; he claimed that he could only make a profit on a title if he sold more than 50,000 copies. Collections of toy books were often bound up and sold as one volume.

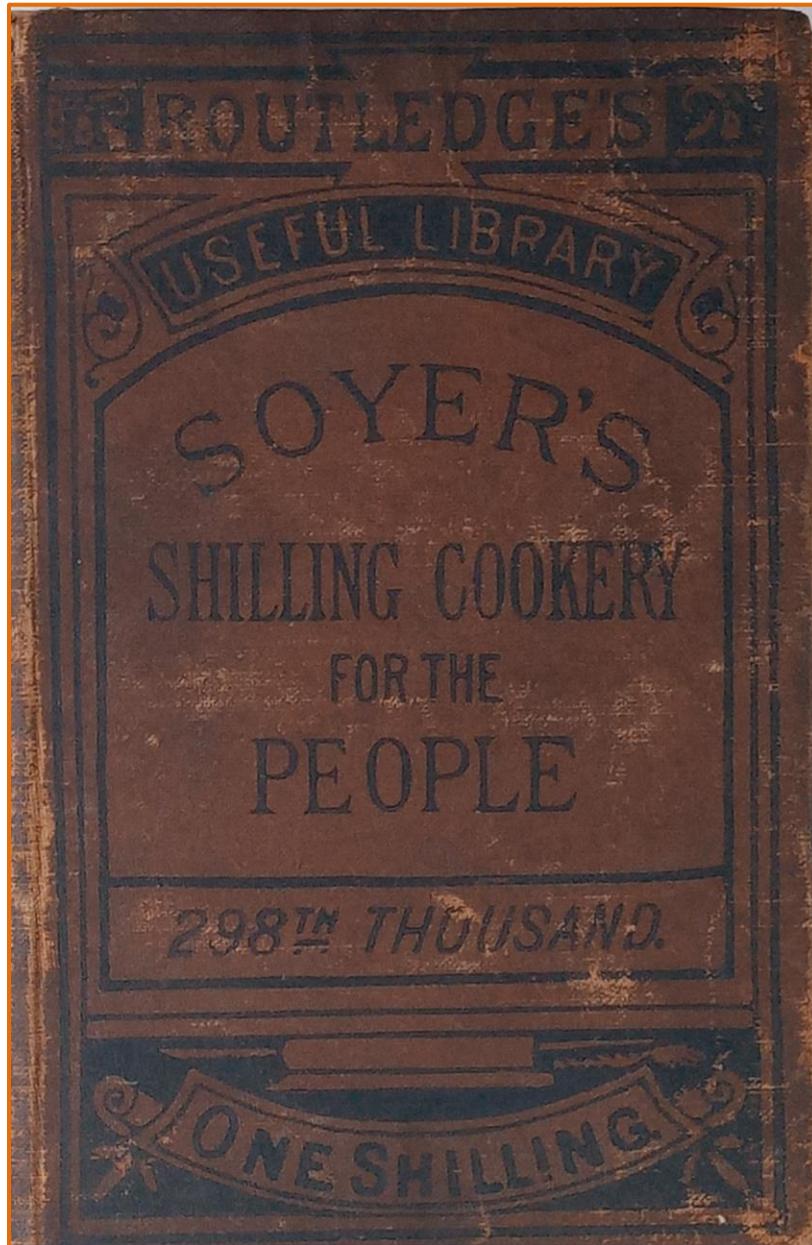


Figure 38: Soyer's Shilling Cookery for the People.

35. Soyer, Alexis. *Shilling Cookery for the People: Embracing an Entirely New System of Plain Cookery and Domestic Economy*. London: George Routledge and Sons, [1855].

Alexis Soyer was born near Paris in 1810. He later apprenticed as a cook before moving to England in 1831, and for the next six years worked at several great houses. In 1837, he became chef at the Reform Club in Pall Mall. As his reputation grew, he produced a number of books, including *Délassements Culinaires* (1845), followed in 1846 by *The Gastronomic Regenerator*, written primarily for the grander households with a kitchen staff. In 1847, he was asked to go to Ireland, where he set up soup kitchens to aid famine relief. On his return to London, he published *Soyer's Charitable Cookery, or, The Poor Man's Regenerator* (1848), which sold for 6d, with 1d being returned to the poor fund. *Shilling Cookery for the People* followed in 1855, designed for the working classes who could not afford elaborate kitchen utensils or large amounts of exotic ingredients. It contained basic recipes for plain dishes, boiled meats, sweet and savoury puddings, offal, and leftovers. *Shilling Cookery for the People* is part of the Routledge's Useful Library series.

“My Dear Eloise,—Since the alteration in our circumstances I have learnt to practice the most rigid economy, which you will remark in this receipt. When I buy a hare, as I sometimes do, for two shillings, skinning it myself, and selling the skin for fourpence; I save all the blood in a pie dish, take out the heart and liver, removing the gall; I then cut the hare in two, across the back, close to the last ribs, and cut this part into pieces, using it for soup, and the hindparts I keep for roasting the following day. Hare soup.—I then proceed as for a giblet soup, only using half a pound of either veal, beef, or mutton, cut into dice, and put in a box with the hare. Fifteen minutes before serving, I mix the blood with the heart and liver, which I have chopped fine, and boil it up ten minutes; skim and serve. The addition of a little brown sugar and a glass of port wine is an improvement; if no wine, a little stout or porter will improve it. It ought to be of a dark brown colour, for which use colouring.”

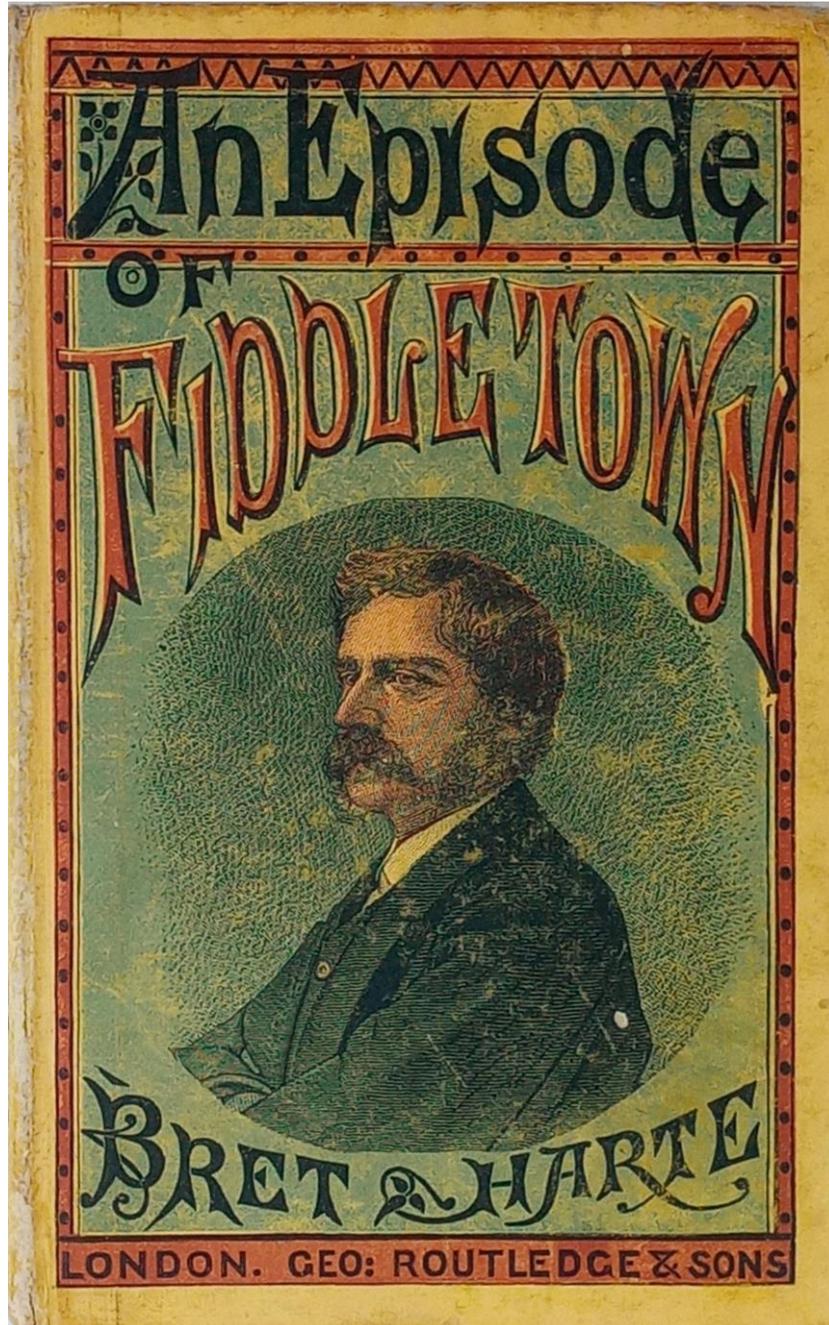


Figure 39: Harte: An Episode of Fiddletown and Other Sketches.

36. Harte, Bret. *An Episode of Fiddletown and Other Sketches. With a Memoir*. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1873. xix, 138 pp.

Born in Albany, New York, Bret Harte (1836–1902) moved west as a young man. In the early 1850s, he took a job as printer's devil for the newspaper the *Northern Californian*, often filling in blank space with his own stories and verses. "His stories and verse would scorn the greed, corruption, lawlessness, brutality, and hypocrisy of miners and ministers, bankers and sheriffs, merchants and politicians. Gamblers, prostitutes, and other social outcasts, open in their ways, were by contrast more worthy ... Irony with a realistic texture, yet softened by sentimentality, was the hallmark of Harte's style" (ONDB). When his reputation faded in the US, he moved first to Germany in 1878 and later to Glasgow, where he continued to write about the frontier west.

The railway boom of the 1840s and 1850s in England transformed the distribution of books and periodicals and affected patterns of publishing and of reading. At the WH Smith bookstalls in railway stations, a reader could pick up the latest "yellowback," the leading publisher of which was Routledge. Their cheap railway library editions were bound in yellow paper and furnished an illustration on the upper cover and an advertisement on the lower cover. This issue contains the "Routledge Railway Library Advertiser" pasted in the front and back, as well as a partial Routledge "Railway Catalogue." One of the difficulties in yellowback publishing was that there were not enough copyrights to go around. The solution for many publishers was to reprint American literature, which until 1891 was largely unprotected under British law. Interestingly, this Routledge edition claims to be the "Author's copyright edition," perhaps in hopes of trading on the author's reputation.

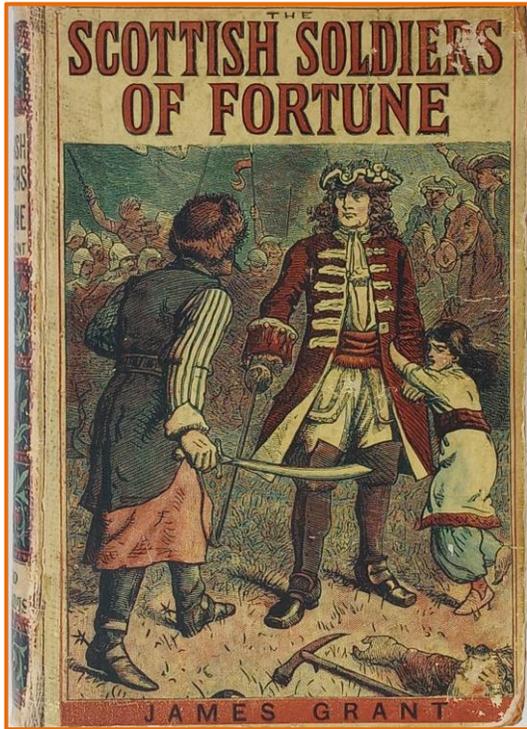


Figure 40: Grant: The Scottish Soldiers of Fortune.

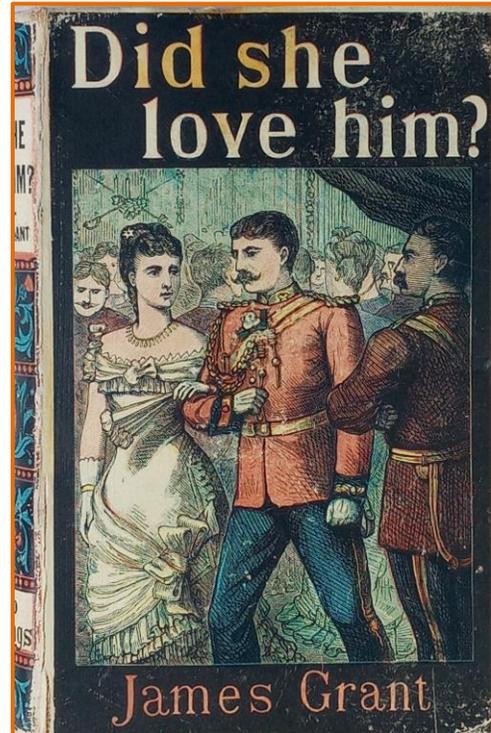


Figure 41: Grant: Did She Love Him?

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces? 19th-Century Popular Literature

37. Grant, James. *The Scottish Soldiers of Fortune: Their Adventures and Achievements in the Armies of Europe*. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1890.

38. Grant, James. *Did She Love Him?* London: George Routledge, 1883. Reissue of Railway Library No. 712.

James Grant (1822–1887) was a Scottish novelist and amateur historian. His father, John Grant, a captain in the Gordon Highlanders, was posted to Newfoundland in 1833, where he lived with his family for six years. James Grant's first novel was the four-volume *Romance of War* (1845), which described adventures of the Gordon Highlanders. The work was based on stories told to him by his father. His earliest novels were extremely popular and he went on to write over 50 works of fiction as well as historical works. The first edition of *Did She Love Him?* was published by the Tinsley Brothers in three volumes and appeared in 1876. The first edition of *The Scottish Soldiers of Fortune* was published in cloth in 1888, the year after Grant's death.

These two editions are both cheap “yellowback” editions issued by Routledge. The railway boom of the 1840s and 1850s in England transformed the distribution of books and periodicals and affected patterns of publishing and of reading. Cheap railway library editions were bound in yellow paper and furnished an illustration on the upper cover and an advertisement on the lower cover. This yellowback edition of *The Scottish Soldiers of Fortune* has an advertisement for Pears' Soap on the back cover and “Routledge's Railway Library Advertiser. Eleventh Issue.” on the endpapers. *Did She Love Him?* contains advertisements in the front papers for 1s novels: “Books for the Country,” “Routledge's Sixpenny Miniature Library,” “Routledge's Shilling Song Books,” and “Routledge's Sixpenny Song Books.” The endpapers contain a six-page catalogue advertising various fiction and non-fiction series. The back cover bears advertisements for “Dr. Rooke's Oriental Pills and Solar Elixir” and “Crosby's Balsamic Cough Elixir.”

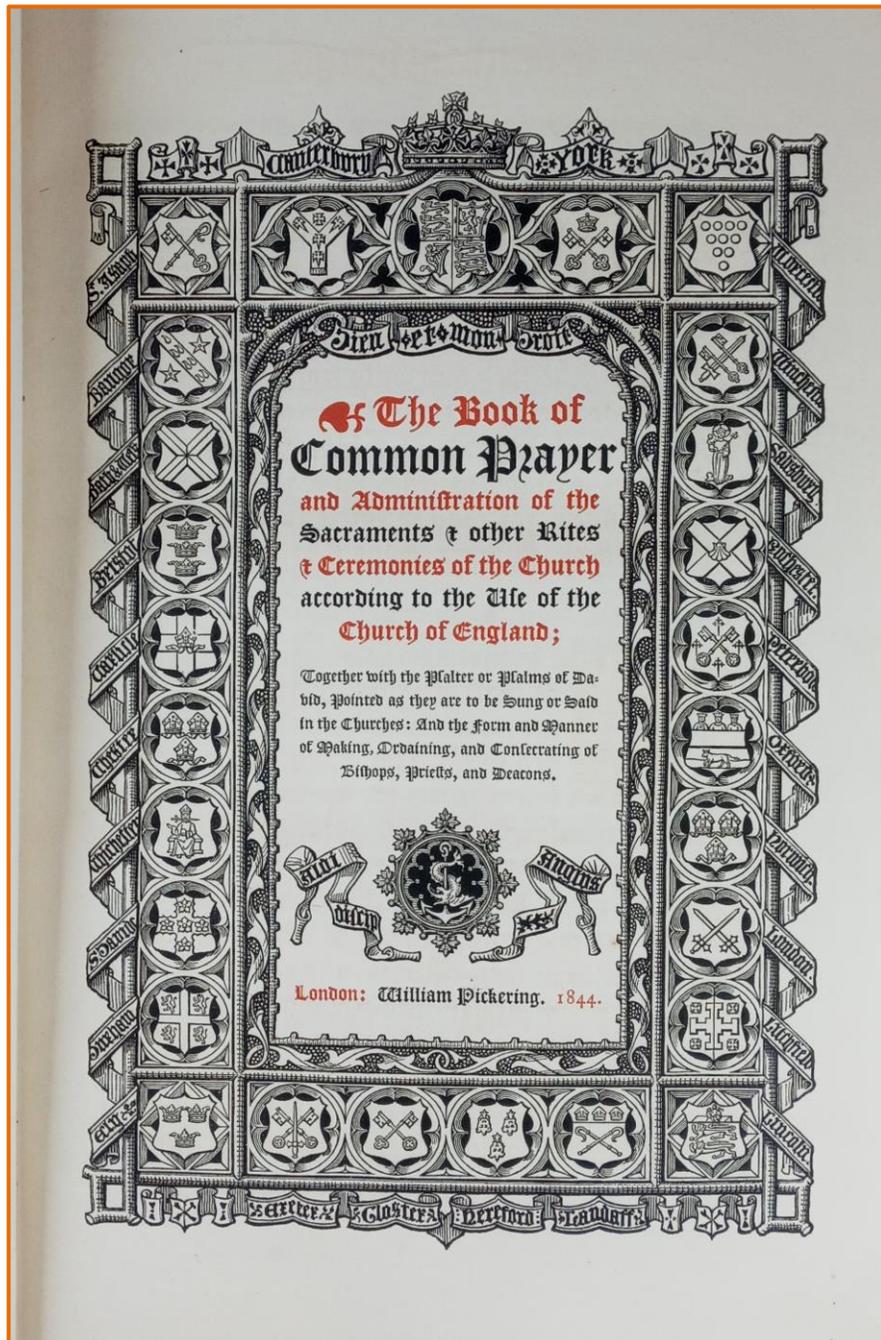


Figure 42: The Book of Common Prayer. London: William Pickering, 1844.

39. *The Book of Common Prayer*. London: William Pickering, 1844.

According to scholar and book collector Dr. Roger Peattie, 20th-century narratives around William Morris contend that he single-handedly rescued the book from the aesthetic depravities of 19th-century mass publishing. The Roger and Marlene Peattie Collection at Memorial University Libraries contains many works which dispute this narrative: “the richly harmonious books of Noel Humphreys and Owen Jones, the strikingly appropriate colour printing and page layout in Edmund Evans’s books, the polychromatic splendour of High Victorian book covers, and the austere, modern achievement of Rossetti’s bindings” (Peattie 18–19). In fact, as far back as the 1830s, publisher William Pickering and printer Charles Whittingham the Younger were producing aesthetically beautiful and well-made books. Dr. Peattie contends that “*The Book of Common Prayer* (1844), printed in an antique style on handmade paper, is one of the most handsome books of the century” (Peattie 18–19).

Charles Whittingham (1767–1840) the Younger was the nephew of printer Charles Whittingham (1795–1876), who pioneered the earliest iron Stanhope hand-presses in England.

Whittingham chose to follow his uncle in retaining the iron hand-press and concentrating on the production of small editions known for both their design and presswork. Throughout his career, Whittingham developed a base of customers who shared his aesthetic concerns. Perhaps the most influential was the bookseller and publisher William Pickering. In 1830, Pickering engaged Whittingham and was soon providing the printer with over half his business. In 1844, Whittingham printed *The Book of Common Prayer*, the last of seven folio prayer books published by William Pickering (1796–1854), six being historical reprints and an 1844 version for contemporary use. Whittingham printed the work in red and black Gothic type, with a wood-engraved border on the title page, probably designed by Mary Byfield. With Pickering, Whittingham experimented with typography, and their work led to the revival of the old-face roman types of William Caslon. Whittingham also became known for colour printing from woodblocks. He produced several books for antiquary and illuminator Henry Shaw (1800–1873), including his 1842 *Encyclopedia of Ornament*.

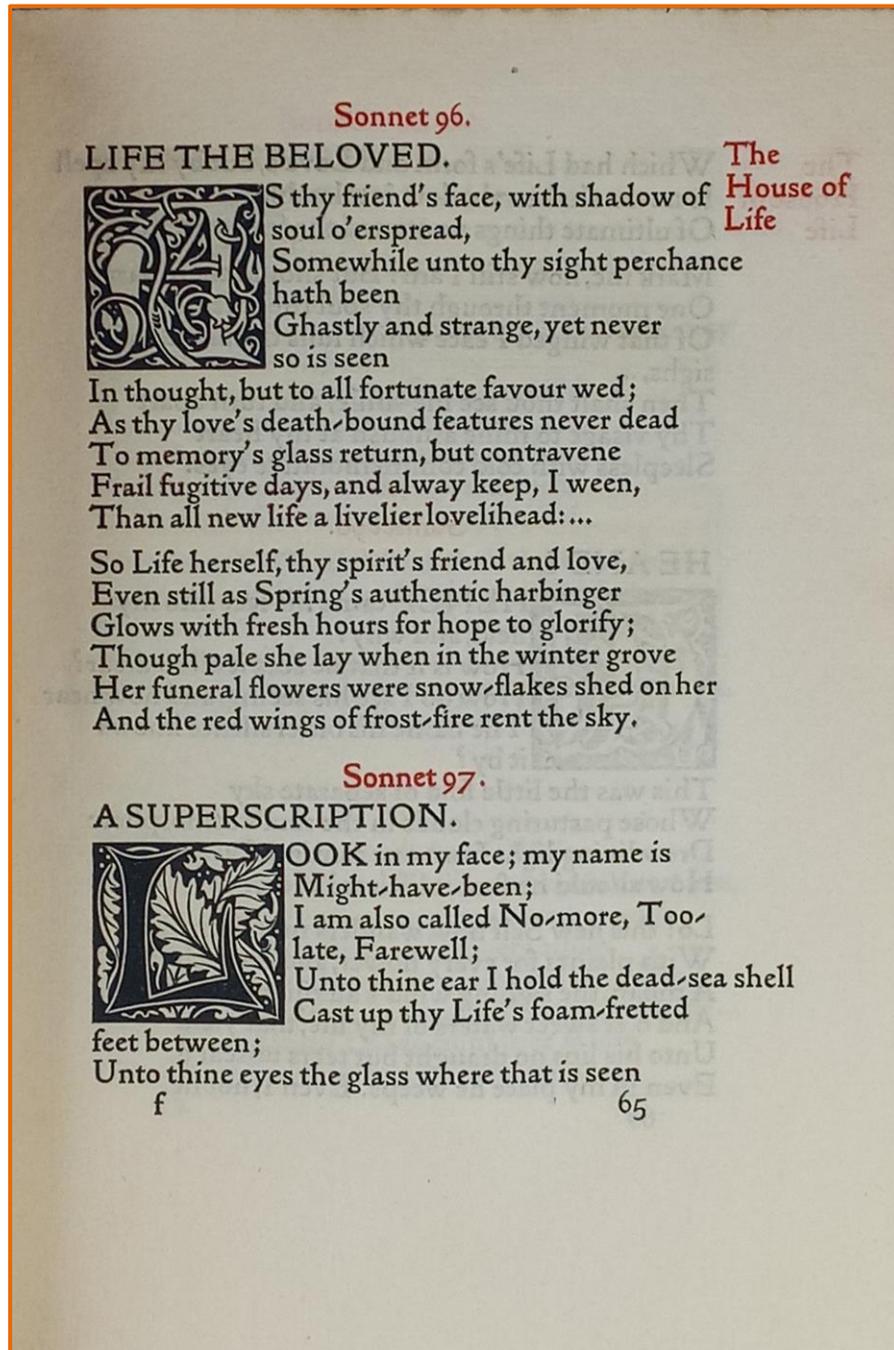


Figure 43: Rossetti: Sonnets and Lyrical Poems, 1894.

40. Rossetti, Dante Gabriel. *Sonnets and Lyrical Poems*. Hammersmith: The Kelmscott Press for Ellis & Elvey, 1894. With woodcut title borders and many woodcut initials designed by William Morris. x, 197 pp. Large 8vo. Binding: limp vellum with 2 silk ties and with gilt-lettered spine.

William Morris (1834–1896) was a designer, author, and visionary socialist. In 1892, he founded the Kelmscott Press, which soon became the most famous small press of the 19th century. Morris sought to produce books that would be “a pleasure to look upon as pieces of printing and arrangements of type” (ODNB). He looked to both the Medieval and Renaissance periods for design exemplars. Morris designed his own types and ornaments, drawing inspiration for his roman style Golden Type (used in *Sonnets and Lyrical Ballads*) from 15th-century printer Nicholas Jensen, and drew on manuscript and early modern examples of gothic script for his blackletter “Troy” and “Chaucer” fonts. Kelmscott books often have elaborately designed title pages and can include border decorations throughout. According to Dr. Roger Peattie, “for all 66 Kelmscott Press books, Morris designed the borders, initials and types, prepared the inks, chose the handmade paper and binding, and supervised the printing” (Peattie 18–19). The Kelmscott Press was active between 1891 and 1898. Although short-lived, the Press had enormous influence on the private presses that followed in its wake. Toward the end of the century, Laurence Housman, the brother of poet A.E. Housman, designed books which brought many of Morris’s Kelmscott ideals into the world of commercial publishing, including John Lane’s Bodley Head, the Vale Press, and Macmillan. As well as sparking the private press movement that continues to this day, Kelmscott-inspired design aesthetics soon found their way into mass market and cheaply published series books.

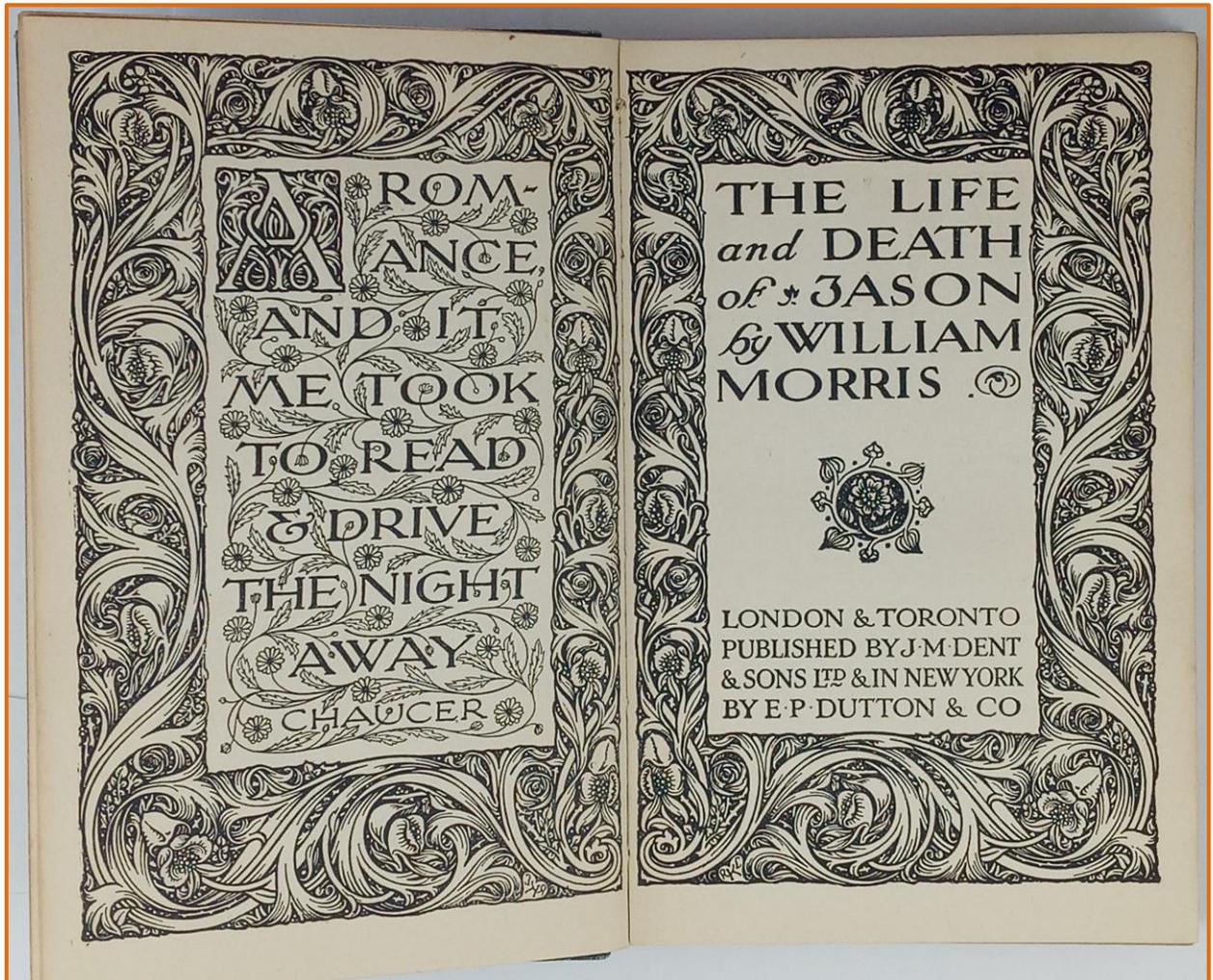


Figure 44: Morris: The Life and Death of Jason.

41. Morris, William. *The Life and Death of Jason*. London: J.M. Dent; New York: E.P. Dutton, 1911.

J.M. (Joseph Malaby) Dent (1849–1926) began his career in London as a bookbinder, moving into the publishing trade in 1889. Under the name J.M. Dent & Co., he worked to improve the standards of trade book production. He established his name with the *Temple Library* limited-edition series, which included uniform editions of the great English novelists. Dent soon recognized an enormous potential demand for cheap classics among self-educated readers. In 1906, he began his greatest project, a 1,000-volume uniform edition of world literature that sold for 1s per volume. His editor was Ernest Rhys, who proposed the name *Everyman's Library*. The influence of Kelmscott Press could be seen on the design of books in the series, particularly on covers, title pages, and endpapers. The demand for *Everyman's Library* was so great that Dent had to build the Temple Press, a new production facility. One hundred and fifty-two volumes were produced in the first year. The early *Everyman* volumes were reprints of out-of-copyright texts, and included Greek, Roman, English, American, and western European classics, but also the Russian classics, the great books of India, as well as works from a wide range of female novelists. Dent retired in 1924, with family members taking over the business. By 1939, more works by 20th-century authors were included. In 1956, the 50th anniversary was marked by the publication of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* as the 1000th book in the series. Between 1906 and 1975, the series sold over 60 million copies.

Who Will Brighten Their Grave Faces? 19th-Century Popular Literature

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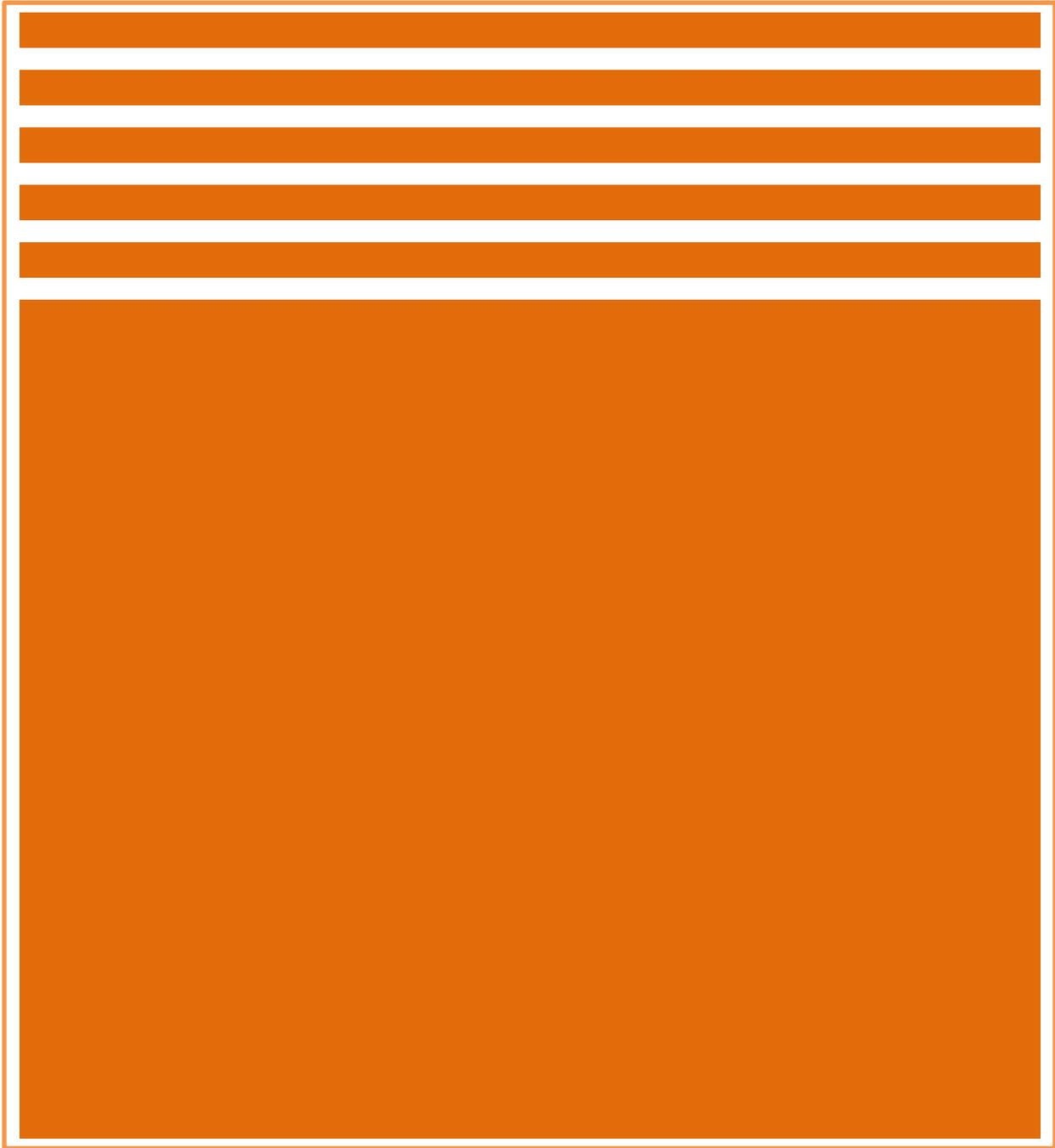
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