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Communities of Communication II

Newspapers and Periodicals in Britain and Ireland from 1800 to 1900

10-11 September 2015, Edinburgh UK

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Dear Colleagues...

Welcome to the Communities of Communication II conference.

This year's conference looks at a broad range of themes and methodological approaches to researching the nineteenth-century press. We have a jam-packed schedule of exciting papers on offer over the next two days. The sessions will prove tremendously valuable in thinking about current and proposed directions in this field.

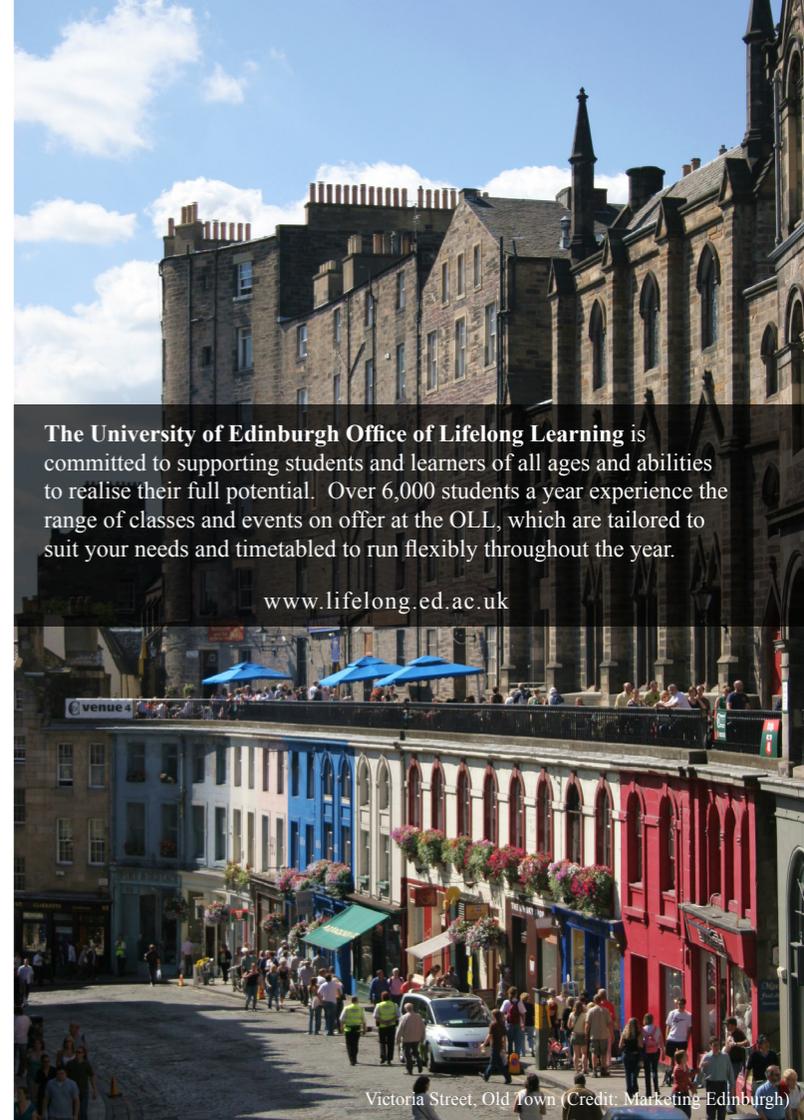
This is the second of a three conference series aimed at mapping current research in British and Irish press history from 1650 to the present day. The first one, held in Sheffield last year, covered twentieth-century aspects of the press. The third conference, to be held in Dublin in 2016, will cover pre-1800 topics. The results of all three conferences will inform a planned three-volume history of British and Irish newspapers and periodicals commissioned by Edinburgh University Press. I look forward to the results.

Professor David Finkelstein
Head of the Office of Lifelong Learning



Conference discussions, share ideas and articles:

#ccii2015



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Programme: Thursday 10 September 2015

Venue: 50 George Square, University of Edinburgh			
Lecture Theatre (Rm. G.03)	Screening Room (Rm. G.04)	Project Room (Rm. 1.06)	
08.30-09.00	Registration & arrival coffee		
09.00-09.20	Welcome & Opening Address (Lecture Theatre: Rm. G.03)		
09.20-10.40	International Press Dimensions	Press Content & Structure	Visual Cultures
	D. Bragg p6 S. Wadso Lecaros p6 S. Kidd p7	J. Wilkie p7 S. Harrison p8	G. Belknap p9 E. Hickey p9 R. Roberto p10
10.40-12.00	The Penny Press	Regional Press Identities	Press & Periodical Editors
	L. Warwick p11 S. Basdeo p11 E. Tilley p12	A. Hobbs p12 R. Matthews p13 A. Jackson p13	F. Nesta p14 C. King p14 J. Phegley p15
12.00-13.00	Lunch		
13.00-14.20	Oscar Wilde	Irish Press I	Advertising & Readership
	M. O'Connor p16 E. Fitzsimons p16 C. Colligan p17	J. O'Donnell p17 J. Allen p18 M. Foley p18	P. Robinson p19 T. Smits p20 K. Brombley p20
14.20-15.40	Gender Dynamics	Irish Press II	Theoretical Directions
	N. Moroney p21 B. Harrison p21	F. Larkin p22 J. O'Donovan p22 D. O'Keefe p23	P. March p23 G. Kemp p24 B. Wall p25
15.40-16.10	Afternoon coffee		
16.10-17.30	Authorial Identity	Readership	
	S. Robinson p26 E. Bowles p26 J. Shattock p27	S. Pooley p28 F. Milton p28 P. Rooney p29	
Venue: National Library of Scotland			
18.00-19.00	Beyond the Fragments: Researching the Digitalised Victorian Newspaper Keynote by Professor Aled Gruffydd Jones		
19.00-20.00	Wine Reception		

Programme: Friday 11 September 2015

Venue: 50 George Square, University of Edinburgh			
Lecture Theatre (Rm. G.03)	Screening Room (Rm. G.04)	Room G.01	
09.00-09.20	Arrival coffee		
09.20-10.40	Press & Periodical Genres I	Press & Policies	Space & Time in Press Contexts
	B. Newman p30 S. Frampton p30 M. Wale p31	A. Boughey p31 B. Nicholson p32 V.J. Clarke p32	A. Suliman p33 R. Campbell p34 M. Palmer p34
10.40-12.00	Resources, Mobility & Technology	Irish Famine & Land Reform	Press & Periodical Genres II
	M. Knies p35 H. Williams p35 J. North p36	A. Rieley p36 D. Logan p37 P. Maume p37	G. Hodgson p38 M. Masterson p38 B. Thornbury p39
12.00-13.00	Lunch		
13.00-14.00	Round-table & conference conclusion		

INFORMATION

Presentation Format

Presentations are to be 20-minutes in length.

Questions will be taken thereafter.

A chairperson has been appointed to each panel, and is responsible for timekeeping and conducting the Q&A session.

Equipment

Each room is fitted with a Windows PC or laptop connected to a data projector and screen, as well as audio speakers. Presenters are welcome to use Powerpoint or other digital visual media. These devices will also be connected to the internet.

You may transfer your presentation via USB drive. Each presenter will be required to upload their presentation before the panel begins. The University of Edinburgh cannot be accountable for misplaced USB drives.

Where possible, assistance will be available. Please indicate to these assistants if your presentation includes an audio or video clip (requiring sound).

WiFi

You will be asked during registration if you require access to the University's 'Central' WiFi network. You will receive a temporary account for log-in, and can use for the duration of the conference (no extra charge).

If you are staying in University of Edinburgh accommodation, access to the 'Central' network comes as part of your stay, and details are given to you during check-in.

Alternatively, The University of Edinburgh also offers the 'Eduroam' network, available to many academic staff and students of participating institutes.

International Press Dimensions Lecture Theatre (Rm.G.03)

Chair: Prof Rob Dunbar, University of Edinburgh

British and Irish News Coverage in Antebellum American Newspapers 1846-1861

Dianne Bragg *University of Alabama*

As the United States moved from the contentious Wilmot Proviso slavery expansion debate in 1846 to the Confederate nation's firing on the United States' Fort Sumter in South Carolina's Charleston harbor, news from Great Britain and Ireland was a common staple to be found in American newspapers of the period. Americans had always been intent on reading whatever they could about events in Great Britain and Ireland, especially as it related to trade, economics, and society. This is not surprising as many American newspaper readers had Irish or English lineage.

Despite the United States contentious history with England from the Revolutionary War through the War of 1812, the many Americans who were directly descended from English ancestors had remained interested in all things British. This interest continued throughout the antebellum period in American history, especially as it concerned Great Britain's political positions as the United States' northern and southern regions became more divided. This division revolved greatly along the lines of slavery, a practice outlawed in most of the United Kingdom in 1833.

Additionally, Irish immigrants flocked to the United States from 1840-1861, with the numbers jumping dramatically during this period and reaching close to two million. These new immigrants created a greater demand for news from Ireland and increased the amount of coverage found in American newspapers. Although there were some American newspaper publications devoted solely to an Irish audience, this paper will examine the coverage of Irish and British events in mainstream American newspapers in the North and South, such as The New York Times and The New Orleans Picayune. This paper will show how the choices American newspapers made in deciding what news about Ireland and England to print determined what Americans read and thought about news from across the

Atlantic. This coverage is also an indication of what American newspaper editors believed their readers wanted to learn about the United Kingdom and how the events covered might affect Americans in the North and South as the United States moved ever closer to war.

Transnational Exchange between British and Swedish Periodicals in the 1830s and 1860s

Cecilia Wadso Lecaros *Lund University Sweden*

The focus of this paper is the migration and transnational influence of British nineteenth-century periodicals concerned with social reform. Several Swedish nineteenth-century periodicals were modelled on British forerunners, and translations and adaptations of British articles were published in order to present and promote new ideas. By analysing how social reform ideas that were first presented in British periodicals were transferred to Sweden, this paper will discuss the role thus played by the British press in the development of a Swedish movement for popular adult education in the early 1830s and in the development of a Swedish debate on the woman question in the early 1860s.

Swedish translators and publishers of social-reform texts often had an agenda of their own, which affected the way in which British source texts were translated and presented to the Swedish audience. In this paper, I will argue that the way in which texts were translated as well as other forms of communicative exchange between British and Swedish writers and publishers with joint interests in social reform must be taken into account for an assessment of the transnational exchange of ideas.

The first part of the paper will show how periodicals that were published through the agency of The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in the early 1830s (The Quarterly Journal of Education and The Penny Magazine) were important not only for the formation of a similar society in Sweden, but also for setting up Swedish journals with the purpose of educating adult, often working-class, readers. Swedish periodicals incorporated translations and adaptations of British material, and, importantly enough, the transnational exchange was to some extent reciprocal, as The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge commissioned articles about Scandinavian circumstances from Swedish writers for its widely read periodical publications.

The second part of the paper will discuss how the British periodical press thirty years later, in the early 1860s, provided the emerging Swedish emancipation movement

Press Content & Structure Screening Room (Rm.G.04)

Chair: Dr Jonathan Wild, University of Edinburgh

The Origin of the British Sporting Press: Single score-lines to full game analysis

Jessie Wilkie *Deakin University Australia*

The purpose of this paper is to examine academically the origin and growth of sporting journalism, by developing a case study of sporting press within UK broadsheet newspapers. This discussion and reflection will develop a critical perspective of the foundation of sporting media and journalism within the UK, over the past century. Ultimately this paper will ask whether the theories of fan engagement and marketing have pushed this evolution.

Undeniably sporting codes the world over have found themselves with more revenue, influence and prestige over the past century. Globally the idea of 'sporting news' differs from country to country. The sport changes, the access changes, and many countries in the world have competition with more than one thriving sporting code. The seasonal structure of the sporting elite creates some broadcasting differences between this special interest group and others. For instance; economic coverage or technology news does not simply stop and restructure into theoretical phrasing until an 'active period' starts again. Showing the vast differences which exist between the 'sport section' and any other area of news coverage.

This paper will discuss the historical growth of sporting journalism in terms of several British broadsheet newspapers. Discussion on the growth of sport publishing within a broadsheet format will come from applying a quantitative eye to past editions. The analysis will also look at the size, content and depth of discussion on any sporting events. Looking through publications during the 19th century, this paper is hoping to analyse over 100 publications to give a portrait of the origin and history behind the growth of sport reporting.

9.20am-10.40am: Thursday 10 September 2015

Reading between the (By)lines: Authority, Anonymity and Attribution in 19th Century Newspapers

Steve Harrison *Liverpool John Moores University*

The humble byline stands in an ambiguous, often overlooked, relation to journalistic writing, at the juncture of authority, anonymity and attribution. It can be a signifier of authority in either its presence (adding credibility to news reports) or its absence (adding gravitas to the leader column), making its reading – which is literally a reading at the margins – problematic. It plays both a material and a symbolic role within news publications, mandated within modern, multi-column page layouts as well as linking a news article back to its ‘original’ ‘author’, playing out in miniature the troubled relationship between authors, editors, translators and collaborators in the more reified sphere of literature.

The emergence of the byline in the nineteenth century is associated with a combination of social, legal, economic, ethical and technical changes which mirror the developing professionalisation of journalism and news reporting. Debates over anonymous journalism proliferated in the 1840s-1870s, echoing those over the secret ballot which raged over the same period. The exclusion of news reporting from protections afforded by nascent copyright law undermined the value of journalism as a form of literary production worthy of attribution.

The byline’s lineage stretches back to the MS newsletters of the 16th century, through the personal invective of the 1640s paper wars, and onto the introduction of the eidolon, which became so prevalent in the early decades of the 18th century. By examining UK examples from the 19th century, the present study draws on Jacques Derrida’s figure of the *paregon* – the outer-work – to situate a reading of the byline as a supplement to the work of journalism which operates on the margins by, for example, the gendering of texts, the valorisation of specific categories of content or in the explicit acknowledgement of professional values. Today, the byline is an unremarked yet essential element of the production process whose importance and effects are rarely made explicit. This study aims to mark those effects by giving a brief history of the byline.



The Shore, Leith (Credit: Marketing Edinburgh)

9.20am-10.40am: Thursday 10 September 2015

Visual Cultures Project Room (Rm.1.06)

Chair: Dr Elizabeth Tilley, National University of Ireland, Galway

Participating in Victorian Science through the Illustrated Periodical

Geoffrey Belknap *University of Leicester*

The practice of illustrating Victorian scientific periodicals was widespread throughout the century. Yet the value, meaning and intent of these illustrations as objects of scientific evidence within an essential site of scientific communication is not widely understood. Focusing on the particular genre of the natural history journal between 1840-1890, this talk will evaluate the role of illustrations in offering an access point for the amateur naturalist to participate in the knowledge community of the Victorian periodical. A key aspect in this analysis will be to differentiate between authors and readers of competing periodicals in order to evaluate whether there is an overlap between contributors and consumers of the Victorian periodical. This paper will also highlight two methodological approaches for investigating the role of illustrations – a qualitative case study analysis of a single illustration – or related set of illustrations – alongside a quantitative analysis of all illustrations across a broad range of natural history periodicals.

The latter of these methodologies will highlight the use of crowd-sourced researchers to aid historical research through the use of a ‘citizen science’ platform sciencegossip.org. In this way, this paper will pay particular attention to the category of the non-professional – in both the 19th and 21st centuries - in order to better understand the role of the periodical in giving a wide audience access to the sites of production and reproduction of nineteenth-century natural history. The focus of the paper – which will analyse the context, organisation and construction of the images within the pages of a periodical while also providing an understanding of its readership – means that it will fall under the thematic categories of illustration and readership. Moreover, it is the aim of the paper to establish that to understand the role of illustrations, historians of the periodical need to simultaneously read the images themselves, analyse how they were reproduced, and investigate the various authorial positions of the author, illustrator and engraver.

‘Your Picturesque Account of the Matter’: Bitextuality in Sherlock Holmes

Elinor Hickey *Queen Mary University of London*

When Sir Arthur Conan Doyle began publishing his Sherlock Holmes short stories in the 1890s in *The Strand Magazine*, each was accompanied by illustrations that enhanced the story and furthered the readers’ understanding and interpretation of the text. Although the Sherlock Holmes stories have never been out of print since their first publication, they are more often than not republished without their original illustrations. With even more recent adaptations resulting in a renewed surge in interest in Sherlock Holmes, a return to the source material is always worth the effort, but it ought to be done correctly. Because the illustrations by Sidney Paget and his successors were integral to the original text, lending meaning to the stories as they were published, they should always be included in a reading of the canon.

The study of bitextuality incorporates the strategies of both visual and verbal interpretation in order to understand how the dialogue between picture and word produces meaning within a network of cultural discourses. Specifically, in literature with bitextual significance, both the text itself and its accompanying illustrations are used to create meaning for the reader/viewer. This connection must be studied deliberately, however, as oftentimes text and image are separated: the image is perceived to have no individual significance, only gaining meaning in relation to the written word, and can therefore be ignored or omitted without loss.

Using examples from both the text and the accompanying illustrations, I demonstrate the way that the bitextual strategies of Doyle’s stories and Paget’s art create a multilayered narrative which results in a holistic reading and viewing experience. I attempt to impress upon readers that illustrated books are books of conversations, the result of both writer and artist, and the removal of images from illustrated text truncates the meaning of the literature.

9.20am-10.40am: Thursday 10 September 2015

Wood-engravings in the serial publications of W & R. Chambers

Rose Roberto *University of Reading*

The Scottish firm, W. & R. Chambers made their mark through educational publishing. Their first successful publication began in 1832 was *The Chambers's Journal*, a weekly, 16-page journal containing articles and no illustrations. Their next serial publication started in 1834 was *Chambers's Information for the People*, a series of educational sheets on subjects ranging from science and mathematics, to history, geography and literature. Eventually selling around 170,000 sets (amounting to over 2 million individual sheets), this educational series was illustrated with wood engravings. By the 1860s, the firm had published more than 100 book titles and began a significant work, *Chambers's Illustrated Encyclopedia: A dictionary of universal knowledge for the people*, initially issued in parts to customers by subscription.

This paper will look at the influence that the firm's experience using serial illustrations and its desire to reach popular markets had on later W & R Chambers's publications (it's later publications were filled with wood engraved illustrations). It will also look at the wider context of emerging visual and print culture, the profession of wood engravers in the periodicals vs book illustration industries, and the evolution of printing technology in the 19th century.



10.40am-12.00noon: Thursday 10 September 2015

The Penny Press Lecture Theatre (Rm.G.03)

Chair: Dr Deborah Logan, Western Kentucky University

The Penny Magazine, 1832-1845

Lucy Warwick *Oxford Brookes University*

The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge's Penny Magazine is often overlooked by historians, who focus on its failures rather than achievements throughout its 14 year life span. Current explorations of the Penny Magazine simply scratch the surface of a complex and influential publication.

The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), founded in 1826 by Henry Brougham, aimed to offer education to those who had no access to schooling, or simply preferred to learn alone. The Society began publishing biweekly scientific treatises on subjects such as optics and hydraulics, but soon began to create texts of a more light hearted nature, such as natural history, ornithology, and travellers' tales.

In 1832, Charles Knight spearheaded the Society's next venture, a penny periodical aimed at those who would only have around thirty minutes of reading time a day. Knight, abridging already published Society volumes, and after accepting articles from willing contributors, was able to produce up to three issues of the magazine at a time, which in turn meant that the Penny Magazine was able to reach sellers in all corners of Britain ahead of its Saturday release date.

From the outset Knight wanted to provide 'real illustrations of the text, instead of fanciful devices', as 'true eye-knowledge', that is, accurate images, were 'sometimes more instructive than words.' Thus illustrations accompanying difficult texts would help the reader understand the subject of the article without needing to compromise its content. Throughout the 1820s and 1830s he created a circle of artists and engravers capable of fulfilling his dreams of supplying quality art to the working classes, the largest of which, Stephen Sly and Co. are missing from our history books. Through the illustrations in the Penny Magazine the British reader could discover the cities and countryside of their great nation, as well as explore the wider world of the British Empire. The Penny Magazine

had a particular emphasis on teaching the British about the origins of foodstuffs from the empire, the races and cultures of the colonised people, and British scientific discoveries abroad.

At its peak the Penny Magazine reached 200,000 British readers, but it also travelled across the globe. European useful knowledge societies commissioned translations, and sister SDUK branches and committees were established in the USA, China, and India. Moreover the Penny Magazine was sold in annual volumes by booksellers across the empire, and numerous individual issues travelled with members of the East India Company on their voyages. It was truly a global publication. Although the Penny Magazine may be a well-known name in nineteenth century periodical studies, to date scholarship thereon has been superficial. This paper aims to bring to light the networks behind the magazine, and moreover its ability to disseminate knowledge globally, particularly promoting Britain's economic, military, and scientific success as an imperial nation.

Criminality in The New Newgate Calendar

Stephen Basdeo *Leeds Trinity University*

Penny dreadfuls are currently an under-researched area of study. Researchers such as John Springhall have examined these pieces of literature as 'products,' examining their reception and the subsequent moral panic centred around their consumption by Victorian youths. On the other hand, Rosalind Crone has argued that penny dreadfuls were examples of violent entertainment; a form of entertainment which emerged when the prevalence of actual violence in society was in decline. This paper focuses on one penny dreadful title that has not yet been subjected to critical analysis; 'The New Newgate Calendar' (1863-1865), and it takes a criminological approach to the study of this penny dreadful. Inspired by the eighteenth-century publication of the same name, this serialisation took the accounts of the lives and trials of criminals therein and expanded them, turning the stories of individual criminals into lengthy prose accounts.

Published in the 1860s, these stories appeared when the notion of a 'criminal class' had become firmly established within the public mind. According to writers such as Henry Mayhew, there existed a dangerous class of people that existed underneath respectable society which subsisted entirely from the proceeds of crime. Victorian readers would have encountered members of this criminal class in criminal characters such as Bill Sykes in 'Oliver Twist' (1838). Yet 'The New Newgate Calendar' took a different approach in its conceptualisation of criminality; in this publication it was original sin, and not social class,

which was the determinant of criminality. In effect, anyone, of any social status, could become a criminal, because all men were guilty of original sin. Thus it will be argued that “The New Newgate Calendar” challenged the evolving sociological conceptualisation of criminality at a time when crime was increasingly viewed as something which happened in the slum districts, and was allegedly perpetrated only by members of this same ‘criminal class.’

Rebirthing the Nation: The Dublin Penny Journal and Alternative Histories

Elizabeth Tilley *National University of Ireland, Galway*

Penny Magazines are often seen as rag-bags of general information, assemblages of peculiar or exotic facts, or purveyors of moral tales, but they can also be repositories of cultural identity and indigenous knowledge. During the 1830s in Ireland the format of such magazines was altered in order to reflect a particular urgency surrounding the gathering and preservation of evidence illustrating the country’s heritage. The Dublin Penny Journal is a case in point, as part of its mandate was to popularize and explain to a general audience the ancient chronicles of Ireland. One of the magazine’s early editors was George Petrie, Head of the Memoir Section of the government’s Ordnance Survey in Ireland and prominent member of the Royal Irish Academy. Petrie had procured for the Academy the Annals of the Four Masters, a record of Irish history from the deluge (dated as 2,242 years after creation) to AD 1616, and it was extracts from the Annals that Petrie used as a way of reuniting his audience with their own past. The Annals retold the story of Ireland’s birth and death, a story filled both with glory and with ignominious defeat at the hands of the English. Though ostensibly listing the achievements of the Gaelic nobility, in Petrie’s hands the Annals also suggested ways in which the Irish peasantry might, revenant-like, reclaim their own history, and the penny journal format—cheap, conversational, nationalist—made manifest this reconstruction of reality.

Regional Press Identities Screening Room (R.m.G.04)

Chair: Dr Jason McElligott, Marsh’s Library, Dublin

Citizens as journalists in the Victorian local press

Andrew Hobbs *University of Central Lancashire*

The local newspaper was one of the most popular types of publication in Victorian England. Most of the content was written by full-time journalists, but between a quarter and a third of editorial texts were produced by a hidden army of district correspondents, campaigners, experts in regional history and topography, poets, inveterate letter-writers and dialect aficionados, and officers of clubs, societies and local institutions. The uniform columns of print disguise the number and variety of amateur authors, comprising men, women and children from all classes. Their writings and their lives take us beyond the canonical fraction’ (Moretti 2000) of journalism and literature, requiring us to rethink questions of professionalism, authorship, place, the nature of the newspaper and of citizenship itself.

A focus on amateur writers allows us to reassess post-Habermas debates about the rise and fall, re-emergence and limitations of the public sphere. It forces us, at least, to consider the uneven development of a space in which private citizens could join public debate. ‘The process of professionalisation ... requires the “invention of amateurism”’ (Taylor 1995). Journalists failed to establish themselves as a profession (Hampton 1999), and therefore failed to differentiate themselves from amateurs, dilettantes and dabblers. This may explain the scholarly neglect of this penumbra of non-journalists who produced journalism.

This paper begins to recover and interrogate the hidden world of the amateur local newspaper contributor by examining these writers and their writing. Who were these amateur contributors and what did they write? Why did they write, and in what circumstances? Case studies of three types of contributor are discussed: the district correspondent, the social and political activist (a survival of Chalaby’s ‘publicist’) and the learned local expert. Some became ‘professional’ journalists and literary celebrities, most did not. They shared a sense of place, but were differentiated by class, gender, age, religion, politics and motivation. They were readers who wrote, forming ‘interpretive communities’ (Fish 1976) around each newspaper.

This paper aims to cast new light on debates about the professionalization of journalism and the chronology of the public sphere. It challenges conventional perceptions that the local newspaper was a minor part of Victorian print culture; that few non-professional writers were published; and that literary culture was situated largely in London. It redefines the local newspaper as a porous, culturally democratic and broadly inclusive publishing platform, encouraging popular participation - the local hub of a geographically distributed, truly national print culture.

Political Allegiance as a Business Strategy in the 19th Century English Provincial Press

Rachel Matthews *Coventry University*

The 19th century is the period within which the English provincial newspaper is characterised by the link between ownership and political influence in a process which has contributed to the still extant relationship between journalism and democracy. In this period, regional newspapers developed from didactic organs disseminating the values of polite society (Black, 2001), to titles overtly aligned to political parties to the extent that by 1860 they could be categorised according to their politics (Milne n.d).

Lee (1978: 118) suggests that in this epoch, two varying constructions of the provincial press – “one of Fourth Estate, with proprietorship a form of public service... the other as a press as an industry” – vie for supremacy. This paper argues political allegiance was actually integral to the economic structure of the newspaper industry as it transitioned from the high-cost, low-circulation business model sustained by Stamp Duty to the mass circulation product of an industrialised process. Therefore, the relationship between politics and paper was not an opportunistic one in which titles were exploited for political purposes; instead it was a matter of mutual dependency with political purpose an integral pillar of the newspaper’s business model.

In this reading, political purpose was used by owners to maintain the elite business model for the provincial press in opposition to the burgeoning radical press in the mid-19th century. Following the abolition of Stamp Duty in 1855, party political allegiance is codified in the articles of incorporation for titles and politics provides the basis for early forms of chain ownership. As the century progresses, more owners are to be found in Parliament as MPs. The relationship wanes only as titles respond to the new business model necessitated by industrialisation, by placing an increased emphasis on shareholders, mass circulations and popular content.

Original archival research demonstrates how this structure is typified by The Carlisle Conservative Newspaper Company, and its titles the *Carlisle Patriot* and the *East Cumberland News*, created for the “upholding of Conservative political opinions”. Members of the Cumbrian social elite were among the founding members and such was the significance of Conservative principles to the company that its articles of association enabled anyone who was not sufficiently dedicated to the cause to be removed as a shareholder. Significantly, it also demonstrates how maintaining a business structure allied to party politics enabled these titles to resist the absorption by conglomerates which befell so many other titles as the 20th century began.

Provincial Newspapers, Communities, and Local and Regional Identity: Ilfracombe, Devon, 1860-1

Andrew Jackson *Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln*

Provincial newspaper production expanded rapidly through the second half of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth. The local and regional press ‘heritage’ of this period is now an important resource for the historian, and continues to attract much research attention. Provincial newspapers played a significant role in the development of communities and the forging of local and regional identities. Provincial newspapers reported on the evolution of particular places and districts and the lives of their inhabitants. As such they constitute a valuable primary source. In addition they are cultural artefacts, a tangible legacy of the function of provincial newspapers in fashioning and sustaining spatial networks and identities. Newspaper editors were highly selective in their choice of content and comment, and the manner of their partiality and tone of their communication are very illuminating. They were, at times, highly critical, and, at others, keen to deploy ‘boosterist’ discourse to promote the community or region that they sought to represent. This paper takes as its case study the earliest surviving newspaper for the seaside town of Ilfracombe, north Devon, a publication that lasted for just one year. The only surviving copies of the town’s *Intelligencer* and *Arrivals List* held publicly are to be found in Ilfracombe Museum, and they have been selectively digitized for an electronic repository. Recent examination of the newspaper has focused on the prominent front-page editorials, and the main themes that the editor felt worthy of bringing to the attention of local residents and visitors. For this leisure resort, and the cultivation of the district’s sense of itself in the local press, most newsworthy were concerns relating to the weather, improvement and class.

Press & Periodical Editors Project Room (Rm.1.06)

Chair: Prof Joanne Shattock, University of Leicester

T.P. O'Connor and the New Journalism

Frederick Nesta *University College London (Qatar)*

T.P. O'Connor (1848-1929) was a journalist and Member of Parliament from 1880 until his death in 1929. He founded the *Star* (1888-1924), the *Weekly Sun* (1891-1893) and the *Sun* (1893-1906) M.A.P. (Mainly about People, 1898-1911) and *T.P.'s Weekly* (1902-1916). An Irish nationalist, a radical journalist, a persuasive speaker, he was one of the founders of the 'New Journalism' that tried to present not just facts but also to convey the personalities and moods of the times.

The paper presents an overview of O'Connor's life and work in journalism. It would also look at the life and contributions of his wife, Elizabeth Paschal O'Connor (c. 1850-1931), an American journalist and widowed mother in 1870's New York, who moved to London after marrying O'Connor and who became a Suffragette. Her books on her homeland, the American south, on Ireland and the Irish cause; and an autobiography demonstrate her own skills in giving life to facts and in creating for us today a time long gone. Although neither are remembered today, their comings and goings made headlines in British and American newspapers until their deaths. A bust of T.P. O'Connor is still to be seen in Fleet Street, the only other journalist besides William Thomas Stead to share such an honour.

Michael Davitt and the Labour World, 1890-1

Carla King *St Patrick's College Dublin*

Michael Davitt (1846-1906) was one of the most important influences in Irish nationalism and a significant figure in the labour movements of Ireland and Britain in the late nineteenth century. His family evicted during the Great Famine, he grew up in Haslingden, an industrial town near Manchester, and lost an arm in a factory accident. Becoming a Fenian as a young man he served a long prison term for treason-felony, following which he founded and led the Irish National Land League to campaign for tenants' rights. An advocate of land nationalisation, he became closely involved in the Irish and British labour movements, and later gave active support to the British Labour Party in the 1906 election. He earned his living as a public speaker, author and journalist, and became a significant influence on Irish, British and Irish-American public opinion. In the 1890s he served as an Irish Party MP at Westminster.

Between September 1890 and May 1891 Davitt edited a penny newspaper, the *Labour World*, published in London. This sixteen-page weekly was initially successful, with some 60,000 copies of the second issue ordered. Covering a wide range of topics, it introduced the new journalism to labour issues. Eventually it became a victim of the Parnell split and ran into financial difficulties.

The paper proposed will examine Davitt's reasons for founding the paper, its focus and content and the factors behind its ultimate demise. It will analyse the philosophy of the *Labour World* and its relationship to the labour movement of the day. It will be argued that despite its short life the paper was an innovative contribution to the journalism of its day and came at an important point in the development of the Irish and British labour movements.

A Mania for Magazines: John Maxwell, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, and the Cultivation of Working-Class Readers

Jennifer Phegley *University of Missouri-Kansas City*

In his early twenties John Maxwell entered the London publishing scene as a newspaper advertising agent. He was a scrappy and ambitious Irish immigrant with an interest in making a name for himself in the London literary world. He lacked the gentility expected by the established literary elite, but he made up for it with his willingness to take risks and flaunt convention. Within a decade he had become one of the leading magazine entrepreneurs of his age. As Chester Topp notes in *Victorian Yellowbacks and Paperbacks*, Maxwell "had a mania for founding magazines," yet many of his publications were short-lived. Perhaps his savviest move was to build both a personal and professional relationship with up-and-coming novelist Mary Elizabeth Braddon, whose contributions helped define his periodicals. While Maxwell launched several successful magazines for middle class readers, including *Temple Bar* (1860-67)—edited by bohemian journalists George Augustus Sala and Edmund Yates—and *Belgravia* (1866-76)—edited by Braddon—his real goal was to distinguish himself by offering innovative magazines for working-class readers.

Maxwell believed the existing magazines for the working classes were overly moralistic and uninteresting. His publications were intended to offer these audiences higher quality literature at an affordable price while also featuring everything from stunning illustrations to page-turning serials to interactive correspondence columns; they included the *Welcome Guest* (1859-61), *Robin Goodfellow* (1861-62), the *Halfpenny Journal* (1861-64), and the *Sixpenny Magazine* (1861-1864). Despite the importance of these periodicals to the cultivation of working- and lower-middle-class readers and to Braddon's career as one of the best-selling novelists of the century, no scholar has studied them in any detail. Indeed, there has been no sustained attention devoted to their features, layout, contents, marketing strategies, or interactions with readers.



National Museum of Scotland (Credit: Marketing Edinburgh)

1.00pm-2.20pm: Thursday 10 September 2015

Oscar Wilde

Lecture Theatre (Rm.G.03)

Chair: Dr Anna Vaninskaya, University of Edinburgh

Oscar's Wild(e) Women and their World

Michelle O'Conner *Trinity College Dublin*

My paper aims to discuss the use of publication as a means for women in the 19th century to assert their identity publicly in a world which was persistently viewed as patriarchal. The Angel of the House is an ideal which many scholars have used in their work on the Victorian period, particularly in opposition to New Woman ideal which was emerging in the latter half of the 19th century.

Literature has been widely regarded as a particularly 'feminine' or 'female' art form throughout its history, bolstered by the growth of novels aimed at, and focused on, women. Likewise, journalism was regarded as a masculine endeavour, one undertaken by men who had the strength to work the long hours demanded by the urgency of news publications. Journalism was public, it covered public events; novels were fictional and private, emerging from the imagination of whomever composed the story.

Cassell and Co., in attempting to keep up to date in the ever-modernising world of periodical publication, began *The Lady's World*, in 1886. It floundered however, and in 1888 they contacted Lady Jane (Speranza) Wilde's son, the ever contemporary Oscar, in a bid to have his insight and connections in the London literary sphere save the magazine from failing utterly. He agreed to edit the periodical provided the publication company would change the name and format of the magazine to 'better represent its audience'. *The Woman's World* had arisen from the ashes of its predecessor in 1888.

The Woman's World was a periodical for the women who were interested in current affairs, politics, and history. They were women whose education went beyond that of the accomplishments, and the price of the monthly issues (1 shilling) ensured its audience was a very particular one. Therefore, by using *The Woman's World* annuals 1888 to 1890, I will argue that publications, even those for a niche audience, were a way for women to articulate not only their identities as women, but likewise their political, educational and social identities.

Oscar Wilde as editor of the Woman's World

Eleanor Fitzsimons *Trinity College Dublin*

In April 1887, Irish author, playwright and poet Oscar Wilde accepted the position of editor of *The Lady's World*, a high-end, illustrated monthly magazine produced by Cassell and Company. As he considered the magazine 'a very vulgar, trivial, and stupid production', Wilde renamed it *The Woman's World* and set about transforming it into 'the recognised organ for the expression of women's opinions on all subjects of literature, art, and modern life'. Under his editorship *The Woman's World* would, in his words, 'take a wider range, as well as a high standpoint, and deal not merely with what women wear, but with what they think, and what they feel'.

Wilde relegated fashion to the back pages and included articles on cross-dressing, aesthetic design and rational dress. He commissioned features examining higher education for women, the political status of women and pioneering women in history. In a significant departure from convention, each was attributed to its author by name. In his 'Literary and Other Notes', Wilde demonstrated unequivocal support for the greater participation of women in public life, favouring access to education and the professions as a means of improving their status: 'The cultivation of separate sorts of virtues and separate ideals of duty in men and women has led to the whole social fabric being weaker and unhealthier than it need be', he argued.

Arthur Fish, Wilde's sub-editor, credited him with securing 'a brilliant company of contributors which included the leaders of feminine thought and influence'. Campaigning feminist Laura McLaren contributed 'The Fallacy of the Superiority of Man', a rousing article that demanded: 'If women are inferior in any point, let the world hear the evidence on which they are to be condemned'. In 'The Position of Women', Eveline, Countess of Portsmouth welcomed amendments to marriage law. In 'Woman and Democracy', feminist writer Julia Wedgewood advocated universal suffrage, a topic also addressed by Millicent Garrett Fawcett, prominent suffragist and co-founder of Newnham College Cambridge. In 'Something about Needlewomen', trade unionist Clementina Black encouraged impoverished piece-workers to combine into cooperatives.

According to Fish, 'The keynote of the magazine was the right of women to equality of treatment with men'. He insisted that 'articles on women's work and their position in politics were far in advance of the thought of the day'. Fish reported that, when challenged by management, 'Wilde would always express his entire sympathy with the views of the writers and reveal great liberality of thought with regard to the political aspirations

of women'. Wilde commissioned new work from emerging women writers including Amy Levy, Olive Schreiner and E. Nesbit, and when Cassells objected to his 'too literary tendencies' he grew disillusioned: 'I am not allowed as free a hand as I would like', he declared. His final 'Literary and Other Notes' appeared in June 1889; by October his name was gone from the cover and *The Woman's World* reverted to its unadventurous roots. It was discontinued shortly afterwards.

International News Distribution and the Wilde Trials

Colette Colligan *Simon Fraser University Canada*

Jonathan Silberstein-Loeb's recent book on **The International Distribution of the News** (2014) has shown how news was gathered and distributed internationally in the nineteenth century via news agencies and news-sharing agreements. This paper will extend this research on the international distribution of the news by focusing on its diverse textual make-up. In Lucy Brown's *Victorian News and Newspapers* (1985), she reminds us that nineteenth-century news was a patchwork of recycled text; this patchwork of text, I contend, can reveal uncharted news networks and news-sharing practices, on national and international scales.

The focus of this analysis will be the international news coverage of the famous 1895 trials of anglo-Irish writer Oscar Wilde. Although press coverage in England, Ireland, France, and Germany has been examined (see Cohen; Ivory; Walshe; Wan, Erber), until now there has not been a comparative textual analysis of the coverage in the international English press. By means of computer-assisted text comparison, this project will help advance scholarly understanding of the international English-language coverage of the Wilde trials, and, more precisely, the ways this news circulated in English-speaking corners of the world, both within and outside the global media cartels that structured international news distribution in the later nineteenth century. I will draw from newspapers from Britain, North America, as well as English-language expatriate papers in countries such as France, in order to help us understand, for the first time, how reporting on the trials was shaped by national and international news markets and how the expatriate press played a distinctive role in bringing information across borders.

1.00pm-2.20pm: Thursday 10 September 2015

Irish Press I

Screening Room (Rm.G.04)

Chair: Felix Larkin, Dublin

Drawing upon Irish newspapers and periodicals published in Ireland and Britain, this panel engages in a dialogue about modernity and the public sphere, ethnic identities and the political role of the press, and the innovative business strategies and collaborative networks that were developed between 1836 and 1934 to manage financial, commercial and political risk. The contributors are all members of NPHFI, the Newspapers and Periodicals History Forum of Ireland.

Professional Networks and Managerial Culture in the British and Irish Press, 1836-1899

James O'Donnell *National University of Ireland, Galway*

This paper will address the 'political economy of the press', 'newspapers within a social history of communication' and the 'commodification and professionalisation of journalism' strands of the conference.

The Provincial Newspaper Society (PNS), established in 1836, and the Press Association (PA), established in 1869, were key organisations in the corporate and commercial development of the press in Britain and Ireland in the nineteenth century. Both are frequently identified as British institutions, which overlooks the central role played the Irish media in their histories. This paper will contribute to these histories and argue that they can be more fully understood as British and Irish institutions.

Both organisations had clear commercial missions. The PNS was a trade lobbying body that worked, for example, to secure the repeal of stamp duty and 'taxes on knowledge'. The PA was a news agency tasked with the gathering and dissemination of national and international news to the provincial press of Britain and Ireland, with close ties to Reuters, the 'Empire's News Agency', from its beginnings. Both the PNS and PA also provided forums for the development of common commercial, professional and organisational values among the owners and senior executives of the British and Irish press. Indeed the PA was, in certain ways, a product of these values fostered within the PNS.

This paper will focus on the role of Irish newspapers in the foundation, organisation and development of the PNS and PA in order to more fully integrate the histories of the British and Irish media in the nineteenth century. Through the examination of meetings, investments, commercial and lobbying initiatives it will reveal that, at a commercial and managerial level, there is a common and shared history of British and Irish newspapers. In the case of the Irish newspapers this displays little, if any, evidence of divisions reflecting politico-religious affiliations, which are evident in their published output and normally so central to their historical investigation and understanding.

The Irish Catholic Press in Britain and the “Troubles of Journalism”, 1884-1934

Joan Allen *Newcastle University*

It is sufficiently obvious, that, with regard to political subjects and public men, the liberty of the press may be abused in two ways. The one is when good public measures and good public men are blamed; - the other is when bad public measure, and bad public men, are praised. Of these two, we should consider the last as being infinitely worst... it is the screen by which, more effectually than by anything else, power is concealed... (James Mill, 1811)

The contested space around freedom of expression in the first half of the nineteenth century, in terms espoused by Mill and his contemporaries, was moderated to a large extent by the imposition of the ‘taxes on knowledge’. From the mid-1850s, however, the removal of heavy duties precipitated the rapid expansion of the popular press, and other means were sought to contain the vaulting confidence of newspaper editors and proprietors who cast themselves as arbiters of public probity. Managing the consequential risk to capital and circulation rates constituted a singular challenge to proprietors of the Irish and British press in the modern period, and yet this does not seem to have driven journalism into the safer waters of anodyne commentary and reportage. The editorial remained a prized platform within the public sphere which, according to W.T. Stead, carried the same moral responsibility as the pulpit in a chapel or church, to dispense critical and authoritative judgements. Then, as now, the influence of the press was regularly policed by threatened or actual legal action.

This paper sets out to explore the strategies adopted by newspaper proprietors in order to manage risk to capital and readership levels through a particularly interesting case study, that of Charles Diamond’s Irish Catholic press empire which he launched in 1884

and included the Catholic Herald which still survives. Diamond’s ambitious business model of publishing his several populist titles in syndicated form ensured that his Irish nationalist views achieved an extraordinarily extensive geographical reach, not least among his predominantly working class readership. By the time of his death, he had up to forty-three syndicated periodicals in print. In many ways, Diamond epitomised the cautious protectionism of the age in setting up a series of press associations and Limited Liability companies, investing in cost effective technologies and in diversifying into other business interests. But this measured approach contrasts sharply with his argumentative and hectoring editorial style. Inevitably, perhaps, given the highly charged and contentious nature of Irish nationalist politics and Diamond’s combative approach to the reform agenda, he embroiled himself in countless controversial libel suits, most notably that brought by Art Ó Briain in 1922 and the expensive lawsuit which saw Hannah Sheehy Skeffington secure major damages in 1934. This study will consider the extent to which Diamond’s contradictory management style enabled or diminished his particular brand of didactic journalism.

The Irish Famine, Modernity and the Development of the Press

Michael Foley *Dublin Institute of Technology*

This paper will examine period of the Great Irish Famine, the years 1845 to 1852, and suggest it was a watershed, separating an 18th century Ireland from modernity. As well as the Famine, the period also, coincidentally, marked a period of great change for the press in Ireland, changes in the taxation regime, in technology and in the idea of a free press. But if a newspaper editor or journalist in the early 1840s envisaged a stately progress towards the press becoming a fourth estate, the Famine changed all that. Journalists who had become increasingly aware of themselves as a separate group of workers or even professionals with particular rights and ideological commitment to a free press would now find there was going to be nothing leisurely about the changes they were facing. Journalists and editors, faced with the disaster of the famine years were forced to find new ways of reporting that would define how the press worked for the next fifty years. As Terry Eagleton describes it, the acceleration was “surreal”. He argues that

Part of the horror of the famine is its atavistic nature – the mind-shaking fact that an event with all the pre-modern character of a medieval pestilence happened in Ireland with frightening recentness. (Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger*, 1995, 14)

Advertising & Readership Project Room (Rm.1.06)

Chair: Dr Paul Rooney, Trinity College Dublin

Literality to Literary: Advertising Books in British Newspapers

Peter Robinson *University of Tokyo*

This richly illustrated paper draws on a number of leading national and regional British newspapers to explore the hypothesis that, for various reasons, the final decades of the nineteenth century saw a fundamental loosening and weakening of direct control over book advertising in newspapers by publishers, thereby undoing what had, by the mid-eighteenth century, developed and solidified into a sophisticated complex of rhetorical structures, tropes and strategies in response to the emergence of new reading arenas and discursive spaces, taking full advantage of expanding distribution networks.

During the middle of the nineteenth century, the well-established model of discrete, stand-alone book adverts, controlled by publishers in the form of ‘placed ads’ which had prevailed for a century, became increasingly unfit for purpose, as ‘Book Pages’ and later book review supplements -carried by a range of newspapers- radically altered the reading public’s exposure to new titles. Publishers increasingly abandoned the idea of a direct advertising interface with potential and returning readers, and bolstered (in some cases sought to manipulate) the emerging phenomena of advertising by literary review. Although there had long been review journals, most famously the Monthly Review and the Gentleman’s Magazine, by the middle of the nineteenth century the most important intermediary between readers and books was reviewer-created material. This had a profound impact on the profile of publisher output, including, but not limited to, genre, medium, and format. It had a direct impact on the serialization of novels. One obvious, but by no means unique example of this process of transformation was the Times newspaper, which replaced its book pages with a separate, now well-known publication, the Times Literary Supplement (TLS) in 1902. After charting these various developments, the paper concludes by suggesting that this important change in the way books were marketed in newspapers can be best characterized as a shift from literality to literary.

1.00pm-2.20pm: Thursday 10 September 2015

Advertising the Illustrated London News in the British colonies, 1842-1850

Thomas Smits *Radboud University Netherlands*

In self-referential articles, the Illustrated London News – the most renowned illustrated newspaper of the nineteenth century - often referred to the importance of colonial audiences for its success. The paper presented itself as a visual link between the colonies and Britain. As the introduction to the thousandth issue has it: ‘To our colonies this Journal has an interest, which can be claimed by no other. The Australian or the Canadian settled in remote districts, (...), and who has perhaps lost all hope of ever again beholding the land where he was born and where his fathers are buried, looks forward with more pleasure to the arrival of the Illustrated London News than to that of any other, whether daily or weekly paper.’

However, the actual size and importance of several colonial audiences has remained somewhat obscured. The many references to colonial readers in the Illustrated London News could also be explained as a form of cosmopolitan rhetoric, aimed at readers in Britain. Based on research in the open-access digital newspaper archives of Australia, New Zealand, Bermuda and Singapore, I will show that the Illustrated London News actively sought and found a sizeable colonial readership. Exactly the same advertisement, placed by the paper itself, can be found in numerous colonial newspapers in the second half of the 1840s. In addition, advertisements of colonial wholesalers and retailers of the Illustrated London News can be used to show how the paper was distributed in the colonial context. Rather than being a massively distributed national newspaper, the Illustrated London News was an imperial phenomenon, unevenly linking the different parts of the British Empire.

The Strand Magazine, Advertising and the Meaningful Object

Kate Brombley *University of Portsmouth*

The nineteenth century saw an increase in literacy and concurrently a rise in literature for the masses. When George Newnes created a newkind of periodical in 1890, the Strand Magazine: an Illustrated Monthly, he wanted to create a magazine that was self-contained and could be classified as ‘cheap, healthful literature.’

(“INTRODUCTION,” 1891) It was important to him that this new publication was edifying for the middle-class reader. It is because of this that he has come under scrutiny by critics such as Kate Jackson, Christopher Pittard, and Ruth Hoberman for being a principle figure in the wave of New Journalism in the 1890s. I wish to build upon the work started by these critics, who have established that the Strand had a purposeful aim to associate objects with certain values, such as health. I will examine the Strand Magazine as an example of middle-class periodical publishing, looking at the editorial decisions surrounding the idea of writing, and in particular writing tools.

As Reginald Pound states: ‘the middle-classes of England never cast a clearer image of themselves in print than they did in The Strand Magazine. Confirming their preference for mental as well as physical comfort, for more than half a century it faithfully mirrored their tastes, prejudices, and intellectual limitations.’ (Pound, 1966, p.7) I will build on the work of Pittard and Jackson and evaluate the middle-class values the Strand sought to associate with writing through advertising, seeking to highlight the potential problems they faced. This paper will use rare copies of the Strand Magazine found in the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection, the Richard Lancelyn Green Bequest in Portsmouth as first hand material and will note the complexities of interpreting Victorian objects by using Thing Theory, following the example of Elaine Freedgood in *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel*.

2.20pm-3.40pm: Thursday 10 September 2015

Gender Dynamics Lecture Theatre (Rm.G.03)

Chair: Dr Solveig Robinson, Pacific Lutheran University

Irish Women Writers in the London Intellectual Press of the 1890s

Nora Moroney *Trinity College Dublin*

A consistent theme of research on Ireland’s journalistic history has been its localism and often-transitory nature during the nineteenth century. While this has its merits in underlining the extent of press activity across the country, it has also meant a paucity of research on the tradition of Irish contributors abroad. The later decades of Victoria’s reign saw a flourishing scene of Irish men and women working as editors, publishers and contributors in London’s periodicals and newspapers. Building on initial surveys from Felix Larkin, Anthony McNicholas and others, this paper explores the particular contribution of various female authors to late-Victorian prestigious journals. It focuses on the *Fortnightly Review*, *Nineteenth Century* and the *Contemporary Review* as nexuses for Irish women within the metropolitan press. Authors such as Emily Lawless, Francis Power Cobbe, Hannah Lynch and Alice Stopford Green frequently used these journals as means of both supporting themselves financially and consolidating a literary reputation from 1890 onward. As well as fictional articles, their contributions reveal a broad range of interests that echoed – and often influenced – contemporary debates in the political, intellectual and cultural spheres. Both Stopford Green and Cobbe, for example, used their pieces to advance causes of social justice and gender equality. Furthermore, their access to networks of influence was facilitated by the elevated position that these periodicals still occupied in London’s press scene by the close of the century.

This paper takes a two-pronged approach, addressing on one hand to what extent these writers’ Irish identity informed their contributions and criticism, while also considering the ideologies and editorial practices of the journals in question. It points up the network of Irish journalists in London’s elite public sphere at the time, and how writers such as Lawless interacted with fellow contributors (Gladstone and W.E.H. Lecky, for instance) both within and beyond the periodicals’ pages. A central question is how these cosmopolitan women

negotiated gendered expectations of female writers in the late nineteenth century, and whether the decade’s New Woman sentiment informed or interacted with a certain national perspective. By bringing together a selection of writers who do not necessarily conform to the nationalist and revivalist concerns of previous research, this paper challenges existing perceptions of the role of women activists and journalists abroad. It ultimately aims to present a sustained analysis of the authors’ periodical contributions and situate them within their transnational context, reflecting recent, more general moves in literary and journalistic history of the nineteenth century.

Community and Silence: Female Religious Orders in Local Irish Newspapers, 1849-1900

Bridget Harrison *Queen’s University, Belfast*

In the second half of the 19th century, the influence of the Catholic Church rapidly increased in Ireland, leading to what Emmet Larkin dubbed “the Devotional Revolution”. One of the most striking manifestations of this was the rise of female religious orders in Ireland. In 1840, there were 1,500 nuns in the country, but by 1870 this figure had more than doubled to 3,700 (during the same period, the numbers of priests only rose by approximately 700). Despite this massive increase, women religious in Ireland remain largely unstudied. What has been written has focused on their day-to-day experiences and work. As a result, very little is known about social attitudes towards women religious at a local level, and about how these attitudes changed as religious orders settled into communities.

This paper will explore how newspapers in Ireland represented the changes in gender dynamics brought about by the Devotional Revolution. It will examine the visibility of nuns in local Irish newspapers, using a sample of newspapers from rural areas and from larger towns. It will examine the period from 1849 to 1900, and as such will encompass the Devotional Revolution and the decades immediately following this consolidation of the Catholic hierarchy’s influence.

I will argue that during this period newspaper notices often addressed the work of female religious orders, but did so in such a way as to create distance between that work and the women who carried it out. In my research so far I have seen that newspapers at this time were filled with notices for talks and events which were run in aid of convents and female religious institutions, however very few of these advertisements directly mention any women religious by name. More often than not these notices instead listed the names

2.20pm-3.40pm: Thursday 10 September 2015

of clergymen who were associated with the project or who planned to be in attendance. Newspaper records of the procession ceremonies and funerals of women religious also reflected this.

This talk will address how gender identities were depicted in newspapers. It will examine how Irish newspapers, particularly newspaper notices, reflected wider issues such as the consolidation of the Catholic Church's influence in Ireland and the influence of Victorian gender norms. It will also investigate the idiosyncratic situation where nuns as a collective were included, but in such a way that they appeared to be part of the fabric of the Catholic Church, rather than independently acting groups or individuals.

Irish Press II

Screening Room (Rm.G.04)

Chair: Dr Carla King, St Patrick's College, Ireland

‘None of the Grays was any good’: The Gray family and The Freeman’s Journal, 1841-1893

Felix Larkin *Dublin*

The Freeman's Journal was the main nationalist daily newspaper in Dublin in the nineteenth century, and it was the unofficial organ of the Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster from the mid-1870s onwards. It was published continuously from 1763 to 1924.

The Gray family were owners of the Freeman for over fifty years – from 1841, when it was purchased by Sir John Gray, to 1893. The family's involvement with the Freeman spanned three generations, and they made it an important newspaper.

The repeal in the 1850s of the oppressive duty on advertisements and then on the newspapers themselves opened the way for a great expansion in the newspaper market. Sir John Gray exploited this opportunity, growing the circulation of the Freeman from as little as 2,000-3,000 copies per day to approximately 10,000. Under his son, Edmund Dwyer Gray, its production capacity was further increased, its circulation again grew threefold – to

over 30,000 copies per day – and it became extremely profitable. In addition, in 1882 he acquired the Belfast Morning News.

In 1887, Edmund converted the Freeman into a public company, while retaining control for himself and his family. He died at the early age of forty-two in 1888, and for the next four years the company was effectively under the control of his widow and their young son, also Edmund Dwyer Gray. They lost control of the newspaper as a result of the internal divisions within the Irish party in the aftermath of the ‘Parnell split’.

Both Sir John Gray and the elder Edmund Dwyer Gray were prominent in municipal politics in Dublin and they were also Members of Parliament, and Edmund might have led the Irish Party but for the advent of Charles Stewart Parnell.

The family had strong connections with Australia. The wife of the elder Edmund Dwyer Gray was a daughter of the Anglo-Australian philanthropist Caroline Chisholm, and their son emigrated to Australia in 1894 after he lost control of the Freeman. He had a successful journalistic and political career in Tasmania.

James Joyce has one of the characters in his story ‘Grace’ in Dubliners exclaim that ‘none of the Grays was any good’. My paper will outline the Gray family's involvement with the Freeman, and will consider whether Joyce's verdict on the family is justified.

‘War, the Eagle, and... linotype’: The Skibbereen Eagle, the Southern Star and the South African War, 1899-1900

John O'Donovan *University College, Cork*

I will examine the coverage by two regional weekly newspapers in county Cork of events within and outside the Empire at the close of the nineteenth century. It will also explore the rivalry between them, as the long-serving (and infamous) ‘Skibbereen Eagle’ was challenged by the newcomer, the ‘Southern Star’, after 1892. Both papers served constituencies that were ever-changing as the twentieth century dawned. As the 1890s wore on, a distinct class theme can be discerned: the ‘Eagle’ sticking solidly to its middle-class unionist base; the ‘Star’ reaching out to the lower classes of the nationalist population of western county Cork. Together with their divergent political leanings, both papers' attitude to social issues reflected the outlooks of their proprietors, editors and readers. Nowhere

2.20pm-3.40pm: Thursday 10 September 2015

was this more clearly shown than in the last two years of the decade, when the labour agitator DD Sheehan was appointed editor of the ‘Star’. Both papers also reflected imperial events through differing prisms, as befitted their ownership and ethos. This divergence of opinion was best demonstrated in the coverage by both papers of events in South Africa during the Boer War (1899-1902), an event that was just as crucial in the histories of Irish nationalism and unionism as it was in the histories of South Africa and the Empire at large.

‘An Obstinate Quill’: Fr. Matthew Russell SJ and The Irish Monthly, (1873-1898)

Declan O’Keeffe *Clongowes Wood College*

Matthew Russell (1834-1912) was a Jesuit priest who founded a literary magazine called The Irish Monthly in 1873. Russell was a key supporter of the young writers, who inaugurated the Anglo-Irish literary revival and his talents lay in editing, writing and persuading others to contribute to the fledgling magazine. He had a talent for friendship and people of many different backgrounds and beliefs wrote for him including W.B. Yeats, Oscar Wilde and Hilaire Belloc. Russell was also particularly successful in getting women such as Katharine Tynan, and Rosa Mulholland to contribute to the journal.

Late nineteenth-century Ireland has often been seen as a mere trough before the brilliance of the Anglo-Irish Revival, when in fact it was a vital seedbed and the 1880s in particular was a distinct decade, both in poetry and realist fiction, that featured a mix of writers from a mélange of religious backgrounds and from both sides of the gender divide. The period from 1870 to 1891 has been somewhat overlooked both literally and metaphorically by researchers seduced and distracted by the Literary Revival that would follow in the next decade. There was a marked increase in literacy and education in Ireland in this period, which led to a greater appetite for fiction. As books were still relatively expensive, newspapers and periodicals were important media for the publication and consumption of novels.

The nineteenth century was also a fertile period for Irish female writers, with over five hundred women publishing in all genres, and The Irish Monthly was especially diligent in promoting writing by women as well as recording important information about the authors in its ‘Nutshell Biograms’. Notable among the regular contributors was the prolific and highly popular Rosa Mulholland whose Marcella Grace (1885), one of the most significant novels of the land war, was serialized in the journal. Russell excelled in encouraging

connections among female writers and the monthly facilitated the development of literary schools among these women.

This presentation will address two strands of the call as The Irish Monthly was an individual publication of considerable note (with a very significant editor) that would quickly establish a reputation for publishing fiction favourable to the hopes of the resurgent Catholic upper-middle class hungry for self government. It will also assess the Irish Monthly as a literary review during the first twenty-five years of its existence and its importance to young women writers in this period. The paper will examine the role of The Irish Monthly and evaluate its importance to the Catholic upper middle classes who wished to challenge the stereotypical view of John Bull's other island that pertained in Britain and to replace it with their own vision of a respectable and peaceful society in harmonious relationship with metropolitan Britain and its empire.

Theoretical Directions

Project Room (Rm.1.06)

Chair: Dr Tom Mole, University of Edinburgh

Matthew Arnold, W.T. Stead, and the Pall Mall Gazette: ‘New Journalism’ and the role of religious difference

Philip March *Birkbeck London*

This paper offers an alternative reading of the evolution of the term ‘New Journalism’. Significantly, it also explores the influence of religious difference in the debate between Matthew Arnold and the journalist W. T. Stead over this innovative press development. Arnold's May 1887 essay ‘Up to Easter’ is conventionally cited in critical literature as the location of the first appearance of the term ‘New Journalism’. Academics have consequently largely focused on Arnold's condemnation of Stead's management of the Pall Mall Gazette and the influence of New Journalism's technological advances, brighter style of writing, cleaner layout, sensationalist content and growing commercialism.

I argue that this oppositional pairing of Arnold and Stead has remained a prominent feature of academic writing on New Journalism. Such antagonistic positioning has provided a convenient way in which to locate and explore the colliding cultural and political forces of late Victorian Britain.

However, this fashioning of the Arnold-Stead debate has overshadowed, perhaps, the most important element, that represented by religious difference. For Arnold and Stead clashed through the antagonistic forces of the Church of England and Protestant Nonconformity in which the Christian religion represented for both men the fundamental driving force required for all effective educational, political, and social development. In Arnold's view, however, both the New Journalism and the new democracy were 'feather-brained'. More contentiously, Arnold attacked the Pall Mall for its unwillingness to state the truth and to correct error in its reporting.

'New Journalism' was, however, a phrase shaped from two previous skirmishes in print between the Pall Mall and its critics. The initial salvo was launched in May 1880 as a direct consequence of the unexpected general election victory of Gladstone and the Liberal Party. Frederick Greenwood, founding editor of the Pall Mall in 1865 and a High Liberal resigned as the paper underwent an abrupt change of political direction in favour of the Gladstone government. The second attack came in June 1884 from Edmund Yates, the founding editor of the weekly World. Yates's criticisms foresaw those that Arnold would make three years later.

An active and traceable religious engagement lay at the heart of the disagreement over New Journalism. While Arnold concentrated upon the 'sweetness and light' of the best of English culture, Stead's Nonconformity brought with it an evangelising force, scope for social agitation, and the promotion of moral revivalism. Arnold's preference for a detached equanimity was infused with the poetry of Christianity and rejected Stead's noisy plain-speaking and Nonconformist values.

The Meaning of Censorship

Geoff Kemp *University of Auckland*

The view that censorship has 'the same characteristics in every era' has been challenged by recent scholarship but this too labours under an assumption about the meaning of censorship. For most of the past two millennia the term 'censorship' has not been taken to mean what we generally take it to mean and did not have today's negative connotations. Until well into the nineteenth century, the term mainly recalled, usually positively, the ancient Roman office of Censor, whose duties embraced public accounting (via the census), alongside oversight of morals and manners in society and integrity in the senate. To examine the history of censorship, therefore, is not to find a clear target just waiting to be opposed given sufficient enlightenment over time.

This paper considers the history of how the words 'censor' and 'censorship' acquired their modern English meaning in the nineteenth century. The transformation tracks the reaction of classical liberalism against the moralisation of politics by classical republicanism, against the backdrop of the French Revolution, and the emergence of representative government as a principle and practice centred on authorisation tied to accountability.

Milton's isolated reference to the 'censor's hand' in *Areopagitica* preceded the linking of the classical meaning to print from the early eighteenth century, though not as state-imposed press control but by periodical writers proclaiming themselves censors of society's virtue, in the Roman manner but bringing nascent public opinion to bear on transgressions. From this moral and literary beginning emerged the claim that the press could bring the power of the public to bear on politicians' virtue or vice, encapsulated towards the end of the century in Jefferson's contention (echoed by Madison) that 'the people are the only censors of their governors', and newspapers the vehicle of censorial public opinion.

Later in the next century, Mill's famous fear was public opinion's 'hostile and dreaded censorship' of individual belief and behaviour, guiding a government 'identified with the people'. In the decades around *On Liberty*, 'censorship' consolidated its passage to the term and evaluation recognisable today, describing official, primarily state regulation of expression, decried in liberal circles. The accountability function of censorship was meanwhile assumed by the 'Fourth Estate', censoring and correcting government in the public's name and claiming freedom from state censorship to do so. Writers and journalists were now the anti-censors, not the censors.

Robert Louis Stevenson, W. E. Henley, and the Magazine of Art: Authorial and Editorial Tension

Brian Wall *University of Edinburgh*

This paper is a case study of a significant cultural journal, *The Magazine of Art*, an important editor, the poet W. E. Henley, and a writer of significance to both Scottish and global literary culture, Robert Louis Stevenson.

I propose a paper that addresses a significant passage of the professional lives of these two famous friends, Stevenson and Henley, during which Henley became the editor of *The Magazine of Art*. Henley, a talented poet in his own right, transformed the Magazine from a conservative publication of the British artistic establishment into a progressive critical journal with a focus on European and Japanese trends in painting, printmaking and illustration. Stevenson wrote several insightful pieces about the relationship of art, literature and illustration for the Magazine during the period in which he produced *Treasure Island*, *The Black Arrow*, *Kidnapped* and *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*. In addition to these essays, Henley and Stevenson shared ideas and critical opinions through private correspondence, in which Stevenson often offered critiques of the numbers of the Magazine to its editor.

The correspondence sheds light on the tension that inevitably arose between the writer and editor pertaining to these ideas about art and literature. Matching private correspondence against close readings of Stevenson's essays – and most importantly their illustrations – in the Magazine reveals the power of the editor over the author, authorial resistance within the essays to editorial constraints, and a creative friendship that would ultimately fray and sever over these years. Henley helped launch Stevenson's literary career, championing *Treasure Island* at Cassell and Co., and himself being a model for Long John Silver. However, as their interactions reveal through the Magazine of Art, the protégé would outgrow his master in critical faculty and fame, although not before the production of some enlightening essays on contemporary art and literature.



Dynamic Earth Museum (Credit: Marketing Edinburgh)

Authorial Identity

Lecture Theatre (Rm.G.03)

Chair: Dr Jennifer Phegley, University of Missouri-Kansas City

“Putting things in their proper places”: Victorian Women Editor-Critics and the Problem of Authority

Solveig Robinson *Pacific Lutheran University*

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

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

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

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

This paper explores the ways in which Victorian women went about the task of establishing themselves in the world of literary and social criticism in mid- to late-nineteenth-century British journalism. These “critical women” assumed a variety of influential roles in

nineteenth-century periodicals, from behind-the-scenes editors and unnamed manuscript readers to more prominent positions as signed reviewers, leader-writers, columnists, and even publisher-proprietors. However, becoming a critical woman meant assuming a position of power with relation to the material being criticized—of assuming a stance from which one could look at and comment on—and it also meant establishing a credible, authoritative voice that would enable the critic to impact public perceptions of value.

By looking at the work of women engaged in journalism across a range of nineteenth-century periodicals—from those intended for general audiences, to those aimed particularly at women readers all along the spectrum from traditional domesticity to political and social radicalism—this paper will highlight how Victorian critical women countered and overcame institutional and ideological resistance and shaped both the Victorian publishing world and British literary heritage.

Charles Dickens: A Life Communicated Through the 19th Century Press

Emily Bowles *University of York*

In answer to the strand on thematic overviews, concepts of the public sphere and definitions of the press, this paper uses Dickens’s relationship with the press as a case study to show the role newspapers had in blurring the line between the public and private lives of literary figures and in shaping literary biography in the mid-nineteenth century.

While in his carriage near Gadshill, Charles Dickens meets a child who tells him,

my father, seeing me so fond of it, has often said to me, “If you were to be very persevering and were to work hard, you might some day come to live in [Gadshill].” (*The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens’ Journalism: ‘The Uncommercial Traveller’ and Other Papers, 1859-70, 86*)

According to Charles Dickens Jr., this moment from “Travelling Abroad” (1860) has been quoted more extensively than anything his father ever wrote (the assumption being that the child is Dickens himself). That a short article had such impact is particularly remarkable for a writer so loved for his fiction, and it owes this to the 19th-century press.

When Dickens touched on his life, however briefly, the information was collated to flesh out biographical articles. Speeches in which he tailored anecdotes to his audience were

transcribed and widely reprinted, taken out of context as simple facts about the author’s life. Dickens used this to shape the trajectory of his life from inventive child to famed novelist in the public’s mind. What was created, and solidified after his death in the many memoirs and biographies that collated materials from newspapers, including John Camden Hotten’s *Charles Dickens: The Story of His Life* (1870), was a life told through playful anecdotes and subtext. This was challenged by John Forster’s seminal *Life* (1872-74), but the stories continue to shape Dickensian biography today. I will discuss the ‘biographies’ of the 1870s and their use of newspaper articles to tell the story of Dickens’s life, centering on the way in which Forster’s *Life* weaves the stories Dickens told with revelations about his childhood to create an authoritative ‘life’ in the face of decades of newspaper biography. Later in the century Dickens’s family would also interact with the press, publishing denials and corrections in *The Times* in response to a proliferation of biographical articles claiming to give ‘revelations’ about the author.

The Public Profile of the Victorian Journalist

Joanne Shattock *University of Leicester*

This paper will examine the public profile of the Victorian journalist and implicitly the status of journalism through an exploration of entries of selected writers for the newspaper and periodical press in biographical dictionaries in the second half of the nineteenth century. Whereas in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–) William Jerdan, Douglas Jerrold, Harriet Martineau and George Augustus Sala are designated as journalists, in the original *Dictionary of National Biography*, begun in 1881, Jerdan and Sala were described as journalists, but Jerrold was designated a ‘man of letters’ and Harriet Martineau a ‘miscellaneous writer’. Some prolific contributors to the periodical press who majored in another genre, such as Dinah Craik and Margaret Oliphant, were described as writers or novelists, or in Oliphant’s case ‘novelist and biographer’; their writing for the press was sometimes alluded to in the memoirs, but frequently ignored.

A different picture is presented in the collective biographies of living subjects, the most notable of which was *Men of the Time*, later *Men and Women of the Time*, a precursor of *Who’s Who*. The preface to the 1862 edition, edited by Edward Walford, purported to focus on ‘the aristocracy of intellect’, a category hitherto under represented, it was argued, in collective biographies. The subjects included members of ‘the profession of literature’ as well as representative figures in the creative and performing arts. These were in addition to the usual categories of the established professions (the church, the law, the

universities), politicians, the military, and the royal family. The entries varied in style, some designating a profession or occupation, others only a summary of the life to date. Their value for the student of the newspaper and periodical press are the details of often anonymous contributions to named newspapers and periodicals, not only by professional writers but by lawyers, politicians, scientists, clergy, and academics, a fact recognized by the editors of the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* (1968-89), who listed *Men of the Time* among their sources.

The term ‘journalist’ was imprecise. It sometimes referred to those who wrote for the newspaper press as distinct from writers for the periodical press, who were variously described as essayists, critics, or simply ‘authors’. The classified index to the fourteenth edition, edited by Victor G. Plarr (1895) got round the problem of categorisation by adding bracketed designations under the list of ‘Authors’ – (‘and journalist’), (‘and dramatic critic’), (‘and editor and poet’), (‘and writer on art’). A separate category of ‘Journalists, Publicists, Editors etc’ similarly added (‘and author’), (‘editor’), (‘war correspondent’), (‘lit.editor and compiler’) beside individual names.

A key word search of digitised volumes of *Men of the Time*, and of the *DNB* would no doubt throw up some helpful statistics, particularly of the frequency of the word ‘journalist’. A survey of the obituaries of the same selected names would add another perspective, an impressionistic assessment of a writer’s oeuvre at the end of his or her life. In this preliminary study, I hope to draw some conclusions about the public perception of journalists and the status of journalism in the collective biographies of the period.

Readership

Screening Room (Rm.G.04)

Chair: Dr Katie Halsey, Stirling University

Circles’ of Communicating Children: Provincial Newspapers and Child Writers in late-nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland

Siân Pooley *Magdalen College, Oxford University*

In late-nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland, around one-third of weekly provincial newspapers introduced a column aimed at young readers. In an increasingly competitive marketplace for the popular press, these children’s columns sought to attract the most literate generation of working-class readers. A minority of these columns also sought to nurture children’s engagement with the newspapers’ ‘Circles’ as writers, by publishing the letters, stories, poems and drawings that children submitted enthusiastically for publication. This paper examines the communities of communication constructed mutually by the journalists, child writers, and wider communities of readers, so as to ask three principal questions. What did the popular press and practices of newspaper reading mean to these children who were growing to adulthood after 1870? How did this pioneering young readership shape developing regional, class and gendered cultures of newspaper reading? And, to what extent did the young prompt journalistic innovation to appeal to this new market for the popular ‘family’ press in the final decades of the nineteenth century?

This paper draws on a larger on-going research project that uses children’s writing in the popular press during the seventy years before the Second World War to explore children’s experiences, beliefs and identities. The attitudes to newspapers and periodicals that these young writers expressed are linked to their familial circumstances, as recorded in the decennial census enumerators’ books, and the specific local socio-economic contexts in which these children were growing up. By using age as a category of analysis and – for the first time – including the voices of working-class and lower-middle-class children, it becomes clear that young readers and writers were central to the story of the growth of the reading communities of the provincial popular press in later-nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland.

This paper principally engages with the conference strand focused on ‘the role of the reader in press interactions’. In so doing, it secondarily intersects also with the ‘extension and expansion of readership’ and the articulation of ‘regional and national identity’ across the United Kingdom.

‘Dear Uncle Toby’: Content and Readership of ‘The Children’s Corner’ in the Nineteenth-Century Provincial Newspaper Press

Frederick Milton *Newcastle University*

In 1873, the first children’s column in a British newspaper appeared. This very brief short column in the Belfast News-Letter marked the beginning of the recognition by newspaper proprietors of children as potential and profitable readers for their publications. Beginning in 1876, the Newcastle Weekly Chronicle began a more adventurous feature with the founding of a ‘Corner for Children’ that ran until the paper’s closure in 1940. Within this column, the newspaper also introduced its remarkable ‘Dicky Bird Society’ (DBS), a children’s club that marked a real attempt by the paper to engage with young people by focusing upon the topical issue of nature conservation and animal welfare.

From the 1880s onwards, a host of children’s societies and columns followed in the wake of the DBS, as other provincial weekly newspapers attempted to emulate its extraordinary success. By 1886, 100,000 children had enrolled in the DBS to campaign for bird protection and were carrying out progressive nature conservation work, such as feeding the birds and preventing egg-collecting. By 1914, a children’s column had become a firm fixture in the provincial press, and the 42 societies traced so far had a combined membership of 1.3 million.

The objective of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it argues that the numbers enrolled by the newspaper societies point to the significance and ability of the provincial newspaper press to successfully engage with children and instruct them in worthy activities, in particular, engaging children within the growing public affection for wild birds and their protection. Secondly, it is also possible to assess the intended audience of this proselytising. Children regularly wrote to the editors of these columns and these letters were published. When a child was enrolled into one of related societies, such as the DBS, their name was diligently added to the burgeoning membership list, and this was duly published by the newspaper as a glowing testament to the success of its children’s feature. When a child died, the DBS in

particular, chose to publish a glowing eulogy of the recently departed individual as a ‘Gone Home’ notice. Evaluating these letters, membership lists and obituaries, a highly accurate and revealing picture detailing the age, class origins and gender, of the actual readership of these newspaper columns can be constructed. This analysis offers a fresh interpretation of our understanding of not just our knowledge of newspaper history and its audience but also the broader canon of children’s literature.

Late Nineteenth-Century Readers, Interactive and Sideways Print Consumption, and Alfred Harmsworth’s Answers

Paul Rooney *Trinity College Dublin*

Launched by Alfred Harmsworth in 1888 under the title, Answers to Correspondents, in a bid to rival George Newnes’s Tit Bits and then subsequently rebranded as Answers: A Weekly Journal of Instruction and Amusement for Home and Train, this penny weekly newspaper achieved a comparable degree of success as its Newnes precursor. Contemporary accounts suggest that reported weekly sales had reached in excess of one million copies by the early 1890s. Tit Bits has elicited a certain level of critical engagement from scholars of Victorian periodicals, principally in the form of Kate Jackson’s study, George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880-1910: Culture and Profit (2001). However, Answers remains surprisingly under-researched, despite the likelihood that it represented habitual reading matter for hundreds of thousands, if not millions of nineteenth-century readers

As a title from the Newnes-Harmsworth-Pearson school of late-Victorian journalism, Answers would have owed a considerable proportion of its success to the compositional and material components of its periodical coding. These qualities positioned the newspaper within a print culture niche that instilled the publication with particular appeal for its core target audience amongst the reader demographics that emerged in the post-1870 period as a result of enhanced state elementary educational provisions. My paper will begin by endeavouring to construct a profile of the title’s historical readership, through an examination of both the advertising that dominated the paper’s distinctive orange covers and the reader correspondence and submissions reprinted in the body of the newspaper.

My paper will then interrogate the architecture of content constructed in the pages of Answers during the 1890s. I contend that the interweaving of ‘thumbnail’ items in

journalism on unusual and/or edifying topics elicited a specific mode of consumption, predicated on the need for a limited degree of mental engagement, but (theoretically) fostering a ‘sideways’ style of reading and promoting a distinctive class of signification. I then conclude by speculating on what regular readers of Answers derived from their consumption of this kind of publication, which was customarily classed as disposable, unprofitable reading matter.

9.20am-10.40am: Friday 11 September 2015

Press & Periodical Genres I Lecture Theatre (Rm.G.03)

Chair: Sondra Miley Cooney, Kent State University

Geography in Print: The Geographical Journal and the production and dissemination of geographic knowledge, 1830-1900

Benjamin Newman *Royal Holloway, University of London*

Since its establishment in 1830, the Royal Geographical Society has fostered and maintained an emphasis on print as a medium for the communication of geographical knowledge. Whilst geography's printed books and maps have come under considerable scholarly scrutiny, the role of periodical publication in the production and dissemination of geographical knowledge has been poorly understood. The publication history of the Geographical Journal—the Royal Geographical Society's first printed journal—offers an unique opportunity, therefore, to consider the role of periodical publishing in geography's print culture. That the history of the Society and its journal are coeval, and intimately related, is testified to by the objectives set out in the Society's founding prospectus. One principal objective was simultaneously democratic and textual, being "To collect, register, and digest, and to print for the use of the Members, and the public at large, in a cheap form and at certain intervals, such new, interesting, and useful facts and discoveries as the Society may have in its possession, and may, from time to time, acquire". Defined thus, the Society was founded on the desire to disseminate geographical knowledge through print, and, specifically, through an affordable and regular periodical. It would be hard to overestimate the important contribution that the journal has made to British geography.

This paper will examine the complex networks utilised by the Royal Geographical Society in both the production of printed geographical knowledge and its sites of circulation, exchange, and reception. I aim to demonstrate how the Society's internal systems—and negotiations between its council, secretary (acting as editor), publisher (John Murray), and printer (William Clowes)—influenced the physical form of the journal and hence the spaces in which it circulated. Such assertions are based upon my first year PhD research,

and I hope to convey the lively debates which epitomise the early years of the journal's history. In examining the establishment, rationale, and operation of The Geographical Journal, I reflect on the significance of the periodical as a site and as a means for the making of geographical knowledge.

The Medical Press and its Public

Sally Frampton *University of Oxford*

How was a medical periodical defined in the nineteenth century? What kind of audiences did they have? And by what means was the 'medical' distinguished from the 'lay' within print culture? In this paper I draw on my research which focuses upon the medical press in the nineteenth century. Scholarly literature on medical periodicals is sparse and generally focused on those titles that remain well-known today such as The Lancet and British Medical Journal. While digitization of periodicals by the Wellcome Trust, the Bodleian Library and the Medical Heritage Library has greatly increased the numbers that are available online, many remain accessible only as print copies. By employing a methodological approach that examines a wide range of periodicals, many of which may challenge our understanding of how a medical periodical is defined, I show that as well as promoting professional cohesiveness, medical periodicals of the nineteenth century were also significant in facilitating laypeople's engagement with and contributions to medical knowledge and politics. As readers of professional weeklies such as The Lancet and Medical Times, as publishers and editors of periodicals campaigning against 'orthodox' medicine such as The Anti-Vaccinator, and as advice-seekers writing to popular medical journals such as Health, the non-professional was a presence throughout medical periodical culture. However their presence did not go uncontested by the profession. During the second half of the century there was increasing concern that laypeople were being made party to more medical knowledge than was appropriate, and that some doctors were complicit in this trend by supplying information through the press. In part this reflected disquiet about popular medical periodicals, some of which were marketed as an economical alternative to consulting with a practitioner, and the they role might play in encouraging self-doctoring. But it also spoke to deeper questions about the extent to which citizens could be active, educated and informed in the sphere of health and medicine, without overstepping the boundaries between the professional and the public.

The paper addresses the second strand on the call for papers by providing a thematic overview of medical periodicals and examining the public sphere in relation to the medical press.

9.20am-10.40am: Friday 11 September 2015

Press & Policies Screening Room (Rm.G.04)

Chair: Dr Richard Allen, University of South Wales

The Victorian Barmaid: Her role and social status as reported in newspapers of the time

Allan Boughey *Edinburgh Napier University*

"The Victorian barmaid was not, like Clark's reading of Manet's subject, an alienated whore, but an assertive and competent modernist." (Peter Bailey, 1998 p.171).

She stares out at us impassively professional: detached, disinterested, diffident, demure; the wares of her vocation (champagne, exotic spirits, imported beer) arranged around her to tempt us. Behind her, in the mirror, we view her from a different perspective as she leans boldly across the bar counter towards a shadowy male figure: now, she is the goods on offer. The central figure of Edouard Manet's 1882 painting, A Bar at the Folies-Bergere, she is presented to us in wholly contradictory terms. She – thought to be based on a real barmaid called Suzon – is clearly a working girl. But what type of work does she do; which version of her is true: the aloof, well-dressed young woman with a pose at her breast or the pushy, thrusting figure locked in covenant with the blurry, sinister patron? This paper will analyse representations of the late Victorian barmaid and seek to address whether she was little more than a prostitute, as the art historian T.J. Clark asserts, or whether she was part of a largely respectable new female profession – a symbol of modernity – as Bailey suggests. By exploring contemporary Victorian documentary sources, notably British newspapers, and literature from the period as well as modern theory and readings of history, it will examine the role and social standing of the fin de siècle period barmaid. The primary research materials are newspapers of the Victorian period. These not only illustrate the differing ways that society viewed the barmaid but, through letters sent to newspapers, reveal her true voice.

‘Nineteenth-Century Nuts’: The Anatomy of a Victorian Lads’ Mag

Bob Nicolson *Edge Hill University*

In 1886, readers of the Pall Mall Gazette were invited to cast their vote for the ‘best’ and ‘worst’ newspapers in England. The top accolades were, rather predictably, awarded to The Times and other members of the respectable daily press. However, the dubious honour of being crowned the ‘Worst Newspaper in England’ was bestowed upon the Illustrated Police News. First published in 1864, this low-brow Victorian newspaper made its name by offering sensational, illustrated accounts of the week’s biggest crime stories. Gruesome murders, romantic suicides, tragic accidents, and rampaging animals were its bread and butter for the best part of 30 years. However, in the mid-1890s the paper came under new ownership and began to morph into something rather different. Crime stories continued to appear, but were increasingly displaced by sports coverage and sex. Boxing news, racy music hall songs, scandalous divorces, adverts for pornography, and sketches of half-naked female celebrities soon became the staple features of the paper. In other words, it started to look a lot like a modern day lads’ mag

This paper will examine the history of the IPN and compare it to a typical issue of Nuts magazine. In particular, it will explore the changing representation of women in the paper. Whilst the IPN once prized itself on obtaining genuine likenesses of the people involved in its stories, by the late 1890s it rarely depicted a woman who was not young, beautiful, and unrealistically curvaceous. This preference for sexualised women found its most obvious expression in the scantily-clad music hall pin-ups that adorned the magazine’s back page – a Victorian precursor to Page 3. However, it also began to seep into the paper’s crime coverage. Before long, even the victims of brutal murders were presented with heaving bosoms, shapely thighs, and tightly-corseted waists. In the absence of a suitably sexy story, the paper appears to have fallen back on saucy scenes imagined by its artist. In one case, we accompany the artist as he channels the spirit of the Carry On films and ‘secretly’ spies on some ‘river nymphs’ bathing in the Thames. “What the pretty swimmers will think when they see themselves in our illustration”, mused the paper’s editor, “is better imagined than described.”

Whilst these scene were almost certainly fictional, they highlight the different kinds of voyeurism at work in the paper. The pin-up girls seem to have appeared consensually; they posed for their portraits and occasionally gave brief interviews to the IPN’s reporter, presumably in the knowledge that it would bolster their careers. However, the paper’s

‘news’ stories sexualised women without their consent; they were peeped upon through keyholes, spied on in their bedrooms, and even the victims of terrible crimes were captured in poses that emphasised their curves. It’s an important distinction, akin to the difference between the consensual nudity of ‘empowered’, business-savvy glamour models like Katie Price and the unfortunate girls whose photos end up on ‘revenge porn’ websites. For the reader, of course, it’s all too easy to move uncritically between these acts of consensual and non-consensual voyeurism; the latter is tacitly legitimised by its juxtaposition with the former. As you flick through the paper, the bodies of a murder victim and a music hall star invite the same lecherous gaze. In recent years, lads’ mags and online pornography have justifiably been accused of blurring the lines between sex and violence – the case study of the Illustrated Police News demonstrates that this kind of ‘laddish’ media culture has surprisingly deep roots.

The Pub, the Petition and the Pledge in the Chartist Press

Victoria Jane Clarke *University of Leeds*

Following the resurgence in Chartist studies in the 1960s, it has been widely acknowledged among scholars the importance of newspapers and periodicals in shaping and promoting the movement - what Ian Haywood has described as the first literate Working Class protest. Likewise, towards the middle of the 19th century, did the expansion of accessible print contribute to putting Temperance, as part of contemporary middle class ideals of self-denial, out in the open for wider debate and discussion through writing. Temperance Chartism was formed as a subset of both movements in the late 1840s, partly as an attempt to address mostly middle class criticisms that working people could not be trusted to vote responsibly due to the risks of excess in working class pub culture.

In the last fifty years, there is still little work to have addressed this intersection between the movements. While Steven Eamshaw’s *The Pub in Literature* has significantly opened discussion for the role of London pubs in literature, and many scholars of Chartism have actively acknowledged the role of the public house as a forum for debate and education within working class history, as of yet scholarship is lacking on the Temperance movement as a reactionary response to criticisms of Chartism, resulting in discord within the Chartist movement as a whole.

Space & Time in Press Contexts Room G.01

Chair: Dr Andrew Hobbs, University of Central Lancashire

Don’t Stand Still: Space-time Compression and the Development of Modern Subjectivity in Cassell’s Illustrated Family Paper (1852 - 1865)

Annisa Suliman *Leeds Beckett University*

In 1855, periodical editor John Cassell exhorted his million readers to join ‘the onward march of civilisation’:

DON’T STAND STILL. – If you do, you will be run over. Motion – action – progress [...] Advance, or stand aside; do not block up the way and hinder the career of others; there is too much to do now to allow of inaction anywhere, or in any one (CIFP, March 17).

This conjures up the ‘juggernaut’ force of Anthony Giddens’ (1991) early modernity, where those failing to adapt are ‘swept [...] away’ (151). If, as Beetham (1989) suggests, the periodical offers a unique insight into its moment of production, this address exposes a Zeitgeist generated by industrialisation and time-space compression. In order to survive, the “self has to be explored and constructed as part of a reflexive process of connecting personal and social change” (Giddens, 33). The combination of the social and personal imperatives enforces upon the reader a distinctly modern form of subjective development. Cassell’s Illustrated Family Paper pushes and pulls its readers across the ‘date-stamped’ (Beetham) pages by use of hybrid, anti-linear, often truncated narratives that switch rapidly from one topic, time-frame or genre to another. Cataphoric, anaphoric and exophoric reference throughout further imitate the dynamism of the age. Applied in relation to articles on self-improvement, scientific invention, art, fashion, home and world events; it is also used to ensure the paper’s sustainability in an intensely competitive marketplace. By promoting House of Cassell publications and CIFP articles, past and present, in letters pages, announcements and advertisements, it not only commodifies its products as essential knowledge environments, but places the reader at the centre of the process.

Added to this, periodicity - in particular, the expectation of gratification in future issues - forces the engaged reader into suspended animation that may only cease with the arrival of their “Weekly Visitor” (CIFP, Dec, 1853). Seen in this way, CIFP offers readers a distinctly modern, technologically-driven, dynamic programme of self-development which has roots in the pre-industrial and branches in the post-industrial worlds.

Harmsworth’s Daily Timesaver: The world’s first tabloid as an experiment in placing speed at the heart of the reading experience

Robert Campbell *University of South Wales*

This proposal represents a significant new post-doctoral development in my study of an under-reported episode in journalism history in which Alfred Harmsworth, founder of the Daily Mail, acting as guest editor, turned Joseph W Pulitzer’s New York World into a prototype tabloid to mark the first day of the 20th century (January 1 1901). The newspaper, nicknamed the Daily Timesaver, was arguably the world’s first tabloid. It was returned to its regular format the next day – but not without prompting debate at the time which, until this research, has faded into the margins of newspaper history. I presented interim findings in New York (Campbell, 2011) but on completion of my PhD (Campbell, 2014) am now able to shed fresh new light on the subject. My thesis is that Harmsworth’s experiment was with the temporal nature of the reading experience. He proposed a problem – information overload – and offered a solution in the form of bite-sized news contained within a tabloid format. It was an unusually pervasive attempt to address the transaction at the heart of the reading experience: not the surrender of small change for the cover price, but of the more precious reader resource of time.

Harmsworth’s vision (short-lived, at least at the time) was to erode the autonomy of the reading experience, while persuading readers that it was what they had wished for. As such, my work challenges a prevailing normative approach to tabloids that focuses on news versus entertainment, and offers instead insights drawing on concepts of periodicity, speed, and material versus represented relationships. My proposal addresses the themes of the conference in that it is a case study of an individual publication of note and a significant editor/owner. The research is based on archival evidence from the Butler Library at Columbia University in New York, plus US press reports of what became a news event in itself, and a close reading of the Timesaver.

The Movement of Print Information across Space and Time

Michael Palmer *University of Paris*

The paper reviews archival material in Paris, London and New York concerning exchanges, rivalries and cooperations between nascent news-agencies in the mid-19th century : Reuters and the Press Association in Britain, Havas in France, The A P in New York, with (lesser) attention paid to Wolff in Germany, Stefani in Italy and Fabra in Spain. What was the nature of the “international” news-flow in mid-century? What was the status of these early news-agencies? The French agency, Havas (1835) rapidly focused on the collection and transmission of national and international news.; The London-based agency Reuters (1851), largely eschewed British “domestic” news. The New-York agency, The AP (1848) was, initially, primarily concerned with U.S.news. The German and Viennese agencies, (Wolff, the ‘Corrbureau’) were primarily initially concerned with “domestic news”. What do these different strategies reveal? And what do “house-histories” of these agencies indicate? As to means of transmission, the homing pigeon and ‘pony express’ were - slowly - supplemented by the nascent electric telegraph network; is this period of ‘hybrid transmission techniques’ a salient factor in the movement of print information across space and time? What do we know about early news-agency personnel?

The Local Print Economy in 19th Century Scotland

Helen Williams *Edinburgh Napier University*

The nineteenth century saw a massive expansion of print in all forms in Scotland as it did throughout the United Kingdom. While large firms in major centres, employing emerging technologies and production techniques, were able to specialise in book printing or other segments of the market, there was also an expansion in the numbers of regional and local printing firms. Outside the major print centres of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, the local printing industry was often centred on the production of local newspapers, often produced weekly. This meant that the local or newspaper and periodical press was a significant element in the print culture and economy of many Scottish towns. However, periodical production was only one element of the work of such printing firms, with jobbing printing for local business and some book production work all taking place under one roof, and using the same machinery and undertaken by the same staff. These local newspaper houses were usually also the centre of the union branches which emerged in the middle of the century, and thus played a significant part in the development of the communication networks of print trade workers. The societies which regulated the benefits paid to print workers ‘tramping’ in search of work formed the basis of early trade unions, which in Scotland coalesced into the Scottish Typographical Association from 1853 onwards. Some branch records for smaller regional centres have survived from this formative period. These indicate patterns of mobility within the trade, as well as offering insights into the lives and motivations of both mobile and static workers in the print trade, and illuminate social and working conditions of the time.

This paper is a preliminary investigation of the networks of mobility and information flow in Scotland’s printing trade, focusing specifically on two significant regional centres: Dumfries, a ‘gateway’ town on the border between Scotland and England; and Perth, an administrative hub for the local area, and a transit point on routes north and east of the main centres of population and industry in Scotland’s ‘central belt’. The local minutes and membership records, supported by evidence from trade journals and other local material, offer insights into the lives and work practices of print production workers.

Resources, Mobility & Technology

Lecture Theatre (Rm.G.03)

Chair: Prof David Finkelstein, University of Edinburgh

The American Impact on Periodical Printing in the United Kingdom, 1875-1890

Michael Knies *University of Scranton*

The modern periodical, glossy and well-illustrated, was created by a combination of improvements in printing technology during the second half of the 19th century, primarily between 1875 and 1890. American type founders produced a variety of fancy typefaces designed for job and magazine printing. These typefaces created a shockwave amongst printers in the US and the UK. They could not have been created and effectively printed without a series of innovations: electrotyping, calendered and coated paper, and hard-packing of printing press. The innovation of electrotyping allowed type designers to cut punches with delicate lines that would not survive being driven into a matrix. The resulting type would have a short lifespan due to the fragility of the lines. However, the punch could be electrotyped creating a matrix from which the fonts of delicate typefaces could be easily replicated. The intricate electrotyped lines printed better on dry-calendered and clay-coated papers, whose surfaces were harder and smoother than the traditional damp papers, which absorbed more ink and would blur the lines of delicate faces.

American printers also used the technique of hard-packing the cylinder of the printing press for high quality printing work. Hard-packing meant covering the cylinder with a glazed board instead of a woolen blanket. In the 1880s, fancy American faces “invaded” the UK, causing excitement and consternation amongst printers, since most were unable to print them properly. British magazines were often printed on rougher paper that needed to be dampened before printing, making the printing of fine-lined typefaces (as well as later illustration processes such as photogravure) impossible. British printers did not widely adopt the coated and calendered paper and hard-packing techniques necessary to effectively utilize the new imported faces and newly-developed illustration processes until the mid-to-late 1880s. This presentation will discuss the printing innovations that made the modern periodical possible and their reception in the United Kingdom.

10.40am-12.00am: Friday 11 September 2015

Irish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900: An Illustrated Survey

John North *University of Waterloo*

The Waterloo Directory of Irish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900 is an enumerative, descriptive and analytical bibliography of all titles in all subjects and all languages: a gateway to 6,000 publications, a major corpus of historical documents. This paper will introduce the range of publications, and explain the various filters, or indexes by which titles may be identified: subject, place of publication, issuing bodies, personal names, dates, and key-word searches. Sample queries will be answered. For each title attempts have been made to provide locations in the UK and North America, as well as the details of online full-text access, and sample title page, a list of secondary research available on each title, the political or religious orientation, and remarkable events in the history of the publication, such as law suits, merges, bankruptcies, lapses in publication. The Directory features the family tree of those publications related by merges, title changes, or issuing body. The several thousand title pages provide an abbreviated graphical history of publications in every field: fashion, medicine, anti-slavery, theatre, engineering, agriculture....

The paper will demonstrate online access to the variety of material and the means of access. All who attend the conference will be given a year's free access to the Directory. The publication of the Irish Directory is intended to be followed within a year by a similar Scottish Directory, already well in hand.

Irish Famine & Land Reform

Screening Room (Rm.G.04)

Chair: Dr Joan Allen, Newcastle University

Paupers, Penury and Pressman: Irish Newspaper coverage of the Dublin Insolvency Courts during the period of the Great Famine

Abigail Rieley *Dublin*

Court coverage has always been a mainstay of news for the Press. In the first half of the 19th century, when newspapers and the law were both evolving rapidly, the relationship was almost symbiotic. This was particularly true in Ireland, where the fledgling Dublin newsrooms of newspapers keen to establish themselves as belonging to an impartial, accurate press despite the difficult colonial environment they operated in saw court coverage was a valuable source of home news that could be used to reflect the newspaper's political stance far more subtly than an editorial would. Between the 1830s and 1850s the state of the country was mirrored in the insolvency courts, which were consequently assiduously covered.

The advent of digitisation has opened up these early 19th century newspapers to detailed examination. It is now possible to follow individual careers, stories and trends across a far broader sample than would ever have been feasible before and reveal a picture of the characters who frequented these courts - the small shop keepers and tenants who were slipping into destitution, the disgraced gentry who used the courts as a way of balancing the books, the bailiffs who used brute force to reclaim their debts. This is an area of urban social history that has simply not been viewable in this depth before, particularly in an Irish context. By looking at the reporting of the courts it is also possible to reevaluate the pioneering papers of the period. At a time when Irish journalism was very much looked down on, papers like *The Morning Register*, *Dublin Evening Mail*, *Freeman's Journal* and *Evening Packet* show a standard that goes some way to explain of why so many Irish journalists went on to become key figures in the evolution of the newspaper press across the English speaking world.

10.40am-12.00am: Friday 11 September 2015

Harriet Martineau, The Irish Question, and Post-Famine

Deborah Logan *Western Kentucky University*

My paper investigates Harriet Martineau as a prominent literary and intellectual voice in the periodical press and a frequent commentator on the Irish Question. Under consideration is post-famine reconstruction and its links with rising Irish nationalism, mass emigration to North America, and immigrants' implication in the American Civil War. This paper draws on my editions of Martineau's writing about Ireland, all of which was published in periodicals (*Letters from Ireland* and *Endowed Schools of Ireland* in *Harriet Martineau's Writing on the British Empire*, 2004; *Harriet Martineau: History of England and Military Reform*, 2005; *Harriet Martineau and the Irish Question: Condition of Post-famine Ireland*, 2012).

Inspired by her 1831 visit to Dublin, Martineau's tale "Ireland" (*Illustrations of Political Economy*, 1832) outlined issues more fully developed in subsequent writing: religious conflict, social manipulation, and political exploitation; land tenure, unscrupulous overseers, and absentee landlords; farming subdivisions and inefficient agricultural practices; and the hope promised by education, and the hopelessness engendered by chronic poverty and systemic economic disempowerment. Because of her proven "capacity to understand and represent the political and social condition" of Ireland, Daniel O'Connell urged her to revisit these issues as an established journalist and present them "in a way which the English... [would be] willing to listen to" (AB 2:312).

By 1852, her "fair qualification" for addressing socio-political issues led to "the greatest literary engagement of my life" as journalist for London's *Daily News* (1852-66). Beginning with "Letters from Ireland" (published serially), based on her eye-witness accounts of post-famine Ireland and interviews with survivors during a tour ranging from Belfast to Dublin and throughout the southern and western regions, this was followed by "Endowed Schools of Ireland" (serial, 1858) on education reform (higher education and industrial training) for the rising middle-class, plus an additional thirty-eight Irish articles in *Daily News*. Other publications include *Household Words*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Once a Week*, *Westminster Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, and *New York Evening Post*.

By emphasizing shifts in narrative depth distinguishing daily from weekly, monthly, and quarterly editorial approaches, my analysis of this material reveals variability in Martineau's views about "Irishism." While she claimed that Ireland's recuperation

depended upon strengthening, not dissolving, the Union, she also wrote that Victoria and Albert were clearly remiss in their mismanagement and neglect of "our sister isle." In her "assessments of regional and national identity," she both concedes that Irish "disaffection" is more than justified and deplores the tactics of agitators who manipulate the ignorant, poor, and starving into violent uprisings. She advocates strengthening the culture from within, through education, economic opportunities, and circumstances enabling the Irish to put their talents to work at home, for the reconstruction and recuperation of Ireland, rather than to emigrate.

From Observer to Participant: James Redpath Covers the Irish Land War in 1880

Patrick Maume *Dublin*

The Berwick-born American journalist and former abolitionist James Redpath (1833-91) came to Ireland in February 1880 to report for the *New York Tribune* on the expenditure of funds by the rival charitable bodies appealing for famine relief. Within a short time he came to see the Land League as a replay of the anti-slavery struggle, writing fierce accounts of Irish poverty and landlord and police oppression. On a second visit in May-November 1880 he combined reporting for American newspapers with making speeches at public meetings, was accused of incitement to murder by British and unionist politicians, successfully popularised the term "boycott" and narrowly escaped being arrested and placed on trial together with Davitt and Parnell. He subsequently became one of the most influential spokesmen for the Land League in America.

This paper looks in detail at Redpath's commitment to the Irish nationalist cause (of which he had previously been suspicious because of Irish-American hostility to abolitionism, the association of Catholicism with political conservatism, and his experience of reporting on the anti-Chinese populist movement led by Denis Kearny in San Francisco) by detailed examination of his 1880 articles for the *Tribune*, and discusses how his views reflect nineteenth-century Anglo-American radical critiques of aristocratic influence and how his Carlylean mindset was influenced by his lapsed Presbyterianism, his sense of his Border reiver ancestry, and his view of leading Land Leaguers as prophet-heroes resembling his former associate John Brown (whose official biography he had written).

Press & Periodical Genres II

Room G.01

Chair: Prof Linda Dryden, Edinburgh Napier University

Charles Knight's Impact on Nineteenth-Century Print Culture

Ged Hodgson *De Montfort University, Leicester*

Charles Knight (1791-1873) was a key figure in the nineteenth-century proliferation of print. Born in a printing and stationary shop, Knight launched Windsor's first ever newspaper before moving to London where he wrote, edited, or published some 400 titles – many in his capacity as Superintendent of Publishing for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), which strived to increase literacy among the lower classes and offered fledgling readers an alternative to what its committee members, such as Lord Henry Brougham believed to be the morally corrupting literature available elsewhere. Knight adopted a policy of enculturation, providing poorer readers with the cultural capital needed to appreciate or produce legitimate art, and to renegotiate what Pierre Bourdieu terms the field of cultural production. Of Knight's more notable titles, The Penny Magazine (1832-45) achieved regular sales of 200,000 copies, making it Britain's first truly popular magazine; The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakspeare (1838-43) was the first to offer less wealthy readers an affordable but high quality illustrated edition of Shakespeare's life and works in monthly instalments and other formats; and Old England a Pictorial Museum... (1845-46) was the first book to include machine printed colour illustrations.

The paper proposed will discuss how texts accessed through online databases such as www.hathitrust.org and www.books.google.com can be used to explore the innovations brought about by Knight's success. Knight's printers, William Clowes and Sons, installed the first steam-driven printing press to be used for the production of books on a commercial scale, and by 1840, employed 20 steam presses and over 600 men, women, and children. Clowes also operated the colour printing press which Knight patented, in order to produce illuminated maps in seven colours for as little as 4¹/_d, as well as books such as Old England.... In turn, Knight established an extensive sales network across Britain and the

Commonwealth, and by pioneering the use of stereotype printing plates, allowed his titles, or the images that appeared in them, to be printed at unprecedented rates of speed and cost. When used by printers in New York and Boston, this practice circumvented the import taxes that were levied on foreign literature as it entered the States, and helped to introduce British culture to international readerships.

By exploring the impact that an important but largely neglected author, editor, and publisher had upon nineteenth-century print culture, this paper will address the periodical press as a physical artefact; aspects of visual culture, illustration and technical development in the periodical press; the movement of print information across space and time; and the networks and communication structures that Knight developed.

Cut... Paste... Fire! Victorian Journalism, duelling and the fabrication of history

Margery Masterson *Bristol University*

A letter to the editor of Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper in 1845 admitted that it was 'somewhat late in the day' to call public attention to the issue duelling, but noted in their defence that one duellist been found guilty of 'wilful murder' while a Member of Parliament 'only a few hours before' had sought the protection of the House after being challenged by another member. Why was this mid-Victorian correspondent so apologetic about raising what was so manifestly an issue of the day? Because, according to the press, duelling was extinct. Victorian journalists trumpeted their role in marshalling the 'popular feeling' against the practice. Thus printed discussions of duelling from 1840s onward reemphasised that duelling was a past issue even as they gave evidence of its continued practice. It was not only contemporaries who hesitated to raise the issue after the proclaimed death of the practice in 1844. For historians of the period too, the end of duelling was the logical result of the early nineteenth-century's progressive social and political achievements. And yet duels continued to be mooted in Britain into the late Victorian period.

This paper will explore do more than examine the motivations and biases behind the premature announcement of the death of duelling in nineteenth-century Britain. It will show how nineteenth-century journalistic practices created a false history by chronically distorting the chronology of duelling in Britain. Firstly, a high-profile case would prompt newspapers to write a retrospective assessment of the practise – with the recent case forming the necessary terminus of the narrative. Secondly, successive 'histories' of the

duel did little to alter the 'terminus' narratives generated by the earlier high-profile cases. Indeed they often reiterated older claims without much consideration for the intervening years and its events. This type of 'cut and paste' popular writing, using editorials and court transcripts, made significant revision impossible. In this way secondary and tertiary layers of literature grew around contemporary reactions, creating fabricated histories of the duel. In this way, to continue the analogy, a study tree grew around the rotten wood. This cautionary case study requires historians to reflect upon how we use popular nineteenth-century journalism – and how we can avoid shoring up misleading narratives created by the Victorian press.

It's Best to Be British: European Travel Writing and Creation of National Identity in All the Year Round

Brienne Thornbury *Oxford Brookes University*

Victorian periodical travel narratives were a useful way to educate and entertain readers with tales of foreign lands, and proved an effective instrument for the advancement of national identity. In this genre of writing, British authors often constructed a collective public identity by holding it up against what was perceived as European identity. In some ways, Britishness was definable only by what it was not. The travel narratives that appeared in All the Year Round took the form of sketches rather than prescriptive itineraries. Practical information, such as the best places to dine or sleep was instead the domain of the guidebook industry, which was concurrently experiencing rapid expansion. These travel narratives evidently appealed to persons across the range of the economic spectrum. All the Year Round found a wide audience in mid-century Britain and its sales did not solely include those who could actually afford to visit the places described.

The variety of places written about in Charles Dickens's last periodical is enormous. This paper will focus on the writing about near neighbour Europe, which makes the strongest showing of number of articles in the travel genre, partly boosted by the popularity of France and Italy as travel destinations. Many of these articles contain examples of the British tendency to hold themselves apart from the continent. Britain was perceived as being more politically stable and economically advanced than countries like Italy and Spain, which were backward and had a suboptimal order of priorities. Based on contemporary reviews, few British people challenged this interpretation of the wider world. Even the

most seasoned travellers and travel writers were committed to not having their worldview developed with travel. Their preconceived notions and Britain's wealth influenced the construction of national identity and prevailing attitude of superiority. There is often flagrant and unapologetic British-centric ideology in the pages of All the Year Round.

For a multitude of reasons, Nineteenth Century British travellers earned a reputation for elitist, bad behaviour abroad. Catholic versus Protestant pressure was one additional component of the larger tension between travelling Britons and the people they encountered on the continent. Religious prejudices were often reinforced, instead of being broken down, on their travels through Catholic-dominated Europe.

The prevailing attitude of British exceptionalism found in the pages of All the Year Round was not a new phenomenon; it is well-documented in the years of the Grand Tour as well. A special kind of arrogance contributed to British national identity and continued to grow as Victorian Britain made economic and territorial advancements. This attitude was reflected in both the pieces Dickens composed, as well as those he commissioned, for his popular journal.

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