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Dickens Extra-Illustrated: Heads and Scenes in Monthly Parts (The Case of *Nicholas Nickleby*)

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In ‘Of Grangerising and Dickensiana’ (1886), Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald registered the place of Dickens in ‘The romance of book collecting’.¹ Under the heading ‘Dickensiana’, Fitzgerald considered early and extra-illustrated editions, rather than the ‘combination of bibliomania and hero-worship’ that surrounded the author’s belongings since the sale of his possessions one month after his death — from furniture and pictures to items such as a set of Pickwick ladles and the stuffed raven that inspired ‘Grip’ in *Barnaby Rudge*.² Even when limited to the bibliographic, however, ‘Dickensiana’ are unlikely companions for ‘Grangerizing’; indeed, they might stand for different kinds of extra-illustration in different cultures of the book. Extra-illustration takes a published work, breaks its bindings, and interleaves it with extraneous materials, sometimes mounting each individual leaf on much larger sheets that can be illustrated in the expanded margins. The aim is to resist the homogeneity of the book and turn it into a unique record of taste. ‘Grangerizing’ denotes a practice of extra-illustration emerging within the aristocratic circle of Horace Walpole and associated with James Granger’s *Bibliographical History of England* (1769), a catalogue and taxonomy of all the known English Heads arranged into subject headings under the name of the sitter, class, and period, thereby inviting readers to engage with history through collecting and visualization; hence the term ‘Grangerizing’ came to stand for the practice of extra-illustration.³ For the best account of the phenomenon Fitzgerald turned to the bibliophile expert Thomas Frognall Dibdin. Dibdin’s *Bibliomania*, first published in 1809 as an epistle, expanded by several hundred pages in 1811, and republished throughout the century, includes a ‘Recipe for Illustration’, which Fitzgerald thought worth quoting in full:

Take any passage from any author — to wit; the following (which I have done, quite at random) from SPEED: ‘*Henry Le Spenser, the warlike Bishop of Norwich, being drawne on*

¹ Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald, *The Book Fancier, or, The Romance of Book Collecting* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1886), pp. 168–92.

² Francis Phillimore, ‘Introduction’, in *Dickens Memento, with Introduction by Francis Phillimore and ‘Hints to Dickens Collector’ by John F. Dexter* (London: Tuer, [n.d.]), pp. 1, 4.

³ See Lucy Peltz, ‘Engraved Portrait Heads and the Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Reverend James Granger and Richard Bull, 1769–1774’, *Walpole Society*, 66 (2004), 1–161; and Lucy Peltz, ‘A Friendly Gathering: The Social Politics of Presentation Books and their Extra-Illustration in Horace Walpole’s Circle’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 19 (2007), 33–49.

by *Pope Urban* to preach the *Crusade*, and to be General against *Clement* [. . .].⁴ Now let the reader observe, here are *only four* lines; but which, to be PROPERLY ILLUSTRATED, should be treated thus: 1st; procure all the portraits, at all periods of his life, of *Henry Le Spenser*: 2dly; obtain every view, ancient and modern, like or unlike, of the city of *Norwich*; and, if fortune favour you, of *every Bishop of the same see*: 3rdly; every portrait of *Pope Urban* must be procured; and as many prints and drawings as can give some notion of the *Crusade* — together with a few etchings (if there be any) of *Peter the Hermit* and *Richard 1st*, who took such active parts in the *Crusade*: 4thly; you must search high and low, early and late, for every print of *Clement*: 5thly; procure, or you will be wretched, as many fine prints of *Cardinals* and *Prelates*, singly or in groups, as will impress you with a proper idea of the *Conclave*; and 6thly; see whether you may not obtain, at some of our most distinguished old-print sellers, views of the *house of Parliament* at the period (A.D. 1383.) here described!!! The result, gentle reader, will be this: you will have work enough cut out to occupy you, for one whole month at least [. . .] a late distinguished and highly respectable female collector, who had commenced an ILLUSTRATED BIBLE, procured not fewer than *seven hundred prints* for the illustration of the 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th verses of the 1st chapter of *Genesis*!⁴

Besides the antiquarian practice illustrated in this example, as the pioneering work of Lucy Peltz demonstrates, extra-illustration also flourished among amateur topographers.⁵ By the time Fitzgerald wrote, it had expanded to an attempt to capture within the boards of a book a world of disappearing places, pastimes, and people, which could find a home in works such as Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler* (1653), James Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1791), and lives of actors, often following the impulse and example of a few specialist booksellers. In taking on deictic and other referential elements in a literary work, extra-illustration anchors the words to a world outside and functions as its archival repository and virtual re-enactment once that world has disappeared. From portraits of the author to galleries of characters and views of the places mentioned in the text, extra-illustration documents the material and visual culture of books and the changing relationship between practices of reading and collecting. The archival urge behind an extra-illustrated book is driven by a contradictory impulse: in the encyclopedic, at once iconophilic and iconoclastic need to master the visual corpus of each figure, its pages store up images culled from other books.⁶ Compared to 'Attilas',⁷ extra-illustrators tread the thin line between cultural production, dissemination, and destruction.

⁴ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, 'Recipe for Illustration', in *Bibliomania; or, Book Madness: A Bibliographical Romance, In Six Parts. Illustrated with Cuts* (London: Printed for the author, by J. McCrerry, 1811), pp. 665–66, footnote; also quoted, in a slightly different version, in Fitzgerald, *Book Fancier*, p. 169.

⁵ Lucy Peltz, 'The Extra-Illustration of London: The Gendered Spaces and Practices of Antiquarianism in the late Eighteenth Century', in *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice, 1700–1850*, ed. by Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 115–34.

⁶ Lucy Peltz, 'Facing the Text: The Amateur and Commercial Histories of Extra-Illustration, c. 1770–1840', in *Owners, Annotators, and the Signs of Reading*, ed. by Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll; London: British Library, 2005), pp. 91–135.

⁷ Fitzgerald, *Book Fancier*, p. 168.

Extra-illustrated Dickensiana articulate a different (not necessarily destructive) relationship between illustration and letterpress. Since the late eighteenth century, a practice that was designed to resist the homogeneity of mechanical reproduction had, paradoxically, generated the demand for new commodities and identified a new market and new specialists. In response, printsellers produced sets of prints specifically for the purpose of extra-illustration; and watercolourists, too, advertised their availability to extra-illustrators for creating more individual, customized works. The continuity in practice can be detected in late nineteenth-century bibliographies of Dickens, which register the circulation of Dickensian characters in watercolours alongside sets of prints for extra-illustration by Dickens illustrators Alfred Forrester ('Alfred Crowquill'), Thomas Onwhyn ('Peter Palette'), Frederick Pailthorpe, and Hablot Knight Brown ('Phiz').⁸ Generated by the extra-illustration market, sometimes commissioned by booksellers for extra-illustrators in search of something more distinctive than sets of prints, extant sets of watercolours such as those painted by Joseph Clayton Clark ('Kyd') in the 1880s suggest that characters in watercolours also circulated independently of Dickens's books, whether bound in portfolios or not.⁹ Despite these continuities, however, the extra-illustration of Dickens's works articulates a more deliberately complementary relationship between the text and its 'augmentations', illustrators, and publishers. Dickens's commission to write for *Pickwick* started as a hack-job to accompany Robert Seymour's fashionable prints of 'Sporting Transactions' with 'illustrative' letterpress; yet after Seymour's death he reconfigured the publication, shifting the emphasis from the plates to the writing and thus marking his emergence as an author.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the combination of writing with plates continued to shape Dickens's publications. Whether by the same or rival publishers, extra-illustrations became part of the marketing of his works.

Much attention has been devoted to Dickens's collaboration with his artists and the process of serial composition. In this essay I wish to explore how the 'body' and experience of Dickens's works might change when considered through the practice of extra-illustration. I shall focus on the earliest sets of extra-illustrations and on the place of extra-illustration in *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (1838–39). Assembled a posteriori, the publication in parts offered up ideal raw material for the practice of extra-illustration, as well as an

⁸ See, for instance, *The Dickens Catalogue* (London: J. W. Jarvis, 1884), p. 27, no. 99.

⁹ On 'Kyd's 840 characters in watercolour in sixteen extra-illustrated sets at the Huntington Library as well as collections in the British Museum and at Austin, Texas, see Robert R. Wark, 'The Gentle Pastime of Extra-Illustrating Books', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 56 (1993), 151–65 (p. 163); and Wark, 'The Curious Case of Joseph Clayton Clark', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 59 (1996), 551–55. On Hablot Knight Brown see Robert L. Patten's discussion (forthcoming in *Princeton Library Chronicle*) of the extra-illustrated copy of David Croal Thomson's *Life of Hablot Knight Brown* (1884) recently acquired by Princeton University Library.

¹⁰ Robert L. Patten, *Charles Dickens and his Publishers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 62–65.

ideal terrain to question the limits of the book as a cultural form. The early sets participated in the periodicity of Dickens's monthly publications in that they were also published in monthly parts to be completed with the completion of the text; they were advertised on the wrappers and in the Advertisers. Attention to the functioning of extra-illustrations in the monthly publication, then, helps rearticulate the place of Dickens's serial publications in a culture of reading, viewing, and collecting, which is now harder to see since the canonization of Dickens has separated his works as 'literature' from the 'ephemera' with which they flourished.

Grangerizing and the Emergence of Dickensian Extra-Illustration

He pastes, from injur'd volumes snipt away,
 His *English Heads* in chronicled array.
 Torn from their destin'd page, (unworthy meed
 Of knightly counsel, and heroic deed)
 Not FAITHORNE's stroke, nor FIELD's own types can save
 The gallant VERES, and one-eyed OGLE brave.
 Indignant readers seek the image fled,
 And curse the busy fool, who *wants a head*.
 Proudly he shews, with many a smile elate,
 The scrambling subjects of the *private plate*;
 While Time their actions and their names bereaves,
 They grin for ever in the guarded leaves.
 (John Ferriar, *The Bibliomania*, ll. 119–30)¹¹

John Ferriar's dramatic if playful characterization of Grangerizing emphasizes the Revolutionary overtones of the terms of art associated with collecting, where the bookish counterpart of the 'hanging' of portraits is the 'cutting' of 'Heads' with its uncomfortably close memories of the guillotine.¹² In contrast to such a defacing practice, which embellishes a book with heads decapitated from other books, destruction is not central to the ethos of extra-illustration developed around the publication of Dickens's works. Unlike pages cut from other books, extra-illustrations to Dickens's works were produced as ready-made commodities issued in sets of the same size as the monthly parts.¹³ While Dibdin's search for all visual records of 'Henry Le Spenser' anchors the text to a referential world of documentary records, early sets of extra-illustrations designed to accompany Dickens's works tend to amplify the fictional world of the text. Their

¹¹ John Ferriar, *The Bibliomania, An Epistle, to Richard Heber, Esq.* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies by J. Haddock, Warrington, 1809).

¹² See 'Anti-Guillotine', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 72 (February 1802), 106–08, mentioned in Peltz, 'Engraved Portrait Heads', p. 8.

¹³ On the sets of extra-illustrations for Sir Walter Scott's works as a format for the Victorian book see Richard Maxwell, 'Walter Scott, Victorian Fiction, and the Genesis of the Victorian Illustrated Book', in *The Victorian Illustrated Book*, ed. by Maxwell (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002), pp. 1–51 (pp. 14–19).

attempt to reproduce the visual idiom of the official illustrator suggests that they were intended to be adopted as further illustrations rather than as substitutions for the original set. Their playful relationship with Dickens's work as well as with the contemporary publication world helps us remember reading possibilities that have been obscured since Dickens's novels became stabilized in bound volumes, without the Advertisers, the catalogues, and excerpts added at the back of the text, and the periodicity that shaped their original publication in parts.

Dickens's publishers Chapman and Hall included notices of extra-illustrations in the Advertisers issued with the monthly parts of his works. *Pictures picked from the Pickwick Papers* by Alfred Crowquill (pseudonym for Alfred Forrester) was the first set of extra-illustrations published fortnightly by Ackermann, starting on 1 May 1837. The listing in *Pickwick Advertiser XIV* explains that 'these pickings are intended to illustrate a series of Incidents from this Popular Work, which are too interesting to be lost sight of [. . .]. Each Sheet contains four pages full of subjects, illustrating two numbers'. Although presented as 'additions' 'printed on paper calculated for binding with the work', most of the pages have four or five figures, or groups such as character studies, that might be cut up and pasted into a scrapbook. This first announcement, however, was to be dwarfed the following month by a competing set taking up the full verso of *Pickwick's* wrapper: *Illustrations to the Pickwick Club edited by 'Boz'. By Sam Weller* (pseudonym for Thomas Onwhyn), published by Grattan, illustrating specific episodes set in 'local scenery [. . .] said to be sketched on the spot', and praised for a 'Hogarth-like' 'pencil' that 'has nothing of the caricature of George Cruikshank'.¹⁴ Despite the rivalry between the two sets, Ackermann bought the monthly parts from Chapman and Hall to bind them with the sets of extra-illustrations by Crowquill and Weller and marketed the volume as 'The Pickwick', following the style of the Ackermann Annuals.¹⁵

The Ackermann network gives us a sense of the circulation of *Pickwick*. Ackermann was well known for *The Microcosm of London* (1808–09), the elegant Repository of Arts he opened a couple of doors away from the Royal Academy on the Strand in the late 1790s, the periodical *The Repository of Arts* (1809–28), architectural views, travel books, and fashion sheets.¹⁶ The original 'sporting club' matter that Seymour had envisaged for the *Pickwick Papers* met the taste of

¹⁴ The advertising space devoted to Crowquill continues to be five lines lost in the middle of the Advertiser, which had now grown to twenty-four pages, against full-page advertisements for Weller in *Pickwick XV* and *XVI*. *Pickwick XVIII* has a small advertisement announcing the completion of parts I–V of Weller's *Illustrations* in the verso of the front wrapper, but nothing for Crowquill's *Pictures*.

¹⁵ *Pictorial Pickwickiana: Charles Dickens and his Illustrators*, ed. by Joseph Grego, 2 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899), 1, 280–81.

¹⁶ See John Ford, *Ackermann, 1783–1983: The Business of Art* (London: Ackermann, 1983), pp. 17–20 (for the transition from printseller to publisher), 77–83 (on *The Repository of Arts*).

Rudolph Ackermann Jr, who had been publishing hunting prints since the late 1820s.¹⁷ Among the works listed in an Ackermann catalogue inserted at the end of *Nicholas Nickleby* part IX, the *Nickleby* reader finds annuals by Heath, Fisher, and Finden, as well as Thomas Hood's *Comic Annual* (1830–42) and George Cruikshank's *Comic Almanack* (1834–48).¹⁸ Cruikshank's works, from *Scraps and Sketches* to *My Sketchbook*, *Illustrations to the English Novelists*, and *Don Quixote Illustrated*, were also announced in the Advertisers, wrappers, and back matter of *Pickwick*. Such lists open up *Pickwick* to a dialogue with those other publications: in the temporal experience of serial publication such works might complement or interrupt the reading of a monthly part of *Pickwick* and *Nickleby*. For instance, the advertisement of eighteenth-century novels illustrated by Cruikshank in Dickens's monthly parts reminds us of the mediations through which readers might have activated visual and verbal allusions in their reading of *Nickleby*. The supplementary potential of Ackermann's binding initiative and his retail stock also suggest the contemporary visual and literary culture that the book market had in store for the *Pickwick* reader. If Ackermann's binding initiative blurs the distinction between the original *Pickwick* and its extra-illustrations, then this possibility was encouraged in the advertisements to the two series found in the *Pickwick* Advertiser.

Through the advertisements the reader was told what to do with the extra-illustrations and how to relate them to Dickens's serialized novels. An advertisement in the verso wrapper of part II of Weller's *Illustrations* lists excerpts of 'criticism', one of which concludes that 'every purchaser of the *Pickwick* Papers will illustrate the work with these clever etchings'. These puffs were reproduced in the Advertisers placed before the letterpress of Dickens's text, or on the back wrappers. Such referencing to complementary publications by rival publishers suggested an awareness of the positive impact that the multiplication and diversification of Dickens-related products had on the sale of his works. Yet the extra-illustrations also had a life outside of the bindings of Dickens's monthly parts. Another advertisement listed on the same verso wrapper of Weller's *Illustrations* claims that the fifth number is 'a valuable acquisition to the work or the scrap-book'. The shifting relationship with *Pickwick* is confirmed in a whole-page advertisement for Weller's *Illustrations* published on the back wrapper of part XV of *Pickwick*. At the top of the page Weller's *Illustrations* are declared

¹⁷ The original title of the monthly publication was *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club; containing a Faithful Record of the Perambulations, Perils, Travels, Adventures, and Sporting Transactions of the Corresponding Members. Edited by Boz*, shortened to *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* in the one-volume publication. On Seymour's idea see *Pictorial Pickwickiana*, p. 23, and Patten, *Charles Dickens and his Publishers*, pp. 62–64. On Ackermann's sporting prints see Ford, *Ackermann*, pp. 109–15.

¹⁸ 'Works of Art, Published by Ackermann and Co.', p. 8, inserted at the end of *Nicholas Nickleby* part IX, listing the Annuals by other publishers supplied by Ackermann.

‘adapted for binding with the work’, but at the bottom of the page the relationship between the extras and the original monthly parts is articulated differently: The Trade will find these Illustrations meet with certain sale to the various Subscribers of the *Pickwick Papers*; and many of the thousands who read, but do not purchase the work, will, it is confidently expected, be anxious to possess these Gems.

The possibilities set out for these sets then go from the complementarity of pictures ‘picked’ from and interleaved with the text to the supplementary status of pictures functioning as souvenirs after a reading of the text and endowed with a life outside of the pages, monthly parts, and the bound volume.

‘Nicholas Nickleby’ Extra-Illustrated

The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby was first issued in monthly parts between 2 April 1838 and 1 October 1839, then bound in one volume on 21 October 1839.¹⁹ On opening the wrapper of a monthly part, the reader would first meet the ‘Nickleby Advertiser’, then two plates by Phiz, then Dickens’s text, and finally catalogues, sample plates, and other materials inserted in the back. Title page, Contents, and List of Plates would come last, at the back of the final monthly part only. The role of the paratext is to mark the distinction between the space outside and inside the work, as well as the relation between writing and the world outside it. In a bound book the paratext usually articulates the author’s relationship with patrons and readers. In the monthly publications the relationship with the world outside the fiction is articulated by the advertisements. As the title suggests, the ‘Nickleby Advertiser’ is part of the experience of *Nicholas Nickleby* as much as it shows how *Nicholas Nickleby* relates to the literary marketplace. As a result, the advertisement of extra-illustrations in the wrappers and Advertisers makes a strong claim for their being part of *Nicholas Nickleby*.

The extra-illustration of *Nicholas Nickleby* is closely related to the formats established by *Pickwick*. An advertisement signalling the completion of Sam Weller’s *Illustrations* was published in the first Advertiser for *Nicholas Nickleby* (2 April 1838), but the first addition to *Nicholas Nickleby* was announced in the third (1 June 1838) and began publication at the end of the month under the title *Illustrations to Nicholas Nickleby, edited by Boz. By Peter Palette* (30 June 1838–31 October 1839).²⁰ Palette’s *Illustrations* are presented as complementary to Phiz’s: ‘Those who are subscribers to Boz’s work will lose half the zest of Nickleby’s

¹⁹For an account of the publication see Michael Slater, ‘The Composition and Monthly Publication of *Nicholas Nickleby*’, in *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby reproduced in facsimile from the original monthly parts of 1838–9* (Menston and London: Scolar, 1972–73, 1982), vii–lxxii; a short appendix discusses the extra-illustrations and includes reproductions.

²⁰See advertisements in *Nickleby Advertisers* III, IV, and on the first page of VI.

story if they fail to take Peter Palette'.²¹ 'Zest' highlights Palette's strategy to emphasize the spectacular incidents in the story. After the first scene, which introduces the reader to the Nicklebys together, Phiz tends to alternate illustrations of Nicholas and Kate. Palette, by contrast, opts for variety, often choosing theatricality at the expense of the key turning points in the story. His illustrations are not always in the order in which the scenes are treated in Dickens's text; they never replicate but often complement those of Phiz.

Consider the treatment of Nicholas's departure from Dotheboys Hall. In *Illustrations* part II, Palette visualizes Nicholas's encounter with farmer John Browdie after leaving the school. The caption reads: "'What!' cried John Browdie, with such an ecstatic shout, that the horse gate skyed at it. 'Beaten the schoolmeaster! Ho! Ho! Ho! Beaten the schoolmeaster! Who ever heard o'the loike o'that noo! Giv'us thee hond agean, yoongster.'" Page 118'. The page number refers the reader back to Dickens's text, and it might also act as a prompt to the binder to place the illustration facing that page. The caption, on the other hand, functions as a sequel to the subject chosen by Phiz for part IV, 'Nicholas astonishes Mr Squeers and family', which represented him beating the schoolmaster. Singling out the encounter with John Browdie means emphasizing the benign function of the Yorkshire farmer in the narrative and his providential interventions to undermine the asperity of Squeers's power over the Dotheboys establishment.

In *Nickleby* part VII Phiz's illustration captures Nicholas's first introduction to the world of theatricals in 'The country manager rehearses a Combat':

'There's a picture,' said Mr. Crummles, motioning Nicholas not to advance and spoil it. 'The little 'un has him; if the big 'un doesn't knock under in three seconds he's a dead man. Do that again, boys.'

The two combatants went to work afresh, and chopped away until the swords emitted a shower of sparks, to the great satisfaction of Mr. Crummles, who appeared to consider this a very great point indeed. [. . .]

'That'll be a double *encore* if you take care, boys,' said Mr. Crummles.²²

In Dickens's text, the word 'picture', as the word 'encore', refers to a theatrical tableau.²³ Yet the implications are reversed: in a theatrical tableau the actors slow down to the point where the action gives way to an arrested picture, so as to convey the picturesque potential of the scene to the spectators and to make

²¹ Peter Palette (pseud. for Thomas Onwhyn), *Illustrations to Nicholas Nickleby*, edited by Boz. By Peter Palette (London: E. Grattan, 1838–39), part I (30 June 1838), Back Wrapper, London, British Library [BL], Dexter Collection, Dex 313 (2).

²² *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby, containing a Faithful Account of the Fortunes, Misfortunes, Uprisings, Downfallings, and Complete Career of the Nickleby Family. Edited by "Boz," with Illustrations by "Phiz"* [hereafter abbreviated *NNP*], part VII (1 October 1838), pp. 209–10 (in the volume publication the title was shortened to *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby. By Charles Dickens. With Illustrations by Phiz* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1839)); and Charles Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby*, ed. by Mark Ford (London: Penguin, 1999) [hereafter abbreviated *NN*], p. 272. Subsequent references to these works will appear in the text.

²³ For a more explicit use of the word in its theatrical sense see *NN*, p. 292.

sure that the painter can immortalize the moment on canvas. Here, instead, the instruction arrests the spectator, Nicholas, who is kept in the background, whereas the left foreground is taken by the acting and the theatrical manager supervising it. Yet the manager's constative 'There's a picture' has a deictic function that trespasses and expands the boundaries of the fictional world, inviting the reader to visualize the scene.

In the serial publication, seeing came before reading, for the illustration was stitched in front of the letterpress. The manager's exclamation, then, interrupted the continuity of the reading, marking out the portion of the passage as a 'picture'. Pointing the reader to an element 'outside' the text meant claiming the illustration placed in the front. But in encouraging the reader to look for pictures outside the continuum of the letterpress, the Manager's deictic also blurs the distinction between the official and the extra-illustration, which in this case captures a theatrical scene described a few pages later: "They are going through the Indian Savage and the Maiden", said Mrs Crummlles Page 217'.²⁴ The narrative continuity with Phiz's illustration is maintained by the recognizable features of Crummlles and Nicholas. Palette's extra-illustration shows a subsequent moment in Nicholas's acquaintance with Crummlles: Nicholas is now in the foreground, holding his hat in his hands, in a more familiar, conversational pose, as if commenting on the action taking place in the centre of the illustration.

In the volume publication, the order was reversed: reading came before seeing. The partitions of the book were secured verbally through the indexing functions of the paratext issued with the last monthly parts (XIX–XX). In the volume these paratextual components were bound as preliminary matter before the text and the illustrations. Placed at the front, titles of chapters and illustrations acted as abridgements of the story, singling out its most salient turns and anchoring the visual world of the story in writing. The List of Plates gave pride of place to the official illustrations, with the title coming before the image, and the image facing the relevant page of text. Binding the parts into book form meant eliminating the Advertiser and wrappers, and with them all references to the extra-illustrations, as well as those visual and verbal voices inserted in different type and size of paper at the end of the letterpress. In contrast to the openness of the monthly numbers, the volume isolated and enclosed the writing within the more stable boundaries of the book. As a result the work of visualization changed and with it the relationship between writing, advertising, and the production of images.

²⁴ Palette, *Illustrations to Nicholas Nickleby*, part IV (30 Nov 1838), referring to part VII, chapter 23; *NVP*, p. 217 and *NV*, p. 281.

In ‘picking’, but also freeing, characters and scenes from the accompanying letterpress, extra-illustration is a material practice that literally produces effects of metalepsis, a figure of speech in which the distinctions between the fictional and the real world, the world inside and outside the book, are blurred.²⁵ The frontispiece of Palette’s *Illustrations* establishes a link to the visual world of *Pickwick*. The wrapper shows the title inscribed inside a big palette, with copies of both ‘Illustrations to the Pickwick Club by Sam Weller’ and ‘Pick Wick by Boz’ underneath it. Through these references the artist suggests that the new work will continue in the vein of its predecessor and that the two pseudonyms stand for the same artist.²⁶ A further indication of the ambition of the artist is implicit in presenting *Pickwick* and Weller’s *Illustrations* as separate books: while advertisements to Weller’s *Pickwick* had claimed them as complementary embellishments to be bound in the volume, inclusion in the binding of *Nickleby* is not emphasized in advertisements of Palette’s *Illustrations to Nicholas Nickleby*. Yet, in acknowledging Weller, the print at the same time signals the productive openness of Dickens’s page and the porousness of its publication in monthly parts: the name of the character stands for the escape route traced by Sam Weller’s metaleptic turn from character to extra-illustrator of *Pickwick*. Weller’s *Illustrations* are metaleptic because on the one hand they do not announce their status as ‘extra’ embellishments, and on the other they signal their place both inside and outside the text by way of the artist’s pseudonym.

Following Weller’s steps, another character escaped from the sheets of Dickens’s monthly parts, this time from *Nicholas Nickleby*, to author *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby. From Drawings by Miss La Creevy*, the painter of miniatures and kind first lodger of the Nicklebys in London. La Creevy’s set of portraits supplements the visual world created by Phiz, developing a possibility inherent in Phiz’s illustration of ‘Kate Nickleby sitting to Miss La Creevy’ for *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* part III (1 June 1838). Robert L. Patten compares Miss La Creevy’s portrait painting in the novel to Phiz’s illustrations: where she depicts people ‘not exactly as they are’ but ‘as they wish to be’, or according to types, Browne’s etchings represent ‘people interacting with others’, ‘understood in terms of their physical appearance and action within the social world’.²⁷ Enlarged and abstracted from the scene designed by Phiz, the profile and pose of La Creevy wandered on to the wrapper of *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*, where we find her surrounded by round portraits of the novel’s main characters, with

²⁵ On metalepsis see Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), pp. 228, 234–35.

²⁶ Palette, *Illustrations to Nicholas Nickleby*, second sheet, unpaginated, see BL, Dex 313 (2). The true name of the painter is given away in the puffs first published on p. 7 of the Grattan catalogue inserted in the back of part XIII of *Nickleby*.

²⁷ Robert L. Patten, ‘From Sketches to *Nickleby*’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Charles Dickens*, ed. by John O. Jordan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 16–33 (pp. 31–32).

her brush pointing to the name ‘Boz’ inscribed underneath a portrait of the author (see Figure 1).²⁸ Kate Nickleby, also abstracted from the interior visualized by Phiz, is the first portrait to be found in the first number (see Figure 2). In turn, La Creevy’s ‘escape’ is notified in *Nickleby Advertiser* XI (1 February 1839) and her face can be traced in the full-page advertisements inserted at the back of the *Nickleby* parts.²⁹ Her portraits from *Nicholas Nickleby* have an existence outside the boards of the book at the same time as they document an activity described within the book and illustrated by Phiz. In the British Library copy of *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*, the first plate shows a male artist at work, with a crowd peering over his shoulder to see him portraying a child perched on a stool playing the tambourine (see Figure 3). The same artist can be seen in the second plate, with an animation of characters stepping out of a book he is holding half open. The visual contradiction between the artist on the cover and the artist captured inside the book is confirmed by the publication line, ‘Kenny Meadows dt Orrin Smith sc.’ (see Figure 4).³⁰ Neither of these two images can be found in the two copies of *Heads of Nicholas Nickleby* now in Harvard University’s Houghton Library. If, then, the two images are extra-illustrations, by inserting them in the first number of the British Library copy of La Creevy’s *Heads*, the extra-illustrator challenged the title’s attribution of the work to Miss La Creevy, juxtaposing alternative portraits of the artist to the one found on the wrapper and thus attributing the work to Joseph Kenny Meadows.

Meadows’s choice of name playfully exhibits the referential productivity of Dickens’s writing. Dickens’s references to La Creevy are retrospectively endowed with the deictic power to point to La Creevy’s portraits outside the text. This blurring of the boundary between the world inside and outside of Dickens’s writing is implicit in the first title page of *Nicholas Nickleby*. ‘Edited by Boz’ associates *Nickleby* with *Memoirs of Grimaldi*, the first title to hit the eye as the reader opens the first monthly part of *Nickleby*, where *Grimaldi* is the first item advertised in the first *Nickleby Advertiser*. Like *Grimaldi*, *Nicholas* and *La Creevy* could be real people, and her heads real portraits of *Nicholas*’s family and circle. Others have remarked on the dialogic or blurred relationship between fictional writing and advertising in Dickens’s serial publications.³¹

²⁸ See Gerard Curtis, ‘The Art of Seeing: Dickens in the Visual Market’, in *Visual Words: Art and the Material Book in Victorian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 103–42 (pp. 115–18).

²⁹ *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*, see ‘Tyas’ Popular Publications’, detached advertisement, dated 1 October, in *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*, BL, Dex 313 (1). Notices about *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby* appear in the *Advertisers* to parts XI and XIII; full-page advertisements in the back of parts XII and XIX–XX.

³⁰ Miss La Creevy, pseud. [Joseph K. Meadows], *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby. From Drawings by Miss La Creevy* (London: Robert Tyas, 1839), BL, Dex 313 (1), unfortunately too fragile to be reproduced.

³¹ See Bernard Darwin, *The Dickens Advertiser* (London: Elkins, Matthews and Marrot, 1930); and Sara Thornton, ‘Reading the Dickens Advertiser: Merging Paratext and Novel’, in *Advertising, Subjectivity and the Nineteenth-Century Novel: Dickens, Balzac and the Language of the Walls* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 63–118 (pp. 88–103).

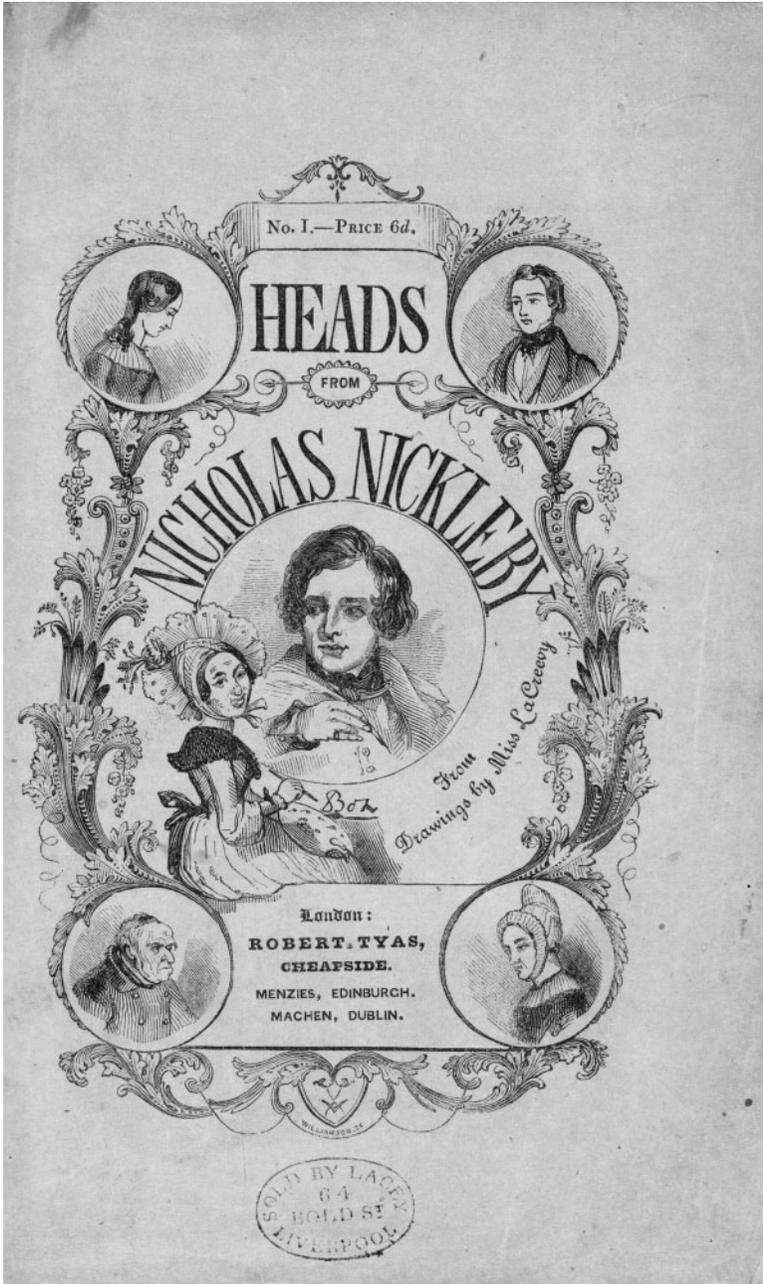


FIGURE 1 Wrapper for Miss La Creevy, pseud. [Joseph K. Meadows], *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby. From Drawings by Miss La Creevy* (London: Tyas, 1839). By permission of Harvard University, Houghton Library (Accessions *59S-106).



FIGURE 2 'Kate Nickleby' by Miss La Creevy, pseud. [Joseph K. Meadows], for *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*. From *Drawings by Miss La Creevy* (London: Tyas, 1839). By permission of Harvard University, Houghton Library (Accessions *59S-106).



FIGURE 3 Frontispiece to Volume 1 of Joseph Kenny Meadows, *Heads of the People: or, Portraits of the English* (London: Robert Tyas, 1840–41). By permission of Harvard University, Houghton Library (*EC85.T3255.A84ohb).

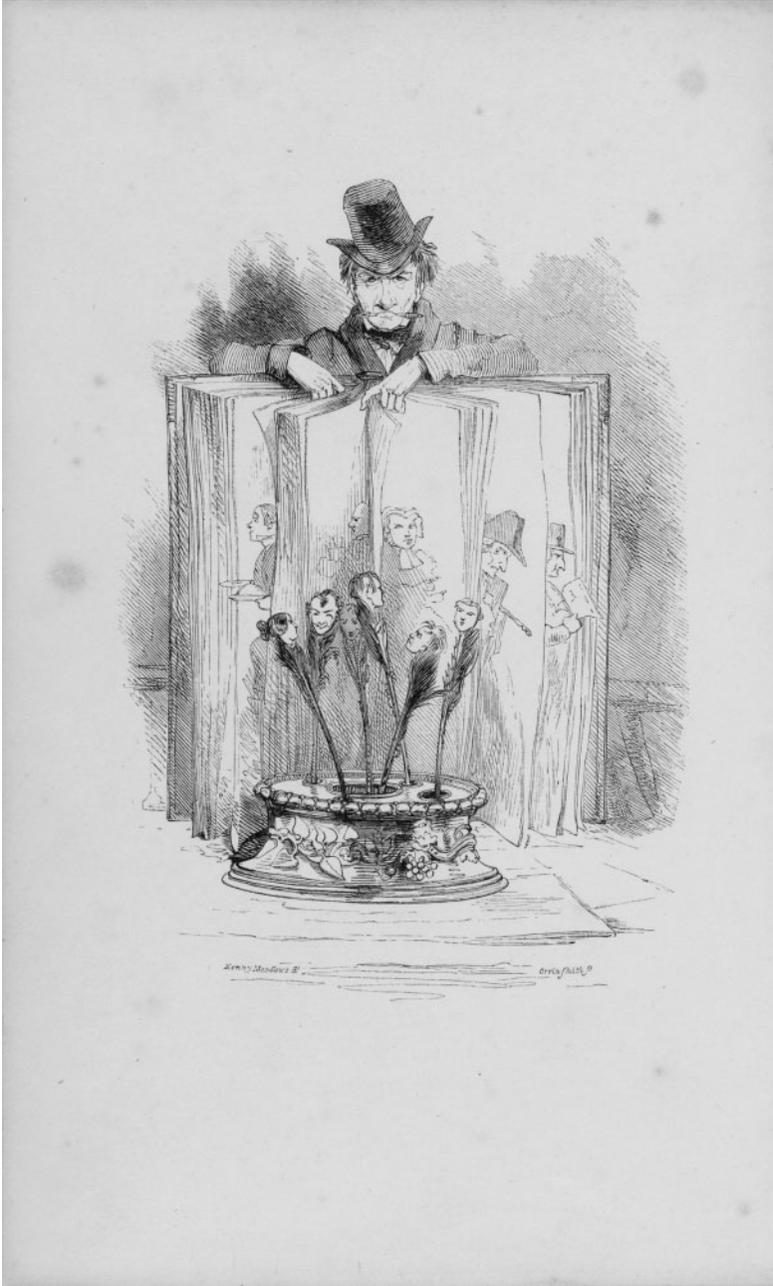


FIGURE 4 Frontispiece to Volume 2 of Joseph Kenny Meadows, *Heads of the People: or, Portraits of the English* (London: Robert Tyas, 1840–41). By permission of Harvard University, Houghton Library (*EC85.T3255.A840hb).

Dickens himself delighted in mimicking the style of advertisements. An early example is Mr Squeers's advertisement for Dotheboy's Hall in *Nicholas Nickleby* (*NN*, p. 40).³² Playing with La Creevy's existence inside and outside the fictional world, the extra-illustrator shows how Dickens's writing can work, retrospectively, as an advertisement for *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*. Later in the text Dickens himself playfully references a product listed in his Advertisers when comparing Miss La Creevy to 'Mrs Rowland who every morning bathes in Kalydor' (*NN*, p. 612).³³ While advertisements to *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby* would be discarded when *Nicholas Nickleby* was bound in volume form, in attributing the Heads to Miss La Creevy, Meadows secured a reference to his work inside the text that would survive the disappearance of the notices published in the preliminary and back matters of the monthly publication.

The handling of illustration defines the constitutive elements and the experience of the book as a physical object. While the Advertiser is printed on the same paper as Dickens's text, the illustrations dividing the one from the other are printed on different paper. As a separate section of plates, *hors-texte*, they mark the threshold of the text: they stand out. In terms of tactile experience, all plates, therefore, are 'extra': the official illustration and the extra-illustration are closer to one another than to the text. Both are neither within nor without the text. As Peter McDonald argues, illustration brings out the bibliographic imagination in Jacques Derrida's famous claim that 'there is nothing outside of the text'.³⁴ Phiz's depiction of La Creevy at work produces its referential world both literally, in so far as it is reproduced by the extra-illustrating artist as a visual type, but also in the metaphorical sense in which the existence of the portraits on the market feeds on the stabilizing need to identify the referential anchoring of the work of fiction outside the text. La Creevy's portraits, in other words, play with extra-illustration as a practice that needs to support the words by facing them with the 'documents' that bear them out.

Even the page numbers — those props meant to guarantee a coherent, sequential order for the book as a homogeneous and enclosed form — might be destabilized by the supplementary action of extra-illustration. In the case of *Nicholas Nickleby* page numbering on a plate indicates an extra-illustration, for the original illustrations come with a caption but no page number; only the 'List of Plates' issued with parts XIX–XX stabilizes the relationship between text and illustration, determining the page each illustration should be facing. While the

³² Darwin, *Dickens Advertiser*, p. 3; see also pp. 9–10 on commodities taking on the name of the title and characters of *Pickwick Papers* and *Nicholas Nickleby*.

³³ Curtis, 'The Art of Seeing', p. 115.

³⁴ See Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, corrected edn, trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 158. The bibliographical pun in the French *hors-texte*, which means 'plates section', is lost in translation; see Peter McDonald, 'Ideas of the Book and Histories of Literature: After Theory?', *PMLA*, 121 (2006), 214–28 (pp. 222–23).

earliest advertisements dutifully declare La Creevy's pictures an 'addition to the work',³⁵ the lack of page numbers on the La Creevy portraits, then, makes the plates more volatile. In the final monthly part this ambiguity becomes an explicit marketing alternative: a full-page advert at the back emphasized that in being 'printed uniform in size and style with Phiz's Illustration, [. . .] it will be found a valuable adjunct to the work, by all parties who are about to have their numbers bound in a Volume'. Coming with the volume's paratext, as well as an advertisement of the different binding options offered by the publisher, this final monthly issue is the critical ground for any claim for insertion in the final book format.³⁶ Yet the very same advert also offers the possibility of having 'the whole stitched in a stiff cover',³⁷ and calls the set of twenty-four portraits 'The Nickleby Gallery'. As a 'Gallery', La Creevy's set unbinds *Nicholas Nickleby* because it blurs the space inside and outside the text: just as Kate Nickleby's portrait is seen on the wall and handed around (*NN*, p. 334), other portraits might hang in the houses of characters or readers of *Nicholas Nickleby*.

The possibility of a 'Nickleby Gallery' reveals the deep relationship between nineteenth-century literature and gallery culture, the acts of reading and viewing. The alternative title invites the reader to consider La Creevy's *Heads* alongside other galleries such as those listed in the Nickleby Advertiser. Galleries of characters both real and fictional had been a fashionable genre since the 1790s. The visual idiom of the Nickleby Gallery is far from the sentimental narrative scenes selected for the Byron Gallery, which was advertised in *Pickwick*.³⁸ Nor does it have anything in common with Finden's *Royal Gallery of British Art*, which was published in monthly parts between the 1830s and 1850s, during and after the monthly publication of *Nicholas Nickleby*. Inspired by the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery and Macklin's Bible, Finden's *Gallery* showcased the eclectic style of the English School, from Sir Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough to pictures by C. R. Leslie, Charles Lock Eastlake, and Gilbert Stuart Newton's Hogarthian *Beggar's Opera*, most of them on view at the Royal Academy and the British Institution in the 1820s and 1830s, and some also listed

³⁵ *NNP* part XII, back matter.

³⁶ The binding options are listed in a sheet placed after the illustrations and facing the first page of letter-press of part XIX.

³⁷ 'Notice' on the front page of the catalogue of 'Tyas's Popular Publications', dated 1 October, and inserted at the back of *NNP* parts XIX–XX (1 October 1839).

³⁸ See *Pickwick Advertiser* VII: 'The Byron Gallery; a series of historical engravings to illustrate the poetical works of Lord Byron. These splendid Plates are beautifully engraved from Drawings and Paintings by the most celebrated Artists, and are adapted, by their size and excellence, to bind up with and embellish every edition of Lord Byron's Works'; see also *The Byron Gallery: A Series of Historical Embellishments, Illustrating the Poetical Works of Lord Byron. A New and Enlarged Edition, with Descriptive Letter-press* (London: Smith, 1838). On the emergence of character portraits see Deirdre Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), and Christopher Rovee, *Imagining the Gallery: The Social Body of British Romanticism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006); on the literary galleries see Luisa Calè, *Fuseli's Milton Gallery: "Turning Readers into Spectators"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006).

in the *Nickleby* Advertiser. Reading the advertisements to such works alongside Dickens's text opens up new reading effects. Different as they were, these galleries would become in some way interdependent because of being part of a list contiguous with Dickens's text. The reader's actual experience of the galleries advertised can be debated, but they would act as prompts to visualize Dickens's scenes and characters, even for those for whom these galleries were purely imaginary. Because they could be encountered and imagined through the words on the page, they became part of a series. Just as those paper galleries could reproduce pictures hanging at the Royal Academy and British Institution, the reader could then imagine La Creevy's portraits of Nicholas and Kate *Nickleby* and all the other characters on the walls of such exhibition spaces. In addition the exhibition-goer would then imagine the characters themselves contemplating their portraits hanging on the exhibition's walls. This metaleptic effect shows how these 'galleries of words' bring art within literary works, activate the visual imagination of readers, and call them to engage in the practice of art and transform the text into a series of gallery pictures.

The address 'To the Readers of *Nicholas Nickleby*', on the other hand, also troubles the place of the visual supplement in the economy of the writing. Published at the back of *Nickleby* part XII, the address claims that the portraits are 'selected at the period when their very actions define their true characters, and exhibit the inward mind by its outward manifestations'.³⁹ This claim suggests that painting the portrait is the outcome of a deep reading of the text, which enables the painter to identify the key moment in the unfolding of the character. Capturing 'the inward mind' requires some anticipation on the part of the artist, given that the portraits began to be issued after only half of Dickens's novel had been published and had to be completed with the completion of the novel. Seen as a discreet set in its own wrappers or 'stitched in a stiff cover', with no page reference to Dickens's text, *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby* left it to the reader to identify the moment chosen for a character's portrait, or to associate it with other passages in the text. Within the economy of the book, if the place of each portrait within the letterpress had to be determined by the character's revelation without any retrospective listing of relevant page numbers, the set depended on the interpretative function of binding as an act of reading. For instance, a copy of *Nickleby* bound with the La Creevy Heads at the Houghton Library shows most of the portraits facing the page of text on which the relevant characters are first introduced, with the effect of a theatrical role-call marking the first appearance of Dickens's dramatis personae.⁴⁰ Such placing

³⁹ 'To the Readers of *Nicholas Nickleby*', *NVP* part XII.

⁴⁰ *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*. By Charles Dickens. With Illustrations by Phiz (London: Chapman and Hall, 1839), Harvard University, Houghton Library, Harry Elkins Widener Collection, HEW 2.8.11.

highlights the descriptive power of Dickens's first introductions and makes sense of the difficult task of the artist in painting a character *in fieri* without the whole story at hand.

A character's first appearance on the page seems also to be the prompt for the 'Series of Portraits' that Palette began to include alongside his 'Scenic Subjects' in part VI (31 March 1839) of *Illustrations to Nicholas Nickleby*, allegedly on the strength of his success but no doubt in response to Miss La Creevy's *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*, whose publication had started two months earlier.⁴¹ Both publications chose Newman Noggs for their first instalment of portraits. In the Houghton Library copy, La Creevy's Newman Noggs published in part I on 1 February 1839 is bound facing Noggs's first appearance in chapter 2: 'he was a tall man of middle-age with two google eyes whereof one was a fixture, a rubicond nose, a cadaverous face, and a suit of clothes [. . .] much worse for the wear'. The tight fists hurled upwards visualized in La Creevy's portrait are hinted at lower down on the same page, where he 'rubbed his hands slowly over each other, cracking the joints of his fingers, and squeezing them into all possible distortions' (*NN*, p. 24). The emaciated face is more closely captured, however, in Palette's much more static depiction of Noggs, which is far less well suited to the page to which Palette refers it. Having chosen for one of his first 'scenic' illustrations Noggs 'gazing fixedly' at Nicholas from 'upon his high stool' while waiting for Ralph, Palette opted for the following page, the last of part I, for his 'portrait'. Part I ends with a very expressive description of Noggs's intense emotional state, leaving the reader in a state of dark anticipation. On hearing about Ralph Nickleby's job placement for Nicholas at Dotheboys Hall, Noggs seems to undergo a 'fit':

throwing himself into a variety of uncouth attitudes, [he] thrust his hands under the stool and cracked his finger-joints as if he were snapping all the bones in his hands [. . .] went on shrugging his shoulders and cracking his finger-joints, smiling horribly all the time, and looking stedfastly at nothing. (*NN*, p. 54).

Such extreme behaviour is difficult to capture on canvas, but is much closer to the La Creevy portrait than the static, emaciated figure visualized by Palette. It is as if Palette identified and chose to stick to the passage he thought that La Creevy had chosen from part I, but then could not live up to it. Following the instigation of the advertisement, however, the reader is encouraged to try out other places in the text. While La Creevy's clenched-fisted Noggs is still too static for the convulsions he is subjected to at the end of part I, the illustration might be closer to two scenes in parts IX and X. At the end of chapter 28, having

⁴¹ See 'Notice', in Palette, *Illustrations to Nicholas Nickleby*, part VI (31 March 1839), back wrapper, BL, Dex 313 (2). The Palette notice is also printed on the page after the announcement of *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby* part II in *Nickleby Advertiser* XIII (1 April 1839), and adjacent to the announcement of part IV of *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby* in *Nickleby Advertiser* XV (1 June 1839).

eavesdropped on Kate's confrontation with her uncle, Noggs performs a 'sole actor' scene, 'bestowing the most vigorous, scientific, and straightforward blows upon the empty air'. While only the reader is in the position of 'the attentive observer' called for to understand that 'his imagination was thrashing, to within an inch of his life, his body's most active employer, Mr Ralph Nickleby' (*NN*, p. 358), a similar outburst occurs in part X (*NN*, pp. 387–88) in the presence of Miss La Creevy herself. What better scene to reveal 'the inward mind by its outward manifestations'? And what better painter than the artist who witnessed it in person? Such reference would be very timely, as these scenes would be fresher in the reader's mind, given that they were published in December 1838 and January 1839, the two months preceding La Creevy's first instalment.

Of the early extra-illustrations, La Creevy's *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby* is the most playful reference to the genre, alluding as it does to the well-worn thirst for 'Heads', from the monumental *Heads of Illustrious Persons* (1743–52) engraved by Jacobus Houbraken and George Vertue to the head-cutting practices of extra-illustrators of the Grangerizing kind immortalized by Ferriar, Dibdin, and, later, Fitzgerald. Unlike these monumentalizing prototypes, however, *Heads* is less likely to fall a victim of the guillotine. Documenting the aspiring middle stations of society, La Creevy's *Heads* is closer to another contemporary reference, which emphasizes an important shift in representation towards the whole 'body' of the people. Its first listing in *Nickleby Advertiser XI* places it just beneath *Heads of the People Taken off by Kenny Meadows (Quizfizz) and engraved by Orrin Smith*, issued in the same format by the same publisher, Robert Tyas, and accompanied by short texts by Laman Blanchard, Douglas Jerrold (who later wrote *London: A Pilgrimage* with illustrations by Gustave Doré), Leigh Hunt, William Thackeray, and others. *Heads of the People* had been part of the world of *Nicholas Nickleby* since a two-page notice published at the back of part VII, with entries in *Nickleby Advertisers VIII* and *IX*. In the first notice excerpted at the back of *Nicholas Nickleby*, a half-length portrait of a butler heads 'An Introduction':

'My Lord Duke' — (*Listen to the Head, most gracious Reader*) — 'My Lord Duke, permit me to introduce to your Grace, Jack Heads-and-tails, the Mutton-pieman. Jack Heads-and-tails, his Grace the Duke of Manystars. Good folks, be acquainted.'

'Sir Courcy Normanline, allow me to offer to your notice, Brightshovel Bill, the Flying Dustman. Brightshovel Bill, Sir Courcy Normanline, the oldest baronet of England. Know one another.'

'Dear Duchess of Daffodils, may I be suffered to make known to you, poor little Alice Thousandstitch, the milliner's apprentice? Alice Thousandstitch [*aside to her* – foolish thing, don't blush and tremble] know the condescending Duchess of Daffodils'.⁴²

⁴² 'On the first of November will be published No. I., (to be continued monthly) of Heads of the People', in *Nicholas Nickleby* part VII (1 October 1838), two-page insert facing p. 224.

Written on an extraneous sheet printed on different paper and inserted within the wrappers of part VII of *Nicholas Nickleby*, this insert extra-illustrates such voices and scenes inside *Nickleby* just as it invites the reader to wander outside to seek the numbers of *Heads of the People* for more such acquaintances. After these playfully animated introductions, the advertisement goes on to claim the ‘benevolent purpose [. . .] to make Englishmen intimate with Englishmen: to bring the ends of the Town and the Country together; to make May Fair known to the New Cut; New Cut to May Fair’. These introductions will be developed as anecdotes in the letterpress accompanying each illustration, which describes the types illustrated divided up according to profession and class. For instance, the second issue, advertised in *Nickleby* part IX, contains ‘The Lion, The Medical Student, The Maid of All Work, The Fashionable Physician’. Unlike Houbraken and Granger, Meadows’s ‘Picture Gallery of the English Nation’⁴³ portrays neither the greats of English history, nor humble characters in ‘Fancy Portraits’ (‘a Dustman in sugar-candy, or a Chimney-sweep in peppermint, after the modern fancy of face-making’). Regardless of class and profession, the reader is promised he or she will find ‘the likeness of “his Order” among the “HEADS OF THE PEOPLE”’. The descriptions come from writers ‘who have not looked at life only through the plate-glass windows of a drawing-room, but have been pushed and elbowed by the living crowd’.⁴⁴ Evidence of cross-marketing can be found through slips addressed to ‘milliners’ advertising *Heads of the People* inserted in *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*.⁴⁵ For those who had not yet guessed from the juxtaposition of adverts, from the format and style, or from the publication line under the first plates of *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*, Meadows’s authorship of both publications becomes obvious when we turn to the frontispieces of *Heads of the People: or, Portraits of the English* (1840). For in the two-volume edition we find the two extra-illustrated images found at the beginning of the British Library copy of *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*: the portrait of the artist sitting at the easel for volume one and the open book for volume two. Whether guided or not by this continuity in authorship, the juxtaposition of the two publications in the *Nickleby* Advertiser would be enough to encourage a triangulation of looks and scenes of recognition between the text and the two series of *Heads*.

Let us turn, then, to ‘The Dressmaker’, published in part I of *Heads of the People* on 1 November 1838. Meadows’s episode comes after the conclusion of Kate Nickleby’s experience as a milliner’s apprentice at Madame Mantalini’s ‘Temple of Fashion’ in *Nickleby* part VII, whose back matter features the introduction between Lady Daffodils and Alice Thousandstitch. The text developed

⁴³ ‘Tyas’s Popular Publications’, inserted at the back of *Nicholas Nickleby* parts XIX–XX.

⁴⁴ Tyas’s insert at the back of *Nicholas Nickleby* part VII, p. 2.

⁴⁵ One such slip is still inserted in the copy of *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby* preserved in the Dexter Collection, British Library.

to accompany this highlight in *Heads of the People* one month later has a number of points of contact with Kate's experience. Like Kate, her 'real' counterpart 'Fanny White' is led to work following the death of her father. Both are criticized for their physical embodiment of their class: at the end of part V Kate's first day ends badly because, in coming into contact with 'some great lady — or rather rich one', her hands are 'cold — dirty — coarse — she could do nothing right' (*NN*, p. 211); Fanny is dismissed for having inadvertently touched the shoulder of her client. However, the two publications diverge with respect to their intended public and the politics of their interpellation. Wary of the limits of sympathy, at the beginning of *Nickleby* part VI Dickens alludes to the hard life Kate leads as a milliner's apprentice, but refrains from dwelling on her 'bodily fatigue': fearing it might 'deprive it of any interest with the mass of the charitable and the sympathetic, I would rather keep Miss Nickleby herself in view just now, than chill them in the outset by a minute and lengthened description of the establishment presided over by Madame Mantalini' (*NN*, p. 213). The disreputable connotations of her establishment are implied in Kate's forebodings and amplified in Palette's extra-illustration for chapter 18:

'the young lady, who was a very lively young lady, seeing the old lord in this rapturous condition, chased the old lord behind a cheval-glass, and then and there kissed him, while Madame Mantalini and the other young lady looked discreetly another way' Page 168. (*NN*, p. 221).⁴⁶

Taken out of their context, without knowing the young lady to be the Lord's fiancée, these words spell out the ambiguous and euphemistic status of milliners. For a more graphic description of the plight of Kate's profession the reader could turn to the fully-fledged account coming with the Dress-Maker's portrait in *Heads of the People*, where the promise of a milliner's encounter with a lady held up in the *Nickleby* insert would be crushed, and the risks inherent in the imaginary relations they might have to their real conditions, as Louis Althusser would have put it,⁴⁷ denounced in the text's very first words:

The 'original sin' — charged upon the frailty of the sex — is, in its consequences, visited tenfold upon the children of the blooming culprit. Sadly enough do those poor daughters of Eve, who live by needle and thread, pay for the peccadillo of their first mother! bitterly do the sisterhood of Cranbourne Alley and Regent Street expiate the transgression of Eden!⁴⁸

The post-lapsarian scenario spells out Dickens's more allusive account of Ralph Nickleby's irresponsible choice of placement for his niece. Unlike her counterpart in *Heads of the People*, Kate is allowed a way out of the predatory dangers

⁴⁶ Palette, *Illustrations to Nicholas Nickleby*, part IV (30 November 1838).

⁴⁷ Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)', in *Essays on Ideology* (London: Verso, 1984), pp. 1–60 (pp. 36–39).

⁴⁸ Henry Brownrigg, 'The Dress-Maker', in *Heads of the People: or, Portraits of the English, drawn by Kenny Meadows* (London: Robert Tyas, 1840), p. 1.

facing a dress-maker's girl. While 'The Dressmaker' is caught with thread and needle in the act of sowing a laced ornament and wearing a fashionable dress, no professional attribute identifies Kate as a milliner's apprentice in *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby*, where instead she features in mourning, with a sad and pensive look, in a three-quarter profile (see Figure 2, above). Like Dickens's text, *Heads from Nicholas Nickleby* 'keep[s] Miss Nickleby herself in view' rather than embodying her in an occupation that might restrict her movement and limit the imaginary identifications of the readers.

Unlike Meadows's admonished milliners, in the imaginary space of *Nickleby* other characters were likely to feed on the fantasies of social advancement inspired by the butler's introductions inserted in *Nickleby* part VII. Through a careful use of voice and character Dickens's writing both alludes to and subverts the ideals and objects advertised in the monthly parts. For it is his more gullible characters who succumb to the interpellation of the commercial wares and sentimental world publicized in his serialized works. While in Meadows's *Heads of the People* the butler's same-sex introductions carefully avoid feeding fantasies of romance across class boundaries, the comic potential such introductions suggest is brilliantly exploited in Dickens's subsequent description of Mrs Nickleby's encounter with Sir Mulberry Hawk and Lord Verisopht in the episode charting their pursuit of Kate, 'the watched-for prize of mercenary infamy'.⁴⁹ Mrs Nickleby's contradictory dreams of social elevation are couched in the material culture of the Annuals that crowd the *Nickleby* Advertisers and wrappers as she imagines Kate becoming Lady Mulberry Hawk and the publication of her portrait in 'half-a-dozen of the annuals, and on the opposite page would appear, in delicate type, "Lines on contemplating the Portrait of Lady Mulberry Hawk. By Sir Dingleby Dabber"' (*NN*, p. 330).

Conclusion: Dickens in Parts, Dickens Extra-Illustrated, Dickens Uncut

Reading Dickens in parts means hearing allusions to the 'voices' of other texts,⁵⁰ for the boundaries between individual titles are more porous than those of a bound book. The publications, images, and objects listed and reproduced in the Advertisers interrupt but also add dimensions to the reading experience. In 1837–38, as Dickens's writing emerged through the medium of monthly publication, it was associated with the qualities of Hogarth's art.⁵¹ Even when 'the long series of closely printed green volumes' of the Cheap Edition appeared in

⁴⁹ Brownrigg, 'The Dress-Maker', p. 5.

⁵⁰ On the Advertisers' 'voices' see John Fenstermaker, 'Using Dickens to Market Morality: Popular Reading Materials in the *Nickleby* Advertiser', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 28.3 (1994), 9–17; see also Darwin, *Dickens Advertiser*, and Thornton, 'Reading the Dickens Advertiser'.

⁵¹ See Malcolm Andrews, 'Illustration', in *A Companion to Charles Dickens*, ed. by David Paroissien (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 97–125 (pp. 97–98).

1857–58, for Walter Bagehot the writing of Dickens still had the feel of ‘graphic scraps; his best books are compilations of them’.⁵² The memory of the incomplete, disconnected form of the monthly publication, a vehicle for prints and accompanying letterpress, still associated Dickens’s writing with a culture of scrapbooks and extra-illustrations. The materiality of reading shaped the experience of writing. With the completion of the monthly parts, the text was stabilized in its ‘timeless format’.⁵³ When *Nicholas Nickleby* was published in volume form, an authorial paratext including Daniel Maclise’s frontispiece portrait inaugurated Dickens’s place as a celebrated author. In separating the writing from the ephemeral matter surrounding its first appearance, this embodiment of the authorial voice shut down the ‘textual heteroglossia’ of monthly publication, which, as Laurel Brake argues, rarely survives ‘the stripping, disciplining and institutionalization of the texts’.⁵⁴ In the wake of Dickens’s rise as an author, literary practice has divorced his works from their material culture. A cover-to-cover reading fails to supplement Dickens’s ‘people in parts’ with the world of other books, pictures, galleries, and commodities that make up the synchronous attractions of the monthly parts.

Comparing Grangerizing to the extra-illustrating practices documented in the Dickens Advertisers in the late 1830s and the emergence of Dickensiana in the late nineteenth century reveals changes in the configuration of the cultural work that defines the book as a cultural object. The extra-illustration of Dickens’s works documents a move from books beautified at the expense of others to extra-illustrations specifically produced to illustrate a particular work, a form later adopted by his official illustrator and publisher when Phiz himself produced sets of illustrations for *Dombey and Son*, *Barnaby Rudge*, and *The Old Curiosity Shop*, all ‘published with the Sanction of Mr. Charles Dickens’ by Chapman and Hall. Extra-illustration also helped reconstruct the modes of production of Dickens’s works. Bound together, plates from different copies of *Pickwick Papers* helped show that specimens of first and later impressions could be found in the same run of monthly numbers. The collated copy then functioned as a book containing all books. Yet the other side of this activity was the ambition to purify the book of its disorderly variants and recreate the perfect copy that may never have existed. In the attempt to reconstruct such an ideal ‘original’, late nineteenth-century collectors, like Romantic bibliomaniacs, would dismember imperfect specimens assembled in the fast-moving market of Dickens’s works and erase the evidence of cultural production for the

⁵² Walter Bagehot, ‘Charles Dickens’, *National Review*, 7 (October 1858), 458–86, reprinted in *The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot*, ed. by Norman St John Stevas, 15 vols (London: The Economist, 1965–86), 11 (1965), pp. 77–107 (p. 83).

⁵³ Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition, 1850–1910: Studies in Media and Book History* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 28.

⁵⁴ Brake, pp. 27, 29.

purity of first-state impressions. Another model privileged the form in its original state, with the pages still ‘uncut’, untouched by the anachronistic orthopedics of biblioclast bibliophiles.⁵⁵ By the time Fitzgerald was writing, the British Museum would take a *Pickwick* ‘in fine condition’ as including all its ephemera.⁵⁶ The fight around the material and ideal contours of Dickens’s serial publications helped preserve a textual form that undermines the timeless idealism of the classic embedded in volume format. In unbinding the book and restoring the work to its original materiality, serial publication and extra-illustration challenge the autonomy of the literary and show Dickens’s work at the heart of a culture of consumption in which reading goes hand in hand with viewing and collecting.

⁵⁵ John F. Dexter, ‘Hints to Dickens Collectors’, in *Dickens Memento* (London: Field and Tuer, [n.d.]), p. 35; Charles Plumtre Johnson, *Hints to Collectors of Original Editions of The Works of Charles Dickens* (London: Redway, 1885), p. 7.

⁵⁶ Fitzgerald, *Book Fancier*, p. 179.