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Birkbeck, University of London

**The Development and Impact of Campaigning Journalism in
Britain, 1840–1875: The Old New Journalism?**

Melissa Jean Score

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 2014

Declaration

I, Melissa Jean Score, declare that this thesis is all my own work.

Signed declaration_____

Date_____

Abstract

This thesis examines the development of campaigning writing in newspapers and periodicals between 1840 and 1875 and its relationship to concepts of Old and New Journalism. Campaigning is often regarded as characteristic of the New Journalism of the *fin de siècle*, particularly in the form associated with W. T. Stead at the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the 1880s. New Journalism was persuasive, opinionated, and sensational. It displayed characteristics of the American mass-circulation press, including eye-catching headlines on newspaper front pages.

The period covered by this thesis begins in 1840, with the Chartist *Northern Star* as the hub of a campaign on behalf of the leaders of the Newport rising of November 1839. It ends in 1875, on the cusp of the New Journalism, a year before Stead published his reports condemning Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria in the regional daily, the *Northern Echo*. I argue that characteristics of New Journalism, such as persuasive writing and sensational revelations, were evident before 1875, particularly in the development of campaigning journalism in this period.

Chapter 1 examines the context and definitions of campaigning journalism in relation to Old and New Journalism. Chapter 2 focuses on the genre of investigative writing, examining techniques such as interviewing and undercover reporting and their impact on New Journalism. Chapter 3 considers ways in which campaigning ideas were communicated through networks. Chapter 4 interrogates concepts of ‘popular’, ‘radical’, and ‘commercial’ by analysing three popular Sunday newspapers — the *News of the World*, *Lloyd’s Weekly News*, and *Reynolds’s Newspaper* — and their selection of campaigns. Chapter 5 examines how the press presented the second phase of the movement to repeal the ‘Taxes on Knowledge’, between 1849 and 1869, a campaign that was directly relevant to the economic and regulatory framework in which books, newspapers, and periodicals were produced.

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Introduction

This thesis seeks to interrogate notions of New and Old journalism by examining the development of campaigning writing between 1840 and 1875. Campaigning journalism is a genre that exists to persuade the reader to support a cause, is opinionated rather than objective, and utilizes various techniques to achieve its aims. However, newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and serialized stories of this period also had to be as aware of commercial realities — advertising, investment, and circulation — as publishing is today. The marketplace and the regulatory framework underwent several phases of development and change that influenced periodical and newspaper writing, especially related to campaigning, in the late decades of the century.

Two journalists, best-known for their investigative reporting, demonstrate the complicated relationships between writers, campaigning, and serial publication. Henry Mayhew (1812–1887) helped to instigate the *Morning Chronicle's* investigation into the lives of the labouring poor in 1849, a series which brought considerable kudos to the daily newspaper (and to Mayhew himself) but also controversy. The *Chronicle* dispensed with Mayhew in 1850 after he publicly criticized one of the paper's major advertisers, a London firm of tailors H.J. and D. Nicoll.¹ Nearly forty years later, in 1885, W. T. Stead (1849–1912), editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, published an exposé of child prostitution entitled 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' that temporarily drove up circulation, but shocked the paper's upper middle-class readers and deterred advertisers. Though it helped to secure the passage of legislation on the age of consent, it led to Stead's imprisonment for his involvement in a 'sting' operation involving the sale of a young girl to a brothel. 'The Maiden Tribute' ultimately contributed to Stead's resignation from the paper in 1889, despite a series of successful campaigns, including slum clearance and child welfare reforms.

¹ Anne Humpherys, *Travels Into the Poor Man's Country: The Work of Henry Mayhew* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), p. 21.

Mayhew was a freelance writer who embodied the fluidity of Old journalism, that is, journalism produced before the 1880s and 1890s. He wrote for a range of publications and genres of literature. Stead embodied the later nineteenth-century ‘New’ professional journalist. He began his career writing for, and then editing, a regional paper before being appointed assistant editor on the *PMG*, a daily evening paper. He wrote about his theories of journalism and his sense of its mission, as well as practising it. Whereas Mayhew clearly identified himself and his publication to his interviewees, Stead developed the model of the undercover reporter.

However, Mayhew and Stead share similarities. Whether they were writing in the 1840s or the 1880s, nineteenth-century journalists were part of a communications network similar to that posited by Robert Darnton. It included the writer, the advertiser, the publisher/proprietor, the printer, the bookseller/news vendor, and the reader.² Reader response fed back to editors and reporters; increases or decreases in sales affected advertising and shaped editorial decisions. These included determining which campaigns a newspaper or magazine would choose to support, whether joining an existing movement or initiating a cause. Stead’s campaign in ‘The Maiden Tribute’ was the passage of legislation to raise the age of consent to sixteen. Mayhew’s intention in his ‘London Labour’ series was more complex: in seeking to examine whether the repeal of the Corn Laws had helped depress wages and thus made workers poorer, he posed a question that was at odds with the editorial policy of the *Morning Chronicle*, which supported free trade.

Using the theme of campaigning to investigate the relationship between notions of Old and New journalism also opens up discussions about the role of journalism and the place of objectivity. For campaigning journalism to exist as a genre, there must be an acceptance of the part that newspapers and periodicals play in influencing public debate and political discussion. In this context, the purpose of journalism may be seen, as Emily Bell commented at her W. T. Stead lecture at the British Library, to hold politicians, commerce, and the

² Robert Darnton, ‘What is the History of Books?’, *Daedalus*, 111:3 (1982), 65–83.

Church to account.³ However, this necessarily suggests that journalism should be persuasive, as embodied by Stead's style of opinionated writing, rather than objective. It is a characteristic of Old Journalism that it was not expected to be objective. Michael Schudson argues that objectivity was a twentieth-century concern arising from increased dependence on wire copy.⁴ For news agencies such as Reuters, Associated Press, or Havas to market newswire copy to as wide a range of newspapers as possible, they had to ensure it was politically neutral so that it could be integrated into any newspaper, whatever its political leanings. However, nineteenth-century newspapers overtly supported political parties and their readers expected this. As Mr Brooke knew in *Middlemarch* (1871–2), to be elected to parliament (and to answer the attacks against him in the Tory *Trumpet*), he needed a local newspaper to back him.⁵ Brooke's campaign is historical — the novel's context is the 1832 Reform Bill — but it was written in the period after the Second Reform Act (the Representation of the People Act) of 1867 and at the time of the passage of the Ballot Act of 1872. This gave the right to vote in secret, a major extension of democracy and one of the principles of the Chartist campaigns in the 1840s. The connection between campaigns for parliamentary reform and the removal of commercial and political restrictions on the press is highlighted in this thesis.

In its final editorial, the *News of the World* highlighted the journalistic trope that newspapers seek to influence political discourse by moving public opinion. The paper claimed a tradition of campaigns on behalf of children.⁶ In so doing, the editorial emphasized its place in 'respectable', or legitimate, journalism as much as its success in producing the celebrity 'scoops' for which it was famous. This goes to the heart of the debate over 'popular' and

³ Emily Bell, 'Robot Reporter: Journalism in the Age of Automation and Big Data', 25 April 2014. See <<http://www.bl.uk/whatson/podcasts/podcast161799.mp3>>[accessed 20 June 2014] for the lecture.

⁴ See Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: a Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p. 6.

⁵ George Eliot, *Middlemarch: an Authoritative Text, Backgrounds, Criticism*, ed. by Bert G. Hornback, 2nd edn (London: Norton, 2000), pp. 223–4. In Chapter LI, pp. 309–316, Brooke's view of Ladislav's value as editor of the Radical *Pioneer* changes after he learns of the codicil to Casaubon's will.

⁶ *News of the World*, 10 July 2011, p. 3.

‘respectable’ journalism in the nineteenth century when arguments against deregulation cited the risk of a flood of cheap and scandalous gossip sheets. Regulation was a feature of much of the period of this thesis. Nineteenth-century working-class campaigners opposed taxes on newspapers, arguing that the high price of daily papers such as *The Times* deliberately excluded the majority of the population from access to accurate and timely political news. Furthermore, registration and securities requirements, only removed in 1869, appeared to be aimed at choking the radical press and its ability to campaign for reform. The repeal of taxes on advertising, newspapers, and paper in 1853, 1855, and 1861 respectively, along with the removal of the securities and registration requirements in 1869, were factors in the emergence of New Journalism in the 1880s and 1890s. I argue, however, that New Journalism depended also on experiments in weekly serial publications including papers such as the *News of the World*.

To what extent, then, did campaigning journalism develop as a genre between 1840 and 1875? What was its impact on the emergence of the ‘New Journalism’ phenomenon associated with Stead, George Newnes (1851–1910), founder of the hugely successful *Tit-Bits*, and T. P. O’Connor (1848–1929), editor of the *Star*?⁷ Campaigning as a theme can cross literary genres. It applies to journalism in newspapers and periodicals as well as fiction published in serial format, since the content of the fiction may echo themes expounded in the non-fiction sections of a publication. It is also particularly relevant to the nineteenth century since it was an age of diverse campaigns, ranging across social classes. Stead recognized that the press represented an alternative to parliamentary politics and a platform for the expression of reforming ideas. Newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets continued a tradition of polemical writing, as did other serialized forms such as fiction (short stories or part-novels), and poetry published in newspapers and magazines.

⁷ O’Connor stressed the appeal of the personal. See T. P. O’Connor, ‘The New Journalism’, *New Review*, 1 (1889) 423–34.

Stead is associated with a specific form of campaigning journalism that exemplified the New Journalism of the 1880s and 1890s. As discussed in Chapter 1, the term is associated primarily in this context with its use in Matthew Arnold's essay 'Up To Easter', published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1887.⁸ Stead did not invent British campaigning journalism but he did much to promote it as something that should be present in the daily press as well as in small advocacy journals. Earlier in the century, a range of titles claimed to be campaigning, such as *The Times* during the Crimean War (1853–56) or in the aftermath of the Peterloo Massacre in 1819. The *Morning Star* was founded on a platform of campaigns including free education for all, abolition of slavery in America, and the peace movement.

Stead consistently advocated persuasive, opinionated journalism, as the essays he wrote in prison attest, and he can be accurately described as an activist editor.⁹ His invitation to join the *Pall Mall Gazette* as Assistant Editor in 1880 was made in part on the basis of campaigning articles he had written for the Darlington-based daily newspaper the *Northern Echo*. These were credited with helping the Liberal leader, William Ewart Gladstone, win the general election earlier the same year. Stead was responsible for innovations in British newspaper journalism, including signed leader columns, interviews, and hiring women as staff reporters. He was influenced by some aspects of American newspaper journalism — sensational headlines, mass readerships, and illustration — while remaining ambivalent about others. However, examples in this thesis show that the use of sensation, the attempt to reach a 'popular' audience and the use of signature had all been features of journalism in nineteenth-century British periodicals. Recognition that the New Journalism project built on aspects of past journalism practice was first researched in depth in Joel Wiener's edited collection of essays entitled *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s – 1914*, published in 1988. Most of the essays associate New Journalism with news, rather than periodicals, but they draw parallels with Stead's contemporaries and with predecessors

⁸ Matthew Arnold, 'Up To Easter', *Nineteenth Century*, 21 (1887), 629–43 (p. 638).

⁹ W.T. Stead, 'Government by Journalism', *Contemporary Review*, 49 (1886), 653–74 and Stead, 'The Future of Journalism', *Contemporary Review*, 50 (1886), 663–79.

such as the Greenwoods.¹⁰ Stead acknowledged the role played by an earlier *Pall Mall Gazette* innovation, James Greenwood's Lambeth workhouse exposé in 1866, in developing his own use of sensation in 1885.

Stead was a proponent of one form of New Journalism, but another more commercially driven model was presented by his contemporary George Newnes, Stead's one-time collaborator on the *Review of Reviews*. Newnes's reasons for leaving the *Review of Reviews* are discussed in Chapter 1, though centred significantly on Stead's emphasis on crusading rather than commercial journalism. Newnes stressed entertainment and a rapport with readers in his weekly *Tit-Bits*, through competitions with expensive prizes, and demonstrated a keen marketing sensibility. Unlike Stead, he also promoted new fiction in his *Strand Magazine*.

In contrast, the *Review of Reviews* was a monthly digest of magazine and book reviews launched in January 1890 and continued until its merger with *World* magazine in 1940. The *Review of Reviews* embodied New Journalism in the way in which Stead attempted, through his selection of reviews, to define and preserve the best journalism, but it also included his commentary on international news, 'The Progress of the World' and a celebrity profile. As Owen Mulpetre comments, Stead's scathing attack on *The Times* prompted Newnes to sever ties with the venture and Stead's subsequent articles continued the sensational, attacking style of his *Pall Mall Gazette* journalism.¹¹ The conflict between Stead's privileging of news/polemic and Newnes's stress on entertainment and a rapport with readers in *Tit-Bits* continued debates over news versus entertainment, and news as entertainment, that had surrounded serial publications in the mid-century.

Stead also drew on predecessors that could be termed 'Old Journalism', including the unstamped radical press, Dickens's serialized fiction and essays, melodrama, and the Sunday

¹⁰ *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s–1914*, ed. by Joel H. Wiener (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988).

¹¹ Owen Mulpetre, 'W. T. Stead & the *Review of Reviews*' <http://www.attackingthediabol.co.uk/reviews/> [accessed 18 September 2014]

newspapers. My analysis differs from Wiener's study of the relationship of the earlier nineteenth-century press to the New Journalism by selecting a broad range of newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets, and by using a particular genre to emphasise the diversity of the form. Periodicals and newspapers varied by format, publication intervals, the social class of the intended reader, the political views of the editor or proprietor, and by locality. My thesis is interdisciplinary, drawing on literary and media studies, social and historical research, with reference also to illustration.

New Journalism is associated with structural innovations in newspaper writing, layout, production, and marketing, as well as with changes in language and content. However, as Laurel Brake argues, many of its features had antecedents in the periodical press as well as in earlier newspapers.¹² She warns that distinctions between 'old' and 'new' are overstated, and that it is misleading to regard characteristics of the press in the period before the 1880s as fixed or easily categorized. The influence of the periodical press, for example, includes the use of a 'personal' writing style, the celebrity interview, and signature. The late-century newspaper interview was developed by Stead, who was influenced by American newspapers. However, examining campaigning journalism earlier in the century indicates that Stead's 'personal journalism' had antecedents, including the way in which periodicals and newspapers emphasized the roles of certain key figures in campaigns and in the way in which question-and-answer formats from Select Committee reports and police courts were replicated by writers on social issues. Mayhew's use of the sublimated interview was an innovation of the late 1840s, though not widely adopted. The concept of 'celebrity' was not new, given that certain figures were always considered newsworthy and their careers, political or cultural, were closely followed by newspapers and magazines. The British press made heroes of European nationalist revolutionaries such as Garibaldi in Italy and Kossuth in Hungary, but actors and singers, such as Jenny Lind, were also household names in the mid-century, thanks to the periodical press.

¹² Laurel Brake, 'The Old Journalism and the New: Forms of Cultural Production in London in the 1880s', in *Papers for the Millions*, ed. by Wiener, pp. 1–24.

Arnold's interpretation of New Journalism illustrates a tension between periodical and newspaper journalism. Arnold represented a particular view of culture, one that he had long expressed in periodical journalism. Stead's articles for the *Pall Mall Gazette* were in sharp contrast in terms of subject matter but also in terms of expression. He emphasized the shocking, sensational, and sordid, appealing to the prurient curiosity of readers. Arnold was repelled by Stead's 'Hebraism' — his Nonconformism and lower middle-class provincial background jarred with Arnold's admiration of the Hellenic in culture and his Anglicanism. Arnold's irritation with Stead was exacerbated by the appearance of the sordid subject matter of 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' in an evening paper aimed at gentlemen, to which Arnold had himself contributed. Far from being insulted by his portrayal, Stead enthusiastically adopted the phrase New Journalism to promote his brand of sensational, polemical writing.

Discussions of the role of journalism and journalists in society and their relationship to campaigning might appear at first to be more closely related to sociology or media studies as an academic discipline rather than English literature. However, this thesis claims nineteenth-century journalism as an integral part of the study of literary texts. Much Victorian literature was published serially, whether in periodicals or in part numbers. Authors celebrated for their fiction were often also working journalists. Dickens successfully used both forms; he also published serial fiction in periodicals that he edited, or 'conducted'. His novel of industrial strife, *Hard Times* (1854), demonstrates the relationship that a serialized text may have to other fiction and non-fiction in the same periodical. It appeared in *Household Words* from 1 April 1854 to 12 August 1854, and was directly influenced by the Preston lock-out of cotton operatives in 1853–4. Essays in the magazine anticipated and reflected the novel's message, such as Dickens's 'On Strike' in February 1854 and Henry Morley's far more critical 'Ground in the Mill' in April 1854, which described factory accidents and the paltry

compensation paid to workers.¹³ In 1855, Dickens commissioned Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1855), another novel discussing conditions in the industrial north, specifically in the cotton industry, and serialized it in *Household Words*. In both texts, the authors explore the underlying issues behind labour tensions, though refuse to endorse an assertive trade union response, preferring the idea that good 'masters' should confer concessions. These fictional explorations mark *Household Words* as cautiously reformist in industrial relations. In *North and South*, for example, Thornton says he does not believe in government interference: he installed better chimneys before the passage of the 1847 legislation to control the emission of smoke because he believed it was the right thing to do. Thornton comments that despite the legislation, manufacturers 'are constantly sending out one-third of their coal in what is called here 'unparliamentary smoke'.¹⁴ Essays on social topics take much the same line and are more cautious than those published by John Cassell (1817–1865), who endorsed certain working-class campaigns, including universal suffrage, in the *Working Man's Friend* (1850–1852). This paper also published fiction and essays on social reform. G. W. M. Reynolds (1814–1879) was far more outspoken in favour of democratic politics in *Reynolds's Miscellany* (which published fiction) and *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper*, which did not contain fiction but published lengthy reviews and poetry on political themes. Cassell and Reynolds reached out in different ways to working-class readers; the intended reader of *Household Words* was lower middle-class.

Matthew Rubery's analysis of the interplay between news and fiction gives many examples where newspaper forms such as announcements or telegraphic despatches influenced the plots of novels.¹⁵ This thesis shows that authors introduced campaign in a variety of ways, through fiction, journalism, and poetry. Apart from editorial content, nineteenth-century journalism can be considered 'literary' in terms of the close relationships between various

¹³ Charles Dickens, 'On Strike', *Household Words*, 11 February 1854, 553–59. Henry Morley, 'Ground in the Mill', *Household Words*, 22 April 1854, 224–27.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South: an Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*, ed. by Alan Shelston (London: Norton, 2005), p. 76.

¹⁵ Matthew Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction After the Invention of the News* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

forms of news and entertainment, either on the same page or across different departments of the same publication. By analysing these in terms of the theme of campaigning, it is possible to discern a deliberate construction of narrative by the editor or sub-editors. This is most evident in radical and liberal newspapers. Ian Haywood's description of the interplay between an advertisement for Reynolds's fiction on a page in the *Northern Star* in February 1850 (a month before Reynolds launched his own Sunday newspaper) and reports of political activities on the same page demonstrates the impact that these forms of constructed text have on readers. Haywood comments that the initial response of a reader might be to view adverts and news stories of Chartist political activity as separate, 'as if the function of the fiction is to provide entertaining consolation for the strenuous business of politics'.¹⁶ This is visually reinforced by the use of columns, since the reader appears to be directed to read from top to bottom of the page, discouraging the making of connections, as Haywood notes. However, this does not take into account the way in which the cumulative reading of different texts on a page might subtly affect a reader. The understanding that a newspaper page may be read laterally or horizontally is important to this thesis because in this way, as Haywood shows, particular connections and themes emerge. The arrangement of articles within a page and within an issue, and the regular appearance of certain topics on certain pages over time create a network of ideas that readers understand as part of the identity of that particular title. Readers of the *Northern Star* would have been aware, for example, of Reynolds's leading role on the Chartist Executive in 1850. The juxtaposition of items on the page deliberately locates him within a broader movement of Chartist political activity. As Haywood observes, '[A] close reading of both the advert and the adjacent texts reveals a high degree of permeability between the literary and political discourses, both within and between the two axes. This interaction reflects and anticipates the experience of reading the works themselves' (p. 185).

¹⁶ Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics, and the People, 1790–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 185.

It is a particular challenge to read a nineteenth-century newspaper in a way that a reader at that time might have read it, but the forging of connections suggests that forms and their meanings became increasingly familiar over time. Proprietors and some editors determined the overall political stance of the publication but readers had considerable power in interpreting this for themselves. As the letters pages indicate, they did not necessarily agree with all the views expressed and they might prefer particular types of stories over others. This suggests that newspaper readers developed skills in decoding the relationship between particular features such as advertisements or book reviews, and the anonymous freelance contributions that appeared around them. Readers made their own text according to the value they gave particular stories and the connections that they made between them. Haywood's example suggests that mid-century Chartists were sophisticated interpreters of political texts, but it could apply equally well to the conservative readers of *The Times* or the Liberal readers of the *Daily News*. It suggests that this directed reading was subtly campaigning compared to the overt, persuasive style of New Journalism.

Nevertheless, it would be misleading to suggest that readers were entirely free to construct their own texts, since the price of newspapers determined what particular classes of readers could access and how quickly they could receive it until the abolition of newspaper stamp tax in 1855. This thesis argues that there was a particular privilege associated with the right to read news as soon as it was published, and that access was controlled by political elites through high prices as well as regulation. Between 1819 and 1869, newspapers were regulated in various ways. A combination of prosecutions for sedition and for refusal to pay newspaper stamp duties led to the imprisonment of many radical editors, printers, and vendors during the 'War of the Unstamped Press'. However taxation also affected the sale of fiction since paper was subject to a range of duties, as was the import of foreign books. Furthermore, even after newspaper tax and paper duty were abolished altogether, newspapers were still required to register and pay securities against the risk of committing blasphemy or libel until 1869. It can be argued that successive new journalisms emerged

whenever the laws on printing newspapers were modified or repealed. Working-class campaigns against the ‘high-priced’ press were closely interrelated to campaigns for the vote and for the right to full participation in political discourse.¹⁷ These interconnections are discussed in Chapter 5.

A barrier for the majority of the population in accessing timely information was the high price of daily metropolitan newspapers. These contained the fullest and most recent parliamentary news, and although these were often selected and republished in provincial newspapers, before 1855 these were usually weekly publications, with few staff and limited resources. These papers were also stamped, because they contained news. Researchers must be aware of the problems of viewing metropolitan daily newspapers as ‘national’ records; for most people who saw a newspaper, this meant a regional one and the provincial press developed its own spheres of influence that were quite separate from London. Andrew Hobbs questions the emphasis placed on the London press, arguing in particular that historians rely too much on *The Times* as an historical source.¹⁸ Hobbs argues that *The Times* was unique in terms of its wealth, advanced technology and access to politicians: ‘The brilliance of *The Times* still dazzles historians and literary scholars [...] distorting our view of Victorian journalism and producing some over-generalized conclusions in political, social and cultural historiography’ (p. 472).’ Once the fiscal restrictions on newspapers were removed, in 1855, 1861, and 1869, major cities, such as Manchester and Birmingham, developed their own influential daily newspaper press. For this reason, I have sought to consider campaigning journalism and its networks in terms of regional as well as London-based publications. However, I also examine *The Times* in terms of its relationship with rival metropolitan newspapers, particularly the *Morning Star*, a penny newspaper that openly

¹⁷ The New Journalism of the 1880s and 1890s was subject to libel law under the Newspaper Libel and Registration Act 1881 and the Law of Libel Amendment Act of 1888. The latter instituted some provisions to protect newspapers from the impact of prosecution for libel but in return proprietors agreed to the restitution of registration clauses. Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the ‘Taxes on Knowledge’, 1849–1869* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 165.

¹⁸ Andrew Hobbs, ‘The Deleterious Dominance of *The Times* in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 18 (2013), 472–97.

challenged *The Times's* collusion with press regulation and accused it of too cosy an association with government ministers. The *Morning Star* was notable for its strong ties with provincial journalism in terms of finance and policies, which I argue have been overlooked.

Hobbs's observation that academics have neglected the regional press in comparison with *The Times* despite the availability of digitized archives poses another problem for the researcher. While a huge range of material is fully digitized, this only represents a fraction of the paper archive and, increasingly, much of the rest cannot be accessed because of its fragility. The British Library's transfer of paper copies from Colindale to Boston Spa has been accompanied by restrictions on releasing this material to researchers who are directed instead to microfilm where this is available. How to tackle the scale of material remains an issue. This thesis acknowledges the problem and attempts to solve it through the application of a thematic investigation and sampling from a range of publications intended for different readerships. Case studies have proved useful as a means of analysing journalism through a selective, thematic use of material. By analyzing journalistic or technological networks, for example, or a genre such as investigation, it is possible to draw conclusions about characteristics of nineteenth-century journalism and how they may have changed over time.

As discussed further in Chapter 1, the digitization of archives and the use of databases such as Gale Cengage or *The Times* digital archive make possible quantitative searches that may yield fresh insights into the frequency and first appearances of particular phrases or concepts. In a special session of the MLA Convention in 2013, Dallas Liddle presented a position paper entitled 'Methods in Periodical Studies: Follow the Genre' suggesting that a case study of *The Times* from 1785 to 1885 could demonstrate the value and limitations of seeing periodicals as systems. Liddle notes that the paper is both culturally significant, dominating the nineteenth-century daily newspaper market, but that for scholars trained in close reading, 'its file presents a text literally impossible to read: the more than 31,000 issues of *The Times* printed in that first 100 years contained more than 2.6 billion words, enough

for 13,800 novels the length of *Jane Eyre*.¹⁹ Liddle has experimented with data-gathering runs in association with Gale-Cengage to measure features such as the total growth in text characters printed in each issue over the first 100 years. By analysing the chart, Liddle pinpointed a reason for what appeared to be an unexpected tailing off of the amount of text at the end of the nineteenth century despite the huge expansion of the industry at that point. This was the adoption of shorter news stories and the introduction of the inverted pyramid style of writing into British newspapers at that point. The inverted pyramid is a style of newspaper writing in which the most important news is placed at the top of the story, followed by the next important and so on. It is a particular feature of news agency copy since editors can cut from the bottom of the story to fit the available space, safe in the knowledge that the most important information is in the lead, or first paragraph. In contrast, before the 1880s, British newspapers often added more recent information to the end of an existing story.

Liddle's conclusion, that scholars should follow genre rather than author or title is one that this thesis attempts to explore. The theme of campaign is broken down into components: investigative writing, journalism networks, and popular Sunday newspapers. It then considers a particular campaign, that of the removal of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', in terms of how it was expressed in periodicals and in newspapers, both metropolitan and regional.

Campaigning Journalism

Acknowledging the problems of definition and the heterogeneity of journalism, therefore, I have opted to study nineteenth-century journalism through the medium of campaigning. My aim is to evaluate the social impact of the press in tandem with its literary characteristics, and changes in the market place. I have focused on examples that are representative of different class and cultural interests within periodical publishing, but have in common a dialogic relationship with campaigning ideas. As a result, I have discounted small, specialist

¹⁹ Dallas Liddle, 'Methods in Periodical Studies: Follow the Genre', *Journal of Victorian Culture Online*, <<http://blogs.tandf.co.uk/jvc/2012/12/24/what-is-a-journal-mla2013/>> [accessed 23 June 2014].

campaigning titles published by pressure groups from most of my study since these are not indicative of changes in the wider market. The exception is a discussion of trade union magazines that relate specifically to the craft of printing since these represent another perspective on the industry in this period.

One reason for choosing this theme is that its relationship to Stead's version of journalism facilitates comparisons between the 'old' and 'new' in British serial writing. Another is that the history of this genre in relation to the early and mid-nineteenth century is under-researched. Much of the critical focus has been on late nineteenth-century investigative reporting involving cross-class disguise, and the muck-raking tradition of twentieth-century American reporting. Chapter 1 sets out the case for considering earlier incarnations of the genre in the British press.

To determine the impact of campaigning journalism across genres of serialized writing, I have focused on publications aimed at a relatively broad audience rather than niche titles. The major exception is the Chartist *Northern Star*, an advocacy paper but one with a significant national circulation and a claim to speak on issues beyond the Chartist movement. Not only did it inspire strong loyalty from many working-class readers in the 1840s but it was also prepared to experiment with headings, the location of news, and multiple editions.

Finally, a series of anniversaries during the writing of this thesis have ensured that some of its preoccupations continue to inspire academic discussion: the Stead centenary and the Dickens bicentenary of 2012 brought into focus the journalism and campaigning preoccupations of these multi-faceted writers. 2014 is the 175th anniversary of the Chartist uprising in Newport, the event that marks the start of the period covered by this thesis and which is discussed as a case study in the third chapter.

Synopses of Chapters

In the following chapters, I examine campaigning topics and techniques in the light of the main features associated with New Journalism to examine whether there was a decisive change in style after 1875. Features that I argue were evident before this date include persuasion as an explicit object of writing, in conjunction with sensationalism. The simpler, less rhetorical style of the Sunday popular papers influenced later New Journalism. ‘Celebrity’ interviews and the reporter as agent of the story emerged in experiments in various publications. New styles in layout and typography also created more eye-catching headings; shorter, more focused news stories; and innovations in advertising and page design. More hybrid content appeared in newspapers and magazines to attract women, lagging behind American newspapers that had been quicker to target women with special sections, fashion and human interest stories.

Chapter 1 sets out the theoretical and historical context, and explores definitions of campaigning and Old and New Journalism. It evaluates critical perspectives on the development of journalism between 1840 and 1875 and argues for the advantages of filtering the vast array of available material through a thematic device such as campaign. In particular, it analyses the role of campaigning writing in the literary market place and its relevance to Jürgen Habermas’s concept of the bourgeois public sphere. It also considers the impact of freelance reporters, novelists, and amateur correspondents on periodicals and newspapers compared with the increasing professionalization of journalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Finally, it considers New Journalism as one of a number of ‘novelties’ (including the New Woman) that are associated with the fin-de-siècle but have clear antecedents in the mid-century.

Chapter 2 focuses on genre, examining the development of the concept of ‘investigative journalism’ by analysing the ways in which journalists gathered information through ‘blue books’, medical or other expert reports, personal connections and interviews. I examine attempts to use disguise or impersonation, including the use of newspaper ‘personal’

advertising columns, and their relationships to ‘New Journalism’ practices. I discuss the ways in which government-led social investigation influenced reporters. After analysing different forms of information-gathering, I evaluate the impact of sensationalist representation of the results with other forms of investigative reporting.

Chapter 3 broadens the discussion of campaigning journalism beyond investigative writing by examining networks of individuals, trades, publications, and technology that are connected by common ideas and views of society. It interprets these in terms of gender and class-based networks, Franco Moretti’s quantitative analyses of genre, and Friedrich Kittler’s theories of discourse networks.²⁰ It traces examples of the movement of ideas and people through networks, ways in which new alliances are formed, and how they are represented in periodicals. These are explored further in two case studies on the *Northern Star* and the *Morning Star*. The Chartist *Northern Star* is examined as the hub of a working-class radical campaign through a discussion of the various techniques in its campaign on behalf of the leaders of the Newport Rising and its role as the hub of a working-class campaigning network. The second study focuses on a daily newspaper, the *Morning Star*; and its transatlantic networks. I evaluate the impact its attempts to satisfy a range of advocacy interests had on its commercial viability. Though it offered innovation in layout and its engagement with modern technology, the *Morning Star* ultimately failed to break free of the political patronage it criticized so heavily in the more expensive newspapers, such as *The Times*. Nevertheless, the chapter argues that the *Northern Star* and the *Morning Star* represent important stages in the development of the democratic concept of journalism that was part of Stead’s ‘New Journalism’ philosophy.

Chapter 4 interrogates concepts of ‘popular’, ‘radical’, and ‘commercial’ through an analysis of the weekly press, primarily comparing the campaigning content and editorial policies of Sunday weekly newspapers — the *Weekly Dispatch*, the *News of the World*, *Reynolds’s*

²⁰ Franco Moretti, *Maps, Graphs, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (London: Verso, 2007) Friedrich A. Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*, trans. by Michael Metteer, with Chris Cullens (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

Weekly Newspaper and *Lloyd's Weekly News* — with other weekly productions, such as *Household Words*. I examine the cultural implications of publishing and/or reading on Sunday and how this embodied a long-running campaigning issue, both for and against Sunday working and Sunday leisure. I analyse the ways in which these publications may have influenced New Journalism, sometimes unexpectedly, as in *Reynolds's* use of maps to highlight concerns over the Prussian invasion of Paris in 1871.

Chapter 5 is a case study examining the representation of the second and third phases of the campaign against the 'Taxes on Knowledge' in various categories of the media between 1849 and 1869. The focus is on the ways in which a pressure group, the Association to Promote the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge, utilized the Select Committee on Newspapers of 1851 to produce an effective manifesto for its campaign. The focus is on how the group's arguments were received and debated in periodicals and newspapers of the time. The chapter discusses how this particular campaign privileged the accessibility of timely news as part of its democratic aims, advocating the right of working people to affordable newspapers in order to participate in political debates. This was in contrast to campaigns by more self-interested industry groups that focused specifically on advertising or paper duty.

The Conclusion assesses the argument that a study of broad-based campaigning journalism between 1840 and 1875 offers evidence of many traits associated with the New Journalism. It evaluates variations between publications and the extent to which campaigns were initiated by journalism. Finally, I evaluate the impact of campaigning on the commercial fortunes of publications, arguing that where the campaign overrides the journalism, a newspaper or periodical inevitably restricted its readership and its appeal to advertisers. An Appendix to the thesis contains a list of campaigning writers and editors of the period.

Chapter 1

Context and Definitions of Nineteenth-Century Journalism

This chapter evaluates the development of journalism between 1840 and 1875, and argues for the critical advantages of filtering the vast body of printed material through a medium such as campaign. I outline the problems of methodology that have to be considered in such a study and that are addressed in this thesis. I begin by comparing the relationship between campaigning and serial writing and the different categories of periodical writing.

Serial coverage of a campaign whether in newspapers or periodicals lodges it in the public mind and influences attitudes. There is, therefore, a close connection between the regular production of quarterly, monthly, weekly and daily publications with the rhythms of campaigning activity, though longer publishing intervals are generally less effective in giving momentum to a campaign than weekly or daily ones. The review-based essay, which formed most of the content of the quarterly *Reviews*, was therefore a less suitable medium to advance a topical campaign. They could, however, enhance and expand on existing debates in the monthlies and weeklies and provide deeper analysis of the causes for campaign. The Tory-leaning *Quarterly Review*, the *Edinburgh Review*, politically closer to the Whigs, and the *Westminster Review*, founded as the organ of philosophic-Radicalism, interpreted and commented on social and cultural trends from their particular political standpoint.

The gender and class of reader were clearly indicated by the text. Fiction was absent and, as Joanne Shattock notes in her study of the genre, politics dominated.²¹ Reviews were thus the preserve of a small, politically influential, male intellectual elite. ‘In contrast to the magazines, the quarterlies were sound, thorough and solid to the point of dullness,’ Shattock comments, adding, ‘Compared with an encyclopaedia they were lightweight to the point of superficiality and in danger of becoming politically tainted’ (p. 7). Shattock’s view is that

²¹ Joanne Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers: The Edinburgh and the Quarterly in the Early Victorian Age* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989).

the power of the quarterlies gradually gave way in the 1840s and 1850s as newspapers moved into the ascendant. She argues that the quarterlies were wary of copying the overt links between political parties and newspapers (p. 128). But the fear of appearing to ‘toady’ to politicians always had to be balanced by the attractiveness of inside political information. Fascination with the Reform Bill, which dominated both the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly Review* in 1831, shows how campaign subjects, such as electoral reform, could be debated in the quarterlies in different ways and in different registers, according to the readership and cultural values of the periodical in question.

Monthly and weekly publications had the advantage of more frequent publication combined with sufficient time for editors to be able to analyse and reflect on news events. They were also categories that underwent reinvention during the nineteenth century, as new monthly shilling magazines gradually eclipsed the quarterlies. Magazines such as the *Cornhill Magazine*, *Temple Bar* and *St. Paul’s* combined essays on science, literature, history, and the arts, with fiction and poetry. Including fiction enlarged the potential audience since it signalled that the publication aimed to attract women readers as well as men.²² In turn, these magazines of the 1860s onwards were influenced by the hybridity of the weekly publications of the 1840s and 1850s, such as *Reynolds’s Miscellany*, the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal*, which were intended for family reading and popular with lower middle-class and working-class readers. Mark Turner argues that expectations of the contents of publications based on their publishing intervals became disrupted in this mid-century period: the cover illustration of the first *Cornhill Magazine* in January 1860 depicted the four seasons in what Turner calls ‘time folding back on itself’.²³ In one way, the illustration was an acknowledgment of the status of the quarterly *Reviews* but the rest of the magazine signalled a fresh and modern monthly format. Weekly publication also included Sunday newspapers (which excluded fiction), the *Illustrated London News* and illustrated satirical magazines

²² For a detailed discussion of how monthly magazines reserved certain (non-fiction) categories for male readers, see Mark Turner, *Trollope and the Magazines: Gendered Issues in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp.7–47.

²³ Mark W. Turner, ‘Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century’, *Media History*, 8 (2002), 183–96 (p. 193).

such as *Punch*. Campaigns were also serial in the sense that they gathered momentum around particular events. When topical, the campaigns occupied space in daily and weekly newspapers, but daily newspapers were particularly concerned with this and if a campaign failed to secure political debate, especially in parliament, the daily newspapers were the first to move on to a new topic. Examples of this can be seen in the coverage of the Chartist movement, where the presentation of petitions or public protests secured space in the metropolitan dailies. As soon as the novelty or a perceived threat receded, the papers moved to other political topics. The Anti-Corn Law movement of the 1840s, on the other hand, was particularly adept at creating news opportunities, such as meetings where prominent politicians such as Richard Cobden could command large attendances. A satirical weekly such as *Punch* was similarly attuned to topicality but had a little more freedom to return to a subject and to reignite campaigns through various media including illustration and poetry. Its most famous example was Thomas Hood's 'Song of the Shirt', published on 16 December 1843, about the plight of the seamstress. It was one of the first to make the connection between fashionable dresses and the women who toiled for a pittance to make them, and subsequent comment in the press frequently drew on its imagery. Similarly *Punch*'s use of the Large Cut for political comment each week meant that readers would turn to that feature of the magazine for indications of its views on the latest topics.

The concept of social time is significant for campaigners. If a 'news culture' creates demand for change for its own sake, as John Sommerville argues in *The News Revolution in England*, cited in Turner's essay, then topical campaigns may satisfy part of the hunger for movement, though parliamentary and crime coverage would meet a similar need.²⁴ Daily metropolitan newspapers depended on the cycles of the parliamentary session since much of their content derived from debates and committee reports. The language and content of metropolitan dailies was therefore attuned to the upper and upper-middle classes, assuming a male reader of professional occupation or private income who was eligible to take part in the

²⁴ Turner, 'Periodical Time', p. 183.

political life of the nation. Other readers had access to *The Times*, but this was delayed by the circumstances in which they obtained it. Waiting for the paper to appear in a later and cheaper ‘country’ edition, in a reading room or coffee house, rather than having access to the previous day’s politics at breakfast, was a significant indication of social status. It formed a component of the campaigning arguments used by the Association for the Promotion of the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge between 1849 and 1869.

Until 1855, time itself was not standardized in Britain but the impetus for reform was implicit in the new technology and the demands of integrated railway and steamship timetables.²⁵ The nature of reading was also changing: as T. P. O’Connor commented, the commuter read on the move to and from work, encouraging a snappier style of newspaper writing and a focus on a particular class of reader.²⁶ Turner identifies the notion of ‘Magazine Day’, when monthly magazines were published, as creating a form of social bonding among readers looking forward to particular titles. Experiments in disrupting the conventions of weekly or monthly publications were risky. An attempt at a *Monday Review* in opposition to the *Saturday Review*, for example, failed to change the conventions of weekend reading, despite allowing readers more time to reflect on the previous week’s news. The innovative and progressive *Fortnightly Review*, in which G. H. Lewes and Anthony Trollope attempted to introduce the public to a new publication interval based on the French *Revue des Deux Mondes*, proved, as Turner says, too much at odds with the accepted schedules of similar reviews and it changed to a more conventional monthly format.²⁷

Popular weekly titles were published on days when working people might have leisure to read and the rise of the Sunday paper may be attributed to the space and time offered for reading. E. P. Thompson’s analysis of the demands of ‘factory time’ in the nineteenth

²⁵ Railways introduced timetables based on Greenwich Mean Time on 11 December 1847, giving rise to the term ‘railway time’. Most public clocks had standardized to GMT by 1855; U.S. railways chose their own time standards until 1883.

²⁶ T. P. O’Connor, ‘The New Journalism’, *New Review*, 1 (1889), 423–34. O’Connor also stresses the reader’s appetite for ‘personal’ details in journalism as a key feature of the New Journalism.

²⁷ Turner, ‘Periodical Time’, p. 190.

century and how it influenced daily life is relevant here.²⁸ Local newspapers aimed to appear on market day, weekly papers containing fiction were usually published on a Saturday, and the popular Sunday newspapers were making a political statement by highlighting the Sabbath as an opportunity for secular, rather than religious, reading.

Weekly publications were fertile ground for campaigners: lower prices attracted a wider readership while the short publication interval ensured topicality. The Sunday newspapers' distillations of the week's political news, and that of the Chartist *Northern Star*, were livelier than the lengthy and verbatim reports of daily morning newspapers. Weekly publication encouraged editors to select debates that were more suitably aligned with readers' interests. Evening papers also had an advantage over morning papers in being able to analyse and update the news available at breakfast. A comparison between *The Times* on 13 March 1868 and the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the same date shows widely different coverage of the Irish debates of the previous evening. *The Times* integrated the coverage into its routine parliamentary reporting, which runs to several dense columns, on a range of bills and other House of Commons business. The *Pall Mall Gazette* that evening, however, featured an analysis of the Irish debate on its front page, along with a second article on the land issue. The next page continues the theme with a 'Parliamentary Review' focusing on John Stuart Mill's arguments on Irish land reform and those of his opponents. It also contained a leader article on the *PMG*'s own view of the debate, relating both to the Irish Church and the land question. So, while the *PMG* covered Ireland as a topic in depth, it did not attempt to cover the whole spectrum of parliamentary business.

Media Historical Studies

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century accounts of the development of the press focused on chronology, tending to favour a progressive 'Whig' account. More recently, media historians have sought to locate key characteristics and movements in the nineteenth-century press in

²⁸ E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past & Present*, 38 (1967), 56–97.

their historical context, for example the emergence of a more commercial industry and expanding literacy and education. As I discuss later in this chapter, attempts to pin decisive changes in the press as a whole to particular legislation — for example, the reduction of the newspaper tax in 1836, its abolition in 1855 or the removal of paper duty in 1861 — are not particularly helpful since they ignore evidence of experimentation in serial publications. Some historical studies foreground a perceived lack of commercialism in the pre-1875 press compared with New Journalism. Alan J. Lee's study of popular newspapers argues that a 'golden age' of the penny press emerged in the 1850s to 1870s as a result of the abolition of newspaper and advertising taxes, but this was overtaken by the domination of profit in the 1880s and 1890s.²⁹ Lee's argument would draw a clear distinction between the period of my thesis and the era of New Journalism. Joel Wiener also states that New Journalism marked a break with the past, citing three main areas: a large-scale capitalization of the press did not take place before the 1880s, some of the most crucial changes in the make-up of papers took place in the last decades of the century and the contributions of leading New Journalists such as Stead, George Newnes, T.P. O'Connor and Alfred Harmsworth.³⁰ But to Wiener's late-century examples could be added earlier nineteenth-century newspaper proprietors and editors who made personal fortunes from the press. These include the Walters family, which owned *The Times* throughout the nineteenth century, the Taylor family, which controlled the *Manchester Guardian*, and Herbert Ingram, G. W. M. Reynolds and Edward Lloyd, all of whom made fortunes from successful weekly newspapers. Ownership was often intertwined with political interests: the *Manchester Evening News* was launched to back its owner's attempt to become the city's MP. When he failed it was sold to the Taylors.³¹

By excluding weekly newspapers aimed at the middle and lower classes, Wiener ignores the rise of a popular, commercial press from the 1840s and 1850s, which benefited from the

²⁹ Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855–1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

³⁰ Joel H. Wiener, 'How New Was the New Journalism?' in *Papers for the Millions*, pp. 46–71 (p. 59).

³¹ David Haldane Laurence and others, 'Proprietors', *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London: Academic Press and the British Library, 2009), p. 511.

reduction and then abolition of stamp duties. Cultural historians, such as Raymond Williams, highlight the impact of the popular press, noting the commercial success enjoyed by Reynolds and Lloyd in the 1850s and 1860s, while Ian Haywood and Sally Ledger trace the emergence of a more commercial press back to the 1840s.³² The issue of commercialism is important to campaigning journalism but varies in degree: for a small advocacy publication with expectations of a limited circulation, profit is not the prime motive because it is speaking to its intended audience. Profits are needed to sustain titles aiming for larger, more general circulations, partly because production costs are so much higher. Competition with other publications drives a need to invest in new technology to be as fast in printing, and as quick to receive news. For daily metropolitan newspapers, subscribing to Julius Reuter's market information via telegraph, for example, was a significant additional cost, most easily borne by the most successful newspaper, *The Times*. In fact, Donald Read comments that the earliest surviving cash book for Reuter shows it charged *The Times* more than its rivals: £100 a month compared with £75 for the *Daily News* and £66. 13s. 4d for the *Daily Telegraph*.³³

Wiener's argument about greater commercialism at the end of the century is based on daily newspaper publishing. Newspaper rivalry could be as intense in the mid-century as it was at the end of it, and the more populist weekly newspapers of the 1840s and 1850s were in competition with each other for the same readers. As Ledger points out, Reynolds proved fiercely competitive, even against those with similar political views, such as the Chartist editor Edward Jones, whom he viewed as a rival for his readership among the skilled working class and lower middle class.³⁴ Ledger argues that definitions of popular and radical shifted during the early and mid-nineteenth century and became increasingly fluid. At the beginning, 'popular' was generally held to mean 'of the people' (i.e. not aristocratic) and

³² Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984 reprinted edition); Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics, and the People, 1790–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Sally Ledger, *Dickens and the Popular Radical Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

³³ Donald Read, *The Power of News: The History Of Reuters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 26.

³⁴ Ledger, *Dickens and the Popular Radical Imagination*, p. 167.

was largely interchangeable with 'radical'. In the 1810s and 1820s, concepts of popular and radical were part of a tradition established by writers and artists such as William Hone and George Cruikshank, who collaborated on a number of pamphlets including *The Political House that Jack Built* (1819), Thomas Wooler (editor of the *Black Dwarf*), and William Cobbett.³⁵ They used satire, parody, and plain diction to express their antipathy to the establishment (Church and aristocracy) and identification with 'the people'. This tradition, Ledger argues, influenced socially progressive writers such as Charles Dickens and Douglas Jerrold in the 1840s and 1850s. By the 1850s, 'popular' as interpreted by commercial weekly newspapers, which targeted lower-middle and artisan classes, was closer to 'populist', mixing sensational crime stories, sport and espousal of popular causes. Ledger suggests that Dickens's and Jerrold's journalism in the 1840s and 1850s negotiated the tensions between the popular and radical press at mid-century (p. 144, p. 151). She cites Jerrold's anti-clericalism in *Punch* and the *Shilling Magazine* as echoes of Wooler's *Black Dwarf* and Cobbett's *Political Register* (p. 112). Dickens and Jerrold shared a radical humanitarian political stance; disliked established religion and attacked the judiciary (p. 106). In both fiction and journalism, they were committed to popular forms including satire, melodrama, and occasionally 'savage' humour. This was also characteristic of Chartist writers who, as Ledger notes, used fiction and journalism to persuade their readers to take action (p. 141).

Another category of media history focuses attention on decisive moments or trends in the history of the nineteenth-century press. Recent examples of the latter include Joel Wiener's interpretation of the 'Americanization' of the British press, discussed later in this chapter, and Martin Hewitt's history of the rise of the cheap press in Britain between 1849 and 1869.³⁶ Both studies consider British journalism in the context of the development of a mass circulation press. The role of new technology in transforming nineteenth-century publishing

³⁵ See Ledger, pp. 10–38, for a discussion of eighteenth-century popular radical culture.

³⁶ Joel H. Wiener, *The Americanization of the British Press, 1830s–1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', 1849–1869* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

is examined in Aileen Fyfe's account of the impact of the steam-print revolution on Chambers brothers in Edinburgh. Fyfe emphasizes new technology as a driver of change in the industry, particularly in expanding circulation capacity.³⁷ I have attempted to utilize aspects of this theme in the discussion of networks and technology in Chapter 3.

Hewitt's discussion of the removal of the 'Taxes on Knowledge' is explored in more detail in Chapter 5. His focus on its role in the development of the Liberal Party under Gladstone is a treatment of the history of a campaign that is relevant to this thesis. He rebuts assumptions that the period of 1849 to 1861, in which taxes on newspapers, advertising and paper were abolished, continued the earlier campaign that led to the reduction of the newspaper stamp in 1836. Building on this distinction, my thesis discusses newspaper and print tax campaigns of the mid-century in terms of the class affiliation of various publications, echoing the class distinctions made by Wiener and Patricia Hollis. Differences in working-class and middle-class campaigning are explored in detail in Wiener's analysis of the 'War of the Unstamped Press' between 1830 and 1836 and Hollis's study of the same period. Both examine the contrasts in campaigning styles between the 'pauper press' (willing to break the law) and middle class reformers (more likely to lobby parliament).³⁸

But to what extent did organized working-class campaign journalism influence the press more generally? Jean Chalaby's *The Invention of Journalism* argues there was a decisive break between the radical unstamped press and the 'journalistic discourse' that he sees as beginning in the 1850s.³⁹ Chalaby does not acknowledge the continuity of themes that Ledger identifies in the popular, radical press of the 1840s and 1850s. In part, this is a consequence of Chalaby's tendency to equate journalistic discourse with newspapers, whereas Ledger's study of the popular encompasses a broader range of genres. However, Chalaby's term 'publicist' rather than 'journalist' to describe Richard Carlile and other

³⁷ Aileen Fyfe, *Steam-powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

³⁸ Joel H. Wiener: *The War of the Unstamped: The Movement to Repeal the Newspaper Tax, 1830-1836* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1969) and Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

³⁹ Jean Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 9.

radicals of the unstamped press poses a valid question: he argues that their main motivation was to propagandize their political beliefs rather than produce journalism *per se*. This category would include the ‘confrontational’ writing of editors and printers prosecuted during the ‘War of the Unstamped Press’, including Carlile, Henry Hetherington, Wooler, and Hone, whose journalism, Chalaby argues, was entirely led by their political opinions (p. 17). Furthermore, Hetherington and the radical London bookseller and editor John Cleave melded political news with crime, entertainment, and sport in a combination that set the pattern of popular newspaper journalism over the next decade.

Confrontation as a technique of campaigning journalism was carried into the stamped press, such as the *Northern Star*, the most successful Chartist newspaper, published between 1837 and 1852. After 1836, some radical journalists chose to write for more general publications and were involved in other campaigns besides that of removing press taxes. William Carpenter, printer and journalist, worked for the *True Sun*, a radical newspaper and edited the popular Sunday newspaper, *Lloyd’s Weekly* from 1844 to 1845. John Cleave, a veteran of the ‘War of the Unstamped’, produced *Cleave’s Weekly Press Gazette* from 1834 to 1836 and established *Cleave’s Penny Gazette of Variety and Amusement* from 1837 to 1844, which directly influenced Lloyd’s Sunday newspaper. Cleave’s agency was the main southern distributor for the *Northern Star*.⁴⁰ Cleave in London and Abel Heywood in Manchester were prominent radical editors and print distributors whose networks facilitated the sale of campaigning publications. Tracing the development of newspaper and magazine trends highlights the different pace at which various types of publication were willing or able to accept innovation.

Victorian journalism was also self-reflective. Mark Hampton has analysed the various strands of contemporary views of the role and power of journalism (the ‘Fourth Estate’) from the middle of the nineteenth century to the outbreak of the First World War. *Visions of the Press in Britain 1850s–1914* argues that two main analytical traditions emerged in the

⁴⁰ Malcolm Chase, ‘John Cleave’, *DNCJ*, ed. by Brake and Demoor, pp. 126–7.

nineteenth century. The first put forward the ideal of the press as a powerful agent for ‘improving’ individuals, or creating an arena for public discourse on the ‘questions of the day’.⁴¹ Newspapers offered highly partisan renderings of political questions, expecting conscientious readers to read different opinions every day. Hampton views this as the dominant ideal from the 1850s to 1880s but one that receded at the end of the century.

The second tradition that Hampton considers may be termed the ‘representative ideal’ of the press. In this view, the press claims to speak on behalf of readers. It channels the public’s views in a powerful form that can bring pressure on parliament. In this way, the press acts as the Fourth Estate, championing the people. In its most ambitious version, Stead’s vision, it would replace the House of Commons as the ‘Chamber of Initiative’ (p. 9). Ironically, Hampton says, electoral reform meant that by the 1880s, the newly enfranchised working class had less need of this ‘representative press’ than previously. But significantly, those who articulated Hampton’s ‘representative ideal’, offered to speak on behalf of the masses: ‘This theory offered some comfort in a period in which many among the elites anxiously observed the apparent emergence of a mass democracy’ (pp. 9–10). However, Hampton’s account excludes alternative ‘campaigning’ sections of the press, such as the feminist press.

The Literary Market Place and the ‘Public Sphere’

Stead envisaged that campaigning journalism could have a commercial benefit: just causes would attract support from readers and sustain his publications as well as effecting social change.⁴² ‘The Maiden Tribute’ series on child prostitution attracted new readers to the *Pall Mall Gazette* while Stead’s revelations were the talk of the London press, but the treatment of the issue alienated the paper’s traditional readers and some advertisers. I argue in this thesis that when advocacy dominates the editorial policy of a publication, it tends to hinder

⁴¹ Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850 to 1914* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p. 9.

⁴² Laurel Brake and James Mussell, ‘Introduction’, in ‘W. T. Stead: Newspaper Revolutionary’, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 16 (2013), <<http://19.bbk.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 February 2014]

its commercial potential: revelations of wrongdoing may provide a temporary lift but readers expect variety, not lectures.

Graham Law and Matthew Sterenberg theorize the shift from Old to New Journalism by applying Habermas's theory of the structural transformation of the public sphere.⁴³ Habermas's theory describes the public sphere as a realm of social life in which public opinion is formed. It creates a potential space between private or domestic interests and that of the state. Tracing the bourgeois public sphere to the literary miscellanies, salons, and coffee houses of the eighteenth century, Habermas argues that institutions such as the platform and the press fostered open discussion that shaped critical opinion. He uses the term 'structural transformation' to mean a process in which a 'journalism of conviction' becomes one of commerce through the rise of commodity capitalism. 'Colonization' describes how the critical functions of the public sphere are weakened by the intrusion of corporate and government interests, according to Habermas.

Concepts of structural transformation and colonization are significant because of the way in which they echo concerns and preoccupations about the expansion of newspapers and periodicals in the mid-nineteenth century. Supporters of press regulation through the newspaper stamp and registration requirements, including Dickens, argued that the removal of regulation would cause cheap and scandalous reading material to drive out quality writing. Metropolitan newspapers such as *The Times* feared for their intellectual property in an age when scissor-and-paste journalism was common. Behind these concerns lay a mistrust of populist publications as less 'respectable'. However, there was also an understandable perception that a cheaper press would lead to the promotion of politically radical ideas rather than simply a fear of gossip. Fear of the potential political threat posed by the demos was the prime motivation for the legislation such as the Six Acts and the

⁴³ Graham Law and Matthew Sterenberg, 'Old v. New Journalism and the Public Sphere', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 16 (2013), <<http://19.bbk.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 February 2014]

increased newspaper stamp duty that provoked the campaign against the taxes on knowledge between 1819 and 1836.

Law and Sterenberg identify E. S. Dallas and W. T. Stead as two writers who were among the most reflective on the practices of Old and New journalism. Four years after the removal of the newspaper stamp, Dallas wrote a series on the periodical press for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1859. He welcomed the new wave of publications as a sign of the power of democracy. Law and Sterenberg regard his work as a defence of the Old Journalism, however, because of its close fit to Habermas's description of a bourgeois public sphere. Dallas's focus is on 'class' journals — those targeted at particular groups or interests — rather than broadly popular publications such as the *Family Herald* or the *News of the World*. Stead's journalism manifestos 'Government by Journalism' and 'The Future of Journalism' were published during his imprisonment in 1886 in the *Contemporary Review* as a defence of the New Journalism. Law and Sterenberg argue that Stead was preoccupied with forming public opinion, and offered only one interpretation of New Journalism since Newnes provided the explicitly commercial model that came to typify mass journalism in Britain. Newnes's *Tit-Bits*, commoditized information for a mass market and interacted with readers through their contributions, competitions, and answers to correspondents.

In *After Habermas: New Perspectives on the Public Sphere*, Nick Crossley and John Michael Roberts acknowledge that Habermas's critics accuse him of ignoring the 'more coercive, power-driven' attributes of the bourgeois public sphere. They argue that the 'colonization' thesis simplifies complex media practices, since Habermas assumes that the public sphere is male and heterogeneous.⁴⁴ In the same collection, Michael Gardiner argues for a dialogic theorization of periodicals, contrasting Habermas's thoughts on the public sphere, ethics and rational dialogue with the work of Russian cultural theorist Mikhail Bakhtin. Where Habermas demarcates three phases of social activity and discourse in the

⁴⁴ *After Habermas: New Perspectives on the Public Sphere*, ed. by Nick Crossley and John Michael Roberts (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p. 4.

workplace, the domestic, and the political, Bakhtin sees these areas as fluid and contested.⁴⁵ For example, in *The Dialogic Imagination*, Bakhtin considers that the marketplace and public square in the early modern era saw the intermingling of social groups, divergent styles and idioms of language; his argument undermines the idea of a monolingual authority or a single version of truth.⁴⁶

Bakhtin's argument for a dialogue of different opinions is particularly applicable to newspapers, which despite having an overall editorial 'voice' are usually multi-vocal, involving contributors whose views may diverge. Columnists in Sunday newspapers expressed different viewpoints to those of the editorials, and these were often related to a contemporary campaign. The 'Hampden' column in the *News of the World* conducted a dialogue with the rest of the editorial content of the paper on social issues. More upmarket literary/intellectual reviews offer other examples: the *London Review* accused the *Fortnightly* of contradicting itself in different essays.⁴⁷

Habermas attempted to counter the problem of an exclusive, monocultural concept of the public sphere by adding other 'public spheres', based on gender or race. In Gardiner's view, these maintain an overall view of a generalized public sphere that 'functions to erase the differences between particular groups.'⁴⁸ His alternative argument is for a notion of 'counter-publics', preferring to examine 'distinct and overlapping public discourses'. This sense of parallel and intersecting discussions provides a closer model of the nineteenth-century press in which class journals and small advocacy papers existed in the same overall market as daily newspapers, elite Reviews, and hybrid weeklies. All acknowledged the topicality of various social debates — women in the professions, national education or reform of the poor law, for example — but brought their own political and cultural prejudices to the discussion. From a feminist perspective, Maria DiCenzo acknowledges that Habermas revised his

⁴⁵ Michael E. Gardiner, 'Wild Publics and Grotesque Symposiums: Habermas and Bakhtin on Dialogue, Everyday Life and the Public Sphere' in Crossley and Roberts, pp 28–48 (p. 30).

⁴⁶ Gardiner, pp. 38–9. Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, ed. by Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

⁴⁷ [Anon], editorial in the *London Review*, 5 January 1867, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁸ Gardiner, p. 43.

definition of the ‘public sphere’, but argues that his version of a decline coincides with a period in which access to the public sphere widened and during which there was an ongoing struggle for a universal franchise.⁴⁹ She argues that, like the ‘public sphere’, the notion of ‘counterpublics’ is too loosely used as ‘a synonym for oppositional tendencies or oppressed voices’, arguing that even within such groups there are ‘diverse positions and conflict *within* those publics’ (p. 27). DiCenzo’s analysis of feminist media history demonstrates the need to pay attention to methodologies drawn from women’s studies and of working-class cultural production. Chartism, for example, offered innovative responses to the forms of political public speaking and journalism.

1.1 Journalism Networks

Networks, whether of people, publications or technology, are useful to a study of campaigning journalism because of the ways they mirror the patterns and organizations of activist groups. The use of sociological models of network theory in the study of campaigning journalism fulfils a dual purpose by identifying characteristics of campaigning and journalism that are often interrelated. Social network theory describes social relationships in terms of nodes (individual actors within a network) and ties (the relationships between actors). Ties between the nodes represent types of interdependency. These may be familial, professional or ideological.

Serial runs of a single publication may also be examples of media networks since articles, advertising, and layout exist in relation to each other and to other publications. In studying the periodical press, the researcher has to account for the relationship of the publication to its authors, to others in its field, and to the readers. As James Mussell comments, each issue of a paper or periodical

signals a set of relationships with other publications in order that it can be situated within the broader marketplace. This network of similarities and

⁴⁹ Maria DiCenzo, with Lucy Delap and Leila Ryan, *Feminist Media History: Suffrage, Periodicals and the Public Sphere* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 25.

differences is prior to any particular publication and, crucially, is shared between the network of people that contribute to the publication and those that purchase and read it.⁵⁰

In his study of the *London Journal*, Andrew King examines the production of the weekly magazine in terms of cultural consumption, such as its availability in coffee houses. King argues that the *London Journal's* success in the 1840s was due to its appeal to consumers who wanted a literary culture 'that welcomed them' – something they would not find in elitist Reviews.⁵¹

Personal networks provide insights into the impact of a representative individual within broader print culture. Kate Jackson presents the editor and proprietor George Newnes as a node in an individual-centred network.⁵² In this way she is able to evaluate his mediation of 'culture' and 'profit' in mass newspaper and magazine publishing, a debate that preoccupied critics of journalism in the nineteenth century. By examining the range of niche publications associated with Newnes, Jackson identifies this as a product of the New Journalism, while also acknowledging continuities with the past. The drawback is that the focus on an individual necessarily excludes the many publications with which they were not involved and prioritizes their contribution over others with alternative viewpoints.

Few titles could afford the luxury of a large staff so editors commissioned work from freelancers. The progressive journalist G. H. Lewes wrote reviews for a cross-section of titles of varying political shades and publication intervals, such as the *Westminster Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, *Blackwood's*, the *Leader*, the *Fortnightly Review*, and the *Examiner*. He was also a sub-editor and assistant editor on the *Cornhill Magazine* under Thackeray. Rosemary Ashton's biography of Lewes implicitly acknowledges his position within a broad network of progressive journalists by emphasizing his relationships with other writers

⁵⁰ James Mussell, *The Nineteenth Century Press in the Digital Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 30.

⁵¹ Andrew King, *The London Journal: 1845–1863: Periodicals, Production and Gender* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 6–7.

⁵² Kate Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880–1910, Culture and Profit* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

through the social and intellectual circles he preferred and the diversity of publications for which he wrote.⁵³ Similarly, Michael Slater's biography of Douglas Jerrold indicates how a radical journalist/editor carried his campaigns to various weekly and monthly publications.⁵⁴ This thesis examines connections between these writers and others, including ways in which Jerrold could accommodate his views to different publications. P. D. Edwards's investigation of the work of Edmund Yates and George Sala, part of the group known as 'Dickens's young men' indicates that a mid-century Bohemian network continued to influence late nineteenth-century journalism.⁵⁵ It illuminates Dickens's influence as a journalist through the work of writers who worked for him before moving to other publications. Patrick Leary examines the writers, publishers, and editors of *Punch* magazine through their interaction at the weekly dinner meetings that took place at the 'Punch Table' — an editorial conference ostensibly to discuss the topical 'Large Cut' engraving that also doubled as an opportunity to exchange literary gossip.⁵⁶ It also shows how the editorial tone changed: Shirley Brooks took the satirical weekly in a very different political direction from the early social campaigning of Mark Lemon and Douglas Jerrold in the 1840s. Brooks continued to publish in other magazines and Leary demonstrates how he influenced the political tone of publications other than *Punch*.

Media technology also has an impact on discursive practise. The media theorist Friedrich Kittler describes material networks in terms of media notation or structures to emphasize connections arising from non-human signifiers. In *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, Kittler contends that the typewriter changed the perception of writing from the personal expression of a literate individual to a sequence of material signifiers. Kittler's view is that before the invention of the typewriter, literary production was essentially male; the introduction of the

⁵³ Rosemary Ashton, *George Henry Lewes: An Unconventional Victorian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁵⁴ Michael Slater, *Douglas Jerrold, 1803–1857* (London: Duckworth, 2002).

⁵⁵ P. D. Edwards, *Dickens's 'Young Men': George Augustus Sala, Edmund Yates and the World of Victorian Journalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).

⁵⁶ Patrick Leary, *The Punch Brotherhood: Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London* (London: British Library, 2010).

typewriter opened up new employment possibilities for women.⁵⁷ I use Kittler's theorization of media networks to consider the impact of technology on the ways in which various sections of the press represented campaigning ideas.

One experience that is impossible to replicate is that of the first readers of publications cited in this thesis. However, by considering each issue as a literary production, with its own conventions of format and genre, and by reading consecutive numbers, the modern reader experiences a sense of familiarity with recurring types of article — and a sense of disruption when one feature is dropped in favour of another. Anthony Trollope's portrayal of Septimus Harding in *The Warden* (1855) is a fictional account of the impact of newspaper reading on an individual.⁵⁸ Published at a moment of transition for newspapers following the removal of the newspaper stamp — a policy that the daily metropolitan papers resisted, alleging it would dilute the quality of journalism — Trollope's novel explores the role of the press specifically in relation to a newspaper campaign. Harding is accused of improperly benefitting from a charitable bequest relating to the care of aged and infirm paupers in his parish. Harding is inadvertently in breach of the terms of the bequest but his care of the men is impeccable. When the young reformer John Bold takes the case against Harding to his friend Tom Towers, editor of the *Jupiter* newspaper, events go beyond his control. The *Jupiter* is intended to represent *The Times* by its imitation of the paper's characteristic 'thundering' leader style. Bold, however, changes his mind for personal reasons and wishes to withdraw the accusations against Harding. *The Jupiter's* editor, Tom Towers refuses to kill the story on personal grounds, arguing instead that the paper has a duty to print the truth — and that Bold cannot deny that what he said originally was true.

⁵⁷ Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. by Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Witz (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 184.

⁵⁸ Anthony Trollope, *The Warden*, with an introduction and notes by David Skilton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Trollope depicts Harding reading *The Jupiter's* leaders but as Matthew Rubery notes, he leaves the reader to imagine Harding's feelings.⁵⁹ Dallas Liddle points out that Trollope also shows the impact of the wider market on Towers himself. The newspaper editor cannot retract the story because it has gained momentum in the literary marketplace: the serial novelist 'Mr Popular Sentiment' (Dickens) and pamphleteer 'Anticant' (a version of Thomas Carlyle) have already taken up the campaign. Towers is also a reader of the serial press who is under the sway of competitive forces outside his control. When the novel appeared in 1855, campaigning was prominent enough to act as a device to illustrate these connections and pressures. Towers internalized the demands of the newspaper editorial: as Liddle notes, even his speech is couched in the language of the leader.⁶⁰

Trollope's example concerns educated readers and their relationship with an upmarket metropolitan newspaper; in reality this was just one of a wide range of reading experiences. The language of the press for these alternative audiences was far removed from the fairly pompous style of the *Jupiter*. Richard Altick's study of reading and literacy in the *English Common Reader* suggests that one of the strengths of the radical press was that its simpler, more direct style was ideal for reading aloud in pubs and coffee houses.⁶¹ Literacy among artisans varied, but most had enjoyed some form of education either at home, in Sunday School or in village schools. Literacy among Methodists tended to be much higher due to the efforts of the Sunday schools from the eighteenth century.

Raw circulation figures for publications aimed at the lower classes earlier in the century underestimate their actual readerships, as David Vincent argues in *Literacy and Popular*

⁵⁹ Matthew Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction After the Invention of the News* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 92. Rubery suggests Trollope does not want the reader to lose sight of the actual circumstances. The newspaper's account is technically correct but its attack is out of reasonable proportion.

⁶⁰ Dallas Liddle, *The Dynamics of Genre: Journalism and the Practice of Literature in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), pp. 80–3.

⁶¹ Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1957), pp. 324–25.

Culture: England 1750–1914.⁶² Newspapers were often borrowed, shared or read aloud to groups of workers. Literacy also varied during the century according to gender. Vincent notes that in the 1840s, men significantly outnumbered women in literacy but by 1884, women outnumbered men in literacy in most of southern England (pp. 23–6). In the north, female literacy remained much lower though there was an improvement in the 1850s, possibly a result in the reduction of hours worked following the 1844 Factory Act. The contrast may also be due to the greater number of girls in domestic service in the South — literate servant girls had better employment opportunities (p. 104).

Education was a means of social mobility and autobiographical evidence shows that it was also regarded as crucial to campaigning. In *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom*, Vincent uses the evidence from (male) working-class autobiographies in the nineteenth century to show how working people used precious leisure time for reading and how they acquired printed matter.⁶³

Campaigning journalism drew on political and religious influences that dated back at least to the seventeenth century, with the news books and pamphlets of the English Civil War and its aftermath, and continued, despite state intervention and censorship, at various times and in different forms. One of the main concerns for writers of persuasive journalism was to identify the reader and the reader's interests: as E. P. Thompson notes in *The Making of the English Working Class*, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was often regarded as a radical and progressive text.⁶⁴ Symbolically, Christian's journey is that of a man of the 'people' in a sense that would have been understood by nineteenth-century readers, including Stead, who came from a Congregationalist family. Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* (1791) was also frequently found on artisan bookshelves, helped by publication in a cheaper, more accessible edition. In towns and cities, a culture of reading aloud and of borrowing or sharing literature

⁶² David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁶³ David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London: Europa Publications, 1981).

⁶⁴ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (Middlesex: Pelican edition, 1968), p. 34.

formed the basis of lectures at Mechanics Institutes or the Rotunda at Blackfriars, and in circulating libraries and coffee houses. However, as Collet Dobson Collet argued in his evidence to the Select Committee of 1851, working-class readers objected to being told to read the *Penny Magazine* instead of the unstamped press. The *Penny Magazine*, the organ of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was legally unstamped since it omitted news, a feature to which Collet ascribed its decline.⁶⁵

At the other end of the political spectrum, the intellectual Reviews addressed an imagined male reader who, like the majority of contributors, had privileged access to education, the professions, and/or a political career. The Philosophical Radical *Westminster Review*, established in 1824, broke new ground in its consciousness of the debate over women's roles. Laurel Brake demonstrates that in the 1850s the *Westminster* addressed gender politics and women's writing in numerous articles that indicated an awareness of a female intellectual readership, albeit limited.⁶⁶ It enabled Marian Evans to experiment with her authorial voice, writing on 'Woman in France' (1854) and 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists' (1856) to make a case for women's involvement in the higher echelons of cultural production as well on more traditionally masculine subjects (p. 99). The *Westminster* promoted progressive gender politics through essays and book reviews on subjects as contentious as women's education, the suffrage, and prostitution.

Metropolitan daily newspapers also addressed an imagined male reader. The anonymity of newspaper articles promoted the concept of the masculine editorial 'We' and emphasized the masculine voice. Nevertheless, anonymity provided a cover for female campaigners, such as Harriet Martineau and Frances Power Cobbe, to expound their views and to participate actively as newspaper journalists.

⁶⁵ 'Report from the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index', 18 July 1851, p. 152, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, <parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk> [last accessed 29 September 2014].

⁶⁶ Laurel Brake, "'Silly Novels?'" Gender and the *Westminster Review* at Mid-Century', in *Print in Transition, 1850–1910: Studies in Modern Book History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 87–109 (p. 96).

In addition to daily newspapers and Reviews, there were weekly newspapers and magazines. These were variously aimed at middle or lower middle-class and working-class readers. There were also a variety of monthly magazines, cheaper than the quarterlies and usually identified with middle-class readers. The diversity of monthly magazines reflected different concepts of the reader: the imagined reader of the early *Blackwood's* was theoretically male, as evidenced through the male networking in evidence in the 'Noctes Ambrosiae', but the inclusion of more fiction from mid-century made the magazine more attractive to women readers. It also attracted female contributors. Mrs Oliphant wrote extensively, albeit anonymously, for it from 1850. Later magazines, both secular and religious, made a push for the 'family' or 'feminine' reader, such as the *Cornhill Magazine* and *Good Words*, both established in 1860. William Thackeray's pronouncement as editor in 1860 that the *Cornhill Magazine* would contain no politics, was specifically intended to establish the magazine as ideal for family, and hence female, reading. More downmarket family reading could be found in the previously mentioned *London Journal*, the penny illustrated fiction weekly that enjoyed a circulation of around 500,000 in the 1850s and included serialized sensation stories that appealed to men and women. Andrew King comments that its fiction was designed to be read aloud 'in slightly chaotic family situations' or in circles where copies were lent out.⁶⁷

Another type of weekly publication combined a campaigning stance with the lighter, family-friendly style of the 'miscellanies', featuring serialized fiction, poetry, and essays. An example is *Household Words*, 'conducted by Charles Dickens', a 2d magazine published on Saturdays with a primarily lower middle-class readership. It was also available in 9d monthly wrappers and handsome biannual volumes aimed at more affluent middle-class families. Its format resembled *Chambers's Journal*, which had also been subedited by W. H. Wills before he joined *Household Words*. Unlike *Chambers's*, *Household Words* was a crusading magazine. Its successor, *All The Year Round*, marked a shift in editorial policy,

⁶⁷ King, *London Journal*, p. 121.

though the price was the same. Fiction played a more dominant role and there was less focus on issues such as education, emigration, and industry. One reason for this may have been that it was jointly published in Britain and the United States, which meant *All The Year Round* had to be sent to press earlier to meet the American publication deadline. This worked against topicality, especially about specifically London-based politics, and in favour of fiction.⁶⁸

Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine (1845–1848) advertised as a campaigning monthly magazine and enjoyed a reasonable commercial success, partly due to its price, which was cheaper than other monthlies. It attracted non-elite radical contributors such as R. H. Horne and William Howitt (also contributors to *Household Words*), Goodwin Barnaby, a radical utopian, and Thomas Cooper, the Chartist.⁶⁹ Jerrold attempted to translate the prestige of his shilling magazine into the sixpenny *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper* for a class of reader more attuned to his campaigns. Despite its mixture of liberal politics, fiction, essays, and humour, and Saturday publication, the paper failed to attract either sufficient advertising or enough sales from its target audience.

Pamphlets

Pamphlets were used across the religious and political spectrum to call attention to particular issues. They tended to reach a peak during major upheavals such as the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, and the crackdown on radicalism and the press from 1819. A pamphlet 'typically consisted of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve sheets, or between eight and ninety-six pages in quarto,' according to Joad Raymond's study of early modern pamphlets.⁷⁰ They resemble other forms of journalism in their topicality, polemic and cheap price compared with books. Some appeared in a series by one or more authors. Pamphlets were interactive since they could be used to reply to a newspaper

⁶⁸ Michael Slater, *Charles Dickens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 473.

⁶⁹ Ledger, *Dickens and the Popular Radical Imagination*, p. 147.

⁷⁰ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 5.

editorial on the same subject, as happened with several of the ‘Roebuck Pamphlets’, discussed below. The form was used by women as well as men: Caroline Norton wrote numerous pamphlets on divorce, while Harriet Martineau wrote about political economy. Magazine articles and newspaper series were reprinted as pamphlets. Pamphlets could air individual grievances to campaign for social reform. As Mary Poovey comments, Norton’s pamphlets petitioning against women’s lack of rights in marriage dramatized her own situation to explain the anomalies of the law. In ‘English Laws for Women in the Nineteenth Century’, published in 1854, Norton used her experiences of appearing in court to explain how the law worked against women.⁷¹

During the ‘War of the Unstamped’ between 1830 and 1836, J. A. Roebuck M. P. wrote or edited thirty-six pamphlets under the heading ‘Pamphlets for the People’. The first collected volume was published in 1835. Roebuck’s campaigning topics, apart from the ‘Taxes on Knowledge’, included municipal reform, reforming the House of Lords, the plight of the Dorchester labourers, the situation in Ireland, and the benefits of trade unions. The pamphlets contained advertisements and were written for middle-class and artisan readers. Roebuck’s pamphlets were topical and directly engaged with other parts of the press, with parliamentary debates, and the courts. Unlike newspaper articles, however, which were anonymous, the pamphlets were signed.

Pamphlets often originated as private letters circulated among a close circle. The authors tended to be individuals with an interest in a particular subject, such as abolishing slavery. These letters might then be published, anonymously, because they were believed to put forward an argument that would benefit society. They could, therefore, be persuasive texts produced serially or released more widely over time that occupied a market outside the newspaper or periodical. Pamphlets were sold more cheaply than books and so were more affordable to working-class readers. In the sense that they were produced by people with a point of view, rather than writers who needed to make a living, pamphlets are closer to

⁷¹ Mary Poovey, ‘Covered but Not Bound: Caroline Norton and the 1857 Matrimonial Causes Act’, *Feminist Studies*, 14 (1988), 467–85.

modern-day blogs rather than journalism. However, newspaper articles might also be collected and reissued as pamphlets, such as *The Times* series on agriculture in 1850 to 1851, James Greenwood's 'A Night in the Workhouse' articles, and W. T. Stead's reissued articles from the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

1.2 Campaigning Journalism and Genre

Campaigning journalism has not received much formal academic study as a genre of Victorian journalism. In an essay on pressure groups and the Victorian press, Brian Harrison stresses the continuities in the relationships between campaigning groups, parliament, and the press from 1780 through to the 1980s, while acknowledging that this aspect of Victorian political culture has received little attention in its own right.⁷²

Jen Birks asserts in her analysis of twenty-first century Scottish journalism that the genre of campaigning journalism per se is under-researched.⁷³ One aspect, investigative journalism, has attracted attention, but less has been paid to the key element of advocacy writing, persuasion. Investigation was important to Stead's advocacy journalism and is one of the characteristic features of the New Journalism, along with the interview. The work of individuals (Stead, James Greenwood, Henry Mayhew, and Elizabeth Banks) has been researched and critiqued in depth, but the historical development of investigative writing as a genre has not received a great deal of systematic attention, although the first chapter of Hugo de Burgh's *Investigative Journalism* provides historical context from the nineteenth century for a study of twentieth-century investigative reporting.⁷⁴

How should we define campaigning journalism? This thesis starts from the basis that it is a style of journalism that seeks to persuade others of a particular point of view. It may

⁷² Brian Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain', in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. by Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff, (Leicester: Leicester University Press; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 261–291, (pp. 261–2).

⁷³ Jen Birks, 'The Democratic Role of Campaign Journalism: Partisan Representation and Public Participation', *Journalism Practice*, 4 (2010), 208–23.

⁷⁴ Hugo De Burgh, *Investigative Journalism: Context and Practice* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 3–22.

encompass any issue on which an editor or reporter seeks to influence public opinion. The factual accuracy of reporting remains important: corrections damage the validity of the argument and lead to uncertainty in readers' minds.

Birks identifies the aim of campaigning journalism as influencing social policy and initiating movements for reform, usually through gaining support from political representatives. It does not claim to be impartial and speaks both to, and on behalf of, a particular class or interest group. This marks it out from other forms of reporting that claim to be 'objective' rather than 'subjective.' In many ways, she argues, it is just as much driven by its audience as by the need to mobilize public opinion.⁷⁵ Similarly, a newspaper or magazine may seek to lead public opinion or lead on a news story, but in other ways it is responsive to its readers and sensitive to circulation figures. It will cover issues of interest to a significant proportion of the readership and its coverage of a campaign will depend to some extent on how much it is likely to engage readers at a particular point in time. A magazine that exists purely as the mouthpiece of a particular campaign will be much more restricted in scope and readership and examine different aspects of the same issue in great depth.

Typically, campaigning journalism comprises a series of linked articles rather than a single 'news' event. Examples include Henry Morley's articles on public health in *Household Words* in the 1850s; Thomas Wakley's weekly *Lancet*, founded in 1823, which pushed for medical reform; Harriet Martineau's leaders on abolitionism in the *Daily News*; Caroline Norton's pamphlets and articles on marriage law reform between 1836 and 1857; and Frances Power Cobbe's articles and pamphlets on domestic violence in the 1860s and vivisection in 1870. Campaigning journalism was not confined to London. Stead established his reputation for influential campaigning at the Darlington *Northern Echo*, becoming editor in 1871 at the age of just 22. The paper was founded by John Hyslop Bell in 1870 as a Liberal organ backed by the Quaker Pease family. It achieved an international reputation as a result of Stead's articles on the Bulgarian atrocities in 1876, which brought him to the

⁷⁵ Birks, 'Campaign Journalism', p. 208

attention of Gladstone and eventually led to his move to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1880. His background as a local reporter and editor had a major influence on his views of the relationship between the journalist and the reader. Writing about Bell in the *Review of Reviews*, Stead noted his campaign against a clause in the 1874 Education Act that allowed denominational schools to be subsidized from the rates and supported Home Rule for Ireland.⁷⁶

The local press grew during the century in line with improved printing techniques, better communications, and the founding of the Press Association in 1868. Early in the century, influential political newspapers emerged in Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield — their development and the influence of middle class newspaper editors is detailed in Donald Read's study of these cities' newspapers.⁷⁷ In *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, Michael Harris notes that in London local newspapers had been established on party lines from the 1830s and later local newspapers such as the *Walthamstow Reporter* could galvanize the local media with their commitment to progressive radicalism.⁷⁸

Throughout the period of this thesis, campaigning was subject to surveillance and censorship. The government's targeting of Chartist leaders was exposed in 1844 when the Italian republican Joseph Mazzini, suspecting that he, too, was the victim of espionage, encouraged William Lovett and Henry Hetherington to write him a specimen letter. He took the letter with its tampered seal to the radical parliamentarian, Thomas Duncombe, who presented a petition on his behalf to the House of Commons. Public clamour forced the government to set up a Select Committee but the home secretary insisted on private hearings. Duncombe's campaign aroused great indignation in the national press. As David Vincent comments in *Literacy and Popular Culture*, the press was genuinely shocked by the discovery that the post was subject to political interference — though this was very familiar

⁷⁶ W. T. Stead, 'A North Country Worthy', *Review of Reviews*, July 1894, pp. 85–8.

⁷⁷ Donald Read, *Press and People, Opinion in Three English Cities* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1961).

⁷⁸ Michael Harris, 'London's Local Newspapers: Patterns of Change in the Victorian Period', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake and others (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 104–17 (p.117).

to its victims.⁷⁹ *The Times* backed away from the controversy and accepted the argument that intervention only happened in a national emergency. The Home Office responded to censure by ceasing to record the warrants that were issued.

1.3 New Journalism and Other Novelties

Although the primary period of the New Journalism is after the period of this thesis, its definition is key to my argument. The term itself is a journalistic construct, made notorious in an essay by Matthew Arnold in 1887, in which he famously dismissed it as clever but ‘featherbrained’.⁸⁰ Arnold was a cultural critic whose work had been published for decades in magazines. He was keen to dissociate himself from what he saw as Stead’s dangerous importing of aspects of the democratic, popular press into the pages of the middle- and upper-class evening newspaper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Arnold’s elitism was a response to sensation-seeking journalists, a greatly expanded electorate after the reform act of 1884, and rising social discontent. The last was evident in the emergence of new radical parties, greatly increased casual labour and new union militancy.

So, what exactly was New Journalism, when did it first appear and in what ways could it truly be described as new compared with the previous practices of Victorian journalism? And in what ways is it relevant to, and informed by, a study of campaigning journalism in the early and mid-Victorian period?

Academics have long agreed that several aspects of the New Journalism were not novel and existed in other forms during the early and mid-century. Raymond Williams argued that the origins of many of the characteristics of the New Journalism lay in the Sunday newspapers of the 1840s and 1850s, especially those edited by G. W. M. Reynolds and Edward Lloyd, with their mixture of news, opinion, sport, crime, and other human interest stories, although

⁷⁹ Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, p. 231.

⁸⁰ Matthew Arnold, ‘Up To Easter’, *Nineteenth Century*, 21 (1887), 629–43 (p. 638).

their consistent, if understated radicalism was, in his view, lost in the popular press of the late century.⁸¹

The *Daily Telegraph* can claim to have identified a form of New Journalism long before Arnold. In its initial number on 29 June 1855, it proclaimed ‘a new era of journalism’ and made favourable references to American newspapers. It also early on made the shrewd commercial decision, thanks to the printer Joseph Moses Levy who took it over in September 1855, to halve its cover price to 1d.⁸²

The 1860s also offer examples of changes and innovations that are associated with New Journalism. In his essay ‘Hybrid Journalism: Women and the Progressive *Fortnightly*,’ Mark Turner comments that the 1860s marked ‘far-reaching change for middle-class periodical culture and for journalism generally in Britain’, citing the proliferation of shilling monthlies seeking to emulate the *Cornhill Magazine*’s success in the early 1860s.⁸³ One significant development was that anonymity was being undercut, partly by the success of authors such as Dickens and the promotion of other literary personalities, but also through ‘advertisements, literary gossip columns, trade journals and so on’ (p. 72).

Turner notes that the radical and progressive *Fortnightly Magazine* under its first editor, G. H. Lewes, introduced signed articles saying that the writer of the article took responsibility for the views expressed. Lewes was editor for the first year, 1865–66 and signature continued after his editorship. In other ways, the *Fortnightly* resembled *Punch*, *Cornhill*, and *Macmillan*’s in promoting a recognizably ‘male club’ culture. It did not attempt to court a female, progressive readership by addressing women’s rights directly. This is somewhat surprising, Turner says, considering contemporary calls for better education and employment opportunities for women as well as electoral representation. But it did invite women through the inclusion, unusual for a review, of fiction and explored issues such as

⁸¹ Raymond Williams, ‘The Press and Popular Culture’ in *Newspaper History*, pp. 41–50.

⁸² Keith Williams, *The English Newspaper: An Illustrated History to 1900* (London: Springwood, 1977).

⁸³ Mark Turner, ‘Hybrid Journalism: Women and the Progressive *Fortnightly*,’ in *Journalism, Literature and Modernity*, ed. by Kate Campbell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), pp. 72–90 (p. 72).

property rights through fiction. Turner also comments that the number of contributions from women writers to the *Fortnightly* went up significantly under Lewes's successor, John Morley, later the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* ('Hybrid Journalism', p. 80). Moreover, Turner argues, the early years of the *Fortnightly Review* showed it negotiating attempts to be both a review and a magazine. Before commercial problems forced it to switch to monthly productions, it aimed at combining topicality (including a roundup of events similar to that of the *Saturday Review*) with attempts at 'higher journalism' through the book reviews. Lewes's informal 'Causerie' section enabled him to address readers directly, using a more personal style that may also have been intended, Turner says, to include women readers (p. 81).

Another manifestation of the New Journalism was its taste for sensationalism and in particular for undercover investigative reporting. An anthology of nineteenth-century investigative journalism edited by Stephen Donovan and Matthew Rubery shows that Victorian inquiry had a long and respectable history. It included Select Committee reports and the social inquiries of Henry Mayhew and Angus Reach.⁸⁴ Donovan and Rubery's anthology indicates the ways in which journalistic 'novelties' such as James Greenwood's 'A Night in the Workhouse' (1866) inspired a separate genre of personal investigative writing alongside the more traditional 'Commission' model. In Chapter 2, I develop Donovan and Rubery's analysis of investigation to relate this category of journalism to fictional forms of inquiry and contemporary literary trends.

In the 1880s and 1890s New Journalism was identified, criticized, and debated, by Arnold, Stead, and others. According to the *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*, the term New Journalism applies to 'typographical and textual innovations that transformed the press in the late nineteenth century'.⁸⁵ As well as heralding changes in typeface and layout, it also imported American innovations in using display advertising and the wider use of

⁸⁴ *Secret Commissions: An Anthology of Victorian Investigative Journalism*, ed. by Stephen Donovan and Matthew Rubery (London: Broadview Press, 2012).

⁸⁵ James Mussell, 'New Journalism', in *DN CJ*, ed. by Brake and Demoor, p. 443.

illustrations and photographs. It was also associated with a more direct, popular style of writing that appealed to the widest possible audience. Short news stories were favoured over long opinion pieces. Articles were more often signed, compared with a long-standing but contested tradition of anonymity (though newspaper articles usually remained anonymous) and bylines were given to ‘star’ reporters. Journalism was more personal: reporters could be participants in the story. ‘Human interest’ stories, especially of celebrities, and gossip were as important as exclusive news stories and the celebrity interview was another innovation. New technology, including faster printing methods and the use of illustrations and photography, influenced changes to layout. Other changes were commercially led and aimed at boosting circulation, including telling a major story through multiple, stacked headlines and the preference for shorter news items over long editorial pieces.

The commercial ethos has significant implications for campaigning journalism, where articles may be selected on the basis of causing least offence and appealing to the widest number of people. This was hugely problematic for an editor such as Stead, deeply committed to his religious principles, political crusades and journalism, as Laurel Brake highlights in ‘Who is “We”? The “Daily Paper” Projects and the Journalism Manifestos of W. T. Stead’. Though Stead had long sought to introduce characteristics of ‘Americanization’ — the ‘entrepreneurial, commercial, cutting-edge journalism’ — into British publishing, he struggled to reconcile its business models with his ethics.⁸⁶ Stead was committed to reproducing the highest quality journalism in the *Review of Reviews*, in collaboration with George Newnes. As J. O. Baylen points out, Newnes was from the same social and religious background. Baylen also notes the conflict between ideals and commercialization in Stead’s project: ‘Stead’s view of the *Review* as a spiritual force (his pulpit), lack of business acumen, appetite for controversy and ambitious plans to establish affiliates or associates of the *Review* in all English-speaking regions disturbed the pragmatic

⁸⁶ Laurel Brake, ‘Who is “We”? The “Daily Paper” Projects and the Journalism Manifestos of W. T. Stead’, in *Marketing the Author: Authorial Personae, Narrative Selves and Self-Fashioning, 1880–1930*, ed. by Marysa Demoor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 54–72 (p. 54).

Newnes and finally doomed their partnership'.⁸⁷ From 1890, Brake says, Stead sought to resolve the ethical-commercial dilemma by setting up his own publishing house to produce the *Review of Reviews* as well as journals on social service and psychical research. Nevertheless, Stead understood the advantages of commercial success. His Nonconformist background meant he identified with ordinary men and women and motivated his drive to increase sales and readers. Persuasion as an object of writing in New Journalism was often reinforced by the use of sensational styles of reporting and this is a key correlation with campaigning.

Arnold's use of the 'New' in New Journalism revealed much about his distaste for the changes he perceived in journalism. By the time he wrote 'Up To Easter' in 1887, the phenomenon he wrote about had been well established. The real focus of the article is democracy and politics: it targets Gladstone's Liberal Party and its support for Irish Home Rule. Stead supported both Gladstone and Home Rule at the time, and in this context the barbed reference to the 'clever man' makes a political point as well as commenting on popular journalism.⁸⁸ Arnold's use of the word 'new' is particularly resonant from a man who had spent his journalistic career writing cultural criticism and who wanted to elevate the practice of criticism to a higher cultural level. Stead's emphasis on democracy, headlines and sensation was anathema to the classical cultural values Arnold had expressed in the periodical essays first published in the *Cornhill* in 1867 to 1868 and collected as *Culture and Anarchy* in 1869. Stead, with his lack of a university education, Congregationalist background, and admiration for American democracy, embodied the 'Hebraism' that Arnold deplored. In Arnold's essay, middle-class Puritanism is contrasted with the culture of 'Hellenism' — intellectual, classically inspired — that he wished to see dominant in Britain. Arnold acknowledged the merits of Stead's journalism but rejected its place in high culture. Stead, meanwhile, embraced the democratic idea of journalism and its potential to direct

⁸⁷ J. O. Baylen, 'W. T. Stead as Publisher and Editor of *Review of Reviews*', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 12 (1979), 70–84 (pp. 72–3).

⁸⁸ Arnold, 'Up To Easter', p. 638.

government policy, writing, for example, in ‘Government by Journalism’ that: ‘The Press is at once the eye and the ear and the tongue of the people. It is the visible speech if not the voice of the democracy. It is the phonograph of the world.’⁸⁹

Journalists were concerned with the theory, practice and status of journalism throughout the century and wrote about it in various publications. Stead was one of the driving forces for greater recognition of journalism as a profession and of its political power. In the *Contemporary Review* articles, published in May and November 1886 and written while he was in prison, he discussed the role of journalism and his programme for the New Journalism, although he does not use the term. Significantly, the *Contemporary Review* began as a liberal, ‘Broad Church’ monthly magazine launched by Alexander Strahan who had already succeeded with an evangelical miscellany. In 1877, however, it favoured more conformity to Evangelical Christianity, in which discourse Stead’s pieces roughly fitted in 1886. One of Stead’s main themes is influence: in ‘Government by Journalism’, he argued that faster communication and wider distribution meant the press had the power to influence politicians, keep them informed of rapid changes in public opinion, and to inform readers of the great issues of the day. His language consistently expressed ideas of campaign, reform, and the public will, and he drew on the techniques of nonconformist preaching, such as repetition and invocations of Biblical imagery. He referred to John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, using the character of the muckraker to make his points. ‘Muckraking’ was used later as a term to describe a particular style of campaigning journalism in the early twentieth century in America.

Stead viewed the ‘Press and the Platform’ as central to the way in which the people could express their will. The increased power of both ‘is indicative of the extent to which the nation is taking into its own hands the direct management and control of its own affairs’.⁹⁰ He also defended sensationalism as the instigator of reform since it mobilized public

⁸⁹ W. T. Stead, ‘Government by Journalism’, *Contemporary Review*, 49 (1886), 653–74 (p. 656).

⁹⁰ Stead, ‘Government by Journalism’, p. 654.

opinion: ‘Sensationalism in journalism is justifiable up to the point that it is necessary to arrest the eye of the public and compel them to admit the necessity of action (p. 671).’

The New Woman

Like the New Journalism, the New Woman of the *fin de siècle*, originated in the mid-century, in the emergence of English feminism in the 1850s and 1860s. The focus was on educational opportunities, professional opportunities, and the Vote, but the latter was less important than the question of female economic independence. Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis comment, in their introduction to *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin de Siècle Feminisms*, that the British women’s rights campaigner was a familiar figure from the 1850s, often satirized in cartoons and periodicals. John Stuart Mill’s *On the Subjection of Women*, published in 1869, was, Richardson and Willis argue, one of the landmarks in British feminism, drawing parallels between slavery and the position of women under conditions of patriarchal law.⁹¹ But Mill earlier worked closely with Harriet Taylor, jointly writing ‘The Enfranchisement of Women’, published in the *Westminster Review* in 1851.

Bessie Rayner Parkes and Barbara Leigh Smith were part of a feminist network known as the Langham Place group. Its campaigns for wider access to education, property rights, and the vote for women led directly to them establishing the feminist *English Woman’s Journal* and to Emily Faithfull establishing the Victoria Press. Barbara Onslow notes also that many feminist writers came from politically active families (Parkes was one) although few women were involved in radical political publishing in the early century — Eliza Sharples editing *Isis* is a rare example.⁹²

The Langham Place group publications laid the foundations for later New Woman writing and for the rise of women’s suffrage publications, including newspapers. In *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain*, Michelle Tusan argues these suffrage

⁹¹ *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin de Siècle Feminisms*, ed. by Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 4.

⁹² Barbara Onslow, *Women and the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), p. 159.

newspapers were able to build reader communities and reform networks as well as advocate for women's rights.⁹³ However, Tusan's study mostly focuses on the suffrage press rather than the treatment of women's campaigns in the general press or other areas of periodical reading aimed at women. In considering the role of women in the press in this thesis I focus on their representation in the mainstream media.

Women were seldom present in newspaper and magazine offices in the early and mid-nineteenth century, though a few achieved status as editors in their own right. Marian Evans achieved the rare feat of editing a 'Review' although her involvement was known only to a select few. Nevertheless, she shaped the editorial line, selecting contributors and articles for the *Westminster Review* from 1852 to 1856. Other women editors were sometimes part of successful husband/wife partnerships, such as the Howitts and the Beetons. Isabella Beeton commuted with her husband Sam Beeton to his publishing office and jointly edited the *English Woman's Domestic Magazine* after its relaunch in 1860. She also played a substantial role in establishing *Queen*, edited by Frederick Greenwood.⁹⁴ After Isabella Beeton's death, the *English Woman's Domestic Magazine* was again edited by a woman: Myra Browne. Kathryn Hughes identifies articles and editorials published by the Beetons that could be considered campaigning: liberalization of divorce laws, respectable employment, and fair wages for unmarried women.⁹⁵ Sam Beeton endorsed Mill's views on women's suffrage. Sometimes articles would be couched as historical studies, such as an account of Spartan marriage laws, but issues would also be personalized in the form of essays about women writers or social activists. The magazine's strong relationship with its readers was also reinforced by some early 'New Journalism' marketing strategies such as competitions and loyalty vouchers to be collected and exchanged for 'gifts' (p. 173).

⁹³ Michelle Tusan, *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

⁹⁴ Margaret Beetham, 'Beeton, Isabella Mary (1836–1865)' in *DNCJ*, pp. 43–4.

⁹⁵ Kathryn Hughes, *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs Beeton* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 168; p. 171; and p. 173.

Other writers, while not overtly feminist, used the press to address issues relevant to women. Hilary Fraser points out that *Eliza Cook's Journal* was aimed at an artisan class of reader rather than the middle classes, so that paid work for women was less of a contentious issue.⁹⁶ Cook's editorial persona, however, was not feminine: Fraser identifies Cook's use of the editorial 'we' and a masculine style of writing as similar to *Fraser's Magazine*. Christian Isobel Johnstone, who edited *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (1834–1846), commissioned an unusually high number of women to write for her, including Harriet Martineau, Catherine Gore, Eliza Lynn Linton, Mary Russell Mitford, and Mary Howitt (p. 38).

Women's involvement with newspapers was a way of incorporating their campaigning interests into more general publications. Frances Power Cobbe's views on women's rights, domestic violence, vivisection, suffrage, and education appeared in her leader columns for the *Echo* and the *Daily News*. In the 1860s, Cobbe wrote her leaders at the *Echo's* Catherine Street office, but had her own private office. Cobbe was adept at picking up news items to make a point in her leaders. 'Cobbe felt the particular force of the press, and worked to yoke its power to feminist causes, yet writings of the kind that she excelled in — newspaper editorials and journal articles — have not been at the centre of sustained research in Victorian feminisms,' comments Susan Hamilton in her study of Cobbe's journalism.⁹⁷ Her leaders, Hamilton argues, offered an alternative version of women's lives that seeped into the minds of readers and habituated them to her point of view. Hamilton also points out that the type of newspaper or periodical dictates how the message is received: 'The unsigned leader in a half-penny evening paper circulates differently than the letter to the editor of *The Times*, the paper delivered at the Social Science Congress, or the signed piece in the *Contemporary Review*, even when the words are identical across all the forms.'⁹⁸ This illustrates the ways in which mid-nineteenth-century journalism functioned as part of

⁹⁶ Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnstone, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 97.

⁹⁷ Susan Hamilton, *Frances Power Cobbe and Victorian Feminism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 2.

⁹⁸ Susan Hamilton, 'The Practice of Everyday Feminism: Frances Power Cobbe, Divorce, and the London *Echo*, 1868–1875', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 35 (2002), 227–42 (p. 228).

political and social debate: anonymous editorials written in the first person plural aim to direct the opinion of readers of a daily newspaper; readers respond in the correspondence pages; a paper read aloud to a select group may be subsequently republished as an article or pamphlet; and a signed essay on the same subject might appear in a monthly periodical. Cobbe's career encapsulates the ways in which a campaigning writer could get their views into a range of publications: besides newspapers, she wrote for *Macmillan's Magazine*, the *Spectator*, and *Fraser's Magazine*.⁹⁹

Cobbe wasn't the only campaigning woman writing for newspapers in the early or mid-nineteenth century. Harriet Martineau wrote leaders for the *Daily News* from her home in the Lake District. Onslow comments that Martineau not only regarded her journalism as her most useful work but also used it frequently to revisit causes and issues she believed were important, for example, abolitionism, the American Civil War, women's rights, crime and punishment, and prison reform in her leaders between 1852 and 1866.¹⁰⁰

Female pioneers of journalism were not necessarily New Women: Eliza Lynn Linton was the first salaried female reporter for a national daily newspaper when she was hired by the *Morning Chronicle* in 1848 to write leaders, including commentary on parliamentary commission reports. As Onslow notes, Linton at that time was an advocate for women's rights, a freethinker and a socialist (pp. 45-6). During the 1850s, when she wrote for *Household Words*, however, her views on women's rights became more ambivalent. She defended her own career as a journalist, wrote an article praising Mary Wollstonecraft in 1854 (for the *English Republic*) and endorsed Caroline Norton's campaign to increase the property rights of women separated from their husbands (for *Household Words*), but her other articles for *Household Words* were more conservative. Linton became known for arguing against women's rights in the conservative news weekly the *Saturday Review*, where she regularly attacked 'the Girl of the Period', a forerunner of the New Woman. These

⁹⁹ For a detailed investigation of Cobbe's life and her journalism, see Sally Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe: Victorian Feminist, Journalist, Reformer* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁰ Onslow, pp. 45-6.

articles amounted to an anti-feminist campaign, though Linton's provocative style in the *Saturday Review* may be that of a professional journalist who could adapt her writing to reflect the views of the periodical that paid her. This view is supported by Valerie Sanders's argument that Linton's views about female emancipation are less clear-cut in her fiction. John Morley's adverse experience of being an anonymous staff journalist on the *Saturday Review* at this period tends to reinforce the idea that Linton's anti-feminism was an attempt to conform to editorial policy. Brake points out that Morley slated Algernon Swinburne's poetry in the *Saturday Review* in 1866 but subsequently engaged him to write for the *Fortnightly* between 1867 and 1870 when he was editor, suggesting he did not share the *Saturday Review*'s opinion.¹⁰¹

Ultimately, Linton's journalism became fixed (or trapped) in this anti-New Woman mode. The *Girl of the Period* articles of the 1860s were reprinted in 1883 and she continued to attack feminism in the 1880s and 1890s. 'Linton's weakness as a polemicist was her failure, not only to accept the existence of other models, but also to look around her and develop her ideals,' Sanders comments in her study of the anti-feminist women novelists.¹⁰² As Onslow comments, at the start of her career, Linton 'breached the boundaries of the ladylike, even shocking Dickens. By the end she was uncertain of the effects of that breach, critical of female higher education, horrified to learn to what lengths the lady journalists of the 1890s might go to pay her rent'.¹⁰³

1.4 Methodology

Studies of the British press fall into several categories: media history, gender studies, sociology, biography, and cultural studies. Often these disciplines intersect: as Tom O'Malley comments, media history has tended to stand in close relation to social sciences,

¹⁰¹ Laurel Brake, "'A Juggler's Trick'?: Swinburne's Journalism 1857–75', in *Algernon Swinburne: Unofficial Laureate*, ed. by Catherine Maxwell and Stefano Evangelista, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp.69–92 (p. 75).

¹⁰² Valerie Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminist Women Novelists* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), p. 138.

¹⁰³ Onslow, p. 199.

with researchers examining the press in terms of the 'public sphere' or cultural fields, for example.¹⁰⁴ An attempt to study a category of journalistic production in terms of its impact on print culture must necessarily employ methods from literary, historical, and social science disciplines.

The academic researcher of periodicals and newspapers faces several issues, the largest being the sheer abundance of titles. Another is access to these publications. Much of the material holding of newspapers and periodicals belongs to the British Library. During the period of my research, part of the collection was available in print; a substantial amount of the newspaper archive was available on microfilm, and thousands of pages available online through Gale Cengage. These formats have advantages and disadvantages. The print copy of a periodical gives the researcher an instant impression of the size and appearance of a title and appreciation of the impact on the original readers of any changes made to its layout or appearance.

Microfilm replicates some of the contemporary reader's experience, though inevitably distances us from it, too. It does not necessarily convey the full impact of the visual and material experience of the paper and its size, for example, but it recreates the impact of seriality and the sense of familiarity combined with novelty, such as where an illustration occurs in a periodical that formerly contained only text or the introduction of a new columnist. Digital resources offer unrivalled scope in terms of physical access to the material and the huge advantage of being searchable. There are two important caveats: although thousands of pages exist online, very few nineteenth-century titles are digitized. Ease of access, through academic libraries or through relatively inexpensive subscription to part of the British Library's collection, favours certain titles as resources for research over others, risking a distorted view. Researchers may not be aware that only part of a serial run has been digitized.

¹⁰⁴ Tom O'Malley, 'Media History and Media Studies: Aspects of the Development of the Study of Media History in the U.K. 1945–2000', *Media History*, 8 (2002), 155–73.

Another potential question is the impact of using searchable texts: too many results may appear, necessitating further refining and definition. More importantly, finding texts with that search term is only the beginning: having conducted a search, it is crucial to place the results in the context of the number in which they appear. Observing the placement of crime articles alongside columns and news reports on social deprivation in the *News of the World*, for example, indicates that the paper used an implicit form of campaigning designed to draw in readers rather than put them off. Parallel stories may be juxtaposed on the page to provide a narrative of campaign. Furthermore, the use of regular departments directed the reader to particular pages for certain categories of article. In Chapter 4, I examine the ways in which popular Sunday newspapers used these conventions to promote certain causes.

Another difficulty of researching newspapers and periodicals is the multiplicity of authors, often unnamed, within one issue. As James Mussell comments, this makes it difficult to ‘delimit’ the archive. Moreover, the miscellaneous and serial are precisely what define newspapers and periodicals. ‘If principles of selection are necessary to read just one monthly [...], then gaining a sense of the press as a whole demands considerable methodological care,’ Mussell warns.¹⁰⁵ I have attempted to counter these problems by evaluating publications through their relationship to campaigning writing and by focusing on networks rather than individuals or chronologies.

Historical or biographical methodologies risk distortion by privileging one area of the press over others, often by over-emphasizing London-based daily newspapers. Most recently, Joel Wiener’s examination of the ‘Americanization’ of the British Press draws valuable conclusions about the increasing emphasis on speed of delivery of news in British newspapers and identifies this as a preoccupation of American journalism. However, he discounts the impact of British periodicals and British journalists on American periodical publication. Wiener’s earlier edited collection of essays on New Journalism also largely ignores the popular and the regional press and the way in which these may have presaged

¹⁰⁵ Mussell, *The Nineteenth Century Press in the Digital Age*, p. 38.

characteristics of the New Journalism, though Brake in the same volume warns against the view of a ‘monolithic’ and ‘stable’ press, pointing to different developments in periodicals.¹⁰⁶ Stephen Koss’s detailed study of the political press in Britain is also reliant on metropolitan newspapers.¹⁰⁷ Though Koss’s insights into the complex interrelationships of politicians, press, and readers are relevant to this thesis, he sidelines monthly magazines, feminist journals, the working-class press, such as Chartist papers, the popular Sunday press, and the regional press, all of which I include in my study.

My methodology has been to conduct digital searches where possible, as in initial inquiry, with each relevant result then examined in terms of its relationship to its page and then to the whole issue. The form of the article is noted and compared to other forms within the same publication and, where relevant, those of its rivals. Also noted is the target readership of that class of publication. Where both digital and print forms were available for relatively restricted publications, such as Henry Hetherington’s *London Weekly Dispatch* (1839), I used the print version for a material examination of the content and appearance of the weekly paper, followed by digital searches. The *Northern Star*, the *Leader*, and the *English Woman’s Journal*, are all searchable online thanks to the NCSE database and are useful examples of campaigning periodicals aimed at different audiences.

The variety of textual forms within a single title is also important: newspapers contained news stories, leading articles, ‘letters’ from special correspondents, reviews and notices, all written to satisfy certain conventions and expectations of the form. Dallas Liddle elaborates on this in his study of genre, noting a related issue of defining what we mean by ‘text’ — for example, should advertisements be counted as ‘copy’? In this study, advertisements, especially publishers’ notices, are considered as evidence of networks of campaigns. Authorship, Liddle notes, is always ‘mediated by and opposed to editorship’, so the ways in

¹⁰⁶ Laurel Brake, ‘The Old Journalism and the New: Forms of Cultural Production in London in the 1880s’, in *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s–1914*, ed. by Joel H. Wiener (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 1–24 (p. 1).

¹⁰⁷ Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, 2 vols, I: ‘The Nineteenth Century’ (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981).

which one contributor interacts with other voices in the publication reveals the influences of freelance writers in this period (p. 3).

Conclusion

This chapter has set out the context in which campaigning journalism developed in the mid-century in terms of the commercial and regulatory environment, along with its relationship to an earlier period of radical writing, and in terms of its potential influence on the New Journalism of the 1880s and 1890s. The characteristics of New Journalism may broadly be said to include signed articles; a greater professionalization of, and specialization by, journalists; the introduction of new technology and developments in layout; shorter news stories with eye-catching headlines; and a strongly persuasive style. Old Journalism differed in that it included a narrower regulatory and commercial environment; ‘amateur’ correspondents who wrote about an area of special interest and a reliance on freelancers; a narrative, often chronological style of writing; and the almost total exclusion of women from newsrooms. However, it is also clear that rigid definitions of old and new are highly problematic, since features of New Journalism newspaper writing, such as signature and an interest in new technology, existed earlier in British periodicals and newspapers, and the influence of American innovation on the British press may be distorted or exaggerated.

Nineteenth-century campaigning journalism demonstrates instead that there are overlaps and continuities as well as change between Old and New Journalism. Campaigning itself is closely connected to seriality and raises issues of gender, class, and the concept of the public sphere that will be examined in detail in the subsequent chapters. For these reasons there are advantages to examining a broad range of titles through the medium of campaign, rather than specific advocacy titles, to illustrate continuities and contrasts between Old and New Journalism.

Chapter Two: Investigation as a Component of Campaigning Journalism

This chapter examines investigation as a component of campaigning journalism between 1840 and 1875. Investigative reporting is often associated with the New Journalism of the 1880s and 1890s, particularly in its use of the undercover reporter and sensational exposé. In the early and mid-century press, investigation brought the realities of working and living conditions among the masses to a more affluent audience in an attempt to persuade these readers to support reforms. Newspapers and periodicals regularly reviewed Parliamentary Blue Books, medical journals, scientific papers, pamphlets, and fiction, and printed extracts from them. These sources of information provided a model from which the press developed its own methodologies of inquiry. Parliamentary commissioners and newspaper correspondents were aware of the persuasive potential of research, particularly into social issues, and the ways in which the findings could be manipulated to elicit a response from politicians and the public.

I argue here that British newspapers and periodicals employed a variety of investigative methodologies between 1840 and 1875 and that these formed an important component of campaigning journalism. The principle methods used were: evidence-gathering through interviews; personal observation; compiling statistical data; and extensive use of newspaper reports and other documents. Serial publications built a case for reform through the presentation of evidence and the frequency of stories on recurring themes. Newspaper investigation reflected middle- and upper-class fears of the impact of poverty on social unrest. In the 1840s, 1860s, and 1880s, economic depression fuelled fears of social upheaval and renewed working-class demands for greater access to the franchise. Fear of the dispossessed poor was sometimes expressed as a fear of contamination, as if poverty were a disease.

Research into investigative journalism has tended to focus on contemporary practice rather than its historical development and on American, rather than European, models. An example is James S. Ettema and Theodore L. Glasser's study of contemporary American case histories.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, they identify several useful areas of debate: the role of objectivity; the presentation of the reporter's role; how findings are verified; the justification for the story; and the skills needed to research it. Less clear-cut is their argument about the relative independence of the press. They cite the *New York Herald's* first editor James Gordon Bennett, who asserted that the penny press that emerged in the 1840s was independent of the mercantile and political elites who dominated the U.S. press in the 1830s. The penny press claimed to report facts and to defend the public good, Ettema and Glasser suggest: 'This new journalism spoke for, and thereby helped to realise, a vision of the public interest by telling stories that exemplified and defended that interest' (p. 64). The threat of advertisers withdrawing their custom unless an unfavourable story was suppressed could also be an inhibiting factor for an editor or proprietor mindful of the potential impact on circulation and revenue. This was ultimately to prove a problem for the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the 1880s — exposé journalism temporarily attracted new readers to the newspaper but the style and subject matter lost some of its traditional audience.

In *Secret Commissions*, Stephen Donovan and Matthew Rubery identify the scattered distribution of British texts as a reason for the relative downplaying of mid-century British serialized investigation compared with late-century American muckraking. Their anthology addresses this by including a wide range of texts, by anonymous authors as well as the canonical Charles Dickens and Henry Mayhew.¹⁰⁹ Broad views of how the press engaged with the various discourses of inquiry that existed before 1875 are rare. James Aucoin, in his introduction to *The Evolution of American Investigative Journalism*, criticizes the tendency to record media history in terms of biography, citing James Carey's lament that it causes

¹⁰⁸ James S. Ettema and Theodore L. Glasser, *Custodians of Conscience: Investigative Journalism and Public Virtue* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁹ *Secret Commissions: An Anthology of Victorian Investigative Journalism*, ed. by Stephen Donovan and Matthew Rubery (London: Broadview Press, 2012).

historians to miss the ‘central historical story’ — that of reporting.¹¹⁰ In a period when British newspaper journalists published anonymously, this approach highlights only the few individual reporters known to us from contemporary accounts or autobiographies. A thematic examination, such as that by Donovan and Rubery and what follows in this chapter, encompasses much more investigative writing published anonymously. It highlights the relationship of such writing to the material culture of categories of newspapers and magazines and can illuminate other aspects, such as the development of professionalism and specialization. It is also an example of the impact that the changing commercial environment, from the 1840s onwards, had on the press in Britain. This chapter extends the examination of investigation beyond newspapers and magazines to include fiction and discusses the relationship of investigative texts to the rest of the content of the publication in which they appeared.

The nomenclature used to describe investigative writers in the serial press poses another problem. The specialist role of ‘investigative journalist’ did not exist between 1840 and 1875. Writing for a living was not considered a profession for a gentleman, which was reason for the prevalence of anonymity in periodicals. In newspapers, anonymity was the rule until the end of the century. Those who relied on paid writing work might combine newspaper and magazine contributions with plays or novels — Douglas Jerrold and Charles Dickens are two prominent examples. The newspaper articles examined in this chapter were published either anonymously or pseudonymously. The *Morning Chronicle* told readers its ‘Survey of Labour and the Poor’ (launched in 1849) was undertaken by ‘commissioners’. The bylines, however, were usually attributed to ‘our special correspondent.’ The term ‘commissioner’ had a dual resonance. It denoted a public servant who undertakes expert inquiry on behalf of the state, gathering information to frame legislation in some way. Its second import was journalistic rather than political: most newspapers of the period depended on freelancers. The authors of the *Morning Chronicle* survey were literally

¹¹⁰ James L. Aucoin, *The Evolution of American Investigative Journalism* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2005), p. 9.

‘commissioned’ to write the series; none at that time worked for it as a permanent, staff writer. They were connected by political sympathies and experience of writing for newspapers and periodicals. Three of the four — Alexander Mackay, Charles Mackay, and Angus Reach — were writing for, or began, their careers on, Scottish newspapers. However, they were also nodes in the London newspaper network and thus were known to Henry Mayhew, who played a significant role in instigating the series and in suggesting fellow-commissioners.

The identity of the Welsh commissioner is not known. Fifteen letters from Wales were printed between 4 March and 26 April 1850, some were reprinted in the English-language Welsh press. Jules Ginswick comments on the ‘curious silence on the Welsh project’ in his republished collection.¹¹¹ One reason may be the short period in which the articles appeared. Another explanation may be that one of the known commissioners was also responsible for this series. If this is the case, Ieuan Gwynedd Jones suggests the most likely candidate is Angus Reach, given that Reach had reported from English colliery districts.¹¹² Jones’s theory is plausible given that the letters from Wales were published after Reach’s tour of the northeast of England’s colliery districts. The language and descriptive power of the Welsh copy matches that of Reach, and the practice of citing the local people’s reading habits by interviewing a local bookseller is one that Reach used in his other articles. It is also possible that he or another English journalist worked in co-operation with local journalists since, Jones notes, the writer did not speak Welsh and would have had some difficulties in understanding local idioms (p. 11).

Aucoin cautions against overemphasizing investigative journalism as a specialism rather than placing it in a wider sphere of inquiring writing. He cites Rachel Carson’s book *Silent Spring*, a scientific exposure of the impact of chemicals on the environment, published in

¹¹¹ *Labour and the Poor in England and Wales, 1849-1851: The Letters to the Morning Chronicle from the Correspondents in the Manufacturing and Mining Districts, the Towns of Liverpool and Birmingham and the Rural Districts*, ed. by Jules Ginswick, 8 Vols (London: Frank Cass, 1983), III (South Wales-North Wales), xi.

¹¹² Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Mid-Victorian Wales: the Observers and the Observed* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), p. 11.

1962. Carson's research, though scientific text rather than journalism, is 'possibly the most influential muckraking work in American history' Aucoin argues, but it would be excluded from a narrow study of investigative writing if a strict definition of journalism was used (p. 9). In some ways, Carson resembles the nineteenth-century British model of the writer who was a professional in another field. She was a science writer for the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. Her book had a relationship to journalism in that excerpts from it were published in *The New Yorker* in June 1962, before it was issued in book form by Houghton Mifflin in September. The third, final part appeared on 30 June 1962.¹¹³

Carson's investigation was controversial and her interpretation of evidence was challenged by the chemicals industry. As Ettema and Glasser note, studies of investigative writing have to engage with an implied conflict between notions of objectivity and the persuasive intent of literature that questions social practices or reveals corruptions of it. Such a conflict did not concern nineteenth-century British and American newspaper readers, who expected newspapers to be partisan. Michael Schudson's social history of American journalism contends that the ideal of objectivity was a twentieth-century construct that arose from journalistic disenchantment with wartime propaganda.¹¹⁴ In the 1830s and 1840s, the American 'penny press' created a market in which 'news' rather than editorial dominated, but the concept of news included crime stories and a blurring of the division between public and private. Schudson's analysis of the rising demand for less political and more 'exotic' news suggests this audience was open to articles that were concerned with aspects of exposure. Aucoin comments that the crime reporting of the *New York Herald* and *New York Sun* went further than other parts of the popular press, delving behind court and police reports to examine the backgrounds of crimes.¹¹⁵ Ettema and Glasser view the 'paradoxical linkage of objectivity and indignation' as a feature of the historical development of

¹¹³ Rachel Carson, 'A Reporter At Large', *The New Yorker*, 30 June 1962, p. 35.

¹¹⁴ Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: a Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Aucoin, p. 24.

American journalism, a phrase that could also be applied to much of the social investigative reporting in British newspapers in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁶

An alternative model, for which objectivity was a practicality as well as an ideal, emerged with the founding of the Associated Press in 1848. Established by a group of New York newspapers to share the potential of the telegraph service, the newswire marketed news stories suitable for reproduction in a broad range of newspapers. It promoted neutral reporting, but Schudson argues this did not mean it was a model for the industry.¹¹⁷ By the late nineteenth century, A.P. copy was ‘markedly more free from editorial comment than most reporting for single newspapers,’ Schudson comments (p. 4). Newspapers operated under a different economic model than the news agencies: rather than selling their news to a range of print titles, they marketed news direct to readers and advertisers. Because of this, Schudson identifies sensationalism, rather than objectivity, as the main development in nineteenth-century newspapers (p. 5). This is evident in British investigative writing: the *Morning Chronicle*’s commissioners were more effective when they combined social science with ‘human interest’. American exposé journalism re-emerged in the late nineteenth century, and developed a reforming slant, targeting local government corruption, social ills, and medical malpractice. Aucoin notes that reform papers used exposé to persuade readers to campaign for social change, ‘thereby extending the reach of exposure journalism to incorporate the strategy of outraging the public so it will demand improvements’ (p. 24). However, Mark Feldstein argues that the small advocacy press in the U.S. had only a limited influence on the wider newspaper industry.¹¹⁸

In Britain, the rise of satirical magazines in the 1830s and 1840s demonstrated an interest in unmasking political and other scandals. The foibles of individual politicians and other

¹¹⁶ Ettema and Glasser, p. 65.

¹¹⁷ Reuters began to supply London Stock Market information from 1851, but domestic newswire copy was not available to British regional newspapers until the formation of the Press Association in 1868.

¹¹⁸ Mark Feldstein, ‘A Muckraking Model: Investigative Reporting Cycles in American History’, *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 11 (2006), 105-20.

members of the establishment were exposed and mocked by *Figaro in London* (1831–1839) and *Punch* (1841–2002), reinforcing the message that powerful figures could have their weaknesses exposed to public comment. *The Penny Satirist*, founded in 1837 by Barnard Gregory, was an anti-Tory, cheap weekly satirical (and unstamped) newspaper. Its main target was the aristocracy and its downfall in 1843 was due to a successful libel action by the Duke of Brunswick. It also revealed more obscure misdemeanours to its readers, such as a spoof letter published in its second issue on 29 April 1837, purportedly from a runaway, fraudulent banker to his friend in England. The following month, it reprinted an article from the *Economist* on ‘How To Detect Adulterated Bread’.¹¹⁹ The theme of food adulteration and tradesmen’s tricks was common in the popular press from the 1840s and the subject of a long-running campaign, culminating in the 1875 Sale of Food and Drugs Act.

Satirical publications often invoked the comic figure of ‘Paul Pry’ in their condemnation of corruption. He was the eponymous character in John Poole’s hugely popular farce in three acts, first performed at the Haymarket Theatre on 13 September 1825, transferring to New York the following year. Pry was a busybody who made a habit of leaving his umbrella at various houses to have an excuse to return to eavesdrop. However, at the end of the play he becomes a hero for retrieving papers that reveal more serious wrongdoing. The play’s popularity in America is illustrated by Anne Royall’s use of the name for a weekly newspaper between 1831 and 1836 that exposed political and religious corruption. A penny weekly containing scurrilous gossip called *Paul Pry* was published between 1848 and 1850.¹²⁰ The character was also adapted as the ‘Editor’ of a pamphlet on the investigation of the mismanagement of the St Marylebone Vestry, which revealed huge financial wrongdoing on the part of a small group of vestrymen.¹²¹ A similar use of ‘Paul Pry’ as editor appeared in the pamphlet *Royal Secrets, or Pry in the Palace; By Edward Jones, Visitor Extraordinary to her Majesty*. Jones was famous for his escapades as an intruder in

¹¹⁹ ‘How to Detect Adulterated Bread’, *Penny Satirist*, 6 May 1837, p. 4.

¹²⁰ Brian Maidment, ‘Paul Pry’, *DNCJ*, pp. 483–84.

¹²¹ *Second Visit of Paul Pry to Mary-le-Bone with an Exposure of the Annual Accounts* (1827).

Buckingham Palace and claimed to be reporting conversations he had overheard between palace officials and between Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.¹²²

Figaro in London and the *Penny Satirist* used ‘Paul Pry’ as a short-hand for investigation, almost always to report gossip connected with the aristocracy. In June 1837, the editor of the *Penny Satirist* announced the launch of a new paper to promote ‘The Inquisitive Society.’ This aspired to be ‘the instrument of a great moral reformation in society’. But it also required a secretary who is ‘a very inquisitive fellow, quite a Paul Pry — a slinking, sneaking, crafty, audacious rascal.’ The editor planned to attend a meeting of servant girls to encourage them to set up a paper ‘in which the foibles, peccadilloes, sins of omission and commission of masters and mistresses, will be faithfully recorded and arraigned before the bar of public opinion.’¹²³ The following year, the *Penny Satirist* began reporting alleged royal gossip from its informant, a servant in the Royal household: a letter signed by ‘A Sheepeeper at Court’ called ‘The Prince in a Quandary’ related Victoria’s jealous behaviour regarding Albert. The correspondent was not sure, however, if a ‘young Coburg is on the way or not’.¹²⁴ Dickens employed ‘Paul Pry’ as a synonym for personal nosiness and investigation in *Bleak House* when Mrs Pardiggle visits the brickmaker’s family. After accusing her of coming to ‘poll-pry and question according to custom’, the man asked (and answered) the questions Mrs Pardiggle planned to put, pointing out that poverty was the cause of most of his problems, not his lack of religion.¹²⁵ Mrs Pardiggle’s brazen intrusion ironically inverts Paul Pry’s catchphrase, ‘I hope I don’t intrude.’ The scene expresses working-class resentment at interference and intrusive criticism by middle-class ‘do-gooders’.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, British newspapers treated ‘investigation’ as a feature of reporting criminal cases, political scandals, or the findings of parliamentary

¹²² *Royal Secrets, or Pry in the Palace; by Edward Jones, Visitor Extraordinary to Her Majesty*, ed. by Paul Pry the elder (London: John Cleave, 1841).

¹²³ Anon., ‘Penny Satirist Office’, *Penny Satirist*, 3 June 1837, p. 2.

¹²⁴ Anon., ‘The Prince In A Quandary!’, *Penny Satirist*, 11 April 1840, p. 2.

¹²⁵ Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*, ed. by Norman Page (London: Penguin, 1985), p. 158.

commissions, but did not identify it as a component of campaigning. Mayhew's comments on economic policy in the *Morning Chronicle* were exceptional. Anne Humpherys notes that Mayhew accused the *Morning Chronicle* of toning down the anti-free trade sentiments expressed by boot makers in February 1850.¹²⁶ E. P. Thompson gives another example in which one of the paper's proprietors, Sidney Herbert, was campaigning to ameliorate the degradation of needlewomen who resorted to prostitution because of low pay; Herbert suggested emigration was the solution, while Mayhew argued that the working conditions needed reform.¹²⁷ Eileen Yeo comments that when Mayhew published his series independently in 1851, he included answers to correspondents on the wrappers of each part, in which he could be more outspoken about employers and political economy than he had been permitted in the newspaper.¹²⁸ Mayhew's conflict with the paper over expressing his own views was not characteristic of the other 'Commissioners', whose pieces were in accord with the *Morning Chronicle*'s free trade policies.

The *Morning Chronicle* survey broke new ground in British journalism by undertaking a lengthy investigation. Common newspaper practice was to publish and comment on the social inquiries of others. Newspapers published the findings of investigating committees at length, often to reinforce their own opinions. The report of the Select Committee on the Andover Union was printed at length in the Chartist *Northern Star* on 29 August 1846 because it exposed shortcomings in the workhouse system, reinforcing the paper's anti-Poor Law campaign. Regional and radical newspapers offered examples of 'unmasking': the *Manchester Guardian* revealed the identity of a bankrupt solicitor, John Dicas, in 1821. The *Leeds Mercury* exposed the activities of Oliver the Spy, and Hugo de Burgh cites William Cobbett's campaign against flogging in the army.¹²⁹ Joel Wiener argues that the early

¹²⁶ Anne Humpherys, *Travels Into the Poor Man's Country: The Work of Henry Mayhew* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), p. 20.

¹²⁷ E. P. Thompson, 'Mayhew and the *Morning Chronicle*', in *The Unknown Mayhew*, ed. by E. P. Thompson and Eileen Yeo (Pontypool: Merlin, 1991), pp. 11–50 (p. 28).

¹²⁸ Eileen Yeo, 'Mayhew as Social Investigator', in *The Unknown Mayhew*, pp. 51–95 (p. 81).

¹²⁹ *Investigative Journalism: Context and Practice*, ed. by Hugo de Burgh (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 30. Cobbett was jailed for two years for denouncing the flogging of militiamen who protested deductions from their pay.

nineteenth-century radical press produced other examples of investigative journalism, such as reporting the activities of political spies and agents provocateurs in trade unions. He points to Richard Carlile's study of freemasonry, which included first-hand accounts of previously secret rituals, as another example.¹³⁰ Carlile published his findings (based on reports and books on freemasonry that informants sent to him in Dorchester Gaol) in instalments in *The Republican* under the heading 'An Exposure of Free-masonry'.

More specialist sections of the press demonstrated a profound commitment to inquiry. The *Lancet*, a weekly paper that campaigned for medical reform from within the profession, consistently published the results of investigation. *The Lancet* was founded in 1823 to publicize good and poor practice in medical research, partly by reprinting lectures, since these were only available for payment to a select few. It exposed malpractice and actively campaigned for social change. Its first editor, Thomas Wakley, petitioned successfully for the creation of medical coroners and in this capacity he instigated and oversaw investigations into the death from flogging of a British soldier in 1846 and the deaths of pauper children in a cholera epidemic in Tooting in 1848–49.

The first model for investigating the condition of the lower classes was the parliamentary commissioner. As Humpherys comments, there had been ten years of active investigation and publishing of Blue Book reports before Mayhew's articles appeared:

The numerous parliamentary investigations into the condition of women and children in factories (1832), in mines (1842), and in potteries (1843) when published in their familiar blue covers had presented much information about the lives and working conditions of industrial workers to the public.¹³¹

The potential of investigation and exposé to drive legislative change was becoming clear and, as De Burgh comments, 'It is often said that journalism is the first rough draft of

¹³⁰ Joel Wiener, 'Richard Carlile and "The Republican"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 13 (1980), 79–85.

¹³¹ Humpherys, p. 15.

history; by contrast *investigative* journalism provides the first rough draft of legislation.’¹³² Journalists responded to techniques developed by the Royal Commissions of the 1830s and 1840s, including the use of direct speech and illustrations to convey information.

Another approach to investigative journalism in Britain from around 1850 was to combine information-gathering with human interest and campaigning on social issues. Donovan and Rubery note the overlap between the development of Sociology as a discipline and the emergence of investigative reporting as well as the gradual divergence as writers emphasized the personal experience over the statistical inquiry.¹³³ This process was epitomized by the style of writing that Charles Dickens and his sub-editor, W. H. Wills, developed in the popular weekly magazines *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. These exploited the miscellany format to combine social reportage with serialized novels, short stories and poetry, often on similarly reforming themes. The form of social investigation that Dickens favoured was a reaction to an earlier and extremely influential philosophy, which had a huge impact on British social investigative writing in the 1830s and 1840s: Utilitarianism. Utilitarians were well represented in the newspaper and periodical press in London. F. David Roberts in *The Social Conscience of the Early Victorians* notes that ‘Friends of Bentham and the Mills included five powerful editors, John Black of the *Morning Chronicle*, John Wilson of the *Globe*, Albany Fonblanque of the *Examiner*, Robert Rintoul of the *Spectator*, and W. E. Hickson of the *Westminster Review*’.¹³⁴ They were strongly represented in the Whig party and on Royal Commissions.

The leading proponent of utilitarianism, Jeremy Bentham, co-founded the *Westminster Review*, in 1823, with qualified support from James Mill, as a journal for ‘Philosophic Radicals’. The *Westminster* intended to counterbalance the Tory *Quarterly Review* and the Whig *Edinburgh Review*, though James Mill contributed few articles to it. In *The History*

¹³² De Burgh, *Investigating Journalism*, p. 3 [author’s emphasis].

¹³³ Donovan and Rubery, p. 20.

¹³⁴ F. David Roberts, *The Social Conscience of the Early Victorians* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 82.

and Philosophy of Social Science, Scott Gordon comments that Bentham's followers used Philosophic Radical as a term 'to describe themselves as those who get to the root of things by philosophic method'. The Philosophic Radicals formed an ideological group in Parliament in the 1830s and were active in reform debates from 1829 to 1830. However, Hamburger concludes their commitment to ideology rather than political alliances or networks contributed to the end of their political careers. The movement disappeared from the political scene after a decade of parliamentary activity.¹³⁵ One characteristic that allied them with other radicals was their opposition to aristocratic privilege, the impetus behind the popularity of John Wade's *Extraordinary Black Book*, first published in 1820. It appeared in serial format and in volumes into the 1830s. Wade's work listed titled people and their relations who were on the public payroll to support his view that aristocratic domination of government was corrupt and expensive.¹³⁶

Utilitarianism was associated with gathering statistical information. The Statistical Society of London was founded in 1834, a year after the Manchester Statistical Society. Royal Commissions sent out investigators (usually assistant commissioners) to collect statistics, conduct interviews, and note their findings in a particular location. The results were collated for the final report. The first major investigation launched by the newly reformed House of Commons, in which the Whigs had secured a majority, was the survey of the poor laws and so it may be regarded as a benchmark for subsequent commissions. One shortcoming was bias: in the 1830s: the majority of commissioners were political economists and Whigs. Kathleen Callanan Martin concludes that the 1832 Poor Law Commission was dominated by Bentham's one-time secretary, Edwin Chadwick (1800–1890) and Nassau William Senior (1790–1864), the Drummond Professor of Political Economy at Oxford. Martin comments that Chadwick was heavily involved in framing the methodology of the report: he despatched questionnaires to the parish authorities that oversaw the existing system of poor

¹³⁵ Joseph Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics: John Stuart Mill and the Philosophic Radicals* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 3.

¹³⁶ Hamburger, p. 31.

relief and sent out 26 assistant commissioners who visited around 3,000 parishes. Moreover, in the course of the inquiry, Chadwick ‘received and ignored numerous complaints about his selection of biased witnesses’.¹³⁷ Martin notes that the commissioners were heavily influenced by Thomas Malthus’s theory of surplus population. Malthus was a member of the Political Economy Club, established in 1821, to which Senior and Chadwick belonged.

Choices made in designing surveys determined their results. Dickens attacked the mania for collecting facts and statistics in his portrait of the schoolmaster Thomas Gradgrind in *Hard Times*, published in 1854, which was an attack on utilitarianism. Gradgrind, who regarded children as pitchers to be filled with facts, was a satire on James Mill’s attempts to mould his sons into perfect utilitarians.

Awareness of the inconsistencies of social investigation spurred the formation in 1856 of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. It offered a rare opportunity for women to present papers and experiment with public speaking. Frances Power Cobbe, Florence Nightingale, Barbara Bodichon, and Bessie Rayner Parkes were among those who presented papers or had papers read on their behalf.

Newspaper reception of Blue Books mattered because the press influenced politicians and thus the legislative process. Proposals to create workhouses and to centralize poor law relief polarized opinion in both Houses of Parliament. By selecting from and interpreting the reports for readers, journalists were able to absorb some of the methodology, particularly interviewing and representing direct speech.

2.1 Frances Trollope: Serialized Fiction and the Gendered Investigator

In the 1840s, novelists explored the ‘Condition of England’ questions that were beginning to be investigated by the press. Whereas commissions and newspapers were the preserve of men, in fiction, the investigator and/or the author could be female and address women

¹³⁷ Kathleen Callanan Martin, *Hard and Unreal Advice: Mothers, Social Science and the Victorian Poverty Experts* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 11.

readers. These fictional modes of exposé writing were as persuasive and campaigning as that of the newspapers, and reached a wider audience. Fictional investigation had an advantage over traditional reporting: it personalized issues in a way that evoked compassion from readers and sympathy across classes. Elizabeth Gaskell's first novel, *Mary Barton* (1848), treated the Barton and Wilson families as individuals and her descriptions of their homes emphasized the importance of the domestic sphere as an indication of the fortunes of the family. Mayhew's focus on individual experience and his careful noting of the details of appearance, dress, and possessions in his interviews with the London poor engaged his readers' sympathy and interest far more than his attempts to couch his inquiry in scientific terms.

The 'Condition of England' novels of the 1840s and early 1850s presented various aspects of social abuse. They dramatized details that could otherwise be found in Blue Books or newspaper reports. In *Shirley* (1849), Charlotte Brontë drew on local newspaper reporting for many of the novel's details of Luddite riots in West Yorkshire, an example of fiction engaging with journalism to represent social conditions. *Shirley* looks back to the campaigning of an earlier era but underpinning the novel are questions of women's rights, hints of Chartism, and a debate on free-trade economics that were all highly topical. However, Brontë published her novel in the more expensive three-volume format, restricting availability to middle-class readers. In this section I concentrate on fiction that was first published in cheaper, serial form and that had a specifically campaigning intention, comparing it with similar treatments in periodicals and newspapers.

Frances Trollope published several serialized novels specifically intended as campaigning texts, which interrogated ideas of investigation and representation, and provided a model for novelists in the rest of the decade. Her decision to publish *Michael Armstrong: Factory Boy* (1839–1840) and *Jessie Phillips* (1843–1844) in illustrated, monthly parts priced at a shilling widened the reading base for the novels and thus their campaigning potential, although they were too expensive for working-class readers. *Michael Armstrong* was written partly at the

request of Lord Ashley to campaign for legislation to regulate the employment of children and to expose abuses in factories. Trollope adopted the role of social investigator, assisted by one of her sons. Armed with letters of introduction from Ashley, she visited numerous factories in Manchester and Bradford. She invited radical leaders to dinner so that they would be able to converse more freely. Trollope visited slum housing and attended speeches given by two leading campaigners for the ten hours movement, Richard Oastler and Joseph Raynor Stephens. The memoir of Robert Blincoe, an orphan who was sent from the St Pancras Workhouse to work in a northern cotton mill, published in 1832, was another primary source.¹³⁸ Blincoe's story provided Trollope with the details she needed to depict the sham apprenticeship to which Michael is consigned at Deep Valley, including the typhus epidemic and starving children scavenging food from the pigs' troughs. Helen Heineman says Trollope's novel omits many of Blincoe's details as too sensational for readers, but those she did select 'indicate the theme she wanted to emphasize: the conspiracy of silence engaged in by the officials who were in charge of the working children of England'.¹³⁹

Trollope argued that public legislation rather than private charity can solve social problems. This is illustrated when Michael hears of a great meeting to be held in Yorkshire to debate and vote on the Ten Hours Bill, which proves to be a turning point in his fortunes.¹⁴⁰ There is also an underlying attempt to persuade the rich that they should bridge the social gap with the industrial working classes. In this way, misunderstandings and prejudice about the habits and customs of the industrial poor could be avoided and, therefore, so could social abuses. Elizabeth Gaskell explored the theme in *Mary Barton* and later in *North and South*, published in *Household Words* between 1854 and 1855. Trollope exploits the privileged characters' misunderstanding of the lives of the workers to show how they are constantly misrepresented: deliberately, by the mill owner Matthew Dowling; inadvertently, by his

¹³⁸ John Brown, *A Memoir of Robert Blincoe, an Orphan Boy, Sent to Endure the Horrors of a Cotton-mill* (Manchester: J. Doherty, 1832).

¹³⁹ Helen Heineman, *Mrs Trollope: The Triumphant Feminine in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1979), p. 179.

¹⁴⁰ Heineman, p. 179; p. 181.

daughter Martha; or comically, by Lady Clarissa. Each version of Michael's life as discussed by the other protagonists is misrepresented and the truth is gradually uncovered by the female investigator, Mary Brotherton. She begins to realize the real nature of Michael's plight after accidentally encountering Dowling's cruelty towards him. Even then, her investigations meet with obstacles and false turnings before the novel's resolution. In a further mystery, Michael himself is presumed dead of typhoid before Mary is finally apprised of his survival at the end. Publication in instalments enabled Trollope to exploit the consequences of these misconceptions in a series of incidents in which Michael's fortunes go from bad to worse.

Read in this way, the novel conveys a conservative, paternalist message. However, Priti Joshi argues that a narrow focus on the social exposé theme detracts from the novel's socially radical narratives, including its critique of England's class and gender hierarchies. It has an unusual mix of characters 'crossing class lines, engaging with the Other, and of building cross-class relations'.¹⁴¹ Joshi notes that, rather than relying on the aristocracy to recognize its moral responsibilities, Trollope examined and dismissed a range of contemporary solutions: charity, laissez faire, political economy, and utopian experiments are depicted as inadequate to tackle the scale of the problem. The book's moral centre, the Reverend Bell, advocates state intervention and greater personal contact between rich and poor. Significantly, Trollope does not appear to expect newspapers to play a role in uncovering the abuses and ironically, the only treatment of journalism is in the article Matthew Dowling writes for a local newspaper. Purportedly written by an acquaintance, the letter puffs his apparent generosity in taking Michael into his house. This illustrates the manipulation of the press to perpetuate a falsehood, not to expose one.

Michael Armstrong's reception reflected its controversial subject matter. The weekly *Athenaeum* published a long extract after just six numbers, complaining that easily

¹⁴¹Priti Joshi, "Michael Armstrong": Re-reading the Industrial Plot' in *Frances Trollope and the Novel of Social Change*, ed. by Brenda Ayres (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002), pp. 35–51, p. 38.

accessible shilling numbers could spark violence.¹⁴² It protested against the suggestion that ‘avarice and cruelty are more strikingly predicable of mill-owners than any other class of employers’ (p. 587). Trollope was accused of imitating *Oliver Twist* (1837–39), possibly because both novels dealt with social attitudes towards pauper children. However, Dickens’s novel focused on the effects of the New Poor Law and the consequences for children in London, rather than the plight of northern factory children. Heineman notes that a Miss M. A. Stodart, in her hints on reading for young ladies, criticized the gendered nature of the investigation and Mary’s role in it. She found the subject to be unfit for a woman regardless of the potential social benefit of the campaign.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, in *Jessie Phillips* (published in eleven monthly parts from December 1842) it again falls to a female investigator to uncover the truth. Trollope tackled the bastardy provisions of the New Poor Law of 1834, which made the mother solely responsible for the maintenance of an illegitimate child. Jessie is seduced and abandoned by the wealthy Frederick Dalton, who attacks her and murders their baby while she is unconscious. Overwhelmed by guilt for not protecting her child, Jessie takes responsibility for the death until the truth is finally revealed.

Jessie Phillips was advertised in the *Northern Star*, a staunch opponent of the New Poor Law, and its popularity may have helped force through a change in the law in 1844, which restored the father’s responsibilities for children born outside marriage. Again, it was vilified on gender grounds: *John Bull*, a Tory weekly, explicitly attacked the subject matter as unsuitable for ‘a female pen’.¹⁴⁴ However, Thomas Hood’s *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* broke with its traditional practice of not reviewing fiction to give the first instalment of the novel a positive notice, commenting: ‘the scene describing a sitting of the Board of Guardians, proves that Mrs. Trollope means to attack the system she deprecates, with a bold and unflinching hand.’¹⁴⁵ The story had enough resonance for radicals to be

¹⁴² Anon., ‘Reviews’, *Athenaeum*, 10 August 1839, 587–90.

¹⁴³ Heineman, p. 183.

¹⁴⁴ Anon., ‘Literature’, *John Bull*, 18 November 1843, p. 732. See also Heineman, pp. 216–17.

¹⁴⁵ Anon., ‘*Jessie Phillips*’, *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, February 1843, 281–82 (p. 282).

republished in *Reynolds's Miscellany* in 1857, with the first page of the 14 November number (beginning with Chapter 11) including a half-page portrait of Trollope herself.¹⁴⁶

Trollope's gendered investigations personalized the political issues that she wanted to reveal to her readers. Susan Zlotnick comments that Trollope brought the industrial world into the domestic in *Michael Armstrong* to highlight the connections between the commodities enjoyed by middle-class and upper-class female readers, and the child labour that produced them. A similar device is used, she argues, in Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's story 'The Little Pin-Headers' published in *The Wrongs Of Women* (1843), in which a pin to fasten cloth functions as a device to take the reader from the middle-class domestic dressing table to the invisible infant producers.¹⁴⁷ In contrast, Zlotnick argues, Margaret Hale in Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* exemplifies Gaskell's view that women had opportunities to work and be independent in the industrial north that were denied to the poor in the rural south (p. 68). Zlotnick comments that Gaskell and Brontë ignore some of the criticisms of the factory system that were explicit in Friedrich Engels's 1844 study *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, which compared the lives of factory workers in Manchester and Liverpool unfavourably with those of rural workers. However, it could be argued that *Shirley* (1849) is more ambiguous than *North and South* when it gives a female perspective on industrialization. For example, Caroline voices objections to the environmental impact of Moore's planned new mill at the end of the novel.¹⁴⁸

An alternative perspective on gendered investigation emerges in Dickens's treatment of detection. In Dickens's *Bleak House*, serialized in monthly parts from 1852–1853, female investigation is confined to personal history and secrets, such as Lady Dedlock's questioning of Jo or Esther's discovery of her parentage. The primary investigators are professional men connected with the legal system — among them, the lawyer Tulkinghorn and the detective

¹⁴⁶ 'Jessie Phillips: A Tale of the Union Workhouse', *Reynolds's Miscellany*, 14 November 1857, 241–43, (p. 241).

¹⁴⁷ Susan Zlotnick, *Women, Writing and the Industrial Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. 130–31.

¹⁴⁸ Charlotte Brontë, *Shirley; The Professor*, with an introduction by Rebecca Fraser (London: Everyman, 2008), pp. 650–51.

Inspector Bucket, who undertakes the investigation of Tulkinghorn's murder. The coroner's inquest and Jo's treatment by the coroner are reported in the newspapers and give rise to further, alternative investigations. The various inquiries undertaken in the novel are linked by family and Chancery, juxtaposing the private and the public spheres. Dickens's use of Chancery as a metaphor for the condition of England was topical, although the system had been partially reformed in 1852, when the novel was written. The reader's efforts to uncover the novel's secrets are mirrored by the efforts of characters to piece together evidence. As J. Hillis Miller notes in his introduction to *Bleak House*:

So many people in this novel are engaged in writing or in studying documents, in attempting to decipher what one chapter calls 'Signs and Tokens', in learning to read or write, in hiding documents or in seeking them out, there are so many references to letters, wills, parchments and scraps of paper, that the interpretation of texts may be said to be the fundamental theme of the novel.¹⁴⁹

Miller notes that most efforts at investigation in the novel fail: Lady Dedlock is not saved, Krook dies before he can find anything useful in his papers, and Guppy does not profit from finding out Lady Dedlock's secret. There is, however, one example of successful female participation in an investigation: Bucket enlists the help of his wife to expose Hortense as the murderer.

The novel is deeply concerned with secrets and exposure and the means by which it explores these themes are topical and journalistic. The relationship of disease to poor housing and sanitation provide a metaphor of a diseased social body that recurs in contemporary newspaper reports and in *Household Words*. Disease links Esther and Bleak House with Jo the crossing-sweeper and 'Tom All-Alone's'. The press was particularly concerned with cholera epidemics, though the unnamed disease in Bleak House is most likely to be Smallpox, from its disfiguring effect on Esther. Beyond the corruption of the court case and

¹⁴⁹ Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*, ed. by Norman Page (London: Penguin, 1985), p. 17.

the legal system, the metaphor of infection expresses how poverty and the insanitary, overcrowded living conditions of the poor threaten to infect the more affluent. As Martin notes, the metaphor of poverty as disease, infecting the political or social body, was frequently used by early nineteenth-century social scientists and investigators.¹⁵⁰ The novel references topical public health investigations including the *Lancet's* campaign for new cemeteries to deal with the problem of overcrowded graveyards, such as the one where Nemo was buried in the novel.¹⁵¹

A serialized novel published at the end of the period of this thesis, *The Law and the Lady* by Wilkie Collins, employed a female investigator to expose a perceived anomaly in the law. Collins had caused a sensation with the *Woman in White*, serialized in *All the Year Round* (26 November 1859 – 25 August 1860) and *Harper's Weekly* (26 November 1859 – 4 August 1860) in which Marion Halcombe helps to uncover a conspiracy. The *Woman in White* is a sensational mystery novel but not a campaigning one. The investigative aspects of the *Law and the Lady*, more than a decade later, are directly connected to a campaign as well as providing a model of detection fiction. It was serialized between 1874 and 1875 in the *Graphic* and its purpose was to campaign for a change in Scottish law. Collins argued that the legal verdict of 'Not Proven' left the defendant free to leave the court but under a cloud of suspicion. In the novel, the heroine, Valeria, discovers shortly after her marriage that everything she thought she knew about her husband is false. He has changed his name after being tried in a Scottish court for the murder of his wife by poisoning, though the verdict was the ambiguous one of 'Not Proven'. Convinced of her husband's innocence, Valeria sets out to try to prove it. She is presented initially as impetuous (for example, getting married despite a veiled warning), emotional, and vulnerable. However, during the course of the novel, Valeria's personal resolution and courage are demonstrated by her persistence as an investigator, while she and the reader become increasingly aware of her husband's weak and

¹⁵⁰ Martin, pp. 64–66.

¹⁵¹ Chadwick published *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* in 1842 and the *Lancet* articles appeared in 1845.

narcissistic character. The final resolution contrasts with what appears to be Valeria's stereotypically female inquisitiveness at the beginning: through the novel she peruses legal documents, conducts interviews, and faces personal danger. Though the novel is overtly campaigning in its attack on the ambiguity of the 'Not Proven' verdict, its judgment on Eustace, the husband, and his behaviour towards his first wife is also ambiguous. A final, crucial piece of 'evidence', a letter, is recovered from a dust heap and painstakingly reconstructed. In it, Eustace's first wife, Sarah, reveals that she took the arsenic after reading Eustace's diary in which he confessed he had never loved her. Collins's female investigator bridges a gap between the sensation novel heroine and fictional female detectives, such as Loveday Brooke, in the short stories by Catherine Pirkis, first published in the *Ludgate Monthly* in 1893 and Baroness Orczy's *Lady Molly of Scotland Yard* stories from 1910.¹⁵²

Women's experiences of investigation were not simply fictional or those of middle-class reformers. One example of working-class female activity was the Bookfolders' dispute of 1849 to 1850. In an obituary of Mary Zugg in January 1862, the *Bookbinders' Trade Circular*, the organ of the main trade union representing bookbinders and folders, paid tribute to Zugg's skill as an investigator and as a trade unionist: 'Nothing could exceed the temper, moderation and firmness which she displayed. Nor was she less efficient in the assistance she gave to the present writer [General Secretary T. J. Dunning], who had to carry the controversy in communicating correct information as the prices and mode of executing the different kinds of work in question.'¹⁵³

The dispute concerned mainly female book stitchers and folders, unskilled or semi-skilled workers employed by a Miss Watkins, the printing contractor for the British and Foreign

¹⁵² See Dagni Bredesen's review of Joseph A. Kestner's *Sherlock's Sisters: The British Female Detective 1864–1913* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003). Bredesen notes earlier female detective stories from the 1860s by W. S. Hayward and Andrew Forrester Jr. and Collins's novella *The Diary of Anne Rodway* in 1856. Bredesen argues that these texts take for granted that women have the skills to be professional detectives, decades ahead of real-life opportunities for women in the police force. Dagni Bredesen, 'Investigating the Female Detective in Victorian and Edwardian Fiction', *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, 3 (2007) <<http://www.ncgsjournal.com/issue31/bredesen.htm>> [accessed 19 July 2014]

¹⁵³ [Thomas Dunning], 'Obituary of Mary Zugg', *Bookbinders Trade Circular*, 21 January 1862, p. 116.

Bible Society. The book-folders were paid less than workers employed by the Christian Knowledge Society, and less than Watkins claimed when she tendered for the contract. Dunning needed evidence from the women workers of the discrepancy in pay, which Zugg helped provide. The London Consolidated Society of Journeymen Bookbinders compiled tables of wages paid by Watkins with those paid by the Christian Knowledge Society and these formed the basis of a letter addressed to the British and Foreign Bible Society, later published as an appendix to the first collected volume of the *Bookbinders' Trade Circular*. The campaign gained considerable coverage in the general press and was eventually successful.

2.2 The Interview as a Means of Information-Gathering

As Donovan and Rubery note in their introduction to the anthology *Secret Commissions*, early nineteenth-century reporters were spectators of events, rather than conducting their own interviews and finding news.¹⁵⁴ However, there was a change in the 1840s in the way in which interviews were presented in the published reports of Royal Commissions. Though paraphrased speech remained the norm in the 1840s, examples exist of direct speech used as social evidence, in particular in reporting on the condition of the poor in England, Scotland, and Wales.

Interviews conducted by Royal Commissioners were laden with moral and class assumptions. Martin quotes a letter Chadwick wrote to Nassau Senior, dated 30 July 1834, complaining that the Poor Law inquiry's assistant commissioners had not asked the right questions: 'It was only by personal enquiries made of witnesses on the spot, that I was enabled to deduce the principles which have been promulgated to the public,' he commented.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Donovan and Rubery, p. 12.

¹⁵⁵ Martin, p. 73.

In presenting the results of interviews, the 1840 to 1842 Mining Commissioners sometimes removed the questions, apart from occasional interjections to check the veracity of the account. Evidence from William Richards, aged seven-and-a-half, was given in the first person, with a personal comment on his appearance and character from the commissioner R. H. Franks in South Wales, which added some local colour. This feature would not have been out of place in a general newspaper story:

I been down about three years. When I first went down I couldn't keep my eyes open; I don't fall asleep now; I smokes my pipe; smokes half a quartern a-week. [This little fellow was intelligent and good-humoured; his cap was furnished with the usual collier candlestick, and his pipe was stuck familiarly in his button-hole.¹⁵⁶ (p. 21)

As Angela John discusses in *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Women Workers at Victorian Coal Mines*, Commissioners were shocked that adult females worked alongside men. The report highlighted the women's lack of, or masculine, clothing, the mixed teams of mine-workers underground, and the way in which women were harnessed to wagons. Instead of focusing on children, the commissioners emphasized the moral impact of women's employment to an extent that bordered on voyeurism. They focused on three main areas relating to adult women: reported sexual transgression, the neglect of domestic duties, and the impact of female employment on the family. John argues that the moral comment included in the report was based on hearsay or prejudice, not on the interviews with the women themselves. and comments that some of the commissioners' assertions revealed a lack of understanding of lifestyles in the mining areas and a belief that women's work should be in the domestic sphere alone.¹⁵⁷ Testimony from one sub-commissioner encapsulated this prejudice. His descriptions, including the manner in which women hauled coal using chains that ran

¹⁵⁶ *Children's Employment Commission, First Report of the Commissioners: Mines* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1842), p. 21.

¹⁵⁷ Angela John, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Women Workers at Victorian Coal Mines* (London: Routledge, 1984), p. 41.

between their legs, matched the women's statements. The difference was in the interpretation: the use of 'indecent' and 'brothel' in conjunction with the worn trousers and the repetition of 'disgusting' indicated the commissioner's horror, which heightened the perceived immorality of the scene:

One of the most disgusting sights I have ever seen was that of young females, dressed like boys in trousers, crawling on all fours, with belts round their waists and chains passing between their legs, at day pits at Hunshelf Bank, and in many small pits near Holmfrith and New Mill [...] In one [pit] near New Mill, the chain, passing high up between the legs of two of these girls, had worn large holes in their trousers; and any sight more disgustingly indecent or revolting can scarcely be imagined than these girls at work - no brothel can beat it.¹⁵⁸

Press reaction predictably focused on the moral implications of women working in the mines, though letters pages, however, gave other views. The *Morning Chronicle* published a letter from Henry Briggs that reproduced a circular sent to members of parliament warning against the hasty introduction of legislation banning women and children from mines because of the hardship it would cause.¹⁵⁹

Peter Kirby notes that the sub-commissioner Samuel Scriven in Yorkshire revised the findings of the original sub-commissioner, William Wood, who retired due to illness. Wood had already produced a substantial report and Kirby comments that he makes no mention of the immorality of which Scriven complained: his report's sole reference to children's clothing states, unsensationally, 'with regard to clothing in the week-days, there is not the tidiness which could be wished.'¹⁶⁰

Several sub-commissioners went down into the pits to observe the work of women and children for themselves. Scriven asserted the only way he could obtain the information he

¹⁵⁸ *Children's Employment Commission*, p. 24.

¹⁵⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, 28 June, 1842, p. 4.

¹⁶⁰ Peter Kirby, 'Child Labour, Public Decency and the Iconography of the Children's Employment Commission of 1842', in *Manchester Papers in Economic and Social History*, 62 (2007), 1-23 (p. 7).

needed was to dress as a miner and go underground — an early example of cross-class dressing for reporting purposes. The assistant commissioners produced drawings in preparation for the wood-cut illustrations in the final report. These were reproduced, sometimes with considerable differences, in newspapers and periodicals including the *Westminster Review*.

One example that Kirby gives is Scriven's woodcut showing Ann Ambler and William Dyson being drawn up from the mine. Their costume and pose shocked the report's readers and was intended to produce such an effect. However, Kirby questions the accuracy of the illustration, arguing it is unlikely that the woman had the strength to lift two miners out of the ground in this way (Kirby, pp. 12–13). He also comments that the commissioners' emphasis on lack of clothing and potential immorality in the mines ignored the fact that the clothing issue was simply taken for granted by many of the miners: 'revelations of underground nakedness were almost certainly less sinister than was implied in the reports of some of the sub-commissioners' (Kirby, p. 19). It made sensational propaganda for the audience at which the report was aimed, even if the details were exaggerated.

Editorials suggested immorality while at the same time professing to be shocked by it. On 12 May, *Freeman's Journal* in Dublin stated, 'the evidence of one woman is so strikingly illustrative of the immoral tendency of the practice of having women employed at such labour, that one may quote it, even at the risk of being thought to dwell too long upon a subject so abhorrent to all the finer feelings of our nature.'¹⁶¹ There was almost universal support for ending the employment of women in the pits; neither the economic consequences nor the views of colliery women were considered relevant.

The motivation for newspapers to adopt the role of a social commission arose as much from their readers' fears that dire conditions would fuel a mass uprising as it did from concern for the population's living and working conditions. Economically, the 1840s were hit by high

¹⁶¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 12 May 1842, p. 2.

unemployment, depressed wages, and famine in Ireland. Politically, the government faced a resurgent Chartist movement, trade union activity, and unrest in Wales and Ireland. One solution repeatedly presented by middle-class and trade interests as a panacea was the campaign to repeal the Corn Laws. Protection, it was argued, kept bread prices high and hit the poor the hardest. However, critics of the movement — particularly Chartists — argued this could be used as means to drive wages lower. This question was at the forefront of Mayhew's investigations in 1849, three years after the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Public reception of the *Morning Chronicle's* ambitious survey of 'Labour and the Poor' in 1849 far outweighed reaction to previous reports on poverty in daily London newspapers. The *Chronicle's* readership was predominantly upper middle-class and metropolitan. The paper shifted political allegiance several times in the course of ownership changes and by 1849 had adopted a socially liberal, free-trade stance on most issues. Its chief rival was *The Times*, which had a more conservative stance on social reform. It also had competition from the *Daily News*, which, like the *Morning Chronicle*, had backed the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. In 1849, however, the topical story was cholera: London's epidemic in 1848 to 1849 was concentrated in overcrowded areas that bordered the more affluent neighbourhoods, prompting fears that the disease would spread. Politically, newspaper readers were also frightened of the threat of revolution spreading from France and Austria to disaffected British workers. By responding to such fears with an investigation, the survey marked a difference of political territory between the *Morning Chronicle* and *The Times*, and appealed to more liberal readers while not alienating conservative ones.

The 'commissioners' adopted different regions: Mayhew in London, Reach in the manufacturing districts, Alexander Mackay (later replaced by Shirley Brooks) in rural areas, and Charles Mackay, a former sub-editor and staff reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*, covered Birmingham and Liverpool. The reports were anonymous but Mayhew soon became known as the author of the London letters and was by far the most often mentioned of the commissioners. He appeared at public meetings and wrote defences against accusations of

exaggeration or inaccuracy. An example of Mayhew's popularity appeared in a report from a meeting of the tailors of Bristol, published on 23 February 1850, which ended with the thanks of the meeting 'to the editors of the *Morning Chronicle* and their able Correspondents, for their great exertions in the cause of Labour and the Poor'. All were thanked, but only Mayhew was named.¹⁶²

The reproduction of direct speech played a role in the popularity of the series with readers. Mayhew successfully employed a form of sublimated interview, where the interviewee's responses were presented as a dramatic monologue; the questions might be inferred by shifts in subject matter and references to the interviewer. These echoed the Royal Commission's interviews with children in the mines. Mayhew's extensive use of this technique captured the public imagination more than the reports from the other 'commissioners'. The reports were printed in the form of letters and appeared on the editorial pages, often with a list of donations and messages printed at the end of the article.

Dialect also conveyed personality. Reach's interviews with Middleton weavers reproduced some of their dialect, although without using any terms or forms that could not be understood by a London newspaper reader. Reach's personal engagement with an eighty-year-old weaver and his reminiscences is evident in the sublimated interview that followed. His comments betrayed some condescension — 'in conversation with working-men it is almost impossible to keep them to the point' — but he admitted having to tear himself reluctantly away from 'his garrulous friend'.¹⁶³

Reach's writing was packed with details about textile workers and their homes and there was less first-person speech in his accounts compared with Mayhew's. Charles Mackay appeared to recognize the benefits of Mayhew's method of removing questions. Some of his interviews formed individual narratives, such as that with a female button-maker in Birmingham. She told Mackay:

¹⁶²Anon. [Charles Mackay], 'Labour and the Poor', *Morning Chronicle*, 18 January 1850, p. 6.

¹⁶³Anon. [Angus Reach], 'Labour and the Poor', *Morning Chronicle* 26 November 1849, p. 5.

I began to work in a button factory when I was seven years old or thereabouts. I could not have been more; but I never knew my exact age, not to a year or two [...] My father was a screwfiler, and did not get very good wages. He was very poor. I was his only child. He put me to work when I was too little to do it.¹⁶⁴

The *Morning Chronicle* survey was at its most effective when presenting the individual experiences of the labouring poor in their own words.

2.3 The ‘Eyewitness’

The notion that journalists might take on the role of the first-hand investigator of social conditions was central to Thomas Cooper’s project for Douglas Jerrold in 1846 and one he repeated in the late 1850s for a radical weekly called *The People*. A Chartist poet and journalist, Cooper had published his epic prison poem *Purgatory of Suicides* in 1845, aided by the radical printer John Cleave, who introduced him to Jerrold. In July 1846, just at the time the Corn Laws were repealed by parliament, Jerrold launched a new publication, *Douglas Jerrold’s Weekly Newspaper*, which was published on Saturdays and primarily aimed at a lower middle-class and artisan readership. It was intended to be a crusading journal and emphasized radical politics, self-improvement, and the importance of education.

Cooper recalled that Jerrold commissioned him to investigate the ‘industrial, social, and moral state of the people’ of England, citing *The Times’s* recent reports as an inspiration.¹⁶⁵ Jerrold’s editorial introduction to the first instalment emphasized the novelty of the project and the motives for commissioning it. A key intention was to make readers outside the industrial towns aware of the hardships that were experienced there. Jerrold expresses the intentions of the project by posing a series of questions to the reader:

What is the *real* life of the ‘masses?’— how are the people fed, clothed, housed? — what is the nature and kind of their labour? — how long are their

¹⁶⁴ Anon., [Charles Mackay], ‘Labour and the Poor’, *Morning Chronicle*, 25 November 1850, p. 5.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper, Written by Himself* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1971), p. 286.

days of work, and how frequent are their holidays? — what influence has this labour upon their health, and term of life? — how are they progressing in education, or are they without it altogether? — what are their thoughts upon the great subjects of morals, religion, government, and the difference of outward condition among men? — or have they no thought, — no care at all, concerning such questions? — What, in a word, is the real social state of our people? — not of the privileged few, but of the many?¹⁶⁶

Unlike the *Morning Chronicle*'s experiment, the focus was on social justice rather than the potential threat to middle-class interests from the disgruntled lower classes. Jerrold's project sought, he said, to make 'diligent inquiry respecting the means men have of feeding their bodies, and enlightening their souls.'¹⁶⁷

The format was two, or two and a half, columns of unbroken text, attributed 'By an Eyewitness', and included the dateline of the city with the date of writing. The articles were placed alongside other features about artisan life that were likely to appeal to the newspaper's readers. Cooper's text indicates close observation of workplaces and dwellings but it is unclear whether Cooper used a standard questionnaire in the manner of Royal Commissioners. He represented himself primarily as a researcher in the mould of a parliamentary commissioner, hence the use of official statistics and histories of particular trades. His interviews elicited details about the social conditions of classes of workers, rather than focusing on individual experience. Individual experience is presented in a heavily mediated form. For example, in Leicester, Cooper quoted a manufacturer's view on surplus labour and invited the reader to 'listen awhile to what the working framework-knitter says'. However, the responses were paraphrased as a summary of six grievances.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper*, 25 July 1846, p. 28.

¹⁶⁷ Anon. [Thomas Cooper], 'The Condition of the People of England', *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper*, 25 July 1846, p. 28.

¹⁶⁸ [Cooper], 'The Condition of the People of England', *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper*, 1 August 1846, p. 52.

A recurring theme is the effectiveness of trade union organisation. Cooper argued that strong unions secured better conditions for the workers but found more examples where organization was weak. Hull provided a rare, successful strike by sailors. His article from Preston in November, however, described the wretchedness of handloom weavers and the grindingly hard work extracted from them. Far from living up to its nickname of ‘Proud Preston’, Cooper believed the people were subjugated by their employers.¹⁶⁹ The series ended in Manchester, with detailed observation of the processes of the cotton mill and the risk of industrial injuries. The reader is taken on a ‘journey’ through the rooms of the mill, a method of exposing a social problem through a tour of the space in which it occurs that was used by Dickens and Greenwood. Cooper’s journey was the process of refining cotton. Firstly, the ‘devil’ is a machine ‘that tears up the raw cotton, with its huge teeth, and knocks the dust out of it’. But ‘hands are sometimes torn off by this machine, though such an extreme accident occurs now more seldom than formerly; but not a day passes [...] without accidents’. The workers wear masks for protection, but are emaciated: ‘the devil-rooms are so unhealthy that strangers fear to enter them: Lord Ashley lately attempted this but was compelled to withdraw.’ The dangers were slightly less extreme for workers in the cording room and in the spinning machine rooms though hands were easily injured.

A room of power-looms is a field of wonder to a stranger-visitant [a reference to himself as investigator]; but half an hour’s continuance there is sufficient to convince one, *even without the painful testimony of the poor workers* that their labour is one perpetual process of exhaustion to health and strength.¹⁷⁰ [my emphasis]

Cooper’s investigations were the work of an individual but framed as though conducted by a commission.

¹⁶⁹ Preston was the model for Coketown in Dickens’s *Hard Times*, serialized eight years later, which deals with the lock-out of 1853 to 1854.

¹⁷⁰ [Cooper], ‘Condition of the People of England’, *DJWN*, 21 November 1846, p. 443.

The Times hired experts outside journalism for a project in the 1850s. After publishing reports of rural distress in the mid-1840s, *The Times* returned to the subject with a larger project in 1850, commissioning James Caird to investigate the agricultural areas of England for the newspaper. The first report was printed on 22 January 1850 on page 5 of the newspaper (where subsequent articles usually appeared) and datelined ‘Aylesbury, Bucks’. Caird’s name does not appear. The series was entitled ‘The Agricultural Districts of England’ and presented as a series of letters. Its aims and intentions were stated in the first letter:

Sir, - Having been commissioned by you to proceed on a tour of investigation through the agricultural districts of England, and to communicate to the public, through your columns, the results of our observations and inquiries, it is necessary that at the outset we should explain fully and clearly the origin and nature of the mission with which you have honoured us, and the spirit in which we propose to discharge it.¹⁷¹

The series ran in parallel with the *Morning Chronicle* letters from the agricultural districts by Alexander Mackay and Shirley Brooks but Caird was less concerned with the condition of the labouring poor than with the scientific practice of agriculture. His investigation was whether the drop in grain prices as a result of free trade since 1846 meant there would be little economic sense in adopting new agricultural methods. Nevertheless, his choice of Aylesbury as a starting point was topical and driven by its ‘prominent position in the agitation which has arisen out of the low price of corn (p. 5).’

These articles were credited to ‘our commissioners’, the plural being used because Caird was accompanied for most of his journey by J. C. McDonald, a lawyer who also helped write many of the articles. They were subsequently collected and published in volume form and dedicated to ‘John Walter Esq. By whose public spirit the inquiry which it embodies

¹⁷¹ *The Times*, 22 January 1850, p. 5.

was undertaken'.¹⁷² Caird explained that the series arose from *The Times*'s response to complaints from farmers and landlords about low agricultural prices. Far from accepting the *Morning Chronicle* and *Daily News* argument that lower grain prices were entirely beneficial, *The Times* addressed the concerns of the landowners who had argued that repeal would lead to cheaper food for the urban poor at the expense of those who relied on farming.

In an introduction to the second edition of the collected series, G. E. Mingray comments that the work 'appeared at a time when the industry was in a state of great uncertainty' and that it helped to establish Caird as an authority on agriculture (p. v). Caird's pamphlets on farming helped contribute to his selection as a newspaper 'commissioner' and he also became a parliamentary advocate for agriculture after his election to the House of Commons in 1857.

Caird's efforts to handle his material fairly are borne out by his criticism of the Duke of Marlborough's treatment of his lands and tenants — criticisms that were robustly refuted in a letter to the newspaper by Marlborough on 5 February.¹⁷³ There is a strong emphasis on facts, science, and economics in the articles as well as examples of the legitimate grievances of the poor. A supporter of Robert Peel, Caird advocated free trade and modern agricultural methods. However, although *The Times* was committed to the series, Caird's articles had to yield to a more topical subject when the paper suspended the series for several months to make way for coverage of the Great Exhibition in 1851.

The medical weekly journal the *Lancet* launched a more ambitious version of the commission model in 1865. It responded to several widely reported inquests which revealed institutional neglect of patients in workhouse infirmaries in London. The overarching impetus behind the *Lancet*'s series was its sense that the system was in crisis and to campaign for government action. After the Crimean War (1853–1856), economic conditions had begun to deteriorate and by the 1860s, a combination of high unemployment, appalling overcrowding in cities and renewed calls for the working class to gain the franchise were

¹⁷² James Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51, With a New Introduction by G.E. Mingray* (London: Frank Cass, 1968), p. xxxi.

¹⁷³ *The Times*, 5 February 1850, p. 8.

spurring private philanthropy and agitation for reform. By 1865, London workhouses were chronically overcrowded. Cholera was once again an issue as was the growing awareness of the inadequacies of workhouses as a means of alleviating the hardship of the ‘deserving’ poor. The *Lancet*’s team of commissioners personally inspected all the pauper hospitals. They aimed to expose the inadequacy of the current system and persuade the government to change the workhouse infirmaries into public hospitals. This would remove them from the control of local poor law boards and replace untrained pauper nurses with trained, paid staff. The commissioners were led by Ernest Hart, a *Lancet* journalist and doctor who became editor of the *British Medical Journal* in 1866. The series was a continuation of the *Lancet*’s long-running campaign to improve professional standards in medicine.

The *Lancet* commissioners published their findings fortnightly between 1865 and 1866. The reports were reinforced by sympathetic coverage in *The Times*, which republished extracts verbatim and supported the *Lancet*’s recommendations on proper medical provision in forthcoming legislation. The commissioners’ reports covered every aspect of the infirmaries and were written in a plain, accessible style that made reproduction in a daily newspaper straightforward. Acknowledging the efforts of Louisa Twining and the Workhouse Visiting Society, the *Lancet* revealed horrific neglect in the worst infirmaries and numerous examples of mismanagement and poor care by unpaid pauper nurses, buildings that were unfit for purpose, and inadequate diet. They found that the largest share of the workhouse population was the pauper sick and elderly infirm and that in several cases, medical officers’ complaints had been ignored by the guardians. The exposé of workhouse infirmaries did not shirk from describing revolting scenes but they were not presented in a sensationalist way. In contrast, James Greenwood’s ‘A Night in the Workhouse’ published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in January 1866, discussed below, deliberately employed sensation to move public opinion, whereas the *Lancet* accumulated an immense weight of detail to put pressure on the authorities to reform the system.

The *Lancet's* findings forced the guardians to improve buildings and to begin to replace pauper nurses with trained, paid ones. Hart subsequently wrote two articles for the *Fortnightly Review*, in December 1865 and April 1866, calling for more specific measures, including more new hospitals funded centrally. Though some of the reformers' ideas were watered down when the Metropolitan Poor Act was finally passed in 1867, the *Lancet* welcomed the legislation, commenting that its impact would reach much further than was generally realized.

2.4 Investigation and Human Interest: *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*

Another strand of investigation combined campaigning with entertainment in a way that is suggestive of the New Journalism of the late century. It is exemplified by Charles Dickens, the 'conductor' of two popular weekly magazines, *Household Words* (1850–1859) and *All the Year Round* (edited by Dickens between 1859 and 1870). Dickens's magazines combined investigation and campaigning with entertainment and human interest. He and his chief sub-editor W. H. Wills commissioned articles from freelancers but they also hired a small staff of salaried writers. All were expected to adopt the style of writing on social issues developed by Dickens in his work for *Bentley's Miscellany*, the *Examiner* and the *Leader*. This format includes an unexpected lead into the story, often involving a journey, focuses on characters and individuals rather than lists of facts, and makes calculated appeals to readers' sympathies.

Dickens promoted his own brand of periodical publishing, helped by contributors, such as George Sala, Edmund Yates, and John Hollingshead. Hollingshead commented that the ultimate accolade for a writer on these publications was to have his article attributed to Dickens. 'All Dickens's 'young men' were supposed to be imitators of the master, and the master was always credited with their best productions,' he wrote in his autobiography.¹⁷⁴ Hollingshead disliked this aspect of anonymous publication, which he encountered again

¹⁷⁴ John Hollingshead, *My Lifetime*, 2 vols (London: Sampson Low, 1895), I, p. 96.

when writing for William Thackeray at the *Cornhill Magazine*. However, he commented more favourably on the titles of the articles: ‘many of them, very smart in themselves, served the purpose of raising curiosity in the mind of the reader, and concealing the subject which the writer was embroidering’ (*My Lifetime*, p. 104). The reader might therefore be lured into reading an article with an underlying campaigning message. Hollingshead’s background as a commercial traveller may also have provided Dickens with inspiration for the later ‘Uncommercial Traveller’ pieces: the younger reporter had experience of various trades, confidence tricks, and characters. These were evident in articles such as ‘Inexhaustible Hats’, on the abundant and suspicious supply of salvaged and ex-bankrupt stock, and the fictional ‘Our Mr Dove’, which outlined the workings of insurance fraud and bankruptcy: in an unexpected twist, the crook is himself gulled.¹⁷⁵

Hollingshead’s most dramatic report for Dickens was also a commentary on contemporary journalism. He travelled on the trial trip of the Great Eastern steamship from London to Weymouth.¹⁷⁶ Once the ship left London, Hollingshead discovered the launch had gone ahead for commercial reasons, even though building work was not finished. His account of what happened next illustrates a number of problematics for the investigative journalist: self-censorship, commercial censorship, and the plight of the embedded reporter are brought to the fore in the article.

The voyage’s publicity value was evident in the number of journalists on board. Hollingshead was accompanied by George Sala, from the *Daily Telegraph*. At dinner, their table included Herbert Ingrams, editor of the *Illustrated London News* and a director of the company that owned the ship. Suddenly, Hollingshead reported, there was a loud explosion. Several men were scalded to death in the stoke hole. Panic was followed by an argument between journalists and the owners of the ship as to whether to call the incident an explosion or an accident. Hollingshead recounted the attempt to control press coverage in an early *All*

¹⁷⁵ [John Hollingshead], ‘Our Mr. Dove’, *All the Year Round*, 24 September 1859, pp. 523–28.

¹⁷⁶ [John Hollingshead], ‘Great Eastern Postscript’, *All the Year Round*, 1 October, 1859, pp. 546–552.

the Year Round article, asserting that commercial considerations outweighed safety. Hollingshead's autobiography recalled attempts by the ship's owners to suppress news of the deaths of the stokers and the full extent of the damage:

Having passed, by some miracle through what every competent and unprejudiced engineering authority on board declared to be the greatest explosion, considering the weights and forces, that had ever happened on board a steam-vessel, we were asked to call it 'an accident,' and to say that 'several stokers were injured,' when three were already dead, and five more out of the other ten were not expected to recover.

It is almost needless to say that such a report was indignantly rejected.¹⁷⁷

Arriving back in London by train, Hollingshead walked into the *Weekly Dispatch* office to file a third of a column about the explosion for the Sunday edition (the next day). On Sunday, Hollingshead went to the *Morning Post* office, knowing its correspondent had only travelled as far as Gravesend 'preferring London to the journey', and subsequently filing a report saying the ship had arrived safely at Weymouth 'after a most pleasant and successful voyage'. Hollingshead wrote another report for Monday's *Post*. In his autobiography, he claimed Dickens had no objection as it would not affect his article to be published in two weeks' time (*My Lifetime*, pp. 109–10). Hollingshead's autobiography expressed his frustration with lead times on the weekly magazine: describing his highly secretive journey to see a boxing fight, for example, he noted that he was scooped by a 'wonderful account' by *The Times* reporter (*My Lifetime*, p. 126). For Dickens, producing a non-news oriented title where fiction predominated, timeliness played a lesser role. Hollingshead's portrayal of the explosion in his articles and in his autobiography illustrated an attempt to set firm standards for independent journalism and to stake a claim for professionalism but it was fraught with problems. Self censorship and commercial censorship over reporting the scale and impact of

¹⁷⁷ Hollingshead, *My Lifetime*, p. 109.

the explosion stood in the way of investigative journalism. Hollingshead found a way of overcoming the plight of the embedded reporter but at the expense of timeliness: he had no choice but to wait until he got back to London before he could correct the misinformation of other reporters and file his own version of events.

Hollingshead's usually exuberant, sometimes whimsical, style for Dickens contrasts with his investigations as 'special correspondent' for the *Morning Post* between 21 and 31 January 1861 into the condition of the poor in various London districts during an extremely harsh winter. These largely factual, eye-witness accounts contain very little reported speech. The accounts are not sensational in language, apart from the title, 'London Horrors', given to them by the *Post* editor, Algernon Borthwick. They were collected as a volume entitled *Ragged London in 1861* by Smith, Elder & Co. The impact of reading the articles in serial form would have been quite different compared with the subsequent reprint. The instalments built up a picture of district after district with its own problems. In volume form, some of the sense of the cold and fatigue of Hollingshead's journey is lost, since it is not accompanied by other articles in the newspaper that comment on the impact of the extreme cold on the very poor.

Dickens's 'Uncommercial Traveller' persona frames his investigations in a strikingly different style to Hollingshead's newspaper journalism. In a piece on Wapping Workhouse, published on 18 February 1860, Dickens explained his trip was inspired by newspaper reports about the female workhouse and the lack of classification of inmates (one recurring problem was that mentally ill inmates received no special care). But the first incident in the piece was an encounter with 'a creature remotely in the likeness of a young man' who described the location as 'Mr Baker's trap'.¹⁷⁸ This referred to the popularity of the place for suicide attempts, since Baker was the local coroner. This set the scene for what followed.

¹⁷⁸ 'The Uncommercial Traveller', *All The Year Round*, 18 February 1860, p. 392.

Five years before the *Lancet* commissioners, Dickens exposed the inadequate facilities provided for the sick using a very different style of journalism: personal, and focusing on individual experience rather than the system. At the workhouse, the matron took the ‘Uncommercial’ to the ‘Foul wards’, which were ‘in an old building squeezed away in a corner of a paved yard, quite detached from the more modern and spacious main body of the workhouse’ (‘The Uncommercial Traveller’, p. 393). Dickens described the patients and his conversations with the staff. On the journey home he concluded that equalizing the poor rate across London was the only solution. But the last word in the article was a recollection of an incident at a previous workhouse visit where the inmate complained that the guardian of the workhouse refused to acknowledge him as a fellow freemason. Thus, the campaigning message is framed by personal anecdote at the beginning and the end of the article.

2.5 Investigation and Disguise: the Exposé

Hollingshead’s use of ‘Amateur’ to describe some of his adventures, including an expedition in a sea-diving bell, indicated a reporter could find out about a subject by appropriating another identity through appropriating the clothing of that occupation.¹⁷⁹ ‘Amateur’ conveys the idea of a gentleman playing a role. Hollingshead was not a diver by profession: he was ‘trying on’ the identity temporarily before returning to his usual occupation. The most extreme example of an ‘amateur’ who temporarily assumes another identity for the purposes of investigation is James Greenwood’s series on workhouse casuals in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The *PMG* was a newly established, quality evening newspaper in London aimed mainly at middle and upper-middle-class gentlemen, and priced at 2d. The editor, Frederick Greenwood and his reporter brother, James, however, had worked their way up from the compositors’ room. As J. W. Robertson-Scott recounted in his history of the *PMG*, Frederick Greenwood was faced with disappointing sales for the new venture and needed something

¹⁷⁹ John Hollingshead, ‘Castles in the Sea’, *All the Year Round*, 9 July 1859, 246–251.

new to galvanize its circulation.¹⁸⁰ Inspired by the *Lancet's* investigations into workhouse infirmaries, Greenwood thought of a novel experiment. Instead of seeking permission to visit infirmaries, he asked his brother to disguise himself as a vagrant, gain admission to the casual ward of the Lambeth workhouse, and spend a night there.

The result was James Greenwood's best-known piece of investigative writing. The three articles were published unsigned in consecutive numbers on 12, 13, and 15 January 1866. The name under which they were afterwards republished, the 'Amateur Casual', first appeared in a reference in the *PMG* on 18 January. All three articles appeared after the popular 'Occasional Notes' section of the paper and ran to the very end of the page, leaving the reader waiting for more. They continued the tradition of anonymous investigative writing but Greenwood went further by deliberately concealing his identity and class from those around him. In keeping with the *PMG's* target readership, Greenwood presented himself as a 'gentleman' who took considerable trouble with his disguise as a vagrant, though this was not without irony: when he gave his occupation to the first official he met as engraver 'to account for the look of my hands', he chose the trade he had actually performed prior to becoming a journalist.¹⁸¹

James Greenwood, according to Edmund Yates in the *Morning Star*, had already been investigating the subject of how the very poor lived: 'Mr James Greenwood has written many descriptive papers of curious experiences of thieves, tramps, Jews &c., in the old days of the *Illustrated Times*, and has always shown a great talent for reproducing his impressions in a thoroughly *vraisemblable* manner'.¹⁸² Yates had guessed the identity of the author though he warned other journalists that the 'sensation journals' would try to persuade 'liners' (freelancers) into similar ventures. Three years after the Lambeth Workhouse piece,

¹⁸⁰ John William Robertson-Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 145.

¹⁸¹ [James Greenwood], 'A Night in the Workhouse', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 January 1866, p. 10.

¹⁸² 'The Flaneur', *Morning Star*, 22 January 1866, p. 4 (original emphasis). Robertson-Scott mentions Frederick Greenwood also had a connection with the *Illustrated Times*, p. 117.

James Greenwood published the *Seven Curses of London*, with lurid descriptions of various classes of criminality, which clearly fascinated and repelled him.

Robertson-Scott's comment that Frederick Greenwood would have much preferred to have concentrated on fiction than editing a newspaper is interesting because the account of the casual ward that the brothers constructed for the newspaper is stylistically closer to fiction.¹⁸³ The sensation novelist's checklist is evident: disguise, personal danger, unsavoury characters, and, finally but by no means inevitably, escape and the restoration of normality. Greenwood's use of lurid detail and cliff-hanger endings for each instalment exploited the fashion for sensationalism that was transforming the novel. Donovan and Rubery's reproduction of the cover for the reprinted cheap edition of the articles for mass consumption shows similarities to the style of Stead's cross-heads for 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' in the use of short, sharp language and exclamation marks, as well as the deliberate emphasis on the most shocking details.

Next page:

Fig. 1: Title Page of the 1d Pamphlet Reprint of 'A Night in a Workhouse'

(By permission of Peter Higginbotham Collection/Mary Evans Picture Library)

¹⁸³ Robertson-Scott, p. 121.

STARTLING PARTICULARS!

A NIGHT

IN A

WORKHOUSE.

From the PALL MALL GAZETTE.

HOW THE POOR ARE TREATED IN LAMBETH!

THE CASUAL PAUPER!

“OLD DADDY,” THE NURSE!

THE BATH!

The Conversation of the Casuals!

THE STRIPED SHIRT!

THE SWEARING CLUB!!

“Skilley” and “Toke” by Act of Parliament!

The Adventures of a Young Thief!

&c. &c. &c.

F. BOWERING, 211, BLACKFRIARS ROAD,
MANSELL & SON, King Street, Borough, and all Newsagents.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

The account was deeply personalized with the reporter's experience of being in disguise as much a feature of the story as what he uncovered. For example, James Greenwood's fear for his personal safety was almost tangible. In the first article (12 January), he described the process of entering the casual ward, the foul bath, and the inedible piece of bread. He emphasized the kindness of 'Daddy' who brought him an extra rug (it was snowing in London), and who also realized he had never spent a night in an outside ward before. There are references to semi-naked men smoking 'foul pipes' and using obscene language but many vagrants are rolled up in the rugs, trying to sleep.

The second article, published on 13 January, built up the horror of the experience beyond physical deprivation. The men behind Greenwood's pallet bed spat and told stories 'so abominable that three or four decent men who lay at the farther end of the shed were so provoked that they threatened, unless the talk abated in filthiness, to get up and stop it by main force'.¹⁸⁴ Greenwood said the scene reminded him of the fate of Sodom. In the next few paragraphs, he described a fifteen-year-old called Kay whose appearance pleased him but was completely at odds with his foul language, criminal history, and future plans. The *PMG* was not published on Sundays, which meant that readers had to wait two days to find out what happened to the author, thus building up suspense before the next instalment.

Seth Koven raises a number of objections to Greenwood's narrative, including the suppression of the fact that he was accompanied by a friend, something that was only mentioned years later by Frederick Greenwood and W. T. Stead. Knowledge that he had a companion would have lessened the reader's perception that he was under constant threat. Koven also notes that Greenwood teases the reader with self-censorship, hinting at details he cannot publish, which is a form of titillation rather than outrage.¹⁸⁵ He contends that Greenwood's main purpose in writing the piece was to expose a situation in which public

¹⁸⁴ 'A Night in the Workhouse', *PMG*, 13 January 1866, p. 10.

¹⁸⁵ Koven, Seth, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 46.

money was spent on wards that were used as male brothels, rather than to petition against the treatment of vagrants (p. 27). At the end of the first piece, Greenwood wrote:

Here I must break my narrative. In doing so, permit me to assure your readers [presumably addressed to the editor as a device to distance the author from the *PMG*] that it is true and faithful in every particular. I am telling a story which cannot all be told— some parts of it are far too shocking; but what I may tell has not a single touch of false colour in it.¹⁸⁶

The last sentence of the final part included an offer for Mr Farnall, the inspector, to hear ‘horrors [...] infinitely more revolting than anything that appears in these papers’.¹⁸⁷ Koven’s interpretation, based on his view of the Victorians’ psycho-sexual relationship to slums and poverty, is persuasive if we read the articles in relation to contemporary attitudes to homosexuality and male prostitution. Greenwood’s depiction of the young and good-looking former convict, Kay, shows him to be both fascinated and repelled. Nevertheless, Greenwood’s allusions to homosexuality were part of a range of sensational devices designed to draw the reader’s attention to the failures of the system in much the same way that descriptions of women in the collieries in 1842 employed accusation of immorality for propaganda purposes. Both emphasized the distance between writer and subject by depicting ‘outcast’ humans, removed from the rest of the population by poverty, appearance, and morality.

The articles provided Frederick Greenwood with ammunition to write editorials calling for reform. The Greenwood brothers were aware that this sensational exploit had the potential to capture the public’s imagination far more than the revelations of the squalid living conditions reported by the *Lancet*. In October 1867, the *Pall Mall Gazette* explicitly commented on the inability of government to reform public administration until journalists

¹⁸⁶ ‘A Night in the Workhouse’, *PMG*, 12 January 1866, p. 10.

¹⁸⁷ ‘A Night in the Workhouse’, *PMG*, 15 January 1866, p. 9.

moved public opinion to create an outcry, citing the ‘Amateur Casual’ as an example.¹⁸⁸ James Greenwood’s reconstruction of his experience existed in a dialogic relationship with his brother’s more conventionally phrased editorials. The story also had a life beyond the three instalments in responses from readers, editorials, and follow-up articles in newspapers and periodicals, and in the dramatization of scenes from the articles in London theatres. Like Dickens, Greenwood emphasized the personal, but his focus on disguise contrasted with ‘The Uncommercial’, who waited to be invited into the homes of the poor. The ‘Amateur Casual’ emphasized his vulnerability as an undercover journalist as much as the casuals’ plight. As a result, he revealed his terror of descending into the abyss of the ‘unrespectable’. Sensationalism was carefully deployed, however, and mostly absent from the third and final instalment. This contained more personal details such as the one-legged man whose hat was taken and destroyed, whose very individual plight parallels Dickens’s use of the pauper-freemason at the end of his Wapping Workhouse article. Another example of Greenwood’s sophistication in retelling his experience is the shift of emphasis in the opening of the second article. It began with a comic song repeatedly sung by the last entrant to the casual ward that night. The words of the song did not offend Greenwood but he was haunted by the constant, raucous repetition of ‘its bestial chorus shouted from a dozen throats’.¹⁸⁹ The word ‘bestial’ suggests it seemed inhuman or savage, characteristics he assigned several times to some of the inmates. He sensed aggression in the volume and relentlessly repetitive singing and increasingly feared that aggression could be turned against him. Another explanation (and an acknowledgement that this is a literary experiment) may be that its reference to ‘Pall Mall’ reminded him of the newspaper and heightened his fear of discovery, especially as it began just after the ward was locked for the night.

The third article gradually refocused attention away from Greenwood to the system that needed reform. The work required to ‘pay’ for the night’s lodging was poorly overseen and many of the ‘casuals’ avoided it if they could: ‘so the game continued — the honest fellows

¹⁸⁸ [Anon.] ‘Curiosities of the Public Service’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 October 1867, p. 1.

¹⁸⁹ ‘A Night in the Workhouse’, *PMG*, 13 January 1866, p. 10.

sweating at the cranks, and anxious to get the work done and go out to look for more profitable labour, and the paupers by profession taking matters quite easy.’¹⁹⁰ In the *Seven Curses of London* (1869), Greenwood expounded his attitudes towards the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor. The phrase ‘paupers by profession’ indicates a view of these men as a largely criminal and degenerate underclass below the ‘honest’ labourer and one to which he — an amateur pauper — felt superior.

Public reception focused on the sensational details and the characters that Greenwood described, including ‘Daddy’, who oversaw the ward, and the adolescent ‘Kay’. The articles had a short-lived positive impact on the paper’s circulation, were reprinted in several morning daily newspapers and in the regional press, and reissued the same month as a pamphlet. ‘Daddy’ became a minor celebrity and a hero to working-class readers because of his kindness to the casuals.¹⁹¹ The *Daily News* conducted its own investigation, corroborating Greenwood’s description. It was also validated by *The Times*, which reprinted extracts. However, the immediate impact was to criminalize the casuals, since they were soon required to register with the police before gaining admission. Moreover, whereas the *Lancet* acknowledged Twining and the Workhouse Visiting Society, the Greenwoods emphasized the novelty of the undercover methods they had used to gain access.

Other journalists concentrated on verifying Greenwood’s experiences and findings. J. C. Parkinson advertised in *The Times* on 23 January 1866, for ‘any Casual Pauper who slept in the Casual Shed in the labour-shed of Lambeth Workhouse on the night of Monday, 8th January’ to contact ‘T. Thompson’ at a post office in Wandsworth Road.¹⁹² According to the account Parkinson published in *Temple Bar* in March 1866, one correspondent was able to supply enough details to convince Parkinson that he had been in the casual shed on the same night as James Greenwood. The ‘Real Casual’ confirmed the bed-sharing, but the nakedness

¹⁹⁰ ‘A Night in the Workhouse’, *PMG*, 15 January 1866, p. 10.

¹⁹¹ Koven, p. 63.

¹⁹² J. C. Parkinson, ‘A Real Casual on Casual Wards’, *Temple Bar*, March 1866, 497-517 (p. 497). Parkinson comments that he had been investigating and writing about vagrancy for two years but the Amateur Casual revealed ‘a depth of shameless mismanagement’ that he ‘had never fathomed’.

of the men worried him far less than their filthy state. Parkinson, like the Greenwoods and like Dickens in his Wapping Workhouse article, criticized the inconsistencies of the parochial boards and called for a ‘uniform poor rate’ for London.

The *PMG*’s main rival in the London evening news market commented on its journalistic scoop with a satiric reversal of the theme of cross-class disguise. The penny *Evening Star* was the organ of progressive liberalism and the late-day counterpart to the *Morning Star*. The *Evening Star*’s target audience was less socially exclusive than that of the *PMG* and its fictional account concerned a costermonger who infiltrated high society and was shocked by its behaviour and manners. The author, Richard Whiteing, an apprentice engraver, admired the novelty of the ‘Amateur Casual’ and competed with a friend to produce a satirical version. Whiteing sent the article speculatively to the *Star*, where it was accepted by the editor, Justin McCarthy. The resulting series was republished as *Mr Sprouts: His Opinions*. Whiteing was a left-wing writer in contrast to the socially conservative *PMG* and underlined his satiric intent by writing the stories in a broad Cockney dialect, much stronger than anything reproduced by Mayhew or Dickens.¹⁹³

Despite deliberately stoking notoriety, the *PMG* committed itself to reform in its first-page editorials criticizing the management of workhouses. The story was topical, which gave legitimacy to the series: on the same day as the first instalment of ‘A Night in the Workhouse’, Frederick Greenwood’s editorial referred to the death of an elderly pauper in the Bethnal Green Workhouse as another example of the need for reform. As Koven says, the editorial played up the sensational aspects of the story by emphasizing that there were details too shocking to be printed — ‘what was done was worse than what was said, and what was said was abominable beyond description or decent imagination; and all this unutterable foulness of word and deed passed in a room where hideous ruffians stripped

¹⁹³Richard Whiteing’s autobiography, *My Harvest* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915), indicates he and Greenwood came from similar London working-class backgrounds. Both wrote for evening papers and were novelists. Whiteing became a foreign reporter and worked for the *Manchester Guardian*.

naked were lying huddled up together for warmth for ten or twelve hours together.’¹⁹⁴ However, having caught the reader’s attention, Frederick Greenwood argued such behaviour could only be expected given the way in which casual wards operated. He defended the undercover investigation by pointing out that it revealed abuses that would not have come to light through a guided tour, in effect questioning the *Lancet*’s determination to get at the truth. This would not be fair to the persistence of the *Lancet* team, however. On 9 September 1865, for example, the *Lancet* reported on the tramp ward of St Martin’s in the Field: ‘the male tramp ward, in particular, struck us with horrified disgust. We scarcely had a fair glance at it on the occasion of our first visit, being accompanied by the visiting committee [...] but a few days since we revisited it, and the impression produced on our minds is that we have seldom seen such a villainous hole’ [my emphasis].¹⁹⁵ The word ‘villainous’ captures Greenwood’s description of Lambeth exactly. The report added that when they visited, the commissioners saw the room being cleaned by ‘a very nasty-looking warder’ and described a ‘concentrated vagrant-stink that fairly drove us out’.

Frederick Greenwood’s editorials directly tied his brother’s articles to reform legislation, legitimizing the paper’s investigations: ‘the plain truth is that the guardians are determined to defeat the Houseless Poor Act, and that unless the most vigilant and constant supervision is exercised over them they will do it.’¹⁹⁶

The newspaper sustained the issue beyond the articles by printing, and responding to, criticisms of Greenwood’s reporting. On 19 January, the *PMG* published a letter from John Smeaton, a workhouse governor, criticizing the ‘Amateur Casual’ for lying to gain entry to the workhouse (which obviously ignored his purpose in doing so). Smeaton defended the treatment of the ‘depraved’ inmates of the shed in contrast to better treatment meted out to the deserving poor, and queried the report’s description in a sly postscript asking how the writer could know the colour of Kay’s hair and eyes if it was so dark in the shed. The editor

¹⁹⁴ *PMG*, 16 January 1866, p. 1.

¹⁹⁵ ‘St Martin in the Fields Infirmary’, *Lancet*, 9 September 1865, p. 297.

¹⁹⁶ *PMG*, 16 January 1866, p. 1.

responded that the reporter was there until eleven o'clock the next day, having plenty of time to get such details and refuting his excuse for the conditions: 'Mr Smeaton thinks that if you have to provide lodgings for a parcel of ruffians there is no harm in putting them in a sty which is suited to the development of all their vices.'¹⁹⁷ Greenwood could have chosen not to print the postscript or the letter but these gave him another opportunity to highlight 'vice' as a means of criticizing the poor law guardians. By meeting Smeaton's insinuations with an accusation that his own policy promoted 'vice', the *PMG* continued to exploit public appetite for the sensational aspects of the story as well as bolstering its campaign.

As a journalistic project, the 'Amateur Casual' gained publicity for an emerging newspaper and gave it a reputation for daring reportage and fearless campaigning. The reporter took a physical risk in investigating the situation, while the editor followed up with leaders highlighting the need for legislative change. It was topical, addressing previous campaigning articles and current legislative debates. But it also achieved the feat of speaking in different registers to different readers, 'whispering in the ears' of the more knowing while functioning simply as an exciting escapade for others. Its effects were achieved by dispensing altogether with the notion of the commissioner-interviewer (impartial or otherwise) and replacing it with a reporter who lived the experience of another class for a night.¹⁹⁸

James Greenwood continued to write investigative pieces throughout his career, with a particular focus on poverty and the treatment of pauper children. At the same time that he wrote the Lambeth account, he was also writing a novel about a pauper child. Its conclusion was that emigration was the solution to poverty.¹⁹⁹ His depiction of life among the very poor was almost unremittingly bleak and condemnatory compared with Dickens's treatment of pauper children in *Oliver Twist*.

¹⁹⁷ *PMG*, 19 January 1866, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Donovan and Rubery also show the continuation of the link between medical reform and investigative journalism. Inspired by Greenwood, medical reformer J. H. Stallard hired a working woman to stay in female casual wards under an assumed identity. Stallard's *The Female Casual and Her Lodging: With a Complete Scheme for the Regulation of Workhouse Infirmaries* (1866) was based on the woman's experiences.

¹⁹⁹ James Greenwood, *The True History of a Little Ragamuffin* (London: Harper & Bros, 1866).

The year after the ‘Amateur Casual’ reports, James Greenwood published an unsigned investigation in the *Pall Mall Gazette* about the prostitutes who lived in a makeshift settlement near the Curragh military barracks outside Dublin, entitled ‘The Wren of the Curragh’. This was another topical subject: in 1864, Parliament had passed the first Contagious Diseases Act, which enabled policemen to arrest prostitutes in ports and army towns and compel them to undergo medical examination for venereal disease. A second bill extending the length of time women could be interned in locked hospitals was passed in 1866, the year before Greenwood’s articles, and further measures were passed in 1869. A formal feminist campaign against the legislation was not launched until 1869, by the Ladies’ Association Against the Contagious Disease Act. This may well have reflected the limited discussion of the topic in the press, and the stealthy manner in which it passed through parliament, but gradual awareness of the legislation and its impact built into sustained criticism. A Royal Commission investigated its implications in 1870 and a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1879. ‘By 1883, it had become clear that the Acts were so abhorrent to many English men and women that parliament deleted the most controversial aspect of the laws, that which made obligatory periodical medical examination,’ comments Margaret Hamilton. They were fully repealed in 1886.²⁰⁰

Greenwood’s articles, therefore, followed the Contagious Diseases legislation but predated concerted opposition to it. They were presented as features rather than news. Greenwood’s first article appeared on page 9, just after the ‘Occasional Notes’ section. The second article was published on pages 10 and 11, preceded by the money market report and followed by a review of a version of ‘William Tell’ and a review of a magic act. The third took up the whole of page 4, between the ‘Correspondence’ section on page 3 and ‘Occasional Notes’ on page 5. The final instalment on page 4 followed ‘Opinion in the Weekly Reviews’ and was again succeeded by the ‘Occasional Notes’ section — as with the ‘Amateur Casual’ — but unlike the earlier investigation, this one does not form the subject of front-page editorial.

²⁰⁰ Margaret Hamilton, ‘Opposition to the Contagious Diseases Acts, 1864–1886’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned With British Studies*, 10 (1978), 14–27 (p. 15).

This movement of the articles from the middle to nearer the front of the paper suggests they were attracting increasing attention from readers and therefore deserved greater prominence. Greenwood's account of the 'wrens' was not overtly campaigning, but was used by the newspaper as evidence to back calls for government action. The first instalment on 15 October 1867, described the women living in huts made of furze on the common, hence the name 'wrens' and the references to their 'nests'. The article is also allusive rather than explicit: Greenwood tended to avoid direct references to prostitution and, as with the Amateur Casual articles, warns the reader that he cannot print everything he discovered: 'what I may have to say of the Curragh shall not have a touch of false colour anywhere. But of course, in dealing with such a matter a great deal must be suppressed.'²⁰¹ Greenwood's suppression of details however encourages the reader to imagine what they might be.

This apparent self-censorship also suggests that Greenwood was aware of a female readership of the newspaper, despite its concentration on 'masculine' topics such as politics and share prices. Male readers of both series would have understood his coded references; female readers might not. This suggests the newspaper was tacitly acknowledging women readers in what at first sight appears an entirely gendered male space. There were no sections specifically aimed at women, such as fiction, but it included material likely to appeal to either sex, such as entertainment reviews. Indications of awareness of a female audience can be seen in advertisements for wedding gifts, clothes, and popular novels by women authors such as Mary Braddon, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Florence Marryat, and Emilie Carlen. In the same issue as the first instalment of the 'Wren of the Curragh', an item entitled 'Gossip from Biarritz' anticipates another feature of New Journalism – the gossip column.

A search on Gale Cengage's database of nineteenth-century newspapers between 1 January 1866 and 31 December 1867 produces 19 direct references to 'prostitution' in the *PMG* despite the topicality of the subject. Seven of these were advertisements for a book comparing the regulated brothels of Paris with the illegal situation in London and New York.

²⁰¹ Anon. [James Greenwood], 'The Wren of the Curragh', *PMG*, 15 October 1867, p. 9.

One article and one letter concerned efforts to reform prostitutes; the article emphasized the need for humane treatment.²⁰² However, a search on the more general term of ‘vice’ in the same period returned 1,089 results, 751 of which were news items. Regarding the Contagious Diseases Act, the paper’s view was that enlisted soldiers should be allowed to marry and it was outraged by the treatment of both the women of the Curragh and the soldiers. In ‘Curiosities of the Public Service’, the paper noted that of all soldiers admitted to hospital in the Curragh area, 38% suffered from venereal disease. Moreover, during the particularly harsh winter, many women had remained living rough rather than submit to humiliating and insanitary conditions in the workhouse (*PMG*, 24 October 1867, p. 1). As with the Lambeth workhouse, the series personalized the women’s plight, while a first-page editorial used this as the basis of a call for reform.

W. T. Stead acknowledged the Amateur Casual’s influence on his ‘Maiden Tribute’ series but Stead went much further than any other journalist. His active participation in the sale of Eliza Armstrong led to his conviction and three months’ imprisonment. This degree of commitment to an investigative story did not appeal to other British journalists, whereas Greenwood’s experiment in cross-class dressing had an influence on other late-century investigations. Female reporters in the 1890s disguised themselves as street entertainers.²⁰³ Elizabeth Banks, a young American reporter in London, experienced life as a domestic servant, among other working-class roles, for her newspaper articles.²⁰⁴

Conclusion

Inquiring modes of discourse were a trend in British newspaper journalism before 1875 and predated the New Journalism. Moreover, the use of sensational detail to attract public attention to a cause is evident even in the Select Committee reports of the 1840s. The articles cited in this chapter suggest that late nineteenth-century investigative journalism in the

²⁰² ‘An Evening with the Wicked’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 January 1866, pp. 9-10.

²⁰³ Laura Vorachek, ‘Playing Italian: Cross-Cultural Dress and Investigative Journalism at the Fin de Siècle’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 45 (2012), 406–35.

²⁰⁴ Koven, *Slumming*, pp.140–80.

British press was not simply the adoption of American newspaper techniques. British investigative journalism emphasized the condition of the poor but with the additional characteristics of the class sympathies and prejudices of the author and publication. Moreover, investigation existed in the radical press, the regional press, metropolitan dailies, evening papers, and magazines that were all, in turn, influenced by novel writers and Select Committee authors.

Class and cultural assumptions and the need to provide readers with ‘novelty’, or news, meant that writers often portrayed the poor as almost another race. This put the subjects of investigation beyond the experience of most readers. This distancing effect in language and comment was particularly evident in writers who modelled themselves closely on the commissioner style of inquiry; the *Lancet’s* series is exceptional in its commitment and persistence in revealing the conditions affecting the infirm poor.

Among writers who were not ‘gentleman’ investigators, however, a different trend develops — that of the professional writer turned inquirer. Cooper’s writing was deeply entrenched in working-class politics and culture and made use of Chartist and trade union networks for information. The Greenwood brothers developed a new form of personalized, investigative writing. The *Morning Chronicle* journalists were professional writers, not ‘gentlemen’ or ‘amateurs’, despite being regarded as such by their interviewees.

These investigations utilized features later associated with New Journalism: the persuasive voice, sensational details, emphasis on personal experience, the use of direct speech, and, indirectly, the creation of ‘celebrities’, such as “Daddy”. The dramatic headline is missing but the cover of the pamphlet edition of ‘A Night in the Workhouse’ hinted at what was to come.

Fiction provided British journalists with investigative models that could be adapted. Frances Trollope showed how women writers could utilize the serialised novel as a campaigning medium and a means of exposing social wrongs. Charles Dickens exploited fiction and

semi-fiction for the purposes of exposing the need for reforms in his weekly publications *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. This model took certain characteristics of the 'commissioner' form but wrapped it in semi-fictional discourses, such as the journey of a letter, a walk through the East End, or a voyage. The reporter adopted a persona between a gentleman observer and a temporary participant in the action, or 'amateur'. Greenwood's experimentation with this pre-dates American journalists such as Elizabeth Banks and Nellie Bly at the end of the century.

Chapter Three

Campaigning Networks and the Press

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores and suggests connections between campaigners, causes, and serial publications. Coverage of a popular campaign in a serial publication was subject to changes in fortunes affecting the title, the campaign, or both. High circulation titles were likely to abandon a cause once its topicality waned, whereas advocacy titles continued to pursue it. The sociologist Charles Tilly emphasizes the parallels between seriality and advocacy, noting that time is an important factor in campaigns, extending beyond any single event and subject to fluctuations in terms of topicality or support. His argument that advocacy centres on a series of ‘claims’ and that connections or ties exist between at least three parties is relevant to this thesis, since he identifies the three as: campaigners, their object (a reform) and a public of some kind (those they seek to recruit).²⁰⁵

Tilly identifies a range of techniques used to publicize a cause, such as forming societies, holding public meetings, circulating petitions, and securing coverage in the press (p. 217). Dating the origins of western social movements from 1750, he cites several campaigning models including religious movements in Nordic countries; the French revolutionary press; the American anti-colonial movement; and British campaigns such as the anti-slave trade agitation. He argues that this last was the most influential in spreading ideas beyond its local area.

However, Tilly’s analysis is specifically concerned with advocacy publications that address a group of supporters with a common cause, rather than the role of campaigning in wider-circulating titles. In this chapter, I examine two case studies: the Chartist *Northern Star* (1837–1852), an advocacy title with claims to be a national weekly newspaper for working-

²⁰⁵ Charles Tilly, *Identities, Boundaries & Social Ties* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), pp. 216–18.

class readers and a metropolitan daily newspaper, the *Morning Star* (1856–1869), in which slavery and transatlantic networks were central. These newspapers demonstrate how campaigning could be negative as well as positive for circulation and reception. They are examples of personal and persuasive journalism in a commercial newspaper environment before W. T. Stead, and they anticipate problems Stead encountered in reconciling campaign and circulation on the *PMG*.

Studies of journalism networks tend to focus on groups of authors connected with a particular publication. An example is P. D. Edwards's study of literary Bohemianism through the work of George Sala and Edmund Yates, who wrote for Charles Dickens's periodicals.²⁰⁶ Sala and Yates also wrote editorials and columns for the penny *Daily Telegraph* and the *Morning Star*, respectively, and so were involved in the 'new' penny press at the mid-century. Patrick Leary's study of the weekly *Punch* editorial dinners demonstrates how such social/literary gatherings functioned as a network where writers, editors, and illustrators determined the main political cartoon for the week.²⁰⁷ The campaigns reflected in the choice of cartoons changed over the decades. Douglas Jerrold's radicalism prevailed in the 1840s but from the 1850s, the influence of William Thackeray and Shirley Brooks drove *Punch* towards more conservative campaigns. This can be seen, for example, in the contrast between *Punch*'s highlighting of Welsh working-class grievances (turnpike trusts, the workhouse, and tithes) in 'Rebecca and her Daughters' in 1843, compared with the scaremongering 'Brummagem Frankenstein' of September 1866, attacking working-class suffrage.²⁰⁸

The *Punch* dinners were a microcosm of the ways in which literary London operated in various social networks such as literary societies, clubs, and dinner parties. Noting the emergence of writing as a professional career during the period covered by this thesis,

²⁰⁶ P. D. Edwards, *Dickens's 'Young Men': George Augustus Sala, Edmund Yates and the World of Victorian Journalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1997).

²⁰⁷ Patrick Leary, *The Punch Brotherhood: Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London* (London: British Library, 2010).

²⁰⁸ 'Rebecca and her Daughters', *Punch*, 1 July 1843, p. 4. 'The Brummagem Frankenstein', *Punch*, 8 September 1866, p. 102

Joanne Shattock cites G. H. Lewes's claim for writing as a profession as indicating the start of a process of occupational networking among periodical writers.²⁰⁹ Lewes's essay predates the establishment of associations for training journalists, a feature of later New Journalism, but Shattock notes that London literary gatherings (societies and dinners) functioned as a cultural space for writers, publishers, and reviewers to meet and discuss literary business such as copyright protection. The grouping of monthly contributors to *Fraser's Magazine* as the 'Fraserians', depicted by Daniel Maclise in January 1835, is an example of how a periodical could create its own network — and thus identity — around its journalists (p. 134). Shattock suggests that the exclusion of women from professional networks forced them to develop alternatives. The absence of salaried women journalists in this period contrasts with Stead's championing of women journalists.

Shattock's example of the network of socially progressive women writers connected to Mary Howitt, an editor and poet, shows how freelance women writers could be brought in to reinforce campaigning journalism in a particular title (p. 135). Howitt, Elizabeth Gaskell, Harriet Martineau, and Eliza Lynn Linton were socially committed female journalists whom Dickens commissioned in the magazine's most overtly campaigning early years.²¹⁰ This was an unseen network since contributions were usually published anonymously to comply with the magazine's unified editorial persona. Common issues regularly discussed in the magazine included sanitation and health reform, the New Poor Law, education, and emigration.

Howitt's Journal, edited by William and Mary Howitt, predated *Household Words* and demonstrated a similar emphasis on social campaigns. The journal contained essays, short stories, serialized fiction, and poetry on social issues. Women writers were well represented

²⁰⁹ Anon. [G.H. Lewes], 'The Condition of Authors in England, Germany and France', *Fraser's Magazine*, 35 (1847) 285–95 (p. 288), and Joanne Shattock, 'Professional Networking, Masculine and Feminine', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 44 (2011), 128–40 (p. 128).

²¹⁰ For a discussion of the *Household Words* network and the Howitts's influence, see Joanne Shattock, 'Household Words and the "Community of Print" in the 1850s', *Charles Dickens and the Mid-Victorian Press 1850–1870*, ed. by Hazel Mackenzie and Ben Winyard (Buckingham: University of Buckingham Press, 2013), pp. 1–10.

and, as with male journalists, some articles were signed but anonymity was still common. In 1847, for example, Eliza Meteyard used the name ‘Silverpen’ that she wrote under for Douglas Jerrold’s shilling monthly magazine and in his weekly newspaper. An article on Bristol Ragged Schools in 1847 was signed ‘MC’ likely referring to Mary Carpenter, who was instrumental in this local campaign. However, Matilda M. Hays was named as the translator of George Sand’s *The Last Aldini*. An unsigned review of Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* was highly positive; it focused on the heroine’s sufferings at Lowood School, the part of the novel that most resembled the journal’s campaigning agenda on education, health, and sanitation. This is an overt use of the book review as a form of campaigning that supplements the editorial column.

Howitt’s also presented a ‘Weekly Record’ of campaigning news. It reported the Birmingham Quaker George Dawson’s efforts to set up a local Whittington Club in emulation of Jerrold and Meteyard’s project in London aimed at lower middle-class men and women. There is considerable detail about the reading room of the Birmingham club, an example of how the journal, edited and published in London, sought to connect the regional nodes of a campaigning network.²¹¹

Unlike *Household Words*, *Howitt’s Journal* was illustrated, adding to its costs. At only 1 1/2d, it was slightly cheaper than Dickens’s magazine and this possibly contributed to its commercial problems. It merged to become the *People’s and Howitt’s Journal* in 1849 before ceasing altogether. Engravings of famous people who might be thought sympathetic to its editorial policies, such as Ebenezer Elliott, the anti-Corn Law poet, suggest that it was aware of the propagandist purpose of illustration.

Howitt’s Journal can be said to have provided Dickens with at least one model of how campaigning networks and issues might be integrated into a family periodical. Dickens’s choice of freelance fiction, poetry, and essays from women writers indicates that he saw the

²¹¹ ‘Weekly Record’, *Howitt’s Journal*, II (1847), p. 367.

appeal of their work in a publication that included women as part of its core audience. Martineau, Gaskell, and Lynn Linton transposed issues belonging to the male bourgeois public sphere to a feminized, ‘domestic’ sphere using fiction and poetry. An early example is ‘The Sickness and Health of the People of Bleaburn’, Martineau’s fictionalized account of Mary Pickford Ware’s work for sanitation reform in a Yorkshire village in *Household Words*. Dickens frequently blurred the political and domestic spheres in his novels (some of which were initially serialized in the journals). In *Bleak House*, issued in monthly parts, the switch from the female narrator, Esther, to an unidentified (presumably male) narrator mirrors the shifting from Chancery to various domestic interiors, both spheres are equally dysfunctional.

Freelance networks were fragile and easily disrupted. Martineau ceased to write for *Household Words* for political and personal reasons. Her journalism was underpinned by political economy and Dickens’s articles on factory legislation conflicted with her opposition to state intervention in trade. She was also uncomfortable with his anti-Catholicism. Her last article for *Household Words* was published in 1855.²¹² Shu-Fang Lai notes that when Dickens broke with Bradbury and Evans in 1859 over their perceived lack of support in the collapse of his marriage, Martineau sided with the publisher. She moved to Bradbury and Evans’s new illustrated weekly magazine, *Once a Week*, joining a network that directly rivalled Dickens’s new venture, *All the Year Round*.²¹³

Once a Week was comparatively expensive, at 6d a week versus 2d a week for *All the Year Round*, but it attracted high-profile contributors of fiction, poetry, science, and travel writing, including G. H. Lewes, Alfred Tennyson, Charles Reade, George Meredith, and T. H. Huxley. Bradbury and Evans brought in writers and illustrators from other parts of their publishing stable, including Shirley Brooks, Mark Lemon, and John Leech from *Punch*.

²¹² Shu-Fang Lai, *Charles Reade, George Meredith and Harriet Martineau as Serial Writers of Once a Week (1859–1865)* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), p. 94.

²¹³ Shu-Fang Lai, *Once a Week*, p. 13.

Once a Week displayed some characteristics of New Journalism. It experimented with signed articles, a trend that was also characteristic of the progressive *Fortnightly Review* from 1865. However, signature could vary even with contributions by the same author: Martineau's work in *Once a Week* featured her own name and a pseudonym within the same series. One instalment of her 'Representative Men' was signed 'Ingleby Scott' but the next appeared under her own name. The pseudonym was redundant because the article was based on her personal reminiscences of the anti-slavery campaigner William Lloyd Garrison. Less characteristic of New Journalism was the editor Samuel Lucas's dislike of sensationalism. This benefited Martineau when the abrupt termination of a contentious serial by Charles Reade prompted Lucas to commission a story from Martineau to replace it.²¹⁴

Interactions between editors and authors in terms of commissioning stories and articles formed an important part of networking to disseminate campaigning ideas among the general reading public at this time. In 'Editing *Blackwood's*; or, What Do Editors Do?' Robert Patten and David Finkelstein note a similar connection between the publisher John Blackwood and *The Times* editor John Delane, in a conservative context. Through Delane, Blackwood recruited 'a core of contributors whose general views coincided with the conservative tone he envisaged for *Maga* [Blackwood's Magazine]', including Frederick Harman and George Finlay of *The Times*, Laurence Oliphant and Margaret Oliphant.²¹⁵ As Patten and Finkelstein note, editors were appointed on their ability to attract high-calibre contributors as well as their politics: for example, William Thackeray for the *Cornhill Magazine*, Charles Dickens at *Bentley's Miscellany* and Hepworth Dixon and Norman MacColl at the *Athenaeum*. Sometimes an editorial persona was created, such as the eponymous 'Mr Punch' or 'Oliver Yorke' at *Fraser's*, and signed, to consolidate the network of writers for the journal under a single editorial voice.

²¹⁴ Shu-Fang Lai, *Once a Week*, p. 109. Reade's serial was *A Good Fight*. This sensational medieval tale was substantially rewritten and published as *The Cloister and the Hearth* in 1861.

²¹⁵ Robert L. Patten and David Finkelstein, 'Editing *Blackwood's*; or, What Do Editors Do?' in *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition 1805–1930*, ed. by David Finkelstein (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 146–83 (p. 159).

The analysis of media discourse networks illustrates ways in which new technology could influence writing style and serial production. Friedrich Kittler's study of media discourse argues that developments in journalism are 'determined by the technological possibilities of the epoch in question', as David Welbery comments in the introduction to the translation of Kittler's *Discourse Networks* (1990). Welbery defines Kittler's concept of mediality as 'the general condition within which, under specific circumstances, something like "poetry" or "literature" can take shape. Post-hermeneutic literary history (or criticism), becomes a sub-branch of media studies'.²¹⁶ This has a direct bearing on interpretations of old and new in journalism, since Kittler's theorizing privileges technology as the driving factor in innovation, rather than individual contributions. Kittler suggests that the rapid development of telegraphic and rail networks in the nineteenth century, for example, affected the gathering, presentation, and editing of news, and hence its reception by readers.

Kittler recommends analysing material networks as alternatives to human networks, using media notation or structures to emphasize connections arising from non-human signifiers. In *Discourse Networks, 1800/1900*, he compares the differences between the two years by making connections between technological changes, social structures, and historical moments in German society, and their impact on literary culture. In his *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, Kittler further analyses the role of technics such as the design of the typewriter keyboard in the development of media discourse.²¹⁷ One aspect that Kittler does not consider is that the tension between the need to produce news quickly and the limitations of the technology available may lead to idiosyncratic adaptations to meet a particular need. One example would be in the early 1800s when Thomas Wooler composed articles for the *Black Dwarf* directly in type without hand-writing the copy first. This was an exceptional response to journalism at the height of agitation, however, and does not contradict Kittler's overall argument. One of the conclusions that he draws is that as technology replaces the human

²¹⁶David Welbery, 'Foreword', in Friedrich A. Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*, trans. by Michael Metteer, with Chris Cullens (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. xiii.

²¹⁷Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

role, the role itself becomes less gender specific — for example, male secretaries or clerks were replaced by women typists. Telegraphic communication led to the rise of the female telegraphic operator.

Technology, communication networks, and commercial demands, such as circulation and advertising, influenced the treatment of campaigning. Various technics, as Kittler describes them, could be utilized by writers for serial publications in the mid-nineteenth century, including scissors-and-paste, shorthand, and sub-editing. Translation was also important to satisfy an appetite for foreign news, whether in the *Northern Star*, the *News of the World* or *The Times*. Within the network of foreign correspondents, a few were investigative while the majority mostly recycled information from foreign newspapers. Editors could make use of telegraphed news and commission travel articles (or reviews of travel books). Dickens's serialized travel articles, later published as *Pictures From Italy*, appeared in the first numbers of the *Daily News* in 1846.²¹⁸ Authors were increasingly aware of the commercial implications of translation: on a visit to Paris in January 1856, Dickens negotiated a contract with the publisher Hachette for a complete edition of his novels to be translated into French, partly to combat unauthorized versions that were already appearing in the French press.²¹⁹

Laura Otis develops Kittler's model of media discourse in her investigations of Victorian networks, drawing parallels between the mechanics of communications and electrical networks, scientific investigations into organic networks, and the expression of networks in fiction.²²⁰ Otis provides examples of direct parallels between organic and technical networks in periodical and scientific writing in the nineteenth century. The female telegraph operator was a symbol of the New Journalism of the late century and, Otis shows, featured in fictional representations of modernity.

²¹⁸ The collected volume was published by Bradbury and Evans, also in 1846.

²¹⁹ Michael Slater, *Charles Dickens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 403–4.

²²⁰ Laura Otis, *Networking: Communicating With Bodies and Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2011).

In addition to identifying non-human signifiers such as publishers' lists, as part of the structure of journalism, Laurel Brake also includes self-reflexive processes within journalism, such as indexing newspaper and periodical articles.²²¹ The recurrence or disappearance of certain types of titles over generations might enable researchers to evaluate attitudes towards various campaigning ideas or political movements. In the 1840s, the *Northern Star* printed advertisements listing books and pamphlets sold by radical publishers who also acted as sales agents for the newspaper. It reinforced the campaigning network by reminding readers of Chartist figures such as John Cleave in London and Abel Heywood in Manchester. Dan Cohen and Frederick W. Gibbs also suggest that computational analysis of digitized texts may be used to search for keywords to demonstrate trends. Using the example of recurring keywords in the titles of religious books and journals, they conclude that while religious belief remained strong among scientists in the years following the publication of the *Origin of Species* in 1859, there was a collapse in religious publishing from around the time of the 1851 Religious Consensus.²²²

Kittler's emphasis on technology as a determinant of cultural discourse is relevant to the question discussed in Chapter 1 of how the searchability of digital newspapers and periodicals shapes the way in which we interpret news stories in their historical context. This may be skewed since the vast majority of nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals are not available online. What it may offer is evidence of a change in campaigning preoccupations in a particular publication over time. Examples include the ways in which certain stories are reproduced by other titles, something that may be mapped in a digital search, albeit with the limitations of selectivity of titles.

These questions bear on Franco Moretti's quantitative analysis of literary texts, since the search capabilities of digital archives might be used to demonstrate how a particular

²²¹ Laurel Brake, "'Time's Turbulence': Mapping Journalism Networks", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 44 (2011), 115–27 (pp. 122–23).

²²² Frederick W. Gibbs and Daniel J. Cohen, 'A Conversation With Data: Prospecting Victorian Words and Ideas', *Victorian Studies*, 54 (2011), 69–77.

campaign takes on a specific importance and dominance within one publication in contrast to another. An example of this is the discussion of *Reynolds's* treatment of French news in Chapter 4. As Moretti comments in 'Network Theory, Plot Analysis', the ways in which the vertices of a network are linked by various connections or 'edges' may reveal unexpected connections in larger systems.²²³ Moretti cites the 'small-world' property or 'six degrees of separation' that Stanley Milgram identified in social networks in 1967. In the Howitt network, connections may be made based on literary, social, political and religious interactions. The disadvantage of Milgram's social network model is that it becomes so vast that any useful meaning based on connection is lost. Moretti's solution is to use network theory on a much smaller scale, for example by examining the plot of *Hamlet* from character networks, recording the play's interactions from the viewpoint of one character, Horatio. Moretti argues that this uncovers multiple perspectives on the play's plot. When watching the play, we focus only on the present but if we 'turn time into space' nothing disappears from view. Similarly, though newspapers and periodicals are bound by time — daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly — reading these at an historical remove can suggest connections between different texts on the page such as letters, editorial, news, and advertising that were not necessarily immediately apparent to the first readers. The serial recurrence of such features could, however, exert a subtle influence in promoting particular ideas.

How might this influence be applied to campaigns in newspapers or periodicals? One method is to consider the construction of one page of a newspaper, or one issue of a periodical, as a network of different contributions and technics. In the Chartist *Northern Star*, the importance of the 1839 Newport Rising is evident in the way in which it is employed in various departments of the paper. Like the Ghost in *Hamlet* in Moretti's model, its symbolic value to the paper's campaigns persists far longer than its news value. The cluster of references at the height of the appeals campaign to pardon the Newport leaders

²²³Franco Moretti, 'Network Theory, Plot Analysis'
 <<http://litlab.stanford.edu/LiteraryLabPamphlet2.pdf>> [accessed 27 February 2012].

was followed by a sharp drop as the movement's attention was directed elsewhere. Yet, the symbolism of Newport and the Chartist leader John Frost remained, particularly in poetry published in the paper, discussed below. It was a way of keeping the transported leaders in the minds of their Chartist supporters.

Another facet of campaigning journalism is the application of Robert Darnton's 'communications circuit' to the dissemination of radical ideas and the relationship between the economy of print production and coverage.²²⁴ Darnton argues that writers respond to other writers and readers in developing ideas of genre and style, and may respond in their text to criticisms from reviewers. Darnton argues that each segment of the communications circuit may be examined in its historic, economic, and political context. These arguments may also be applied to the process of producing newspapers and periodicals. In his study of the *London Journal*, a popular fiction weekly launched in 1845, Andrew King notes that in the nineteenth century, the roles of printer and publisher were separated. For newspapers and periodicals, the publisher 'became the person appointed by the proprietor to manage how the paper was distributed to retail dealers and newsagents.'²²⁵ King identifies the commercial chain as:

writer <-> editor <-> printer -> publisher ->retailer -> reader

Adding the reader/reviewer's influence on the writer to this chain completes Darnton's circuit.

The remainder of this chapter examines the representation of campaigning ideas in terms of networks in two publications. The discussion centres on two core characteristics of the press: 'place', which might be a physical location or an ideological position, and 'time'. The papers are linked by the name 'Star' and by their negotiations of the regional and metropolitan press. The title of the *Northern Star* reflected its non-metropolitan, regional base in Leeds

²²⁴ Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111 (1982), 65–83.

²²⁵ Andrew King, *The London Journal 1845–1883: Periodicals, Production and Gender* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p.75.

and its role as a guide to the Chartist movement, since historically the North Star was used by navigators. The choice of the *Morning Star* and *Evening Star* symbolized an attempt to fix news reporting at both ends of the reading day, rather than simply producing a later edition of the morning's news. These titles anticipated New Journalism by seeking to bring politics to readers outside the political elite. They lacked the broad appeal of the popular Sunday newspapers but nevertheless wielded significant influence on political debate and continued to influence journalism later in the century.

3.2 The *Northern Star* as a Campaign Hub: Newport and its Aftermath

As Ian Haywood comments, the Chartist movement was founded on a literary text: the People's Charter. Reviews, poetry columns, and, later, fiction were important components of the movement's leading organ, the *Northern Star*.²²⁶ Its first number on 18 November 1837 predated the publication of the People's Charter in May 1838 and coincided with the height of anti-Poor Law agitation in the north of England. However, as Chartism quickly gained momentum, the *Northern Star* responded, taking on a major role in coordinating a network of Chartist readers and political groups across Britain.

The *Northern Star* was founded by the radical Irish politician and orator Feargus O'Connor (1794–1855) and a Yorkshire-based veteran of the unstamped press, Joshua Hobson (1810–1876). O'Connor built a following across the industrialized north of England after losing his parliamentary seat in 1835, following the Whig-inspired ruling that he failed to meet the property requirement for members of the House of Commons. After 1835, O'Connor was a campaigner in search of a national platform. He joined radical London artisans in the London Working Men's Association (formed in 1836), and helped found the Marylebone Radical Association.

²²⁶ *The Literature of Struggle: An Anthology of Chartist Fiction*, ed. by Ian Haywood (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), pp. 1–2.

The LWMA was adept at networking: it organized ‘missionaries’ to travel the country promoting its message and utilized O’Connor’s rhetorical and oratorical abilities. James Epstein notes that artisans, especially printers, dominated the London organizations; poorer sections of the working class were unrepresented. Unlike O’Connor, prominent LWMA members such William Lovett, James Watson and Henry Hetherington were willing to network with middle-class reformers.²²⁷ O’Connor began to consider launching a newspaper as the medium through which he could organize and address a working-class radical movement. Paul Pickering comments that O’Connor was convinced that the value of a parliamentary speech ‘was not in the effect it had on his fellow members, or indeed on government policy, but how it resonated in the nation at large’ — that is, how it was reported by the press.²²⁸ In this he anticipated William Gladstone’s use of the public meeting to reach the nation via the national press in the 1870s and 1880s.

The *Northern Star*’s Leeds base emphasized its independence as a radical voice outside London, addressing working-class readers nationally. Although O’Connor had no personal ties to Leeds, Yorkshire manufacturing areas were a stronghold of his support base. Much of the paper’s finance was raised from selling £1 shares to workingmen’s groups across Yorkshire. Hobson advised O’Connor on the economic necessity of achieving circulation targets to recoup expenses, another reason to base the paper in a commercial centre with a strong radical tradition and large industrial workforce.²²⁹ Although O’Connor addressed readers in his weekly letters, the paper was never simply a vehicle for his views. His letters appeared alongside reports of Chartist activities across the country, creating the impression of a conversation between the Chartist leadership, the paper’s editor and the readers. Until 1842, when the paper hired several correspondents around the country, readers’

²²⁷ James Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O’Connor and the Chartist Movement, 1832-1842* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 32.

²²⁸ Paul A. Pickering, *Feargus O’Connor: A Political Life* (Monmouth: Merlin Press, 2008) p. 60.

²²⁹ James Mussell, ‘*Northern Star* (1837–1852)’, Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition (ncse) <<http://www.ncse.ac.uk/headnotes/nss.html>> [accessed 10 November 2014].

contributions were essential in filling its eight pages. The editor, William Hill, advised readers on how to prepare manuscripts for publication.

Significantly for a radical newspaper, the *Northern Star* was stamped. The Whig government's reduction of stamp duty from 4d to 1d in 1836 had encouraged the rise of cheaper, commercial rivals to the radical unstamped press. Hetherington's response, a radical, stamped weekly newspaper, the *London Dispatch* (1836–1839), set an example for the *Northern Star* to follow. Hetherington defended his cover price of 3 1/2d as the lowest possible price for a stamped paper. It required a large investment since three weeks' supply of paper had to be bought, transported to the stamp office, and then taken to the printer. Some of the stamped paper was spoiled in the printing process, wasting money.²³⁰ There were campaigning advantages in paying the stamp since it meant the paper could legitimately print news, including parliamentary reports. The *Northern Star's* price of 4 1/2d matched the middle-class Leeds weekly newspapers. The stamp also conferred unlimited free distribution throughout the postal service, though it was subject to political interference as shown by a letter in the *Northern Star* on 26 October 1839 in which an agent in Macclesfield complained that his copies of the paper were damaged when collected from the Stockport post office. Replying to his complaint that letters he sent to the *Northern Star* about his arrest for sedition had not been printed, the *Star* commented that the letters had never been received.²³¹

Campaign news, rather than entertainment, was central to the *Northern Star's* circulation. One of its strengths was an ability to combine topicality — through reports of delegations, local meetings and conventions — with the creation of a Chartist narrative of history. By the Newport 'rising' in November 1839, the paper was already publishing a serialized history of the recently dissolved National Convention of the Industrious Classes. John Frost, one of the leaders of the Newport 'rising', was a delegate to that convention.

²³⁰ *London Dispatch*, 17 September 1836, p. 1.

²³¹ *Northern Star*, 26 October 1839, p. 5.

The causes and nature of the Newport rising are still debated by historians.²³² An estimated 20,000 men from the coal- and iron-producing areas of South Wales joined a march towards Newport but its precise purpose — a show of strength or the start of an insurrection that would be replicated in the north of England — is unclear.²³³ Testimony at the trials in January 1840 was marred by witness intimidation. Local magistrates aimed to indict as many Chartists as possible, while central government sought to make an example of the leading radicals. Despite the government's intentions, London newspapers were already suggesting in January 1840 that social conditions in the mining areas and plans to implement the New Poor Law provided the impetus for the march. This contrasted with the local Welsh press, much of which was owned by the manufacturing classes and supported the Whig government. Nevertheless, David Jones notes that the rapid expansion of Newport and other colliery towns in the 1830s, and the accompanying overcrowded and insanitary housing, were significant factors.²³⁴

Newport was the focus of considerable Chartist campaigning throughout 1839, led by Henry Vincent, a printer from the LWMA and Frost, a local magistrate. Tensions aroused by Vincent's arrest in April and his subsequent imprisonment in Monmouth escalated when parliament rejected the first Chartist petition on 14 June. The closure of ironwork furnaces as workers set off on the march on the weekend of 2 and 3 November alerted the authorities, who called in military reinforcements. Frost and Zephaniah Williams intended to reach Newport on the night of 3 November, but miscommunication and delays due to atrocious weather meant they arrived in daylight on 4 November. Four thousand Chartists converged outside the town, while Frost and Williams led a column towards the Westgate Hotel, unaware that soldiers were stationed there. As soon as the marchers entered the hotel, the soldiers opened fire, killing twenty Chartists and wounding fifty. The rest fled, but the

²³² For example, David J. V. Jones, *The Last Rising: The Newport Insurrection of 1839* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) and Ivor Wilks, *South Wales and the Rising of 1839: Class Struggle as Armed Struggle* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).

²³³ The 'march' consisted of three separate marches from different colliery areas; two were heading to Newport and one for Monmouth.

²³⁴ Jones, *The Last Rising*, p. 20.

authorities remained on high alert, fearing that Chartists led by William Jones were heading to Monmouth to free Vincent.

Frost, Williams, and Jones were arrested and charged with the first cases of high treason since 1820 and a Special Commission was convened in Monmouth to try them. In early January 1840, they were found guilty of treason and sentenced to death by hanging and drawing. An immediate appeal was launched but although a majority of appeal judges agreed the trials were technically flawed, the government endorsed the death sentences on 29 January. Two days later, however, the presiding judge at the trials told the Attorney-General that the executions were not justified and his recommendation was forwarded to the Cabinet. On 1 February, five days before their intended executions, the prisoners were told they would be transported to Australia for life. They secured a pardon in 1854 but were barred from returning to Britain. Two years later, they were given permission to return home. Williams and Jones remained in Australia, but Frost came back to campaign for universal suffrage and prison reform.

The rising of November 1839 exposed contradictions in the *Northern Star's* physical force rhetoric since its initial response was to condemn the madness of the marchers. However, a week later it took the initiative, leading and shaping the campaign for the prisoners. As Michael Sanders notes, the paper's focus was on the death penalty rather than armed insurrection. In so doing, it created a narrative of martyrdom, rather than rebellion.²³⁵

The triangulation of press campaigns between the *Northern Star* in Leeds, metropolitan daily newspapers, and the provincial Welsh newspapers, demonstrates conflicting loyalties, party, and regional viewpoints. The stamped Welsh press filtered politics through loyalty to London parliamentary parties, rather than grassroots opinion, but was also closely allied to local business interests. As Aled Jones notes, lack of advertising, erratic postal deliveries,

²³⁵ Michael Sanders, *The Poetry of Chartism: Aesthetics, Politics, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 96.

poor roads, and large circulation areas, all reduced profit margins.²³⁶ Jones points to the difficulties in obtaining stamped paper, which slowed the growth of the press in Wales. Occasionally, newspapers tried to circumvent this by printing on unstamped paper but with a notice promising to remunerate the Stamp Office (p. 62). However, working-class Welsh readers also had access to a thriving unstamped press that had been available in rural areas via public houses since 1831, when Hetherington opened an agency to sell his *Poor Man's Guardian* in Newport.²³⁷ In 1839 and 1840 the authorities increased prosecutions of publishers of unstamped papers in direct response to the rising.²³⁸ Vincent's unstamped *Western Vindicator* (23 February–14 December 1839) was managed in Bristol and was the most widely read Chartist publication in South Wales and the West Country in 1839. It played a key role leading up to the 'rising', according to Owen R. Ashton.²³⁹ Ashton comments that locating the paper in Bristol enabled it to exploit the city's distribution networks as the dominant hub for South Wales and parts of the West Midlands (p. 57). In an attempt to divert the authorities from the non-payment of the stamp, the full title was *The Western Vindicator; or, Memoirs and Correspondence of An Editor*. However, Frost used it as a platform for radical ideas. His weekly letters were prominently displayed on the front page of the *Vindicator* during 1839, paralleling O'Connor's communications to readers of the *Northern Star*. At 2d, the unstamped *Vindicator* was half the price of the stamped *Northern Star*. It claimed total weekly sales of 3,400 a week in early August 1839 as tensions mounted over Vincent's imprisonment and plans for a march took shape.²⁴⁰ Financially, however, the newspaper struggled, especially after Vincent's arrest in May, when the government began to issue proclamations forbidding the sale of unstamped papers.

²³⁶ Aled Gruffydd Jones, *Press, Politics and Society: A History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1993), pp. 13, 69.

²³⁷ Patricia Hollis's map of radical news agencies shows Hetherington's network extended to Scotland as well as Wales; Hollis, appendix to *The Pauper Press: a Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

²³⁸ Jones, *Press, Politics and Society*, p. 164.

²³⁹ Owen R. Ashton, 'The *Western Vindicator* and Early Chartism' in *Papers for the People*, pp. 54–81 (p. 54).

²⁴⁰ Ashton, p. 68

The Newport march gave the local and national judiciary another reason to close the paper at the end of 1839.

Two of the most significant weekly Whig industrialist newspapers at this time were the *Cambrian*, established in 1804 by a group of Swansea businessmen, and the smaller circulation *Monmouthshire Merlin*. Both had strong connections to mining and industry. The papers carried advertising for mine tenders on the front page and inside. The *Merlin*, based in Newport, was founded in 1829 by the local MP, R. J. Blewitt, who transferred ownership to his nephew Edward Dowling in 1839. It was strongly anti-Chartist and closely monitored Frost's attendance at Chartist meetings, which ultimately led to Lord John Russell's decision to remove him from the magistracy. Aled Jones notes that the paper's leader writer from 1839 to 1844, John O'Dwyer, was a leading anti-Chartist and was sworn in as a special constable during the Newport rising (p. 176).

Tory papers included the *Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, also at 4d a week, and a smaller circulation paper, the *Monmouthshire Beacon*. This was launched in October 1837 to help publicize the creation of a Conservative Association in Monmouth. The (Whig) *Morning Chronicle* noticed its arrival: 'the Ministerial organ which we have named thought it not beneath its duty to announce that this Journal is to be established upon Conservative Principles, in order to oppose another journal circulating in Monmouthshire.'²⁴¹ The *Merlin* and the *Beacon* were local expressions of national political networks.

Metropolitan papers identified events in Newport as peculiarly Welsh and were concerned that such contagion should not be allowed to spread. The *Morning Chronicle* cited the use of the Welsh language as contributing to plans for an insurrection. One editorial commented, 'In no part of the country could an organization be formed, with so little interruption, as in a district where the lower orders speak almost universally a language unknown to the educated

²⁴¹ *Monmouthshire Beacon, Advertiser for the County of Gloucester, Hereford and South Wales*, 14 October 1837, p. 3.

classes.²⁴² The *Morning Chronicle* argued that demand for labour and high wages in the iron and coal industries meant there were no underlying social reasons for the uprising. The *Chronicle* ignored the influx of many monoglot English-speaking workers into the Welsh valleys, but its accusation that the Welsh language could be used to reach a predominantly working-class readership and promote subversive ideas had some basis in fact. The *Western Vindicator* included articles in Welsh, and Ashton suggests that Vincent was consciously tapping into Welsh support for an earlier monthly bilingual radical paper, *Y Gweithiwr/The Workman*, established in 1834 (p. 59).

The English-language press in Wales portrayed Chartism as a corrupting English phenomenon used by demagogues and did not blame the Welsh language for the spread of subversive activities. Some of the wealthiest local families were involved in preserving Welsh cultural history and the Welsh language. One example was Lady Charlotte Guest, the wife of John Josiah Guest, owner of the Dowlais iron works and the first MP for Merthyr Tydfil in 1832, sitting with the Whigs. Lady Guest published translations of Welsh legends, including the *Mabinogion*, in 1838. Support for Welsh cultural societies and their campaign against encroaching Anglicization was expressed in letters, advertisements and reports of meetings in the local English-language press.

Technics and Campaigning

The *Northern Star* utilized a range of technics in the Newport campaign. These included verbatim court reporting; scissor-and-paste reports from metropolitan newspapers; contributions from readers; the use of coach, postal, and rail networks; and multiple editions. Despite the crackdown on the movement and imprisonment of many of its leading activists following Newport, the appeals campaign rejuvenated the paper to a degree. By 1842, it employed seven permanent reporters across the country, rather than relying on reports sent in from Chartist organizations (and scissor-and-paste from other publications) to augment

²⁴² *Morning Chronicle*, 7 November 1839, p. 3.

O'Connor and Hill's writing. George Julian Harney's appointment as sub-editor the following year reflected the increased activity linked to the preparation of the second petition to parliament in 1842. Technology was also important to its early success: on 31 March 1838, the newspaper had reported that it had acquired a steam-driven press to enable it to keep up with demand.²⁴³

The paper's intention to distribute campaign news nationally was demonstrated in its use of multiple editions. Usually there were three, though up to a total of eight were printed for different parts of the country. The first edition was part-printed on Wednesday (staff began setting the paper on Monday) and completed on Thursday when it was sent to London. Subsequent editions appeared on Friday morning, Saturday morning, or Saturday afternoon — all, however, carried the Saturday date.²⁴⁴ The third edition of the *Star* was the most up-to-date but was only available in or around Leeds. Usually, the multiple editions included local advertisements, a 'stop press' news column, and closing financial prices. Mussell comments that, 'Multiple editions provide more than "extra" content [...] they provide glimpses of how the news is disseminated across space and time' ('*Northern Star*', ncse). Multiple editions were exploited in crisis points during the Newport appeals campaign. The most prominent was that of 4 January 1840, when the *Northern Star* printed a notice headed 'The Welsh Trials' in which it said 'our readers will see that we have given the proceedings of Wednesday in our Second Edition of this day (i.e. Saturday). Our Third Edition, which will be published by noon to-day, will contain the proceedings of Thursday. On Monday we shall publish a Fourth Edition, containing the proceedings of Friday and Saturday'.²⁴⁵ That this notice appears at the height of its coverage of the trials suggests a deep frustration at the limitations of weekly publication. Producing multiple editions does not mean that any were distributed far beyond Leeds: the extra use of stamped paper would have been a significant

²⁴³ *Northern Star* 31 March 1838, p. 4.

²⁴⁴ Mussell, '*Northern Star*', <http://www.ncse.ac.uk/headnotes/nss.html> [accessed 10 November 2014].

²⁴⁵ 'Notice. The Welsh Trials', *Northern Star*, 4 January 1840, p. 4

additional cost. Nevertheless, it indicates the energy and commitment that the paper invested in the story while chafing at its technical limitations.

At the height of the campaign for a reprieve, a notice to the second edition of the *Northern Star* on 1 February was headed ‘More Meetings and Memorials for the Welch [sic] Patriots’ listing a number of petitions that had been signed at meetings held across Yorkshire, Lancashire and Staffordshire.²⁴⁶ Their insertion in a second edition reflected how closely balanced the campaign was, based solely on legal technicalities. Under the petitions was another short item, ‘Frost and His Companions are Saved’, but nothing more was known about their fate. The following week’s first edition contained a fuller account of the previous week’s events: the postponement of the execution, the reprieve, and the attempts to get petitions for a full pardon debated in the House of Commons.

In this pre-telegraphic era, the *Star* made use of the postal network, coach travel, and railways to get news and opinion of the Monmouth trials to its readers. The *Morning Post* of 10 January 1840 conveyed the rush to disseminate the guilty verdict, though immediately undercut it with an attempt to downplay fears among readers that the news would stir unrest elsewhere in the country.²⁴⁷ As the correspondent noted, O’Connor’s rush for the Birmingham coach caused some alarm but he was simply trying to get the news of the verdict to the *Northern Star* in Leeds in time for a later Saturday edition. This setting up of a potential crisis and then deflating it shows the desire for sensation being contained by the need to emphasize order and the status quo. It also indicates the *Post* felt obliged to demonstrate that it was handling potentially inflammatory aspects of the case in a responsible manner. The strategy of containment was also demonstrated in the metropolitan papers’ use of sections to confine accounts of the campaign for a pardon for the prisoners.

²⁴⁶ *Northern Star*, 1 February 1840, p. 5.

²⁴⁷ *Morning Post*, 10 January 1840, p. 3.

Joel Wiener's recent study of the Americanization of the British Press emphasizes speed as one of the innovations that was introduced from the American press from the mid-century.²⁴⁸ The newspapers considered in this case study emphasized the speed of their news delivery in a pre-telegraphic era, with references to express services and railway travel. But whereas later editors would have reordered a story or changed the layout of an entire page as fresh information was received, the latest items in the *Northern Star* were often added to an older story. In the second edition dated 11 January, a short item entitled 'Conviction of Frost' in large type adds the guilty verdict to the verbatim account of the last day of Frost's trial. The verdict announced around 6.30pm on 8 January was too late for the first, London-bound edition but in time for subsequent editions. A letter printed below this under the heading 'Latest News from London' with the dateline *London, Thursday Evening* [9 January], *Seven p.m.* gave the reaction to the verdict of the National Convention, but also explained the vulnerability of dispatches to government interference and censorship: 'Two letters were sent by Mr Feargus O'Connor, from Monmouth, to the Convention, one of which was posted by himself, and the other by another party; *only one* was received; and *that* had, apparently, been opened at the post-office. The letters of the Nottingham Delegate had also been opened.'²⁴⁹

Tilly's argument about the importance of timeliness is demonstrated by the newspaper's account of the newsgathering process. *The Times* highlighted evidence of its speed of reporting during the trial although it cut and pasted a snippet from another newspaper, the *Liverpool Chronicle*, to help publicize its achievement. On 17 December 1839 it carried a short item in its news in brief section:

One of the most extraordinary expresses on record was performed by *The Times* on Tuesday last. The Judge's charge on the high treason trials left Monmouth on that day at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, arrived in London the same night or

²⁴⁸ Joel Wiener, *The Americanization of the British Press, 1830s–1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

²⁴⁹ *Northern Star*, 11 January 1840, p. 2.

early in the morning and appeared in *The Times* of Wednesday, copies of which paper were in Mr Gaskell's office, Lord-street, by a quarter to 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, the charge being delivered on Tuesday, travelling nearly 200 miles to London, was printed, and again travelled 200 miles to Liverpool. This is the age of wonders! In justice to *The Times* we must state, that no other morning paper contained the charge on that day.²⁵⁰

Like other regional papers, the *Northern Star* cut and pasted articles from metropolitan newspapers in an attempt to supply provincial readers with news that they might otherwise receive days later. It also reinforced the clemency campaign by demonstrating that it had the attention of London newspapers. This helped to maintain momentum during an appeals process that depended on detailed legal technicalities. On 25 January, the *Northern Star* reprinted an article from the Tory *Morning Herald*, which backed calls for the men's lives to be spared and a week later praised the *Herald's* opposition to capital punishment and its assessment that the men should not be executed because of legal inconsistencies. The *Herald* was also quoted as arguing that the Queen's imminent wedding was another reason for clemency.²⁵¹ Nevertheless, the *Northern Star's* use of metropolitan daily newspaper coverage was selective and underplayed the relative lack of space given to the issue in the London newspapers, compared with its own extensive coverage over several weeks.

O'Connor's weekly letter on the *Northern Star's* front page promoted the leadership's message of calm during the appeal process. This was reinforced in the leader columns. For example, an editorial on 1 February called attention to a 'Letter to Working Men' by O'Connor that attacked attempts at a rising in the West Riding for putting the Newport prisoners' lives in danger.²⁵² The newspaper accused government spies of fomenting the Bradford rising, a recurring motif in the following weeks.

²⁵⁰ *The Times*, 17 December 1839, p. 4.

²⁵¹ *Northern Star* 1 February 1840, p. 5

²⁵² *Northern Star*, 1 February, 1840, p. 4.

Welsh newspapers paid far less attention to the story once the sentences (which most of them backed) had been announced. They cut some advertising to make space on the front page for reports from the Special Commission, but devoted very little space to the appeal. This reinforces David Jones's argument that a counter-campaign was waged by local anti-Chartists to see the treason trials concluded swiftly and the death penalty carried out (*The Last Rising*, p. 196).

The initial reports of insurrection appeared on the news pages of metropolitan papers but subsequent coverage was categorized by conventional newspaper divisions into domestic, foreign, parliamentary, and legal news. The trials were initially covered as a political story. Subsequently, metropolitan newspapers 'packaged' the appeals coverage in formats that were familiar to readers who were keen to see the processes of the state in action. The discussion of petitions was integrated into coverage of parliamentary business, while opinion on the trials and the sentences were the subject of editorials.

Editorials in *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* primarily used Newport as a weapon to attack each other, and rival Westminster political parties. *The Times* attacked the Whigs for introducing policies that 'fostered in the working class a hatred of their employers'.²⁵³ It accused Lord John Russell of poor judgement in appointing Frost as a magistrate, without mentioning that he had also removed him. The *Morning Chronicle* accused the Tories and *The Times* of encouraging sedition by their attacks on the New Poor Law.²⁵⁴

Competition for space in the daily press led to bizarre but meaningful juxtapositions. *The Times* on 4 February placed Lord Brougham's presentation of the reprieve to the House of Lords in its 'Parliamentary Intelligence' section directly after the debate on Prince Albert's Naturalization Bill. Brougham emphasized the strength of feeling in the country and the 200,000 signatories to petitions. The metropolitan papers focused on the forthcoming royal wedding rather than the prisoners' appeals, but the two stories were linked amid widespread

²⁵³ *The Times*, 7 November 1839, p. 4.

²⁵⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, 11 November 1839, p. 2.

hopes that Victoria would offer a full pardon on the eve of her wedding. The ordering of the debate on Albert with the campaign for the prisoners is a visual manifestation of this connection, whether or not it was made intentionally. Meanwhile, in its House of Commons report the same day, *The Times* recorded attempts by J. T. Leader, Thomas Duncombe and Joseph Hume to present the prisoners' petitions for a free pardon. None of this drew explicit comment from *The Times*. Its first report of the reprieve was one paragraph taken from a 'Ministerial Paper' at the end of the leaders on page four. The government's climb-down presumably lessened the paper's political interest in the story by removing an opportunity to put the blame for executions on the Whig cabinet.

The authorities were well aware of the *Northern Star's* role in the appeal campaign and began to pay closer attention to the newspaper. In March 1840, Hobson was accused of avoiding the newspaper stamp on another publication, the *New Moral World*, but was acquitted. O'Connor, however, was tried and imprisoned for 18 months in May 1840 for a libel that appeared in the *Northern Star* in July 1839. His defence that it appeared in the first, lowest circulation edition and was removed subsequently was rejected because the first edition was published in London.

Readers' Networks

The *Northern Star's* importance as the hub of the Newport campaign was evident in its textual arrangement of speeches, news, and records of events, and reinforced in editorials. The paper created a common notion of 'we' and 'ourselves'. This personal identification with a campaign in the Steadian mode acknowledged a network of readers, writers, and editors who identified with the prisoners' plight.

The *Northern Star* also employed innovative marketing strategies, including issuing engraved portraits of Chartist 'celebrities' to regular subscribers. Frost's portrait was issued between September and November 1839, probably reflecting his prominence in the national movement. By issuing a serialized collection of Chartist portraits, the newspaper was

creating a network based on notions of radical heritage. Such a marketing innovation anticipated ways in which the late nineteenth-century press created and reinforced notions of ‘celebrity’, and rewarded loyal readers. But in this early form, the choice of portraits primarily indicated the importance of certain figures to the Chartist campaign. Some were chosen from associated networks, such as factory reform. Malcolm Chase comments that the choice of subjects for the engravings promoted O’Connor’s vision of an ‘apostolic succession’ of Chartist heroes and symbolically represented his own political networks.²⁵⁵ The paper also regularly carried advertisements of work by sympathetic writers and publishers.

The Chartist paper represented its readers as active participants. Its lively letters page enabled readers to engage in debate with each other and the leadership. It offered a creative space in which readers could send in poems and stories in the hope of seeing their work in print, though Stephen Roberts notes that most of the poetry that was submitted was rejected, often owing to illegibility.²⁵⁶ The paper also published replies to correspondents and Roberts comments that the ‘To Readers and Correspondents’ column showed a very close rapport between the *Star* and the Chartist rank-and-file (p. 55). One of its most effective roles was in fund-raising, particularly in securing a legal defence team for the Newport trials, and lists of financial contributions were printed during the campaign.

Poetry

Poetry played a significant role as an instrument of campaign as well as performing an educative function for readers throughout the *Northern Star*’s history. Michael Sanders notes that during the appeals process, poetry did not overtly address the rising, which was dealt with in editorials and news reports. After the leaders were transported, the paper’s news agenda moved on to dealing with the persecution and arrest of other activists and made little

²⁵⁵ Malcolm Chase, ‘Building Identity, Building Circulation: Engraved Portraiture and the *Northern Star*’, in *Papers for the People: A Study of the Chartist Press*, ed. by Joan Allen and Owen R. Ashton (London: Merlin Press, 2005), pp. 25–53 (p. 32).

²⁵⁶ Stephen Roberts, ‘Who Wrote to the *Northern Star*?’ in *The Duty of Discontent: Essays for Dorothy Thompson*, ed. by Owen Ashton and others (London: Mansell, 1995), pp. 55-75 (p. 61).

reference to Newport, and it was at this point that references to the leaders, particularly Frost, appear in the poetry section. The poetry, Sanders continues, was used to create a mythical narrative of Newport in the tradition of the symbolism of Peterloo once the leaders had been transported.²⁵⁷

A feature of the poetry section that is not included in Sanders's extensive investigation is the way in which Thomas Cooper's 'Purgatory of Suicides' (1845) was juxtaposed with extracts from other publications, particularly those by Douglas Jerrold, to construct a political narrative. In 1845, the *Northern Star* published selections from Cooper's 'Purgatory of Suicides', promoting the author who had been imprisoned for Chartist activities. Its publication was the result of an introduction to Douglas Jerrold by John Cleave, Cooper's friend and distributor of the *Star* in London. Cooper's debt to Jerrold is implicit in the way in which extracts from his poem are placed alongside works by Jerrold on the same page.

The first extract appeared on 6 September 1845, on page 3, below a series entitled 'Beauties of Byron' including extracts of 'Childe Harold', with notes and commentary. The first eight stanzas of Cooper's poem were preceded by a long note introducing the poem and giving the background. Written in Spenserian couplets and with mythical and Biblical references, it is understandable that the poem was presented in annotated extracts. However, it was followed by an extract from *Punch* satirizing Daniel O'Connell, whom O'Connor bitterly opposed, and a note praising Douglas Jerrold's 'Mrs Caudle Lectures'. The page contained another work by Cooper, this time part of a tale 'Charity Begins at Home', reprinted from *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*. Jerrold and Cooper were thus endorsed and linked with each other as literary radicals. Part of the intention must have been to augment Cooper's status: he was described as the 'poet of Chartism'. Further promotion of Cooper's work appeared on page 4 with an advertisement for 'The Purgatory of Suicides' followed by a note on the Co-operative Land Society endorsed by O'Connor, which is rather ironic given Cooper's

²⁵⁷Michael Sanders, *The Poetry of Chartism: Aesthetics, Politics, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 107.

opposition to the scheme. Cooper reappeared on page 6, with a notice of his lecture on history in the roundup of the movement's activities headed 'Chartist Intelligence'. The lecture notice reinforced Cooper's status as a Chartist intellectual.

The following number of 12 September reprinted praise for the poem from a high Tory weekly newspaper, the *Britannia*. Jerrold's magazine was reviewed again on the same page, this time for an instalment of his novel *Children of St Giles and St James*. There were positive notices of the *Illuminated Magazine* (another Jerrold vehicle) and *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*. On 19 September, the paper commented that it had postponed reproducing the notice from *Athenaeum* to give more space to the poem. The editorial comment praised Cooper's tributes to Chaucer, Spenser, and Shelley, but devoted the space to his tribute to Milton. A final note introduced a poem by Thomas Jones of Liverpool, 'Lines addressed to John Frost Esq.', though it was made clear it was only published 'on account of the subject the writer has chosen. As a "poet" he has a wide field for improvement yet before him'.²⁵⁸

The *Northern Star's* attitude to 'The Purgatory' changed in June 1846, when Cooper publicly criticized O'Connor's land scheme. Relations between Cooper and O'Connor further deteriorated when Cooper accused O'Connor of first ordering 200 copies of the poem from the publisher, cutting it to 100 copies, and then 40, until finally he removed his patronage altogether, leaving the publisher to bear the cost.²⁵⁹ O'Connor refuted the accusation, but his comments made clear that Cooper was to be considered an outsider from that point.

Aftermath

The *Northern Star's* relocation to London in 1844 was more convenient for O'Connor and the editor George Julian Harney, who both lived there, and consequently 'Leeds General Advertiser' was removed from its full title. As Mussell notes, however, it changed the paper's relationship with northern readers and the way in which it delivered their news. 'The

²⁵⁸ *Northern Star*, 19 September 1840, p. 3.

²⁵⁹ *Northern Star*, 20 June 1846, p. 1 prints O'Connor's response and reprints Cooper's accusations.

Star was now two journeys away: one for the news to reach London, and one to send copies of the paper back again.’ Mussell notes that railway expansion speeded up distribution, ‘but the location of the *Star* in London meant that it was oriented toward London news networks’.²⁶⁰

The *Northern Star* played a pivotal role in the Newport appeals. It used a variety of techniques to bring the news to its networks of readers and to maintain their participation in the movement’s first campaigning success after the failure of the 1839 petition. For O’Connor publishing his views to a mass movement during his exclusion from parliament proved that a radical newspaper could provide a viable alternative to parliamentary speeches and create a space outside mainstream journalistic discourse. Its strength was that it functioned as a campaign hub, connecting a broad geographical spread of radical groups and uniting them behind a particular cause. It was pro-active in directing a campaign while at the same time responsive to its readers’ interests and keen to involve them in the composition of the newspaper by printing their articles, poems and letters. Historians such as Malcolm Chase and Owen Ashton have emphasized that much of the *Northern Star*’s success stemmed from its close relationship with its readers and its identification with their concerns, and this feature had its influence on New Journalism. However, as the Chartist movement regrouped behind other causes, the paper struggled to compete with popular Sunday weeklies such as *Lloyd’s* and *Reynolds’s* that were radical, but prioritized commercial success over campaigning.

3.3 The *Morning Star*: Religious and Political Networks and Transatlantic

Journalism

The *Morning Star* strove to break with the cronyism of the traditional relationship between London morning papers and the main political parties, and it sought to emulate the high

²⁶⁰ Mussell, ‘*Northern Star*’ <<http://www.ncse.ac.uk/headnotes/nss.html>> [accessed 10 November 2014]

circulation of the American penny press in bringing the latest political news at a cheap price to as many readers as possible.

However, it was also conceived as a campaigning newspaper. The *Morning Star* was aligned with a minority faction on the radical wing of the Liberal-Whig party, led by Richard Cobden (1804–1865) and John Bright (1811–1889). They had extensive experience of campaigning and regional journalism but suffered from an antagonistic relationship with the London daily press. Cobden and Bright were at this stage still closely associated with Manchester manufacturing, peace campaigns, and support for American democracy and technology. They sought to establish a paper that would reflect these views, perceiving that these were excluded from existing metropolitan papers. Competitors included the *Daily Telegraph*, which reflected some of these views and the established Liberal *Daily News*, which was more expensive. Ultimately, its unwavering dedication to advocacy hampered its prospects in the commercial market, but it had considerable influence on politicians and journalists that belied its lagging circulation figures.

The *Morning Star* embraced technology and modernity in the spirit of New Journalism. It recognized that its lower middle-class and artisan readers relished crime stories, and covered these in much the same depth, style and language as the Sunday papers. It shared a religious outlook with pioneers of New Journalism, since it was closely linked to Nonconformist (mainly Quaker) religious views, paralleling the Congregationalist Stead's editorship at the Quaker-owned *Northern Echo*. It was an example of the 'Hebraism' that Matthew Arnold attacked in *Culture and Anarchy*. However, its relevance to contemporary politics grew from being the mouthpiece of a faction to representing a wing of the Gladstonian Liberal Party, after Bright accepted a cabinet role under Gladstone.

The *Morning Star* employed several 'technics' that shaped the ways in which it delivered its campaigning messages. One was the use of the telegraphic network to produce faster news; another was its practice of integrating short news bulletins into longer articles. It committed

itself to two distinct news reporting cycles by publishing two editions, *Morning Star* and *Evening Star*. The *Morning Star* also demonstrated what might happen to Tilly's advocacy networks when a publication attempted to serve multiple causes and reach an audience far beyond its known network of supporters. The paper was anti-slavery and anti-imperialist; supported free education; campaigned for the extension of the franchise; and promoted free trade and international arbitration. These campaigning networks sometimes intersected and at other times conflicted over certain issues, such as support for the Union cause in the American Civil War versus pacifism, though members of the Peace Society such as Bright and Lucas were willing to support the North because the abolition of slavery was felt to be the greater cause.

Critical discussion of the *Morning Star* and its late edition counterpart, the *Evening Star*, has been limited, though Martin Hewitt discusses its contribution to the renewed campaign against printing duty in his study of the campaign against newspaper taxes.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, he views the paper in terms of just one campaign and makes few comparisons to its main penny rival, the *Daily Telegraph*. Historians tend to stress the paper's close adherence to the 'Manchester school' of free trade policies, ignoring the change of stance of its founders, including Cobden and Bright. They argue that its campaigns undermined its commercial potential because the newspaper made explicit its roots in advocacy publications (echoing Chalaby's 'publicists') rather than successfully creating a broad-based demand for a radical newspaper. Stephen Koss, for example, argues in his study of the political press in Britain that the *Morning Star*'s preference for promoting its own agenda, rather than appealing to, or reflecting, public opinion, hurt it commercially, in contrast to the less overtly political *Daily Telegraph*.²⁶² The paper's willingness to innovate is depicted more positively in Wiener's recent study of the British press, but he contextualizes this in terms of its management's

²⁶¹ Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', 1849–1869* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 129–48.

²⁶² Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, 2 vols, I 'The Nineteenth Century' (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981), p. 130.

admiration of American newspaper journalism.²⁶³ This is limiting. In an essay on Cobden's influence on nineteenth-century print culture, David Brown argues persuasively that Cobden contributed to 'a more sophisticated appreciation of the role of the press in Victorian print culture' through the *Morning Star*.²⁶⁴ However, he concurs with earlier historians that Cobden's focus on attacking Palmerston's foreign policy and *The Times*'s editor, John Delane, may have damaged the paper.

The *Morning Star* and the *Evening Star* both appeared first on 17 March 1856, priced at 1d. The *Daily Telegraph* had already responded to the abolition of the newspaper tax by halving its price to 1d in 1855. One consequence was that these papers were dependent on advertising. A comparison shows the *Telegraph* published far more advertisements, a large number relating to employment, suggesting it was the main source for servants, teachers, and clerks looking for positions, and for employers seeking to hire. Both titles attacked the 'high-priced press' (usually *The Times*) as reactionary and elitist, in contrast to the democratic and progressive penny papers. Both avoided criticism of liberal papers such as the *Daily News*, *The Times*'s radical competitor in the quality newspaper market. Donald Read notes that in the early 1850s, *The Times* was selling approximately 60,000 copies a day, nearly three times the combined circulations of the nearest five main rival London dailies.²⁶⁵ The *Daily Telegraph* proved to be the major beneficiary of the removal of newspaper taxes, achieving sales of over 200,000 copies a day by the 1860s. The circulation of the *Morning Star* was at best a quarter of this. Its average daily sale of 30,000 in 1856, rising to 50,000, reduced to 15,000 in 1866.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Joel H. Wiener, *The Americanization of the British Press, 1830s–1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 112.

²⁶⁴ David Brown, 'Cobden and the Press' in *Re-thinking Nineteenth-Century Liberalism*, ed. by Anthony Howe and Simon Morgan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 80–95.

²⁶⁵ Donald Read, *Cobden and Bright: A Victorian Political Partnership* (London: Edward Arnold, 1967), p. 184.

²⁶⁶ Read, pp. 185–86. Read comments that even the *Daily Telegraph* struggled to attract many working-class readers, who preferred Sunday newspapers.

Like the popular Sunday papers, the *Daily Telegraph* reconciled a radical agenda with broad market appeal. Its editor, Thornton Hunt (son of the journalist and *Examiner* editor, Leigh Hunt) had recently left the weekly *Leader*, itself a hub for radicals, that he launched with G. H. Lewes in 1850. The *Leader* had combined politics, edited by Hunt, with a review section edited by Lewes. Hunt replicated this duality in the *Telegraph*, which also regularly included theatre and music coverage along with book reviews. The *Telegraph*'s adoption of a broadly liberal rather than propagandist stance is significant because Hunt, like Cobden, was closely involved in the campaign for the abolition of newspaper taxes.

Instead of the traditional model where printers founded newspapers, the *Morning Star*'s backers included Manchester manufacturers and veterans of the Anti-Corn Law League (such as Bright, Cobden, and George Wilson), and Quaker abolitionists and pacifists, especially Joseph Sturge, the anti-slavery and suffragist campaigner.²⁶⁷ Its strongly middle-class and industrial bias was potentially at odds with its aim of securing a genuinely mass readership. Elizabeth Isichei notes that the *Star* secured financial backing from rich Quakers, such as Edward Backhouse in Sunderland, and Joseph and Henry Pease of Darlington.²⁶⁸ But Sturge's contacts in the Birmingham press proved useful in helping to get John Bright elected as the city's MP in 1858. Thus, the *Morning Star* was identified with the manufacturing strongholds of Manchester, Birmingham, and Darlington in a way that was unique among daily metropolitan papers of this period. It was not a popular stance: Cobden and Bright represented a small minority in opposing the Crimean War in contrast to *The Times*'s aggressive Russophobia and support of Turkey. Furthermore, in the mid-1850s, neither the Society of Friends nor northern manufacturers had 'popular' appeal. This was evident in 1870, when the Quaker Pease family established the *Northern Echo* in Darlington primarily to counteract another local newspaper's attacks on its influence on local Liberal Party politics. The family owned ironworks and railway property in Darlington, and dominated the local Board of Works, though this reflected a genuine commitment to

²⁶⁷ See Hewitt, pp. 130–31.

²⁶⁸ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 224.

improving sanitation in the area. Members of the family represented Darlington in parliament.²⁶⁹ W. T. Stead became instrumental in campaigning on behalf of the Pease and Backhouse factions of local liberalism in the *Northern Echo* in the 1870s.

Quaker involvement in the increasingly commercially driven newspaper industry from the mid-1840s was significant because of their focus on business and their transatlantic connections. For High Tory Anglicans, the Friends were subversive on religious and political grounds. For working-class radicals, however, Quakers were suspect because they did not allow trade unions in their businesses, though they had a good reputation as employers. Isichei observes that the ways in which Quakers cultivated their differences from the rest of society earlier in the century did not make them particularly sympathetic figures. *Punch* expressed its dislike of Bright's politics partly through attacking his religion and emphasizing his 'otherness'. One device was to depict him in traditional Quaker garb, though he never wore this in the House of Commons.²⁷⁰ *Punch's* mockery of Quakers is mild, however, in comparison to its treatment of Disraeli, which focused on his Jewish background, or its virulent attacks on Catholicism and Irish nationalism.

The tone of *Punch's* attacks on Bright can be seen in its Christmas 1858 issue, which attacked Bright's promotion of electoral reform using three separate formats. A political cartoon (*Fig. 2*) attacked Quaker puritanism by depicting Bright in dandy's clothes. The date of the issue is significant, since as well as wearing 'sober' dress, Quakers did not celebrate Christmas. The cartoon juxtaposed seasonal frivolity with a satire on Quaker sobriety. Bright was depicted modelling incongruously named 'Quaker pegtops' and a poster behind him advertised the equally unlikely 'Crinolines for Quakers'. It is deliberately provocative, but a poem on the previous page indicated Bright had a more dangerous reputation. Entitled 'Mr. Bright's Next', the poem represented Bright as a demagogue, supporting revolution in

²⁶⁹ M. W. Kirby, *Men of Business and Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Pease Dynasty of North-East England 1700-1943* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), p. 61.

²⁷⁰ Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, p. 145.

Europe and hoping for similar at home. Bright's anti-aristocratic views extended to the Crown and the Church, but whereas he consistently opposed state funding of any church, the poem bizarrely conflates the Society of Friends with Irish Catholicism and nationalism:

‘Down with the hated Faith that Crown defends,
The Church with gore of (Church-rate) martyrs red.
And my Society of Irish Friends
Shall set up true religion in its stead.’

The next stanza praises America ‘Where all mankind, except black men, are free’. The final verse bemoans the unwillingness of the contented English — ironically as a result, the poem suggests, of the cheap corn that Bright obtained for them — to engage in revolution. The final item, on the same page, makes a weak joke at the expense of Bright's advocacy of American-style democracy:

John Bright insists, that because we employ American machinery for making bricks, we ought, therefore, to resort to American machinery for making Legislators. The argument halts. We use the former machinery for the very same reason that we reject the latter – because it turns out the bricks.²⁷¹

²⁷¹ *Punch*, 25 December 1858, p. 256.

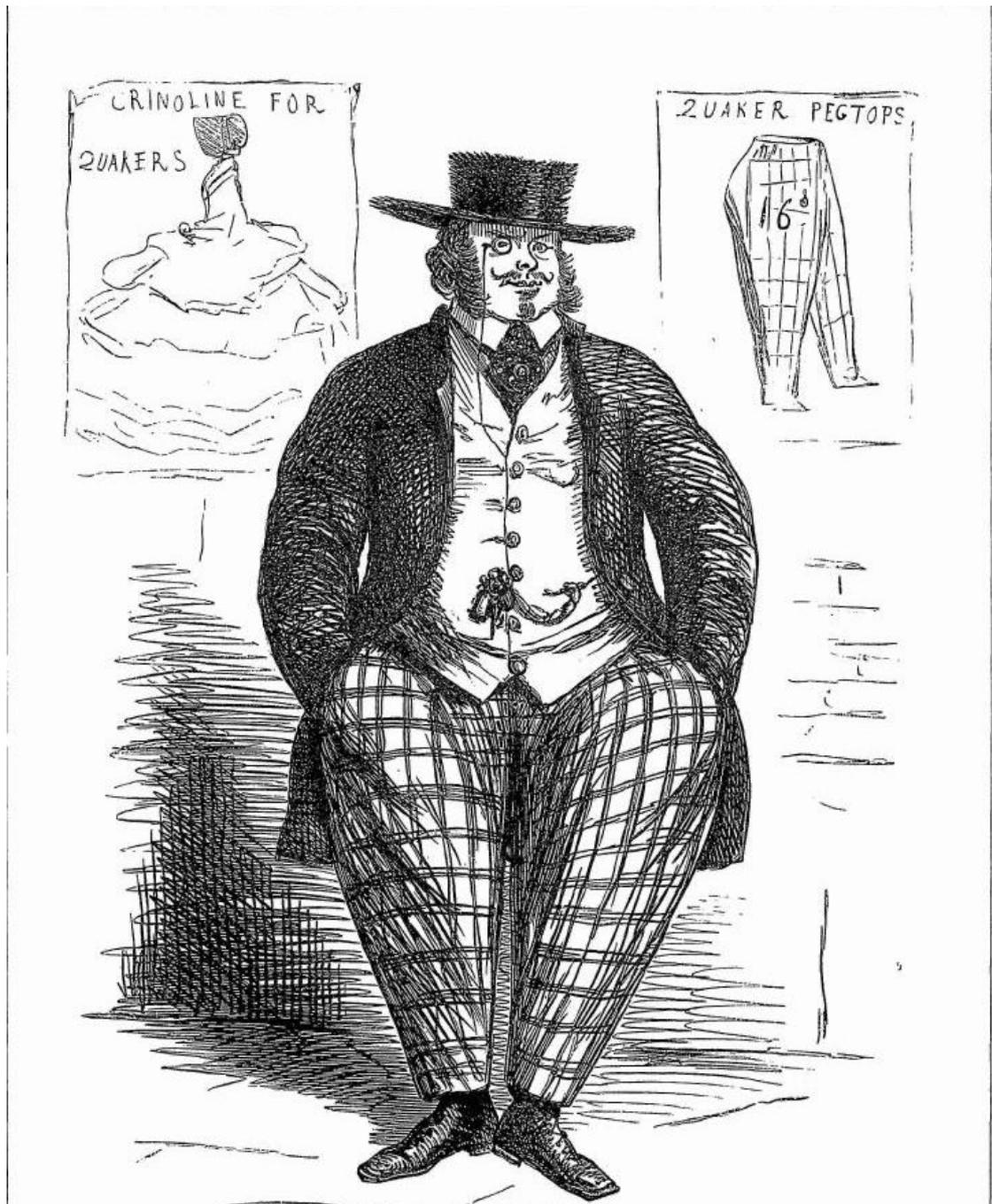


Fig. 2: 'A Step in Reform. Suggested to Mr. John Bright, while he is About It.' © The British Library Board, *Punch*, 25 December 1858 p.256.

Dinah Mulock Craik (a Congregationalist) presented a more positive view of the Quakers, albeit as economically successful ‘outsiders’, in her novel *John Halifax, Gentleman*, published the year the *Morning Star* was launched. The novel, which begins during the French revolution and ends in the 1830s, refers several times to the law’s failure to protect Quakers and their property. The main theme of the novel is the power of a manufacturing middle class, including religious nonconformists, to improve English society for the benefit of all. While Abel Fletcher and John Halifax are manufacturers of the same class as John Bright, the novel downplays the influence of the most powerful Quaker families, whose banking and City connections were utilized to help win support for their causes in political circles. Craik’s pairing of Quakerism with manufacturing reflected the influence of the Society of Friends in Victorian family businesses, including the Gurney, Lloyd, and Barclay families in banking; the Clark family in making and selling shoes; and the Rowntree, Cadbury, and Fry families in cocoa and chocolate making. George Cadbury bought first a stake in, and then the whole of the *Daily News*.²⁷² Such families, connected by marriage, were part of campaigning networks connected with abolishing slavery and promoting social reform and the peace movement.

The links between nonconformity, manufacturing, and the Liberal Party foreshadowed some of Arnold’s attacks on the New Journalism, which was embodied by the Congregationalists Stead and Newnes. In his attack on nonconformism in the preface to the essays that formed ‘Culture and Anarchy’, published as a book in 1869, Arnold singles out Bright for criticism over his enthusiasm for the American education system and support for the Disestablishment of the Church in Ireland. Arnold’s introduction emphasized that he, too, was a liberal, but of a different sort and (like Cobden, whom he admired) a committed Anglican.²⁷³

²⁷² See Edward H. Milligan, *Biographical Dictionary of British Quakers in Commerce and Industry* (York: Session Book Trust, 2007) and Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*.

²⁷³ Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, ed. by Jane Garnett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 31–32.

‘Manchesterism’

As journalism became increasingly professionalized, London newspapers hired reporters from the provinces. The trend was evident in the composition of the editorial team on the *Morning Star* and Stead’s move from Darlington to London in 1880. Justin McCarthy moved from the *Cork Examiner* to the *Northern Daily Times* before becoming one of the *Morning Star*’s parliamentary reporters, Literary Editor, and subsequently Editor.²⁷⁴ William Black, another *Morning Star* reporter, was a Scottish journalist who moved to London in 1865, becoming the paper’s correspondent in the Franco-Prussian war from 1866. He became Assistant Editor of the *Daily News* and, like McCarthy, a successful novelist. However, there is also evidence of reporters moving north for promotion. According to John William Robertson-Scott, the first editor (in 1870) of the *Northern Echo*, Jonathon Copleston, had previously worked as a staffer on the *Morning Star*.²⁷⁵ Richard Whiteing, a Londoner who joined the *Morning Star* in 1866, later wrote for the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News*, as well as writing novels.

Unusually, the *Morning Star*’s identity was closely linked to Manchester money and politics while its editorial base was in London. Cobden and Bright had played leading roles in the Anti-Corn Law League, which was based in Manchester. Bright was one of its MPs and Cobden had served as one of its first aldermen. His manufacturing interests were also local. One of the first campaigns with which Cobden was associated was the incorporation of the city of Manchester. His pamphlet, *Incorporate Your Borough*, in 1837, argued that incorporation would end the domination of landed interests over the towns. Cobden was also involved in the Manchester press, beginning with a letter to the *Manchester Times* under the penname ‘Libra’ in 1834. His position on foreign policy and his campaign for international peace treaties were consistent: as early as 1835 he published, under the signature of a

²⁷⁴ McCarthy, an Irish Catholic, subsequently wrote for the *Daily News* (from 1870), as well as the *Fortnightly Review*, *Contemporary Review* and *Nineteenth Century*, all Liberal publications. He was elected as a Home-Rule MP for Co. Longford in 1879, and was a supporter of Gladstone as well as an admirer of Cobden and Bright.

²⁷⁵ J. W. Robertson-Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 142.

‘Manchester Manufacturer’, a pamphlet entitled ‘England, Ireland and America’, which included an attack on calls for British intervention to prevent Russian encroachment on Turkey. Although a southerner, Cobden was closely identified with Manchester because of his business interests in the local calico trade, his prominence in the Anti-Corn Law League and his involvement in the city’s literary and statistical institutions. He helped in the founding of the free-trade weekly *Economist* in 1843.

Several years before the *Star*’s launch in 1856, Cobden and Bright mooted the idea of a daily newspaper that would promote their campaigns within the Liberal Party as radicals of the ‘Manchester School’. However, the defeat of the ‘Manchester School’ in the 1857 general election indicated that launching a daily morning and evening newspaper had not been enough to win support for its views. The city’s main Liberal newspaper, the *Manchester Guardian*, resented the Anti-Corn Law League’s stranglehold on the city’s politics and campaigned aggressively against Bright and his fellow Manchester MP, Thomas Milner Gibson. Cobden, who campaigned in Manchester on Bright’s behalf, lost his own seat in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Absence from parliament meant that the *Morning Star* became the main platform for the ‘Manchester School’ to address the country until Bright was re-elected the following year in Birmingham. From that point, the *Guardian*’s support for Bright was far more positive — as David Ayerst observes, having removed the founder of its main local rival from the city to Birmingham, it was prepared to support him on various liberal issues, apart from his stance on foreign policy.²⁷⁶ But at the same time, the *Morning Star* turned away from traditional Manchester economics as Cobden and Bright recognized the need for the radicals to champion other reforms — notably the franchise — in parliament.

Another element of ‘Manchesterism’ was problematic for a London daily newspaper: its cultural and geographic distance from metropolitan readers. In his analysis of the *Guardian* newspaper, Ayerst notes Manchester’s role as the major industrial centre of Britain, with a

²⁷⁶ David Ayerst, *‘Guardian’: Biography of a Newspaper* (London: Collins, 1971), p. 127.

raft of cultural, social and educational institutions. The city had a vibrant newspaper market with a frame of reference far beyond its region. But this close association with manufacturing was alien to the experiences of many London readers. Gaskell's fictionalized attack on the attitude of 'masters' to 'men' in *Mary Barton* (1848) would have reinforced novel-readers' prejudices against industrialization. Even closer to the launch date of the *Morning Star* were Dickens's *Hard Times* (1854) and Gaskell's *North and South* (serialized in *Household Words* in 1855). Dickens's novel provides an example of how southern readers might have regarded the Northern industrial towns. *Hard Times*, which stresses a utilitarian, philistine form of industrialisation, was set in Coketown, a fictionalised Preston, but it is unlikely that many London readers would have made the distinction. The novel critiqued the poisoning impact of a strictly utilitarian approach to work, culture, and education that was associated particularly with industrialism in the north. Neither Cobden nor Bright was a strict utilitarian and Dickens does not seem to have had them in mind, but their former opposition to legislation regulating factory hours was not forgotten by radicals.

Hewitt's account of the early negotiations over funding the paper indicates that the involvement of Manchester money exacerbated tensions between the financial backers and the editor and reporters. Henry Rawson, a stockbroker based in Manchester, provided a substantial amount of the initial funding for the paper and was one of the leading managers.²⁷⁷ However, Rawson's attempt to manage a London editorial team from Manchester caused problems, mainly, Cobden discovered, because requests for guidance or directions to the editor had to be relayed between the two cities. He wrote to Bright in August 1856: 'How would your mill fare if all the partners lived in London? — It is far more difficult to start & sustain a successful daily London paper than a cotton mill.'²⁷⁸ Cobden wrote daily letters to the office to help guide the editor, William Haly, but was dismayed by the first numbers of the *Morning Star*, which were badly sub-edited, although

²⁷⁷ Hewitt, p. 130–31.

²⁷⁸ Cobden to Bright, August 1856, *The Letters of Richard Cobden*, ed. by Anthony Howe, 4 vols, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007–2014) III, p. 225.

he told Sturge the evening paper of 19 March was ‘the very best Evening paper I ever saw’.²⁷⁹ Worryingly for a campaigning newspaper the standard of the early leaders was poor. Cobden increasingly relied on Henry Richard (who regarded himself as a joint editor) to write most of the leaders on international peace matters, but elsewhere the editorials were uneven and lacklustre in comparison with experienced journalists such as Thornton Hunt and later George Sala at the rival *Daily Telegraph*. Crucially, Hunt was not bound by the need to address specific campaign concerns; he could choose his argument based on the news of the day and his perception of readers’ interests.

The appointment of Bright’s brother-in-law and fellow Quaker, Samuel Lucas, as managing editor in London in 1857 until his death in 1865 helped forge a clearer identity for the paper.²⁸⁰ Lucas had a financial stake, and most likely his appointment represented Bright taking a closer interest in the paper as Cobden withdrew to concentrate on his work for a trade and peace treaty with France. A Londoner, Lucas had worked with Bright in Manchester in the 1830s campaigning for secular schools and was an active propagandist for the Anti-Corn Law League. He was also closely involved in anti-slavery organizations. The religious, family, and business connections between Lucas and Bright put Lucas in a much stronger position to run the paper than his predecessors. Support for free trade was reflected in the corn and cotton market coverage that tended to dominate the *Morning Star*’s business sections, but it regularly covered the campaigns against a national militia, as well as for the civil and religious rights of Irish Catholics and against British policy in India.

Asa Briggs comments that Bright took Manchester principles to Birmingham, and was strongly identified with the city’s emergence as a political force in its own right from his election as MP in 1858.²⁸¹ The 1857 defeat had also caused Cobden to turn away from ‘Manchester’ economics and focus on international issues. In a letter to Lucas in 1858 on the

²⁷⁹ *Letters*, III, p. 198.

²⁸⁰ Not to be confused with the editor of *Once a Week*, who outlived the *Morning Star*’s Lucas by three years.

²⁸¹ Asa Briggs, ‘John Bright and the Creed of Reform’, *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes 1851–1867* (London: Penguin, 1955), pp. 205–39 (p. 228).

paper's support for extending the franchise, he warned against 'making use of old hacks of the League like myself — unless you would make the country as sick of us as Manchester became under the constant dose of that mixture'.²⁸² He argued that Bright now represented Birmingham and that 'Birmingham seems to me the natural headquarters for a fresh Reform Movement & I hope it will be espoused there with some vigour' (p. 407). Bright increased his direct involvement in the paper as he re-energized his political career around electoral reform.

For financial reasons, the paper also needed to focus on building a readership in London. Koss comments that of its net daily circulation in August 1856, including both the morning and evening editions, around 15,300, 'a considerable portion', was sold outside London, a fact that Cobden was particularly keen should not become known to advertisers in case the paper lost its London advertising.²⁸³ The paper was one of the first to rely on newsboys, a feature of London street life that became associated with New Journalism and the promotion of sensational stories, such as Stead's 'Maiden Tribute' series in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.²⁸⁴

David Brown comments that Cobden was one of the 'most consistent media operators of the Victorian period' and 'no less determined a manipulator of the press' than Palmerston or Disraeli.²⁸⁵ Brown also argues that Cobden actively cultivated a newspaper network. He cites Cobden's letters of the 1830s as evidence of his close involvement with newspapers, especially in traditionally radical areas such as Manchester and Birmingham, and that at the height of the Corn Law agitation, the League paid the *Sun* to advocate repeal. Cobden advised the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* on leader articles in the 1840s, at the paper's request, and was approached by E. G. Salisbury for advice on the *Daily News*'s editorial

²⁸² *Letters*, 13 November 1858, III, p. 406.

²⁸³ Koss, pp. 123–24.

²⁸⁴ Hewitt, p. 133, and n. 250, notes the *Manchester Guardian*'s deprecating account on 18 March 1856 of the boys and their 'penny trash', indicating its antipathy to the 'Manchester School'. In *DNCE*, Beth Jensen says the newsboy was a phenomenon of the cheap press after the stamp was removed in 1855 and that the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Echo* used uniformed or badged newsboys as a form of marketing, pp. 452–53.

²⁸⁵ Brown, 'Cobden and the Press', p. 84.

policies. As Brown comments: ‘newspapers henceforth were not simply a means of campaigning; they were to be the instruments of a paternalistic drive for the moral and political improvements of the masses’ (p. 84).

A possible example of Cobden’s skilled use of the press is suggested by an article in the *Manchester Times*, which supported Cobden and Bright’s campaign against the paper duty. On 14 April 1860, its London Correspondent’s regular column of political and other gossip concluded:

London journalism, so far as the high-priced portion of it goes, appears to be in a very shaky condition. There has been an editorial revolution at the *Morning Chronicle* — indeed if report speaks truly, the foreign proprietor of that journal indulged in a coup d’état closely after the imperial model. Then, to economise expenses, the *Post*, *Daily News*, and *Morning Chronicle* have joined at the same parliamentary reports, and print from stereotyped plates, with a marked saving in the way of parliamentary reporters and compositors, who have been discharged wholesale. But still their spasmodic efforts to save a doomed institution do not seem to have much effect.²⁸⁶

This paper claimed that ‘cheap journalism’ was making inroads on this elite market and reported a rumour that if the removal of the paper duty went through, *The Times* would sell at 2d and other papers would be forced to sell for a penny. It is possible, given that both Cobden and Bright wrote for the Manchester paper at various times, that this section of the column was suggested to the paper, or written, by Cobden himself.

Technics and Transatlantic Networks

Wiener argues that the *Morning Star* ‘led the way in adapting’ to a new kind of journalism, attributing this primarily to its staff, including McCarthy, Edmund Yates, William Black,

²⁸⁶ *Manchester Times*, 14 April 1860, p. 5.

Richard Whiteing, and the war correspondent Archibald Forbes.²⁸⁷ Forbes first worked as a journalist on the *Morning and Evening Star* before covering the Franco-Prussian war for the *Morning Advertiser* and then the *Daily News*. He regularly beat his rival at *The Times*, William Howard Russell, partly through his ability to file via telegraph. Forbes embodied some of the characteristics of new journalism in his increasing celebrity as war correspondent and his crusading and investigative reports for the *Daily News* in the 1870s.

Wiener bases his view of the *Morning Star* as a paper that was more adaptable to the changing newspaper industry on McCarthy's and Whiteing's visits to America, where they met American journalists. Wiener notes that McCarthy was particularly receptive to American journalism. He commissioned Yates to write the highly influential and innovative 'Flâneur' gossip column. Yet the paper's interest in America was obvious from its inception and was directly connected with its founders. Cobden deeply admired the popular American penny press and the country's democratic ideals. His unfulfilled hope was that the new paper could emulate New York dailies such as the *Herald* and the *Tribune* but with less sensationalist news. However, the subsequent careers of the young lower-middle-class reporters hired by Lucas and McCarthy do not indicate 'Americanization', despite their ideological affinity with American democracy and the promise of a more egalitarian society. It could be argued that these young reporters, such as Whiteing and Black, were influenced by their backgrounds in regional and local newspapers and their inclination to work for liberal-oriented publications. Furthermore, the transatlantic influence worked two ways: the *Daily News* correspondent in the American Civil War, Edwin Godkin, not only filed to the *Morning Star* but to American papers such as the *New York Times*, the *North American Review*, and *Atlantic Monthly*.²⁸⁸ Married to an American, Godkin had made his home in America and took a keen interest in promoting an American periodical culture, which he felt

²⁸⁷ Wiener, *Americanization of the British Press*, p. 122.

²⁸⁸ See entry on Edwin Godkin in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography by C.P. Lucas, revised by Roger T. Stearn <doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/33432 > [10 November 2014].

was lacking in comparison to that of Britain. The *Atlantic Monthly* was a joint Anglo-American venture intended to fill this gap.²⁸⁹

The *Morning Star* had always been keen to emulate the American emphasis on technology and speed of reporting. The paper's prospectus, reprinted in the first numbers, emphasized its use of new technology. It stressed that both the *Morning Star* and its evening counterpart would:

supply the *earliest* and *best* information on every topic of public interest. To accomplish this object, free use will be made of the Electric Telegraph, the information being supplied by Special Correspondents in all parts of Europe.²⁹⁰

The use of steamships, telegraphs and railways in gathering and delivering news was highly visible in the *Morning Star*. Its emphasis on foreign news matched Cobden's view of the newspaper's role in promoting peace by improving the public's knowledge of other countries and their foreign policies. It was also a way of highlighting the activities of international peace movements and international arbitration in which he took a leading part. The *Morning Star* demonstrated this commitment in the amount of space, including advertisements, devoted to the International Exhibition of 1862. On pages 7 and 8 for 1 July 1862, for example, there were many advertisements that related to the actual exhibits, but the paper also produced detailed floor plans of the exhibition halls along with other services for visitors to London. The *Telegraph's* coverage of the Exhibition was briefer and less positive.

Uniquely for a daily metropolitan paper, the *Morning Star* experimented with printing news on the front page, though this was sporadic rather than a decisive change in the presentation of news. The outside of a newspaper was still viewed as a 'wrapper' for advertising. (When the *Manchester Guardian* finally put news on the front page in the twentieth century, some

²⁸⁹ *Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin*, ed. by Rollo Ogden, 2 vols (New York: Macmillan, 1907), I, p. 222.

²⁹⁰ *Morning Star*, 11 March 1856, p. 2.

readers complained that the news would be damaged by the weather.)²⁹¹ The *Telegraph*, in common with the rest of the British press, never appears to have placed news on the front page. However, like the *Star*, with its early emphasis on telegrams, it was fascinated by modernity in journalism. In February 1861, it published an article celebrating the imminent installation of electric telegraph cables at its offices in Fleet Street with a description of the greater network with which it would be connected:

Over the roof of our premises in Fleet-street will pass a tube containing fifty different threads of iron, connecting the City with the West-end, the suburbs with the heart of London, banks with their branches, merchants' counting houses with their private residences. As regards ourselves, we shall be enabled, when we please, by means of these conjoining wires, to command instantaneous communication with our Reporters in the Houses of Parliament and the courts of law — with the railway stations, with the docks, with every town in the provinces, and through Mr Reuter's office with every city on the Continent, with every place, in fact, throughout the known world where telegraphic communication stands.

It foreshadows Kittler's analysis of the impact of telegraphy on gender roles in the comment: 'the process patented by Professor Wheatstone is so exquisitely simple that scarcely any previous instruction is needed to make use of it. A sharp boy or girl or an intelligent housemaid will be able to do all that is required for the transmission of messages'.²⁹²

During the American Civil War, both papers devoted an extensive amount of space to the latest news, reports, and 'colour' pieces from their own correspondents' digests of American newspaper reports of the war, which were brought by steamship and relayed to the newspaper office by telegrams sent from Queenstown in Ireland or from Liverpool. These

²⁹¹ 'A New Look for the *Manchester Guardian*', *Guardian*, 29 September 2012, <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/2012/sep/29/archive-1952-new-look-manchester-guardian?INTCMP=SRCH>> [accessed 11 December 2012]

²⁹² *Daily Telegraph*, 5 February 1861, p. 5.

would be followed by a longer roundup or analysis of the news and comment in leader columns. This approach could be confusing: bulletins appeared on one page in the *Telegraph* with newspaper digests with different dates on another, sometimes referring to telegrams published the previous day. Uncertainty over the outcome of battles as well as the time delay of between nine days and two weeks were openly acknowledged in leader columns. On 24 June 1861, for example, the *Telegraph* carried a Reuter bulletin, dated 'June 9', stating 'the reported evacuation of Harper's Ferry by the Confederate troops has been contradicted' on page 5 but page 3 was still reporting (dated 'June 15') that Harper's Ferry had been 'evacuated by the Confederates in great haste'.²⁹³ Wire news telegraphed to London from Cork (Queenstown) or Londonderry was slightly faster than waiting for ships that docked in Liverpool or Southampton. Sometimes the latest news missed the first edition but could be added to a second edition.

The *Morning Star* attempted whenever possible to locate the most recent American news in the same part of the paper each day, emphasizing the importance of this story. The paper pledged that telegrams arriving as the paper was going to press would be put in the first column of the second page.²⁹⁴ It also found a way to try to impose some kind of clarity on breaking news by using Reuter telegrams as stacked 'headlines'.²⁹⁵ For example, on 19 July 1862, the *Morning Star* began its American news report on page 2 with a series of sentences that functioned as a summary of the main points of the reports that followed (Fig. 2). On the same page, the paper also printed the Parliamentary debate on 'The Civil War in America' as a commentary alongside the U.S. stories. This format was used also in the *Evening Star* of the same day.

²⁹³ *Daily Telegraph*, 24 June 1861, p. 5, p. 3.

²⁹⁴ *Morning Star*, 5 July 1862, p. 5.

²⁹⁵ Newspapers at this time referred to 'Reuter's telegrams' rather than 'Reuters'. In 1865, Reuter's Telegram Company was set up as a limited company and in 1916 it became Reuters Ltd.

Fig. 3: Format of the report printed on 19 July 1862 on p. 2 of the *Morning Star* (the same format was used in the evening edition).

THE MORNING STAR	
<p>A M E R I C A. (REUTERS'S TELEGRAMS.)</p> <hr/> <p>ADVANCE OF BURNSIDE ON RICHMOND.</p> <hr/> <p>RETREAT OF THE CONFEDERATES</p> <hr/> <p>EVACUATION OF YORKTOWN BY THE FEDERALS.</p> <hr/> <p>MORE WAR PREPARATIONS URGED ON THE GOVERNMENT.</p> <hr/> <p>PROTEST AGAINST MEDIATION.</p> <hr/> <p>SEIZURE OF A CONFEDERATE VESSEL BY A BRITISH SHIP OF WAR.</p> <hr/> <p>(PER ABABIA, <i>via</i> BOSTON AND ROCHE'S POINT) NEW YORK, JULY 9.</p> <p>General Burnside's army is moving from Newbern in the direction of Richmond.</p> <p>The Federals are evacuating Yorktown.</p> <p>The Confederates are reported to be falling back to Richmond.</p> <p>Captain Wilkes has been appointed to the command of the James River flotilla.</p> <p>Two Confederate gunboats and one ram are reported in Mobile Bay.</p>	<p>HOUSE OF LORDS The LORD CHANCELLOR took at five o'clock.</p> <p>PRIVATE BUSINESS Mr. Corbet's Estate Bill, West Eastern Counties Railway (Epp) Ship-shut Mineral Railway Bill and passed.</p> <p>PETITION Lord TEIGNMOUTH, in the conference of Congregation called attention to the persecution of Protestant Dissenters attending Sunday schools as a consequence of the advantages of an education at the expense of the public that in the case of any school enforced no portion of the national purposes should be given the</p> <p>The LORD CHANCELLOR petitioners in favour of legalist wife's sister.</p> <p>COLONIAL FINANCE The Earl of CARNARVON certain charges connected with the defence, moved for a resolution between Her Majesty's Government and Canada, in reference to the proposed and passed in the House of Commons, it is impossible not to be struck by the colossal estimates of the future. In 1856, the amount was £320,000; in 1857, £382,180; in 1858, £483,000; in 1861, £1,000,000. The fact showed the necessity of a principle ought to be framed. The part was permanent and formed a large item. The provisions were indispensable; the value was doubtful; it was no value. In the first instance and perhaps Bermuda included the Mauritius, and we were this year the fortifications had cost the year 3,000,000, and must be no more, take 15,000,000.</p>

LATEST NEWS.

FRANCE.

Paris, July 18. The President of the Republic has just received the news that the British fleet has sailed from the Channel...

ITALY.

Rome, July 18. The Chamber of Deputies today, General Garibaldi returned the official recognition of the Italian Republic...

THE FAIRIS BURNED.

London, July 18. The Fairis was burned today. The fire broke out at 10.30, and the building was completely destroyed...

CAULIFFA, VINDIA, AND AUSTRALIA.

London, July 18. The British Government has received news from the Cape Colony that the British troops have been ordered to evacuate the territory...

THE QUEEN.

London, July 18. The Queen, accompanied by Princess Victoria, left London for the Continent today...

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH.

London, July 18. The British Government has received news from the Cape Colony that the British troops have been ordered to evacuate the territory...

APPROXIMATE VALUE OF THE EXPORTS.

Table with 2 columns: Description of exports and their approximate value.

APPROXIMATE VALUE OF THE IMPORTS.

Table with 2 columns: Description of imports and their approximate value.

OUTPOST FROM JAMAICA.

London, July 18. The Duke and Duchess of Sutherland entered a large party at dinner on Thursday at Sandringham...

THE ARABIA LEAVES FOR LISBON.

London, July 18. The Royal Mail steamer Arabia, Captain Stowe, from Boston on the 15th, arrived on the 18th...

FALSE RUMOUR OF A TREAT OF McCLELLAN.

London, July 18. The following was posted at Lyons yesterday: The following was posted at Lyons yesterday...

THE FEDERAL ARMY IS RECEIVING TO FORECAST MONROE.

London, July 18. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe...

THE ABOVE INFORMATION, IT WILL BE SEEN, PERTAINS TO THE POSITION OF THE NEW YORK AND GLASGOW.

London, July 18. The above information, it will be seen, pertains to the position of the New York and Glasgow. The above information, it will be seen, pertains to the position of the New York and Glasgow...

AMERICA.

ADVANCE OF BURNSIDE ON RICHMOND.

Washington, July 18. The advance of Burnside on Richmond is proceeding rapidly. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe...

RETREAT OF THE CONFEDERATES.

Washington, July 18. The retreat of the Confederates is proceeding rapidly. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe...

EVACUATION OF YORKTOWN BY THE FEDERALS.

Washington, July 18. The evacuation of Yorktown by the Federals is proceeding rapidly. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe...

MORE WAR PREPARATIONS URGED ON THE GOVERNMENT.

Washington, July 18. More war preparations are urged on the Government. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe...

PROTEST AGAINST MEDIATION.

Washington, July 18. A protest is being made against mediation. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe...

SEIZURE OF A CONFEDERATE VESSEL BY A BRITISH SHIP OF WAR.

London, July 18. A Confederate vessel has been seized by a British ship of war. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe...

THE FEDERAL ARMY IS RECEIVING TO FORECAST MONROE.

Washington, July 18. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe. The Federal army is receiving to forecast Monroe...

THE ABOVE INFORMATION, IT WILL BE SEEN, PERTAINS TO THE POSITION OF THE NEW YORK AND GLASGOW.

Washington, July 18. The above information, it will be seen, pertains to the position of the New York and Glasgow. The above information, it will be seen, pertains to the position of the New York and Glasgow...

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—FRIDAY.

The House of Lords met at 10. The Duke of Devonshire moved for a resolution that the Government should take steps to improve the condition of the poor...

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Mr. Colver's Bill, West-India Bill, and other private business were discussed. The House of Lords met at 10...

LEGISLATION.

The Duke of Devonshire moved for a resolution that the Government should take steps to improve the condition of the poor. The House of Lords met at 10...

CONFIDENTIAL COMMUNICATIONS.

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Fig. 4: The position of the newspaper on the page. © The British Library, Morning Star newspaper of 19 July 1862, p. 2

The *Evening Star* sometimes carried American news on its front page, for example on 10 July and 11 July 1862, as well as European news and sport. It often published a second and sometimes a third edition for late London-based news, such as verdicts in court cases and parliamentary debates. Sometimes, as on July 15, it updated American news in a second edition, as a result of receiving further information by telegraph. It also used multiple headings to manage American news. This contrasted with *The Times*'s handling of the news report of 19 July 1862. The main digest of the American news appears as a separate report on page 12 with the heading 'America' and the byline Queenstown, Thursday Evening. However, on page 14 it printed 'Reported Surrender of the Federal Army' in a column headed 'Latest Intelligence', noting that part of the information had appeared in the third edition the previous day.

The *Evening Star* of 18 July 1862 went much further than *The Times* in attempting to clarify information for its readers (clearly motivated by hopes the news was false). It reported a rumour in the City of London that McClellan had surrendered on page 3, but stressed there was no mention of this in the latest Reuter telegram and therefore the paper gave it no credence. A longer version of the same article appeared in the second edition, noting the rumour stemmed from a report at Lloyd's brokerage dated 5 July. The report cited 'private sources' in New York but the *Evening Star* commented that this contradicted more recent information brought by another steamer on 7 July. It concluded: 'the Conrad steamer from Boston on the 9th inst. will probably arrive in the cause of a few hours, and set at rest all doubt upon the subject.'²⁹⁶ The newspaper displayed the frustration of attempting to be fast and accurate with the news in the absence of the subsea cable, but it also made the various technics of newsgathering, such as private sources, City offices, steam ships, and telegrams, much more visual.

²⁹⁶ *Evening Star*, 18 July 1862, p. 3

Fig. 5: indicates that the *Daily News* used the telegram from Reuter in the centre column of page 5, which carried its main foreign news, but without the stacked headlines used by the *Morning Star*.

<p>TELEGRAPHIC INTELLIGENCE.</p> <p>(REUTER'S TELEGRAMS.)</p> <p>AMERICA.</p> <p>(Per Arabia <i>via</i> Boston and Roche's Point.)</p> <p>NEW YORK, JULY 9.</p> <p>General Burnside's army is moving from Newburn in the direction of Richmond.</p> <p>The Federals are evacuating Yorktown.</p> <p>The Confederates are reported to be falling back to Richmond.</p> <p>Captain Wilkes has been appointed to the command of the James River flotilla.</p> <p>Two Confederate gunboats and one ram are reported in Mobile Bay.</p> <p>Ten thousand Confederates are below Mobile on the Shell road. The inhabitants are sanguine that the city could not be taken.</p> <p>General Bragg is reported to be at Lupello with 40,000 Confederates.</p> <p>The New York press continue to urge upon the government more rapid and more extensive war preparations of every description by land and sea.</p> <p>The Mayor of New York has issued a proclamation, saying that the country demands the services of all loyal persons not only to put down the rebellion, but also to repel with becoming spirit the first approach of foreign intervention, obscurely threatened, which cannot be admitted without national disgrace.</p> <p>The <i>New York Times</i> urges that in case of foreign intervention Southern negro regiments should be raised.</p> <p>The Tariff Bill, which has been reported to the Senate, raises the duty on all spirits, except brandy, to 50 cents per gallon. The duty on iron is also increased.</p> <p>Letters from Nassau say that the captain of the British steamer Greyhound has seized the Confederate steamer Ovicto. The cause of this proceeding is not stated.</p> <p>The steamer Cecile has been wrecked near Abacoa.</p> <p>QUEENSTOWN, JULY 19.</p>
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© The British Library, *Daily News*, 19 July 1862, p. 5.

The *Telegraph* attempted to organise information from the Civil War by formatting American news under regular headings, such as 'Later from America', used mainly for brief digests from the Reuter cable. Another heading, 'The Civil War in America', was used for

the extended digest of news from the New York papers, summarized by the paper's Liverpool reporter the evening before, and transmitted by telegraph, or train, to London for editing for the morning paper. On occasions, however, this feature also included reproductions of Reuter telegrams. Copy filed from America was sometimes headed 'America', or had a unique headline and was published anonymously, the byline simply referring to 'our correspondent'.

Abolitionist Campaign and the American Civil War, 1861–1865

The *Morning Star* was the most consistent champion of the Lincoln government in the metropolitan daily press. Daily newspapers were sympathetic to the anti-slavery movement but ambiguous or hostile towards the war. The *Morning Star*'s coverage was uncompromising. Bright and Lucas believed unequivocally that victory for the North was essential as part of the fight against slavery, though the campaign only gained genuine momentum amongst the British population once the Lincoln government passed the first Emancipation proclamation in September 1862. The Civil War forced the *Star* to choose between its three key causes: fighting slavery, promoting the ideals of the peace movement, and free trade.

One complaint in the British press early in the war was that the North had failed to make slavery the issue on which the war was fought, even though secession was clearly motivated by the attempt to introduce slavery into states where it was previously illegal. Once Lincoln clearly identified the North as anti-slavery, popular opinion in England rallied behind Bright's campaign. Working-class meetings to support Lincoln and the North were held all over the country on 26 March 1863. Bright addressed a trade union meeting that evening in Manchester at which the union leaders unanimously agreed to send an address of support to Lincoln.

By 1861, the British abolitionist movement was decades old and traced its peak as a campaign from the effective boycott of sugar grown on slave-labour plantations from 1791

to the second great petition in 1806. The campaign, Tilly notes, involved assembling various elements, including media coverage, into a single political package.²⁹⁷ This was significant because it was not confined to the religious and advocacy press but involved broader-based periodicals and newspapers in a way that the *Morning Star* itself attempted. The campaign itself was transatlantic, since supporters in Britain and the United States exchanged campaigning strategies and ideas. The actors in these networks were often closely involved in other, related campaigns, such as pacifism and feminism, and some that were entirely separate, such as free trade.

These connections are visually expressed in Benjamin Robert Haydon's painting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's conference in London in 1840.²⁹⁸ The participants include Edward Baines of the *Leeds Mercury*; one of the *Morning Star*'s founders, Joseph Sturge; and the *Morning Star*'s third editor, Samuel Lucas. It also includes George Thompson, father-in-law of Frederick Chesson, who became a campaigner for the rights of indigenous peoples and later wrote the *Morning Star*'s 'philanthropic and colonial stories'.²⁹⁹ Thompson's daughter Amelia also contributed arts reviews to the newspaper. The focus of the painting is on the freed slave, Henry Beckford, in the foreground, listening to the leading abolitionist, Thomas Clarkson. Notably, the painting also portrays American women delegates, although they did not have full participation rights. Both British and American abolitionist campaigns featured significant support and participation from women. A direct link between abolitionism and women's campaigns was made by the American delegate Elizabeth Cody Stanton, who asserted in 1898 that the 1840 Convention had 'given rise to the movement for women's political equality in both England and the United

²⁹⁷ Charles Tilly, *Social Movements: 1768-2004* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2004), p. 33.

²⁹⁸ Benjamin Robert Haydon, 'The Anti-Slavery Society Convention, 1840', National Portrait Gallery website, <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw00028/The-Anti-Slavery-Society-Convention-1840>> [accessed 18 March 2012]

²⁹⁹ Charles Cooper, *An Editor's Retrospect: Fifty Years of Newspaper Work* (London: Macmillan, 1896), p. 108.

States'.³⁰⁰ Clare Midgley compares Stanton with British feminist campaigners against the Contagious Diseases Acts who themselves drew on the rhetoric of the antislavery movement and referred to themselves as the 'new abolitionist movement'. British abolitionism after 1832 was predominantly a middle-class movement. Midgley comments that even its most radical adherents attempted to keep it a single-issue campaign, in contrast with the American experience where it was part of a wider platform of moral reform. In the 1840s, she says, British antislavery meetings were disrupted by Chartists protesting at white slavery and criticising middle-class philanthropists for paying more attention to suffering abroad. The followers of William Lloyd Garrison were keen to forge links with Chartists when they visited Britain, but this was discouraged by British abolitionists, Midgely says (p. 126).

Transatlantic anti-slavery networks helped to keep abolitionism alive in the 1840s and 1850s in Britain. After the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made the northern states of America unsafe for fleeing slaves, African-American ex-slaves toured Britain on the lecture circuit, printed narratives, displayed panoramas of scenes of American slavery, and revealed personal scars and instruments of torture.³⁰¹ Audrey Fisch argues that in the post-Chartist 1850s, Britain was reconstructing a view of itself as a moral example to other nations and Abolitionism was at the heart of this vision. The publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Britain showed how transatlantic networks operated: on its American publication in March 1852, an employee of the New York publisher, Putnam's, mailed the two-volume set to a contact in England. As early as July 1852, several English firms began to bring out pirated editions. Its popularity was exploited by the theatres, which adapted scenes from the novel and it also inspired a range of related products. Some, such as notepaper, were specifically produced to raise money for the abolitionist campaign. The *Prospective Review* attributed the novel's success

³⁰⁰ Quoted in Clare Midgley, 'British Abolitionism and Feminism in Transatlantic Perspective', in *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation*, ed. by Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 121–39, p. 122.

³⁰¹ Audrey A. Fisch, *American Slaves In Victorian England: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 4.

directly to the contemporary publishing industry: in the ‘progress of the cheap printing movement; the facilities of communication; the absence of any English copyright’.³⁰²

The *Morning Star* and the *Daily News* were the only daily newspapers that were consistently both abolitionist and unwavering supporters of the Union during the American Civil War. *The Times* and the *Morning Post* showed a bias in favour of the Confederacy. Some newspapers shifted position as the war continued; for example, the *Daily Telegraph* began by supporting the North, but by December 1861 was blaming it for causing the war.

In his analysis of the London press and the American Civil War, Michael de Nie notes that British newspaper opinion was not necessarily class-based: ‘certainly by the end of 1863, the majority of British journalists, politicians, and public intellectuals had reached the limits of their patience and simply declared a plague on both [Union and Confederate] houses.’³⁰³ Although de Nie notes that the London press overwhelmingly opposed slavery, Britain’s record on abolition was complicated. Newspaper portrayals of the British experience omitted the opposition from sugar plantation owners represented in the unreformed House of Commons, and disquiet over what happened to British colonies once slaves became a freed majority of the population. By 1863, *Punch* was accusing the *Morning Star* of being unpatriotic in its support of the North and ironically called it the *London New York Herald* (a description that would not have been entirely unwelcome.) Significantly, it labelled the newspaper as ‘provincial’, ‘religious’, and appealing to the ‘uneducated’ — emphasizing its isolation in the London press by describing it as behaving ‘among less impulsive journalists as a provincial does in London society’.³⁰⁴

Two news stories published during the Civil War highlight just how closely the *Morning Star* and its founders were involved in the story. The ‘Trent’ affair, in which two Confederate envoys on board a British postal ship were seized by Captain Wilkes of the USS

³⁰² Fisch, p. 15.

³⁰³ Michael de Nie, ‘The London Press and the American Civil War’, in *Anglo-American Media Transactions, 1850–2000*, ed. by Joel H. Wiener and Mark Hampton (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 129–54 (p. 129).

³⁰⁴ Anon., ‘The London *New York Herald*’, *Punch*, 13 June 1863, p. 247.

San Jacinto, caused a storm of protest in Britain. US newspapers knew about the incident on 15 November 1861, when the San Jacinto arrived with the envoys, but English newspapers had to wait until 27 November, when the Trent arrived back in Britain. Cobden and Bright's close relationship with Senator Charles Sumner, the Chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, provided a conduit through which the British government and the Lincoln government could negotiate during the Trent dispute. Their mediation proved helpful as the Lincoln government released the envoys and the British government decided against taking any action.

The *Morning Star* frequently attacked *The Times*'s coverage of American news, as did Harriet Martineau in the *Daily News*. They accused *The Times* of not understanding American issues (or, Martineau commented, geography). On 26 March 1856, a leader in the *Morning Star* castigated *The Times* for deliberately stirring up hostility towards the United States. It was followed the next day by another editorial referring to 'warlike articles' by the 'high-priced London press'.³⁰⁵

The *Morning Star*'s staff's commitment to anti-slavery networks extended to championing the rights of non-whites. Many of the *Star*'s journalists were founding members of the London Emancipation Society, formed in 1859, including Lucas, McCarthy, and Chesson. The Society shared the paper's administrative office at 65 Fleet Street. The *Star*'s coverage of Jamaica in 1865 highlighted the appalling treatment of former slaves, while most British daily news coverage focused on the threat to the white population.

During the 1860s, theories of the superiority of white races and the experiences of colonial revolts had an impact on the ways in which the British public and the press perceived colour. When riots broke out among ex-slaves in Morant Bay, Jamaica, in late 1865, and were savagely put down by Governor Eyre, British intellectual opinion was polarised. John Bright and John Stuart Mill led the campaign to have Eyre charged with murder, forming the

³⁰⁵ *Morning Star*, 27 March 1856, p. 3.

Jamaica Committee, but were ultimately unsuccessful. Opposition to prosecuting Eyre came from figures such as Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, and Charles Dickens. Divisions exposed the fears over what would happen once slavery is abolished, when whites were outnumbered by freed slaves, but it was also a sign of shifting attitudes towards race. When James Hunt formed the Anthropological Society in 1863, he put forward theories based on the inferiority of non-white races that were in direct opposition to the position that Bright, Cobden, Sturge, and Lucas held.

The *Morning Star* used readers' letters to reinforce its own campaigns, for example to back the Lincoln government and the abolitionists, including a long letter in the 7 January 1861 number on the case of a fugitive slave in Canada headed 'Shall England Turn Slave Catcher/ The Canada Extradition Case'. The same technique was evident in its campaign for Eyre to be indicted for the brutal suppression of the Jamaica rebellion. As the first reports of the executions and beatings reached Britain, the *Star* published a letter from L. A. Chamerovzow, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on 20 November 1865, putting the case against the repressive measures and providing more detail on the insurrection that contradicted Eyre's version of events. This letter appeared on page 6, reinforcing the editorial on page 4 arguing that British law had been ignored in Jamaica and that Eyre's account of his actions meant he should face trial in Britain.³⁰⁶ The 'Despatch from Governor Eyre' was printed on the next page. The paper continued to print letters regularly from Chamerovzow to support its stance in backing the Jamaica Committee and the ultimately unsuccessful attempts to have Eyre convicted. Chamerovzow was part of the same networks as the Jamaica Committee, which included Bright, John Stuart Mill, Edward Miall (editor of the *Nonconformist*), Jacob Bright, Henry Richard, and Edward Backhouse.

The issues raised by the Jamaica campaign were central to the *Star's* critique of imperialism and its views on race. In the years that followed, however, its most intense campaigning turned to Bright's chief cause — a new franchise act. Gladstone took up the cause to a far

³⁰⁶ *Morning Star*, 20 November 1865, p. 6.

greater extent than his own party had expected, persuaded by Bright, though the Bill in fact passed under Disraeli's administration in 1867. In the 1868 election, the Conservatives were defeated and the extension of the franchise aided the radical wing of the Liberal Party. Bright remained involved with the *Star*, sometimes writing leaders on franchise reform, until its merger with the *Daily News* in 1869.

In terms of its major campaigns, the *Star* could claim success: international trade treaties, the emancipation of slaves in America, the extension of the vote to the skilled working class and on education, the passing of the Elementary Education Act in 1870. Bright finally entered a cabinet led by Gladstone, signalling a transformation in the Liberal Party and his own place in British politics.

Conclusion

The *Morning* and *Evening Star* never managed to raise sales beyond a maximum of 50,000 copies a day, although the actual readership may have been somewhat wider through access to copies in coffee houses and reading rooms. Politicians read the paper for its extensive parliamentary coverage but despite its sport and entertainment news, it never succeeded in appealing to enough of the lower middle- and working-class audience it sought. It suffered from direct competition with the *Daily Telegraph*, which by early 1856, had already achieved a circulation of 270,000 papers a day, more than five times as many as its progressive rival ever achieved. The *Telegraph's* appeal lay in the combination of sensational crime and divorce news with arts coverage and serious, but often lively political comment. All these things are also true of the *Star* but the *Telegraph* managed to be liberal without being identified too closely with any one faction in the Liberal Party. It both attacked and supported John Bright on different occasions, supported Gladstone on economic policy, and Palmerston on foreign policy. Its support for Palmerston chimed with the public mood. Like the *News of the World*, the *Telegraph* took an opportunistic approach to campaigns based on likely audience sympathy, topicality, and potential appeal to

advertisers. Two of the campaigns associated with it were House of Lords reform and its opposition to capital punishment.

Media historians have rightly judged that the *Morning Star's* privileging of advocacy over commercial interests limited its potential in the London daily newspaper market of the mid-nineteenth century, but this has been overstated and ignores its innovations. Contemporaries recognized its willingness to be sensational in its coverage of crime stories, and even of politics (for example in its battles with *The Times* over the Civil War and the Jamaica rebellion). In the context of discourse networks and the technics of newspaper publishing, the *Morning Star* made a significant contribution to the development of persuasive and crusading journalism. It hired promising reporters, from predominantly lower middle-class backgrounds, who went on to enjoy long and successful careers in British journalism. It embraced new technology in terms of printing processes and telegraphy to gather information, and displayed a keen sense of their importance in coverage of rapidly changing situations such as the war in America. It recognized the advantages of telegraphy in the coverage of the American Civil War while chafing at the failure of the subsea cable that slowed down what it considered to be the most important news story of the time. It developed a direct style of writing, particularly in its leaders, and a breadth of coverage of international and domestic politics. What limited its contribution was an inability to move beyond the rhetoric and tactics of the advocacy press. Its causes dominated its journalism, overriding topicality at the expense of getting its message across. Its inability to communicate effectively with a broad readership caused its eventual demise in a market that had too many rivals. However, its combination of sport, entertainment, sensational crime, war reporting, and highly opinionated, persuasive editorials, pitched at a mass readership, foreshadows much of Stead's 'Hebraic' vision of the press and the platform in the 1880s.

Chapter Four:

Campaigning Journalism in the Popular Sunday Press: 1842–1875

4.1 Introduction: Genre and Context

This chapter interrogates concepts of ‘popular’, ‘radical’, and ‘commercial’ in mid-century Sunday newspapers aimed at a lower-middle and working-class readership. It discusses ways in which these papers may have influenced New Journalism. The most salient parallel is the use of a sensational style of reporting political scandal and crime. The drive for circulation is another: mid-century weekly newspapers built an extensive readership by presenting news in a format that appealed to readers ignored by metropolitan dailies. The sales of the Sunday papers far surpassed the numbers achieved by the radical unstamped press or the stamped *Northern Star*, which depended on the success of class-based campaigns for their sales. Raymond Williams comments in *The Long Revolution*, ‘the history of the popular press, in the nineteenth-century, is the history of the expanding Sunday press.’³⁰⁷

Sunday newspapers formed a sub-genre of weekly publications, characteristics of which varied. In ‘Elemental Forms’, James Mussell notes Carolyn Miller’s argument that genre is socialized — it is used to achieve certain ends and is situated within an actual historical moment. Mussell notes that weekly newspapers often had characteristics that were associated with periodicals and were often more expensive than a daily newspaper. They were usually longer and aimed at middle-class readers. The popular Sunday newspapers were cheaper and intended for a broader audience that included working-class readers.³⁰⁸ They privileged news rather than fiction, though they shared the miscellaneous content of other weeklies by including reviews of fiction, jokes, and poems. This is evidence of an early awareness of the commercial potential of news and its commodification, as Mussell

³⁰⁷ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984 reprinted edition), p. 216.

³⁰⁸ James Mussell, ‘Elemental Forms’, *Media History*, 20 (2014), 4–20 (p. 7; p. 9).

notes (p. 13). It is evident in characteristics such as placing news on the front of the paper and emphasizing telegraphed information. Moreover, opinion pieces could diverge quite markedly from the main editorial in Sunday newspapers and create a sense of many voices. To a lesser extent, this was also evident in daily newspapers since the editorial ‘we’ existed alongside reports by a range of correspondents who wrote about their own area of expertise.

Two of the newspapers discussed in this chapter, *Lloyd’s* and *Reynolds’s*, echoed the class preoccupations of earlier radical papers in their desire to expose the short-comings of those in power. The belief that newspapers could criticize the elite signalled a preoccupation with the power of democracy that looked forward to the New Journalism.

The main Sunday newspaper titles between 1840 and 1875 were:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Dates</u>
<i>Observer</i>	1791–
<i>Sunday Times</i>	1821–
<i>Bell’s Weekly Messenger</i>	1786–1896
<i>Bell’s Life in London</i>	1822–1886
<i>Weekly Dispatch</i>	1801–1961
<i>Lloyd’s Illustrated Weekly Newspaper</i>	1842
<i>Lloyd’s Weekly London Newspaper</i>	1843–1931
<i>News of the World</i>	1843–2011
<i>Reynolds’s (Weekly) Newspaper</i>	1850–1962
(re-launched in 1962 as <i>Sunday Citizen.</i> ,	(closed 1967)

This list of nine titles indicates the longevity of Sunday titles: three lasted into the twenty-first century; three continued into the twentieth century, and of the three that closed in the nineteenth century, one published for over a hundred years and another for sixty four years.

Unlike metropolitan dailies, allied to specific political parties, Sundays mostly rejected party affiliation and were broadly liberal without being radical. The *Observer*, the first Sunday newspaper, since 1791, supported the 1832 Reform Bill but opposed Chartism. The *News of the World* stressed inclusivity and was aware of the social causes that underpinned Chartism, without actually championing the movement. It also attempted to reach out to readers of *The Times* as well as more radical papers. *Lloyd's* support for Chartism was short-lived and only *Reynolds's* actively campaigned for it.

The popular Sunday newspapers appropriated a range of campaigns, and some of the symbolism and vocabulary of the radical press, without alienating advertisers and less radical readers. I focus on three long-running Sunday titles (all appeared in various parts of the country in editions that ranged from Thursday through to Sunday morning): *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (from 1842), the *News of the World* (from 1843), and *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* (first published in 1850).³⁰⁹ *Lloyd's* and *NOTW* stressed their political independence but later identified with the Liberal Party under Gladstone. G. W. M. Reynolds's politics were drawn primarily from French republicanism and the principles of the Chartist movement. Reynolds described his politics as 'democratic' though he backed radical parliamentarians selectively, when he believed their aims coincided with the interests of his readers.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Edward Lloyd started *Lloyd's Illustrated London Weekly Newspaper* in 1842, re-launching it without illustrations as *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* in 1843. I will refer to the latter as *Lloyd's* in subsequent references. *News of the World* is abbreviated to *NOTW* and *Reynolds's Weekly News to Reynolds's*.

³¹⁰ The subtitle of the newspaper was 'A Journal of Democratic Progress and General Intelligence'.

Historiography

One of the most detailed analyses of the nineteenth-century popular Sunday press is Virginia Berridge's unpublished PhD thesis on 'Popular Journalism and Working-Class Attitudes, 1854-1886', which examined the readerships of *Reynolds's Newspaper*, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and the *Weekly Times*.³¹¹ Berridge's thesis is particularly concerned with the ways in which these papers connected with earlier, more radical papers and what the content of these later publications revealed about their readerships. Berridge concludes, for example, that the readership of *Reynolds's* remained fairly constant along regional and class lines (mainly skilled artisans and members of the armed forces) and circulation stagnated in the 1870s. *Lloyd's* readership included shopkeepers and a significant female element, and hence was broader. In contrast with *Reynolds's*, the paper was distributed more widely, with a strong following in London. Berridge acknowledges the campaigning elements of the papers, but views Reynolds as an opportunist, and concludes that although the Sunday newspapers actively agitated on causes supported by the artisan class, commercial pressures outweighed these. Berridge's analysis in this respect fails to acknowledge the pragmatism of newspaper proprietors who were vulnerable to the commercial risks of printing. Only a year before launching the *Political Instructor* in 1849, for example, Reynolds had declared bankruptcy for the third time and his subsequent commercial success was due to his business partner, the printer John Dicks. I argue that *Reynolds's* was necessarily driven by commercial considerations, but its support for democratic policies and campaigns was consistent.

Other academic analyses of the Sundays stress their role in actively shaping a more commercial press in Britain from the 1840s and on their brand of broadly liberal politics. Recent studies focusing on individual owners of newspapers and their politics include the

³¹¹ Virginia Berridge, 'Popular Journalism and Working-Class Attitudes, 1854–1886: A Study of *Reynolds's Newspaper*, *Lloyd's Newspaper* and the *Weekly Times*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1972).

collection of essays about Reynolds edited by Anne Humpherys and Louis James.³¹² These re-evaluate Reynolds in terms of his involvement in political campaigns including Chartism; his republicanism and antagonism to empire-building; his fiction; and his journalism. Humpherys has previously analysed the role of the ‘notices to correspondents’ columns in *Reynolds’s*, which provided a service to readers who could draw on his extensive reading and willingness to research answers. She argues that it was part of Reynolds’s dialogue with readers, helping to foster the paper’s identity as the champion of working-class self-improvement.³¹³ Humpherys notes that periodically, ‘the text displays not answers [...] but rather little stories. [...] In these cases the narratizing in the journalistic discourse is at its most overt’, citing the example of 11 March 1855 on the hardships of attorney’s clerks, which illustrates their plight in terms of a fictional account of the tragic life of a clerk (Humpherys, p. 38).

Edward Lloyd is a case study in Rosalind Crone’s analysis of Victorian crime writing. Crone draws parallels between Lloyd’s fiction-publishing business and the selection and presentation of crime stories in his newspaper.³¹⁴ Her analysis draws in part on Berridge’s thesis that the Sundays synthesized traditional techniques and genres, but were primarily commercial (p. 168). Crone challenges a truism about the emphasis on violent crime in the popular Sunday press in the period 1840–1870. Comparing crime coverage in *Lloyd’s* with that of *The Times*, she argues that historians have inaccurately emphasized the sensationalism in *Lloyd’s* and overlooked ‘important parallels, networks of exchange and even dialogue that existed between the new weeklies and the established daily press’ (p. 211). Furthermore, Crone points to this mid-century period as one of intense competition between traditional and new genres of popular print, many of which were incorporated into

³¹² G. W. M. Reynolds: *Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. by Anne Humpherys and Louis James (London: Ashgate, 2008).

³¹³ Anne Humpherys, ‘Popular Narrative and Political Discourse in *Reynolds’s Weekly Newspaper*’, in *Investigating Victorian Journalism* ed. by Brake and others (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 33–45 (p. 38).

³¹⁴ Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

the Sunday papers. She cites new technology and changes in the penal code; the emergence of cheap sensational fiction from the 1830s; and the radical unstamped press, which built on popular trends by ‘incorporating violence and sensation into political rhetoric’ to boost circulation (p. 210). Examination of the format of the three papers discussed in this chapter shows all three broadly presented crime stories in the same way: a designated page or section of crime stories taken from the police courts, with particularly sensational court cases given more space either on domestic news pages or on the legal page.

Among Sunday newspapers that were aimed at middle- or upper-class readers, the *Observer* fluctuated ‘between scurrility and respectability’ according to the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*.³¹⁵ It began as a radical paper but was bought in 1814 by William Innell Clement who accepted payments from the government to ensure his support. Its readership was predominantly middle-class. In 1822, the *Sunday Times*, a direct competitor, was launched. A third Sunday paper, concentrating on rural areas, was particularly successful: *Bell’s Weekly Messenger* was founded in 1796 by the printer John Bell as a paper for agricultural business, but it expanded its appeal to become a family paper, adding a Reviewer section in 1832. It remained predominantly rural and moderately Tory, but was highly influential.

The *Weekly Dispatch* provided something of a prototype for the later popular Sunday titles, attracting working-class readers with sensationalized news and sporting coverage, but it was more expensive. It was founded as *Bell’s Weekly Dispatch* in 1795 by Robert Bell, became the *Weekly Dispatch* in 1801, reverted to *Bell’s* in 1812, changed its name again two years later, when George Kent re-launched it as *Kent’s Weekly Dispatch and Sporting Mercury* (1814–1823), before reverting to the title *Weekly Dispatch* from 1823 to 1928. By 1840, it was a 12-page stamped weekly costing 6d and had a circulation of over 60,000, making it the most powerful metropolitan newspaper in terms of sales. Under Alderman Harmer, who

³¹⁵ Matthew Taunton, ‘Sunday Papers’, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London: Academia Press and the British Library, 2009), p. 466.

bought it in 1823, the *Weekly Dispatch* established that a combination of sport, sensational crime, and radical politics was an effective means of boosting circulation. It attacked the government and the church, but opposed physical force Chartism. Reynolds was the paper's foreign editor in the early 1840s before he left to establish *Reynolds's Miscellany*.³¹⁶ The *Weekly Dispatch* reviewed Reynolds's fiction favourably and regularly advertised his work. It struggled to compete, however, with competition from proprietors such as Lloyd, John Browne Bell, and Reynolds. Under the editorship of H. R. Fox Bourne in the second half of the nineteenth century, it cultivated a more middle-class audience although it retained a radical 'edge'.³¹⁷

The issue of 'respectability' is a point of difference: the *News of the World* sought comparisons to *The Times* at its launch and its language was correspondingly restrained. *Lloyd's*, in contrast, was influenced by popular culture and the language of the paper's editorials and news reports resembled the unstamped press in its direct style. *Reynolds's*, however, came closest to the polemical language of the unstamped press in lambasting its political targets.

There are indications that Lloyd came to reject the most sensational elements of his publishing portfolio. Sally Ledger comments that the appointment of Douglas Jerrold as editor of *Lloyd's* in 1852 was an attempt to bestow 'respectability' on *Lloyd's Weekly News* though it must also have been a strategy to compete with *Reynolds's*, launched two years earlier.³¹⁸ Evidence for this process of respectability includes Lloyd's decision to divest his business of penny blood titles in the 1850s. Both Ledger and Crone acknowledge the impact and influence that new types of literary subculture had on the Sunday papers from the 1840s. Ledger argues that the Sunday newspapers were central to the process by which a mass circulation literature emerged from the 1840s and notes that although Jerrold did not

³¹⁶ Andrew King, 'Reynolds's Miscellany, 1846–1849: Advertising Networks and Politics', in *G. W. M. Reynolds: Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. by Humpherys and James, pp. 53–74 (p. 53).

³¹⁷ *DNCJ*, pp. 667–68.

³¹⁸ Sally Ledger, *Dickens and the Popular Radical Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 149.

abandon his radicalism, reporting in the Sunday newspaper tended to the lurid and sensational rather than to the campaigning journalism on which he had built his reputation as an editor (p. 142). However, I argue later in this chapter that Jerrold brought elements of his *Weekly Newspaper* to *Lloyd's*, albeit in a substantially different format.

The term 'popular' was complex and shifting in the mid-nineteenth century. Ledger traces its evolution from a specifically radical reading of 'the people' (i.e. not the aristocracy) at the beginning of the century into one that had broader cultural and political connotations. This distinction is visible in the Sunday newspapers, but not to the same extent as in the unstamped press, and each Sunday publication placed a different emphasis on notions of 'the people' in the mid-Victorian period. The *NOTW* argued for cross-class cooperation and a broad definition of what 'the people' as a body represent — in effect everyone outside the highest ranks of the aristocracy. In contrast, *Reynolds's* deliberately invoked the radical rhetoric associated with 'the people' of the unstamped press and of the supporters of the French Revolution. This helped to reinforce the paper's democratic programme. David Vincent comments that the paper 'preserved the direct, vigorous, demotic style of the open-air speech' and attacked 'the class bias of its rivals.'³¹⁹ For this reason, he views the paper as refusing to 'replicate the polite discourse of its corrupt opponents'. *Reynolds's* asserted that *The Times's* reports on certain crimes, such as the Palmer poisoning case, were inappropriately detailed, while carefully avoiding any attack on *Lloyd's*, whose crime coverage it emulated. Crone suggests that quantitatively, the volume of coverage of crime stories in *Lloyd's* and *The Times* is comparable, but she argues that *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's* contained more graphic or explicit detail.³²⁰

Ian Haywood notes that Reynolds's reputation was dogged by accusations of political opportunism and unscrupulousness. For example, he had written for both anti-teetotal and

³¹⁹ David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 253. Vincent describes *Reynolds's* as an 'anti-newspaper newspaper' because of this style of writing.

³²⁰ Crone, p. 238.

teetotal magazines and joined the Chartists at a fairly late stage — though he remained closely allied with the movement until it dispersed into other radical campaigns in the 1850s. Nevertheless, Haywood stresses Reynolds's continual melding of radical politics into his serialized fiction in the *Miscellany*.³²¹ I would add that *Reynolds's* did not necessarily back causes that were 'popular', a sign that it privileged radical politics over pure commercial appeal. This can be seen in the newspaper's coverage of imperialism and land rights, which was strikingly different to most of the metropolitan papers. Among daily newspapers, only the *Morning Star* took a similarly radical stance. In an essay on *Reynolds's* and Empire, Anthony Taylor contrasts *Reynolds's* constant drawing of parallels between the treatment of indigenous populations at the hands of imperialists and the exploitation of British labourers, with Dickens's treatment of similar themes. Whereas Dickens explicitly argues in his journalism and in *Bleak House* that reformers should concentrate on poverty at home, Reynolds implies that abuses abroad are equally bad and that the empire is another example of aristocratic exploitation of labour for profit.³²² Taylor argues that the paper refused to exploit popular support for imperialist expansion, and rejected increasingly racist depictions of other races in the British press from the mid-century.

The title of John Browne Bell's *News of the World* signalled a difference to *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's*, which exploited their proprietors' 'brand' in the penny fiction market. One reason for omitting 'Bell' from the *News of the World* would be the existence of several other 'Bell' titles. Moreover, *News of the World* signified that the paper could bring news outside the reader's local district and implied that any reader was entitled to such information, not just the reader with a vote. Consciously or not, it also suggests that the paper was broadening the very definition of the word 'news' beyond its usual connotation of parliamentary news to including the sense of 'novelty' across a range of categories, such as sport, crime, and human interest.

³²¹ Ian Haywood, 'George W. M. Reynolds and the Radicalization of Victorian Serial Fiction', *Media History*, 4 (1998), 121–39 (p. 122).

³²² Anthony Taylor, "'Some Little or Contemptible War Upon Her Hands': *Reynolds's Newspaper* and Empire', in Humphreys and James (eds.), *G. W. M. Reynolds*, pp. 99–119 (p. 105).

As mentioned above, the often admiring references to *The Times* in the *NOTW*'s early years indicated its desire to be connected with the 'respectable' press.³²³ In contrast, the 'Court' section in *Reynolds's* highlighted scandal and corruption among the aristocracy, a feature that helped attract readers and, as Berridge notes, was characteristic of Reynolds's *Mysteries of London*.³²⁴ It is notable that in the 1860s, the *NOTW* began to follow the path of its rival in its use of divorce court proceedings.

Weekly Publication

Sunday newspapers were a sub-genre of the weekly publications. In his essay on periodical time, Mark Turner notes that the way in which newspapers were read affected the style of journalism in the late nineteenth century. Whereas readers once had leisure to read the newspaper over breakfast or in their club, new commuters scanned newspapers as they travelled on trains.³²⁵ One outcome was the changes to layout and content of mass-market daily papers. However, Turner argues that differences in publishing intervals did not necessarily mean that 'dailiness' took precedence over other schedules, citing the importance of monthly 'Magazine Day' and annuals and the communality of readers who waited for a particular publishing day for the next number. Turner argues that media historians need to determine 'for whom particular temporalities are meaningful, and this needs to be undertaken by considering a range of cultural determinants' such as social status, gender and location (p. 190).

For those who worked for a living, a weekly Saturday or Sunday paper was automatically associated with leisure, raising expectations of variety and entertainment. Andrew King has described how family-oriented, mainly fiction, Saturday magazines such as the *London Journal* were experienced by working-class readers: instalments of a story could be read

³²³ The *NOTW*'s objectives shifted after the Bell family sold it to Henry Lascelles Carr in 1891 as Carr sought to boost its popular commercial success.

³²⁴ Berridge, Phd thesis, p. 187.

³²⁵ Mark Turner, 'Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century', *Media History*, 8 (2002), 183–96 (p. 188).

aloud by one member of the family while another was busy with domestic chores.³²⁶ These experiences created perceptions of certain publications being part of a reading ‘community’, something that the Sunday newspapers proved adept at fostering.

One difference between a metropolitan daily paper and a weekly was the speed of news. Weekly publication lent itself to summaries and selection. There was more time to survey a range of sources and a greater opportunity to assess the significance of news events over the week. Nonetheless, weekly intervals had disadvantages. Readers might have to wait a week to read the outcome of a crucial parliamentary vote or the verdict in a high-profile crime case. Crone notes that executions were usually held on a Monday, which meant the account in the next Sunday paper was almost a week old.³²⁷ The Sunday papers produced multiple editions as if supplying the latest news and to ensure a wider distribution. *Mitchell’s* entry for the *News of the World* in 1846 illustrates these aspects of the paper’s weekly publication: it supposes it is aimed at readers who have not had ‘much opportunity before Saturday evening for newspaper reading’, notes that it is designed ‘in a great degree for country circulation’ and produces a ‘perpetual succession of editions’ from Friday evening to Sunday morning.³²⁸

As Graham Law comments in *DN CJ*, ‘weekly issue probably represents the most diverse mode of nineteenth-century serial publication’.³²⁹ The genre included critical and literary reviews such as the *Athenaeum*, pictorial papers such as the *Illustrated London News*, comic papers such as *Punch*, and journals of fiction such as the *London Journal* and the *Family Herald*. ‘Family’ papers combining fiction, poetry, and feature articles included *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, while specific publications were aimed at women, and children, such as the *Ladies’ Companion* (1849–1870) and *Boys of England* (1866–1899). Striking a balance between cost and content was not easy. At 6d, the stamped Saturday paper

³²⁶ Andrew King, *The London Journal, 1845–83: Periodicals, Production and Gender* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

³²⁷ Crone, p. 227.

³²⁸ *Mitchell’s Newspaper Press Directory*, 1846, p. 72.

³²⁹ Graham Law, ‘Weeklies’, *DN CJ*, pp. 666–67.

Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper was not cheap but it provided 28 pages for slightly more than *The Times* cost per day in 1846. Despite various experiments with the format, Jerrold could not make the paper profitable and by 1849 admitted defeat. One problem was that many more copies of the paper were read than were bought. Jerrold was also ambitious in attempting to combine many disparate literary elements: fiction, satire, histories, political features, as well as a major series on economic matters in 1847 that Michael Slater comments probably contributed to its decline.³³⁰ Jerrold's hostility to militant Chartism may also have limited his appeal to a wider working-class readership in the late 1840s.

Dickens's venture into Saturday publication, *Household Words*, was launched in 1850 and struck a more successful balance between price, audience, and politics than Jerrold's newspaper. The weekly magazine, priced at just 2d, emphasized fiction but contained articles that reinforced a broadly liberal campaigning attitude. Dickens stressed the respectability of his venture in direct contrast to *Reynolds's Miscellany* in his address to readers in the first *Household Words* of 30 March 1850, in which he attacked those who pandered 'to the basest passions of the lowest natures — whose existence is a national reproach'.³³¹ This was an unmistakable reference to Reynolds and the popularity of his fiction with working-class readers.

Sensationalism and Selection

The popular Sunday newspapers are often described as 'sensationalist'. However, although they recognized the appeal of lurid crime stories, the language of the journalism of the 1840s was not specifically designed to arouse particularly strong reactions in the reader. The shock element arose mostly from the papers' selection of crime stories, which inevitably revealed the sordid private lives of perpetrators and victims. A more sensationalist and provocative style of language emerged in the 1860s and paralleled the rise in public taste for sensational fiction. These papers did not publish fiction but increasingly came to review it, and the

³³⁰ The series was entitled 'Money, the Key of Social Politics', see Michael Slater, *Douglas Jerrold: A Life, 1803–1857* (London: Duckworth, 2001), p. 198.

³³¹ *Household Words*, 30 March 1850, p. 2.

books reviewed include, for example, Mary Braddon's novels. From 1860, the *NOTW*'s review sections increasingly included fiction in contrast to mainly non-fiction reviews of the 1840s and 1850s. This reinforces Martin Conboy's argument that the language used by the Sunday newspapers evolved to reflect the prevailing public mood and taste in fictional and other literary forms.³³² Conboy notes that from the 1850s, newspapers were able to find ways of reaching out to broader social audiences 'in a language that matched the aspiration of those readers' (p. 2).

The introduction of divorce court reporting marked a new stage in content and style of the Sunday papers. Humpherys argues that divorce reporting in *Reynolds's* in 1858 (the year after the Divorce Act was passed) illustrates key differences between the Sunday newspaper and reports in the leading metropolitan daily, *The Times*.³³³ Humpherys concludes that *Reynolds's* was not interested in reporting divorce cases as a matter of record but selected cases for their sensational revelations, and for political comment. Those that revealed aristocrats, clergy, and wealthy businessmen in the worst light chimed with the paper's narrative of corruption and abuses in high places ('Coming Apart', p. 222; p. 224). *The Times* reported the proceedings of the Divorce Court as a matter of legal record, publishing full details over time. Humpherys concludes that such reports could lack 'closure' and the reader might have forgotten earlier details by the time the next stage was reported whereas the shorter summaries in *Reynolds's* presented the whole story with a clear structure — beginning, middle and end. These could have 'real power [...] and sufficient detail to turn the extended courtroom procedures into a satisfying narrative' (p. 223).

This technique was not confined to Divorce Court reporting. A comparison of political news published in *The Times* during the week of 26 January to 31 January 1846 and in Lloyd's on

³³² Martin Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers: Socio-Historical Perspectives* (London: Continuum, 2010), p. 2.

³³³ Anne Humpherys, 'Coming Apart: The British Newspaper Press and the Divorce Court' in *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. by Laurel Brake and others (London: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 220–31. The 1857 legislation made it possible for a husband to divorce his wife for adultery, but a wife could divorce a husband only if the adultery were aggravated. The lurid details revealed in the court cases provided irresistible material for the popular Sunday papers.

1 February, demonstrates a process of selection and summary compared with the daily newspaper's lengthy reporting 'for the record'. The formats were visually different: whereas *The Times* carried only advertisements on page 1, *Lloyd's* of 1 February 1846 published an (unsigned) opinion piece and summaries of news from France, Spain, the United States, Algiers, the Caucasus, and New Zealand as well as news from Ireland. Its second page was dedicated to parliamentary reports under main headings such as Ministerial Explanations, Railway business and the abolition of protective duties. Page 3 gave shorter parliamentary reports on a range of topics, as well as a report from the Court of Common Pleas.

Lloyd's grouped linked stories over more than one day under one heading, and ignored other items altogether, whereas *The Times* recorded the minutiae of parliamentary proceedings as the 'paper of record'. Lawyers and politicians would use sections of *The Times* as a reference for the times of parliamentary sittings or information relating to legal cases. It also contained professional information, such as names of candidates who had passed legal and medical examinations.

Lloyd's foreshadowed characteristics of New Journalism in an attempt to convey complex information in a more accessible form. It presented Peel's proposals of the abolition of corn duty as a table across three columns on page 9. *The Times* also presented statistics in a table, but *Lloyd's* summary and presentation made the figures more instructive and easier to decipher. This feature predates explanatory illustration in the New Journalism. Furthermore, parliamentary reporting in *Lloyd's* could be propagandist. An editorial comment preceding the 'Imperial Parliament' explained the paper's practice of following the name of a politician with the name of his constituency, the number of MPs it returned to parliament, the number of inhabitants, and the number of eligible electors.

From this will be seen, first, the great inequality which obtains in the distribution of the franchise through the country [...], next the insignificant proportion which the constituent body bears to the population at large, and how

short, therefore, the House of Commons fails in fairly and fully representing the people.³³⁴

Thus, these popular Sunday papers demonstrate a variety of innovations in the 1840s and 1850s, to highlight a campaign. Their ‘digestible’ forms of short news stories, sensational headlines, and persuasive writing foreshadowed characteristics of New Journalism.

Sunday Papers, the Market, and New Journalism

During the mid-century, removal of taxes on paper and printing and increased speed and communications helped develop the mass-market for journalism that became a feature of the late century. Between 1849, when the Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee was established and 1861, when the final tax, on paper, was removed altogether, legislative and financial obstacles to mass circulation were gradually dismantled. Lloyd and Reynolds waited until the removal of the paper tax before reducing their cover prices to a penny. Even earlier, changes to format or price offered a marketing opportunity: *Lloyd's* advertised the expansion or improvement of the paper on the editorial/leader page, for example, on 14 January 1849 (‘without extra charge!’) to an equivalent of sixteen pages, attributing this to the support of its readers and its circulation. The paper’s expanded market news was clearly an attempt to compete with the *News of the World* for the country market. Exchange prices from Liverpool and Wakefield were to be transmitted by electric telegraph ‘an hour before publication’ and ‘thus rendering the newspaper a valuable desideratum in the eyes of country readers’.³³⁵

Sunday papers were part of a range of weekly reading matter that acknowledged the rising rates of literacy. Those that did not print news were cheaper because they did not have to be stamped. *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, published by William and Robert Chambers, cost 1d and had a strongly educational bias, with articles on history, foreign cultures, science, and

³³⁴ *Lloyd's*, 1 February 1846, p. 2.

³³⁵ *Lloyd's*, 14 January 1849, p. 6.

literature. It did not print fiction until the 1850s, when James Payn took over as editor.³³⁶ Similarly, the *Penny Magazine*, produced by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and edited by Charles Knight, aimed to be both educational and entertaining when it was launched in 1832. It included scientific and technical articles, and was illustrated and informative, but it deliberately excluded news and politics. *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's* in contrast provided news in an easily accessible format.

A significant connection between the emergence of *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's* and late nineteenth-century New Journalism is the use of specific sections, or 'departments'. The volume of theatre coverage increased in *Lloyd's* after the playwright Douglas Jerrold became editor in 1852. Other periodicals and fiction were reviewed as well, sometimes with extracts, a practice used by the weekly *Northern Star* to highlight favoured titles that its readers might find in reading rooms and libraries but that were too expensive to purchase individually.

The Sunday papers tended to review more non-fiction than fiction, but included reviews and extracts from current periodicals. Reynolds's paper, for example, sometimes reviewed his novels and printed extracts in what looks like the Old Journalism practice of 'puffing' a publisher's books in his own press, although this tradition continued to the end of the nineteenth century and beyond. The paper regularly advertised Reynolds's fiction and the *Miscellany*. After John Dicks merged the *Miscellany* with *Bow Bells* in 1869, adverts for titles published by Dicks took a prominent position in the classified advertisement section of the Sunday paper, offering free publicity for the Reynolds-Dicks publishing operations and further evidence of their commercial bias. Berridge notes, however, that both *Reynolds's* and *Lloyd's* contained advertisements for 'respectable' literature including classic fiction and household manuals.³³⁷

³³⁶ For a detailed study of Chambers and its publishing practices see Aileen Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

³³⁷ Berridge, PhD thesis, pp. 177-8.

All three newspapers reviewed travel literature, which provided a means of ‘experiencing’ foreign countries for those who could not afford a European tour. The *NOTW*’s selection of travel literature was primarily educational but Berridge comments that *Reynolds’s* sometimes used extracts from travel literature for sensational descriptions rather than educational appeal. Its review of *Fiji and the Fijians* by T. Williams highlighted cannibalism and polygamy (Berridge, p. 182). However, *Reynolds’s* also used reviews for political purposes, combining extracts from history books with reviews of memoirs of European nationalists to reinforce a radical narrative of campaign for French and Italian republicanism. Reviews of scientific and craft manuals feature in all three newspapers, as well as histories of particular trades. A considerable amount of broadly educational and informative copy was located in regular columns. The ‘Sundays’ routinely printed weekly snippets of short anecdotes, historical facts, and quotations that gave readers a ‘snapshot’ on education and foreshadowed George Newnes’s *Tit-Bits* in the 1880s. *Lloyd’s* called its précis of miscellaneous items ‘Pearls for Stringing’, suggesting they were little nuggets of culture to be collected and preserved. These departments were forms of ‘filler’, as long or as short as needed depending on the rest of the content of the page, and were entertaining as well as informative. Similarly, the *NOTW* and *Reynolds’s* included jokes on their front pages to fill gaps and to entertain their readers. In the former, they appeared in a column dedicated to them and entitled ‘Jokes from *Punch*’, whereas they are literally space fillers after the news in *Reynolds’s*.

From the 1860s, the Sunday papers began to produce something closer to the ‘digest’ form made prominent by New Journalism, particularly by Stead and Newnes in the *Review of Reviews*. *Lloyd’s* featured a column of ‘Scrapbook’ extracts from contemporary periodicals and in the 1870s, *Reynolds’s* produced a summarized account of the daily press in ‘Our Contemporaries’. The broadening of departments within the paper is also evident, for example in the introduction of gardening columns. Initially, only one — ‘by Mr Glenny’ in *Lloyd’s* — was by-lined, though in the 1870s, *Reynolds’s* carried a signed gardening column

by his son. Employing Glenny was a shrewd move; gardening formed part of the 'rational recreation' campaign and Glenny was already a horticultural journalist with a reputation for popularizing gardening among working people.³³⁸ Berridge comments also that gardening had a symbolic association with land possession that resonated with working-class readers, and was exemplified by the Chartist Land Plan and Owenite co-operative villages.³³⁹ All Sunday papers carried sporting news, including horse racing, athletics, and cricket results.³⁴⁰ Cricket, especially, crossed class and geographic divisions as a healthy recreation that evoked rural ideals of the village green, though James Lambie, in his study of the weekly *Sporting Life* notes the social divide between the professional cricketer and the gentleman amateur.³⁴¹ It was also topical in this period due to the successful English cricket tours of North America in 1859 and Australia in 1861 and the introduction of updated rules in the 1860s.

The growth of the British sporting press, which originated in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century, influenced the evolution of Sunday newspapers. The *Sporting Magazine* was first published in 1792 as a monthly concerned with racing and hunting. A Sunday paper, *Bell's Weekly Dispatch*, followed in 1801, and included colourful articles about the Georgian sport of prize-fighting by Pierce Egan, author of the hugely popular serialized novel *Life in London* (1821–1822). A new Sunday paper, *Pierce Egan's Life in London*, was launched in 1822, and a rival publication, *Bell's Life in London* soon followed. Both cost 7d and struggled to compete at this price. Eventually, rising costs forced Bell and Egan to sell their papers to William Clement, proprietor of the first Sunday newspaper, the *Observer*. The spread of betting shops in London and the improved speed of communicating results due to telegraphy inspired the launch of *Racing Times* in 1851 and a short-lived rival,

³³⁸ George Glenny wrote for *Lloyd's* between 1852 and 1874 while also editing *Gardener's Gazette*, a weekly gardening newspaper, launched in 1837. His son George published *Glenny's Almanac*. Anne Pilot Baker, 'Glenny, George (1793–1874)', *ODNB* <doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/10818> [accessed 10 November 2013].

³³⁹ Berridge, PhD thesis, p. 152.

³⁴⁰ Pierce Egan pioneered a more urban form of sports journalism, outside of traditional field sports, and inspired *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* (1822–1886), *DNCJ*, p. 593.

³⁴¹ James Lambie, *The Story of Your Life: A History of the 'Sporting Life' Newspaper (1859–1998)* (Leicester: Matador, 2010), p. 89.

Racing Telegraph, in 1852. Much more upmarket was *The Field* (1853–1953), edited by Mark Lemon and published by Bradbury and Evans. Illustrated and priced at 6d, it covered racing, hunting, and shooting, but also contained agricultural news, court news, railway news (especially railway accidents as landowners regarded railways as a threat to hunting), drama, music, and police news.³⁴²

Advice columns played an important role in *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's*, to inform and educate their readers. Margaret Beetham comments that they continued a tradition developed by the *Northern Star*, the *London Journal*, and *Reynolds's Miscellany*, and especially in women's magazines in the first half of the nineteenth century. The columns omitted the original letter, leaving scope for editorializing and even inventing queries. Alfred Harmsworth 'remade the tradition of "Answers" in the context of the New Journalism when he launched his immensely successful weekly *Answers to Correspondents on Every Subject Under the Sun*', Beetham comments.³⁴³ It was intended to capture the mass-market readership of George Newnes's *Tit-Bits*. Advice ranged from legal and medical matters to answers in response to literary and historical questions.

There were differences as well as overlaps between the content of a weekly 'Miscellany' and the cheap Sunday newspapers, indicating the latter formed a sub-genre of the popular weekly press. Poetry featured in all three Sunday papers in the mid-century but fiction did not — a contrast with the Saturday newspapers and later numbers of the *Northern Star*. Lloyd and Reynolds published parallel titles to their Sundays containing sensationalist fiction that were aimed primarily at lower middle- and working-class families, who were not subscribers to circulating libraries and unlikely to be able to afford a three-volume novel. The 1840s also saw the emergence of weekly popular fiction magazines aimed at a family audience, such as the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal*, which Reynolds edited

³⁴² R. N. Rose, *The Field: 1853–1953* (London: Michael Joseph, 1953), pp. 21–22.

³⁴³ Margaret Beetham, 'Answers/Advice to Readers' in *DNCJ*, p. 20. Exceptionally, 'The Englishwoman's Conversazione' in Samuel Beeton's *English Woman's Domestic Magazine* published the letters as well.

between 1845 and 1847. Likewise, despite Lloyd's brief experiment with illustration, the popular Sundays of the mid-century were not usually illustrated, helping to keep the price down. Lloyd's decision to drop illustrations from his newspaper in 1843 most likely related to cutting costs and the time involved in commissioning and producing wood cuts.

Lloyd's first newspaper, the *Penny Sunday Times and People's Police Gazette*, was a four-page unstamped weekly priced at 1d, launched in May 1840. Crone notes the front page contained illustrations of a factual event that would have been familiar to readers of broadsides and argues that Lloyd assumed that the paper and the broadside would be read in conjunction with each other, another indication of his target audience. Woodcut illustrations of crime stories showed the protagonists depicted in suitably melodramatic poses, captured in the middle of the crime.³⁴⁴ The paper was superseded by *Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper* (1842). At eight pages, priced at 2d, and stamped, it was twice the length and double the price of the first venture, suggesting Lloyd was not ideologically tied to the concept of a penny press. The address to the reader on page 1 of the first number stressed the popularity of illustration, the cheap price ('one third that usually charged'), and the advantage of paying the stamp as part of its bid to reach 'the highest in the land and to cheer the fire-side of the humblest mechanic, and rendering lightsome his hours of labour'. Under the masthead was a woodcut of St Paul's cathedral and the front page illustration was a woodcut of the 'Wreck of the "Reliance"' showing the attempted rescue. Alongside was a detailed report containing an eyewitness account by one of the crew, 'one of the two Englishmen saved'.³⁴⁵ Another indication of a slight blurring of genre in the illustrated paper was its continuous pagination, typical of periodicals. This may suggest that Lloyd expected his readers to preserve the weekly numbers as a record; it was also published in monthly parts.

³⁴⁴ Crone, p. 215.

³⁴⁵ *Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper*, 27 November 1842, p. 1.

Another obvious echo was the masthead engraving, a direct imitation of the *Illustrated London News*. A comparison of the early numbers of the two weekly papers demonstrates that Lloyd's paper was a lower quality imitation, even down to the view of St Paul's and the boats on the river in front of it:

Fig. 6: Masthead and engraving of the *Illustrated London News* for 21 May 1842.



© The British Library, *Illustrated London News*, 21 May 1842, p. 1

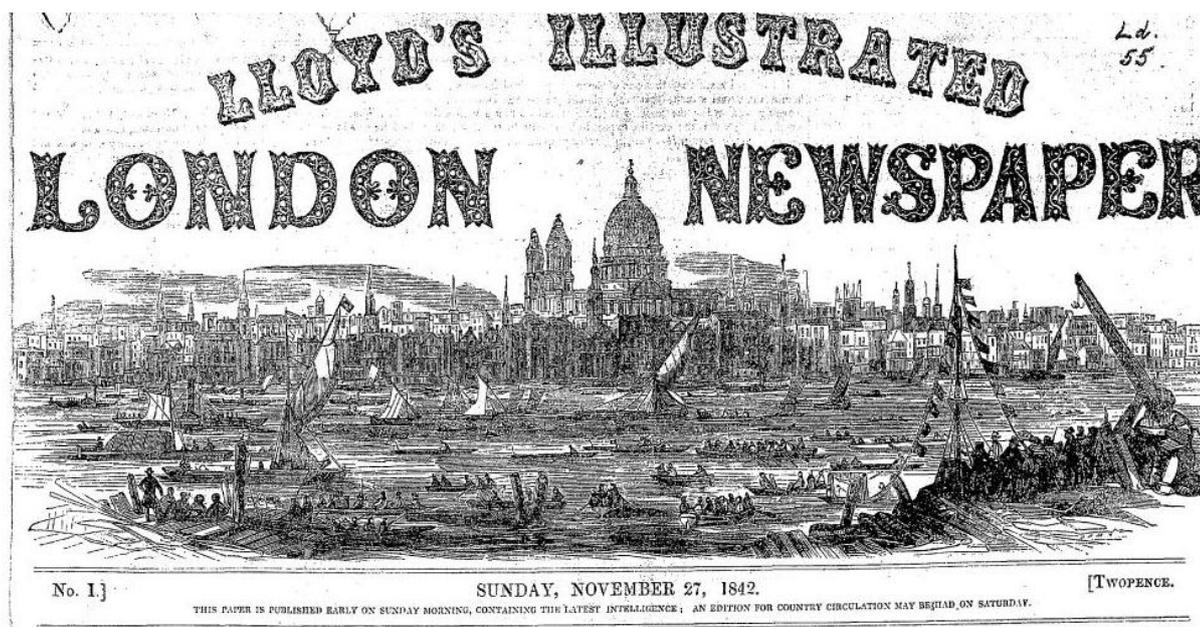


Fig. 7: *Lloyd's* imitation. © The British Library, *Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper*, 27 November 1842, p. 1.

Everything about the *Lloyd's* masthead and illustration echoes the *Illustrated London News*. The difference is in the quality of reproduction. The *Illustrated London News* built its reputation on the quality of its illustrations and it championed the use of wood engraving. This was a technique developed by Thomas Bewick and was much more refined than the 'woodcut' technique that was used to illustrate broadsides and ballad sheets. It was also more flexible than metal engraving since the text and illustration could be integrated within the printed page. However, both metal and wood engraving were labour intensive and required long training.³⁴⁶

Lloyd's masthead was, however, more detailed than the woodcut illustrations that Lloyd had previously used when depicting the scene of a crime — such illustrations featured broad, simple lines and very little detail. Gerry Beegan notes that wood cuts were identified primarily with working-class print culture whereas wood engraving was 'solidly middle

³⁴⁶ Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 49. Frank Leslie of the ILN emigrated to America in 1848, founded *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and became a major publisher there (p. 53). See also Brian Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints: 1790–1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 15; 145.

class'.³⁴⁷ Brian Maidment observes that the *Penny Magazine* (1832–1845), which aimed to bring 'useful' knowledge but not politics to the working classes, also used wood engravings.³⁴⁸ Thus, it disassociated itself visually from the more sensationalist crime sheets and penny dreadfuls published by Lloyd, Cleave, Hetherington, and others. The illustrated masthead on *Lloyd's*, however, signalled an attempt to find a new genre of news for this class of readers and demonstrated the cultural politics of these techniques. The echoes in *Lloyd's* Thames portrait of the *ILN* — the same view of St Paul's, the focus on barges and sails, and the decoration of the title itself — were too close to be coincidental. Furthermore, the first numbers of both papers featured a 'disaster' on the front page with illustration. *Lloyd's* covered a shipwreck story with a woodcut illustration that could be of any ship disaster.³⁴⁹ The *ILN* had produced a report of the fire in Hamburg, with a superior depiction of the city taken from an existing craft engraving.³⁵⁰ It was impossible to produce illustrations of high quality at speed as the process of producing them was time-consuming. Before technological advances at the end of the century made it feasible to reproduce photographs in newspapers, illustration necessarily occupied a separate role to news because of the limitations of the production process. The illustrations in *Lloyd's* were usually for educational (i.e. not news) articles. Nevertheless, the choice of a disaster story for his illustrated front page indicated Edward Lloyd's strong debt to the *ILN* in this early attempt at a Sunday paper.

Columnists, Proprietors and Editors

Forty years before W. T. Stead introduced signed leader articles in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the 1880s, Reynolds addressed his readers in a signed article on page 1, though the paper's editorials remained unsigned and much overt campaigning was located in opinion columns. These employed pseudonymous signatures and could diverge from views expressed in

³⁴⁷ Beegan, p. 53. However, Beegan appears to confuse the use of illustration in Reynolds's and Lloyd's fiction titles with their newspapers, which were not illustrated in this period.

³⁴⁸ Maidment, p. 15.

³⁴⁹ 'Further Particulars of the Loss of the Reliance, East Indiaman', *Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper*, 27 November 1842, p. 1.

³⁵⁰ 'Destruction of the City of Hamburg [sic] by Fire', *Illustrated London News*, 14 May 1842, p. 1.

leaders. All three Sunday titles used different personae, rather than being mouthpieces for the proprietor. This suggests the ‘editorial we’ in these papers is in fact a multi-vocal discourse, capable of debate and contradiction.

Lloyd's contained a number of regular campaigning voices. One early contributor, ‘Censorius’, had written for the *Weekly Dispatch* for about two years until a dispute over his column caused him to switch to writing for *Lloyd's*. His first column after the move appeared on 30 April 1843 on page 3 and the last appeared on 10 October 1847, on page 5. Another columnist who appeared alongside Censorius was ‘FACT’. This column originated in the front-page columns of the *Lloyd's Illustrated Newspaper*, but FACT failed to survive the first year of the re-launched paper.

‘FACT’ occupied the first column of page 3, with ‘Censorius’ in column 4. This page frequently also carried news from the London trade associations and letters, fixing the space in the paper that working men could turn to for news of the latest labour campaigns. Along with letters from readers, this created a dialogue between news, columnists, and readers that Jerrold was to continue when he edited the paper in the 1850s. ‘Censorius’ built on the characteristics of his *Weekly Dispatch* columns, often covering exactly the same causes such as the tricks practised by various trades on unwary consumers and the plight of female workers, indicating the cross-over between newspaper titles and suggesting that Lloyd had recognized the attraction of this type of coverage for his readers.

The name ‘Censorius’ in *Lloyd's* raised the issue of whether a pseudonym belonged to a publication or to the journalist. At the end of his first letter, ‘Female Slavery in England’ — a title already used for the topic of distressed milliners and needlewomen in the *Weekly Dispatch* — ‘Censorius’ undersigned his pseudonym as ‘(late of the *Dispatch*)’ and added a postscript to clarify his situation: ‘I have observed to my very great astonishment a *letter* in the “Weekly Dispatch” of Sunday last (April 23) under the signature *Censorius*, which, since the 18th of October 1840, I had continuously used as a Correspondent of that paper.’ He

reprinted a letter from the editor saying the proprietors had decided the communications of ‘Censorius’ should cease — ‘Mr Harmer is of the opinion that the letter of last week was by far too local for a newspaper, possessing so large a circulation as the “Dispatch”.’ When it became clear that ‘Censorius’ was relocating to *Lloyd’s*, it appears that Harmer simply gave the column to another writer and continued with the name: ‘the letter of “Censorius” was advantageously discontinued for one week [...] and then, I presume, it was advantageous for the “Dispatch” to *resume the signature!*’³⁵¹ ‘Censorius’ indicated he was the victim of censorship as a result of his attack on the Water Monopoly south of the Thames, though whether it offended the proprietors or advertisers is not clear. His columns in the *Dispatch* showed that ‘Censorius’ was involved in the campaign against the water monopolies, attending meetings and commenting on a planned rival company of consumers.

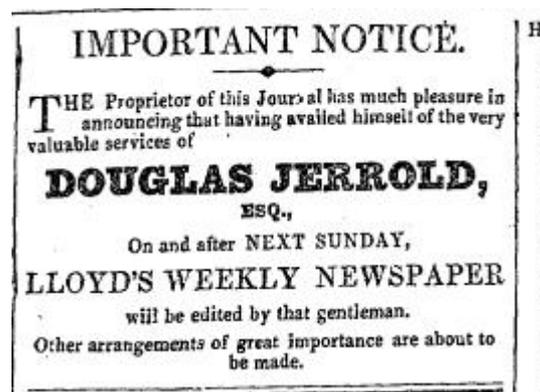
Editorial notes appended to the ‘Censorius’ column demonstrate that the *Dispatch* editor did not always endorse his columnist’s views and said so — ‘Censorius’ would reply in the subsequent article. By hiring ‘Censorius’, Lloyd might be viewed as attempting to draw readers from the *Weekly Dispatch*, which at this time was popular with the artisan readers Lloyd hoped to attract, by exploiting the public disagreements between the *Dispatch* columnist and editor. It also indicated the column was a form of ‘personal journalism’ in the way in which ‘Censorius’ highlights rather than suppresses his arguments with the editor. The decision by the *Weekly Dispatch* to continue the column under the same pseudonym may be viewed as a reassertion of editorial control and ownership. Such vocal competition had benefits for both papers by engaging readers’ interest in the rivalry between the columns and the papers. It also echoed the spleen of the elite Reviews, particularly the *Edinburgh Review* versus the *Quarterly Review*, at the beginning of the century.

‘FACT’ ended in September 1843. Apart from occasional articles by ‘Justice’ in 1850, Lloyd dispensed with columnists, relying instead on a front-page address to readers and the leader articles for opinion on social and political matters. The hiring of Douglas Jerrold as

³⁵¹ ‘Censorius’, ‘Female Slavery in England’, *Lloyd’s*, 30 April 1843, p. 4.

the ‘celebrity’ editor from 1852 strengthened the sense of a dominant editorial voice. As a journalist with a strong track record of polemical and campaigning writing in *Punch*, the *Illuminated Magazine*, the *Shilling Magazine*, and his *Weekly Newspaper*, Jerrold’s writing style was more assertive, vivid, and persuasive than that of the previous columnists. Moreover, he was an advertisement for the paper in his own right and Lloyd fully exploited this with advance notices in his paper, such as this example a week before Jerrold joined, in which the phrasing of the notice links the proprietor with his celebrity editor, a ‘gentleman’, and hints mysteriously at ‘other arrangements’, possibly a reference to changes in typeface and new technology.³⁵²

Fig. 8: Advertisement, © The British Library, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, 11 April 1852, p. 6.



In April 1852, when Jerrold became editor, the front page of the paper was re-launched with ‘Edited by Douglas Jerrold’ prominent under the masthead, in place of the motto ‘Measures not Men’, used since 1843. The following illustrations show the changes that were made: the date moves from its split position around the paper’s motto to a much clearer and efficient line of its own with the price. The publisher’s address moves from its central position to the left-hand side of the legend ‘Edited By Douglas Jerrold’. The redesigned version and the deletion of the traditional motto signalled its ‘newness’, a visual representation of a more modern phase for the newspaper under a proven, even celebrity, editor. The prominent

³⁵² It appeared on page 6, ahead of the notices to correspondents.

naming of an editor has parallels with ‘conducted by Charles Dickens’ on *Household Words*, another example of the way in which a publication could exploit a named, celebrity editor to attract readers. It personalized the journalism, a feature that was highly characteristic of the New Journalism.

Fig. 9: Masthead. © The British Library, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, 11 April 1852.

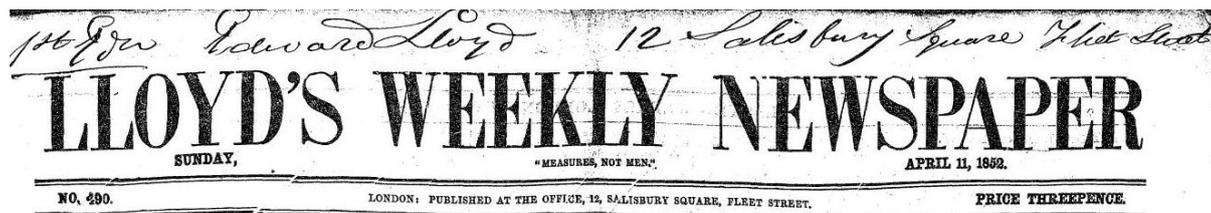
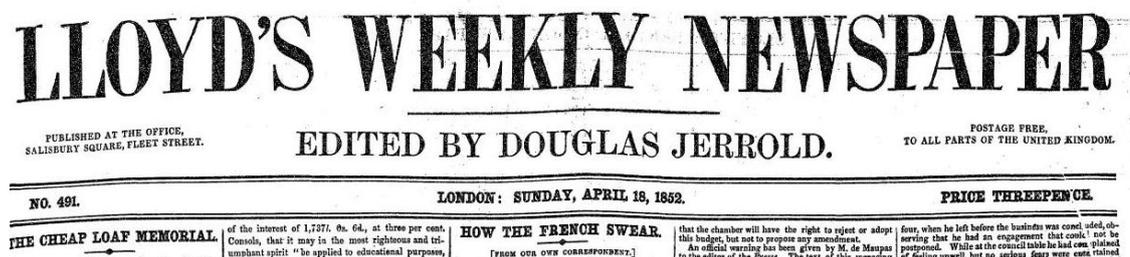


Fig. 10: Masthead. © The British Library, *Lloyd’s*, 18 April 1852.



Though Jerrold’s celebrity was acknowledged in the masthead, the front-page addresses to readers were unsigned — the only exception was Jerrold’s first, entitled ‘The Cheap Loaf Memorial’. In comparison, Reynolds addressed readers in his Sunday newspaper with a front-page, signed editorial each week between 1850 and 1856, emulating Feargus O’Connor’s signed letters to readers in the *Northern Star*, which folded only months after Jerrold took over *Lloyd’s*, in November 1852.

The use of Jerrold’s name also suggests another aspect of personality journalism: the literary dynasty. After Douglas Jerrold’s death in 1857 and the appointment of his son Blanchard,

the legend below the masthead was altered to ‘Edited By Blanchard Jerrold’ in equally prominent type. The involvement of family members is not unusual in publishing of the period — Dickens’s son Charlie took on the editorship of *All the Year Round* after his death and Robert Chambers succeeded his brother William as editor of *Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal* in 1870. There are also hints of family dynasties in *Reynolds’s* weekly paper. Reynolds’s brother Edward wrote the ‘Gracchus’ political column, which analysed the political news.³⁵³ The page location of the ‘Gracchus’ column varied over time as the paper expanded from eight pages to sixteen, sometimes on the domestic news page and at others on the leader page. The name referenced Tiberius Gracchus, a second-century BC Roman politician who attempted to reform agriculture by transferring wealth from the rich to the poor. The classical reference might not have been clear to all readers but the implied support for wealth distribution and republicanism is clearly in line with the overall editorial policy of the paper.

The *NOTW* ‘s columnists suggested support for various political campaigns. The two longest-running columns were ‘The Politician’, usually on the first page, and the ‘Hampden’ letter that appeared on page 2. As the name suggests, ‘The Politician’ discussed parliamentary news, although when the paper was first launched, parliament had been prorogued until November, and it had to take a wider view of current events in order to fill the space. It offered a commentary on contemporary political issues in the first number that echoed the leader’s view on the role of the newspaper (on page 4) and the prospectus for the paper:

Journalism for the rich man, and journalism for the poor, has up to this time,
been as broadly and distinctly marked, as the manners, the dress, and the

³⁵³ Michael H Shirley, ‘G. W. M. Reynolds, *Reynolds’s Newspaper* and Popular Politics’, in *Reynolds* ed. by Humpherys and James, pp. 75–89 (p. 78 fn).

habitations of the rich, are from the customs, the squalor and the dens of the poor.³⁵⁴

The papers of the elite and the poor, it argued, confirmed their readers' prejudices. The *News of the World* claimed a new role in seeking to appeal across the social classes and warned of social unrest if the government failed to offer relief measures.

The 'Hampden' column attempted to address what the paper considered legitimate grievances. It took the form of a letter to the editor on a topic of the day. 'The Girls' Apoplexy' of 5 July 1863 was an attack on the deaths of young women 'from preventable causes', based on news reports and parliamentary speeches. The pseudonymous signature appears to have been topical given the commemoration in 1843 of the bicentenary of the death of the English parliamentarian John Hampden.³⁵⁵ It came only a few years after the publication of Thomas Carlyle's discussion of Hampden's cousin, Oliver Cromwell, in the 'Heroes and Hero Worship' lectures between 1837 and 1840. The name Hampden also evoked more recent radicalism: during the early nineteenth century, Major John Cartwright started a number of radical clubs known as 'Hampden' clubs. The 'Hampden' column was more robustly expressed and closer to the 'persuasive' language associated with the New Journalism than the paper's leader articles. 'Hampden' wrote on a wide variety of campaigns in the *NOTW*: children's rights, the position of women in the workplace, and the treatment of paupers were recurring themes and are discussed later in the chapter. Although the treatment of these issues demonstrated a progressive social stance on labour and education, attitudes towards women were more socially conservative.

'Hampden' was an example of Old Journalism persisting into the era of the New, since the column survived the newspaper's price reduction to a penny from 2 May 1880. However, it appeared to be a casualty of the acquisition of the paper by Lascelles Carr in 1891, since the final column was published on 17 May 1891. Its replacement on page 2 from the following

³⁵⁴ 'The Politician', *News of the World*, 1 October 1843, p. 1.

³⁵⁵ *Lloyd's* carried an article on the ceremony at a new monument to commemorate John Hampden in 1843.

week was a column entitled 'Pitch and Toss', a characteristically New Journalism gossip column comprising short items and by-lined 'Mr Spinnaker Boom'. Other changes included the prominent use of illustration, an expanded sports column by 'Pegasus', 'Our Home Circle' for women readers, and original fiction such as *Lady Delmar, a Novel of Today*, by Thomas Terrell and T. L. White.

Political Context

The *News of the World* and *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* were launched shortly after the failure of the second Chartist petition in 1842 and towards the end of the Rebecca protests in Wales between 1840 and 1843 that synthesized working-class revolt against the Whig poor laws, agricultural distress, and privately-run toll roads. In the metropolitan daily press, Chartism was periodically a pressing political issue because of its perceived threat to the social order and the heightened risk of violent protest. The parallels with revolutionary movements abroad and the threat of social unrest were clearly a concern for the authorities. By 1850, however, these perceived threats to the established order from revolutionary movements at home or abroad were receding. *Reynolds's* first numbers are dominated by Chartism and the erosion of the republican constitution in France. In contrast, the *NOTW* and *Lloyd's* acknowledged Chartism but were careful not to do so too forcefully. Both also supported the other great campaign of the 1840s: the predominantly bourgeois movement to repeal the Corn Laws. Receiving widespread coverage in newspapers between 1843 and 1846, it was the decade's most successful single-issue pressure group but was viewed with suspicion by Chartists because of its links to employers in those areas where O'Connor and the *Northern Star* enjoyed the greatest support: northern industrial towns.

The first number of the *News of the World* on 1 October 1843 emphasized political consensus rather than identifying too closely with any single campaign. It highlighted a range of issues as being important to attract a broad readership and made a case for its own role in shaping political debate. Repeated references in the first number to 'the people'

indicated an awareness of the symbolism of the phrase as used by radical weeklies. ‘The Politician’ column placed the main responsibility for securing change on its readers. If the newspaper’s role was to oversee opinion and policy, reminding the government that it was under scrutiny ‘and will be fearlessly exposed’, it also told the people ‘what it behoves them to do, and what it might be dangerous to attempt’.³⁵⁶ Thus the paper set out its version of campaigning: to provide a location where ideas might be debated and a mechanism for promoting change, but also a restraint against ‘extreme’ direct action.

The prominence of news from the London trade associations in the 1840s and 1850s indicates *Lloyd’s* courted a skilled working-class readership, particularly its reports of efforts to protect working conditions and pay scales. It also acknowledged some of the social concerns of Chartism, but without wholeheartedly backing the movement. Reynolds launched his paper at the end of the decade, when Chartism was losing momentum as a mass movement, so the numerous notices from Chartist meetings in 1850 reflected his involvement in the movement rather than political opportunism. Berridge notes that the paper raised funds for various causes including George Potter’s Conference of United Building Trades in 1859 to 1861, and the Nine-Hours Movement.³⁵⁷ She cites its active support for anti-Sabbatarianism, opposition to the poor law and the use of appeal funds to support the Preston operatives in 1853, to defend two soldiers arrested in the Sunday trading riots of 1855, and in support of the engineers’ strike in Newcastle in 1871.

The Campaign of Anti-Sabbatarianism

Britain’s Sunday Observance Law of 1781 ensured that theatres, libraries, museums, zoos, public gardens, and most shops were closed on Sundays. Defending the right of working people to be amused, informed, and entertained on a Sunday was associated with radical and liberal writers such as Dickens and Jerrold. The proprietors of Sunday newspapers joined their campaigns against successive attempts to introduce stricter regulations. Simply by

³⁵⁶ ‘The Politician’, *News of the World*, 1 October 1843, p. 1.

³⁵⁷ Berridge, ‘Sunday Papers’, p. 251–2.

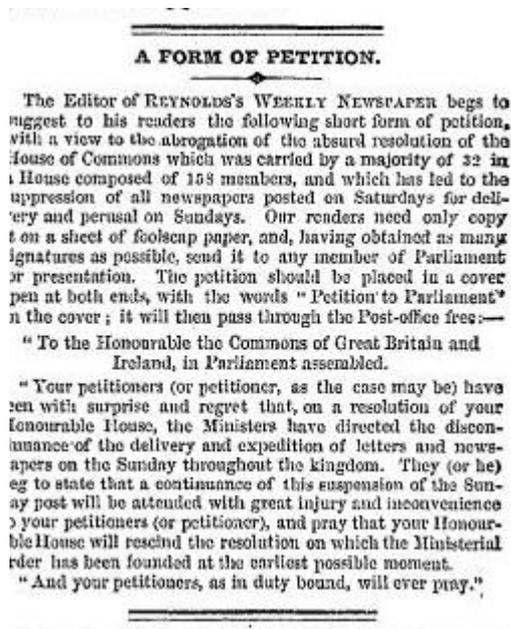
publishing news on a Sunday, the proprietors signalled their support for the anti-Sabbatarians.

Dickens's first major contribution to the anti-Sabbatarian campaign was in 1836 when he published his pamphlet 'Sunday Under Three Heads' under the pseudonym Timothy Sparks, just after Sir Andrew Agnew's Bill to tighten Sunday restrictions was rejected for the second time by the House of Commons. Three years earlier, the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Observance of the Lord's-day had found evidence of widespread flouting of Sunday trading restrictions, fuelling campaigns for tighter regulation. Dickens's preface is addressed to the Bishop of London, a fervent campaigner for Sabbath observance. Three parts follow: 'Sunday As It Is' extolling the virtues of Sunday recreation, 'Sunday As Sabbath Bills Would Make It', which would have imposed heavy penalties on any transgressions of the Bill, hitting the poorest hardest, and finally, 'As It Might Be Made'. This outlined the benefits of providing rational recreations such as sports, museums, and scientific institutes to workers on Sundays. Dickens's wide-ranging argument emphasized that these pursuits were preferable to the alternative of the public house.³⁵⁸

In the middle of the century, strict Sabbatarians attempted to prevent rail travel on Sundays and Lord Ashley successfully introduced a motion in the House of Commons to ask the Crown to end all post office collections on a Sunday on 30 May 1850. This legislation was vigorously attacked by Dickens in *Household Words* in a leading article entitled 'The Sunday Screw' (22 June 1850, pp. 289–92). The legislation was also contested by the Sunday press. *Reynolds's* published a petition for readers to copy and send to the House of Commons protesting against measures to prevent newspapers posted on Saturdays from being distributed on Sundays.

³⁵⁸ Timothy Sparks [Charles Dickens], 'Sunday Under Three Heads' (London: Chapman and Hall, 1836).

Fig. 11 shows how the information was presented to readers, with practical advice on collecting signatures. 'A Form of Petition', © The British Library, *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper*, 30 June 1850, p. 1.



The same number included an account of a meeting of Sunday newspaper editors, including the *Sunday Times* and the *Weekly Dispatch*, to co-ordinate opposition to the move.

As Dickens's pamphlet emphasized, Sabbatarianism and the anti-Sabbatarian movement were class-based campaigns. Sabbath observance was also primarily an Evangelical campaign. Secularists viewed it as targeting the working classes on their one day of leisure and the ability of the wealthy to circumvent the rules via membership of private clubs was seen as particularly hypocritical. *Punch*, published on Saturdays, was just one weekly publication (Jerrold's newspaper was another) that repeatedly drew attention to this. One of *Punch's* main targets was the (failed) attempt in 1855 to prohibit the sale of beer on Sundays. The bill caused riots in Hyde Park and elsewhere.³⁵⁹ Another related campaign was to open the Crystal Palace in Sydenham on Sundays so that working people could visit it. Strict Sabbatarians deemed newspapers as unsuitable for Sunday reading but this also

³⁵⁹ George P. Landow, 'Sabbath Observance, Sabbatarianism, and Social Class', *Victorian Web* <<http://www.victorianweb.org/religion/sabbatarianism.html>> [last accessed 3 March]

extended to periodicals. Caley Ehnes notes that *Good Words* in the 1850s argued for the provision of respectable and moral reading for the Sabbath, mounting a kind of literary campaign within a religious movement, but it remained a contested subject.³⁶⁰ The rest of this chapter provides representative case studies of the three Sunday newspapers in terms of their emphasis on campaigning and how these campaigns were represented in the respective papers. I examine the *NOTW's* treatment of the plight of poor children; *Lloyd's* coverage of wage disputes; and *Reynolds's* championing of republicanism in France.

4.2 The *News of the World* and Campaigns for Children, 1843–1875

The *News of the World* was more circumspect than *Reynolds's* or *Lloyd's* in its radicalism, preferring to comment on specific issues in much the same way that *The Times* was selectively critical of government. A recurring concern was children's working conditions, including the plight of apprentice seamstresses and milliners, which attracted a great deal of attention from mid-century philanthropists. At its demise in July 2011, the *News of the World* cited its 'crusade' against child labour in the nineteenth century, constructing a narrative of children's rights campaigning that connected the early twenty-first century with the nineteenth century. However, 'crusade' gives a partial, and distorted, view of the way in which the plight of poor children functioned within the paper. At its launch in October 1843, the factory reform movement was already underway, meaning the paper was campaigning on an issue where legislation had established the principle of limiting children's working hours. Nevertheless, reforms were piecemeal, not always enforced, and tended to avoid regulating home workers. Counter-campaigns were launched to overturn or undermine the recent reforms. Almost as soon as the (rushed) legislation prohibiting the employment of children and women in mining was passed in 1842, for example, attempts were made to amend it. Similarly, legislation prohibiting the use of 'climbing boys' — children sent up the flues of chimneys to clean them — was passed in 1840 but not enforced.

³⁶⁰ Caley Ehnes, 'Religion, Readership, and the Periodical Press: The Place of Poetry in *Good Words*', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 45 (2012), 466–87.

Thus, the newspaper could identify flaws in existing legislation and call for further measures without placing itself in an isolated position.

The campaign appealed to women as well as men and was expressed in different literary genres: poetry (Thomas Hood's 'Song of the Shirt'), novels (by Mrs Trollope, Charles Dickens, and Charles Kingsley), royal commissions, pamphlets, and the press.³⁶¹ Clark Nardinelli identifies four main reform tendencies in the factory movement.³⁶² The first was the alliance of Chartists, trade unionists, and radical Tories known as the Ten Hour Movement, led by Richard Oastler and Michael Sadler. It hoped that regulating the hours of women and children would lead to shorter working hours for men. The second group comprised Tory humanitarians such as Lord Ashley, later Earl of Shaftesbury, who believed children should be protected from child labour by their families, but that if this was not possible then private philanthropy and the state should intervene to ameliorate harsh working conditions. The third group was inspired by the Romantic movement and saw child labour as an evil caused by industrialization, idealizing a rural past where childhood was protected. The final group was that of Liberals, such as Thomas Babington Macaulay, who argued it was sound economics to educate children, protect their health, and regulate their hours (but not ban their employment) in order to ensure they grew into healthy, productive adults.

The *NOTW* highlighted the deviant and dysfunctional in family life, referencing the very poorest in society who were unlikely to be paying readers of the paper. Its crime coverage included inquests into the deaths of children and frequent accounts of cruelty. These examples from an urban underclass suggested that these non-readers were often themselves victims of poverty and that the link between poverty and crime — or drink and crime — was one that readers would acknowledge and campaign to improve. The language and methods

³⁶¹ Frances Trollope, *Michael Armstrong: Factory Boy* (1840); Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist* (1837); Charles Kingsley *The Water-Babies* (1862–1863). James Greenwood's *True History of a Little Ragamuffin* (1866) contains an episode concerning the illegal use of boys in chimney sweeping.

³⁶² Clark Nardinelli, *Child Labor and the Industrial Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp.10–14.

used to cover the campaign during the period of this thesis also indicate a transition towards greater sensationalism in the 1860s and 1870s, in contrast to the paper's treatment of children's rights in the previous two decades.

In the 1840s, the story headings were factual and there was little, if any, overt comment in news stories. The paper also presented the issue as non-Party specific. The 'Politician' column of 24 March 1844, headed 'The Poor in the Field and the Factory', expressed sympathy for two contradictory viewpoints. It noted the arguments of the paternalist Tory Lord Ashley — whose wealth derived from land — who attacked the conditions of women and children in factories. It also acknowledged Richard Cobden — a factory owner — who had highlighted the miseries of the agricultural poor, which he accused Ashley of ignoring by supporting the corn duties. Addressing both, the column commented: 'we say to Mr Cobden as we say to Lord Ashley — we believe you both.'³⁶³ This strategy may indicate the paper's support for both rural and urban reform but in terms of campaigning it has a curiously appeasing effect.

The paper repeatedly steered the factory work debate onto the impact on domestic life. It deplored the notion that unemployed men stayed home to look after children while their wives worked in factories: work outside the home was 'unwomanly' and led to neglected domestic duties. The Politician column linked the issue to the high price of bread: 'men are, while seeking their bread, overtaken by premature old age, women are unsexed, children are withered before they can come to maturity, and all for the sake of bread, and on that bread, the landowner lays a monopoly price!' (24 March 1844, p. 2). In this way, the column steered the debate towards the Anti-Corn Law movement, a campaign that chimed with the broad interests of lower middle-class and artisan readers of the Sunday press. A week later, a 'Hampden' column entitled 'Slavery in England' replicated this two-sided approach, praising Ashley's victory in the House of Commons, but accepting Cobden and Bright's argument that reducing working hours inevitably cut pay and family income; again, the

³⁶³ *NOTW*, 24 March 1844, p. 2.

solution was to remove trade restrictions (corn laws) that benefitted only the landed class. In this way, the *News of the World* supported two separate and ‘popular’ campaigns, one aristocratic, one middle-class. In parliament, these activist groups were antagonistic towards each other, but the paper’s stance seems calculated to appeal to both.

Nearly twenty years later, ‘Hampden’ responded in far more melodramatic style to a report by Sir George Grey that acknowledged poorly ventilated workplaces were responsible for high rates of consumption among girls apprenticed to milliners and seamstresses but asserting that nothing could be done. ‘Hampden’ posed the question, ‘what is government for if it could really do nothing for suffering masses of the people!’ putting the paper clearly on the side of state intervention.³⁶⁴ The language of outrage indicates one of the ways in which the paper’s writing style was becoming more sensationalist in the 1860s, compared with the 1840s. The column was based on the report of an inquest into the death of a young girl from ‘apoplexy’ caused by the ‘foul air of the workroom’. ‘Apoplexy’ was a term more often applied to men suffering a fit caused by excessive consumption of food, and ‘Hampden’ commented on its irony when used in the current situation of tubercular consumption. Writing just two years before the launch of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1865, ‘Hampden’s’ treatment of this theme foreshadowed New Journalism in its ‘persuasive’ style. ‘Hampden’s’ argument for government intervention was couched in gender and class terms, such as the wronged working-class girl exploited by the ‘thoughtless and reckless females of the aristocracy’. Using tropes drawn from melodrama and Chartist fiction, ‘Hampden’ argued aristocratic ladies might be conventionally virtuous but were ‘bad women’ because they were ‘heedless of the misery which self gratification occasions’. This juxtaposition of villains and heroines is similar to the way in which *Reynolds’s* constructed its discussion of social injustice. Reynolds himself constantly introduced topical and political discussion into his melodramatic serial fiction.³⁶⁵ It is an indication of the way in which the *NOTW* was

³⁶⁴ *NOTW*, 5 July 1863, p. 2.

³⁶⁵ See Ian Haywood, ‘George W. M. Reynolds and the Radicalization of Victorian Serial Fiction’, *Media History*, 4 (1998), 121–39 (p. 122).

changing from the 1860s onwards in an attempt to try to compete with *Reynolds's*. The column reinforced reader sympathy with the hard-working victim by highlighting the desperation of orphans and of the daughters of labourers dying in their attempt to learn the trade to which they were apprenticed.

A forerunner of Stead's style of crusading writing is evident in the column entitled 'Child Slavery in England', published on 3 July 1864. It is characteristic of New Journalism in its manipulation of reader emotion through 'Hampden's' descriptions of the child labourers as 'little labourers' and 'little workpeople' and especially in the image of a little girl too scared to sleep in case she failed to get up in time to work at the factory. But it is also clear at this stage that 'Hampden' was confident that the Bill before the House of Commons to extend the provisions of the Factory Act would be passed. Other columns also begin to explore the moral impact on poor children of overcrowding, including allusions to incest and the spread, and impact, of syphilis. These may be seen as 'Hampden' attempting to shock readers into paying more attention to these issues in much the same way that Stead did at the *Pall Mall Gazette* twenty years later and that Frederick Greenwood succeeded in doing in 1866 and 1867 to secure the fortunes of the evening newspaper.

Another department in the paper in the 1840s that expressed views on poverty and children was the Book Review section. For example, on 6 April 1844, the paper printed extracts from *The Orphan Milliners — A Tale of the West End* by Camilla Toulmin, published in the *Illuminated Magazine* for that month.³⁶⁶ The *Illuminated Magazine* was a radical monthly edited by Douglas Jerrold in collaboration with the engraver W. J. Linton. The previous year, it published 'Death and the Drawing Room or The Young Dressmakers of England', which made the connection between fashionable women's clothes and the ruined health of the young seamstresses. It was this comparison that the *News of the World* was to emphasize subsequently in discussions on the topic. The unsigned article in the *Illuminated Magazine*

³⁶⁶ *NOTW*, 7 April 1844, p. 6.

was illustrated with a startling image of a skeleton dressed in a milliner's skirt and bonnet, holding a hat box.

*Fig. 12: 'Death and the Drawing Room or The Young Dressmakers of England', Illustration by Kenny Meadows, *Illuminated Magazine*, Vol 1 (May to October 1843), p. 97 <<http://archive.org/stream/illuminatedmaga00jerrgoog#page/n6/mode/2up>> [accessed 29 September 2014]]*



Whereas the *NOTW*'s editorials stressed class unity, the review section in the 1840s indicated it was prepared to tackle class division when reviewing fiction. Examples include Jerrold's satirical serial the *Chronicles of Clovernook*; an article on 'The Dwellings of the Poor' in the *Illuminated Magazine* for October 1844 (6 October 1844, p. 6), and Jerrold's *Children of St Giles and St James*, a novel serialized in his *Shilling Magazine* that highlighted the deep social divide between the children of rich and poor in contrasting London neighbourhoods.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁷ 'Children', *NOTW*, 5 January 1845, p. 6, and 9 February 1845, p. 6.

The crime and news sections also dealt with needlewomen and the treatment of poor children. An example can be seen in the issue of 29 October 1843, the categories of news, crime, and leader combine to narrate different aspects of the central story. An article headed ‘Starving Prices to Needlewomen and Comparison Between Prison and Workhouse Duties’ appeared on page 3 alongside a crime story entitled ‘Horrible Murder of a Child by its Father’, drawing the reader’s attention to the impact of poverty on the home. The horrors of sweated needlework continued on page 4, with a leader entitled ‘The White Slaves of London’ in which the paper called on the government to regulate work undertaken by girls (boys apprenticed to tailors are not mentioned). ‘White slaves’ was a recurring term used about the clothing trades in this period, and was a nod to the abolition campaign’s success in ending slavery within the British Empire in 1838. It parallels Chartist and other radical fiction in which girls were depicted as slaves to the garment industry.³⁶⁸ *Lloyd’s* also used terms such as ‘female slavery’ to describe the plight of needlewomen in the 1840s but did not highlight the racial aspect. In the *NOTW*, however, the implication was that white female slavery was worse than black female slavery.

Ten years later, the *NOTW* made this view explicit in a condemnation of the efforts of aristocratic ladies to improve conditions for working women. In ‘White Slavery in London’ (16 July 1854), ‘Hampden’ referred to the impact newspaper reporting had on public opinion in the 1840s: ‘some years ago, the public mind was startled by the disclosure of a kind of white slavery in England — worse than anything suffered by black negresses — the slavery of young women in milliners’ and dressmakers’ workrooms’. He compared this with the findings of a recent meeting chaired by Lord Shaftesbury (formerly Ashley) to discuss violations of agreements made by various establishments. ‘Hampden’ commented that the revelations were ‘monstrous’ and that ‘hypocrisy only made a temporary sacrifice to humanity, and many of the worst evils are now found to be revived’.³⁶⁹ The columnist

³⁶⁸ Reynolds’s *The Seamstress: or, the White Slave of England* (London: John Dicks, 1853) is a notable example.

³⁶⁹ *NOTW*, 16 July 1854, p. 2.

rejected Shaftesbury's assertion that he would not be able to legislate because most of the offences occurred in private houses. The column unequivocally called for official measures, though this was not reinforced by an editorial. However, the complaint that young girls' health was ruined in manufacturing 'luxuries' for ladies was echoed in an editorial on 17 September 1854, which again castigated aristocratic ladies who care 'only about the adornment of themselves', and it attacked Harriet Beecher Stowe's approval of the efforts of some 'females of the British nobility' to 'interfere', expressed in *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands*, published that year. The paper contrasted Stowe's defence of black slaves with her lack of sympathy for the apprentices.³⁷⁰ One argument omitted from the column was the role that aristocratic, or affluent, readers of the newspaper might have previously played in the slave trade, and how they might still benefit from slavery. In his autobiography, George Sala recorded his sympathy for the Confederate cause when he went to report on the Civil War for the *Daily Telegraph*, explaining it was based on his family's connection to slave-owning in the West Indies.³⁷¹

In another contrast with *The Times*'s sympathy for aristocratic charity, the *NOTW* challenged the motives of charitable donors in an acerbic leader in 1843. It may be viewed as a general criticism of the concept of a newspaper as the appropriate conduit of donations from the upper classes. In 'Sufferings of the Poor', the leader writer attacked the rich who only gave money once they read a report in a newspaper. The article was inspired by *The Times*'s report on rough sleepers in Hyde Park. It concluded that the rich were motivated to give money by the desire to see their names published in newspapers as donors to a fund. The *NOTW*'s leader writer comments that editors were too busy to be constantly handling charitable donations. This specifically rejected the idea that a newspaper should identify

³⁷⁰ *NOTW*, 17 September 1854, p. 4.

³⁷¹ George Sala, *The Life and Adventures of George Augustus Sala* (London: Cassell, popular edition, 1896), p. 391. Sala described himself as the 'grandson of a West Indian slave-owner' and said the paper was aware of his sympathies.

with a cause and raise funds for it in the way that the *Morning Chronicle* was to do in 1849, with Mayhew's series on the London poor.³⁷²

Overall, the *NOTW*'s discussion of working children between 1843 and 1875, and its support for campaigns for reform, mirrored parliamentary debates in stressing the domestic fallout of child and female labour. Its campaign against the abuses of girls in the garment and millinery trades allied the paper with a cause that had broad support. There was, however, a development in the language of its coverage. By the 1860s, columnists such as 'Hampden' were more outspoken in defence of the rights of working children, particularly in relation to the moral and physical health of girls. 'Hampden' adopted a more persuasive, and sensational style, responding to the public appetite in literature and suggesting a shift towards the campaigning style associated with Stead's New Journalism. This trend in the *NOTW* was not confined to 'Hampden': in the 1840s the *NOTW* reported shocking incidents but in a very matter-of-fact style and with only brief story headings; by the 1860s it was devoting more space to sexual scandals and the headings of stories stressed the sensational and the titillating.

4.3 *Lloyd's* and Trade Unions: the 'Workmen and Wages' Series 1853–1854

Lloyd's was generally sympathetic to the campaigns against wage reductions of the 1840s and 1850s and encouraged readers to view the paper as the means by which their views could be publicly aired. This was evident under Jerrold's editorship during a fraught period of industrial relations in 1853 to 1854. In his Saturday newspaper of the late 1840s, Jerrold had classified particular types of news in specific departments. However, these forms of classification were fragile and subject to competition from other topical stories. The wages issue continued a theme with which Jerrold was familiar from commissioning Cooper's series about the condition of the people of England: in the 'hungry forties', railway workers,

³⁷² *News of the World*, 29 October 1843, p. 4.

dockers, porters, and clerks, among many other trades, had agreed 10% wage cuts; now in an era of greater prosperity they wanted redress and the restoration of their wages.

A series entitled ‘Workmen and Wages’, and signed ‘Will Watch’, first appeared on 1 May 1853. It was usually published on page 5 (of twelve); on the same page as another Jerroldian-style series entitled ‘Mechanics & Their Institutes’, which was signed ‘Hard-Fist’. These series were all followed by notes to readers advising that all communications on the subject should be sent to the author c/o the newspaper. This suggests that from the outset readers were involved in the construction of the series. Further evidence of this dialogue between the paper and its readers was the column of letters featured on the same page under the heading ‘The Letter Writer’. These series are examples of Jerrold’s characteristic campaigning style. Through an active engagement with the process of layout of the newspaper page, Jerrold highlighted an issue with a regular serial on that page. He placed related features alongside it so that readers identified that page of the paper with news of the campaign. This reinforced the newspaper as a space in which readers found a sympathetic reflection of their concerns and opinions. Also, as *The Times* demonstrated in its letters page and the *News of the World* in its columns, the paper could appear supportive without necessarily committing itself too closely to any particular political programme.

The first article in the ‘Workmen and Wages’ series stated the author’s intention to make ‘*Lloyd’s Newspaper* [...] the organ of all opinions — the record of all doings — on this great question of wages.’³⁷³ The column provided a regular digest of wage disputes and ongoing negotiations, by location and by trade. Letters on related subjects in the correspondence section included one on the impact of restricted hours on female employment, signed ‘A White Slave’ in Manchester, and another from London appealing against the extension of the income tax. The addresses of letters printed alongside the series suggest the readership was predominantly artisan and urban.

³⁷³ ‘Will Watch’, ‘Workmen and Wages’, *Lloyd’s*, 1 May 1853, p. 5.

The series coincided with the emergence of a proposed Congress of Labour to represent national trade union associations. Its author viewed *Lloyd's* as a means of fostering and 'regulating' a national movement (*Lloyd's*, 15 June 1853, p. 5). 'Will Watch' quoted from a correspondent on the subject, stressing he wanted to retain his 'homely' words — a bid to vouch for the authenticity of his column.

However, the column also exposed an ambiguous relationship with trade unionism: framing the wages debate within a specific location in a popular Sunday weekly newspaper arguably made it less threatening. Nevertheless, readers seeking this type of news knew where to find it, enabling *Lloyd's* to compete with *Reynolds's* for trade union supporters. Another feature of page 5 of *Lloyd's* was that it continued to add other 'voices', so it never drove one particular campaign at a time. For example, by the sixth instalment of the wages article, a new series, 'Letters to a Working Man', was launched. This was signed by Golding Penrose and discussed 'Black and White Slaves — The Propagandism of Freedom'. It paralleled the 'Wages' series by invoking the power of Literature and the Press to effect change. In contrast to the *News of the World*, Penrose asserted that black slavery was a greater issue than white slavery at home: 'I think negro slavery as it exists in America is the most awful act of the age'.³⁷⁴ With so-called 'white slavery' in contrast, he argues, 'there is an immense difficulty in bringing any kind of organisation to bear upon abuses and sufferings created by private greed, and especially when the injured are females' (p. 5). He praised *Punch* for campaigning for black slaves and milliners, as well as Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This contrast with the *NOTW's* position on black versus white slavery may reflect stronger artisan support for the abolitionist movement.

Structurally, the column offered early examples of features of the New Journalism. For example, to counter accusations of drunkenness among labourers, it provided a form of illustration — a table comparing the consumption of various foodstuffs in 1842 and 1853 — as an accessible way of providing information. The use of statistics was popular because of

³⁷⁴ Golding Penrose, 'Letters to a Working-Man', I, *Lloyd's*, 5 June 1853, p. 5.

the authority they gave to an argument, a view fostered by the founding of statistical societies across the country. The prices of foodstuffs also indicated an attempt to include women in the debate, reflecting Berridge's assertion that the paper had a considerable female readership. It concludes that the workmen of England were buying more 'tea for their wives — more currant puddings for the children — more bread, eggs, cheese, butter, and coffee for all'.³⁷⁵ A few weeks later, Jerrold printed another column, directly addressed to women (9 October 1853, p. 8). 'Nelly Nightingale's Letters' offered a rather different slant on the issue of drunkenness by placing it in the context of domestic violence and urging women both to prosecute violent husbands, while also condemning those who made unsuitable marriages purely to avoid working for a living.³⁷⁶ This seems to indicate another difference between *Lloyd's* and the *NOTW* on women in the workplace, though it is notable that *Lloyd's* still implied that women would generally stop work outside the home once they married.

While Jerrold did not comment directly on the 'Wages' columns, the 'Cockcrow' column, unsigned but written in Jerrold's campaigning style, carried a section entitled 'Preston on the Press' which dissected the impact of upper-class letter writers in the London daily newspapers. The crucial point was the impact they would have on public perceptions of the Preston dispute. 'Cockcrow' acknowledged that workers might be reticent about writing to the papers and that many other papers would not publish their letters — a means of emphasizing *Lloyd's* difference as a paper representing the workers' viewpoint.³⁷⁷

Such comments deliberately ignored sympathetic coverage in *Reynolds's* by highlighting only the anti-working-class bias of the metropolitan daily press and its upper-class correspondents. Support for this working-class campaign was a shrewd commercial decision. In keeping with its original intention, the 'Workmen and Wages' column contained

³⁷⁵ 'Wages and Workmen', XX, 4 September 1853, p. 5.

³⁷⁶ In subsequent weeks, this column often appeared on page 5 with the 'Wages and Workmen' series. It promoted self-improvement (and was often hectoring in tone), condemning gossip and frivolity, but also urged attention to domestic economy and child-rearing. The final letter on 25 December appeared on page 11 and defended professional actresses; judging from the subject matter, it may have been written by Jerrold, himself a dramatist.

³⁷⁷ 'Cockcrow', *Lloyd's*, 30 October 1853, p. 7.

reports both from the trade unions and from the manufacturers regarding the strike and lock-out. The Preston lock-out enabled *Lloyd's* to attack political economy, represented by the northern manufacturers, a doctrine to which Jerrold, like Dickens, was deeply opposed. The 'Cockcrow' column of 22 January 1854 explicitly couched the debate in terms of a battle of the poor against political economy, as did Dickens's *Hard Times*, published the same year.

Changes in the 'Workmen and Wages' series in *Lloyd's* demonstrate ways in which regular features altered over time. By February 1854 the column was unsigned and less concerned with wage debates in favour of the far more topical Preston lock-out. However, trade union news could not expect a permanent space on page 5. Jerrold and his proprietor were shifting emphasis to a more circulation-building story: war. Thus, on 19 March, Preston and trade union news relocated to page 9, while most of page 5 was devoted to 'Preparations for War'. The run-up to the Crimean war was also seized on by the *NOTW* as a circulation builder, and it published accounts of surging sales figures alongside notices of next week's war coverage on the same page as its editorials. It is not surprising that from June 1854, labour news on page 5 of *Lloyd's* gave way to the conflict in the Crimea because of the potential appetite for war news. This is a visual acknowledgement of how commercial imperatives overrode commitment to campaigns but it also is a tribute to the undeniable strength of the news dimension of the Sunday weeklies.

The changing fortunes of page 5 as a repository for labour news demonstrates that newspapers had to strike a balance between the commercial aspects of news and less time-sensitive stories such as long-running campaigns that were important to readers but that could be dropped or suspended to make way for more topical items such as war.

4.4 Reynolds's and Crises in France

Reynolds's emerged just after the failed revolutions of 1848, and on the cusp of another period of change leading to the establishment of the Second Empire in France, with the crowning of Louis Napoleon. Four years later, France was allied with Britain and Turkey

against Russia in the Crimea, fought against Austria in 1859, fought and withdrew from Mexico in 1866, and fought and lost the war with Prussia in 1870 to 1871. It saw the rise of the Paris Commune and the siege of Paris in 1871. The newspaper covered these events in detail and interpreted them for British newspaper readers from the viewpoint of the Republican cause.

Reynolds supported two republican models, the French and the American. He unequivocally backed the North in the Civil War and the paper took a strong editorial line on slavery. Reynolds viewed the oppression of non-white races as equivalent to attempts to suppress democratic movements at home (though he also criticized aristocratic abolitionists for ignoring working-class misery).

Reynolds's presentation of French news combined depth of coverage, speed, and analytical interpretation. These are particularly evident in two crucial periods for French democratic politics: 1850 to 1851, a period of Constitutional change and a crackdown on French newspapers, and 1870 to 1871, during which the Second Empire ended. In the first period, Reynolds was far more visible in the newspaper through signed editorials. By the second, when the paper was effectively run by John Dicks, Reynolds's brother Edward continued to contribute the 'Gracchus' column, which maintained its stance on republicanism.

A comparison of references to France in *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's* using a digitized search on Gale Cengage's Nineteenth Century British Newspapers databases indicates some broad trends. Searching for references to France at five-yearly intervals demonstrates that in periods of crisis in France, 1850 to 1851 (May to April), 1870 and 1871, for example, *Reynolds's* carried more news and editorial items referring to France. The exceptions are 1855, which may be accounted for by *Lloyd's* increasing coverage in relation to the Crimean War, and a smaller difference in 1865, where *Reynolds's* attention was skewed towards the United States. The following table summarizes the number of items mentioning France in key years over a 25-year period:

The following table compares *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's* coverage of French news between 1850 and 1875:

Comparison between Lloyds and Reynolds - France 1850-1875								
Number of items mentioning France								
	1850-51	1855	1860	1865	1870	1871	1875	
LWN total	225	494	490	319	435	436	285	
LWN news	158	442	418	257	397	365	247	
Total news	1760	2357	2213	1974	1581	1775	1740	
Reynolds total	362	400	545	328	676	590	273	
Reynolds news	278	355	461	249	578	494	230	
Total News	1592	1954	2056	2026	2157	1993	1916	

Expressed as a percentage of total news and editorial, France accounts for 17% in the first twelve months of *Reynolds's*, compared with 9% in *Lloyd's*. The percentages remain similar until the 1870 to 1871 crisis, with *Reynolds's* devoting 25% of news and editorial to France and *Lloyd's* about 21%.

Quantitatively, the two papers devote similar proportions of space to French news apart from the revolutionary periods of 1850 to 1851 and 1870 to 1871. However, in terms of location and style of reporting there were some significant differences that suggest that for *Reynolds's*, French republicanism was a long-running campaign rather than simply a news story. Both papers had set departments for foreign news on their front pages but *Reynolds's* utilized various locations inside the newspaper to promote French republicanism. The paper's first issue on 5 May 1850 carried a front-page signed article by Reynolds on the election of Eugene Sue, the novelist, to the French Assembly, thus combining a literary affiliation with a political one. Reynolds cited a wide range of French newspapers — Emile de Girardin's *La Presse*, the socialist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's *Voix du Peuple*, and Victor Hugo's republican *Evenement* — as well as the unnamed Paris correspondent of the London daily, the *Morning Chronicle*.³⁷⁸ Other dedicated locations in the 5 May 1850 number contain French themes, enabling a political message to appear in unexpected sections of the paper. The Review section on page 2 contained a highly favourable account

³⁷⁸ *La Presse* was a Conservative 'penny newspaper' and de Girardin initially supported the election of Louis Napoleon, though became a fierce opponent later.

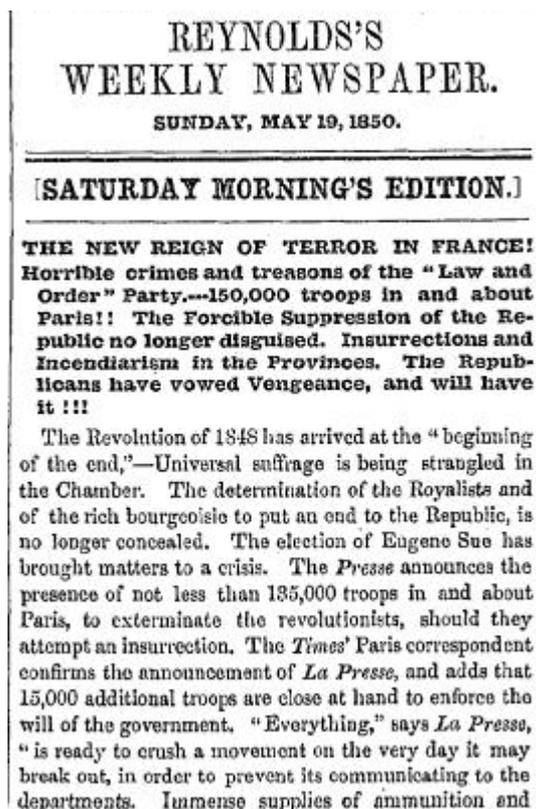
of Julia Kavanagh's *Woman in France in the Eighteenth Century*, including an extract entitled 'Love in the Bastille' that indicated an attempt to attract women readers.³⁷⁹

Headings and Changes in Type

Although *Reynolds's* and *Lloyd's* did not run headlines across columns in this period, they demonstrated flexibility in the use of different sizes of type to convey the importance of certain news stories and to arrange breaking news in an explanatory way. This was most explicit when using Reuter's Telegrams during periods of significant political upheaval. For example, on 19 May 1850, *Reynolds's* comments (in the page 4 editorial) on the constitutional change to the electoral system, effectively disenfranchising elements of the population. Headed 'The New Reign of Terror in France', the title and first paragraph are in bold type, emphasizing the gravity of the 'forcible suppression of the Republic' along with double and triple exclamation marks. The first paragraph suggests that Sue's election precipitated the crisis and announces that 'universal suffrage is being strangled in the Chamber'.

Fig. 13: The following extract shows the formatting of the start of the leader section. © The British Library Board, Saturday Morning's Edition, *Reynolds's*, 19 May 1850 p. 4

³⁷⁹Julia Kavanagh (1824–1877) was an Irish writer who lived with her parents for several years in Paris and supported herself and her mother in London after 1844, following her parents' separation. Her novels often had French settings and resourceful heroines, and were aimed at younger women readers.



The paper was dated Sunday, May 19, 1850 but identified as Saturday Morning's Edition in larger type — produced in time to post to subscribers in the country. The introduction to the article was in bold type and summarized the main points while expressing outrage through successive exclamation marks, reaching three by the end of the paragraph. The title in upper case used the phrase 'reign of terror', an example of sensationalizing the news to shock the reader. Short sentences conveyed immediacy. Reynolds's signed front-page article highlighted the threat to Universal Suffrage, commenting 'wherever the franchise is denied or limited, tyranny and injustice are sure to be the characteristics of the government'.³⁸⁰ The Foreign Intelligence section on the right-hand side of page 1 detailed the suppression of dissenting newspapers in France, with the removal of the licence of the printer of *Voix du Peuple, Republique, Estafette, Evenement, and Presse*. Six months later, Reynolds returned to the theme of the government crackdown on the press (on 15 December 1850) calling it a 'government crusade against French papers'. Changes in layout and presentation of French political events in 1870 and 1871 indicate that *Reynolds's* had scope to be flexible

³⁸⁰ G W M Reynolds, 'Universal Suffrage', *Reynolds's*, 19 May 1850, p. 1.

in the presentation of news when a major story demanded it. By 1870, *Reynolds's* was priced at 1d and consisted of eight pages with six columns per page. The foreign intelligence section had moved inside the paper or onto the back page.

Maps as Illustrations

In 1870, *Reynolds's* introduced a new feature to help explain events in the Prussian invasion of France. This was the use of maps as newspaper illustrations, one of the characteristics of the New Journalism. The device was a picture entitled 'Map of the Seat of War' on 14 August 1870. The map appeared on the last page with no supporting text. It depicted Eastern France and the Rhineland. Its inclusion highlights the importance of this news for the paper but it also indicates the educational aspect of *Reynolds's* coverage as well as dramatizing the gravity of the situation. The most likely explanation for the lack of related text in this instance is that different sections of the paper were set up for printing earlier in the week and the map had to be located somewhere in the paper that had not already been assigned to regular items such as advertisements and editorials. They were time-consuming to engrave and print, and so had to be planned earlier than the news copy. On a daily paper, the front and back pages were almost entirely devoted to advertisements and so were set up first but *Reynolds's* arrangement of the back page suggests it had greater flexibility and that decisions about what would appear on it could be made close to publication. There was overspill text from other stories earlier in the paper, telegraphed news, and advertisements. For this reason, page 8 was a logical space for a map. This map continued to be produced until late November (see figure below). However, once the fighting shifted to Paris, the illustration became a 'War Map of Paris', again on page 8, with the latest French news reports placed around it — see the second example from 18 September 1870.

Fig. 14: © The British Library Board, 'Map of the Seat of War', Reynolds's, 14 August 1870, p. 8.

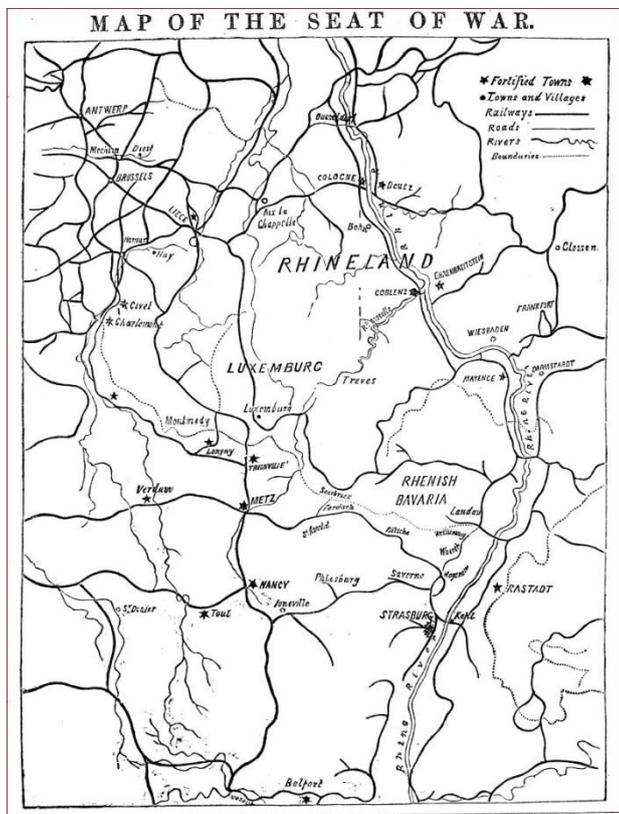
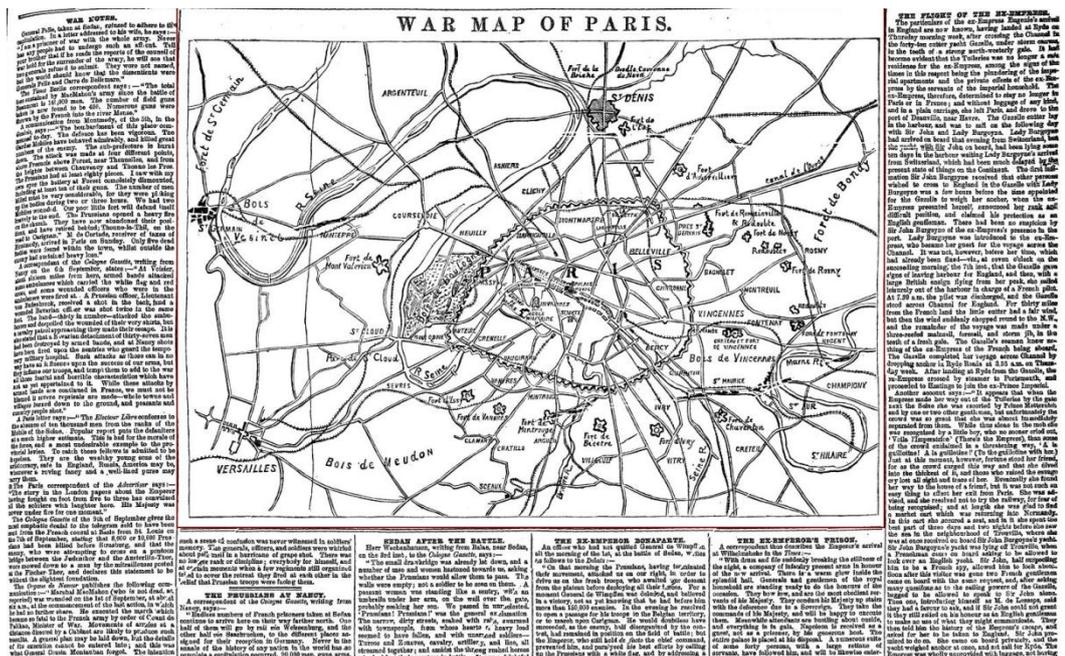


Fig. 15: © The British Library Board, 'War Map of Paris', Reynolds's, 18 September 1870, p. 8.



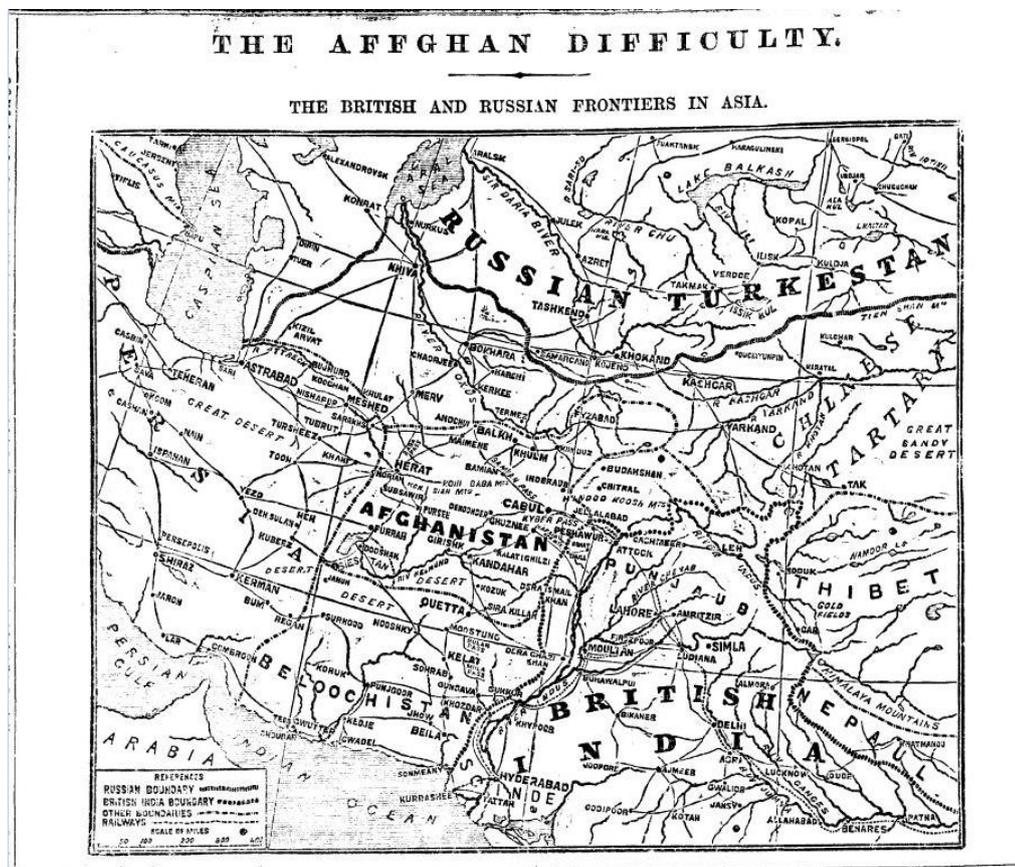
Using maps in tandem with text is a feature of the New Journalism. The use of illustrations in newspapers before the New Journalism is rare, apart from the *Illustrated London News*, and I found no examples of maps in *Reynolds's* before 1870. They were used in the late 1870s by W. T. Stead in the *Northern Echo*, however. The example below, dating from 4 October 1878 (p. 4), was used to explain the political situation in Central Asia. Stead's map is linked to the news reporting on the same page — as he was producing a daily evening paper, Stead would have known much sooner that he would run the Afghan news on page 4 and that the map could be safely set up for that page.

The introduction of line process work from Paris in the early 1870s meant that Stead could take advantage of a faster means of reproducing illustrations. Zinc plates were engraved using chemicals and were used for line drawings such as sketches. The *Illustrated London News* and the *Graphic* began to introduce the process for maps in the early 1870s.³⁸¹ This suggests that *Reynolds's* would have been using more traditional and slower engraving methods than Stead, thus predetermining the location of the illustration in the paper.

³⁸¹ James Mussell, *The Nineteenth Century Press in the Digital Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 81.

Fig. 16: © The British Library Board, 'The Affghan [sic] Difficulty',

Northern Echo, 4 October 1878, p. 4.



There are glimpses of two other innovations associated with New Journalism in *Reynolds's* coverage of French news in late 1870 and early 1871: reporting news via a form of serial headings, a technique briefly used by the *Morning Star* during the American Civil War (see Chapter 3), and interviews. On 20 November 1870, the paper reprinted a *New York Herald* interview with Marshall Bazaine — the use of quotation marks around the word 'interview' suggests that it considered this a novelty.³⁸² However, by 2 April 1871, it reproduced an interview (no quotation marks) with the 'Red Government of Paris' from the Paris correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* and on 21 May 1871, an interview with the Polish general, Jean Henri Dombrowski.

³⁸² Francois Achille Bazaine (1811–1888), the first French Marshal to rise from the ranks. He surrendered to the Prussians on 27 October 1870.

From late November through to April, the front-page section, THE WAR, employed multiple headings before the news report. It conveys a sense of breaking news within the restrictive framework of weekly publication. For example, on 20 November 1870, this format appeared on page 1, which also carried the interview with Marshal Bazaine. This news is also outside the routine reporting of events in France and conveys a sense of excitement at potential revolutionary change. Examples on 5 February 1871 and 2 April 1871 are concerned specifically with ‘revolutionary’ events surrounding the Commune in Paris.

Illustrations, bold type, sensational headings, and the repackaging of modern telegraphic dispatches were all forms of novelty that *Reynolds’s* brought to the discussion and reporting of French political news, particularly in the turbulent period of 1850 to 1851 and 1870 to 1871. The paper’s commitment to a democratic Republic, and support for revolution, were unchanged. The language of the paper also shifted from the rhetoric of the old unstamped press to a modern, concise style of reporting using telegrams and bullet-point headings to summarize stories. The issue of 24 July 1870, at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War, for example, devoted almost the entire front page to French news. A central part of the page was headed simply THE WAR, though the type was small compared with the headlines used later in the century. Older journalistic techniques such as scissors-and-paste were still in evidence, however, to a significant degree in the paper, which carefully repackaged and interpreted foreign and domestic news reports and telegraphic communication.

Conclusion

The popular Sunday newspapers that emerged in the 1840s and 1850s paved the way for the New Journalism of the late century in several respects. They promoted a clear, direct style of writing that appealed to non-traditional newspaper readers, partly by drawing on existing ‘street’ traditions of ballads, broadsides and partly on the unstamped political newspapers of

the 1830s that combined crime and sport with political news. They were commercially driven rather than siding with one parliamentary political party and they responded directly to their readers' tastes in extensive crime reporting and by making their reporting more sensational and shocking. As restrictions on price eased, their circulations surged accordingly. They also began to develop a sense that the role of the newspaper was to hold government to account on behalf of the majority and in this they displayed elements of Stead's views on the platform and the press and the essentially democratic focus of New Journalism.

Other features included the use of celebrity, for example in two of the papers and the addition of a high-profile editor in the case of *Lloyd's*. Columnists such as 'Hampden' in the *NOTW* provided the 'persuasive' style of New Journalism. There were early forms of illustration as evidence, such as the use of tables and maps in *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's*. The *NOTW* demonstrated awareness of the link between a sensational story and circulation in its repeated association of sales surges with its coverage of the Crimea. The papers created spaces for female readers through the review pages and features addressed to them. Stead was to create these kinds of spaces in the *Northern Echo*, which under his editorship had sections on prices in the marketplace for housewives as well as crusades against the Contagious Diseases Acts and the Bulgarian Atrocities.

There were differences in the papers' approaches to the issue of campaign. The *NOTW* aimed to attract readers of *The Times* and so adopted causes that commanded widespread sympathy. Its language became more sensational in terms of crime reporting in the 1860s, and its treatment of moral transgression more explicit and titillating, but not excessively so in the mid-century. Its political language was rarely crusading and was contained within the 'Hampden' column, which invoked a radical tradition without identifying the paper too closely with any specifically radical programme.

Lloyd's more clearly identified with a working-class audience, especially in London. Its relationship to Chartism and the trade union movement was cautiously sympathetic as long as these remained peaceful protests but it did not support physical force. Jerrold's editorship brought a more crusading tone to parts of the newspaper, but these were carefully contained. *Reynolds's* demonstrated the greatest willingness to be associated with specific campaigns: republicanism, Chartism, trade unionism, and anti-imperialism. Though Reynolds's commitment was doubted by contemporaries, including Marx and Engels, his newspaper demonstrated the most consistent identification with campaigning. Reynolds's involvement (and the launch of his paper) were fairly late in Chartist history, by which time the movement itself was fragmenting into a range of radical causes, many of which he was prepared to back. Reynolds's popularity with working-class readers through the *Mysteries of London* meant that he had an exceptionally loyal readership, which was prepared at the very least to tolerate his political views.

Finally, the strongest evidence that campaigning was always subordinate to commercial considerations is the sheer longevity of these Sunday papers. All three survived into the twentieth century, whereas advocacy papers struggled with limited circulation and advertising, or an inability to diversify into a broader range of issues that could attract a more general audience.

Chapter Five:

Case Study of a Campaign: 'Taxes on Knowledge' and Press Regulation, 1849–1869

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the campaign against the regulation and taxation of print between 1849 and 1869. It was divided along class and industry lines and comprised various pressure groups representing different interests. Taxes on advertising, newspapers, and paper affected the producers and consumers of printed texts. Opponents of the taxes on newspapers emphasized that their purpose appeared to be the restriction of political news from a sizable section of the population through price. Supporters, however, rejected the term 'Taxes on Knowledge' with its implication that the state deliberately limited working-class access to news in a bid to suppress radical discussion. These campaigners wished to retain certain aspects of regulation, such as the newspaper stamp, to protect the 'quality' press from what they regarded as inferior or dangerously subversive competition.

The print duties were first introduced in 1712 to raise revenue for the Exchequer. However, subsequent increases between 1757 and 1815 coincided with periods of high social tension and government paranoia, stoked by overseas revolution (America and France) and the Napoleonic Wars. The first tax, of 1d per full sheet, rose over the century to 3 1/2d in 1797. In 1815 the government increased it to 4d a copy, meaning that stamped newspapers cost 6d or more, beyond the reach of most readers. The aftermath of the 1819 'Peterloo' Massacre saw the government pass the Six Acts, two of which were aimed at the radical press. One required publishers to pay a bond as surety against a conviction for seditious or blasphemous libel. The other applied the 4d stamp to all journals selling for less than 6d and that appeared every 26 days and contained news.

Prosecutions were brought disproportionately against working-class radical printers and vendors, not only immediately after Peterloo but also in the period 1830 to 1836, from the outbreak of the July 1830 revolution in France to the reduction of the tax from 4d to 1d. This

was the height of the struggle between the government and the radical unstamped press later termed the ‘War of the Unstamped’.

Joel Wiener notes that by far the greatest impact fell on cheap (weekly) radical papers aimed at working-class readers since publishing at more than a 26-day interval was incompatible with effective campaigning. Thus, the newspaper stamp in particular challenged the ability of working-class activists to reach out to supporters to drive their causes forward. Moreover, because only the Attorney-General or a Stamp Office official could initiate a prosecution, decisions about whom to prosecute were clearly politically motivated.³⁸³ The effort required to procure stamped paper was also a significant cost for provincial newspapers, which were published weekly rather than daily at this time. John Doherty’s provincial weekly, *Voice of the People*, failed partly because of the cost of shipping paper from Manchester to London and back again. Paper could be damaged in transit but there was no right to compensation (p. 8). The government’s decision to reduce the newspaper stamp to 1d in 1836 effectively wiped out the unstamped press, since it significantly reduced the cost of their stamped competitors and was accompanied by even more punitive action on failure to meet the securities and registration requirements.

After 1836, radicals, particularly ex-Chartists and the veterans of the ‘War of the Unstamped’ argued that the combination of fiscal and political regulation kept print prices artificially high, limiting educational opportunities and social mobility. It also limited the spread of politically dissenting views. The fight to abolish all taxes, including advertising and print duties was closely linked with parliamentary reform, involving many of the same activists and journalists. Those who continued the campaign after the repeal of the paper duty in 1861, to secure the removal of the securities and registration requirements, regarded the legislation of 1869, not 1861, as the true end of the campaign.

³⁸³ Joel H. Wiener, *The War of the Unstamped: the Movement to Repeal the British Newspaper Tax, 1830–1836* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 8.

The re-emergence of concerted opposition to newspaper taxation from the end of the 1840s indicates that the campaigns for electoral reform and press deregulation were intertwined; they surged and receded in relation to each other. As Chartism regrouped and diversified after 1848, activists returned to the issue of taxation of the press, recognizing that the existing framework hampered the dissemination of radical ideas. This phase of the campaign is notable for the extent to which radical artisans and mechanics were prepared to collaborate with middle-class reformers. A single-issue pressure group emerged, overcoming public indifference to its cause, and succeeded in changing legislation. As a result, it had a direct role in the commercial expansion of printed material — serial novels and magazines as well as newspapers — that paved the way for mass-market New Journalism at the end of the century. It was important in the development in particular of cheap daily newspapers that could be circulated across the country to all classes of readers.

This chapter focuses on campaigning by the Association for the Promotion of the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge (APRTOK) from 1849. It grew out of the People's Charter Union, which formed an alliance with middle-class Radicals such as Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Thomas Milner Gibson, who were committed to campaigning for the removal of the newspaper tax. Those of its supporters who were also members of parliament, mainly those of the 'Radical Party', successfully secured a Select Committee in 1851 and used it to produce what was in effect an APRTOK manifesto rather than an objective recommendation to parliament.

For APRTOK, the taxes on advertising, newspapers, and paper restricted readerships and the persuasive power of the press. The campaign went to the core of what editors and proprietors saw as the purpose of newspapers: to publish news in a timely fashion and at regular intervals. The taxes hampered this by charging newspapers that published political news more frequently than once every 26 days. APRTOK argued that the tax system limited working-class access to cheap weekly or daily newspapers. George Julian Harney, among others, linked political progress, the rights of labour, and the educative role of newspapers as

being essential to the advancement of the working class.³⁸⁴ Against this, assertions that working-class readers craved news did not appreciate their appetite for a range of reading: as Abel Heywood's testimony to the 1851 Select Committee demonstrated, the public's appetite for lurid popular fiction, sometimes with an underlying radical social message, was at least as strong as its desire for news.³⁸⁵

The stamp itself had a symbolic value beyond the raising of government revenue. Sending paper to the Stamp Office in London imposed an additional burden on provincial and small circulation printers. It also served as a symbol of state control of the press: the imprint of the stamp existed before a word of journalistic text appeared on the paper.

Historical Interpretations of the Campaign

Historical analyses of the 'Taxes on Knowledge' have variously identified 1836, 1855, or 1861 as the most significant point of legislative change, ignoring the removal of securities requirements in 1869. Most accounts draw significantly on Collet Dobson Collet's two-volume history of the movement in which he was also an active participant.³⁸⁶ Collet's narrative focuses on the gradual opening of the press to lower-class readers through the abolition of the taxes and, ultimately, opportunities to publish radical papers without fear of reprisal. E. P. Thompson, Joel Wiener and Patricia Hollis emphasize the working-class campaign of the 1830s for freedom of the press against government attempts to suppress radical newspapers and control what the vast majority of the population was allowed to read.³⁸⁷ Lucy Brown and Alan J. Lee view the removal of the stamp in 1855 as the starting-

³⁸⁴ See Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', 1849–1869* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 17–18.

³⁸⁵ Ian Haywood comments that the immense success of G. W. M. Reynolds and Edward Lloyd was something of a problem for the 1851 campaigners of APRTOK since they sought to dispel fears of a flood of 'low' publications. See Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics and the People, 1790–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 238.

³⁸⁶ Collet Dobson Collet, *History of the Taxes on Knowledge: Their Origin and Repeal*, 2 vols (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899).

³⁸⁷ Wiener, *War of the Unstamped*, E. P. Thompson, *The History of the English Working Class* (Aylesbury: Penguin Books, 1979), and Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

point for the commercial expansion of newspapers and periodicals.³⁸⁸ Conversely, James Curran argues that liberalization was part of a bourgeois agenda to control the literature that was read by the working classes, diverting them away from the genuinely radical content of the 1830s.³⁸⁹ Hewitt comments that this view was reflected in contemporary suspicion that the campaign was being manipulated by the ‘Manchester radicals’ to further their own agenda.³⁹⁰ This interpretation, however, ignores the ways in which the regulatory system deliberately limited the range of periodicals and newspapers that could be produced by, or for, working-class readers, and the strenuous efforts of artisan radicals to ensure that the newspaper stamp abolition, rather than advertising or paper taxes, was again at the heart of the campaign.

Hewitt’s extensive study of the history of the cheap press between 1849 and 1869 examines the campaign in the context of contemporary economic and political debates. He emphasizes its multi-faceted nature and the ways in which success in the 1850s depended significantly on the internal politics of the governing Liberals and Whigs. However, rather than examining it in the context of campaigning journalism, or in terms of genre, Hewitt’s predominantly historical account focuses on the transformation of the Liberal Party under Gladstone. The advantage is that it highlights the significance of the impact of the fiscal reform debates in removing the taxes but it remains a narrowly historical focus rather than a broader one concerning readerships and genres. Removal of the print taxes in 1861 gave commercial momentum to a raft of ‘popular’ print forms including the Sunday newspapers and the sensation novel. This opens up the question of gender: focusing on the campaign from the viewpoint of Liberal Party politics is inevitably dominated by ‘masculine’ reading (daily newspapers), whereas if the issue is widened to magazines and fiction, it encompasses women’s reading.

³⁸⁸ Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) and Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855–1914* (London: Croom Helm 1976).

³⁸⁹ James Curran and Jean Seton, *Power without Responsibility: the Press and Broadcasting in Britain*, 6th edn (London: Routledge, 2003).

³⁹⁰ Hewitt, p. 3.

My thesis diverges from Hewitt's study by focusing on contemporary discourses about the nature and symbolism of 'news', the role of newspapers, the emergence of professional journalists, and its relationship to other campaigns. Although Hewitt acknowledges the Chartist influence, he does not engage with the working-class activists' perception that the government deliberately prevented them from timely access to newspapers through the tax system. APRTOK argued that the regulatory framework limited the expression and distribution of radical ideas in the mainstream press.

The 'Taxes on Knowledge' broadly encompassed duties on almanacs, pamphlets, paper, and advertising, as well as newspapers, and campaigners sometimes argued that taxes on windows and railway travel also came under this umbrella.³⁹¹ Attempts to abolish the taxes fell into three distinct phases. They began with the 'War of the Unstamped Press', which effectively ended in 1836 the year the newspaper tax was reduced and a year after the tax on pamphlets was abolished. A second phase between 1849 and 1861 successively removed advertising, newspaper, and paper duties. The third, somewhat overlooked, phase between 1862 and 1869 resulted in the removal of the securities and registration requirements for newspapers.³⁹² Both the first and second phases specifically engaged with debates about categories of news that were popular with working-class readers and that were viewed as appropriate for them.

Key to the discussion around the newspaper stamp and the regulation requirements was the issue of controlling working-class access to the literary and political spheres, rather than giving them freedom to choose what they could read. Conservatives argued that the creation of a 'penny press' would encourage the emergence of scurrilous and immoral publications. This argument was consistently voiced in the later stages of the campaign by the right-wing *Saturday Review* (1855–1938). Radicals and reformers, however, considered penny

³⁹¹ George Holyoake and Collet subsequently took an active role in the campaign for cheaper railway travel after 1869.

³⁹² Hewitt, p. 165, points out this was undone by the passage of the Newspaper Libel and Registration Act (1881).

newspapers to be potentially educational. For these reasons, the campaign against the ‘Taxes on Knowledge’, a term famously first used by Leigh Hunt’s radical weekly, the *Examiner*, on its front page on 2 May 1830, is inextricably linked to debates about education.

The phrase was fiercely contested by conservatives, and some liberals, who argued that taxes on paper and advertising were no different to other taxes levied on ‘essentials’ such as tea, sugar, and coffee. Much of the debate in the second phase contrasted in emphasis with the earlier period. Conservative editorials in *The Times* and the *Saturday Review* stressed the impact on national revenue; liberal weeklies such as the *Leader* and the *Working Man’s Friend* emphasized the need to remove restrictions on information. Radical Liberal MPs led by Gibson, Cobden, and Bright argued for removal on both grounds: they opposed indirect taxation and wanted to promote newspapers as a means of educating public opinion. Cobden and Bright had another motive: a cheap daily newspaper would be a powerful campaigning medium through which to influence artisan and lower middle-class readers in favour of the range of causes they espoused. At 5d for eight pages in 1850, the *Daily News* was too expensive for this target readership and it did not support their more radical causes. The campaigns against press taxes were closely intertwined with other radical causes: adult education, universal suffrage, social mobility, free trade, and even temperance.

Newspapers were the key medium through which to publicize such causes. Pamphlets were an alternative but were taxed differently — the three shilling levy applied to the whole run rather than individual copies, prompting some radicals to attempt (unsuccessfully) to pass off illegal newspapers as pamphlets. Almanacs, another popular form of working-class literature, were taxed at 1s 3d per almanac from 1815, prompting a trade in illegal versions such as Abel Heywood’s ‘English Almanacs’, printed on calico to avoid the tax.³⁹³ Heywood was a radical publisher and bookseller imprisoned during the War of the Unstamped and in 1840 on a blasphemy charge. However, their campaigning impact was limited by annual

³⁹³ Beetham, Margaret, ‘Abel Heywood (1810–1893)’, *ODNB* < doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/47364 > [accessed 10 November 2014]

publication and the Whig government removed the tax completely in 1834. This marked the first step in the Whig revision of press taxation, since it was followed by the removal of duty on pamphlets in 1835 as well as the reduction of newspaper stamp tax from 4d to 1d in 1836.

The almanac legislation indicated the commercial implications of removing taxation. It led to a rise in new titles and several almanacs achieved sales of over 250,000.³⁹⁴ Almanacs provided a cheaper outlet for radical ideas than books. They combined information with entertainment, for example through accounts of famous criminals or jokes. After 1834, almanacs became a potential vehicle for campaigns. Joshua Hobson, printer of the *Northern Star*, published a radical Owenite *Social Reformer's Almanac* in 1841 and 1842, before widening its appeal and renaming it the *Poor Man's Companion*, which appeared until 1846. The publication provided readers with what Hobson regarded as 'truly useful knowledge', such as tables 'demonstrating the fallacies of free trade, the inequalities of industrial society, the sheer uselessness of the aristocracy, and the existence of a pre-industrial "Golden Age"', according to Simon Cordery.³⁹⁵ It also had a role in recording a radical tradition that was important to Chartists: the almanac contained important dates, biographies of popular agitators — itself a form of celebrity — and the principle tenets of Chartism and Socialism. Cordery comments that the almanac chimed with Hobson's business network which included his extensive contacts of Owenites, Chartists and factory reformers. Almanacs published by Hobson were advertised and distributed by John Cleave in London and Abel Heywood (1810–1893) in Manchester; likewise, Hobson, from his business base in Leeds, would distribute their publications across Yorkshire (p. 117). This demonstrates the existence of a network of advertising and distribution among campaigning publishers: each was responsible for distributing the *Northern Star*, for example, but also advertised their current print lists in the publication.

³⁹⁴ Chalaby, p. 17.

³⁹⁵ Simon Cordery, 'Joshua Hobson and the Business of Radicalism', *Biography*, 11 (1988), 108–23 (p. 114).

An example of the almanac as a vehicle of campaign in the late Chartist period is the *Democratic and Social Almanack* of 1850, 'presented to readers of the *Weekly Tribune* of 8 December 1849' and published by George Vickers of Holywell Street London. Its 24 pages covered a range of dates of special historical events, as was standard, but also identified its programme of reform. It listed the smallest constituencies and the number of MPs returned to parliament to highlight inequalities in the franchise. Tables of government expenditure included 'Cost of our Wars' and 'Numbers Slaughtered', as well as the 'Taxes on Knowledge'.

The following table shows how the almanac represented the taxes to include duty paid on imported books, which raised their prices, impeding access:

Fig. 17: 'The Taxes on Knowledge' from *Democratic and Social Almanack* of 1850

THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.			
Duty on Foreign Books	£7,647	13	7
„ on Paper	745,795	9	4
„ on Advertisements	163,016	10	0
Newspaper Stamps	360,270	13	7
	£1,276,730	6	6

NEWSPAPER STAMPS AND ADVERTISEMENTS.—In 1849, there were in existence 150 London, 238 English provincial, 97 Scotch, and 117 Irish newspapers—total, 602. The total number of stamps used was:—82,002,788; halfpenny stamps, 8,925,792—total, 90,928,580. The total number of advertisements was 2,109,179, and the amount of the duty £153,016. The duty on Irish advertisements is but one shilling.

Other campaigning sections of this 1850 almanac included the freehold land movement, sanitation (from Chadwick's report) and 'The Socialist's Catechism' by M. Louis Blanc.

The 1836 legislation may have reduced the newspaper stamp but it did not remove advertising tax or paper duty. Advertising tax, which stood at 1s 6d from 1833 to 1853, hit the proprietors of newspapers as they increasingly drew income from adverts. This made publicizing new works more difficult and costly for authors and their publishers. Many

radical publishers ignored the tax and published adverts for a nominal fee. Advertisers had to pay tax on each advert and so were keenly conscious of circulation. As a result, the leading newspaper in any major city would attract the majority of advertising. In 1836, the *Scotsman* noted that *The Times* published 60% of all London advertisements in 1834.³⁹⁶ Rather than directly hitting sales, advertising tax reduced the overall number of newspapers. It also affected the poorest advertisers disproportionately and there were other class implications since advertising in books was not taxed, unlike advertising in serial publications.

Hewitt also notes that the impact of the paper duty has not always been acknowledged. Instead, the emphasis has been on the abolition of the newspaper tax in 1855. Jean Chalaby's discussion of the transformation of the journalistic field in the nineteenth century into a mass circulation industry places the 1855 abolition as the starting point. Chalaby identifies a continuous commercial expansion from this date, making it possible to sell papers for a penny (and later for a halfpenny). Collet noted an increase of 115 newspaper titles in 1856, when 530 newspapers were listed, from 1855. By 1895 there were 1,798.³⁹⁷ But Chalaby comments that the penny market was limited and by the end of the century, supply had started to exceed demand.³⁹⁸ It could be argued that the paper duty reform of 1861 played a greater role in the emergence of mass circulation papers at the end of the century than abolition of the newspaper tax. Evidence lies in the heavy campaigning by penny dailies (*Morning Star* and *Daily Telegraph*) to get this last duty removed, the decision by *Reynolds* and *Lloyd's* to reduce cover prices only in 1861, rather than 1855, and the subsequent emergence of half-penny titles such as the *Echo* from this date. Moreover, Chalaby ignores the impact of the paper duty on publishers who had a range of titles in their portfolio. Repeal of the paper duty cut the production costs for publishers across the entire range of printed texts: books, newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets.

³⁹⁶ *Scotsman*, 16 March 1836, cited in Jean Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 11.

³⁹⁷ Collet, II, p. 32.

³⁹⁸ Chalaby, p. 37.

Much of the discourse of the mid-century campaign lay in exposing ambiguities created by the 1836 legislation. The then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Thomas Spencer Rice, intended the reduction of the newspaper stamp to strengthen the established press. At the same time, however, he placed further regulatory burdens on the press by consolidating and tightening newspaper registration, including securities against prosecution for libel. This was particularly resented since it appeared to assume guilt before any accusation of libel had been made. Other restrictions required the names of at least two proprietors resident in the U.K. as well as those of the printer and publisher to be registered at the Stamp Office. Two copies of each paper, either within three days of publication, or two days if published in London, Edinburgh or Dublin, had to be delivered to the Stamp Office or a representative or face a fine of £20 for each offence.³⁹⁹ The penny newspaper tax imposed a cost on readers, whereas the punitive fines that enforced registration placed significant burdens on any printer or publisher who attempted to create a newspaper aimed at working-class readers since the capital required increased under the 1836 regulations.

The origins of the APRTOK lay in the People's Charter Union's appeal to Cobden to add repeal of the newspaper tax to his 'National Budget', a campaigning document he produced for the Liverpool Financial Reform Association in 1848. This encouraged the PCU to revive its efforts on the 'Taxes on Knowledge' and in March 1849 it became the Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee, which included veterans of the War of the Unstamped such as the printer James Watson (1799–1874) and his son-in-law Richard Moore (1810–1878), a wood-turner, George Holyoake (then working at the *Leader*), and Collet Dobson Collet (a teacher of singing and a freelance journalist). It was also supported by the moral force Chartist Thomas Cooper, the *Northern Star* and *Red Republican* editor, George Julian Harney, and the middle-class reformer Francis Place (1771–1854), who became its treasurer. 'By February 1850,' Hewitt notes, 'the NSAC claimed a network of local secretaries in 8 London boroughs and 25 towns across Britain and Ireland, as well as support from interested

³⁹⁹ William Finlayson, 'The Law of Newspapers (Second Article)', in *Mitchell's Press Directory for 1851–52*, p. 44.

trades, including the London Compositors' Society'.⁴⁰⁰ It replicated the organization through local networks – a feature of Chartism (see Chapter 3).

APRTOK's name signalled that the campaign would be fought at least partly on the principle of widening access to literature among the working classes. Its key middle-class activists were also parliamentarians: Milner Gibson and Cobden were key figures in the free-trade movement and in the direct tax/indirect tax debate within the Liberal Party. As leader of the successful Anti-Corn Law League and an MP, Cobden was particularly useful in terms of framing campaign strategy: lobbying ministers, packing public meetings, sending petitions, and above all ensuring newspaper coverage of meetings, rather than outright confrontation. One of the key lessons he brought from the Anti-Corn Law League was that single-issue campaigns ran far less of a risk of alienating supporters. Collet commented that in contrast, the contemporaneous Liverpool Financial Reform Association was too ambitious in attempting to change the entire taxation system. Lessons had also been learned from the London Chartist movement: 'From the People's Charter Union we had come out as a separate committee, not surrendering personally our Chartist views, but putting the repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge as the sole basis of our movement,' Collet wrote in his history of the campaign.⁴⁰¹ Nevertheless, the campaign was closely tied to debates about working-class access to the public sphere in a period in which they had limited access to parliament. After removal of print duties in 1861, Bright reinvigorated the franchise reform campaign, culminating in the passage of the 1867 Ballot Act.⁴⁰²

In the first and second phases of the campaign, the terms 'respectable' and 'unrespectable' in relation to reading cheap publications were central to the debate, along with claims that newspapers could educate and refine public opinion. Hollis notes that educational reformers such as William Hickson, George Birkbeck, and Matthew Hill (a Radical MP) wanted to

⁴⁰⁰ Hewitt, p. 17.

⁴⁰¹ Collet, *History of the Taxes on Knowledge*, I, 134.

⁴⁰² Asa Briggs, 'John Bright and the Creed of Reform', *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851-67* (London: Penguin, 1990), pp.205-39.

stimulate the development of newspapers as a means of spreading literacy.⁴⁰³ Though literacy skills varied widely, and are hard to quantify, it was acknowledged that increasing numbers of adults, both men and women, were able to read in the early nineteenth century. David Vincent comments that from the 1790s onwards, the main problem for the establishment was the possession of literacy, rather than its absence, among the greater population. Vincent notes that whereas the newspaper stamp was originally introduced to quell criticism within the ruling class, the Publications Act of 1820, which further tightened restrictions, was entirely about the ‘threat from below’ and aimed at the ‘Pauper Press’.⁴⁰⁴

Collet outlined APRTOK’s main strategies in campaigning to change the law in his testimony to the 1851 Select Committee. He cited petitions, circulating information through the country, and the strategy of challenging the Board of the Inland Revenue to prosecute anyone who appeared to be breaking the law. What Collet omitted from his list was a feature that was central to this campaign — the establishment of the Select Committee itself, since Cobden and his allies used the opportunity it provided to write the manifesto for the movement. Collet recorded that Lord John Russell had initially rejected Milner Gibson’s request for a Select Committee in 1850 but following intensive lobbying by a delegation including APRTOK, Russell gave in and Milner Gibson was made chair in March 1851.⁴⁰⁵

5.2 The 1851 Select Committee Report As a Campaigning Text

The report of the 1851 Select Committee to inquire into the Newspaper Stamp was a carefully constructed document. Friendly witnesses were interviewed in such a way as to promote the argument for abolition and suppress arguments in favour of the existing system. Hewitt comments that the committee was packed with supporters of repeal.⁴⁰⁶ Milner Gibson, who chaired it as Vice President of the Board of Trade, was also APRTOK’s president. Cobden was one of the chief questioners of witnesses and his inquiries were

⁴⁰³ Hollis, p. 47.

⁴⁰⁴ David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 233.

⁴⁰⁵ Collet, *History of the Taxes on Knowledge*, I, 147.

⁴⁰⁶ Hewitt, p. 61.

designed to demonstrate that prosecutions were politically motivated. Other members of the committee included free trade, radical-Liberal MPs such as William Ewart (1798–1869) and William Molesworth (1810–1855) with a strong interest in expanding working-class educational opportunities. Ewart was closely involved in the campaign for free public libraries.⁴⁰⁷ Another committee member, Sir Joshua Walmsley (1794–1871) was the founder of the National Reform Association in 1848, a supporter of the Anti-Corn Law League and the Financial Reform Association, and a former president of the Liverpool Mechanics Institute.

Brian Harrison notes that witnesses such as the publisher John Cassell and the writer Thomas Spencer (1796–1853) had a particular interest in attacking the ‘Taxes on Knowledge’. In 1848, the government had closed a loophole that previously allowed papers published in the Isle of Man to circulate through the postal system free of charge. One campaigning group that made use of this was the Temperance Movement; leading temperance advocates in print, Cassell and Spencer, appeared before the committee to attack the impact of the Taxes on Knowledge on this specific campaign.⁴⁰⁸

The report illustrates how a Select Committee could direct a debate. Several witnesses commented on the potential impact of good, cheap daily newspapers, foretelling the emergence of penny papers such as the *Daily Telegraph* (which halved its price and re-launched after stamp duty was abolished in 1855) and the more obviously campaigning *Morning Star*, launched by Cobden and Bright in 1856.

Joseph Timm, Solicitor to the Board of Inland Revenue, and Thomas Keogh, Assistant Secretary for Inland Revenue, were closely questioned on the ambiguities in the way the law

⁴⁰⁷ Molesworth supported electoral reform including the secret ballot and the abolition of the House of Lords. He financed the *London Review* in 1835 before its merger with the *Westminster Review*, and established the *Constitutional*, a short-lived liberal paper in 1836. However, he fell out with Cobden after accepting the appointment of first commissioner of the Board of Trade under Lord Aberdeen in 1853 and for supporting the Crimean War. Peter Burroughs, ‘Molesworth, Sir William, eighth baronet (1810–1855)’, *ODNB* <doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/18902> [accessed 10 November 2014].

⁴⁰⁸ Brian Harrison, ‘“A World of Which We Had No Conception.” Liberalism and the English Temperance Press: 1830–1872’, *Victorian Studies*, 13 (1969), 125–58 (p. 157).

was implemented to reinforce allegations that prosecutions were politically motivated or targeted higher circulation papers, while less controversial — or campaigning — periodicals were left alone. Collet listed unstamped papers with low circulations, pointing out that they existed to promote causes and ideas rather than being concerned with circulation (p. 166). These included Harney's *Red Republican*, Holyoake's *Reasoner* (for which Collet wrote), *Christian Socialist*, the *People*, and *Friend of the People*, which were part of the networks of radical papers discussed in Chapter 3. The committee also questioned whether the law was applied in a haphazard and arbitrary manner. One example was the practice of partially stamping titles (the stamp being used for posted editions to the country) being considered legal while others were prosecuted, even though titles in both categories were registered with the Inland Revenue as newspapers.

Cassell's testimony indicated his participation in a number of campaigning networks. As publisher of the *Freeholder*, the monthly organ of the Freehold Land Society, he was involved in a campaign to broaden access to the franchise through giving working men a means of meeting the property qualification. He also had been warned about his practice of partially stamping his weekly *Working Man's Friend* to access the free postal service. He expected to be prosecuted but learned that the Board had turned its attention to Dickens's *Household Narrative* instead. This apparent test case provided the free traders and APRTOK members of the committee with a topical reference, and a celebrity name, of which they made frequent use as part of their campaign. I will compare the *Working Man's Friend* with Dickens's *Household Words* and *Household Narrative* in this chapter to show that Cassell was far more closely allied with the campaign against press taxes than Dickens. He had expected to be prosecuted but the government evidently decided that it would pursue the *Household Narrative* instead. By doing so, it avoided direct confrontation with APRTOK though prosecuting such a popular author carried a risk of a public backlash.

Committee members relentlessly interrogated 'news' and the relationship between public appetite for information and the influence that newspapers had on public opinion, education,

and morals. One argument used in favour of the Taxes on Knowledge was that they prevented the spread of ‘licentious’ reading material. Committee members and witnesses went to great lengths to argue the opposite. They questioned the government’s legal definition of news and its relationship to publishing intervals and to classes of periodicals. The questions were intended to demonstrate that the law was self-contradictory and impossible to implement consistently; that prosecutions were prejudiced against liberal or campaigning newspapers; that victims included publishers of cheap publications with an educative function; and that there would be no threat from an expansion of the newspaper market since good papers would drive out the immoral. Furthermore, the impact on the revenue of removing the newspaper stamp would be minimal whereas taxes on advertising and paper hindered commercial progress. The committee also found evidence of abuses where other documents were sent within stamped newspaper bundles via the Post Office to avoid paying the postage. The editor of the *Scotsman* argued that the stamp conferred benefits to the Scottish press through Post Office access, and because there was a stamp office in Edinburgh. This view was not backed by the Committee or other witnesses.⁴⁰⁹

Cobden raised the question of politically motivated prosecutions. He told Timm, ‘you are aware that [the Board of the Inland Revenue] have suppressed some papers that were published monthly, under the belief that they were exempted from the newspaper stamp’ (‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’, p. 39). Cobden cited two examples: first, a Mr Bucknell of Stroud, who published the *Stroud Free Press*, with a circulation of 1,700 copies monthly, until he received a letter from the Board and decided to close the paper rather than risk prosecution. The second was the monthly *Norwich Reformers’ Gazette*. Again, when threatened with prosecution, the publisher was not able to afford to fight the case and discontinued the paper. Cobden then referred to Welsh-language papers (unnamed) that were

⁴⁰⁹ ‘Report from the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index’, 18 July 1851, (House of Commons Parliamentary Papers), p. viii. <parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk> Subsequent references appears as ‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’.

discontinued under the same circumstances: ‘a mere letter from you frightened those poor people into submission, and they dropped their papers; saying they had acted under the belief that a newspaper was not a newspaper, because published monthly’ (‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’, p. 39).’ Cobden pointed out that if the Board did not define specific publishing intervals, then bimonthly periodicals might also be affected. Timm was adamant that the publication interval was irrelevant — if a periodical published news, it must be treated as a newspaper.

Collet argued that the existing system exerted a form of censorship based on price and the high capital outlay required (‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’, p. 113). It forced a paper to add the penny tax to its cover price and ‘you are obliged not only to add that penny to your price, but another penny more, to meet the reduction in the sale; and the consequence is that the class of readers is altogether changed. Then it requires a very considerable capital to bring out a good penny paper’ (‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’, p. 115).

The questioning of Timm was designed to expose the inherent contradictions of enforcement of the tax system. Cobden pressed him to specify the point at which a publication ceased to be regarded as carrying news and became technically a ‘history’. He refused to make such a definition. Cobden asked if Dickens’s *Household Narrative* should not be viewed purely as an historical narrative when compared with the daily record provided by *The Times*; again Timm refused to make any distinction. Timm’s answers suggest that the government in 1851 was chasing revenue — possibly intentionally directing the discussion away from radical suspicions about the way prosecutions appeared targeted — and the questioning became a frustrating and circular debate about bureaucratic interpretations of ‘news’ and ‘history’. Collet suggested that the Board chased high-circulation publications to secure increased return on its efforts when he commented that the Board of Inland Revenue did not prosecute papers of small circulation (‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’, p. 137).

The Committee stressed the potential for cheap newspapers to promote learning and moral behaviour. It suggested that the news content of the papers appealed most to working-class readers. Michael James Whitty (1795–1873), the editor/proprietor (he called himself the 'conductor' in the style of Dickens at *Household Words*, possibly an indication of his political sympathies) of the weekly *Liverpool Journal* suggested newspapers were the best way of educating the working classes because 'they are naturally more drawn to politics than to science or literature' ('Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps', p. 94). This argument seems contradictory in the light of the high circulations of cheap fiction periodicals such as *Reynolds's Miscellany* and of Cassell's reluctant acknowledgement that the *Working Man's Friend* had to include fiction. However, this argument makes sense if we consider news as privileged information for which readers were prepared to pay: why would Reynolds or Lloyd publish populist Sunday newspapers in tandem with their fiction publications if they were not convinced that there was a potentially large readership? Newspapers were the means by which working-class readers could access parliamentary debates that most directly affected them: factory hours, bread prices, unemployment, and sanitation. More subtly, Whitty suggested that the danger of readers gravitating to more extreme publications was avoided if newspapers were cheaper since readers would buy more than one and be exposed to a range of political opinions. But he also claimed that penny newspapers actually drew readers away from more scurrilous publications. His view was that the unstamped papers were not particularly good but that they had got rid of much worse ('Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps', p. 92). Cassell, meanwhile, stated somewhat disingenuously that his *Working Man's Friend* had evaded prosecution because his publishing was aimed at advancing the 'moral and social' well-being of the working-class audience, rather than political unrest ('Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps', p. 211).

Cassell's and Whitty's comments revealed newspaper editors' attitudes towards the notion of campaigning and its place in journalism. Cassell used his publications to advance his views on temperance, working-class education, the freehold land movement (and hence the

franchise), capital punishment, and the peace movement. Whitty defended crime reporting, a staple of the Sunday press: ‘You find humanity in there [the police reports] precisely in its proper [real] character; you find every one, from the nobleman to the thief, all in the police court and all speaking their own opinions’ (‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’, p. 109). For Whitty, crime in a newspaper attained respectability compared with its representation in street culture and scandal sheets, but Cassell’s comment on his paper’s reports on executions suggests readers were also entertained by crime. In the context of the scope for campaigning it is noteworthy that Cassell clearly also believed his readers were particularly interested in potential miscarriages of justice and this forms part of his campaign against capital punishment.

The commissioners emphasized that news rooms at Mechanics Institutes might attract working-class readers who would not attend lectures. Thomas Hogg, secretary to the Lancashire and Cheshire Mechanics Institutes, argued that newspapers needed to be both cheap and timely so that readers got the latest news from a range of publications. He contrasted the sober Mechanics Institutes with public houses, which had a better supply of newspapers and where people could talk and debate, whereas news rooms were silent (‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’, p. 169). Where there was discussion there was more likely to be political activism: Hogg comments that wealthy philanthropists had opposed the news rooms for this very reason (‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’, p. 170). Hogg believed that all the news rooms tried to provide *The Times* but were struggling to afford other newspapers — a disturbing fact for committee members such as Cobden who had a poor relationship with that paper. In another comment on reading habits, Hogg suggested most of the unstamped papers in the news rooms were literary, such as *Chambers’s Journal* and *Eliza Cook’s Journal*, and ‘read by the junior part of the members, while the newspapers, with the news of the day, are read by the older members’ (‘Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps’, p. 172). Collet was also concerned to show the connection between newspaper circulation and times of crisis. He provided a table showing

the number of stamps issued annually between the 1814 Peace of Paris and 1850, alongside the main political events of each year. It demonstrated the link between heights of campaigns and sales of newspapers: '[T]his statement I think shows that the natural vent for any political excitement in this country is the newspaper press,' he commented ('Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps', pp. 166–67).

The Select Committee's report fell just short of telling the government what to do next but made the case that the system was inconsistent and impossible to regulate. The very last line, according to Collet, was added by Cobden: 'but, apart from fiscal considerations, they do not consider that news is in itself a desirable subject for taxation.'⁴¹⁰

5.3 Prosecuting a Test Case: Cassell, Dickens, and Ambiguity

Publishers and proprietors were convinced that the newspaper stamp did not apply to periodicals that appeared less than once a month, since the intention was to regulate news. If a weekly periodical did not contain news it was assumed to be free of the stamp duty. Furthermore, editors were under the impression that *comment* on news or a monthly round-up of events relevant to the readers of that periodical did not require payment of the stamp. APRTOK, however, had gathered evidence that the Board of the Inland Revenue interpreted the intent of the 1836 legislation differently.⁴¹¹ A test case was needed to clarify the situation. APRTOK's committee informed the Board of anomalies such as Cassell's monthly *Freeholder* and his weekly *Working Man's Friend*. The former was an advocacy title that was stamped for country distribution but unstamped for sale by London stationers. The latter was an unstamped penny weekly magazine that ostensibly did not print news, but contained topical commentary. If he had to pay the stamp duty, Cassell would be forced to double the price. Since the magazine was aimed at mechanics and artisans, its sales would inevitably

⁴¹⁰ Collet, I, p. 149.

⁴¹¹ In 1853, Collet started the weekly *Potteries Free Press* intending to force a prosecution in which he planned to argue that unstamped journals such as the *Athenaeum*, the *Builder*, and the *Racing Times* published news. However, only one news vendor was prosecuted and received only a small fine.

drop. The Board of the Inland Revenue, however, was more interested in the *Freeholder*, arousing suspicion that it would single out the monthly for prosecution because of its support for universal suffrage. (Cassell's weekly *Standard of Freedom* newspaper also advocated this but was stamped). If Cassell was prosecuted and lost, he could have been fined retrospectively at £20 for each copy of an unstamped issue.

However, the Board pursued a higher-profile target. Shortly before the 1851 Committee met, Dickens's monthly *Household Narrative of Current Events* (1850–1855) was prosecuted. The *Narrative* was also partially stamped — a characteristic of another Bradbury and Evans publication, *Punch* — but it had a particularly complicated relationship with news and publication intervals. Though a monthly, it provided an evidential base for the weekly *Household Words* magazine. Its combination of fiction and essays with a campaigning slant was topical but it contained no specific news section. The *Narrative*, a 24-page periodical, priced at 2d, mirrored many of the weekly's campaigns, but categorized news under nine headings: 'Parliament and Politics'; 'Law and Crime'; 'Accident and Disaster'; 'Social, Sanitary and Municipal Progress'; 'Obituaries, Colonies and Dependencies'; 'Foreign Events'; 'Commercial Record'; 'Stocks and Shares'; and 'Emigration Figures'. Whereas *Household Words* examined social reform through fiction or anecdotal essays, the *Narrative* was concerned with statistics, reportage, and news digests. Its title expressed its ambiguities — it provided a 'narrative' or retrospective look at the past month's news, yet it was also a record of 'Current Events' suggesting it contained topical comment on the news. John Drew notes the close relationship between topics in the monthly and weekly journals and that Dickens himself was responsible for the 'dual coverage of public events' in the two publications.⁴¹² As Drew says, the *Narrative* was a form of 'guarantor of the integrity of opinion' in *Household Words*.⁴¹³ Its reshaping and categorizing of news anticipated W. T. Stead's *Review of Reviews* decades later. It fulfilled Stead's belief in opinionated journalism

⁴¹² John Drew, note on *Household Narrative*, Dickens Journals Online, <<http://www.djo.org.uk/indexes/journals/household-words-narrative.html>> [accessed 9 October 2013]

⁴¹³ John Drew, *Dickens the Journalist* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 129.

since the leaders in 'Parliament and Politics' were intended to promote reformist views and were likely to have been written by John Forster. Dickens could legitimately argue that as a monthly publication, the *Narrative* could publish news without needing to pay the stamp duty. However, the Board of the Inland Revenue argued that the stamp applied to the publication of news, regardless of time intervals.

A decision had been expected while the Select Committee held its inquiry but the case was postponed. Collet highlighted the ambiguities of the *Narrative*, noting for example, that it was registered in the names of Dickens and the printer, but not to Bradbury and Evans, the publisher. This was unusual since the publisher usually registered the securities. Collet also talked in some detail about Dickens's journalism, saying that *Household Words* carried a lot of comment on news ('Select Committee Report on Newspaper Stamps', p. 148). He looked beyond the *Narrative* to the range of Bradbury and Evans's unstamped publications and their practices, noting that they had registered four newspapers but only stamped part of the impression. Collet identified these as *Punch*, the *Lady's Companion*, *Household Narrative*, and *Household Words* ('Select Committee Report on Newspaper Stamps', p. 120).

Collet argued *Punch* was as much a newspaper as *The Times* and pointed to examples where the satirical weekly reported news rather than simply commenting on it ('Report on Newspaper Stamps', p. 120). He applied the same argument to *Household Words*, enumerating several aspects that he asserted were in conflict with its status as an unstamped magazine and explaining precisely why certain articles should be considered news items:

There is a paper called 'Ten Minutes with Her Majesty', and it gives an account of the opening of Parliament in the present year; and then there is a clause from the Queen's Speech, which of course is news: and it is stated in what tone of voice the Queen read it; and in the very last number but one there is an account of the state of the protective force of London, to show that there is no necessity

for people being afraid of any outbreak at the Exhibition. ('Select Committee Report on Newspaper Stamps', p. 120)

Late in 1851, the Court of Exchequer ruled in favour of Bradbury and Evans, though the Board of Inland Revenue unsuccessfully disputed the finding.

Dickens and Cassell represent contrasting views as well as similarities. Dickens was equally comfortable with fiction and journalism, and *Household Words* indicated that he valued both equally as campaigning media. Cassell's *Working Man's Friend* went to considerable lengths to champion fact over fiction, in keeping with the recurring message before the Select Committee that the working classes preferred news and education. As Ian Haywood comments, Cassell was in the contradictory position of denigrating fiction but printing it because it was what his audience wanted. His solution was to print mainly 'improving' fiction, a kind of 'purified' version of *Reynolds's* and *Lloyd's* publications, to advocate self-improvement and domestic virtue.⁴¹⁴ The magazine also contained attacks on physical force Chartism in both fiction and non-fiction. However, set against Haywood's argument was Cassell's decision to ally himself with the left-leaning APRTOK and focus on the newspaper stamp. As a publisher, he might have been expected to join the more conservative, self-interested pressure groups led by publishers and paper manufacturers, which focused solely on advertising and the paper tax.⁴¹⁵ That he did not do so speaks for his commitment to APRTOK's ideological stance as well as his commercial interests.

In contrast, Dickens's position on the 'Taxes on Knowledge' was complex. He supported the removal of paper duty and joined a delegation (including Knight) that visited the Chancellor of the Exchequer on 30 January 1851. He agreed that advertising tax was unfair but was far from convinced that the newspaper tax was an evil that should be removed. He declined to sign the petition to remove the penny stamp, writing to Thomas Milner Gibson in February 1850, 'I am not at all clear of the effect of the removal of the stamp duty from newspapers. I

⁴¹⁴ Haywood, *Revolution in Popular Literature*, p. 223, p. 228.

⁴¹⁵ Simon Nowell-Smith, *The House of Cassell: 1848–1958* (London: Cassell, 1958), pp. 24–5.

have not maturely considered the subject, but I am disposed to think that the tax increases their respectability.’ Dickens warned that removal could lead to ‘a flood of piratical, ignorant and blackguard papers, something like that black deluge of Printer’s Ink which blights America’.⁴¹⁶ Dickens’s comments recall his experience of the American press in his earlier, ill-fated tour of 1842 in which he attempted to address the issue of American breaches of British copyright. However, his fears about the lack of respectability of sections of the cheap press also echo his attack on Reynolds in the first issue of *Household Words*.

Dickens’s views are significant given his experience of founding a moderately radical daily newspaper, the *Daily News*. In a letter to Charles Macready in January 1852 he commented that simply removing the penny stamp was unlikely to help widen access to cheap, quality newspapers.⁴¹⁷ The first editorial he wrote for the *Daily News* hinted at a view that the stamp functioned as a check on the worst excesses of cheap publications: ‘the stamp on newspapers is not like the stamp on Universal Medicine-Bottles, which licenses anything, however false and monstrous’.⁴¹⁸ In other words, regulations on newspapers protected their quality. Dickens’s stance was far removed from that of the *Working Man’s Friend*, which was half the price of the 2d *Household Words*. On several occasions in 1850 and 1851, Cassell’s magazine argued against the ‘Taxes on Knowledge’ specifically because they limited working-class access to news and political information. On 15 June, in a series on ‘Reading and Books’, the magazine commented that newspapers and periodicals were the education of many working people. It argued that it was just as important that working women should read newspapers as men and called on ‘every man and woman ‘to agitate for the abolition of all taxes on knowledge. Why should not such healthy journals as the *Standard of Freedom*, &c. &c. become *daily papers*, and counteract the poison of those which now command the

⁴¹⁶ Charles Dickens, letter to Thomas Milner Gibson, 12 February 1850, *Pilgrim Edition of the Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. by Kathleen Tillotson and Graham Storey, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), VI (1850–1852), p. 35.

⁴¹⁷ Charles Dickens to W. C. Macready, 31 January 1852, *Pilgrim Edition*, VI, p. 586.

⁴¹⁸ *Daily News*, 21 January 1846, p. 4. Ironically, given its ambition to compete with *The Times*, this editorial is preceded by a note apologising for the paper’s omission of many advertisements: ‘a sudden press of matter rendered it impossible to insert half the number in type.’

market, and give their influence to error and corruption?’ (p. 324, emphasis in the original) The idea that Cassell’s *Standard of Freedom* might become a daily rather than a weekly paper was fanciful but a year after the removal of the newspaper stamp, Cassell’s close friend and political ally, Cobden, launched the *Morning Star*.

The magazine was unusual in viewing working-class women as newspaper readers as well as readers of magazines. In the address to readers in the first number (5 January 1850), the magazine specifically refers to ‘working women’ as part of its own audience. Other departments of the *Working Man’s Friend* were concerned with working women’s experiences of reading and writing: ‘Martha Makepeace’ was the author of a series of letters on Household Economy. In these letters she described her successes at running a home on a mechanic’s wage. Her husband, though supportive of her efforts, relayed a friend’s comments that she must be neglecting her household to write. Martha refuted this, asserting that she managed to make time in her busy day to read and write. Martha was a strong, opinionated female voice in the magazine and was in dialogue with other contributors. John Weldon contributed letters on his own family and life that alternated with Martha’s and commented on her views. Martha in turn responded to points that he raised. Haywood contends that the inclusion of these female voices was Cassell’s attempt to counter the appeal of Reynolds’s and Lloyd’s fiction for female readers by promoting an ideal domesticated woman. However, there were counter-voices in the *Working Man’s Friend* such as a letter from a female factory worker in Chorley, Manchester, who pointed out the impossibilities of attempting to copy Martha’s advice. Weldon incorporated this letter into his argument that Martha should consider other viewpoints. The multi-vocal nature of Cassell’s publication, particularly through its columnist-letter writers, contrasts with *Household Words*, which attempted to create one unified male-gendered ‘voice’.

The *Working Man’s Friend*’s appeal to women anticipated characteristics of New Journalism. It promoted persuasive writing on a range of campaigns. Many articles were signed (though many were pseudonymous) and it had a regular section for children (as had

Howitt's Journal). The essay-writing competitions and contributions from readers also looked forward to Newnes's competitions for readers.⁴¹⁹ However, Cassell's emphasis was on the role of the working class as a driver of social change, with the temperance movement a core part of this programme. An illustration of this is a dialogue published in two parts in which two artisans debated the merits of the Freehold Land movement. The discussion took place in a coffee shop, emphasizing that one protagonist was a teetotaler. Cassell was an importer of coffee and tea and a temperance campaigner so the articles might be viewed as advertorials for coffee houses as well as campaigning texts. Instead of a socially conservative text on sobriety and the importance of domestic virtue, however, the dialogue's main purpose was to promote being a freeholder as a means of enabling working-class men to have a vote. Thus, three campaigns are linked as radical causes and promoted in one text.⁴²⁰ The second instalment specifically warned against encouraging prejudice against the middle classes, arguing the ten-pound householders in the urban constituencies generally returned good men. The constituencies mentioned indicate these were represented by Bright, Cobden, Milner Gibson, and Thomas Wakley, all involved in APRTOK, and the conclusion that the middle and 'industrious' classes realized it was in their interests to work together chimed exactly with APRTOK's philosophy.

Cassell sought to educate his readers about the 'Taxes on Knowledge'. In the second number, an article entitled 'Three Anomalous Taxes' attacked the window tax as a tax on knowledge, complaining that the government had made a commodity out of light.⁴²¹ (p. 51). The excise tax on paper, stamps on newspapers, and advertisement duty were all 'taxes on knowledge and restrictions on the press'. The magazine said the government should cut its expenditure rather than levy these taxes with the Cobdenite observation that 'the country

⁴¹⁹ The sixth number announced under the heading 'The Literature of Working Men' that on 30 March 1850, Cassell would issue a monthly supplement 'devoted *entirely* to communications from Working Men'. He stressed his belief that the readers possessed a high order of talent. Published authors were rewarded with prizes.

⁴²⁰ 'The Freehold Land Movement. A Dialogue Between Two Working Men', was published in two parts on 5 January 1850 and 19 January 1850.

⁴²¹ Anon., 'Three Anomalous Taxes', *The Working Man's Friend*, 12 January 1850, p. 51.

would rather have fewer admirals and more books' (p. 52). This is followed by a poem entitled 'Rates and Taxes'.

Cassell and Dickens differed in their attitudes towards the working classes as drivers of social change and as newspaper readers, though their weekly magazines held common ground on reformist issues such as workplace safety, health and public education. Cassell was closely involved in APRTOK's campaigns, while Dickens carefully distanced himself from it. However, another influential weekly publication was much more closely involved than either of these. Its editors, G. H. Lewes and Thornton Hunt were APRTOK committee members but also involved in the emergence of New Journalism: Lewes through his involvement with the *Pall Mall Gazette* and Hunt through his success in relaunching the *Daily Telegraph* as a cheap popular daily newspaper. The next section considers the role of the radical *Leader*, jointly edited by Hunt and Lewes, in the development of the campaign against the 'Taxes on Knowledge'.

5.4. The *Leader* and Radical Networks

Launched in 1850, between APRTOK's creation in 1849 and the Select Committee meetings of 1851, the *Leader* was a stamped weekly publication consisting of 24 pages and priced at 6d (5d after 1855). It was jointly edited by Hunt (politics) and Lewes (culture), with Holyoake managing the paper's finances and contributing copy. For five years the *Leader* closely followed the campaign against press taxes from a radical political perspective, emphasizing the impact of the taxes on artisans in terms of self-education but also the ways in which lack of access to daily newspapers hindered their flexibility in employment and suppressed their voices in political debate. Unfortunately, its cover price limited its circulation, though A. Dyson, the agent for the *Leader*, advertised it as being particularly read in coffee houses and reading rooms, where less affluent readers could read it for free.

Distribution problems also meant that country readers received the papers two days later than those in London from 1853.⁴²²

Like the *Examiner* (established by Thornton Hunt's father, Leigh Hunt), and the *Spectator*, the *Leader* divided news and cultural commentary.⁴²³ Its hybridity, the leading article on the first page and the relegation of advertising to the back page indicated that its focus was on interpreting news rather than reporting it. Hunt and Lewes were first and foremost part of an emerging professional journalist class — when the *Daily Telegraph* re-launched as a penny daily newspaper in 1855, Hunt was hired as its editor for his formidable leader-writing abilities rather than his radical credentials. Lewes left in 1854 to contribute to the *Westminster Review*, as well as helping to edit the *Cornhill Magazine* and co-founding and editing the liberal *Fortnightly Review*.

Unsurprisingly, the *Leader* put the removal of the newspaper stamp at the heart of the campaign against print taxes. Hunt, Lewes, and Holyoake represented the APRTOK committee at public meetings. The *Leader's* mixture of news and cultural commentary meant it could support the campaign through a variety of departments and texts. The most overtly campaigning section of the paper was the 'Open Council' which, in the tradition of Chartist periodicals, invited direct contributions from readers. These letters were a form of 'op ed' where contributors could air their views on a specific issue. Holyoake contributed several signed letters that looked specifically at the impact of the taxes on the working-class reader. He argued that artisans and mechanics needed access to the latest economic news to help them look for work in thriving trades rather than depressed ones. 'Open Council' enabled Holyoake to introduce an artisan 'voice' to a paper that was mostly read by middle-class liberals. As Brake comments in her account of the *Leader* for NCSE, it was expensive

⁴²² Laurel Brake, *The Leader* <http://www.ncse.ac.uk/headnotes/ldr.html> [accessed 29 September 2014]

⁴²³ Brake, ncse. Note: the *Leader's* printers also printed the *Spectator*. [accessed 20 September 2014]

for operatives to buy, compounded by the fact that a row with Harney's *Red Republican* lost it much-needed readers among Chartist supporters in the industrial North.⁴²⁴

Holyoake also attacked the 'Sixpenny Newspapers', metropolitan dailies such as *The Times*, and their fear of competition from a new penny press. As an example of the inequalities of treating a provincial penny paper under the same terms and penalties that would apply to these London dailies, he cited the example of the weekly *Potteries Free Press* — the paper Collet had founded to expose the inequalities of the system by deliberately courting prosecution. This is an example of one part of the press using another as a means of making a campaigning point. Ironically, the midpoint of the *Leader's* run coincided with the repeal of the newspaper stamp, which led to more competition. It faced lively rivals in two forerunners of New Journalism, the liberal *Daily Telegraph* and the *Saturday Review*, a conservative but spirited political and literary weekly. Both were launched in 1855. The *Telegraph* mirrored many of the *Leader's* campaigns, unsurprisingly since it was edited by Hunt, but it was selective in its treatment — and acutely aware of its readers — in its choice of causes. Likewise, from the other end of the political spectrum, the 5d *Saturday Review* matched the *Leader's* combination of politics and culture but it allied itself with the educated upper-middle class. The editor, J. D. Cook, formerly of the *Morning Chronicle*, hired young, educated male contributors but also brought in Eliza Lynn Linton who had worked for him at the daily newspaper.⁴²⁵

A lighter note was struck in favour of the campaign, however, in an article written by Leigh Hunt, the veteran opponent of the 'Taxes on Knowledge' in his short-lived weekly, *Leigh Hunt's Journal* (1850–1851). The 16-page journal contained articles of general interest, book reviews, poetry, and fiction as well as a 'Talk of the Week' column and 'To Correspondents'. Published three months before the Select Committee met, the article

⁴²⁴ Brake, *The Leader* <http://www.ncse.ac.uk/headnotes/ldr.html>> [accessed 29 September 2014]

⁴²⁵ Elizabeth Tilley, 'Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art (1855–1938)', *DNCJ*, pp. 557–58

attempted to assemble and explain the arguments against the taxes in a semi-fictional setting entitled ‘The Newspaper Drag’. It emphasized the modernity of faster communication such as trains, telegraph wires, and the postal service, but, Hunt argued, progress was slowed by the ‘drag’ of taxation.

The article began with a description of railway passengers buying their papers from a newsboy on the platform. One passenger was identified as a daily newspaper reporter on the basis of his carrying Frederick Knight Hunt’s recently published *Fourth Estate* — a contemporary stock-taking of the role of the press and the impact of the newspaper taxes.⁴²⁶

This passenger, named ‘White’ by the narrator, responds to another passenger, the artisan ‘Brown’, who marvels at the telegraph wires visible from the carriage window: ‘at this moment, the price of corn in Mark-lane, of meat in Smithfield, and so forth, may be rushing along them wires like a flash of live lightning, telling nobody anything on the road, but only they as is awaiting for it where it’s going to!’⁴²⁷ White refers to the recent laying of the submarine cable between Britain and France, which he argues is a force for peace as well as faster news. The conversation moved on to the ‘burdens on the press. Brown complains that his paper cost 4 1/2d at the railway station because of the stamp; his daughter — representing the lower class advertiser — was forced to pay 18d duty when advertising for a situation — ‘a Lord paid the same duty for a whole column as she did for her three lines’ (pp. 185–86).

Another passenger, ‘Smith’, interjects, reiterating arguments expressed during the Select Committee hearings: the impact on the ‘Penny Cyclopaedia’ of the paper tax; the iniquity of justifying a stamp tax when so many papers were sent by railway, not by post; that the penny stamp prevented ‘cheap papers for the million’; and that the only way for a poor man to read *The Times* was in a pub.

⁴²⁶ Frederick Knight Hunt, *The Fourth Estate: Contributions Towards a History of Newspapers, and of the Liberty of the Press* (London: D Bogue, 1850).

⁴²⁷ [Leigh Hunt], ‘The Newspaper Drag’, *Leigh Hunt’s Journal*, 22 February 1851, 185–87 (p. 185).

In answer to Brown's question why *The Times* did not agitate against the taxes, Smith replies: '*The Times* is a good property with the taxes; it might not be greatly improved without them; and therefore it gravely sets itself to keep all inconvenient opponents out of the field, and pays its £95,000 a year contently' (p. 187). Finally, the article noted the impact of the sureties against blasphemy and libel, a particularly telling point for Hunt since he and his brother had been imprisoned decades before for libelling the Prince of Wales in the *Examiner*.

This fictional debate directed attention to *The Times*'s refusal to join the campaign. Its involvement would have hastened abolition of the taxes but it took a political and commercial decision not to do this. *The Times* had reluctantly supported Peel in the removal of the Corn Laws and was not prepared to join liberals in calling for an end to taxes that helped cement its dominance of the London newspaper market. A more abrasive and pro-Establishment viewpoint on the taxes was provided in the *Saturday Review*. This was uncompromising in its mockery of the arguments that removing paper taxes would lead to the enlightenment of the working classes and a choice of cheap but high-quality literature. A year before the repeal of the paper duty, the *Saturday Review* argued in 'The Dearnness of Cheap Newspapers' that the tax provided the government with useful revenue. Removal would result in a rise in income tax on a minority 'for the mental improvement of the majority'. However, it disputed that such an improvement could even occur without 'control over the method of education and the nature of the knowledge imparted'.⁴²⁸ The article suggested the campaign was fuelled by the self interest of publishers such as Knight and Chambers and the cheap newspapers, commenting that the "'poor man's book and sheet'" means his penny novel, plagiarized from the French, and his penny journal with its reports of the Divorce Court' (p. 427). It was particularly outraged at the implication that income tax would rise in order to facilitate reports of 'indecent police cases'.

⁴²⁸ 'The Dearnness of Cheap Newspapers', *Saturday Review*, 7 April 1860, 427–28 (p. 427).

This theme was developed in an article the following year, ‘Taxes on Knowledge and Indecency’, which said the only beneficiaries of the abolition of paper duty would be the proprietors of penny newspapers — clearly referring to its liberal opponents in the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Morning Star*. It highlighted the emergence of two penny publications, the *Divorce News* and *Police Reporter* and predicted that similar, or worse, was to come. The *Saturday Review* regarded any reporting from the Divorce Court as a ‘serious evil’, possibly because the high cost of divorce meant that any scandal revealed in court inevitably related to the aristocracy.⁴²⁹

The article’s broader political dimension was suggested by its location on the same page as an article on the ‘six pound franchise’. This was an attempt to extend the vote among the skilled working class and the article links the franchise with the cheap press. ‘If, as we have tried to show, a six pound franchise really only means a premium on idleness and careless profligate extravagance, it becomes a serious question whether Mr Gladstone’s repeal of the Paper Duty is not equivalent to an invitation to licentious and indecent publications’ (p. 420).

The *Saturday Review* rejected the radical narrative of press regulation as ‘Taxes on Knowledge’. Instead, it portrayed abolition as a burden on the middle class through increased income tax; claimed that it represented the self-interest of publishers; and denied that the rise of cheap newspapers would improve the moral tone. It viewed the restriction of cheap journalism as beneficial, not because it suppressed radical dissent (though undoubtedly it saw that as an added benefit) but because it believed indirect taxation restricted publications that challenged the social order, for example by bringing the aristocracy into disrepute by focusing on adultery and other scandals. This implies fear of the masses and of what high circulation newspapers might achieve, but the argument was couched primarily in terms of the fiscal impact of the taxes, rather than in terms of suppressing working-class campaigns.

⁴²⁹ ‘Taxes on Knowledge and Indecency’, *Saturday Review*, 27 April 1861, 419–20 (p. 420).

5.5 Newspapers and the Stamp: the *Daily News*

Bradbury and Evans's involvement in the newspaper stamp debate extended beyond being cited by the Select Committee for partially stamping *Punch* and the *Household Narrative*. It was also the owner and publisher of the main liberal metropolitan daily newspaper, the *Daily News*. The paper had been launched as a competitor to *The Times* in 1846. Like the leading members of APRTOK, it was socially progressive and promoted free trade.

Between 1846 and 1848, the paper resembled most other sections of the press in its indifference to the taxes on knowledge, possibly in part because of its publishers' ambiguous stance. However, in 1848, the *Daily News* attempted to close the circulation gap between itself and *The Times* by cutting its cover price from 6d to 4d. For a period in 1849 it sold at 3d for four pages. Circulation rose but not enough to challenge the market leader and the *Daily News* was forced to raise its price to 5d in 1849. At this point it began to take notice of the emerging newspaper tax campaign, which coincided with the Financial Reform Association's call for an overhaul of the entire tax system. The FRA aimed to replace indirect taxes with a system of direct taxation, which, it argued, would be less punitive. Given its stance on free trade, it is not surprising that the *Daily News* backed this campaign. It reprinted papers from the movement verbatim, as though they were written by its own reporters.⁴³⁰ For example, 'Direct Taxation', a substantial report on the Financial Reform Association, appears to be written by the FRA but was not attributed as such (*DN*, 30 March 1849, p. 2). This item is published on the same page as a review of Harriet Martineau's *The History of England During the Thirty Years' Peace*, suggesting an implicit criticism of defence expenditure in peace-time. Another tactic was to suggest that the richest and most powerful were able to evade paying taxes. A more forceful example, 'The Window Tax', was reprinted from *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly News* and explained the burden of the tax on

⁴³⁰ 'To the Tax-Payers of Great Britain', *Daily News*, 6 March 1849, p. 6, was published on the same page as other correspondence to the paper. Subsequent references to articles are given in parentheses in text.

the lower classes by using a table to illustrate the statistical evidence — a device that Jerrold was to use again in the 1850s in *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*. Jerrold pointed out that buildings with eight windows or more were taxed and that ‘nearly the whole of the window tax is paid by the middle and industrious classes, who live in towns’ (*DN*, 12 April 1849, p. 3). Moreover, landowners were exempt from window tax, as were many farm houses.

The *Daily News* did not address the specific injustices of the stamp duties on paper, advertisements, and newspapers until 23 May. In ‘Duty on Advertisements and Paper’, the *Daily News* reported:

Last evening a general meeting of master printers, compositors, pressmen, and machinists, was held at the Mechanics’ Institution, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, in pursuance of a requisition issued by the committee of the Compositors’ Society, for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning parliament to repeal the duties on advertisements and paper, as also the penny stamp on newspapers; L J Hansard, Esq, in the Chair. (*DN*, 23 May, 1849, p. 2)

Edward Edwards, the secretary of the London Compositors’ Society stated that the numbers of compositors out of work was attributable to the limits imposed by the duties. The compositors’ plight had already been raised in a letter to the *Daily News*, published on 19 March, which directly linked dire unemployment in the trade with the need to repeal the taxes.

The location of the meeting is noteworthy, since the Mechanics’ Institution was the forerunner of Birkbeck College, founded by the campaigner for working-class adult education, George Birkbeck. It reinforced the argument that the taxes discriminated against the working class — and more specifically the artisan class — by preventing their access to current affairs and other information, cultural as well as political. Later in the year, a report headed ‘The Duties on Paper, Advertisements, and Newspapers’ allocated two and a half

columns to another speech by Edwards to the London Mechanics' Institution (*DN*, 2 October 1849, p. 3). Edwards raised the key point that there was no good definition of what constitutes a newspaper. One of the most significant parts of his speech in terms of expressing the radical artisan view is that the morning newspaper was 'as indispensable as breakfast', rejecting the argument that newspapers were a luxury and should therefore be taxed. As evidence, he pointed to the early business in coffee houses where people went for food and to read. If the morning papers did not arrive, there was an immediate downturn in business in the coffee house.

The extent of the space given to the campaigns for fiscal and parliamentary reform enabled the *Daily News* to challenge *The Times's* stance on press reform. One article likened *The Times's* position on the taxes to the Jesuits' reaction to Newton's scientific discoveries (*DN*, 25 February 1850, p. 2). The column next to this is headed 'Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge', an account of the previous week's campaign meeting at the Mechanics Institute, Manchester, chaired by Abel Heywood, the radical newspaper distributor. Articles about APRTOK were often placed alongside other campaigns with similar political affiliations, creating the sense of interlinking networks. An editorial of 23 November 1849 incorporated news and comment from the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association meeting in Edinburgh as part of the argument in favour of the campaign.

The paper also used scissors-and-paste as a means of demonstrating regional support. It reprinted an article from the *Preston Guardian* attacking 'Three Anomalous Taxes': window tax, newspaper tax, and the fire insurance duty.⁴³¹ This was in the final column of the page, following an article on the 'Review of the Corn Trade for the Week', echoing another successful campaign against duties. The *Preston Guardian* article compares the situation in Britain unfavourably with America where newspapers published far more advertisements and were not subject to tax, a comparison that the paper often made to support its arguments. Its New York correspondent wrote that the British campaign was attracting interest in the

⁴³¹ *Daily News*, 13 November 1849, p. 3.

United States: ‘In the United States we have never had any such duties or restrictions, for we deem that intelligence is the life of liberty, and newspapers may be set down as one of our necessities without the gratification of which we could not get on for a single week’ (*DN*, 4 April 1850, p. 5).

Like the *Leader*, the *Daily News* called on its readers to make their opposition to the taxes known by attending meetings. Unlike the weekly *Leader*, however, the *Daily News* tended to treat the campaign on its news merit: it reported public meetings and printed letters but the coverage and editorial comment were highly influenced by other events: the Crimean War, government crises, and budgets were just some examples of stories that could reduce the taxes on knowledge to a quarter of a column. At other times, when legislation was introduced, an editorial would run to several columns. These differences demonstrate a distinction between the way in which a daily newspaper treated campaigning stories in comparison to a weekly one, which was a little less dependent on novelty and timely reporting.

A further device was the reprinting of correspondence. This was used particularly effectively to demonstrate that the law as it stood was unworkable because the Inland Revenue took contradictory views according to which publication was being considered (*DN*, 26 September 1850, p. 3). Under the heading ‘Correspondence with the Stamp Office Respecting Partially Stamped Newspapers’, the paper commented that in the absence of parliament, it was returning to the campaign: ‘the cessation of that great talking machine whose principal business is to help the lords to help Lord John to assist our good Queen to do nothing, enables me to give time and space to topics which during the session have been neglected for others more immediately interesting, but not more important. Among these is the subject of the taxes on knowledge.’ (*DN*, 26 September 1850, p. 3). This article is a good example of the type of ‘filler’ that could be brought out on a political topic when parliament was not in session and the paper still needed to fill the space on the designated page. It pointed out contradictions — for example, that only some partially stamped papers were

pursued by the Stamp Office. The article reproduced letters from Thornton Hunt, Charles Bray of the *Coventry Herald*, and Thomas Allen of the *Caledonian Mercury* to the Board complaining that they should be allowed to issue part of their impression unstamped, considering that certain registered papers were permitted to stamp just a portion of their impression.⁴³² The Board denied permission had been granted to any newspapers and that the publications they cited (including Cassell's *Freeholder*) were 'not newspapers, though registered as such, and the publishers could not be prosecuted for printing a portion or the whole of their copies without stamps' (*DN*, 26 September 1850, p. 3). Hunt, Bray, and Allen pointed out the law had been relaxed for 51 titles but not for others. This was clearly unfair and the tax should be removed altogether.

If the campaign attracted support from the *Daily News* and from advanced Liberal provincial papers such as the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, in which Bright had a stake, other sections of the provincial press were motivated by other interests. The liberal *Manchester Guardian* was ambivalent about the campaign since it enjoyed the dominant position in the Manchester newspaper market, based on circulation, and therefore attracted more advertising (paralleling *The Times* in the metropolitan market). This position was expressed in opinion pieces rather than its news coverage. A letter 'From a Private Correspondent', dated 20 April 1850, acknowledged that paper duty was objectionable but it resisted the phrase 'Taxes on Knowledge'. Rather than the 'garbage of Holywell Street' being driven out by pure, good, cheap literature, it said 'respectable' publishers were bracing themselves for the onslaught of 'cheap trash'. If the taxes were repealed: 'not all the efforts of Mr Charles Knight, or Mr Charles Dickens, or the Messrs. Chambers could beat Holywell Street out of the market.'⁴³³

It stated as fact that none of the cheap higher-class publications were bought outside the middle-class and higher class of artisans. The impetus for this accusation, however, was a

⁴³² Charles Bray (1811–1884) was one of the circle of freethinkers, radicals and social reformers with whom Marian Evans, later George Eliot, associated with in Coventry before relocating to London, and remained a close friend. Bray was a supporter of the Co-operative Movement and advocated its aims in his newspaper, which he bought in 1846 and owned until 1874. Matthew Lee, 'Bray, Charles (1811–1884)', *ODNB* <doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/3292 > [accessed 10 November 2014]

⁴³³ *Manchester Guardian*, 20 April 1850, p. 6.

call for a system of national secular education that would guide the working classes towards improving literature.

The *Scotsman* was similarly scathing about grouping the 'Taxes on Knowledge', commenting in 1853 that the three taxes were 'utterly unconnected' and that Milner Gibson only won Disraeli's support to abolish advertising tax by cleverly dividing the issue into three separate parts.⁴³⁴ While agreeing that the advertising duty was a 'bad tax' the *Scotsman* claimed that Milner Gibson knew his case for the newspaper tax abolition was his weakest because he based it on the 'bungled persecution of Mr Dickens's "Narrative"' (p. 2). The *Scotsman* also accused Milner Gibson of focusing on the old 4d duty rather than admitting the benefits of the 1d stamp, which gave free access to the postal system. The *Scotsman* argued that paper tax was no worse than the taxes on tea, sugar and coffee, food necessities, and insurance. Its attack on Milner Gibson was undoubtedly compounded by what it felt was unfair treatment of its editor at the hands of the Select Committee, mentioned above, specifically by Cobden. Overall, the liberal *Manchester Guardian's* and the *Scotsman's* coverage of the campaign against the newspaper stamp was a combination of self interest and a reflection of Dickens's fears that removal would usher in cheaper, more scurrilous competition.

However, abolition of the newspaper tax in 1855 helped launch two innovative penny metropolitan daily newspapers. It also had a positive impact on the regional press since publications like the *Manchester Guardian* that previously appeared once or twice a week became daily titles. Books, periodicals, and newspapers received a bigger commercial boost when Gladstone succeeded in removing the paper duties in 1861. However, the campaign was not over; there remained the registering of securities against libel and sedition.

⁴³⁴ *Scotsman*, 16 April 1853, p. 2.

5.6 Bradlaugh's Secular *National Reformer* and Registration

In 1861, as a witness to the 'Select Committee on the Export Duty on Rags', Collet made clear that APRTOK still existed because removing the press registration and security system remained part of its campaign.⁴³⁵ These provisions had been retained from the 1836 legislation and were regarded by working-class radicals as a 'gagging clause' (Hewitt, p. 150). The legislation did not apply to newspapers that cost 6d a copy or more, reinforcing a belief that it was aimed at the cheaper working-class papers. Moreover, prosecutions could only be brought by the Attorney General or the Stamp Office, inevitably raising suspicions that legal action was politically motivated — precisely the argument Cobden had put before witnesses to the 1851 Select Committee.

This sense of injustice came to a head with the prosecution of the radical politician Charles Bradlaugh's *National Reformer* in 1869. A weekly paper, costing 2d for 16 pages, the *Reformer* contained reports of meetings and a column of news headed 'Rough Notes'. Bradlaugh had not registered it, asserting news was incidental to its main purpose as the organ of the secular movement. Moreover, registering securities against potential blasphemy contradicted the paper's core aims. Bradlaugh's defence was that he only reprinted news items that were connected to, or illustrated, the discussions in the rest of his journal. He also argued that the *London Reader*, the *Family Herald*, and the *Sporting Times* had similar columns but were exempt from registration. In its visual appearance, the *National Reformer* reinforced Bradlaugh's contention that it was an advocacy journal, as it had continuous pagination for each half-yearly volume indicating its function as a reference source for the campaign.

The weekly 'Summary of News' accounted for two columns on page 2. It was mostly concerned with events related to secularist campaigning but it also reported other news. In 1867, it included the arrest of Italian republican Garibaldi and the Governor Eyre

⁴³⁵ Hewitt, p. 149.

controversy. In addition to the news summary, a separate section announced forthcoming speeches and lectures. Another feature of its progressive coverage was its sympathetic treatment of female employment in the professions, including a topical story about a lecture series given by an American woman surgeon who had run a field hospital in the Civil War.

The first article in the paper varied. Sometimes it was an analysis of an aspect of the Bible, at others, it was a topical essay. From February 1867, when Austin Holyoake, a veteran campaigner against press taxation and regulation, became sub-editor and printer, the focus was increasingly on the *National Reformer's* support for working-class radicalism. Examples included its coverage of the Hyde Park protests in 1867, clearly a topical event that refuted Bradlaugh's claim that the news contained in the *National Reformer* was solely that pertaining to secularism and its campaigns.

When the weekly was prosecuted in 1869, Bradlaugh ignored an order to stop printing the *National Reformer* and instead used it to argue his case. The issue of 7 February 1869 ('edited by Charles Bradlaugh') was presented as a 'Special Edition', which explained legal technicalities to lay readers and the *Reformer's* defence that it was 'not a newspaper, because the main or general object was not to give the public general intelligence, but to carry on a special propaganda of particular views.'⁴³⁶ The prosecution itself became a way of publicizing the paper: from the following week, each number bore the legend 'Prosecuted By Her Majesty's Attorney General' in bold type at the top of the first column, above the contents list. Despite its bravado, the prosecution was a major financial risk for the paper. The last of the 'special editions' relating to the court proceedings appeared on 25th April 1869 and detailed how the prosecution had effectively been brought to a close. The Court originally decided partly in favour of the Crown and partly for Bradlaugh, who was fined heavily. However, it agreed that the law was uncertain. This gave some impetus to the campaign for the securities requirement to be removed. On 12 March, the *Daily News* reported that Bradlaugh planned to appeal against the penalties on the grounds that paying

⁴³⁶ *National Reformer*. 7 February 1869, p. 81.

them would effectively suppress his paper.⁴³⁷ However, the issue was resolved slightly differently: the Revenue offered to enter a *stet processus* for the case, given that a bill was before the Commons to repeal the laws under which Bradlaugh had been prosecuted. This did not represent a victory for Bradlaugh, since it simply granted a stay in court proceedings until the new law was passed (if it was rejected, the court might have continued to recover the penalties from him). Bradlaugh agreed mainly to save himself any further legal expenses.

Conclusion

Hewitt rightly identifies APRTOK as just one pressure group among others campaigning against specific taxes.⁴³⁸ Nevertheless, its leaders had access to the highest levels of government and a track record of successful single-issue campaigning. This is most clearly reflected in the structuring of interviews and questions in the 1851 Select Committee. Similarly, his view that the second and third phases of the campaign appeared to usher in a new era in the press from 1870 is borne out by the increase in titles from that point, though he points out that the creation of the Press Association in 1868 and the nationalization of the telegraph companies around this time had an equally transformative effect.⁴³⁹ The second phase of the campaign against the ‘Taxes on Knowledge’ fulfils, at least in part, Hewitt’s assertion that it was accompanied by self-interest among different factions of the press and publishing and that fiscal considerations played a large part in their staged removal. The division of the campaign into separate legislation — first advertising tax, then the newspaper stamp, and finally paper excise — indicated that each represented different interests and satisfied different political needs. Rather than representing a linear continuation of a battle for press freedom the campaign became plural, representing different things to different interests.

⁴³⁷ *Daily News*, 12 March 1869, p. 1.

⁴³⁸ Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain*, p. 2.

⁴³⁹ Hewitt, p. 165.

However, it is too simplistic to see the debates only in terms of deregulation and fiscal policy. It took considerable lobbying by the People's Charter Union and the Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee to ensure that the issue of the newspaper tax was included in political discourse about print taxation. Ideological arguments about access and how newspapers should be controlled were driven by fear of the masses and of the moral or political transgressions of a cheap mass press; those outside parliamentary politics, however, upheld the right of working people to participate in the political system through literary access to current events.

For those radicals who belonged to the Chartist movement in the 1840s and had, before that, participated in the War of the Unstamped, the removal of the newspaper tax and the corresponding emergence of cheaper newspapers could be portrayed as the final victory for free speech. Collet told the Select Committee in 1851 that the tax was almost personified for the working-class because it symbolized the obstacles to their access to news and opinion. In these terms, it represented their exclusion from Habermas's notions of the bourgeois public sphere. And yet, evidence before the committee demonstrated that where working people had access to timely newspapers they were keen to debate and discuss the issues of the day. This was the reason that philanthropists had been concerned at the inclusion of newspapers in the reading rooms of Mechanics' Institutes. At the same time, they also had a tremendous appetite for serialized fiction, as produced by Reynolds and Lloyd and condemned by middle and upper-class critics as immoral. Both sides of the debate over the taxes attempted to control or to influence the reading habits of the masses; after 1861, commercial reality and popular tastes were more powerful than state control.

In several ways the 1855 abolition of the newspaper stamp was a symbolic and ideological victory for veterans of the unstamped press. It paved the way for the idea of the New Journalism by beginning to create the necessary commercial environment. It ended the ambiguity of the 1836 legislation and removed the requirement to display a symbol of government control of the press on each copy of a newspaper. It also spurred the launch of

two metropolitan daily newspapers, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Morning Star*, priced at a penny. It did not, however, deal with the registration and securities requirement, and paper duties remained an obstacle to lowering the price of printed texts, including periodicals. The real commercial boost followed the 1861 budget: Sunday newspapers' circulations soared when prices were lowered and new half-penny papers such as the *Echo* emerged, indicating the potential for low-priced newspapers. But the new commercial environment also meant that the market was more difficult: the trend after the 1860s was for cheaper newspapers and higher circulations, but with increased technology and increased competition for faster news. It also saw the consolidation of newspapers into fewer titles held by a small number of powerful proprietors, such as George Newnes and Alfred Harmsworth (1865–1922). This effective monopoly was far from the outcome envisaged by APRTOK, which had sought to broaden the range of political views represented by newspapers.

Moreover, campaigns to remove press taxes were bound up with two others: the extension of the vote and state-funded education for all. Advocates of one tended to be active campaigners for the other two. The repeal of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', the 1867 Ballot Act, and the 1870 Education Act owed much to these interlinked networks. For this reason, all three campaigns, which dated from the beginning of the nineteenth century, contributed to the New Journalism of the final two decades.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have demonstrated that campaigning journalism existed in British newspapers and periodicals between 1840 and 1875. It thus predated the ‘New Journalism’, particularly the crusading form associated with William Thomas Stead, at the end of the nineteenth century. I have argued that although it was not identified as a distinct genre, campaigning journalism was nevertheless evident in a wide range of publications. In terms of content, this strand of journalism was strongly influenced by, and had an influence on, socially progressive fiction, such as the ‘Condition of England’ novels of the 1840s and 1850s (see Chapter 2). Its language developed in tandem with the taste for a more sensational tone in fiction, anticipating another characteristic of New Journalism, the emphasis on shocking details and eye-catching headlines.

The central premise of this thesis, that there were various new journalisms before the 1880s, is not new. However, previous discussions focused on specific niche examples, or concentrated on newspapers to the exclusion of periodicals. Raymond Williams, for example, examines New Journalism’s connections with the popular Sunday newspapers of the 1840s and 1850s in *The Long Revolution*.⁴⁴⁰ Joel Wiener’s edited volume of essays, *Papers for the Millions*, demonstrates parallels between ‘old’ and ‘new’, but individual contributors focused on specific titles or authors.⁴⁴¹ New Journalism as a term is often associated exclusively with newspapers, whereas this thesis demonstrates that many of its traits originated in periodicals and hybrid weekly publications. As a result, my analysis has been broader and thematic, involving a wider range of titles of varying publication intervals and content. By exploring multiple categories of serial publication over time through the medium of campaign, relationships between publishing networks, popular writing, investigation, and state regulation of the press have been interrogated in this thesis.

⁴⁴⁰ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984 reprinted edition).

⁴⁴¹ *Papers for the Millions: the New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914*, ed. by Joel H. Wiener (New York: Greenwood, 1988).

Mid-century campaigning journalism included investigation, albeit with only a limited degree of exposé. It engaged with innovations in printing and communication, including telegraphy and rail travel. It included personal journalism in newspapers, supplied by columnists and forms of ‘celebrity’ in the way in which certain personalities, such as Garibaldi or Kossuth, were associated with particular causes. These factors indicate that earlier forms of campaigning journalism influenced Stead and highlight ways in which he owed a considerable debt to his predecessors. Examples include Stead’s portrayal of his investigations of London slums and of child prostitution as that of a ‘commission’, drawing on a long-established model of parliamentary commissions. Furthermore, my research indicates that one of the strongest connections between Stead’s notion of crusading journalism and much political journalism of the mid nineteenth-century was the emphasis on ‘personal journalism’. James Greenwood and Charles Dickens wrote up their investigations using the first person, though they also adopted fictional identities when reporting on social abuses in the 1860s — Greenwood as the ‘Amateur Casual’; Dickens as the ‘Uncommercial Traveller’. Thus, ‘personal journalism’ was a characteristic of the British press throughout the century: authors sought to be persuasive, rather than objective. This is reinforced by Michael Schudson’s argument that the notion of ‘objective’ writing is a twentieth-century construct that can be linked to the expansion of wire agencies and the impact of the First World War on war reporting.⁴⁴²

Comparisons of investigative and popular journalism in the three decades covered by this thesis suggest that while nineteenth-century newspapers emphasized their adherence to ‘fact’, and their independence of ‘party’ in prospectuses, they were committed to opinionated writing in a way that strongly influenced Stead’s notions of press influence. I have used Friedrich Kittler’s analysis of technics to examine ways in which these applied to nineteenth-century newspapers in terms of the production of special editions for priority news, the layout and arrangement of certain types of stories on particular pages, and the use

⁴⁴² Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: a Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).

of scissors-and-paste to highlight the way in which topics were covered by other publications. It also includes newspaper discussions of how the news was brought to their readers. Examples given in this thesis, such as the dominance of the Newport appeals in the *Northern Star* in January 1840 or the treatment of French news in *Reynolds's* in 1871, suggest that although they are non-fictional, these newspapers and articles should be read as sophisticated, constructed texts, rather than as neutral records of historical events. Editorially, support for particular campaigns was evident in the selection and presentation of news or comment by columnists and leader writers, but it was also structurally understood in the way in which articles were juxtaposed on a page or arranged within an issue. Readers might draw conclusions from the placement of articles connected with a campaign alongside advertisements for particular publications by authors or publishers connected with the campaign. For example, booksellers who were also distributors of the *Northern Star*, such as John Cleave and Abel Heywood, advertised in the paper, as did one of Chartism's most prominent supporters, G. W. M. Reynolds. The arrangement of coverage, particularly in newspapers, was, I have argued, an important part of the way in which campaigns were overtly or implicitly presented to readers over time. Readers' expectations of the type of content that would appear in specific departments of a publication helped cement relationships between campaigns, writers, and readers. These relationships were nurtured by seriality, growing over time and developing as regular readers became increasingly familiar with the opinions of a particular title. The arrangement of editorial content into departments is most marked in newspapers, but periodicals were both explicit and implicit about campaigns in the ways in which fiction and essays indirectly and directly discussed social issues. Periodicals were able to embed campaigns in fiction that were discussed more openly in essays. They could also use fiction to illustrate a point as a way of reaching a broader audience for a cause.

Such relationships suggest that newspapers and periodicals were dialogic in the way that Mikhail Bakhtin identified in the novel. This thesis explores ways in which the reader

engaged with aspects of serial publications. Since mid-century publications relied on a range of freelance contributors, they were inevitably multi-vocal: as I have shown, the campaigning ideas expressed by a columnist in a newspaper were sometimes at odds with its editorials. Even *The Times*, the best-resourced of metropolitan daily newspapers, featured the views of special correspondents engaged as freelancers, such as the example of the agricultural series discussed in Chapter 2. In promoting campaigns, newspapers and periodicals employed columnists to debate issues, used sensational stories and language, and connected with their audience through answers to correspondents and publishing readers' letters. In some cases, they celebrated events and campaigning personalities through portraits and other illustrations. Nineteenth-century readers appear to have accepted some diversity of opinion in their daily newspapers, though they also expected the overall editorial policy to be partisan and support one of the two main political parties. Advocacy papers, on the other hand, were limited commercially by the popularity or otherwise of their campaigns. The *Morning Star* attempted to be both an advocate for a predetermined set of causes and a popular daily newspaper but lost out to its fellow liberal penny newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, which was less rigid in its association with specific campaigns.

There are differences as well as similarities between the journalism of the middle decades of the nineteenth century and those of the later decades. One aspect of Old Journalism that Stead emphatically rejected was the practice of newspaper anonymity. It masked, for example, the involvement of politicians such as Palmerston, Gladstone, and Disraeli in writing anonymous editorials to promote specific policies. This practice was condemned by the *Morning Star*, though both Richard Cobden and John Bright contributed anonymously to the paper while at the same time condemning Palmerston's close relationship with *The Times* under John Delane's editorship. Periodicals, however, led the campaign against anonymity in print years before Stead and the New Journalism, with the *Fortnightly Review's* support for signed articles from its launch in 1865, foreshadowing Stead's rejection of anonymous journalism.

Apart from signature, another significant divergence between mid-century and later newspapers is in the layout and illustration of newspapers. Again, periodicals had made much more extensive use of illustration as a means of informing readers earlier in the century. The *News of the World* illustrates the change in newspapers in this regard. Under the Bell family's ownership between 1843 and 1891, it was cautiously innovative. It included departments such as poetry and grocery prices that were calculated to appeal to women, alongside its political and crime coverage. The additions of fiction and contemporary music were late-century innovations, along with greater variation in headlines and considerably greater reliance on illustration, particularly in relation to crime stories. These innovations had all been available in various periodicals and in the penny crime magazines but their introduction into a major Sunday newspaper was significant. They changed the visual impact of the paper and along with its appearance, the editorial tone was far more overtly 'popular' and emphasized novelty. These changes were less obvious in the established metropolitan daily newspapers such as *The Times*, which as previously mentioned, changed more slowly in terms of layout, but they had been and were evident in the new wave of cheap daily newspapers in the last decades of the century, notably the *Echo*, the *Star*, and the *Daily Mail*.

My research indicates a relationship between campaign journalism and innovation in the mid-century in that heightened moments, such as a vote in parliament, the presentation of a petition, or the anxious wait for a legal verdict, encouraged some experimentation with existing formats, although these were usually temporary. As I show in Chapters 3 and 4, the headings of stories demonstrate this: newspaper headings were descriptive, short, and confined to one column in the mid-century. New Journalism saw the introduction of headlines that spanned the page and attempted to break the story in sensationally heightened language. The headline in effect 'sold' the story, as well as attempting to help sell the paper if it was on the front page. However, the *Morning Star* during the American Civil War, and *Reynolds's Newspaper* in the Franco-Prussian War, experimented with breaking news

through stacking headings drawn directly from wire bulletins and telegraphs. I argue that these exceptions mark a stepping-stone to the New Journalism in British newspapers and signalled to readers the prime importance of these particular campaigns to these newspapers. Given the expense of using telegraphic communication, experiments with stacked headings signalled that the papers' ideological commitment to these stories overrode commercial implications. Examining newspaper layout through the prism of campaigning illustrates Kittler's contention that technology drives changes in literary production, though these particular examples show that there was a process of experimentation and abandonment before the technology was easily available for the consistent or widespread adoption of such innovations. One conclusion that can be drawn is that changes in newspaper journalism, structurally and editorially, are rarely linear. These examples also suggest that advocacy encouraged experiments beyond the limits of existing technology. The *Northern Star's* intention to cover breaking news over several days using different editions during the Newport appeals was unfeasible, but it signalled a strong sense of the constraints of technology and of weekly publication intervals on a breaking news story in a period of extreme political tension.

1840 and 1875 as Turning Points in Campaigning Journalism

The time span of this thesis demonstrates the interplay of journalism, campaigning, and political discourse. It saw the gradual emergence of the professional journalist, distinct from the gentleman 'amateur' writing for a 'Review' or the writer of fiction who also wrote for periodicals. These did not disappear but from 1847, G. H. Lewes was already writing of periodical literature as a profession.⁴⁴³ The 'propagandists' of the early century, to use Jean Chalaby's term, were changing into writers in stamped publications and professionals who needed to, and could, earn their living through journalism.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴³ Anon. [G.H. Lewes], 'The Condition of Authors in England, Germany and France', *Fraser's Magazine*, 35 (March 1847), 285–95.

⁴⁴⁴ Jean Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 17.

The period 1840 to 1875 spans the rise and fall of Chartism, the growth of trade unionism, feminism, and transformations in political parties: the shift from Whig to Liberal, and from Tory to Conservative. It also includes periods of continental revolution, nationalist movements, and empire-building in foreign affairs as well as state reform of the ballot, education, health, and sanitation on the domestic front. My thesis begins with coverage of the Newport appeals of 1840 in the *Northern Star*, because the newspaper was breaking new ground as a stamped, radical publication based outside London that could conduct a national campaign and gain support from working-class readers. In addition to its class significance, the *Northern Star* was important regionally, and in terms of gender, in ways that made it modern. Its pre-occupation with democracy foreshadowed Stead's vision of the role of a newspaper in shaping political debate; its location in Leeds signalled that political debate could be influenced from outside London; and its acknowledgment of female supporters and depiction of their role in campaigning paralleled Stead's championing of women's rights.

The end point of the thesis in 1875 marks Stead's emergence as the campaigning editor of a regional daily newspaper. By 1871, when Stead was appointed editor of the *Northern Echo*, regional newspapers had access to telegraphic news, a communications network that included Press Association agency news (from 1870) and the ability to publish daily editions rather than weekly or biweekly ones. Newspapers outside London, such as the *Manchester Guardian*, were also important political instruments. For this reason, 1875 marked a turning point in British campaign journalism. In 1875, W. T. Stead was a provincial newspaper editor whose political sympathies and opinions were only known to readers of the *Northern Echo* in Darlington and the north east, and who carried little influence further south. He was, however, already experimenting with headlines, signed articles, illustrations, and articles aimed at women, all characteristic of New Journalism. The following year, Stead's articles condemning Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria caught Gladstone's attention, undermined Disraeli and helped to shape British foreign policy. It brought Gladstone out of retirement, changing the direction of British domestic policy for the next fifteen or so years. This

recognition led to Stead's departure for the Assistant Editorship of the London *Pall Mall Gazette* where he further developed his crusading approach to journalism. Thus, 1875 might be seen to mark the closing of a chapter in campaigning journalism at the same time that Stead was beginning to develop the next phase. However, 1875 was also a turning point. All the elements of innovation explored in this thesis — professionalism, networks, new technology, transatlantic dialogue, and the expansion of newspaper readerships in terms of class and gender — were expanded and developed, but not invented, in the final years of the nineteenth century.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Thematic Discussions of Journalism

One particular advantage of examining journalism in terms of the theme of campaigning is that campaigning is both serial and dependent on periodical forms of writing. Advocacy was a characteristic of both the mid-century and the fin-de-siècle. Many issues, such as education and employment opportunities for women, social mobility, the franchise, and health were relevant and topical in both periods at various times and these debates were reflected in journalism. Moreover, a campaign was validated by its existence in the public sphere — if not discussed and debated outside a closed advocacy network, it could not attract the necessary support to effect change. To become a 'story' in a way acceptable for publication, a campaign must have a topical currency and value in terms of novelty, human interest, or political relevance. In other words, it would have characteristics that attract readers. For these reasons, campaigners needed to be persuasive. Sensational revelations, statistics, illustrations, and celebrity endorsement all in various ways contribute to promoting a campaign. As discussed in Chapter 3, the most successful early nineteenth-century campaign identified by Charles Tilly was the British abolitionist movement, which made use of all these techniques.⁴⁴⁵ They characterize the promotion of subsequent campaigns in the British press, including changes associated with New Journalism.

⁴⁴⁵ Charles Tilly, *Identities, Boundaries & Social Ties* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), p. 217.

Another advantage of the thematic approach is to impose some control on the vast body of available material. My solution to the problem of the scale and accessibility, or otherwise, of the archive has been to divide chapters by themes related to campaigning and campaigning journalism. Within these, I combined close reading, via case studies, with making broader connections between diverse publications according to common concerns and subjects.

Conversely, this illustrates the disadvantages of this methodology, since it is impossible to provide detailed close readings across a large range of titles. Joel Wiener's collection of essays in 1988 highlights the potential pitfalls of the thematic approach, such as the tendency to draw artificial distinctions between characteristics of newspapers and periodicals. As Laurel Brake notes in her essay in the collection, various innovations adopted in the late century by newspapers existed earlier in Britain in periodical publishing. An example of this is Wiener's attempt in his 2012 study of speed and the press to demonstrate that innovations in the British serial press were the result of 'Americanization'.⁴⁴⁶ To make this point, Wiener concentrates mainly on newspapers and draws comparisons between the situation in America and that of the British press that risk being too simplistic. Many apparent 'American' innovations or practices existed early in nineteenth-century British newspapers. These highlighted the speedy delivery of news by 'express' even in the era of the stagecoach and embraced new technology when it was available and affordable. Wiener also ignores the impact of British periodical journalism on American writing via the emigration of British journalists to the U.S. where they wrote for American papers or became U.S. correspondents for British newspapers. An example given in Chapter 3 is Edwin Godkin, a former Crimea correspondent for the *Daily News*, who married an American and emigrated there. Though Godkin was predominantly a newspaper journalist, he influenced periodical journalism in America by helping to found the influential weekly *The Nation* (in 1865) and the literary review, the *Atlantic Monthly* (in 1857).

⁴⁴⁶ Joel H. Wiener, *The Americanization of the British Press, 1830s–1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Another problem with the thematic method is illustrated by Martin Hewitt's history of a particular campaign — the removal of the press taxes that helped usher in the rise of the cheap press.⁴⁴⁷ Hewitt's detailed historical analysis stresses the relationship of the campaign against taxes on knowledge to contemporary debates over fiscal reform and their impact on Gladstone's rise in the Liberal Party. These points are valid and valuable but reduce APRTOK to a middle-class lobby group instead of recognizing its ideological commitment to the rights of all readers to have access to the symbolic capital of news. It looked back to the preoccupations of the unstamped press and continued campaigning to remove the securities legislation, believing that this discriminated against working-class, radical, and secularist publications. By examining the theme of campaigning journalism rather than the history of a campaign, my thesis shows that these issues were central to the emergence of New Journalism in newspapers since it highlights the importance of readerships to genres of publications and the dual relationship of news to entertainment.

While I acknowledge that an in-depth study of a single long-running title, such as the *News of the World* or *Daily Telegraph* would reveal much about the changes in campaigning journalism in the cheap press, such a study would be restrictive in that it would be more difficult to compare trends across different markets and readerships of publications. Similarly, a discussion of advocacy journals devoted to a single campaign would reveal a great deal about the history of the campaign but not the wider context of journalism. Reliance on one newspaper or type of newspaper, or periodical, misrepresents the realities of mid-Victorian journalism in which hybridity and fluidity — such as the movement of freelance journalists and their ideas across different publications — was the norm. Journalists did not specialize in the way that late-century newspaper reporters or magazine staff did: Douglas Jerrold was a playwright, humorist, newspaper editor, both a weekly and monthly magazine editor and contributor, and serial novelist, for example. Charles Dickens worked as a parliamentary reporter, a reviewer, a sketch writer, and an editor in addition to

⁴⁴⁷ Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', 1849–1869* (London: Bloomsbury 2014).

writing novels and short stories. Harriet Martineau wrote fiction, newspaper leaders and magazine essays on a wide range of political issues. The generation that followed, including Dickens's 'Young Men' but also *Morning Star* journalists such as Justin McCarthy, Richard Whiteing, and William Black, continued with parallel careers in fiction and daily newspaper journalism. What connects their journalism and fiction is often the discussion of ideas, political and social, across genres. Thus, I argue that the attempt to replicate this sense of multiple and connected genres through the theme of campaigning writing is justified by contemporary writing practices.

Methodology

The questions that this thesis set out to answer were the extent to which a genre of campaigning journalism developed between 1840 and 1875; its influence on the development of New Journalism in the 1880s and 1890s; and the nature of the relationship of campaigning writing to serial publication. Rather than attempting an exhaustive study of the small-circulation advocacy press or of a single, more commercially successful title, I sought examples in publications aimed at larger and potentially more diverse readerships, since these were characteristics of New Journalism. For long-running titles, various forms of sampling were used, either by examining the publication in relation to a specific campaign or campaigns; or by comparing coverage over various time intervals.

In Chapter 1, I draw on Graham Law and Matthew Sterenberg's analysis of Old and New Journalism in terms of Jürgen Habermas's theory of the structural transformation of the public sphere.⁴⁴⁸ I argue that Habermas's concepts of structural transformation and 'colonization' are significant because they are at the heart of the concerns about the expansion and influence of the press in the nineteenth century. In this context, what defines Old Journalism is an acceptance of the dominance of elites in certain genres: the upper class male read *The Times* at breakfast on the day of publication, whereas the operative could only

⁴⁴⁸ Graham Law and Matthew Sterenberg, 'Old v. New Journalism and the Public Sphere', 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 16 (2013) <<http://19.bbk.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 February 2014].

read it later in a reading room or public house. Law and Sterenberg comment that E. S. Dallas effectively defended Old Journalism for its acceptance of the bourgeois public sphere through the existence of class journals. Stead's and Newnes's class papers represented a journalistic and a commercial view of journalism that embraced a broad view of the 'public' and the truly mass market. Rather than interpret newspapers through Habermas's concept of a male, bourgeois public sphere, I argue that Bakhtin's argument against monolingual authority is particularly suited to the multi-vocal nature of newspapers. It also paves the way for the consideration of other interests excluded by Habermas: of women's contributions to journalism and publications written by working-class authors as well as for a working-class audience. Campaigning journalism is particularly strong in examples of these alternative networks including Martineau, Frances Power Cobbe, Mary Howitt, and Eliza Meteyard in magazines and newspapers, or George Holyoake, Henry Hetherington, and Richard Carlile, writers and activists who wrote for a range of radical publications.

Chapter 2 develops the theme of investigative journalism discussed by James L. Aucoin, Michael Schudson, and anthologized by Stephen Donovan and Matthew Rubery.⁴⁴⁹ I analyse relations between investigative and campaigning journalism and the ways in which mid-century investigation both anticipated and diverged from New Journalism. I demonstrate that the range of investigative methodologies in British newspapers and periodicals between 1840 and 1875 were an important part of the development of campaigning journalism. They drew on parliamentary commissions, fiction, scientific papers, and pamphlets, and used a combination of new and old methods to gather their information: interviews are particularly associated with New Journalism but already evident in Commission inquiries and Henry Mayhew's sublimated interviews. Eye-witness reports and the compilation of statistics as evidence are associated with Old as well as New Journalism; the eye-witness places the

⁴⁴⁹ James L. Aucoin, *The Evolution of American Investigative Journalism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005); Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: a Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); and *Secret Commissions: An Anthology of Victorian Investigative Journalism*, ed. by Stephen Donovan and Matthew Rubery (London: Broadview Press, 2012).

reporter at the scene as well as in the role of narrator. Tables were an early form of illustration. Likewise, exposé had antecedents in the early century before emerging in sensational form in James Greenwood's 1866 series on the Lambeth Workhouse. This offered Stead a model of the role of the reporter as actor in the investigation as well as its recorder. Greenwood's experiment was admired by other journalists but not widely emulated at the time; but he did not acknowledge the debt he owed to Louisa Twining of the Workhouse Visiting Society and the *Lancet's* long-running investigation into Poor Law Infirmarys in 1865.

Investigative journalism was also influenced by British fiction writers, especially women novelists such as Frances Trollope and Elizabeth Gaskell who were able to use their domestic experience and research skills to reveal the ordinary lives of factory workers and their families. Trollope's investigations produced novels that called for direct state intervention, such as *Michael Armstrong* and *Jessie Phillips*. The former was written at the behest of Lord Ashley as part of his campaign to regulate the employment of children. Gaskell's presentation of a working-class Lancashire family was much more positive in celebrating the domestic in *Mary Barton*, though ultimately she rejects the Chartist solutions. Gaskell's later novel, *Ruth*, dealt with themes of the degradation of seamstresses and illegitimacy. I demonstrate also that Dickens's journalism and fiction exhibit a close interest in investigation as a method of campaigning but often the journalism is presented in a creative form. In the 'Uncommercial Traveller' articles, Dickens deliberately blurred the identity of the first person narrator. Moreover, his use of 'human interest' in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* looked forward to the New Journalism and the way in which it personalizes and dramatizes issues. Dickens's investigative journalism was creatively campaigning, subjective and personal in the way that Stead advocated. Its imaginative dimension was part of what made the campaigning element so effective.

Investigation is only one component of campaigning journalism, however, and Chapter 3 argues that networks played a significant part in its development. In the three sections of this

chapter, I discuss personal and social networks, arguing that the emergence of networks of writers connected by political sympathy, gender, and publications, is evidence of the growing professionalization of journalism in this period. In the second section I consider the Chartist *Northern Star* as the hub of a journalism campaign. I argue that it was innovative in using a variety of journalism techniques, including moving news onto the front page of the paper in contrast to the usual practice of placing advertisements on page 1. It also experimented with attempts to get news to its readers faster through the use of multiple editions, though in practice the number of editions generally related to location rather than topicality. For a relatively short time it achieved the feat of having a genuinely national reach on behalf of a working-class movement but its ability to sustain this position was hampered by its close identification with the Chartist campaign and its fortunes. Political factors including the arrests of Chartists and competition from broader-based popular Sunday newspapers with a liberal bias meant the paper struggled commercially.

The second case study draws connections between the *Morning Star* and Stead's New Journalism, both of which were publicly identified with, and sometimes condemned for, their associations with religious nonconformity, political radicalism, and support for American journalism and politics. The plain-speaking tone of the *Morning Star* predates Stead's own preference for direct, effective language in journalism, characteristic of protestant nonconformism. The *Morning Star* reflected Bright and Lucas's Quaker backgrounds; at the *Northern Echo* in Darlington, the Congregationalist Stead was employed by the Quaker Pease family. The most innovative period at the *Morning Star* was under Justin McCarthy, a Catholic, but the paper had a history of uncompromising campaigning that strongly resembled Stead's style of journalism. The paper's *Evening Star* counterpart predated the *Pall Mall Gazette* by almost ten years and had succeeded in establishing a niche to the extent that George Smith and Frederick Greenwood urgently needed a story to boost the *Pall Mall Gazette* — the result combined sensation and exposé and Stead acknowledged 'A Night in the Workhouse' as an inspiration twenty years later.

In addition to the commercial model suggested by the *Daily Telegraph*, the New Journalism of the 1880s and 1890s also drew on another pragmatically campaigning model: the popular Sunday press, which I discuss in Chapter 4. These papers made a point of stressing their political independence and, like the *Morning Star*, were critical of the metropolitan morning press for its obvious affiliations to political parties and willingness to print partisan articles. The *News of the World*, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, and *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* were not objective recorders of news, however. All three backed particular causes and used a consciously persuasive editorial style that was more succinct and direct than more expensive competitors. They also demonstrated the characteristic hybridity of weekly newspapers since some aspects of their appeal lay in the ability to borrow features from family magazines such as jokes, miscellanies of sayings and anecdotes, gardening and other household columns, fashion and entertainment sections, and book reviews. Like newspapers, they retained anonymity but a striking feature was the use of columnists who were conducting political dialogue with the leader pages and with coverage elsewhere in the paper. The prominence of crime stories and the generally radical sympathies of the papers at least in the 1840s and early 1850s also drew inspiration from the unstamped press, including John Cleave's publications and a street tradition of broadsides that included woodcuts, accounts of famous crimes, and ballads celebrating them. This was particularly true of *Lloyd's*, since Edward Lloyd was a successful publisher of such literary forms, as well as penny blood novels, and it was part of the newspaper's appeal to a genuinely popular audience: not just radical artisans and operatives but lower middle-class readers as well. The *News of the World* was more cautious, attempting to appeal as much to readers of *The Times* as readers of cheap literature. Its campaigns were generally on fairly safe topics such as the plight of distressed needlewomen, though it expressed this sometimes in class terms since it attacked aristocratic and fashionable women for not doing more to help those who made the clothes they wore. By the 1870s, it had become particularly critical of women's efforts to work outside the home, emphasizing instead the importance of their domestic role.

Of the three newspapers discussed in depth in Chapter 4, *Reynolds's* had the greatest claim to be genuinely campaigning since the paper consistently defended working-class political movements. Like the *Morning Star*, it was critical of British imperialism and supported the North in the American Civil War. Its politics were inspired by the ideals of the 1830 Revolution in France but it was launched as the Republic was on the brink of disappearing into the Second Empire. This chapter pays particular attention to *Reynolds's* treatment of the Franco-Prussian War since the coverage of events in 1870 to 1871 exhibited a number of characteristics of New Journalism: the use of map illustrations, telegraphic bulletins, stacked headings to tell the story in summary, and the reprinting of interviews.

However, *Reynolds's* immediate competitor, *Lloyd's*, also utilized particular campaigns. Initially, *Lloyd's* appeared to support Chartism, possibly under the influence of its early editor William Carpenter, though this direction soon changed to a more cautious, and commercially successful, radicalism. The appointment of Douglas Jerrold as editor was as much commercial as editorial: Edward Lloyd demonstrated an awareness of the power of the celebrity author to boost sales that chimes with the New Journalism's emphasis on the famous. It also enabled *Lloyd's* to capitalize on Jerrold's campaigning reputation as well as his popularity: the paper paid close attention to the contemporary working-class campaigns on wages and recognized that women outside the upper classes needed to work for a living.

Significantly, there was one working-class preoccupation that these Sunday papers tended not to address: that of the campaign against the newspaper stamp. When the newspaper stamp was abolished in 1855, none of the papers dropped their price; *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's* chose to increase the number of pages, believing that this, rather than the price, would attract more readers. These papers' non-participation in the issue at this point — they only cut the cover price to a penny after paper tax was abolished in 1861 — suggests that their proprietors believed that their own interests were not unduly hampered by the 'Taxes on Knowledge' and may even have limited the threat of cheaper competition. This, however, was the position of more conservative publications such as *The Times*, not of the most

progressive newspapers such as the *Morning Star* and *Daily Telegraph*, which were the direct beneficiaries of the removal of the newspaper stamp in 1855.

In Chapter 5, the campaign against the newspaper stamp is viewed specifically as a working-class cause, in contrast to opposition to advertising tax and paper duty, which attracted more support from the middle classes generally, including the press, proprietors, and paper manufacturers. The reason for this is that the newspaper campaign spoke directly to political reform campaigns whereas the other two could be viewed as more obviously driven by self-interest. Most significantly in terms of this thesis, the success of the People's Charter Union, in getting the newspaper stamp added to campaigns for reform of press regulations, reignited the campaign against the 'Taxes on Knowledge', which was much more symbolic politically than the Liverpool-based campaign to abolish indirect taxation.

I agree with Martin Hewitt that the debates over taxation and government spending certainly played a part in the formation of the Association for the Promotion of the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge but disagree with his view of it as simply a lobby group. One reason is that the organization retained its working-class radical committee members, including Richard Moore, James Watson, and the Holyoake brothers. It is true that it also gave prominence to MPs such as Thomas Milner Gibson and Richard Cobden, and that their political contacts were valuable, but it also drew a wide range of liberal-radical journalists, editors, and proprietors from across the country. The campaign was waged as much in the press as in parliament and the manifesto of the movement — that the taxes prevented working-class readers from timely access to the valuable commodity of news — was written in the Select Committee report, which was then debated in the press. Furthermore, the publisher John Cassell, a working-class Mancunian who campaigned for temperance, education, and universal suffrage was not a Chartist and yet made a deliberate decision to ally himself with APRTOK rather than one of the more industry specific pressure groups on paper and advertising. Unlike Dickens, whose magazine audience was mainly lower-middle class and whose attitude to the newspaper stamp was that it was important as a means of

regulating the press, Cassell promoted working people's right to educate themselves and to participate directly in the national political debate. Both of these editor/proprietors may appear patronising in their advice to working men and women, but Cassell gave these readers space in his magazine to express their views (though readers cannily tended to make sure their views were broadly supportive of the paper's stance). This emphasis on reader involvement — including awarding prizes for essays — was also a feature of New Journalism in its recognition of the commercial potential of enabling readers to see their own names in their paper. Like New Journalism, Cassell's magazines provided spaces for women as well as men, and included special sections for children, such as short stories, as did those of his campaigning colleagues, the Howitts.

The other argument in favour of APRTOK's role as a pressure group championing working-class access to news and freedom of political expression is its continuation of the campaign against the securities and regulations criteria. Charles Bradlaugh's prosecution in 1868 revived suspicions that the Board of the Inland Revenue was politically motivated, a charge that APRTOK had stressed repeatedly in its battle against the newspaper stamp. A combination of journalistic activity, extra-parliamentary political campaigning, and the intervention of Gladstone led to the removal of the requirements to pay securities against libel and blasphemy in 1869. An unsuccessful outcome would have been costly for Bradlaugh and the *National Reformer* and fear of similar reprisals would have discouraged other advocacy publications that had previously assumed they did not need to register as newspapers. Removing these financial obstacles to publishing was commercially beneficial but perhaps also encouraged journalists to take more risks, paving the way for the assertive headlines and sensational content of mass circulation newspapers at the end of the century. It risked even greater intrusion into the private lives of celebrities of all kinds, though fear of the power of the press led to further legislation on libel in the 1880s.

Overall, the innovations associated with the New Journalism could be detected in various forms in the newspapers, periodicals, and serial fiction of the mid-century. Furthermore,

publications that attempted to be both reforming and achieve wider circulation experimented with features later associated with Stead and Newnes, including forms of interviews and the elevation of literary and political figures. The representation of evidence in visual formats such as tables, maps, and diagrams to promote easier understanding is another example. It could even be argued that the most overtly campaigning titles showed the greatest willingness to experiment with the presentation of the news: moving its location, increasing the number of editions, or using summary headings from telegraphed news to make it easier for readers to identify the key developments.

Commercial Risks and Campaigns: Stead and Newnes

Mid-century readers expected their newspapers to be broadly partisan rather than objective. However, unyielding adherence to one or two campaigns carried commercial risks if readers were not persuaded or simply became bored. Despite its commitment to Chartism, the *Northern Star* supported a range of movements that were broadly of interest to working-class readers and it was not afraid to air conflicting opinions within the Chartist movement in its own pages. Its demise after ten years did not indicate that Chartism had 'failed', though the paper never regained the popularity it enjoyed when the movement was at its peak. Instead, it suggests something more cyclical: that the movement for ballot reform was diversifying into other economic and social campaigns that were taken up by other groups. The progressively radical *Morning Star* arose in part from its middle-class founders' aim of connecting with the *Northern Star*'s radical working-class constituency, a point that might be inferred from the shared symbolism of their names. Like the *Northern Star*, the *Morning Star* was hampered as well as helped by its association with its founders. This proved more of a handicap to the *Morning Star* because its objectives were far more ambitious: to be a mass-circulation, penny daily newspaper to rival *The Times*. To succeed in this it needed advertising and sales but was outflanked on both by the success of the *Daily Telegraph*, its penny rival. Ultimately, the *Morning Star* fell victim to its proprietor's view that it had served its purpose and merged with another liberal title. Ultimately, publications that strove

for truly mass-market circulations would have to be able to read the public mood or anticipate support for particular causes.

The experience of the *Morning Star* was to resurface in Stead's attempt to make commitment to campaigns a feature of the New Journalism in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Much of this thesis has explored various components that helped form the style and content of his approach. The exploration of the popular press in Chapter 4 indicates that there were other crucial ingredients in New Journalism: their relationship with campaigning or crusading journalism was complicated by the transformed commercial environment after the paper duty was removed in 1861 and registration and securities costs lifted in 1869. These factors have often been underplayed but they added to a growing sense of the freedom and power of the press.

Commercial concerns continued to dominate, including the proprietor's influence over editorial content; the emphasis on attracting advertising and boosting sales; and the need for high-circulation publications to connect with the preoccupations of a mass audience. Stead recognized that sensation was good for sales in the short term, but 'The Maiden Tribute' series showed that he allowed an overriding belief in his mission to blind him to the impact on advertisers and core readers, as well as his proprietor. For these loyal readers of an evening paper aimed at upper-class male readers, Stead's introduction of the topics of child prostitution and social destitution was off-putting and while the sensational coverage brought new readers, these were not necessarily interested in the rest of the paper, nor did they remain loyal to it. Stead's direct involvement as an editor in newspapers effectively ended in 1889 after he left the *Pall Mall Gazette* to found the *Review of Reviews*, a monthly publication, though he undertook two experiments in daily newspaper publishing, in 1893 and 1903, which were not successful.⁴⁵⁰ In contrast, George Newnes, for a time Stead's collaborator on the *Review of Reviews*, had arguably a much stronger impact on the direction

⁴⁵⁰ Laurel Brake, 'Who is "We"? The "Daily Paper" Projects and the Journalism Manifestos of W. T. Stead', in *Marketing the Author: Authorial Personae, Narrative Selves and Self-Fashioning, 1880–1930*, ed. by Marysa Demoor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 54–72.

of New Journalism in the 1890s and into the twentieth century. Like Stead, Newnes was a Liberal — he founded the *Westminster Gazette* in 1873 to support the party, and, like Stead, he was an outsider in terms of class and religion, being also a Congregationalist and lower middle-class. Newnes recognized, as had the proprietors of the popular Sunday papers and the *Daily Telegraph*, that mass circulation newspapers needed to identify with their readers rather than lecture to them. Newnes' publications did not ignore campaigning but they did not privilege or prioritize them. Moreover, they built on the hybridity of the popular weeklies. The phenomenally successful *Tit-Bits* (1881–1984) and the *Strand Magazine* (1891–1950), which launched the Sherlock Holmes stories, ran well into the twentieth century and acknowledged the importance of entertainment in attracting the broadest readership. This is illustrated in the success of marketing strategies, such as the competitions for substantial prizes in *Tit-Bits* and the puzzles in the *Strand*. Newnes's collaboration with Stead on the *Review of Reviews* could not survive the former's dislike of Stead's sense of mission in journalism. *Tit-Bits* ultimately proved more influential on British mass-market newspaper journalism than any of Stead's publications, by starting the careers of Alfred Harmsworth, founder of the *Daily Mail*, and Arthur Pearson, who began the *Daily Express*.

One area that connects Old and New journalism is poetry published in periodicals and newspapers. Even before weekly newspapers such as the *News of the World* published fiction, they published poetry. Further research, including digital searches, could demonstrate the ways in which poetry played a subtle campaigning role in newspapers, reinforcing readers' preconceptions and those of the publication. Unlike *Reynolds's* and the *Northern Star*, whose campaigning poetry has been discussed in this thesis, the *News of the World* published apolitical poetry. Its content may be considered gendered since it was predominantly about domestic themes and thus appears to have been aimed particularly at women. From the beginning, however, the poetry section consistently reinforced the paper's view of woman as the centre of the home and the importance of family to social harmony. In form, they are in keeping with contemporary tastes for ballads, nature poetry, and sentiment,

but they also dealt with familiar topics such as loss and bereavement. Much of the poetry was signed, mainly by male authors. However, the continual reinforcement of family and domesticity, particularly from an imagined 'female' perspective, might be said to constitute a form of campaign.

Digitization

The digital availability of publications has undoubtedly assisted in the research of this thesis and is an immense benefit. It is possible to conduct searches, however imperfectly, and to build up a quantitative analysis of a particular publication, as Dallas Liddle demonstrated with his investigation of genre in *The Times*.⁴⁵¹ Digital databases also enable access to holdings of print runs that might not be easily available or which are now restricted owing to the fragility of the paper copies. Comparisons may be made between publications in terms of the number of times a particular topic was covered and which departments of the papers featured it. This is the basis of the comparison of French news in *Reynolds's* and *Lloyd's* in Chapter 4, for example. However, rather than risk a simple quantitative analysis based on a digital search, I had to decide on the framework for the comparison. Having selected sample periods to compare, it was necessary to read whole issues from these periods in order to gain a sense of the amount of newspaper space given to France as a topic. It was important in terms of an investigation of campaigning journalism to test out first that France existed outside straightforward international news sections in *Reynolds's*, for example. If it did not somehow occupy a prominent place in reviews, poetry, or in opinion columns, then it would not have proven the contention that France and French politics were especially important to the paper. The whole-issue perusal of *Reynolds's* showed that the topic crossed the range of editorial content and in 1870 to 1871 the paper experimented with illustration, using maps, to depict the state of play in the Prussian invasion.

⁴⁵¹ Dallas Liddle, 'Methods in Periodical Studies: Follow the Genre', *Journal of Victorian Culture Online* <<http://blogs.tandf.co.uk/jvc/2012/12/24/what-is-a-journal-mla2013/>> [accessed 23 June 2014].

On the other hand, inconsistencies in spelling of places and names or different ways of describing the same events threaten to distort digital searches. These include variations such as ‘Welsh’ and ‘Welch’, which meant searches on Newport, even within the same title, had to be done several times in different ways, using other search terms to check for any omissions. Sometimes there was no alternative but to go through each page of a publication between the relevant dates to check the number of references and where they appeared. For publications used as a comparison but not requiring specific subject searches, the paper versions gave a much stronger sense of the reader’s experience: one example is Hetherington’s *London Dispatch*. Changes in its layout, the adoption and rejection of wood cut illustration on the front page (probably due to expense), its merger with *Cleave’s Police Gazette* and change of publication date from Saturday to Sunday are experienced differently when turning a physical page. However, the pages are extremely fragile and its digital life is undeniably preferable to its demise in terms of preserving it.

Some publications, such as John Cassell’s *Working Man’s Friend*, are available and searchable in facsimile on a database, and Dickens’s weekly magazines are available on *Dickens Journals Online* along with valuable scholarly material. Even paper copies of *Household Words*, already bound in volumes, often omit the outer wrapper and its advertisements and therefore do not allow the full experience of the contemporary reader. However, reading the weekly numbers in this way gave me a far stronger sense of just how campaigning *Household Words* was, across fiction, essays, and poetry, before the Crimean War, and how different the later numbers appear, anticipating the emphasis on fiction in *All The Year Round*.

The titles discussed in this thesis are variously drawn from paper copies, libraries, microfilm, and digital databases. This reflects the current state of access in terms of research into historical periodicals and newspapers. Around 95% of what exists archivally is not digitally available, but the temptation will be for academic researchers to focus on these if they have access through university libraries since access to paper copies is increasingly

difficult due to conservation needs. Much of the British Library's physical archive is contained in closed access in Boston Spa, for example, and the issue is that future researchers may increasingly focus on digitally available titles, slanting their view of the overall field.

In conclusion, campaigning journalism provides a useful prism through which to compare and contrast the journalistic values of the mid-century with those of the late nineteenth century. It indicates much that was considered 'new' was in fact the accumulation of ideas and experiments that had been tried in various formats in previous decades but which became transformative thanks to the regulatory and commercial environment and to far wider participation in parliamentary politics by a far greater number of men. This thesis has also stressed the process of modernization and broadening that took place in the composition of newsrooms from the 1860s when, increasingly, young men who worked on provincial newspapers moved to London to develop careers in journalism. However, at this time, women were not present in mixed newsrooms and their work was overwhelmingly published in periodicals, with rare exceptions. Nevertheless, campaigns for changes in education and employment for women at this time helped bring about one of the most distinctive novelties of New Journalism: women began to play a full role as paid staff journalists in mixed offices, rather than as freelance writers producing literature at home. This may be viewed as evidence of a shift in terms of the greater professionalization of journalism generally in the later period, and of the growing importance of women as readers of newspapers as well as other genres of writing.

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Nineteenth Century British Library Newspapers <<http://www.jisc-collections.ac.uk/Catalogue/Overview/Index/32>>

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<<http://www.gale.cengage.com/DigitalCollections/products/ukperiodicals/>>

The Times Digital Archive <<http://www.timesonline.co.uk>>

Victorian Research Web <http://www.thevictorianweb.org>

The Workhouse: The Story of an Institution www.workhouses.org.uk

W. T. Stead Resource Site <<http://www.attackingthediabol.co.uk>>

Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals 1800–1900
<<http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series2>>

Wellesley Index To Victorian Periodicals 1824–1900 <<http://wellesley.chadwyck.co.uk>>

Libraries:

British Library newspaper collection at Colindale (now at St Pancras and Boston Spa)
Holyoake archive at Bishopsgate Library
Humanist Library and Archives at Conway Hall
London School of Economics Archive
St Bride Library

Main Newspapers and Periodicals:

Dailies:

Daily News

Daily Telegraph

*Manchester Guardian**

Morning Chronicle

Morning Herald

Morning Post
Morning and Evening Star
Northern Echo
Pall Mall Gazette
*Scotsman**
The Times
 *Daily from 1855 to present day

Weeklies:

All the Year Round
Bell's Life in London
The Cambrian
Cleaves' Weekly Police Gazette
Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper
Examiner
Family Herald
Household Words
Howitt's Journal
Illuminated Magazine
Illustrated London News
Lancet
The Leader
*Leeds Mercury**
Leigh Hunt's Journal
Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper
Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper
London Dispatch
London Journal
Macmillan's
Manchester Times and Examiner
Monmouthshire Beacon
Monmouthshire Merlin
Musical Times and Singing Class Circular
News of the World
Northern Star
Observer
Once a Week
Penny Magazine
Penny Satirist
Punch
Temple Bar
The Republican
Reynolds's Miscellany
Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper
Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art
Weekly Dispatch
Western Vindicator
Working Man's Friend

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Monthlies:

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine

Contemporary Review
Cornhill Magazine
Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine
English Woman's Journal
Fortnightly Review
Fraser's Magazine
Nineteenth Century

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APPENDIX: Writers and Editors Cited in the Thesis, with Dates

(Alongside the names, the existence of an entry in the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* and/or the online *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* is noted by the abbreviations *DCNJ* and/or *ODNB* respectively.)

Adams, W. E. (1832–1936) *ODNB DCNJ*

Arnold, Matthew (1822–1888) *ODNB DCNJ*

Barnes, Thomas (1785–1841) *ODNB DCNJ*

Beeton, Isabella (1836–1865) *ODNB DCNJ*

Beeton, Samuel (1831–1877) *ODNB DCNJ*

Bodichon, Barbara Leigh Smith (1827–1891) *ODNB DCNJ*

Bradlaugh, Charles (1833–1891) *ODNB DCNJ*

Bray, Charles (1811–1884) *ODNB*

Bright, John (1811–1889) *ODNB*

Caird, James (1816–1892) *ODNB*

Carlile, Richard (1790–1843) *ODNB DCNJ*

Carpenter, Mary (1807–1877) *ODNB*

Carpenter, William (1797–1874) *ODNB DCNJ*

Cassell, John (1817–1865) *ODNB DCNJ*

Chesson, Frederick (1822–1888) *ODNB*

Cleave, John (?1794–1850) *ODNB DCNJ*

Cobbe, Frances Power (1822–1904) *ODNB DCNJ*

Cobden, Richard (1804–1865) *ODNB*

Collet, Collet Dobson (1812–1898) *ODNB*

Collins, (William) Wilkie (1824–1889) *ODNB DCNJ*

Cook, Eliza (1812–1889) *ODNB DCNJ*

Cooper, Thomas (1805–1892) *ODNBDCNJ*

Craik, Dinah Mulock (1826–1887) *ODNB*

Delane, John Thadeus (1817–1879) *ODNB DCNJ*

- Dickens, Charles (1812–1896) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Evans, Marian [George Eliot] (1819–1880) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Faithfull, Emily (1835–1895) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Forbes, Archibald (1838–1900) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Forster, John, (1812–1876) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Foster, Thomas Campbell (1813–1882) *ODNB*
- Gaskell, Elizabeth Cleghorn (1810–1865) *ODNB*
- Godkin, Edwin Lawrence (1831–1902) *ODNB*
- Greenwood, Frederick (1830–1909) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Greenwood, James (1835–1927) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Harney, George Julian (1817–1897) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Hetherington, Henry (1792–1849) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Hill, William (?1806–1867) *DNCJ*
- Hobson, Joshua (1810–1876) *DNCJ*
- Hollingshead, John (1827–1904) *ODNB*
- Holyoake, Austin (1826–1874) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Holyoake, George (1817–1906) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Hood, Thomas (1700–1845) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Horne, Richard Hengist (1802–1884) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Howitt, Mary (1799–1888) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Howitt, William (1792–1879) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Hunt, (James Henry) Leigh (1784–1859) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Hunt, John (1775–1848) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Hunt, Thornton Leigh (1810–1873) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Ingram, Herbert (1811–1860) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Jerrold, Douglas (1803–1857) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Kavanagh, Julia (1824–1877) *ODNB*
- Lewes, George Henry (1817–1878) *ODNB DNCJ*

- Linton, Eliza Linn (1822–1898) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Linton, William (1812–1897) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Lloyd, Edward (1815–1890) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Lucas, Samuel (editor, *Morning Star*) (1811–1865) *ODNB*
- Lucas, Samuel, (editor, *Once a Week*) (1818–1868) *ODNB*
- McCarthy, Justin (1830–1912) *ODNB*
- Mackay, Alexander (1808–1852) *ODNB*
- Mackay, Charles (1812–1889) *ODNB*
- Martineau, Harriet (1802–1876) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Mayhew, Henry (1812–1887) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Meteyard, Eliza (1816–1879) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Miall, Edward (1809–1881) *ODNB*
- Morley, Henry (1822–1894) *ODNB*
- Morley, John (1838–1923) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Newnes, George (1851–1910) *ODNB DNCJ*
- O'Connor, Feargus (?1796–1855) *ODNB DNCJ*
- O'Connor, Thomas Power (1848–1929) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Parkes, (Elizabeth) Bessie Rayner (1829–1925) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Reach, Angus Bethune (1821–1856) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Reynolds, George, William MacArthur (1814–1879) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Richard, Henry (1812–1888) *ODNB*
- Russell, William (1820–1907) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Sala, George (1828–1895) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Stead, William Thomas (1849–1912) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Tonna, Charlotte Elizabeth (1790–1846) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Toulmin, Camilla (Mrs Crosland) (1812–1895) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Trollope, Anthony (1815–1882) *ODNB DNCJ*
- Trollope, Frances (1779–1863) *ODNB*

Vincent, Henry (1813–1878) *ODNB*

Wakley, Thomas (1795–1862) *ODNB DNCJ*

Whiteing, Richard (1840–1928) *ODNB DNCJ*

Wills, W. H. (1810–1880) *ODNB DNCJ*

Yates, Edmund (1831–1984) *ODNB DNCJ*