

Article

Nineteenth-century Soaps: Towards a Comparative Account of the Popular Victorian Serial Tale

Graham Law

Abstract

As the title suggests, the article focuses on the development during a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization of the various modes of cheap installment publication (in parts, in miscellanies, in newspapers, in paperback series) which in turn sought to address and indeed served to create a mass audience for narrative fiction. Among the popular genres emerging, the focus is particularly on varieties of domestic romance, which reached a broad family audience while disturbing traditional perceptions of class and gender roles. It endeavors to link together questions of generic form with those of publishing format, including price and distribution, periodicity and illustration. Making use of the concept of the “soap opera” as a device, the main thesis is that such developments in popular print culture in the nineteenth century should be recognized as precursors and facilitators of popular serial drama on film, radio and television, among other audio-visual media dominant in the twentieth century. It draws examples from a wide range of societies, with the three major case studies taken from England, France, and the United States, and briefer illustrations from East Asia, Latin America, and the British colonies.

A. Introduction

The earliest *OED* citation for “soap opera” comes from *Newsweek* magazine in the late 1930s, where, still inside scare quotes, the phrase refers disparagingly to those endless sensational serial dramas with domestic settings, transmitted over the U.S. radio networks for a weekday daytime audience of housewives, and typically sponsored by detergent manufacturers. Already on the eve of World War II, there were more than fifty to

choose from, and a decade later all top ten shows in the daytime ratings were still soaps.¹ And during the 1950s the genre migrated wholesale to daytime network television, where it remained a fixture for over half a century. The longest running was *The Guiding Light* which, launching on NBC radio in 1937 and moving to CBS television in 1952, recorded its 15,000th episode in September 2006 before being extinguished in September 2009.² In more recent decades, however, with demand for the original formula in slow decline, the term “soap opera” has been extended to cover a wider range of broadcast serial dramas. Included here are series with specific professional settings like *General Hospital* (1963), those transmitted weekly for a primetime audience like *Dallas* (1978), those more realistic in style and content such as the BBC’s *EastEnders* (1985), those in episodic rather than continuous narrative form like *Friends* (1994), where each installment represents a separate short story, and those with closed plotting like the Latin American *telenovela* or Japanese *renzoku-terebi-dorama*, with a new story beginning every few months.³ The phrase “soap opera” seems to have been created by analogy with “horse opera,” used from around the mid-nineteenth century to describe American circus performances or Wild West shows, and transferred to the early cowboy movies of the silent era.⁴ From the beginning, both horse and soap opera were incongruous forms, standing in low, bathetic, parodic contrast to grand opera, the epitome of high bourgeois culture. Still today, with its epic scale but banal vision, its heightened events in humdrum settings, its Hollywood techniques in bargain basement style, soap opera finds it difficult to escape a sense of the oxymoronic.

I want to suggest here that the serially printed, mass-market fiction formats of the Victorian era, from the British “penny blood” and the French *roman feuilleton* (newspaper serial) to the American “dime novel” and beyond, have a good deal in common, in both material and ideological terms, with the broadcast soap operas of yesterday. In the category of printed serial publications, I include not only unified texts issued at intervals in independent fascicles or numbers, and periodicals with miscellaneous contents, whether magazines or newspapers, but also booklets in uniform series, usually numbered and/or dated. Serial publication was not a Victorian invention and the first two had precedents in the eighteenth century, if not earlier. The principal motives behind the rise of serial publication were timeliness and economy. Instalment issue itself, and the more dispersed channels through which serials were distributed, offered the reader an immediacy of access to written information that traditional booksellers could not match. At the same time, publishers could spread the cost of production, and readers the cost of purchase, painlessly over the period of issue, while either could withdraw from a series that proved unpopular. Yet it is equally clear that from around the second quarter of the nineteenth century, serial publication underwent a revolution that was both quantitative and qualitative. As Feltes argues, the early Victorian serial boom represents clear evidence of the

shift from petty-commodity-text to commodity-text production, that is, of the emergence of print-capitalism.⁵ Here political economy is supported by etymology. Judging again from the *OED*, though “number” and “fascicle,” or “miscellany,” “journal,” “magazine” and “periodical,” have a longer history, the term “serial” itself – whether as adjective or noun – only comes into common usage around the beginning of Dickens’s career as author.⁶ Around this time the balance shifts from the predominance of reprinted to original material, and aesthetic considerations take on a larger motivating role, with illustration increasingly important to the appeal. It then becomes necessary to recognize not only the economics of serial publishing but also the art of serial composition and the psychology of serial reading.⁷

First, I will touch on major issues relevant to a general account of the Victorian soap, providing an international range of examples. These will cover aesthetic questions of narrative form and function, as well as the material processes of composition, publication, distribution and consumption. Thereafter, I will discuss in more detail three seminal cases of the nineteenth-century soap, each a variation on the popular domestic romance in serial form reaching a broad family audience, while often unsettling prevailing perceptions of class and gender roles. These are: George Reynolds’s “Memoirs” series, first issued in London in penny weekly parts during the 1850s; Emile Richebourg’s “Dramas de la Vie” (Dramas of Life) series, initially appearing from the 1870s as *feuilletons* in Parisian daily papers at a single *sou* (five centimes); and the “Clover Series” of the mid-1890s from Street & Smith in New York, a weekly dime novel sequence of love stories prominently featuring “Bertha M. Clay.”

B. Relevant factors

In both Victorian print and contemporary broadcast media, popular serial stories tend to rely on impersonal and corporate modes of production, thus subverting Romantic conceptions of artistic inspiration and personality. Instead pseudonymity and anonymity represent the norm, so that brand recognition is often based on the hero’s name or the series title rather than the signature of the author. As Denning has shown in his analysis of the factory conditions in which it was produced, the American dime novel offers striking instances.⁸ These notably include the series of “Old Sleuth” detective stories initiated in George Munro’s story paper *The Fireside Companion* with their eponymous hero-narrator, and, as we shall see later, the sequence of domestic romances for which Street & Smith fabricated the authorial identity of “Bertha M. Clay.” In both cases, the brand name not only survived the demise of the original creator but well before that had escaped from the control of the initial publisher. Again, when popular Western adventure stories,

mysteries and romances were imported in quantity into imperial Japan as *shinbun-shousetsu* (newspaper novels), they were freely adapted rather than literally translated, with the settings and characters localized and the author's identity erased, so that it is often difficult to identify specific sources.⁹ At the same time, this mode of distribution often casts into question whether the primary information conveyed is literary or commercial. The incorporation of advertisements from both the publishing house itself and from external sponsors – with manufacturers of household cleansing products once again to the fore – is facilitated by serial publication. It creates opportunities not available in more luxurious print formats – on the wrappers of, or in catalogues and advertisers tipped into, fascicles, magazines and booklets, or cheek by jowl with the editorial content in the columns of news miscellanies and story papers. In Reynolds's "Memoirs" series, among others, it is even possible to find examples of primitive product placement, in the form of puffs for other works of fiction from the same house embedded in the narrative.¹⁰

With penny dreadfuls, as with contemporary soaps, narrative scale is directly dependent on quantitative and qualitative indices of audience response, notably slumping or booming installment sales and letters of praise or blame to the editor. Anecdotes abound of abrupt curtailment or large expansion of serial novels in response to audience ratings and feedback, by no means all apocryphal; well-documented examples are the severe truncation of Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* in *Household Words* (1854-5), and the liberal extension of *The Moonstone* by Wilkie Collins in *All the Year Round* (1868), both at the hands of Dickens.¹¹ Not only specific narratives but also generic fiction formulae are subject to the same constraints: the sorry failure attending the late 1850s experiment of reprinting Scott's Waverly novels in weekly installments in the *London Journal*, effectively closed the columns of the British proletarian story papers to the historical romance, while the remarkable success of the first "Buffalo Bill" serial by Ned Buntline in the *New York Weekly* from late 1869 paved the way for a host of tales of the Wild West in dime library and pulp fiction formats.¹² Moreover, successful story formulae are replicated in or adapted to an increasingly global range of markets. American "Westerns," for example, soon also enjoyed a boom in "penny dreadful" form in Britain, which before the end of the century boasted its own extensive "Buffalo Bill Library," and as *folletín* throughout much of Latin America, where the romanticized image of the *gaucho* (cowboy) was already familiar from the 1872 Argentinean epic *Martín Fierro*. A more seminal example, though, is found in Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, first issued in 1842-3 as a *feuilleton* in *Le Journal des Débats*, where its phenomenal popularity set off a chain reaction of metropolitan mystification: across the Channel (Reynolds's *Mysteries of London*), throughout the Continent (Berlin, Madrid, ...), over the Atlantic (New York, Philadelphia, ...), and eventually even around the Cape in Calcutta.

Whether published or broadcast, settings and themes tend to be anchored in the local and domestic but voyages into the exotic are not excluded. A classic progression can be seen in Bracebridge Hemyng's "Jack Harkaway" series of penny dreadfuls in Brett's *Boys of England* from 1871, and afterwards reprinted endlessly in dime novel format, where the narrative formula modulates from school drama to colonial adventure. The sequence of titles shows the way things go: *JH's Schooldays*, *JH at Oxford*, *JH in America*, *JH Out West Among the Indians*, *JH Among the Malay Pirates*, and *JH and His Son's Adventures Around the World*.¹³ The exception that proves the rule is the gothic romance with its transgressive themes and settings, both geographically isolated and historically remote. In fact, horror in the Victorian soap derives less from pure gothic than from the hybrid form known as sensation fiction, that is, the modern urban variation where outlandish events take place against familiar backdrops. In conventional literary history, sensation is most often represented by middle-class magazine fiction from the 1860s, but the same trend is visible and rather earlier in the penny bloods. Among Reynolds's works, *Faust* (1845-6) and *Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf* (1846-7), both appearing in *Reynolds's Miscellany*, with all their exploitation of exotic excess, are less representative than *The Mysteries of London*. Indeed, the most celebrated title among the British bloods, *Varney the Vampyre; or the Feast of Blood* (1845), proves to be set not in a Transylvanian castle but in a country house in middle England, with scenes of social comedy outnumbering those of transgressive horror.

Meanwhile, like soap opera in the broader sense, instalment publication allows for either open-ended or closed-ended narrative structures, as well as episodic or continuous narrative rhythms. Fascicle issue is the most amenable to infinite extension, with the twelve-year run of *The Mysteries of London* and *The Mysteries of the Court of London* an extreme case. Periodical publication, on the other hand, encourages fixed-term serialization, since editors are inclined to make prior arrangements for succeeding works, with semi-annual (26-part) and quarterly (13-part) serials becoming increasingly common in weekly periodicals towards the end of the century.¹⁴ The uniform series of paperbacks fits best with the types of episodic tale found in "Dime Novel" libraries, while the daily schedule of the newspaper *feuilleton* favours narrative continuity. Publishing format thus influences but does not dictate narrative form. However, the dominant attraction of popular serial narrative, both textual and audio-visual, tends to be the emotional heightening of melodrama,¹⁵ though the mental distancing of naturalism often offers a subordinate appeal. The typical focus on the details of domestic life in familiar settings can initially evoke an effect of social realism, but sensationalism usually forms the dominant narrative mode, as weekly installments in particular tend to encourage the mechanics of enigma and suspense, including the striking opening to encourage a serial's "taking" with the

subscribers, the episodic integrity of the short installment, and “cliff-hanger” endings to make readers return for more. Concurrently, in terms of aesthetic effect, social criticism tends in the end to give way to psychological compensation. In the Wild West tale, for example, alongside a republican zeal to map “the home of the brave and the land of the free” on the basis of social equality, there is often encountered a streak of xenophobia that needs to vilify Native Americans and Mexicans. In a similar way, the Chartist Reynolds’s version of international socialism gets a fair airing *en passant* in the “Memoirs” series, in the form of expressions of opposition to the wage slavery of the factory system or solidarity with Italian patriots struggling against Austrian oppression, say,¹⁶ but these gestures tend to be overwhelmed by the narrative closure with its fairy-tale consolation.

Let us now put a little flesh on the dry bones of this schema by turning to the three instances of Victorian soap, focusing in each case on both publishing format and narrative form.

C. Three variations on the Victorian soap



G.M.W. Reynolds
 Rosa Lambert, No. 1, 4 Nov 1853
 London: John Dicks



Emile Richebourg
 L'enfant du faubourg, (1), 1 Aug 1875
 (Paris) Le Petit Journal



“Bertha M. Clay”
 Violet Lisle, Clover 25, 8 Dec 1894
 New York: Street & Smith

(1) G.M.W. Reynolds's "Memoirs" series (1851-57)

<i>Mary Price; or, the Memoirs of a Servant-Maid</i>	
First Publication:	Nov 1851 - Oct 1853
Length:	104 weekly parts; 163 chapters; 2 volumes
Setting:	Ashford, Kent; 1826-50
<i>Joseph Wilmot; or, the Memoirs of a Man Servant</i>	
First Publication:	Jul 1853 - Jun 1855
Length:	104 weekly parts; 163 chapters; 2 volumes
Setting:	Leicester; 1836-50
<i>Rosa Lambert; or, the Memoirs of an Unfortunate Woman</i>	
First Serial Publication:	Nov 1853 - Oct 1854
Length:	52 weekly parts; 56 chapters; 1 volume
Setting:	Cheshire; 1840-52
<i>Ellen Percy; or, the Memoirs of an Actress</i>	
First Publication:	Jul 1855 - Jun 1857
Length:	104 weekly parts; 136 chapters; 2 volumes
Setting:	Leeds, Yorkshire; 1832-45

Late in 1851 Reynolds's periodicals announced a new fictional project by the proprietor. *Mary Price* was to be narrated in the first-person and have a domestic setting in contemporary England, a combination without precedent in the author's work. To emphasize this formal innovation there was a justification of its purpose – to “lay bare the mysteries of English society” by allowing a young female servant to narrate her own “experience, observations, and adventures in the various families which she successively enters.”¹⁷ A second announcement revealed that the sequence also intended to incorporate the experiences of subscribers, notably maids with “special grievances,” so as to shame families “now despotic towards their servants into a more humane and Christian-like behaviour.”¹⁸ Like *The Mysteries of London* then still running, *Mary Price* was to be published in fascicles, starting in early November 1851 and reaching a conclusion two years later in a total of 104 weekly numbers. Moreover, the novel was only the first of four pseudo-autobiographical narratives of everyday life published in parts in overlapping sequence during the 1850s. The sequels were the memoirs of a man servant, an actress, and an “unfortunate woman”: *Joseph Wilmot* and *Ellen Percy*, running for two years from July 1853 and 1855 respectively, plus *Rosa Lambert*, which appeared over a single year from November 1853. The whole sequence followed the same basic pattern, with much recycling of plot tropes and character types both within and between the four narratives, each of which had a specific local and temporal setting. Though the “Memoirs” series is little over half of the length of *The Mysteries of London*, it still amounts to just short of three thousand pages in the original fascicle format, or something over three million words.

The initial popularity of the series is indicated by the fact that it continued for so

long, and the various “Memoirs” seem to have reached an exceptionally wide readership throughout the rest of the century. Advertisements recommended the subsequent narratives as “companions” to *Mary Price*, which, it was claimed, had reached readers “by hundreds of thousands.”¹⁹ On the completion of the initial serial run, the works became immediately available in annual cloth-bound volumes sold at 6s. 6d. each, with the price halved after the paper tax was abolished in 1861. From the early 1870s, each was included in the “Dicks’ English Novels” series as slim sixpenny paperback volumes, with fewer illustrations and tiny print. The entire “Memoirs” sequence thus became available for a total of seven shillings, only a fraction more than the cost of a single volume in the original format. The same plates were still being used in the 1880s, when the complete series was reissued in colored wrappers with the legend “Peoples Edition,” and thus remained available into the twentieth century. It can thus make a claim to be among the most perennially popular of Victorian soaps.

Judging from how it was marketed, with the “Memoirs” sequence, Reynolds was attempting to tone down the salacious reputation which had adhered to his tales throughout the 1840s, and to orient his new work towards female readers considered more careful of the proprieties. Reynolds’s intentions in this respect are amply witnessed by internal evidence from the opening novel, where the author succeeds for the first time in portraying a heroine of strong will but virginal purity. The saga of *Mary Price*’s triumphant resistance to the lengthy assaults on her virtue by the vicious Sir Aubrey Clavering owes much to Richardson’s *Pamela*, though her tormentor, despite his sudden reform at the dénouement, is not the man she eventually marries. The moral scheme of the novel is plain to see. Just as *Mary* has two brothers who imitate the popular parable of the good and bad apprentices, so she has two sisters, one of whom pursues the virtuous course pioneered by the heroine while the other goes down the primrose path. *Sarah Price* does not marry but serves instead as the kept mistress of a series of degenerate noblemen. In the process, she experiences little in the way of authorial sympathy, and is removed by a fittingly painful and contrite death. The advertisements for the completed novel could thus guarantee that it “would constitute an elegant present from a parent to a daughter, or from a gentleman to a young lady.”²⁰ Further, the unsullied virtue of *Mary* was cited in advertisements to allay doubts about the propriety of the ensuing narratives: *Joseph Wilmot* was promised to have “the same high moral purpose in view,” while subscribers to *Rosa Lambert* were reassured that readers who welcomed *Mary Price* to “their homes and firesides, may, in all confidence, bestow their patronage on this work.”²¹

The later narratives themselves, however, tell a different story. The young *Joseph Wilmot* has more in common with Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* than Richardson’s *Pamela*, and is often embarrassed by the amorous advances of fellow domestics or frustrated

mistresses. At one stage, through a confusion with her debauched twin sister Violet, he abandons his beloved and virtuous Annabel as a fallen woman, and fathers a child on the besotted Lady Dundas. Nevertheless, Joseph undergoes little in the way of penance before his eventual marriage and social elevation. If such inconsistencies can be explained away as the male author's unthinking acceptance of the sexual double standard, the same cannot be said of the last two works in the series. Though Ellen Percy herself survives the novel with her virtue intact, the experiences of her intimate friends, Juliet Norman and Mary Glentworth, starkly illustrate the vulnerability of the subordinate female, when both lose their reputation through no fault of their own – the former proves to be the victim of a mock marriage ceremony and the latter the illegitimate daughter of the mistress of an aristocrat.

It is in *Rosa Lambert*, though, that the presentation of sexual impropriety is most complex, with the opening scenes especially disturbing. The novel begins with what seems an idyllic moment of romance, with the pretty daughter of a poor parish priest courted by the rich and handsome son of the local squire as she strolls placidly through the woods. Yet when she gladly responds to his wooing, she is appalled to discover that marriage is not his intention, and runs home distraught only to find her family drowning in debt. With no other remedy apparent, each member in turn succumbs to dishonesty. Rosa's dealings provide the most substantial contribution but provoke a horrified response, so that she is forced to defend herself: "... what was left for me to do but sell my virtue?"²² Although physical force is used to obtain Rosa's sexual favours on several occasions over her subsequent career, this first fall under financial constraint is presented as the worst violation, while the vicious youth who buys her honour is represented as the direst villain. But this initial sense of moral outrage at Rosa's misfortune is not held consistently throughout the novel. Her second experience of male villainy seems to convince her of the necessity of female resignation: "the victim of man's perfidiousness ... it was a fate against which it were vain to struggle."²³ Later Rosa often treats her own forced dishonour as culpable, so that she refuses to return home because of the shame this would bring on her family ("How could I – lost and degraded as I was – seek the paternal home?"²⁴ or feels compelled to refuse an offer of marriage from a humble but kindly protector ("I was no longer worthy: villainy had forced me aside from the path of constancy").²⁵ This last after she has once again been raped, this time by her cousin so as to win a wager with an aristocratic friend who soon repeats the feat. Later, though, she comes to regard such ubiquitous male perfidy as justification for female aggression ("Let me buckle on a kindred armour to wage a kindred warfare ...").²⁶ Thus, Rosa begins to experience satisfaction from the way that her mature beauty seems to guarantee an uninterrupted sequence of ever wealthier and more elevated protectors, and on more than one

occasion takes pleasure in deceiving her official patron by giving herself to a younger lover. But such periods of confidence are often succeeded by moments of contrition, where she confesses that “I was no longer frail through imperious necessity – I was depraved through sheer wantonness,”²⁷ and the novel ends in Rosa’s spiritual rehabilitation but physical and social destitution.²⁸ Any residual political animus is directed here at the power of land rather than capital.

(2) Emile Richebourg’s “*Drames de la Vie*” series (1874-96)

<i>La Dame Voilée</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 24 May - 8 Aug 1874, 77 episodes
<i>L’Enfant du Faubourg</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 1 Aug - 13 Nov 1875, 105 episodes
<i>La Fille Maudite</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 29 Feb - 17 Jul 1876, 140 episodes
<i>Les Deux Berceaux</i>	<i>La Petite République Française</i> , 13 Aug - 12 Dec 1876, 122 episodes
<i>Andréa la Charmeuse</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 23 Jan - 30 Jun 1877, 159 episodes
<i>Deux Mères</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 20 Jan - 22 Jul 1878, 179 episodes
<i>Le Fils</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 23 May - 15 Oct 1879, 146 episodes
<i>L’Idiote</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 12 Sep 1880 - 24 Mar 1881, 194 episodes
<i>La Petite Mionne</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 21 Oct 1883 - 14 Jun 1884, 238 episodes
<i>Les Millions de M. Joramie</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 18 Jan - 19 Aug 1885, 223 episodes
<i>Le Mari</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 14 Feb - 2 Oct 1886, 229 episodes
<i>La Grand’mère</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 1 Feb - 10 Sep 1887, 220 episodes
<i>La Comtesse Paule</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 4 Mar - 22 Sep 1888, 196 episodes
<i>Petite Mère</i>	<i>Le Petit Journal</i> , 9 Jun - 25 Oct 1889, 139 episodes
<i>Cendrillon</i>	<i>Le Petit Parisien</i> , 15 Nov 1891 - [?Apr] 1892, ? episodes
<i>Le Secret d’une Tombe</i>	<i>Le Petit Parisien</i> , 14 Jan - 5 Aug 1894, 197 episodes
<i>Les Martyrs du Mariage</i>	<i>Le Petit Parisien</i> , 26 Jan - 3 Jul 1896, 149 episodes

The *roman feuilleton* flourished in the cheaper Parisian dailies from the later 1830s, though the *feuilleton* itself, a space at the foot of the front page dedicated to material other than news had been created rather earlier in the century. However, it was not until a significant reduction in the cost of annual subscriptions extended the readership of daily journals to the lower-middle class that brief instalments of popular novels like those of Sue and Dumas began to feature. This was well in advance of developments in Britain, where an onerous regime of taxation long hampered the reach of the press. Yet even in France it was not until well after mid-century that a combination of technical progress and fiscal liberalization encouraged the appearance of daily newspapers cheap enough to be accessible to the common reader. Soon known as “*la petite presse*,” these took the form of unillustrated tabloid dailies comprising a single sheet of four pages, sold for only five centimes, and focusing less on political news than popular entertainment, with Millaud’s *Petit Journal* (1863-) the pioneer. Though the mystery novels of Gaboriau and du Terrail had appeared there earlier, it was the “family *feuilletonist*” Emile Richebourg (1833-98) who from the mid-1870s became synonymous with the popular appeal of *Le Petit Journal*,

which achieved a circulation of over a million copies before the end of the following decade.²⁹ There was also a Sunday companion entitled *Le Journal Illustré*, which included graphics to accompany not only the main news stories of the week but also the principal *roman feuilleton*, the illustrations to Richebourg's romances by Henri Meyer being particularly effective. Indeed, while the novelist was still active, Fernand Hué went so far as to claim that it was Richebourg who had "created the new readership" and thus "made the fortune of the Parisian penny press."³⁰

"Les Drames de la Vie" refers to the series of domestic romances that ran annually in *Le Petit Journal* from 1874, with a single appearance also in the less successful *Petite République Française* in 1876 when supply exceeded demand, before being transferred to *Le Petit Parisien* in the 1890s. Richebourg also wrote *feuilletons* in the gothic mode, most notably *Jean Loup* running in *Le Petit Journal* in 1882. Indeed, among the serials listed above, the first (*La Dame Voilée* ["The Veiled Woman"]) and penultimate (*Le Secret d'une Tombe* ["The Secret of a Tomb"]) are somewhat out of character in this respect, as the titles perhaps suggest. The more typical "dramas of life" have specific local and temporal settings and are often preoccupied with "topicalities," a tendency especially apparent in fiction serialized in the press that Altick has called "the presence of the present."³¹ In fact, the series title was applied retrospectively, appearing at the head of the *Petit Journal* stories only with *La Petite Mionne*, and thereafter attached also to relevant titles both new and old when republished in volume form. Richebourg's *feuilletons* were reprinted with great frequency both during his lifetime and immediately afterwards, with earlier incarnations including both unillustrated volume editions from Dentu and illustrated weekly fascicle versions from Roy, and subsequent avatars including newspaper serializations both provincial and colonial through the agency of the French Society of Authors.³² Translations were common into other continental languages as disparate as Portuguese to the west and Russian to the east, and even occasionally into Japanese. In contrast, English versions are notable by their absence, perhaps because Richebourg departed from the stereotype of the racy French writer dear to Anglo-Saxon Grundyism.

Nevertheless, Richebourg's romances remain rather less reticent concerning sexuality than those of either Reynolds or Clay. Though "Les Drames de la Vie" have recently been analyzed in the context of the emergence of the French "victim novel,"³³ what is likely to have struck contemporary English readers is how energetically the victimised women fight back. Queffélec offers a helpful summary of the ideological stance of the series as a whole: "Richebourg's novels are full of repentant woman caught in adultery, of generous masters who help their employees to make their fortune, of foundlings whose noble nature betrays their noble origin; they exude an air of sentimental and benevolent paternalism which is very optimistic and very conservative in a social sense."³⁴ Yet, in the early

“Dramas of Life” in particular, the stress often falls just as much on the solidarity of the factory workers as on the enterprise and generosity of the owner; and, while Richebourg’s optimism is manifestly reliant on the operation of divine providence, it is striking how frequently its agents turn out to be the wronged women themselves. Notable examples can be found in *L’Enfant du Faubourg* [“The Child of the Suburb”] in *Le Petit Journal* in later 1875, and *Les Deux Berceaux* [“The Two Cradles”] in *La Petite République Française* just a year later.

L’Enfant du Faubourg is a triumph of multi-plotting, with regular resort to flashback, where the many mysteries of identity are all intricately interconnected. It concerns the linked destinies of André (illegitimate son of the orphaned Leontine) and Claire (illegitimate daughter of Pauline, a poor seamstress), both lost in infancy, who (mistakenly, it transpires) believe themselves to be half-siblings when they first meet in youth, and are thus forced to part again when they fall passionately in love. The villains of the piece are the profligate Marquis de Presle and his corrupt business agent, Blaireau. In separate incidents of sexual predation, the former dupes Leontine into a brief mock marriage that drives her insane, while the latter casually drugs and rapes Pauline. Both later resort to kidnapping to cover up their crimes. The benevolent forces in the story are represented not only by Henri, a self-made millionaire engineer who initially saves the abandoned André, but also the artisans of the Sainte-Antoine suburb who collectively support him when he is again lost during a cholera outbreak. The agents of justice are less the police officials than Leontine’s young sister, Angèle, who has married Henri, and Pauline herself, both of whom act with great resolution and ingenuity to release the prisoners and reveal the truth. Early in the novel, Angèle declares that “Divine Providence watches over the dear children,”³⁵ but the dénouement suggests the equal importance of a human proactivity. The narrative ends with a fitting distribution of rewards (the marriage of André and Claire, the recovery of Leontine) and punishments (the suicide of Blaireau, the descent into madness of de Presle himself).

The narrative of *Les Deux Berceaux* is more straightforward, with the central mystery for the other characters plain to both the heroine and the reader from the outset. Thoveron summarizes the plot and its underlying message in a few sentences: “... an abandoned wife brings up two children of which only one is hers. Her scoundrel husband ... takes the other child, and the woman is forced to give up her own to the couple who had entrusted her with theirs. The former becomes good and honest though brought up by a villain, while the latter, despite being better cared for, becomes a rogue just like his father. Heredity is everything, environment nothing.”³⁶ But this is something of a simplification. The noble child nursed by the abandoned mother, Louise, is in fact in the hands of the malevolent father only for the briefest of periods, and is in fact brought up

in the kindly hands of a childless working couple in the city. Louise's own child, on the other hand, is shown by Richebourg to have been indulged with the unnatural attentions of two mothers, since Louise contrives to act as an intimate servant in the aristocratic household. And perhaps more important, Thoveron's snapshot passes over the extraordinarily proactive role of Louise (less passive victim than *deus ex machina*) in the working out of the story. Her mistress speaks with total assurance of her control of events: "Louise ... did not embark on this adventure without forethought. She is moving, I am convinced, towards a goal that she will finally reach."³⁷ She not only works to thwart the murderous schemes of her criminal husband and limit the harm caused by her self-willed child to himself and others, but most of all to save the true heir and restore him to his rightful place. In doing so, she needs at times to manipulate both police and court officials. Perhaps unsurprisingly in what was an overtly republican journal, along with a number of the other long-suffering characters, Louise is presented like Joan-of-Arc as a native of Alsace-Lorraine whose heroic resistance symbolizes the hope of the restoration of the territory lost in the recent Franco-Prussian war. In Richebourg's domestic romances paternalism is clearly challenged by this endorsement of female initiative and action.

(3) "*Bertha M. Clay*" in the "*Clover Series*" (1894-97)

No.	Title	Date	First US story-paper serial
17	<i>For a Woman's Honor</i>	13 Oct 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1892-93
18	<i>A Heart's Bitterness</i>	20 Oct 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1886-87
19	<i>A Heart's Idol</i>	27 Oct 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1888
20	<i>The Gipsy's Daughter</i>	3 Nov 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1887-88
21	<i>In Love's Crucible</i>	10 Nov 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1889
22	<i>Marjorie Deane</i>	17 Nov 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1889
23	<i>Gladys Greye</i>	24 Nov 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1889-90
24	<i>Another Woman's Husband</i>	1 Dec 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1890-91
25	<i>Violet Lisle</i>	8 Dec 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1890
26	<i>Fair But Faithless</i>	15 Dec 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1891
27	<i>Another Man's Wife</i>	22 Dec 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1887
28	<i>Between Two Hearts</i>	29 Dec 1894	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1891
29	<i>'Twi' Love and Hate</i>	5 Jan 1895	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1891-92
30	<i>A Woman's Temptation</i>	12 Jan 1895	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1875
31	<i>Beyond Pardon</i>	19 Jan 1895	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1882-83
32	<i>Put Asunder</i>	26 Jan 1895	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1885
33	<i>Between Two Loves</i>	2 Feb 1895	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1876-77
34	<i>Under a Shadow</i>	9 Feb 1895	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1877
35	<i>The Earl's Atonement</i>	16 Feb 1895	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1884
36	<i>Repented at Leisure</i>	23 Feb 1895	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1875
37	<i>Weaker Than a Woman</i>	2 Mar 1895	<i>Fireside Companion</i> , 1890
38	<i>Dora Thorne</i>	9 Mar 1895	<i>Fireside Companion</i> , 1880
39	<i>A Golden Dawn</i>	16 Mar 1895	<i>Fireside Companion</i> , 1879
40	<i>A Mad Love</i>	23 Mar 1895	<i>New York Weekly</i> , 1879

As suggested by both title and cover design, with its elaborately framed portrait of a young woman, Street & Smith's "Clover Series" comprised love stories aimed at female readers and attributed with few exceptions to female authors. Like rival romance libraries such as the "Sweetheart" or "Violet," though conventionally categorized as "dime novels," the Street & Smith paperbacks were illustrated, printed on more substantial paper, and thus priced at 25 cents each. The Clover Series ran for less than three years, from mid-1894 to early 1897, but still totalled over 130 titles. Inevitably, given the weekly appearance of narratives of over 250 tightly packed pages often under the same signature, the titles in question were all reprints: though some had first appeared only a year or two earlier, others dated back almost a quarter of a century. Altogether just short of half were attributed to "Bertha M. Clay," beginning with the sequence of twenty-four works listed above, with the lion's share of the remainder ascribed to Mrs. Georgie Sheldon, Mrs. Alex McVeigh Miller, and "Julia Edwards." Sheldon and Miller were both flesh-and-blood married American women authors of middle-class love fantasies, while Edwards was a Smith & Street house name signalling romances with proletarian settings and heroines, and produced by male staff writers, most notably John Coryell (1851-1924), a cousin of the publisher, Ormond G. Smith. "Bertha M. Clay" was also an authorial identity manufactured by Street & Smith as a marker of English romances set in high society, with the provenance of the stories a matter of some complexity.³⁸

By the 1870s, with a copyright agreement between America and Britain nowhere in sight and the popular fiction market increasingly cut-throat, it was common for cheap periodicals on both sides to "lift" suitable stories without authorization or acknowledgment, and sometimes with revisions to title and opening chapters to create an illusion of originality. In the middle of that decade Street & Smith found a likely source of English-style love stories in an upstart London paper, the *Family Reader* (1871-), where, from the start, the most successful romantic serials appeared above the initials "C.M.B." Initially, the firm's *New York Weekly* simply reprinted the stories with initials intact, then experimented with imaginary names such as "Caroline M. Barton," before finally settling, through a process of inversion, on the more homegrown "Bertha M. Clay," first used in 1877. Unfortunately for Street & Smith, the same initials were also appearing beneath romantic serials in the more widely read London journal, the *Family Herald* (1842-). These were quickly picked up by several competing New York papers and dime novel series, including George Munro's *Fireside Companion* and "Seaside Library." Though initially reprinting the stories as by "the author of *Dora Thorne*," one of the earliest of the *Herald* serials dating from 1871, Munro and other rivals soon began cashing in on the Clay brand. Street & Smith attempted to defend what they saw as their intellectual property – not only by publishing letters from the imaginary authoress declaring her exclusive engagement to

the firm but also by taking legal action.³⁹ Though these actions were not entirely successful, the publicity enhanced the value of the name for all concerned.

Behind the initials "C.M.B." was Charlotte M. Brame (1836-84), a flesh-and-blood married British woman who single-handedly, over a professional career of less than two decades during which she seems to have known little of how her work was appropriated across the Atlantic, wrote nearly a hundred serial romances and seasonal novelettes, principally for the *Herald* and the *Reader*. The termination of this extraordinary productivity by her premature death forced Street & Smith, Munro, and other popular US publishers urgently to seek new sources for the supply of English-style romances. These included the combing of current and back numbers of the London story papers for similar stories under other signatures, and the commissioning of domestic writers to compose fresh material in "C.M.B." style. Though contemporary readers were probably unaware of the fact, and a few bibliographic puzzles remain today, the first twenty-four Clay titles in the Clover Series can be broken down trimly according to provenance. Numbers 17 to 29 in the listing above seem all to have been composed within the previous decade by Street & Smith editorial staff in New York, most if not all by John Coryell.⁴⁰ Those issued before 1890 in the *New York Weekly* (18-23 & 27) seem to have been adapted from English sources, including *Marjorie Deane*, which was substantially revised by Coryell from an unsigned serial in the *Family Reader* of 1881. Those appearing in the *New York Weekly* from 1890 onwards (17 & 24-26 & 28), with the passage of the International Copyright (Chace) Act just around the corner, were all original stories by domestic authors, starting with *Violet Lisle* which was again written by Coryell. On the other hand, numbers 30 through 40 in the list were all at least a decade old and came from the pen of Charlotte M. Brame. The majority (30-36 & 40), including *A Woman's Temptation*, were lifted from the *Family Reader* and had been originally marketed in the States by Street & Smith, several (32 & 34-35) with titles other than those found in the London paper. But there was also a handful (37-39), including *Dora Thorne*, which derived from the *Herald* and had appeared first in America in Munro's *Fireside Companion*, again with variant titles.⁴¹

Despite the uniformity encouraged by the Clay brand and the high-society setting, the listed romances in the Clover Series reveal several ideological variations which map neatly with their distinct provenances. The *Family Herald* maintained a conservative line on class and gender roles that upheld patriarchal values, so it is unsurprising that this is echoed in early Brame serials like *Dora Thorne* (Clover 38). There the eponymous central character is the daughter of the lodge-keeper on the estate of the titled Earle family, with the narrative illustrating the dire consequences of *mésalliance*. The novel's conclusion roundly endorses earlier assertions that "loving, gentle submission is the fairest ornament of woman,"⁴² and that marriage beneath one's station entails "the sin of ... wanton

disobedience” against the will of the father.⁴³ In contrast, the serials in the *Family Reader* could be rather more challenging to social convention, most strikingly in *Thrown on the World* (1875), the first Brame story to be picked up by Street & Smith. Resurfacing as No. 85 in the Clover Series, the novel grimly recounts the trials of a woman of humble birth tricked into a false marriage by a disguised nobleman, who brutally abandons her with their infant child and blithely weds a woman of his own caste. This leads the narrator to cry out bitterly against the sexual double standard: “Is there one law for women ... and another for men?”⁴⁴ More commonly, the “overt moral” is found “at odds with the emotional effect,” a pattern that can be identified generally in the romances of high life in British popular story papers of the period.⁴⁵ This is true of *A Woman’s Temptation* (Clover 30), which, though featuring familiar devices like the secret marriage and substituted children, centres on the contrast between two young society women brought up in France as sisters who become rivals for the same English lord, the “sweet and submissive, obedient” Belle and the “willful, passionate, wayward” Reine.⁴⁶ In the final chapters, Reine’s attempts to eliminate her rival by slow poisoning are exposed and she is banished to the Parisian underworld, while Belle is married and enjoys domestic harmony and security. Yet, Reine is given the space and rhetoric to justify her own passionate approach to life, while Belle is often presented to the reader as little more than a “baby-faced girl,” as her pseudo-sister frequently describes her.⁴⁷ Thus the psychological effect indeed runs counter to the explicit message.

In the Clay stories contributed by Coryell, in contrast, there is often a touch of parody in the employment of the stock plot devices of the English romance, even when the American author was working with an existing narrative. In *Marjorie Deane* (Clover 22), where the model was in fact *So Fair, So False* penned by the English author Charles Garvice, the story forms an ironic justification of transgressive love. There the rich landowner Sir Roland Chesterton has to choose between Helen Montessor, the ice-cold society beauty intended by his family, and Marjorie Deane, the passionate school-teacher daughter of a *parvenu* neighbour. After the usual trials and tribulations, the misalliance proves triumphant, while the parodic note sounds loudest in Lady Helen’s disdain for the Deanes: “New people ... How dreadful! ... The usual sort of thing, I suppose. Rich sugar-baker or soap-boiler, with the stereotyped vulgar family”⁴⁸ The critical sense is even stronger in *Violet Lisle* (Clover 25), which was composed from scratch by Coryell. There, Lord Guy Darlington promises marriage to village girl Violet Lisle instead of the intended Lady Sybil Coldenham, only to have his hopes crushed by the prejudices of his mother and the machinations of Sybil’s father. Perversely, Violet faces equal opposition from her own proud father, who proves to be the degraded descendant of an aristocratic line even more venerable than the Darlingtons. Violet nobly resigns her love and flees her

home, promptly transforming herself into a celebrated singer under the guidance of a rehabilitated chorus girl previously ruined by Lord Coldenham. Meanwhile Guy, duped into believing that Violet was bribed to break off their relationship, wanders around Europe and treats her harshly when he happens upon her on the Riviera. In the dénouement, however, Violet's father inherits the title of Earl of Granthorpe and the couple are happily reunited with the approval of both families, while the Marquis of Coldenham commits suicide rather than face exposure as forger and embezzler. In a final touch of irony, the new earl agrees to share his old title with the ex-chorus girl.

Mark Twain notoriously blamed the American Civil War on the mediaeval romances of Walter Scott,⁴⁹ but it seems that the mixed ideological messages of the Clay brand of English love stories resulted in little damage to New World social aspiration. The many Clover stories assigned to Clay must have proved especially profitable to Street & Smith, who were soon to launch an entire romance library dedicated to the brand. In doing this, the firm not only recycled many of their own old love stories previously issued under other signatures, but also incorporated a number of parallel series of English romances acquired from rival houses, which had been less enterprising in responding to the new economic conditions ushered in by the Chace Act. The Bertha Clay Library thus eventually comprised over 500 volumes and ran for more than sixteen years from the beginning of the new century, and was immediately replaced by the equally voluminous New Bertha Clay Library which closed only in 1932 under competition from the radio soaps.

4. Conclusion

Tracing similarities between nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments in popular culture can be a risky business. John Plunkett attempted to do so throughout *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, comparing the impact of the *Illustrated London News* and other early pictorial weeklies to that of television broadcasting.⁵⁰ However, he consequently received a stern rebuke for following “the intellectual fashion for assimilating the past to the present” from the *TLS* reviewer: “Queen Victoria did not live in a ‘media culture’; whatever self-consciousness the press itself had about its changing role and influence, its likeness to what we understand by ‘the media’ today was embryonic at best.”⁵¹ This seems to me quite wrong. Tracing socio-cultural continuities between our great grand-parents and ourselves is not the same thing as assuming that “the Romans or the Tudors were ‘just like us.’”⁵² It is not difficult to come up with Victorian usages of the term “media” that closely resemble current meanings, with the latest edition of the *OED* citing several examples, notably including the mid-century recognition that “Our periodicals are now the media of influence”, which “form and mould the community.”⁵³ And, as

I have suggested, many features of narrative film and television drama are clearly anticipated in the nineteenth-century serial novel, and, at the very least, this helps to explain why Victorian fiction continues to have such a marked influence on contemporary popular culture. To work from the premise that mass communications emerge in the nineteenth century with the periodical press rather than in the twentieth with the movies, radio, and television, while exposing and exploring the parallels and contiguities, is thus less fashionable than historicist.

Endnotes

- 1 Robert C. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 3.
- 2 See Michael Intintoli, *Taking Soaps Seriously: The World of Guiding Light* (New York: Praeger, 1984), and Bill Carter, 'No "Light" at the Tunnel's End', *New York Times* (2 April 2009), C1.
- 3 For general accounts of these trends, see Alessandro Silj, *East of Dallas* (London: British Film Institute, 1988), and Robert C. Allen, ed., *To Be Continued ...* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- 4 See Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, 8-29, and Peter Stanfield, *Horse Opera* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 1-7.
- 5 N.N. Feltes, *Modes of Production of Victorian Novels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 1-17.
- 6 See Charles Dickens, *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, eds. Madeline House et al., 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-2002), vols. I-III.
- 7 For an extended version of this argument, see Graham Law & Robert L. Patten, 'The Serial Revolution', *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Vol. 6 1830-1914*, ed. David McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 144-71.
- 8 See Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents* (London: Verso, 1998), 17-26.
- 9 See Graham Law & Norimasa Morita, 'Japan and the Internationalization of the Serial Fiction Market', *Book History* 6 (2003), 109-25.
- 10 See Graham Law, 'Reynolds' "Memoirs Series" and "The Literature of the Kitchen"', *G.W.M. Reynolds: Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics, and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys & Louis James, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 199-212; here 205-6.
- 11 See Dickens, *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, vols. VII & XII.
- 12 See J. Randolph Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), 43-45.
- 13 See Helen R. Smith, *A Feast of Blood* (Jarndyce Antiquarian Booksellers Catalogue CLI) (London: Jarndyce, 2002), nos. 669-715.
- 14 See Graham Law, *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 181-214.
- 15 See Ien Ang, *Watching Dallas* (London: Methuen, 1985), 51-85.
- 16 See Law, 'Reynolds' "Memoirs Series"', 206.
- 17 *Reynolds's Miscellany*, 15 November 1851, 272.
- 18 *Reynolds's Miscellany*, 22 November 1851, 288.

- 19 See, e.g., in *Reynolds's Miscellany*, 29 January 1855, 415.
- 20 See *Reynolds's Miscellany*, 13 August 1853, 48.
- 21 See *Reynolds's Miscellany*, 20 January 1855, 415.
- 22 G.W.M. Reynolds, *Rosa Lambert* (London: John Dicks, 1854), 21.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 28.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 117.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 229.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 247.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 271.
- 28 Generally on domestic fiction for the Victorian proletariat, see Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-50* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 97-113.
- 29 'The King of French Feuilletonists', *Pall Mall Budget* (2 June 1887), 15.
- 30 Cited in Lise Queffélec, *Le Roman-Feuilleton Français au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989), 83-4 [my translation].
- 31 Richard D. Altick, *The Presence of the Present* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991), 2.
- 32 For the detailed patterns of republication, see Takashi Yasukawa, *Poétique du Support et Captation Romanesque* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Limoges, 2013), 29-35, 448-9.
- 33 Yasukawa, *Poétique du Support*, 20.
- 34 Queffélec, *Le Roman-Feuilleton Français*, 85 [my translation].
- 35 Emile Richebourg, *L'Enfant du Faubourg* (Paris: Roy, [1882]), 170 [my translation].
- 36 Gabriel Thoveron, *Deux Siècles de Paralittératures* (Paris: Céfal, 1996), 207 [my translation].
- 37 Emile Richebourg, *Les Deux Berceaux* (Paris: Roy, [1879]), 342 [my translation].
- 38 For the most comprehensive account, see Graham Law, with Greg Drozd & Debby McNally, *Charlotte M. Brame (1836-1884): Towards a Primary Bibliography* (Canterbury, Kent: Canterbury, Christchurch University, 2011), 1-14.
- 39 See Law et al., *Charlotte M. Brame*, 10.
- 40 See J. Randolph Cox, 'John Russell Coryell Writing as Bertha M. Clay', *Dime Novel Round-Up* 81:2 (April 2012), 40-66.
- 41 This pattern is also reflected in the publication of the listed Clay stories in prior Street & Smith series: most of those not written by Brame (Clover 18-25 & 27) had been previously issued in the "Select Series (of Popular American Copyright Stories)" (1887-91, at 25 cents), while most of those from Brame's pen (Clover 30-36) were issued in the "Primrose Series (of the World's Best Fiction)" (1890-91, at 50 cents). There were, however, two anomalies: *Another Man's Wife* featured in both, while *Weaker than a Woman* appeared in the "Select Series" as by "Charlotte M. Brame".
- 42 'Bertha M. Clay', *Dora Thorne* (New York: Street & Smith, 1895; Clover Series 38), ch. 19.
- 43 *Ibid.*, ch. 42.
- 44 'Bertha M. Clay', *Thrown on the World* (New York: Street & Smith, 1896; Clover Series 85), ch. 46.
- 45 See Sally Mitchell, *The Fallen Angel* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1981), 152.
- 46 'Bertha M. Clay', *A Woman's Temptation* (New York: Street & Smith, 1895; Clover Series 30), ch. 52.
- 47 *Ibid.*, ch. 48.
- 48 'Bertha M. Clay', *Marjorie Deane* (New York: Street & Smith, 1894; Clover Series 22), ch. 3.

- 49 See Mark Twain, *Life On The Mississippi* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1883), 467-70.
- 50 See John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1-11.
- 51 Daniel Karlin, 'Hold the Front Page', *TLS* (11 July 2003), 6.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 From the unsigned article "Cheap Presbyterian Newspaper," (Princeton, NJ) *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* 22:1 (January 1850), 122-43, here p. 131.