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Print in Transition, 1850 – 1910: studies in media and book history

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Chapter Two:

Star Turn? Magazine, Part-issue, and Book Serialisation

I

Sight-Reading/Finding the Rhythm

Distinctions for the author, publisher, and reader between publication in the forms of part-issue and magazine serial, were haunted by the volume and the book. Through comparison rooted in material culture I want to identify and then deploy distinctive characteristics of each format to help understand it and the other; and to invigorate the element of time and the ephemeral with respect to our perception of nineteenthcentury discourses of higher journalism such as literature, history, and science. The 'star turn' refers to the privileging of different aspects of the commodified text author, illustrator, editor, publisher, title of individual work, serial title - in part-issue and periodical. In a framework of material culture, I want to treat the wrappers and advertisers that, with the letterpress and illustration, make up part issues and periodicals, as part of what we designate the 'text' to be studied. In this perspective the discourses of higher journalism such as history, literature, science are situated far closer to other commodities in the marketplace than in the reductive and apparently normative high cultural volume forms in which they primarily reach us. If the periodical text is defined in terms of material culture, so as to include coloured wrappers, customised advertisers, title pages, indices, illustrations, and juxtaposed and sequential editorial matter, that format (and the part-issue format which imitates it) may be taken as a model of textual heteroglossia. In poststructuralist terms, these forms of serialisation are part of a popular pre-history of many of the canonical nineteenth-century book texts which have been disciplined and stripped out to resemble the comparatively austere *volume* form of reading material of the lettered and traditionally conservative upper classes. This 'timeless' format of the volume text has been normalised institutionally by nineteenth- and twentieth-century publishers, libraries, universities and schools. In our own period a valid analogy to the publishing conditions of much nineteenth-century serial material is television -- as though the discourse of the higher journalism and part-issue zones of nineteenth-century letters was published/broadcast surrounded by the hurly-burly of the adverts, soaps, garish sets, quiz and talk shows, bimbos/hunks, and hygenicised news. The position of knowledges on the web offers another analogy of our time with the text of nineteenthcentury periodicals and part-issue: the reliability of the 'information' is variable, the range catholic and unregulated, and the commodification adverts distracting, ubiquitous and informative, drawing us in their own right.

But just as with the electronic media of 'TV' and the 'Web', the elusiveness and unrecoverability of full nineteenth-century part-issue and periodical texts hamper study. Relatively few wrappers and even fewer advertising supplements have survived the stripping, disciplining and institutionalisation of the texts, and I do not know at this moment whether all or most higher journalism or part-issues carried advertising, nor have I seen many of the wrappers of well-known journals and parts. Even where wrappers have been conserved, for example in a British Library copy of the parts of Middlemarch, the advertiser is missing, an advertiser and spine that I will argue are germane to the meanings of 'Middlemarch.' Nor is there a union list of serials with wrappers and advertisers in Canadian, British or UK libraries, the catalogues of which do not consistently note the existence or absence of such textual matter. Even runs of particular periodicals which have been pieced together from various sources by libraries may vary in the presence or absence of advertisers; thus, in a single library, the Athenaeums of the 1860s may include these vital pages, but those of 1870ff do not. The unavailability of this information itself is part of the normative process which has resulted in the omnipresence of the volume in our libraries, and in our scholarship.

Nevertheless, a body of impressive work on serialisation in Britain in the nineteenth century has appeared in the 1990s, notably Linda Hughes and Michael Lund's book on The Victorian Serial (1991), Carol Martin on George Eliot's Serial Fiction (1994), Myer and Harris's volume on Serials and their Readers and John Sutherland's Victorian Fiction in 1995; Aled Jones on the press in Wales, and on nineteenthcentury politics and the press; Margaret Beetham's A Magazine of Her Own? in 1996, Peter Sinnema's Dynamics of the Printed Page in 1998; and Mark Turner's Trollope and the Magazines (1999). Certainly since 1957, the year of Richard Altick's The Common Reader, the ubiquity of serial publication in nineteenth-century Britain has been tackled by an increasing number of scholars who have produced as well reference works crucial to the development of the field such as The Wellesley Index, The Waterloo Directories, and British Literary Magazines; dedicated periodicals such as Victorian Periodical Review and the Journal of/Studies of Newspaper and Periodical History/Media History; and bibliographies such as the M.L.A. Guides to Victorian Periodicals by Van Arsdel and Vann. Thus, in the second half of the twentieth century, tools for study of nineteenth-century serials have proliferated, and a sound research base developed.

By serials I mean newspapers, periodicals, part-issues, and serial parts within periodicals which are dated and appear successively at regular intervals over time, normally no less frequently than annually, and usually quarterly, monthly, weekly or daily. In 'The Trepidation of the Spheres' I suggested that this cacophony of printed serials rivalled the incidence of the book in the period. But it is a mistake to construct the nineteenth-century book as a stand-alone commodity. First publication in volume form was often part of a staged process which may have begun with serialisation and went on to a succession of editions, normally but not exclusively from expensive to cheap. Texts judged to have sales potential were issued in a proliferation of series, of different formats and prices, over the short and medium term to maximise a stratified readership; publishing histories of individual texts themselves may thus be said to participate in the paradigm of the timespan of the series which marked the period. An advert on the back wrapper of a serial part of *Daniel Deronda* in 1876, for example, shows that various editions of George Eliot's texts are or will be simultaneously available *from the same publisher*: a Library edition of 4 vols. for a guinea, a Cheap

Edition at 7/6, and a stereotype edition at 3/6. Serial publication was also echoed and replicated in the book trade by the numerous popular 'Series' of Parlour Poets, or, biographical series such as the English Men of Letters, or the various 'Library' series such as that of Chapman and Hall's 'Selected Library of Fiction.' Standard or Collected Editions of the works of single authors - which were issued serially - may be seen as part of this larger pattern of series which links the book trade with the regular, successive patterns of publication of the contemporary newspapers and periodicals. The nineteenth-century phenomenon of Magazine Day marks the culture with the monthly rhythm of the publishing industry's serials and series, the day when many monthly journals were published, along with most part-issues, and new books, all of which were distributed to the public, the libraries, and the booksellers on that day, in anticipation of the first of the month (Smith 1857: *passim*).

This litany of periodicity in the mid and late nineteenth century is rehearsed in an advert for *Punch* tipped into the advertiser of another periodical from the *Punch* offices, George Cruikshank's Table Book of 1845: Punch is 'Published weekly, price 3d or stamped, 4d' ...'A Part is Published Every Month, And a Volume every Six months. All back numbers, parts and volumes always kept on sale. Eight volumes are already published. The Ninth Volume will be Published in December, price 8s.' And there we have it: weekly numbers, monthly parts, bi-annual volumes echoing and reinforcing the regularity of time, the passing of which itself creates the material and desire for another number. To balance the prospective market which the rhythm intimates, there is the *retrospective*, constant availability of years of volumes, parts, and numbers to 'complete' the series backwards. The promise of acquisition of origins is part of the illusion of the attainability of closure, as are the *volume* editions. The notion of an ordered library, in which the 'collected' series rests, masks an equal scurry, fostered by the publishing industry, to keep up, in a market cleverly predicated on the assumption that it will *never* end: there is always the next number to consume, to collect. It is an optimistic, saturation model of an expanding market of readers and potential purchasers, seen for example in the cover illustration of the short-lived *Table Book* where the breadth of readers is figured as an extended family of grandmother, grandfather, young men, young women, parents, girl and boy children, and lovers, each peering at a copy of the title in question. The image of the provision of *lifelong* reading material and engagement with serials is unmistakable. Although fiction is deployed to illustrate my argument here, fiction does not have a monopoly on serial formats in the period. Fiction and non-fiction may be found in both forms: extended works of reference such as the New[Oxford] English Dictionary (1884-1928), and the Dictionary of National Biography (1886-1900), popular reference works such as Chambers' Cyclopedia of English Literature (1858) and Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management (1859), scholarly texts such as Chaucer's 'The Corpus MS' (1868), and religious texts such as that of the Bible and Newman's Apologia (1864) all appeared in part-issue for example, as well as novels by Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, and George Eliot. Matthew Arnold's Culture and Anarchy was serialised in early numbers of the Cornhill beside Thackeray's Lovel the Widower, and various works by G. H. Lewes were serialised in the magazines, including his handbook Principles of Success in Literature (Fortnightly Review, 1865) and Studies in Animal Life (1860).

Nor is literature (with a small 'I') singular or necessarily even dominant among categories of print to appear in these forms; it is clear from adverts that lithographs (of *Royal Navy Ships*, for example, or *Finden's Royal Gallery of British Art*) were

often in part-issue in the late 1830s. More generally illustration of all kinds seems linked with serialisation throughout the century. Holdings in the British Library in part-issue include illustrated scientific texts such as one on *Locomotive Engineering*, illustrated dictionaries, books on fine art and architecture, and biography including portraits such as Men of Mark: a Gallery. The association of pictorial matter with expanded audiences of the periodical press had been established early in the century by Charles Knight's illustrated *Penny Magazine*, and in the same decade as Knight's venture the serialisation/part-issue of fiction with illustration re-appeared as a profitable format, targeted at enabling ordinary readers direct access to new work of quality, and making a link with wider audiences similar to that of the *Penny Magazine*. The impetus of part-issue particularly is as much the economic argument to maximise distribution through cheap access as it is the pressure of news events and time. This is also true of certain forms of magazines, especially magazines carrying fiction which were spurred on after 1860 by the shilling monthlies. In the case of part-issue and periodical serialisation alike the economy of serialisation avoided high, up-front expenditure for the consumer. It divided the cost over time into moderate sums for middle-class and often working-class purchasers, thus multiplying sales and profits for authors and publishers, as well as enhancing recognition of publishers' products by trailing them weekly or monthly, and providing regularly free and copious advertising space. Where I have been able to see Advertisements and Wrappers, both in part-issue and periodicals, the respective publisher of the serial in question never fails to publicise their current lists, often in both advertiser and wrapper, as default filler when space is unsold, and by design.

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Serialisation, Production and Consumption

What follows is an attempt to begin to map dominant forms of serialisation excluding the daily. It is a meditation on the sociology of texts rather than readings of the impact of serialisation on specific texts defined by and as literature, history or theology. I shall make a number of hypotheses, go on to consider the categories of part-issue and periodical serialisation with respect to some case studies, look at a particularly hybrid example, and then draw some conclusions.

First, serialisation in the nineteenth century appertains to both the history of the book and media studies, though neither party seems very comfortable with it, book history because at worst it treats 'volumes', and media studies because, oriented as it is to the present, it avoids media history. Yet I shall argue that both nineteenth-century partissue and magazine serialisation are characteristically hybrid: part-issue - date stamped, numbered, prominently priced, usually illustrated, and prone to use its wrapper sensationally to attract readers through colour, design and badging - looks on the one hand to the ephemeral newspaper and periodical press, and on the other hand to books, imitating their privileging of named and often 'star' authors, and their distribution by publisher, booksellers, and libraries rather than by newsmen or news vendors. Nineteenth-century periodicals by contrast resemble the newspaper press in their orientation to 'news', new books for review, and the topical, while revealing their links to publishers of books in their advertisers and wrappers, and in their letterpress, much of which is turned into books. Like the newspaper press, most of the periodicals were marked by apparent anonymity, at least until 1859 and the advent of Macmillan's Magazine. If any name at all appears on the wrapper, it is normally that of the Editor rather than that of any single author. Thus Dickens is named as the 'conductor' of Household Words in the 1850s, David Masson as the editor of

Macmillan's from 1859, and James Knowles as editor of the *Nineteenth Century* from 1877. But by this latter date the upmarket *Nineteenth Century*, which calls itself 'a review' and is expensive at half a crown, eschews popularist illustration on its wrapper and publishes instead its contents accompanied by the names of the contributors whose star quality bastion that of its editor, well-known primarily among journalists as late editor of the *Contemporary Review*.

We might conclude this comparison of the common but distinctive hybridity of both forms of serialisation by noting that the presence (or absence) of advertisers links them respectively with either the daily press in which adverts have functioned as an important source of income from some of the earliest printed newspapers in the UK, or the published volume often characterised by the absence of adverts, or where adverts are present the overwhelming dominance of the letter press. Of all the serials I examined, only Newman's *Apologia* published in eight parts lacked adverts even on the (extant) wrappers. This absence of adverts undoubtedly gave the serial an enhanced gravitas, and at the same time marked it out as less commodified, and more personally controlled. Given this set of hybridities, I want to suggest that what tends to be treated gingerly, as separate subjects -- book history and media studies, and media studies and media history conjoin in this instance and in aspects of this period more generally; there is a collapse of barriers between what is now the high culture of book history and what is deemed the popular culture of ephemera. Serialisation in the nineteenth century may be seen as part of a variety of formats, indeed a proliferation of formats, to accommodate a market which publishers treated as highly segmented. For example, in a weekly 1d serial called 'Beeton's Book of Birds' (1864), a wrapper advert (recto) for a new serialised cookery book, costing 3d a month, presents the new venture, 'All About It. Mrs Beeton's Dictionary of Everyday Cookery', as a response to readers' request for a volume of recipes in cookery between the 7/6 price of Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management and the shilling cookery book: 'And so that nobody wishing to have in their possession a book of this kind may be hindered by the difficulty of price, the work will be issued in Threepenny Monthly Parts. Each Part will contain, sewed in a wrapper, Thirty-two Pages in Double Columns of type. The whole *book* will contain about four hundred pages, and will be completed in exactly Twelve Parts.' Its issue date, 'ready with the April Magazines' makes a link which I contend is a common one between these forms of serial publication, part-issue and Magazine day. Other evidence of the segmentation of the market is evident in an article in Macmillan's, 'Universal Information and The English Encyclopedia ' by 'The Editor', also in the 1860s. David Masson notes the stigma of the penny part for the intellectual reaches of Macmillan's readership and contributors. The proliferation of the late nineteenth-century periodical and its markets is implicit here:

The work is, so far as that might be a reissue of the old 'Penny Cyclopoedia,' published between 1833 and 1843 under the able and scholarly editorship of Mr George Long, and the great merits of which are well known, and would have been more loudly proclaimed by those that had reason to know them best, but for a cowardly shame at acknowledging obligations to a work of reference which had the unfortunate word 'Penny' as part of its name. What author, not a paragon of conscientiousness, could venture to cite the 'Penny Cyclopaedia' in the text of a book as his authority for a statement, or to let the words 'Penny Cyclopaedia' figure among his footnotes.

...And yet as people do not hesitate to sponge secretly on honest and well-to-do men, so there were large transactions in private by many a book-making magnate with the convenient ban of the 'Penny Cyc.' This is remedied now; and in its new form of *The English Cyclopaedia*, a really great and trustworthy work of reference will have more justice done to it. (*Masson 1862*: 367-8).

Given the proclivity to serialisation, this new edition is published in volumes which themselves contain reshuffled entries and are grouped into parts which form a series that makes a whole, which Masson advises his readers to buy. 'There is now a subdivision of the total work into four parts, any one of which may be purchased separately - Arts and Sciences in eight volumes; Natural History in four volumes; Biography in six volumes; and Geography in four volumes. (Masson 1862: 368). But if serialisation, in part issue and periodicals, served publishers particularly well in marketing their products in affordable and variable forms, it was not to the taste of all writers. Seeking relief from the pressure and regularity of monthly part-issues, Dickens began Master Humphrey's Clock as a miscellany, but in ending the weekly periodical Dickens confided to his readers the unpalatable conditions which weekly serialisation imposed on its producers: 'I have found this form of publication most anxious, perplexing and difficult. I cannot bear these jerking confidences which are no sooner begun than ended, and no sooner ended than begun again.' This is part of a fascinating discussion of cultural production in which the monthly is returned to with relief, but it is also pertinent for my argument about the definition of the text when I tell you that Dickens' letter to his readers appears on the verso of the front wrapper for number 80 (Master Humphrey's Clock, 9 Oct. 1841).

Marian Evans and then George Eliot were fairly aware of the exigencies of serial publication of fiction. Evans' first published fiction took the form of a series of three linked stories yoked by a single title in parallel with the individual titles; they fitted both into the periodical span and space which Blackwood's Magazine commonly allocated to novels, and together made up a book published by Blackwood in a novel format. But when it came to publishing *Middlemarch* Eliot and Lewes devised with Blackwood a format of bi-monthly publication in parts which would not tie George Eliot down to monthly deadlines; it would also yield four lucrative volumes rather than the standard three on publication of the book. Moreover, the page size was small, and the paper was by design weighty, to which was added an Advertiser to pad it out. George Eliot did not wish to be confined to production of numbers of uniform length, and in the event part IV is 377 pages while V is only 191. Nor did the work appear so closely allied with the periodical press as did other part issues. The parts were called 'Books', and look like thick little volumes. While the wrapper was coloured and illustrated to attract attention as other part-issue wrappers were, it had little of the kind of information which identified part-issues with the world of journalism and periodicity. There was no date on the wrapper, only the 'Book' number; nor did the price appear on the front wrapper, but only on the spine which, like a book, sported the title and author, as well as the price. The price was high at five shillings per number, in order to make up £2 for the whole novel, which high price. Lewes was certain could only be extracted from the public serially, over time, through part publication. The haunting of part-issue by magazine serialisation may be seen in the model of Blackwood's Magazine, as the other space in which George Eliot could have placed her novel, which is implied by Lewes when he points out to Blackwood that the price of five shillings is the same price as *Blackwood's Magazine*, the implication being that

Blackwood would be profiting in addition to Blackwood's Magazine, and that at the same time Middlemarch would not be undercutting Blackwood's Magazine. Though Lewes and Blackwood shared a desire to circumvent the circulating Libraries, and make the public buy instead of borrow (Carroll 1986: xxxiii), they seemed to be wholly engaged with profitable sales rather than making the work available at a price the ordinary reader could afford. I noted that the date was missing on the wrappers, but it was implicit in the text, as each number I have seen had a small tipped-in advertising slip between the end of the Book and the back Advertiser giving the date, two months hence, of the next Book/part, with its title. It is noteworthy that Eliot's novel is responsive to the form in which she published insofar as she provided each 'book' with a new title of its own to run parallel with the generic and repeated title of Middlemarch, thus stoking anticipation in readers to manage the two month interval before the next instalment. As Lewes notes to Blackwood 'Each part would have a certain unity and completeness in itself with separate title.' (Carroll, 1986: xxxiii). The other move the triumvirate made for the market was to publish the last two books monthly, in November and December (instead of December and February) in order to maximise sales in the Christmas market. In the four parts with wrappers I've seen, the length of the Advertiser varied from 16 pp for Book 1 (issued in December 1871) to 8 pp for Books 4, 5, and 6; it may be that the Advertisers for Books 7 and 8 swelled with the 1872 Christmas season.

I mentioned earlier the generic range of serialisation, which stretches far beyond fiction. In my investigation of part-issue holdings in the British Library, I found reference works such as dictionaries and encyclopaedias, the length of which would warrant such a high price so as to prohibit purchase by most consumers. For publishers such as Cassell, serialisation of foreign language dictionaries, such as Cassell's German Pronouncing Dictionary of 1853, put the work within reach of readers who could spread their 3d/week payment over six months or 26 parts. On the inside wrapper, Cassell's Library was advertised; this could be bought in 26 monthly volumes bound in paper, at 7d each, or complete and cloth bound for 19/6, or arranged in a Library Box at 25 shillings; these collected volumes were also available separately at various prices. One title, The History of England by Robert Ferguson could be purchased in four vols. at 7d each, or two double vols. bound in cloth, 1/6 each; or the whole bound together in one thick volume, 3s, or on fine papers with the portrait of the Author, 3/6; or with gilt edges, 4s. Links between serials and books could not be suggested more graphically.

Similarly the Eighth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is advertised in 1853 on the wrapper of a part-issue of Thackeray's *The Newcomes*. Issued in monthly parts at 8/0, it is also available in quarterly volumes at 24 shillings. A more popular encyclopaedia, the *Historical Educator*, is featured in the Advertiser of *Cassell's German Pronouncing Dictionary* of the same year; this modest encyclopaedia of Cassell's is issued weekly at 2d and monthly at 9d and 11d depending on the length of the month. This in turn is 'uniform' with and piggy-backed on The Popular Educator with a similar structure of price and periodicity, with the two series making up a 'set' on the shelf. Smith Elder's *The Dictionary of National Biography* appeared from 1884 every quarter day in parts (volumes) at fifteen shillings in cloth. Issuing a Prospectus in 1892 in *medias res*, after publication of 30 of the 50 projected parts, the publishers sought to increase their sales at this juncture by tackling the problem of shelf space that such a multi-part serial poses. The last page of the Prospectus is devoted to an advert and illustration of a revolving book stand from Maples for 'intending

purchasers' 'who have been deterred from obtaining it by a consideration of the space the complete work would occupy.'

Poetry also appeared in part-issue. In 1870 an edition of the complete works of Robert Burns was issued in 17 monthly parts at one shilling each. While the publisher William Mackenzie is London based he cites two offices in Scotland where the bulk of his market may be. However, he also appends a sizeable glossary to the 500 pp. of promised text, presumably for his English and lowland readers. This edition is the antipathy of the upmarket part-issue edition of *Middlemarch*. The text is cut mid-poem between volumes, a common practice in popular periodicals in the serialisation of fiction, and the somewhat garish coloured wrapper carries a baroque design aimed at claiming an authority for Burns' poetry as well as playing on its Scottish identity. Between the poles of the *Historical Educator* at 2d/week or 9 to 11d/month, Burns at a shilling per month, and the *Britannica* at 8 shillings monthly or 24/ per quarter, and the *DNB* quarterly only at 15/ we can begin to see the permeation of the market by serialisation, and this is part-issue alone.

The last characteristic of part-issue to be examined is the accommodation of change in a form in which necessarily more adjustments are exposed than in magazine serialisation. John Newman's eloquent autobiography is an example of a theological work produced in parts by Longman from 1864, announced at a shilling each. Responding to a pamphlet (Kingsley 1864), Newman seems to be attempting to address the same readers who may have read the initial challenge. In examining the parts it is notable that Newman takes full formal advantage of the units of the part to shape his polemics with effective beginnings and endings, much as a writer of fiction might. Apart from the absence of adverts, the salient aspect here for us is the degree of flexibility in this format which Newman's serial exemplifies. Beginning with a plan for five parts at a shilling each published on the back wrapper (verso), the plan switches to eight parts plus higher and differently priced parts by the third number. The number of parts devoted to 'History of My Religious Opinions' is doubled from 2-4, and the cost of parts 4 and 5 is also doubled from one shilling to two shillings each, and of Part 6 to 2/6. Apart from the alteration of the announcement on the back wrapper, there is no other comment on this radical transformation of both the parts as commodities (in the price) and as text (the number plans and balance). Unlike Dickens, who effects an equally radical change in a periodical (Master Humphrey's Clock), Newman does not descend from the impersonal to explain himself. I shall discuss Dickens' management of change of plan when I address the singular dual form of that periodical/part-issue at length below.

Newman's sustained polemic and eloquent self-justification in the letterpress *Apologia* atypically features no advertiser or illustrations, but the austerity of this part-issue text is anomalous; usually illustration is a feature, often of importance, of part-issue which is essentially associated with widening access. In *Sooner or Later*, a novel by Shirley Brooks serialised monthly in shilling parts, where parallel billing with the author is given to the illustrator George Du Maurier, the name of the illustrator is in turn interrupted by a logo of the publisher, Bradbury and Evans, whose imprint appears just below. Illustrators are often credited on the wrappers of part-issue as are engravers, but this intervention of the publisher's logo serves to remind us that part-issue wrappers, along with the accompanying Advertisers also create name recognition for the publisher along with the author, title, illustrator, and engraver; the publisher's business becomes a 'star' in its own right. Apart from those periodicals which bear a publisher's name - e.g. *Macmillan's*, *Cassell's Family Illustrated Magazine*, *Longman's*

- neither author, publisher, illustrator or engraver feature so frequently or prominently on periodical wrappers, which tend to promulgate the name of the periodical and perhaps its editor, along with the details of date, price, vol., number and publisher which journalism dictates. *Sooner or Later* also shifts quite late from a 14 part plan, to one of 16 parts, a change which a parallel periodical might not be able to easily accommodate due to pressure of other material. While part-issue is likely to cope with change better than the periodical press, due to the isolation of the text and the singular control of the author and/or publisher over it, change is also far more exposed and visible than in the magazine serial where any anomaly may be overlooked among the range of articles on offer or filled in by other materials.

If the range of serialisation generically is wide, so is the variety of serial formats found within individual numbers or parts. *Macmillan's Magazine*, for example, at the height of its competition in 1860-61 with Cornhill which was fiction rich, did two things: it changed its cover from cream to pale pink in No. 7, and emboldened the design so as to compete with Cornhill's sumptuous gold and baroque cover. Additionally it began carrying two novels in Jan. 1861, adding a second to that by Thomas Hughes, itself a sequel to Tom Brown's Schooldays. Then some months after Tom Brown at Oxford ended, a long poem by Coventry Patmore "The Victories of Love" was serialised for three numbers, October-December 61, which ran simultaneously with the second novel which had not yet finished.. Both December 1861 and January 1862 had short stories in chapters, the latter spreading over three issues, and in February 1862 there was another, overlapping, three issue serial, 'A Quiet Nook'. Here we have long and short serials, of poetry, short fiction, and novels. An interesting point about Macmillan's mode of signature, which practice they were trying to revive and feature, is that they commonly supply both the name of the author and the names of his or her works which, with the legacy of anonymity, might well have more familiar to readers than the names of the authors themselves. Whereas by 1860 in part-issue the 'star' names of authors who could command readers on the basis of their very renown were well known and standard form on wrappers, in periodicals works were often still at least formally anonymous, as in the daily press, and readers were far more likely to recognise the names of works by authors of more modest fame than the authors' names themselves.

The other point about variety of serialisation is its timing in the circuit of communication. While some material starts as serials in magazines or part-issue, some doesn't, but in both cases it is possible that after volume publication, serialisation in both periodicals and part-issue may form part of the publisher's plan to make the work widely and cheaply available. Thus Blackwood publishes the series, 'The Novels and Tales of George Eliot' in an illustrated paperback edition in 6d monthly numbers, the texts of which end in the middle of chapters. As in the later part-issue of *Middlemarch*, there are no dates on the front cover, only the number of the part and the price. The date of No I, the beginning of *Adam Bede*, has to be gleaned by the scholar from the British Museum stamp of accession: 1867. But it is clear that without a date, the volumes of the edition have a longer shelf life, and in that sense aspire to the status of books and eschew the generic markings of the press.

This hybridity, common to part-issue and magazine serialisation, is particularly evident generically in weeklies such as the *Spectator* which describes itself in an advert in an Advertiser of the *Fortnightly Review* in May 1867 as an 'Independent Liberal **Newspaper** (my emphasis), and its descriptive sales pitch below emphasises **both** that 'like a newspaper it commands the best sources of information' **and** that not

withstanding, its main business is the interpretation of news: 'its object, however, is not so much to supply news as to express the feeling of the educated classes on the news, and correct that vagueness and bewilderment of thought which the constant receipt of news in little morsels has such a tendency to produce' (p.1, Advertiser). So it is both a newspaper and yet not beset with these alleged limitations of the dailies. But if we note the date of the advert, it is clear that the evening daily the Pall Mall Gazette, had from 1865 been making just these inroads on the morning dailies from within the ranks of daily newspapers. However, appealing to readers of the Fortnightly Review, the Spectator advert goes on to claim qualities such as 'original papers' of which the Pall Mall Gazette also boasts to distinguish it from the extant dailies. What is also interesting is that at this early date, the Spectator is using rhetoric that W.T. Stead and others deploy in the 1880s and 1890s to characterise the new readers of the new journalism: 'The News of the current week is *compressed* into an animated narrative, which the *laziest* or *busiest* may read, without missing the life or import of the events' (Fortnightly Review Advertiser 1867:1, my italics). And true to the orientation of many weeklies to news and the newspaper press, literature, however strongly treated in the Spectator under Hutton's direction, is clearly secondary to politics: it is mentioned only in the advert in a single last paragraph which emphasises coverage of new books -- 'every important work'. But I want to argue that this selfrepresentation of the Spectator is also determined by the Fortnightly Advertiser in which it is located.

This Advertiser document is preserved in the British Library independently of the periodical in which it appeared because it publishes the prospectus for the Charles Dickens Edition of Dickens' works. However, it helps construct meaning of the periodical to which it was originally attached as well as of those it advertises. The Advertiser is remarkably customised, so that the apparent disjunction between adverts and letterpress (which is perhaps the most glaring sign of the hybridity of these forms of serialisation) is clearly accompanied, or subverted, by consanguinity between the commercial and the 'original' papers. Echoing the advert in the Advertiser for the Spectator as an 'Independent Liberal Newspaper' is an advert just below it for The Day, a new morning paper, which also has a first-line strap designating its political affiliation, and its position within Liberalism - 'The Organ of Constitutional Liberalism.' This uniform political emphasis that suggests the house style of the Advertiser also helps us read the *Fortnightly* itself: to situate this monthly review squarely in the political press and to distinguish it at this date from other monthlies which are less politically oriented. The third advert on the page is for *The People's* Magazine, 6d monthly published by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), an organisation and a periodical rather unexpected in the Fortnightly Review, because of the zone of the S.P.C.K. publication, indicated by its low price, its populist contents, and religious framework. Its contents, in giving detailed information about illustration, bears out its populist character, and in including pieces such as 'My Garden: Third Article', 'Domestic Service', and 'the songster in the Chimney' suggest it and the Fortnightly are aimed at women readers among others. Strahan's list on page 3 also suggests this: it features romances and religious books, as well as titles more in keeping with the Fortnightly's contents such as Lives of Indian Officers by the civil servant J.W. Kaye. My point here is that many of the adverts in both wrappers and Advertisers are gendered - those for christening gowns, textiles and mourning accessories are directed at women readers/consumers and those for umbrellas and hunting dress primarily at men. I found much that was

suggestive here. Gender analysis of these adverts in part-issue and these general, higher journalism periodicals may play some part in future work on the construction of nineteenth-century readership.

Other adverts include works that both echo and extend our understanding of the reading community of the Fortnightly. I will only note the inevitable adverts from Chapman and Hall, its publisher, which demonstrate in the current list a catholic range, including for example works relating to rival periodicals of a different political cast (Studies in Conduct: Short essays from the Saturday Review), but the same zone. Chapman and Hall's new edition of Dickens, 'The Charles Dickens Edition', is a 'Series Issued Monthly' at three shillings or 3/6, which is described as both cheap and aesthetic, qualities which appeal at once to upmarket readers of the Fortnightly and the larger and poorer general public. Promising 'Legibility, Durability, Beauty and Cheapness', the Prospectus instructs the reader in the economy of print, with its boast of 'running heads', 'a flowing, open page, free from the objection of having double columns', and 'the Editor's watchfulness over his own Edition'. It also reveals the great age (twenty years) and implied corruption of the stereotype plates used for earlier cheap editions. This Advertiser, then, brings to bear multiple knowledges on the letterpress to which it is attached and to which it refers. Its added value is not confined to this. For readers of each number at the time, the adverts were part of the 'information' and entertainment that the periodical offered. Like a listing magazine, the Advertiser kept regular readers up to date on the latest issues of the magazines - with details of their contents; the newest books, series, and part-issues; and new entrants in the field such as *The Day*. An academic analogy lies with the adverts in *P.M.L.A.* or Victorian Studies.

What about the relations of *wrappers* to letterpress? In the part-issue of *The Newcomes* held by the British Library the juxtaposition between the crude graphics of the adverts on the verso of the front wrapper and the fine initial letters of the opening of the letterpress produces a dramatic contrast, part after part (this is in the absence of potentially intervening Advertisers for these parts). But there are striking continuities as well, as in the example of *Daniel Deronda*, which was also published initially in part-issue as a succession of 'books' like *Middlemarch*. Here too the Advertiser is missing in the British Library copy. But as it stands, the ending of Book VIII, 'She was found in this, crushed on the floor. Such grief seemed natural in a poor lady whose husband had been drowned in her presence' (Eliot 1871-72: Book VII, 162) is juxtaposed with an advert on the back wrapper recto for the Scottish Widow's Fund. this chance parallel between the letterpress and the adverts underlines the consanguinity of the discourses of commerce and culture, the heteroglossia of these hybrid texts which serially produce regular, pervasive dialogue.

III

Star Turn: From Periodical to Part-Issue

Dickens' early magazine, *Master Humphrey's Clock*, exemplifies a remarkable consanguinity between wrappers and letterpress. Additionally, it manifests a degree of flexibility (to the point of ambiguity and ambivalence) which, in moderation, is characteristic of serialisation: due to the intimate relation between serialisation and *process*, this form affords us an intimate view of the anatomy of texts as they *materialise*. *Master Humphrey's Clock*, a 3d weekly serial produced by Dickens, breathtakingly veers between periodical miscellany and part-issue, especially but not only at its outset. In this experiment of the early 1840s (April 1840 - November 1841)

Dickens set out from the start playfully, silently imitating the previous century's *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and Goldsmith's *Bee*: while it appeared to be a periodical, it was anomalously for its day to be entirely *authored* 'By Boz' (my emphasis) rather than edited. Generically, for nineteenth-century readers, it straddled *disparate* forms of serial publication, part-issue and magazine. This attribution of authorship is highlighted on the wrapper by boldface type and centrality of position on the page as is 'With Illustrations', all of which is characteristic of fiction part-issue. Nevertheless, some of the readership of *Master Humphrey's Clock* who were treated to depiction of its fictional conductor in its opening numbers were convinced of its *periodical* identity as late as No. 8, for in No. 9 Boz inserted a notice to alleged readers who had mistaken its genre:

Mr. Dickens begs to inform all those Ladies and Gentlemen who have tendered him contributions for this work, and all those why may now or at any future time have it in contemplation to do so, that he cannot avail himself of their obliging offers, as it is written solely by himself, and cannot possibly include any productions from other hands. (*Master Humphrey's Clock* 9 (1840): cover ^v).

This direct address to his readers is repeated several time in the course of the periodical, and all such communications appear *on the wrappers*. Earlier, in No. 8 he had apologised for the exclusion of an illustration, explaining informatively that due to the large print run, one of the blocks for a woodcut was 'injured in the press'; and rendered 'unfit for use', and on the wrapper of No. 80 (9 October 1841), in a letter to readers, he shares his frustrations about weekly parts, his plan to end the *Master Humphrey's Clock* experiment, and his return to monthly part-issue publication 'under the old green cover, in the old size and form, and at the old price' (front Wrapper verso). Clearly for Dickens in this text the wrapper was intimately connected with the letterpress, and part of the text he produced.

In the early issues of *Master Humphrey's Clock* we see various strategies to engage readers who came to Boz and his illustrators Cattermole and Hablot Browne, on the strength of Boz's previous success in *Pickwick Papers* and *Nicholas Nickleby*, editions of which are advertised on the wrappers of the new venture. In No. 4 Dickens tentatively begins a story 'The Old Curiosity Shop', the first chapter of which is then left in No. 5 when Mr. Pickwick enters as 'Master Humphrey's Visitor'. In the same number that he begins the 'little story' which becomes a novel that soon threatens to transform the weekly periodical into weekly part-issue, Dickens confusingly adds a 'Correspondence' department to the number, re-enforcing its periodical genre. This illusion is enhanced by the pursuit of Pickwick, through a contribution of 'his' tale, so that 'The Old Curiosity Shop' is only resumed with a second chapter in No. 7, three weeks later; it fully occupies No. 8, but No. 9 is heterogeneous, containing some 'Old Curiosity Shop' chapters, but also 'Mr. Weller's Watch'. Unsure of his sales, Dickens is keeping Mr. Pickwick and the Wellers in view, lest the new story not hold his readers. From No. 10 'The Old Curiosity Shop' occupies numbers wholly (as his rejection of external contributors in No. 9 anticipates), but the title on the wrapper remains that of the *periodical*. When a volume is issued it is of the whole periodical text to date, part of which it is advertised constitutes the first 38 chapters of the new novel. The Preface to the first volume, which appears in No. 26 with the title page, frontispiece and dedication, provides an extraordinary and laboured explanation of how Dickens moved from a periodical with fiction to a single fiction. Both the second volume which includes the remainder of *The Old Curiosity Shop*, and Vol. III which comprises Barnaby Rudge and other, periodical-related narratives are issued under the name of the periodical, although with the advent of the second novel, the wrapper design of the parts is adjusted to include for the first time the title of the novel as well as the title of the periodical. It is also the case that Dickens and Chapman and Hall did not issue The Old Curiosity Shop separately as a novel after it was completed in Vol. II, but waited until after the demise of the periodical in Nov. 1841 when they issued for the Christmas market on Dec. 14, Vol. III of the periodical (an outsize volume at the expensive price of 10/6), and single volume editions of both novels at 13/ each. within the format of a weekly periodical, the various authorial personae - 'Charles Dickens' the signatory of the wrapper letters, 'Boz' the author/'editor' of the cover, and Master Humphrey, the conductor within - dazzlingly multiplied the voices of the periodical, moving generically in and out of serial formats.

IV Conclusion

I want to turn now from these 'thick' analyses of text to an outline synopsis of the two forms. First part-issue: this format tends to be author-identified and marked, even if by pseudonym. There is more authorial control and independence, and it is more entrepreneurial than magazine serialisation. The number of parts, interval, and length of parts are variable. It is stand-alone, with no accompanying, rival texts or contexts except illustrations and adverts. The cover and often the adverts bear customised relation to the *author* and individual text as well as to the readership and publisher. The breadth of the class of readers of part-issue is indicated by the re-iteration of adverts for *cheap* editions of popular works, and also for other sites and organisation of reading through Book Societies which are addressed in adverts from the Libraries such as Bull's, Mudie's, and Churton's. There is direct interaction with the audience, and the route to volume format is also technically quite direct: the parts are bound with the title page and table of contents supplied in the last numbers, and the adverts and covers of part-issues are scrapped.

Magazine serial parts have characteristic differences which for much of the century normally tend to occlude authorship. Authors need to pass through an editorial gateway for publication. The contribution is often anonymous, and even at best not singularly marked by authorship; there is a rival marker of the periodical's title and identity, as in *Blackwood's* where serialised fiction appeared anonymously for the greater part of the century and Cornhill whose authority as a magazine similarly marked its fiction as much as the rumours or information of its authors' names. Serials in magazines enjoy a guaranteed audience in the first instance, that of the periodical and its other contributions; risk is shared. Indeed, the magazine serial work addresses another, already constituted market, and such serials are often written with the periodical and its readership firmly in mind. It is adjusted to the market in its inception, and perhaps further adjusted or censored by the author and editor. It is also subject to other conditions of the periodical: its frequency; its policy regarding illustration, the pressure on its space from other copy, and the 'room' it allocates for fiction in each issue. Thus the length of the part may be subject to editing and even exclusion as well as censorship: Culture and Anarchy in Cornhill is only one example of serials that have been discontinued before completion as 'unsuitable'. The competition for attention among single texts in a periodical sequence of texts which make up an issue means that readers of magazines make a choice of whether to read serials or not, a choice which is made in part-issue at the point of borrowing or purchase. That is, once borrowed or bought, it is likely that the part-issue text will be

read whereas for the magazine serial there is a further stage of selection, with rival texts to hand and in view. Moreover, it could be argued that magazine serials may be read more critically, as the bases for comparison are near to hand. For example, the Cornhill reader of the 1860s is likely to have two serialised novels in each number. Magazines such as the *Cornhill* could be said to have tutored their readers in how to read critically by offering them parallel narratives for comparison. In any case, the impact on the magazine serial of other articles in the issue, and in previous and subsequent issues of the periodical does arise, as individual articles in periodicals are part of a sequence within each issue, and each issue is part of a sequence of issues which is strategically designed to be read as part of a continuum. Serialisation from issue to issue is part of that strategy, as are articles which are presented as 'replies' to earlier pieces. Lastly, magazine serialisation may be more supportive to irregular serials; authors are less exposed when a part is missed, or the author cannot keep up the pace, or even gives up entirely: the magazine continues to appear and the absence of the part is countered by the 'presence' of other letterpress and likely not to be mentioned.³ Moreover, it might be argued that the termination of completed magazine serials and the 'loss' of characters, world, and plot which ends with the serial are mitigated in magazine serialisation by the continuation of the periodical in which the serial appeared, and by the periodical's supply of a new fictional world for immediate consumption by the bereaved reader.

In conclusion, the topic here has been kinds of serials and serialisation in the nineteenth century: part-issue, magazine serial, and book publication. I have been contending that these elements of Victorian print show a propensity to forms of periodic publication as well as periodicals and newspapers. Literature is not alone in adopting these forms, but shares them with graphic art, history, science, art criticism, music, theology, and reference works of all kinds. I have further explored distinctions between part-issue and magazine serialisation, the high status, marketability, and visibility of part-issue publication of either the Author (Dickens, George Eliot, Newman) or the project (the DNB, the New English Dictionary), while magazines are free to absorb into the wake of their title anonymity, as well as works by neophytes, writers of middling familiarity, and the famous. Both types of texts are stripped of their 'inter' texts when re-issued in volume form. Sheared from adverts and covers, part-issue is absorbed into high culture volumes for domestic consumption or the Libraries, or on the other hand from adverts and covers to reside as a periodical volume, a pale trace of its ephemeral form. The fate of both types of ephemera is inscribed in the process by which in the final number of the part-issue, its form is lost in the seamless achievement of the Table of Contents pages which occlude its serial structure, the gaps between parts, its extension over time, and do not accommodate the advertising or the tell-tale covers, date stamped as they tend to be. The multiple serialised forms of material print culture in the nineteenth century patently construct different texts with differing potentials for meaning, carefully geared to an expanding if segmented market for commodity texts.

Chapter 2 notes

- New novels published in three volumes normally cost 1 1/2 guineas. Novels in 1/0 monthly part-issue in this zone at this date, which appeared in 20 parts over 19 months, would normally cost £1.
- 2. For example, *Cornhill* tended to illustrate its fiction; some others did not.
- 3. When Walter Pater discontinued his novel *Gaston de Latour* in *Macmillan's Magazine* in November 1888 (in which the expected next chapter did not appear), there was no comment; nor was a subsequent chapter identified as such when it appeared as an historical portrait and not fictional in the *Fortnightly* nine months later in August 1889.



Newcomes, no. 11, August 1854.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LARY REW AT THE CONGRESS.



Kow heard that Madame d'Urry was at Baden, and was informed at ouce of the French lady's graciousness towards the Newcomo family, and of hear fary against Lord Kow, the old Countess gave

alosse is that energetic temper with which nature had gifted her; a temper which she tied up sometimes and kept from barking and biting; but which when unmuzzled was an animal of whom all her ladgehip's family had a just apprehension. Not one of them but in his or her time had been wounded, lacerated, tumbled over, otherwise frightened er isjured by this unruly brute. The cowards brought it sops and pated it; the prodent gave it a clear borth, and walked round so as not to meet it; but wee be to those of the family who had to bring the med, and prepare the litter, and (to speak respectfully) share the kannel with Lady Kow's "Black Dog!" Surely a fine furious temper, decompanied with a certain magnanimity and bravery which often go agricer with it, is one of the most precious and fortunate gifts with which a gentleman or lady can be endowed. A person always ready to light is certain of the greatest consideration amongst his or her family circle. The hay grow tired of contending with him; the timid coax and flatter him; and as almost every one is timid or lazy, a badintegered man is sure to have his own way. It is he who commands, and all the others obey. If he is a gourmand, he has what he likes for timer; and the tastes of all the rest are subservient to him. She (we

6. The combination of commerce and literature characteristic of serial publication in the period is underlined by the juxtaposition of the basic graphics of the advertisement and the delicate cut of the initial letter; but also note the congruity between the fox logo and the moose opposite! In Thackeray's *The*

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7. Advertisement for serial publication of the Encyclopædia Britannica in monthly parts. This appeared in Thackeray's *The Newcomes*, no. 1 (October 1853).

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10. These borrowing regulations for both serials and books in Bull's Library appear in 'The *Nickleby* Advertiser' in an early part-issue by Dickens, in May 1838 in the second number of *Nicholas Nickleby*.