



Title: Unearthing the English Common Reader:
Working Class Reading Habits, England 1850-1914

Name: Teresa A Gerrard

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**UNEARTHING THE ENGLISH COMMON READER:
WORKING CLASS READING HABITS, ENGLAND 1850-1914**

TERESA A GERRARD

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TERESA GERRARD

ABSTRACT

This thesis uses a number of sources to piece together evidence of working-class reading habits during the period 1850 to 1914: autobiographies, library borrowing records, middle-class contemporary observations, and answers to correspondents pages in popular periodicals.

Middle-class dominance of literary production through the publishing industry, librarians, editors, and book reviews helped to shape working class autobiographical representations of reading. Literary conventions of autobiographies limit them as a source. By portraying the authors' life as a success story the genre puts greater emphasis on the reading of accepted classics and canonical works.

Studies of two early libraries show how notions of class and gender affected the provision of texts in libraries. Later records prove that reading for leisure purposes had increased dramatically over the period from 1850 to 1914 and that juvenile literature was popular even with adult readers. Changes in the publishing industry and the popularity of genres are reflected in the library stock.

An alternative source confirms these trends. The answers to correspondence pages of the *London Journal*, *Reynolds' Newspaper* and the *Family Herald* reveal that a number of common readers wanted to read in order to better themselves socially and intellectually. A popularised version of autodidact culture was both promoted and sought in the pages of popular periodicals.

The thesis concludes that two distinct trends in reading are evident through the period: reading for self-improvement subtly shaped by autodidact culture, and an increase in leisure reading.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

Where do we find evidence of reading? The ownership of a book does not guarantee it has been read. Circulation figures of a newspaper are not an index of its readership and the loan of a book from a library is not an indicator that the borrower even opened its pages. The evidence is often circumstantial. Studies based upon texts themselves, changes in publication figures and surveys drawing on the theoretical views of contemporary observers have drawn a general picture of changing attitudes towards reading matter.¹ Surveys of wills and library records have shown us what readers owned or borrowed, not what they read, and have tended to rely upon the exceptions for the main body of their evidence.² Other studies based on the diaries and

¹ For examples see Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press (1998; first published by The University of Chicago Press, 1957); Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Culture, 1861-1917*, Guildford, Surrey: Princeton University Press (1985); Jon P. Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832*, London: University of Wisconsin Press (1987); Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain, 1914-1950*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1992); R.K. Webb *The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. (1955).

² For examples see William Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1730-1830*, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press (1988); Paul Kaufman, *Libraries and Their Users: Collected Papers in Library History*, London: The Library Association (1969); Ronald J. Zboray, *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the*

autobiographies of readers, or marginalia, get closer to actual evidence of reading, though the authors themselves tend to be exceptional.³ The inherent problem of winnowing out the evidence in order to reconstruct the history of reading has become a subject of academic debate.

Origins of the debate: The history of the book

This debate can be traced through the historiography of the history of the book. As a scholarly discipline this has developed in different ways in different countries. Until the 1970s, the Anglo-American approach to book history was dominated by the work of analytical bibliographers such as Fredson Bowers, Philip Gaskell, Ronald B. McKerrow, S.H. Steinberg and G. Thomas Tanselle.⁴ They tended to focus upon the book as a physical object and upon the material and editorial aspects of book production.⁵ Interest in the history of reading remained limited to the more traditional historical topics of establishing changing rates of literacy and tracing the history of printing, education and the rise of public institutions such as the free public library.

American Reading Public, New York: Oxford University Press (1993).

³ For examples see Cathy N. Davidson, *Reading in America*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press (1989); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. by Anne and John Tedeschi, London: Routledge & Keegan Paul (1980); Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual life of the British Working Classes*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press (2001).

⁴ See Fredson Bowers, *Bibliography and Textual Criticism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1964); Philip A. Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1972); Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1927); S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, Harmondsworth, Midd.: Penguin (1955); G. Thomas Tanselle, *Selected Studies in Bibliography*, Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia (1979).

⁵ For a discussion of the various strands of historical bibliography see D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of the Text*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (new ed. 1999; first published by the British Library, 1986), pp. 1-16.

The *Annales* school of socio-economic history which dominated French l'histoire du livre from the 1960s influenced others such as Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier. They sought to understand the wider role of the book in society, attempting to place the products of the printing press in their economic, social, religious and intellectual contexts. They concentrated on the book as a social phenomenon, concerned to chart the spread of culture by examining the spread of print to the different social groups in the ancien régime. Essentially, historians such as Henri-Jean Martin, François Furet, Robert Estivals and Frédéric Barbier attempted to discover general patterns of book production and consumption over long stretches of time by constructing long-term series of statistics.⁶ They sought to find out who had access to which texts using registers of book privileges, sales of copyright, the annual *Bibliographie de la France*, catalogues of printers and booksellers, and wills and inventories of personal property. From this they drew conclusions about how social differences were culturally translated.

A key text in this field is Henri Jean Martin and Lucien Febvre's monograph *L'Apparition du Livre* published in 1958.⁷ Focusing on France and Germany for the period 1450-1800, the authors argued that the technology of the printing press resulted in a communications revolution that in turn affected cultural processes and change. For example, according to this thesis by enabling multiple copies of works to be distributed

⁶ For a discussion of their work and an overview of French research see Wallace Kirsop, 'Literary History and the Book Trade: the Lessons of *L'Apparition du livre*' in *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 16 (1979), pp.488-535.

⁷ Lucien Febvre & Henri-Jean Martin, *L'Apparition du livre*, Paris: Albin Michel (1958). This text was planned by Febvre and completed by Martin following Febvre's death. Specialised sections were written by Anne Basanoff, Henri Bernard-Maître, Moché Catane, Marie-Roberte Guignard and

accurately and rapidly, the printing press helped sustain the Renaissance and enabled the Reformation to sweep across Europe. Although Wallace Kirsop has pointed out that their ideas were not formulated in isolation the influence of *L'Apparition du Livre* and of its English translation in 1976 cannot be denied.⁸

In *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962) Marshall McLuhan popularised the idea in the English-speaking world that the invention of printing in the fifteenth century critically altered modes of communication in Western society.⁹ The subsequent publication of Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* and of Robert Darnton's *The Business of Enlightenment* (both in 1979) respectively developed McLuhan's and Martin and Febvre's central theme: that the history of the book trade is part of the history of communication and linked to the way our civilisation has developed.¹⁰ Such studies have helped to establish the French approach to *l'histoire du livre* in Britain and American¹¹ although the extent to which the printing press acted as an agent of

Marcel Thomas.

⁸ *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, translated by David Gerard and edited by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith & David Wootton, London: New Left Books (1976). For a discussion of its impact see Wallace Kirsop, 'Literary History and the Book Trade' op.cit.; and Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', in Kenneth E. Carpenter (ed.), *Books and Society in History: Papers of the Association of College and Research Libraries Rare Books and Manuscripts Pre-conference, 24-28 June 1980 Boston, Mass.*, New York: R.R.Bowker Co. (1983), pp.5-30, esp. pp.3-5; reprinted with slight alterations from *Daedalus*, No.111 (1982), pp.65-83.

⁹ Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographical Man*, Toronto: Routledge, Keegan & Paul Ltd (1962). For a discussion of earlier studies that pointed to similar conclusions see the historiography provided by Paul Sagener in 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society', *Viator*, Vol.13 (1982) pp.367-414, esp. pp.367-369.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 volumes, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1979); Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment. A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie 1775-1800*, London: Belknap Press (1979).

¹¹ For example, see some of the early reviews of Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*: Anthony T Grafton, 'The Importance of Being Printed', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, No.11 (1980), pp.256-86; Michael Hunter, 'The Impact of Print', *The Book Collector*, No.28 (1979), pp.335-52; Paul Needham's review in *Fine Print*, No.6 (1980), pp.23-5 & 32-5; and Peter F. McNally (ed.), *The Advent of Printing: Historians of Science Respond to Elizabeth Eisenstein's The Printing*

change remains an area of academic discussion.¹² This move has led to a number of enumerative bibliographical projects.

In 1977 the *Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (ESTC)*¹³ was established. Its aim was to create a machine-readable bibliography of books, pamphlets, serials and ephemeral matter printed in English-speaking countries from 1473 to 1800, based on the collections of over 1,600 libraries world-wide. In 1983 the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (NSTC)*¹⁴ project was started with the combining aim to provide a listing of English books (including translations) printed in Britain, its colonies and the United States of America between 1801 and 1919, using the catalogues of eight major libraries.

Statistics of book production and ownership

Statistical projects have provided evidence on the spread of texts and offer a starting point for a broader history of reading. Cross-cultural comparisons of figures relating to

Press as an Agent of Change, Montreal: McGill University Graduate School of Library and Information Studies (1987).

¹² For example, in 1980 John Feather acknowledged the importance of the French approach, noting that books should be viewed not only as physical objects but as saleable objects also. See John Feather, 'Cross-Channel Currents: historical bibliography and *l'histoire du livre*', *The Library*, 6th series, II (1980), pp.1-15. For an example of the type of work inspired by the *Annales* approach to the history of the book see William J. Gilmore, 'Elementary Literacy on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution: Trends in Rural New England, 1760-1830', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 92, part 1 (April 1982), pp.87-178; and William J. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life*, op.cit. Gilmore uses estate inventories to infer the reading habits, attitudes and mentalities of different groups living in the valley of the Connecticut River at the turn of the eighteenth century.

¹³ R. C. Alston & M. J. Crump (eds.), *Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, London: The British Library (1983).

¹⁴ See Gwen Averley (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, Series I, 1801-1815, Series II, 1816-1870, and Series III on-going, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Averro (1984 to present). The libraries were Bodleian (Oxford), British Library, Cambridge University Library, Trinity College (Dublin), National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh), University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Harvard University and Library of Congress (Washington)

Europe and the American colonies indicate some general trends: data concerning literacy rates show a sharp increase between 1500 and 1800; inventories and wills suggest that by the sixteenth-century private individuals owned more books than ever before; figures on publishing decisively point to the decline of Latin and to the rise of the novel from the late eighteenth century; library borrowing and sales figures show the decline of religious reading and the growing popularity of light fiction from the 1770s.¹⁵

However, statistics on the publication of texts tell us little about actual readers. In Newcastle-upon-Tyne researchers involved in the Book Subscription Lists Project recognised this fundamental problem. As a result they attempted to outline a historiographical sociology of readership by using an alternative source: existing subscription lists for books published in Britain from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. In an attempt to link the production of particular books to their possible readers William B. Todd, Peter Wallis and F. J. G. Robinson have used this evidence to produce lists of individual subscribers.¹⁶ However, Wallace Kirsop has pointed out the limitations of this source:

¹⁵ See Roger Chartier 'The Practical Impact of Writing' in Roger Chartier (ed.), *A History of the Private Life Vol. 3 Passions of the Renaissance*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer, London: Belknap (1989), pp.111-59, esp. pp.112-19 & 124-34; Robert Darnton, 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading', *Australian Journal of French Studies* Vol.33, No.1 (1996), pp. 5-30, esp. pp.7-9; reprinted from Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*, London: Faber & Faber Ltd. (1990), pp.145-187.

¹⁶ The Book Subscription Lists Project was established at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1971 under the direction of Peter Wallis and expanded into the Project for Historical Biobibliography (PHIBB) in 1976. See Peter John Wallis, 'Book Subscription Lists', *The Library*, 5th series, XXXIX (1974), pp.255-86; William B. Todd & Peter J. Wallis, 'Provincial Booksellers c. 1744: *The Harleian Miscellany* Subscription List', *The Library*, 5th Series, XXIX (1974), pp.422-40; F. J. G. Robinson & Peter John Wallis, *Book Subscription Lists. A Revised Guide*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Harold Hill & Son Ltd (1975); Peter John Wallis, *An Eighteenth-Century Book Trade Index*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne:

Even less than normal purchase, subscription is no guarantee of a desire to read or even of the slightest interest in the subject matter of the work thus supported in a gesture of collective patronage ... surviving correspondence lays bare the extent to which personal contacts and energetic agents are responsible for the success of subscriptions, reinforces conclusions that bring little comfort to those tempted to believe the lists are uniquely informative registers of readership.¹⁷

Nevertheless, Rolf Engelsing and David Hall have suggested that major transformations in reading habits can be traced by taking a broad view of changes over time. Focusing on burghers in Bremen, Engelsing argued that a 'reading revolution' occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. He argued that from the Middle Ages until 1750, men read a small number of books 'intensively'. Sometime after 1800, however, men began to read 'extensively', perusing a larger number of publications. Similar conclusions have been arrived at by David Hall who has studied the reading habits of New Englanders. He suggests that between 1600-1800 New Englanders read a small body of texts repeatedly. After 1800 however, new types of texts were read once and then discarded by readers who now had access to a greater variety of reading matter.¹⁸

Across the Channel, a further outcome of this international exchange resulted in recognition of the methodological approaches of English-speaking bibliographers and

PHIBB (1977); Peter John Wallis, *The Social Index. A New Technique for Measuring Social Trends*, Newcastle upon Tyne: PHIBB (1978); R.C. Alston, F.J.G. Robinson and C. Wadham, *A Check-List of Eighteenth-Century Books Containing Lists of Subscribers Incorporating Exploitation of the Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue File on BLAISE*, Newcastle: Avero (1983).

¹⁷ Wallace Kirsop, 'Literary History and Book Trade History', op.cit., pp.527-28.

¹⁸ Rolf Engelsing, 'Die Perioden de Lesergeschichte in der Nuezeit. Das Statistische Ausmass und die soziokulturelle Dedeutung der Lektüre', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, Vol.10 (1970), pp.945-1002. David D. Hall, 'The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600-1850', in William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown & John B. Hench (eds.), *Printing and Society in Early America*, Worcester, Mass: American Antiquarian Society (1983), pp.1-47.

book trade historians. In 'The Practical Impact of Writing' Roger Chartier proposed a new field of enquiry that would focus more firmly upon changing reading practices. Building on the work of the French academic Philippe Ariès, Chartier agrees that the advent of the written and printed word fostered new modes of communication. In the Middle Ages reading aloud, even if alone, was standard practice. The printed book changed this and encouraged the spread of silent, private reading. However, although Chartier concludes 'This "privatisation" of reading is undeniably one of the major cultural developments of the early modern era', the observed movement to silent reading did not progress evenly.¹⁹

In order to show the extent to which reading aloud remained 'an essential ingredient of social life' and the uneven spread of private reading between 1500 and 1800 Chartier draws on a number of sources: statistics which measure the spread of literacy throughout Europe and the American colonies, fictional, autobiographical and iconographic representations of reading, wills and inventories of private libraries, technological developments, instructions to readers given in prologues to texts, marginalia written within and the format of texts themselves. Chartier urges other researchers to focus on the changing practice of reading and to further his work since: 'To locate the network of practice and rules of reading specific to diverse communities of readers ... is a primary task for any history', though he says not an easy one.²⁰ Establishing precise literacy rates is difficult: 'The figures constitute a kind of rough, composite index, which does not precisely measure the diffusion of either writing skills

¹⁹ Roger Chartier 'The Practical Impact of Writing', *op.cit.*, p.125.

(which the percentages exaggerate) or reading skills (which they underestimate)'.²¹

Similarly 'painting does not yield an exhaustive catalogue of early modern reading practices', though it helps build a picture of contemporary attitudes to reading.

Pictures usually tell us how one sector of society (for example eighteenth-century men) imagined the reading practices of another (in this instance women). Likewise attempts to examine whether or not 'silent reading resulted in a greater familiarity with books and a more prominent place for them in the home' are limited because:²²

The evidence is unfortunately imperfect, incomplete, and much criticised; we must rely primarily on inventories, generally compiled after a death, which described (to a limited extent) and estimated the value of an individual's possession, including his books. One problem is that the presence of a book in an estate inventory does not imply that the book was read or even purchased by the deceased. Inventories also failed to include printed materials of little value, even though these might constitute the bulk of a person's reading, and of course omitted any valuable or dangerous books that might have been removed from the library beforehand. Such evidence, therefore, should not be relied upon for anything more than very general indications concerning, for instance, the presence of a particular book in the libraries of a particular class of society. Even more than in the case of signature rates, we must be very cautious in comparing data from different places, for the figures may be influenced by differences in notarial practices and in the composition of the populations for which estate inventories were compiled.

Although the examination of autobiographical representations of reading or of marginalia in private libraries can show how the private individual viewed his or her own reading or organized their books they do not tell us about the populace as a whole. The majority of readers left no memoirs, nor any trace of their activities.

²⁰ Ibid., p.147; Roger Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader', in *Readers and Reading*, Andrew Bennett (ed.), Essex: Longman Group Ltd. (1995), pp.132-49, p.135.

²¹ Roger Chartier 'The Practical Impact of Writing', op.cit., p.112.

²² Roger Chartier 'The Practical Impact of Writing', op.cit., pp.147 & 127-8.

Drawing on the work of D.F. McKenzie, Chartier argues that the format of the text may provide some clues here.

Format of the text

In *Bibliography and The Sociology of Texts* (1986) McKenzie illustrates his belief that ‘the material forms of books, the non-verbal elements of the typographic notations within them, the very disposition of space itself, have an expressive function in conveying meaning’, by comparing three versions of an epigram within the prologue to William Congreve’s *The Way of the World* (1700):

If we think of the physical construction of Congreve’s text in the quarto of 1700 or the octavo edition of 1710, and its physical re-presentation in 1946, then at least we begin by seeing two simple facts. One gives us the historical perspective of an author directing one set of meanings in a transaction with his contemporaries. The other gives an equally historical perspective of two readers creating a reverse set of meanings for an academic — indeed, a scholarly — readership whose interests in the text were different. Each perspective can be studied distinctively in the signs of the text as printed.

Since variations of textual format, typography and layout can give a text a new meaning by fostering a new mode of reading or interpretation McKenzie encourages bibliographers ‘to show that forms effect meaning’.²³ In ‘The Life and Times of *Charlotte Temple*: The Biography of a Book’ Cathy N. Davidson traced editions of this text in order to show how different bindings, illustrations and front matter can transform a novel from serious to sentimental, from quasi-pornographic to scholarly.²⁴ The way in which a book was used can also be judged from its physical condition. As

²³ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of the Text*, op. cit., pp.17, 27-28 & 13.

²⁴ Cathy N. Davidson, ‘The Life and Times of *Charlotte Temple*: The Biography of a Book’, in Cathy N. Davidson (ed.), *Reading in America: Literature and Social History*, Baltimore: John Hopkins

Wallace Kirsop has noted ‘Whether or not a book is read and used or simply displayed on the shelves of its owners can be determined by wide-ranging searches of the bibliographical kind ... Wormholes that betray the fact that unsold sheets lay for some time in the bookseller’s shop ... scholarly annotations, childish scribbles, blots, food stains, dog’s-ears, temporary covers, trade bindings, even Trautz-Bauzonnet green morocco and armorial bookplates, ... are all testimonies to the reactions of buyers, collectors and readers’.²⁵

Accordingly, in ‘Labourers and Voyagers’ Chartier argued that research should also focus on the ‘material forms the text takes’ since ‘these forms contribute fully to shaping the anticipations of the reader *vis-à-vis* the text and to the production of new publics or innovative uses for it.’ As a result, ‘any history seeking to recover the shifting and plural meaning of texts’ must take into account a ‘double network of variations — variations of the disposition of the dispositions of readers and variations of textual and formal devices.’ Pursuing this theme Chartier concludes: ‘The representations of traditional ways of reading and of their differences from each other — revealed on the practical level by the transformations of printed materials (*mises en imprimé*) or in their normative purposes (*finalité*) by their literary, pictorial, or autobiographical stagings (*mises en scène*) — constitute the essential data for an archaeology of reading practices’.²⁶

University Press (1989), pp.157-179.

²⁵ Wallace Kirsop, ‘Literary History and the Book Trade’, *op.cit.*, p.532.

²⁶ Roger Chartier, ‘Labourers and Voyagers’, *op.cit.*, pp.138-9, 136 & 149.

For Chartier the main interest is to chart changes in reading practices. What he implies is that micro-analytical studies can augment macro-analytic ones and test their general findings. In order to do so researchers must draw upon all available sources using a variety of methodologies. Chartier's conception of a history of interpretation that could note 'how variations in the form of texts affects their possible meanings' builds upon historical bibliography. Like McKenzie, he urges the historian to look at 'contemporary modes of circulation and sorts of representation of a "same" work'. By doing this he hopes to 'demonstrate the limitations of two approaches that have long been common practice: the qualification of cultural products by the social identity of their public, and the establishment of the meaning of those products based on their linguistic function alone'.²⁷

Production and distribution of texts

Robert Darnton takes this concept further. In *The Business of Enlightenment* (1979) he argues that the French approach has resulted in two general types of studies: 'macroscopic surveys of book production or microscopic analyses of individual libraries'.²⁸ Discussing the limitations of both Darnton concludes: 'All this compiling and computing has provided some guidelines to reading habits, but the generalizations sometimes seem too general to be satisfying'. On the other hand, although 'Those who prefer precision may turn to microanalysis ... it usually goes to the opposite extreme

²⁷ Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings. Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Code to Computer*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (1995), p.3.

²⁸ Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment*, op.cit., pp.2-3. Darnton focuses upon the archives of the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel to examine the printing press as both an agent and a product of the Enlightenment.

— excessive detail'.²⁹ Furthermore, because of the French tendency towards 'statistical and sociological' research both approaches have tended to neglect 'the processes by which books were produced and distributed'.³⁰ Records of property inventory at death imply that cultural difference was linked to social status. The spread of culture however cannot necessarily be measured in this manner. Specifically, rather than owning texts, those on a low income may have borrowed texts or circulated them in a number of ways. For example, Peter Miles has shown that second-hand copies of Robert Tressell's *The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists* (1914) were passed from reader to reader.³¹

In 'What is the History of Books?' Darnton proposes 'a general model for analysing the way books come into being and spread through society'. Describing this model as a 'communications circuit that runs from the author to the publisher, ... the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader' Darnton argues that 'printed books generally pass through roughly the same life cycle'. As the last cog 'The reader completes the circuit, because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition'.³² Darnton presents this model as a possible framework for bringing together the disparate evidence we have regarding the production and spread of printed texts.³³ Like Chartier, Robert Darnton urges researchers to adopt 'a dual

²⁹ Robert Darnton 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading', op.cit, pp.8 & 10.

³⁰ Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment*, op.cit., pp.2-3.

³¹ Peter Miles, 'The Painter's Bible and the British Workman: Robert Tressell's Literary Activism', in Jeremy Hawthorn (ed.), *The British Working-Class Novel in the Twentieth Century*, London: Edward Arnold (1984), pp.2-10.

³² Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', op.cit., p.5.

³³ For a critique of this model from the point of view of a bibliographer see Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, 'A New Model for the History of Books', in Nicolas Barker (ed.), *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society. The Clarke Lectures 1986-1987*, London: The British Library (1993), pp.5-43.

strategy, which would combine textual analysis with empirical research'.³⁴ Where Darnton differs from Chartier however, is in his conception of a history of reading.

Reader response approaches

For Darnton the main aim of this approach would be to focus upon the history of reader response. He suggests that marginalia, letters and autobiographies are especially useful sources because they 'can show what readings actually took place'. Although they provide only a limited or 'an imperfect body of evidence' they can be used 'to capture something of what reading meant for the few person who left a record of it'. As such they enable the historian to understand how some readers interpreted particular texts. By examining the recorded evidence of reactions to texts 'it should be possible to compare the implicit readers of the text with the actual readers of the past and, by building on such a comparison, to develop a history as well as a theory of reader response'.³⁵

Adams and Barker argue that 'from the point of view of serving the history of the book, the weakness of Darnton's scheme is that it deals with people, rather than the book. It is concerned with the history of communication'; p.12. Essentially, they invert Darnton's model and place the book itself at the centre arguing that the sequence of 'five events in the life of the book — publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception and survival — ... constitutes a system of communication and can in turn precipitate other cycles'; p.15. Although their main concern is to show that bibliography 'is important enough to be recognized as something that stands by itself' they offer some suggestions regarding the ways in which the history of reading can be unearthed; p.7. Referring to the reception of a text Adams and Barker suggest that the available 'evidence can be broken down into four groups: direct documentation, popularity, influence and use'; p.27. Direct evidence comes in the form of public and private responses found in published reviews or commentaries and in second-hand reports of public utterances or conversations. The popularity of particular texts can be partially gauged by publication figures and the number of reprints, adaptations or translations. Different binding styles, typefaces, prefaces and edition statements may also provide clues regarding differences in intended audiences. The influence of a text can sometimes be gauged by tracing its mention in other publications or by assessing 'who received what books and in turn produced what books derived in part from that experience'; p.30. Like Kirsop, they agree that since 'A book may be used for show ... rather than actual reading' the physical condition of surviving books can indicate whether or not texts were actually read; p.30.

³⁴ Robert Darnton 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading', op.cit., p.22.

³⁵ Ibid., pp.22 & 19.

As such, both Chartier and Darnton have shown that it is necessary to take a holistic approach to the history of reading. Essentially, this has highlighted the importance of the reader: studies that catalogue the publication of texts or focus only upon their content tell us little about their influence if they do not also focus upon the readers who encountered them. Collating evidence of the reading process however is not easy. In 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading' Darnton suggests that research 'could begin by searching the record for [individual] readers'.³⁶ This approach has produced some useful results. In *The Cheese and the Worms* (trans.1980) Carlo Ginsburg was able to show how one reader Menocchio, a sixteenth-century miller, interpreted a variety of texts.³⁷ Records from the Inquisition detailing Menocchio's examination revealed his responses to accusations of heresy and provided commentary on his reading. By comparing the texts read with Menocchio's interpretation of them Ginsburg concluded that this common reader read Biblical stories, chronicles and travel books against the grain. Rather than accepting the Christian view presented within these texts Menocchio reinterpreted the messages he encountered transforming them into a radically non-Christian view of the world. In 'Readers Respond to Rousseau' (trans.1984) Darnton similarly uncovered a valuable source: a series of letters written by Jean Ranson, a middle-class merchant from La Rochelle, between 1774 and 1785.³⁸ These reveal that Ranson's reading of Rousseau fundamentally affected his life: 'he incorporated Rousseau's ideas in the fabric of his life as he set up

³⁶ Ibid., p.5.

³⁷ Carlo Ginsburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, op.cit.

³⁸ Robert Darnton, 'Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity' in Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes of French Cultural History*, London: Allen

business, fell in love, married, and raised his children'.³⁹ More recently, Stephen Colclough has used a series of diaries kept by Joseph Hunter between 1797 and 1800 to examine the reading strategies of a middle-class manufacturing apprentice living in Sheffield. Colclough shows that book reviews within the periodical press provided Hunter with a framework for interpreting texts. As a result Hunter's reactions to certain books were shaped by 'new critical discourses' that influenced both acquisition and interpretation.⁴⁰ Even if Hunter did not agree with the reading offered by the periodicals they often influenced his first reaction to a text.

Furthermore, by showing that Hunter procured texts from a number of sources Colclough highlights the limitations of library borrowing records, diaries and autobiographies. The library borrowing records of individual institutions cannot be used to examine the variety of texts an individual may have encountered elsewhere.⁴¹ Discussing this problem Wallace Kirsop argues that it is therefore crucial to examine the relationship of readers to all possible sources of texts such as libraries and booksellers.⁴² Entries in Hunter's diary (that take the form of passing references) indicate that he read a lot of ephemeral material. The bulk of his diary however records his comments on books borrowed from various libraries. As a result Colclough

Lane (1984), pp.215-256.

³⁹ Robert Darnton 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading', *op.cit.*, p.6.

⁴⁰ Stephen Colclough, 'Procuring Books and Consuming Texts: the reading experience of a Sheffield Apprentice, 1798', *Book History*, Vol.3 (2000), pp.21-44, p.39.

⁴¹ For a discussion of 'the complex pattern of procurement ... and the various methods that Hunter used to acquire texts from a number of different libraries and from family and friends' see especially *ibid.*, pp.23-30.

⁴² Wallace Kirsop, 'The State of the Discipline: Booksellers and Their Customers', *Book History* Vol.1 (1998), pp.283-303; see especially p.284.

concludes: 'the diary undoubtedly underrepresents the number of periodicals'.⁴³ Hunter did not actually read all the books he borrowed. Lending libraries allowed him to access a variety of texts and to take them home: he then decided whether or not to read them. In order to gain a fuller picture of the individual reader it is therefore necessary to use library borrowing records and autobiographical reflections in conjunction.

Studies of individual readers provide useful information about both readers and the ways in which a variety of sources can be used to piece together a picture of reading habits. However, as Darnton has noted as microscopic analyses their utility is limited. Addressing this problem Darnton suggests that the reactions of a greater number of readers to particular texts can be found by examining further sources: the correspondence of authors and the papers of publishers. Sometimes these contain letters from real readers. Where they exist they may enable us to examine the reactions of a number of readers to particular works. For example in *When Russia Learned to Read* (1985) Jeffrey Brooks discovered the Lenin Library (Moscow) archive of N. A. Rubakin, a popular educator in late Czarist Russia who corresponded with eleven thousand readers. Although Brooks focuses predominantly upon the production, distribution and content of commercial popular texts in order to examine the rise of modernity within Russia the existence of this archive suggests further research possibilities.⁴⁴

⁴³ Stephen Colclough, 'Procuring Books and Consuming Texts', op.cit., p.30.

⁴⁴ Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, op.cit. For a discussion of this archive see pp.326 & 357. In addition to the numerous letters this archive also contains the autobiographies of several writers and responses to surveys on popular reading. Brook's central belief is that 'Changes in the

Both Kate Flint and Louise L. Stephenson have examined several diaries and autobiographies in an attempt to uncover the experiences of a number of readers. In *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (1993) Kate Flint takes a feminist angle in order to show ‘the importance that woman’s reading has held, historically, as a site on which one may see a variety of cultural and sexual anxieties displayed’. Focusing on fictional descriptions of reading and evidence in medical, psychoanalytical works, reviews and advice manuals Flint examines the construction of the woman reader as a discrete category within Victorian and Edwardian discourses. Arguing that ideas about the woman reader ‘her special characteristics, as well as her presumed needs and interests, affected the composition, distribution, and marketing of literature’ Flint then moves onto an examination of actual reading practices revealed within autobiographies, letters and journals. Comparing theory with practice Flint found ‘Almost all chroniclers of reading shared the central belief of those who commented on the practice: that it could play a formative influential role’. Reactions to gendered texts however, indicate that some females read against the grain and ‘reacted strongly against the moral attitudes which their designated literature attempted to inculcate in them’.⁴⁵

Similarly, Louise L. Stephenson compares advice given to American readers during the Victorian period with actual reading experiences revealed through letters, autobiographies and diaries. Focusing upon middle-class female readers Stephenson found ‘Many women heeded the advice’ or warnings regarding ‘trashy novels’. More

inner world of [common readers] ... are evident in the literature that they purchased and read ... These ephemeral texts ... remain a revealing artefact of their imaginative lives’; *ibid.*, p.xiv.

importantly, Stephenson's research highlights a further limitation of contemporary observation as a source that can be used to examine reading habits: 'Despite the preoccupations of both advisers and critics with novels and novel reading, other sources including library reports and records, book catalogues, and diaries and letters confirm that Victorian's interests ranged beyond contemporary fiction'.⁴⁶ The other sources reveal that Victorian readers often procured and read 'serious' texts belonging to the genres of history, biography and natural science. This suggests that contemporary observations may tell us more about the anxieties and hopes of commentators than the practices of actual readers.

Recognising the value (and inherent problems) of attempts to collate concrete evidence of reading from a number of readers and sources the Reading Experience Database (RED) was launched in 1996 as a joint collaborative project between the Reading University and the British Library's Centre for the Book, under the direction of Simon Eliot.⁴⁷ The aim of the project is to collect recorded evidence of the reading experiences of British subjects for the period 1450-1914 together in a machine-searchable database. Eliot suggests that the fruits of this project may eventually enable historians to find out who was reading what, when, where, how and why. In addition the RED form contains a section asking for details of readers' reactions to texts. Theoretically, the evidence collated should therefore enable reader-response theorists and historians to answer some of the questions posed by Robert Darnton.

⁴⁵ Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1993); pp.22, 13, 206 & 222.

⁴⁶ Louise L. Stephenson, 'Prescription and Reality: Reading Advisers and Reading Practice, 1860-1880', *Book Research Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No.4 (Winter 1990-91), pp.43-61; p.53.

⁴⁷ The website address is <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED/>.

Acknowledging the fact that the history of reading completes the 'communications circuit' Eliot concludes:

The reading of books ... represents a very complex feedback loop which partly determines the way in which text is written, manufactured, sold, bought, borrowed — and read. However difficult it is to face, it will be the development in the history of reading which will make sense of all the other aspects of the history of the book — or not, if we don't manage to crack it.

While the aims of the project are grand, Eliot's cautionary note reminds us that certain caveats will remain: 'the evidence for reading is obscure, hidden, scattered and fragmentary'. Most reading was never recorded or commented upon. As a result, 'any reading recorded in an historically recoverable way is, almost by definition, an exceptional recording of an uncharacteristic event by an untypical person'.⁴⁸

The nineteenth-century common reader: primary sources

The problem of locating sources is particularly acute when we come to study the nineteenth-century British working-class reader. Firstly, many of the texts encountered by such readers have not survived. John Sutherland has observed: 'From the first emergence of a national market for reading materials, there has been a partially submerged echelon of 'lewd' or 'low' literature. The products for this segment of the reading population tend to be physically less durable than the bourgeois book ... In succeeding centuries productions for the working-class or 'popular' market are

⁴⁸ Simon Eliot, 'What are we to do about the History of Reading?', *The Author*, Vol. CV, No.2 (Summer 1994), pp.69-70. See also Simon Eliot 'The Reading Experience Database: Problems and Possibilities', *Publishing History* Vol.39 (1996), pp.87-97.

frustratingly evanescent'.⁴⁹ Little is known about the production and sale of such of texts. Institutional libraries represented in the *NSTC* failed to acquire many of these works. As a result they are under-represented physically within the libraries themselves and within the catalogues that have been used to create a national bibliographical database. Many of their titles are not known. Discussing working-class journals or periodicals Jonathan Rose notes that researchers face similar problems. Working-class journals or periodicals are hard to investigate because complete runs of papers have not survived; furthermore we do not know much about the editors and contributors let alone the readers.⁵⁰

Secondly, libraries for the working classes were not widespread in 1850s. Although Public Libraries appeared in greater numbers from 1887, the catalogues of these institutions are of limited utility.⁵¹ Eliot's investigation of the contents of twenty-four late nineteenth-century public libraries indicates that they 'reflected middle to lower middle class taste, and that those writers (such as Reynolds or Thomas Peckett Pret) whose works had sold in their hundreds of thousands to the semi-literate portions of the new reading classes, rarely found a home in those temples to self-improvement'.⁵² The same is true of many of the libraries attached to Mechanic's Institutes. Although

⁴⁹ John Sutherland, 'Production and Reception of the Literary Book' in Martin Coyle, Peter Garside, Malcolm Kelsall & John Peck (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Literature and Criticism*, London: Routledge (1990), pp.809-824, pp.821-822.

⁵⁰ Jonathan Rose, 'Workers' Journals' in J. Don Vann & Rosemary T. Van Arsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (1994), pp.301-310.

⁵¹ Thomas Kelly takes the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee (1887) as a significant dividing line within the library movement. During the period from 1847 to 1886 an average of only three or four libraries were founded per year, from 1887 to 1900 an average of sixteen or seventeen were established; see Thomas Kelly, *A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain, 1845-1965*, London: The Library Association (1973), p.16.

⁵² Simon Eliot, *A Measure of Popularity: Public Library Holdings of Twenty-four Popular*

originally aimed at the growing working-class the majority of these were essentially middle-class philanthropic organisations. Christopher Baggs points out that the libraries attached to them attempted to provide 'the 'right' literature, which invariably meant the exclusion of those subjects, such as politics and religion, in which the readership was most interested, but which might also ferment potentially destabilising controversy'.⁵³

Rose's examination of the libraries attached to Workmen's or Miner's Institutes in South Wales points to similar conclusions: until at least the 1890s the majority were founded and run by middle-class patrons. Only the later borrowing records of these libraries 'can therefore offer a profile of working-class reading preferences uncontaminated by middle-class cultural hegemony'.⁵⁴ Hywell Francis has examined the dates stamped within library books to ascertain the borrowing patterns of readers using the Cambrian (Clydach Vale) Miner's Institute Library during the period 1920-1939. However, of c.40, 000 volumes of books made available to users he found that only 350 had survived.⁵⁵ Library borrowing records for those institutions frequented by members of the working classes are also scarce. Furthermore, many did not use them. Similarly very few private libraries of prominent members of the working classes are

Authors, 1883-1912, Oxford & Bristol: History of the Book On Demand (HOBOD, 1992), p. 1.

⁵³ Christopher Baggs, 'The libraries of the co-operative movement: a forgotten episode', *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, Vol. 23 No. 2 (June 1991), pp.87-96, p.89.

⁵⁴ Jonathan Rose, 'Marx, Jane Eyre, Tarzan: Miner's Libraries in South Wales, 1923-52' in *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte*, 4 (1994), pp.187-208, p.187. See also Hywel Francis, 'The Origins of the South Wales Miners' Library', *History Workshop* (autumn 1976), pp.183-205. Francis observes that at the outset even those libraries established by members of the working-classes from the 1880s and 1890s 'appear ... to have had all the features of the philanthropic and craft institutions of the 1850s and 1860s, being smothered in the ethics of utilitarianism, self-help and nonconformity', *ibid.*, p.185.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.197-200.

available for inspection.⁵⁶ Those that do remain tell us little about the ordinary working-class reader. Not surprisingly, Robin Alston's guide to books with marginalia does not identify any annotations made by working-class readers.⁵⁷

Thirdly, few members of the working-classes left wills, diaries or commonplace books⁵⁸ that might provide inventories of their libraries or provide insights into their reading habits. Because there are fewer sources historians have tended to rely on testimonies of outside observers and an analysis of the literature itself.⁵⁹ These studies have set the general background.

The nineteenth-century common reader: secondary sources

In *The Victorians and Their Books* (1935) Amy Cruse argued that the reading of 'thinking artisans' changed during the early Victorian period.⁶⁰ From the 1840s religious reading declined as secular rationalistic literature promoted by lecturers and through the distribution of pamphlets resulted in a rise in atheism:

They had read Locke and Hulme and Voltaire and they met any attempts to convince them of the truth of the Christian faith with arguments drawn

⁵⁶ For a discussion of a few that are available for examination see Hywell Francis, *ibid.*, p.191.

⁵⁷ Robin C. Alston, *Books With Manuscript. A short title catalogue of books with manuscript notes in the British Library; including books with manuscript additions, proof sheets, illustrations, corrections*, London: The British Library (1993).

⁵⁸ For a discussion of diaries and commonplace books as a source for investigating upper and middle class readers see Stephen Colclough, 'Recovering the Reader: Commonplace Books and Diaries as Sources of Reading Experience', *Publishing History* Vol.44 (1998), pp.5-37.

⁵⁹ For examples see: Virginia Stewart Berridge, *Popular Journalism and Working Class Attitudes 1854-1886: A Study of Reynolds's Newspaper, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper and the Weekly Times*, University of London: unpublished thesis (1976); Aled Jones, 'Constructing the Readership in Nineteenth-Century Wales', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Serials and Their Readers 1620-1914*, Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies (1993); Judith Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1989); Michael Wolff, 'The British Controversialist and Impartial Inquirer, 1850-1872: A Pearl from the 'Golden Stream'', in Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian Press: Samplings and Soundings*, Leicester: Leicester University Press (1982), pp.367-392.

from these books. They would read books against the Bible, but nothing on the other side, except sometimes one of the new scientific works, which upheld the main facts of the Scriptures while treating them as a matter for argument and logical proof.

At the same time fiction reading increased among lower-class readers: 'They wanted stories, and they yearned for romance, for something to take them outside the dullness and monotony of their lives; and the cheap papers that came with the 'forties endeavoured to give them what they wanted'.⁶¹ Many however, read nothing at all.

In *Fiction for the Working Man* (1963) Louis James examined the changing content of penny fiction and periodical publications aimed at the working classes for the period 1830 to 1850.⁶² He suggests that the delayed effects of the introduction of paper making machines⁶³ and the rotary press drastically reduced the cost of publication from the 1830s, making possible a new phase of mass literature: 'fiction written specifically for the new working-class public'. The commercial exploitation of the new urban working class who were born and bred in the towns created by the Industrial Revolution was detrimental to their culture: 'The penny-issue fiction of the 1840s, with all its ties with past popular fiction, came to a dead end c.1850 ... The styles of the more leisured novels of the past could not survive amid the bustle and preoccupations of town life; its world could not exist in the new materialism'.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Amy Cruse, *The Victorians and Their Reading*, Cambridge: The Riverside Press (4th ed., 1968; first published as *The Victorians and Their Books* by George Allen & Unwin Press 1935).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.123-24.

⁶² Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850*, London: Oxford University Press (1963).

⁶³ The paper making machine was patented in England by John Gamble in 1801. However, due to trade opposition use was not wide spread until the late 1820s.

Linking changing reading tastes to the politic and social situation of the period James argues that the Napoleonic Wars (1795-1815) and the political agitation surrounding the first Reform Act (1832) had provided workers with an impetus to read the radical press. From the late 1830s cultural ones joined political and economic demands.

William Lovett and the moral force Chartists advocated universal literacy and self-improvement through reading. They wanted equality in educational opportunities, access to good books and a literature of their own.⁶⁵ By the late 1840s, however, following the success of the Gag Acts (1819) and the failure of the Chartist movement, the majority of working-class readers sought entertainment rather than instruction:

‘The Mechanics’ Institutes and the educated periodicals were ... losing their appeal to the main body of the lower class, and the whole wave of enthusiasm and learning for political self-betterment subsided’.⁶⁶ The new types of fiction that emerged were not linked to the oral traditions of the past.

In his classic study *The English Common Reader* (1957) Richard Altick drew similar conclusions.⁶⁷ Altick’s thorough and detailed study of the rise of the common reader utilises a further source that is currently in vogue: the working-class autobiography. Devoting one chapter to ‘The Self-Made Reader’ Altick showed that even though they related to an exceptional minority only - ‘those most unusual men who finally achieved prominence as politicians or in some other capacity’ - that ‘the autobiographies written

⁶⁴ Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man*, op.cit., pp.25 & 168.

⁶⁵ For an examination of changing attitudes towards fiction within political working-class journals see Paul Thomas Murphy ‘Imagination Flaps its Sportive Wings’: Views of Fiction in British Working-Class Periodicals, 1816-1858’, *Victorian Studies*, Vol.32 No.3 (1989), pp.339-364.

⁶⁶ Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man*, op.cit., p.22.

by this little group of self-taught men are far more illuminating than pages of statistics and generalizations. They tell us where individual youths managed to find their books, what they read, and under what circumstances'. Furthermore, 'From the list of titles given in many of the autobiographies ... it is possible to outline pretty precisely the sort of cultural and literary tradition the self-made reader inherited'.⁶⁸

Altick's findings suggest that 'little shelves of books' were not uncommon in early nineteenth-century working-class homes. Usually they contained some religious literature (most notably the *Bible* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*) and a few school prize-books that children had brought home from day or Sunday school. Other 'studious readers' appear to have had broader tastes. Their libraries contained general historical works, biographies, poetry and some popular fiction. Some had access to the libraries of friends or employers and before the appearance of free public libraries a few members of the working classes borrowed books from circulating libraries. All however, suggested that 'these resources ... were soon exhausted' and 'Everywhere in the memoirs of lower-class readers are laments that in their youth good reading matter was hard to come by'. Only slowly during the nineteenth century did the prices of new books decrease 'down to the reach of the masses'. For some second-hand books sold in shops and on the stalls of street auctions, country fairs and markets offered an alternative source of cheap reading matter. Access to these outlets however was dependent upon geographical location and choice was limited: 'The most easily

⁶⁷ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, op.cit. Altick defines the common reader as 'a member of the working class, or ... the ever expanding bourgeoisie' and attributes his/her rise to four factors: religious, political, social and economic; p. 7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.244-45 & p.255.

obtained books were certain standard classics and books that had been popular a generation or more earlier'. As a result, the literary diets of those 'studious readers' examined by Altick were strikingly similar.⁶⁹

Although not as popular as the *Bible* and *Pilgrim's Progress*, theological and hortatory works of the Puritan era and the eighteenth-century religious awakenings were often mentioned within the autobiographies of self-made readers. 'History and travel to a great extent took the place of the classic fiction which for various reasons was not as easily available to the poor reader. It was only the occasional young man, and usually one of slightly superior station, who read widely even in the novels which had gone out of copyright ... Only in the memoirs of men who had grown up after the middle of the century do we find frequent allusions to contemporary authors'.⁷⁰ On the other hand, works of secular instruction on all sorts of topics, compilations of facts and tattered schoolbooks provided the early self-made reader with factual information.

Although highlighting the value of autobiography Altick also lamented that this source was scarce. By 1981 however, David Vincent had assembled 142 memoirs by early nineteenth-century British workers. In *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* (1981) Vincent showed how this source material could be used to examine the ways in which exceptional members of the working classes understood their lives during the period 1790 to 1850. Vincent's findings concur with Altick's regarding the types of texts encountered by these members of the working classes; he too found that 'a great many

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp.245-46, 251-52, 254 & 258.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.257 & 259.

read books and attempted to improve themselves'. Likewise his study supports Cruse's theory that the writings of authors such as Paine, Voltaire and Volney undermined 'the readers' religious deference'.⁷¹

Examining the 'characteristics imparted to the pursuit of knowledge' Vincent argued that the working-class view of useful knowledge differed from the middle-class one being promoted within educational institutions of the period. Due to the political ferment of the 1830s rather than viewing useful knowledge as practical knowledge that could help them to become better workers: 'For Lovett, as for every other reader, the 'use' of knowledge was nothing less than to effect a transformation in his consciousness and in his relationship with the external world'. Although such readers often encountered a kindred spirit in the form of a fellow working-class reader Vincent suggests that their education or cultural attainment isolated them from the majority of their peers. Autobiographical recollections imply that these readers began 'to measure their identity in relation to their occupational and social equals in terms of educational attainment'.⁷²

Vincent also expands James' analysis of the changing content of popular fiction and periodicals. He argues that in addition to viewing their reading as a means of gaining

⁷¹ David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography*, London: Methuen (1981; paperback ed. 1982); pp.9 & 180. Published authors and prominent members of the labour movement and organisations wrote most of these.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp.17, 135 & 105. For a similar assessment of the effects of grammar school education upon the scholarship boys of post-war Britain see Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: aspects of working-class life with special reference to publications and entertainments*, London: Chatto & Windus (1957). In this classic study Hoggart argues that the rise of sensationalist entertainment for the masses exacerbated the isolation felt by those members of the working classes who had bettered themselves.

freedom from the world-view of the educated, the attainment of useful knowledge was also linked to freedom from the non-rational beliefs of the past. As a result earlier forms of popular culture evident within chapbooks, broadsheets and ballads were necessarily superseded. The manner in which this occurred, however, resulted in the effective establishment of an increasing division between political and sensational texts.

In *Literacy and Popular Culture* (1989) Vincent examined these themes further extending his analysis to the period 1750 to 1914. In order to understand how and why literacy spread throughout England and its impact on the lives and the minds of the common people he focuses upon six main areas: family; classroom; workplace; natural world; imaginative life; politics. He suggests that the effect of formal education was detrimental to both the traditional structure of working-class communities and the vitality of oral culture. Learning only the mechanical skills of literacy within schools divorced reading and writing from the contexts in which they might be used. The State taught reading and writing as skills that might enable readers to absorb disconnected facts — not to fire their imaginations. As a result commercial publishers produced fictional texts that addressed the mechanical use of literacy by employing stereotypes and formulaic plots. The authoritative role of the family as teacher was challenged. Individuals were no longer dependent upon parents, siblings or employers for access to information. Knowledge gleaned from the printed word replaced oral forms of authority. The demystification of the natural world presented to readers in the form of rationalistic texts added to this. From the 1850s the division between popular and high culture increased. Whereas earlier forms of popular culture had often imitated higher

forms such productions were harder to sustain as urban dwellers sought ‘a form of expression which would reflect their own lives in their own circumstances’.⁷³ The increasing reliance on commercially produced texts to stimulate the imagination resulted in an erosion of a pre-existing lower-class rural culture.⁷⁴

The political organisation of the working classes was also affected by the uses of literacy. Early radical papers had managed to bridge the gap between oral and written language by using vernacular and rhetorical modes of address.⁷⁵ This created a ‘working-class political reading public’. By the mid-century however the mouth pieces of the various local and national organisations of working-class movements ‘had been unable to develop a tradition of journalism which could incorporate the wider areas of popular culture which could now make use of the printed word’.⁷⁶ Dichotomies between serious and sensational, the trivial and the improving were reflected in the political papers produced by the ‘serious readers’ belonging to the working classes. Most of the autobiographies examined by Vincent were written by prominent members of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and the Labour Party. Their autobiographies suggest that their cultural attainment isolated them from other members of the working classes. Like the middle-class commentators they viewed the majority of readers whose

⁷³ David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, op.cit., p.205.

⁷⁴ Initially publishers drew on the tradition of working-class culture by using gothic novels and chapbooks as models and by incorporating pictures for the semi-literate. However, increasingly from 1850 ‘the device of appealing to real emotions through artificial language, of appropriating the strengths of the old forms of communication to compensate for the shortcomings of the new, was difficult to sustain’. As demand increased writing became mechanical. *Ibid.*, p.221.

⁷⁵ Furthermore during the Chartist period: ‘Literacy was employed to bridge the gap between local grievance and national agitation, and in turn the atmosphere of the crisis offered the most compelling incentive to integrate the possession and the use of the skills of reading and writing’; *ibid.*, p.249.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.251. Between 1890 and 1910 the multiplying labour organisations were supported by at least 800 papers.

skills of literacy were still superficial and mechanical with despair. Rather than attempting to produce political literature that might appeal to those who preferred the sensational they addressed only the educated minority. As a result: 'While the 'earnest workers' could still keep in touch with their communities, the continuing distinction between the 'serious minded' and the remainder a now almost universally literate working-class population had a disabling effect on the prospects of mobilising its full strength against the liberal State'. Their inability to communicate their political beliefs to the masses who retained a taste for light fiction was evident. Ultimately by 1914 'the achievement of a conjunction between mass literacy and mass action remained unfulfilled'.⁷⁷

In addition to providing a sophisticated analysis of the effects of increasing literacy, Vincent's work has opened up the field by making working-class autobiographies accessible. In 1989 Vincent, John Burnett and David Mayall completed *The Autobiography of the Working Class* (1984-89), an annotated bibliography of nearly two thousand nineteenth- and twentieth-century British working-class memoirs.⁷⁸ Jonathan Rose has used these rich sources of evidence to examine the reactions of members of the working classes to a variety of texts for the period 1800 to 1945. *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (2001) is an example of the type of reader-response history suggested by Darnton.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp.266-7.

⁷⁸ John Burnett, David Vincent and David Mayall (eds.), *The Autobiography of the Working Class: An Annotated, Critical Bibliography*, 3 vols., Brighton: Harvester (1984-89).

⁷⁹ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit. See also Rose's earlier articles on the subject: 'How Historians Study Reader Response: or what did Joe think of *Bleak House*?', in John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (eds.), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-*

In line with recent reader-orientated criticism Rose attempts to redress the ‘receptive fallacy’ of traditional literary criticism by focusing upon the actual responses of readers ‘to discern the messages a text transmits to an audience’. Specifically, he seeks to answer: ‘The question of whether Dickens, Conrad, or penny dreadfuls reinforced or subverted patriarchy, imperialism, or class hierarchies’ and.⁸⁰

cast a sharper light on provocative issues such as canon formation. Do the ‘great books’ embody universal moral values, psychological insights, and aesthetic standards? Or, as Janice Radway (and a large cadre of contemporary cultural critics) would put it, is it the ‘dominant class who define and maintain the value of high culture’?

Ultimately Rose sides with conservative literary critics concluding that the same books recommended by the intellectual elite brought aesthetic joy, political emancipation and philosophical excitement to ordinary readers.

Due to his challenge to traditional literary criticism Rose’s work has been well received. By showing that working-class readers drew inspiration from canonical and classic texts he provides concrete evidence for some of the themes raised by Vincent’s earlier work. Rose clearly shows that autobiographers believed that their relation to high culture aided them in their attempts to articulate their political aims. What he has not considered however, is Vincent’s wider point: from the middle of the nineteenth century the reverence of canonical literature by serious readers distanced them from the vitality of an earlier lower-class culture and ultimately prevented the labour

Century British Publishing and Reading Practises, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1995); ‘Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.53 No.1 (1992), pp.47-70.

⁸⁰ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit., p.4. See Janice Radway, ‘The Book-of-the-Month Club and the General Reader: On the Uses of ‘Serious’ Fiction’, *Critical*

movement from communicating their ideas to the masses. If this point is taken on board it is evident that reverential respect for high culture was in other ways detrimental to the nineteenth-century working-class movement as a whole. Essentially Rose's work has highlighted a further problem regarding the study of the history of reading: how can we uncover the relation of the masses who left no memoirs to high culture? Did one exist?

Sources used in this thesis

By using traditional sources in a new way and sources that have not previously been examined, this PhD takes a pragmatic approach to the difficulties involved and proposes a method for combining quantitative and qualitative research in the field. It is offered not only as a contribution towards the history of the reading habits of English common readers during the period 1850 to 1914, but as a contribution to the on-going discussion regarding the methodology of the discipline itself. By laying pieces of evidence from different sources side by side some interesting questions emerge. Autobiographies provide evidence of reading selected later by the author for specific narrative purposes whereas library borrowing ledgers are verbatim, contemporary evidence; two pieces of the jigsaw which offer differing insights into reading practice. Reader guides and surveys from the period are also selective as contemporary authors and editors sought to show their own understanding of reading trends. They are complemented by a hitherto neglected source, the Answers to Correspondents pages which reveal a greater variety of material was being read by the working classes. By

juxtaposing these sources a better picture of the common reader emerges and one which raises questions of its own.

For instance, the very selectivity of autobiographical evidence of reading raises the question: how far did autodidactic culture influence reading habits and guides to reading? The working classes during the period 1850 to 1914 were an amorphous bunch, library borrowing records and the answers to correspondents reveal this. They clearly show that common readers were anxious to read the right texts in the right manner. In order to do this they asked for guidance and sometimes even for reassurances that their interpretations of certain texts were correct. These sources suggest that the values attached to high culture during this period can be attributed to a number of factors: contemporary debates, changes in the structure of the publishing industry, the rise of the public library as an institutional setting within which readers could define themselves as educated readers and the rise of editorials which inculcated a desire to improve.

The period 1850 to 1914 has been chosen because it is characterised by a number of changes affecting the accessibility and availability of texts for English working-class readers: the introduction of free and compulsory education; the rise of the public library movement; the achievement of a nominally literate society; increases in the quantity of published texts; significant decreases in the prices of newspapers, magazines and books. The 1850s provide a convenient starting point. The political ferment associated with the Chartist revolution had effectively come to an end.

In 1858 Wilkie Collins wrote of his discovery of 'The Unknown Public', comprising an estimated number of three million readers of cheap periodicals. Increasingly this 'Unknown Public', came to occupy the minds of Collin's contemporaries within the journalistic world and from 1850 to 1914 the reading habits of the masses were scrutinised and commented upon as never before.⁸¹ Although this scrutiny did not end in 1914 the inception of the First World War provides a natural cut-off. Vincent's examination of literacy rates indicates that within England 'The official illiteracy level first dropped below 1 per cent in the last full year of peace'.⁸² From the end of the First World War the effects of competing sources of entertainment and mass communication in the form of the cinema and radio were beginning to be felt. When taken as a whole the period 1850 to 1914 therefore occupies a unique position with regards to the reading habits of the working classes. Essentially this PhD aims to assess the effect of increased access to texts for common readers. Specifically, it asks: did their relation to high culture change as a result of this?

Chapter two presents a revaluation of autobiographical evidence. Firstly, by considering autobiographies as literary products of the periods in which they were written this chapter questions the manner in which Rose has used them as authoritative sources for examining reader response and as historical evidence that legitimises the value of high culture. Secondly, by comparing autobiographical evidence with evidence relating to expansions in the publishing industry, the public library movement and the

⁸¹ Wilkie Collins, 'The Unknown Public', *Household Words*, Vol.XVIII, No.439 (21 August 1858), pp.217-24.

educational sector it aims to show how, where and why access to certain types of texts — most notably fiction, canonical and classic literature — increased over the period.⁸³

Thirdly, by considering the manner in which reading is represented as an activity it attempts to assess the effects of increases in the availability of texts upon autobiographical recollections.

While chapter two takes a fresh look at the evidence in the autobiographies, chapters three to five provide an analysis of the texts available to and the reading habits of three distinct groups of library users.⁸⁴ Specifically, chapter three focuses upon library user records of the Kidderminster Municipal Reference Library, one of the first to be opened under the Public Libraries Act of 1850, for the period from September 1855 to May 1856 for which a recoverable record of texts consulted in the library exists. After an analysis of the library stock, the titles consulted by male visitors in this reference library are examined. Interestingly, this chapter indicates that religious reading, although in abeyance, continued into the mid-1850s. It also shows that many infrequent visitors to the library requested the one text whose title they were certainly familiar with, the Bible. This reinforces the notion that wider cultural influences acted to shape early reading habits. The evidence highlights both the uneven spread of literacy during this transitional period and the spread of an autodidact culture among a wider section of the mass population who wished to improve their minds through their

⁸² David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, op.cit., p.4.

⁸³ Here and in the following chapters the terms canonical and classic are used in the same manner as Rose to include those authors and texts defined as such either during the period 1850 to 1914, or during the periods in which some of the autobiographies examined were penned. See Jonathan Rose, 'Rereading the English Common Reader', op.cit., pp.56-57.

⁸⁴ For a similar analysis of library records see Paul Kaufman, *Libraries and Their Users*, op.cit.

reading.⁸⁵ The borrower record also shows that many working-class adult readers consulted juvenile fiction.

In order to redress the balance of the evidence presented in chapter three (which focuses upon a reference library frequented by male readers alone), chapter four examines the library borrowing records for a very different group of readers: female members of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute, the first establishment of its kind to be opened, for the period from October 1856 to August 1857. The stock of texts made available to female readers essentially comprised an ad hoc collection of donated and purchased volumes, yet its content differed substantially from that of the Kidderminster library. The stock of this library reflected contemporary debates regarding the education of women and specifically the position of working-class women in English society.⁸⁶

Chapter five reconstructs an early twentieth-century reading community through the school log books of the Southleigh village school and the borrowing records of the Southleigh village library for the period February 1907 to June 1914. Here the ways in which uneven educational provision and geographical location interacted to effect reading habits is considered and again the adult reading of juvenile literature emerges

⁸⁵ For a further discussion of the uneven spread of literacy see David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, op.cit.; Alec Ellis, *Educating Our Masters: Influences on the Growth of Literacy in Victorian Working-Class Children*, Aldershot: Gower (1985); John Oxenham, *Literacy: Writing, Reading and Social Organisation*, London: Routledge and Keegan Paul (1980); W.B. Stephens, *Education, Literacy and Society, 1830-1870. The Geographical Diversity of Provincial England*, Manchester: Manchester University Press (1987).

⁸⁶ For further information on the topic of female readers and the education of women and girls see Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader*, op.cit.; Judith Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives*, op.cit.;

as a recurrent theme. Even so the borrowing records for this library suggest that reading had clearly become established as a leisure activity throughout England by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Drawing these themes together, chapter 6 departs from the local studies and focuses upon the changing reading habits, practices and experiences as revealed through the ‘Answers to Correspondents’ pages of three popular periodical publications — the *Family Herald* (1842), the *London Journal* (1845) and *Reynolds’ Newspaper* (1850) — for three sampled years, 1860, 1880 and 1900. The use of this new source of evidence of reading enables us to examine the recurrent themes of the previous chapters. This chapter provides an analysis of the varying ways in which a mass print culture developed and examines the popularisation of the autodidact culture. Readers of these pages (or rather those writing to the editors of them) combined leisure reading with the reading of canonical texts for self-education, a practice that brings into question the supposed distinct and independent nature of autodidact culture.

Gillian Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls’ Independent Schools*, London: Deutsch (1991).

Chapter 2:

Autobiographical Representations of Reading

Introduction

In *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (2001) Jonathan Rose draws upon 'the most useful' source of the reading experiences of common readers by focusing primarily upon the autobiographies of ordinary people. The main reason for his veneration of this source is the belief that it is unique in enabling the historian an insight into the most elusive topic regarding the history of reading; specifically, what was its effect? Rose's answer to this question is clear: canonical and classic texts 'were an unambiguously emancipating force for working-class readers' who 'defended low literature as harmless and enjoyable'. By gaining inspiration from predominantly canonical and classic literature, by reading it against the grain and by interpreting it in a variety of ways, working-class readers appropriated the messages within them for their own purposes. And, according to Rose, they were inspired to subvert the dominant middle-class social ideology of the period, culminating essentially in the formation of the Labour Party whose 'doctrinal texts were nothing less than the whole canon of classic literature'. Although common readers were 'adept at appropriating enlightenment and (mostly) harmless entertainment from popular

culture', they 'worshipped the classics' as superior texts that helped them develop their understanding of society and a critique of the British class system.¹

Rose's study supports conservative critics who maintain that 'great books' embody universal moral values, psychological insights and aesthetic standards' which make them relevant to both the intellectual elite and common readers. His findings also suggest that the Marxist theories of other critics such as Janice Radway or Barbara Herrnstein Smith who argue that other forms of popular culture are relevant to the lives of those who have not received an orthodox Western education are incorrect since 'when autodidacts were asked which books made all the difference to them, they usually pointed to the same canon of 'great books''.²

Although Rose draws upon other sources to support this theory his analysis of autobiographies inform his general conclusions. While he acknowledges the fact that 'autobiography contains certain inherent distortions and biases' and admits that 'Memoirists are not entirely representative of their class' Rose essentially uses working-class autobiographies as an unproblematic source.³ In this respect his methodology lacks the sophistication of his argument. Specifically, Rose does not focus upon the literary conventions employed by the authors of those autobiographies whose evidence he examines. Nor does he consider these sources as products of the periods in which they were written.

¹ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit., pp.1, 386, 48, 392 & 366.

² Ibid., pp.4 & 7. See Janice Radway, 'The Book-of-the-Month Club and the General Reader', op.cit.; and Barbara Herrnstein Smith, *Contingencies of Value: Alternative Perspectives for Critical Theory*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (1988), pp.52-3.

³ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit., p.2.

By doing precisely this I will outline the benefits and disadvantages of using autobiographies as an historical source and reveal the weaknesses of Rose's conclusions. Ultimately it will be shown that autobiographers' recollections of reading and their associated reverential respect for canonical and classic texts can be interpreted in a number of ways: firstly, as an expression of difference from other members of the working-classes; secondly, as an expression of difference from/or an association with members of the middle-class; and thirdly, as a reflection of the autodidacts relation to the distribution networks that supplied canonical and classic literature. As such this chapter asks why working-class autobiographers suggest that canonical and classical texts played a vital role in their lives during the period 1850 to 1914? Was it due to the inherent value of the text or did other factors play a role in determining retrospective recollections of reading?

Working-class autobiographies: a literary genre

The unusually large number of working-class autobiographies published during the period 1790 to 1945 (c.2,000)⁴ has been attributed to education and the growing awareness of workers that they were a separate class. Statistics derived from the ability to write one's name on a marriage licence indicate that literacy rates rose dramatically during the nineteenth century 'from 67 per cent (male) and 51 per cent (female) in 1841 to approximately 97 per cent for both sexes in 1900'.⁵ Indeed R.K.

⁴ For a finding aid to these sources see John Burnett, David Vincent and David Mayall (eds.), *The Autobiography of the Working Class*, op.cit.

⁵ Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, London: Dent (1974), p. 60. Although marriage registers are an imperfect source for precisely measuring changing rates of literacy they do suggest

Webb has suggested that as early as the 1830s 'between two-thirds and three-quarters' of the working population of Britain were able to read and write and were therefore equipped with the tools necessary to commit their self-representations to paper.⁶

Those who chose to do so however are not entirely representative of their class. The majority were written by exceptional people who gained prominence in later life as politicians, writers and journalists or, in occupational terms, as members of the expanding middle-class. As such their memoirs represent the lives of those who were aware that they had left the working-class communities in which they had been raised. This point is crucial to any understanding of working-class autobiographies as a literary genre.

In 'Some Principles of Autobiography' (1980) William L Howarth highlighted a fundamental fact: autobiographers only retrospectively relate to the self. As a consequence the author of a self-history 'artfully defines, restricts or shapes that life into a self-portrait — one far removed from his original model, resembling life but actually composed and framed as artful invention'.⁷ This analysis of the genre suggests that autobiographical evidence should be treated with care. Although they present facts autobiographers are necessarily selective. The decision to include or omit certain facts is determined by the interpretation of the self that the author wishes to tell. As a result the life history presented is essentially a literary creation. How then

broad developments. For a discussion of their limitations and of the difficulties in measuring literacy in general see Richard D. Altick, *The Common Reader*, op.cit., pp.167-72.

⁶ R.K. Webb, 'The Victorian Reading Public' in Boris Ford (ed.), *From Dickens to Hardy*, London: Pelican Books (1963), pp.147-167, p.149. For an analysis of how these figures relate to different groups of skilled and unskilled workers see David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, op.cit., pp.96-102.

⁷ William L. Howarth, 'Some Principles of Autobiography' in James Olney (ed.), *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (1980), pp.87-95, p.70.

can the information provided within autobiographies be used as an historical source for investigating the history of reading?

In *The Woman Reader* (1993) Kate Flint evaluates the uses of autobiography. Like Altick she suggests 'autobiographies are invaluable for the details which they give of actual access to books outside the immediate circle of the home, and of the interaction, or lack of it, between domestic habits of reading and those which schools attempted to instigate'.⁸ In common with Vincent she shows that they can be used to study the significance attached to reading. In order to contrast theories about the woman reader with female reading practices Flint asks:

What does it mean for a woman to employ references to reading when constructing and presenting an identity through autobiography? To what extent does she use them to confirm and consolidate her position — and by implication, that of her reader — within a set of predetermined social beliefs, or to oppose or question them? How far does she present reading as a private activity which has fed into her sense of what it means to be a unique individual, differentiating her from, say her parents, or how far does she perceive it as an act which binds her to others?

Answering these questions Flint asserts:⁹

Reading in the Victorian and Edwardian period, as now, was an activity through which a woman could become aware of the simultaneity of the sensations of difference and of similarity. Moreover, her own reading could seldom fail to make it clear to her that her own choice of reading position (where to differ, where to acknowledge a bond) was, in the broadest sense, a political choice.

Flint's assessment of the uses of autobiography is interesting. She shows that female autobiographers remembered reading as a formative influence and presented their choice of reading matter as a reflection of the self one hoped she had become.

⁸ Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader*, op.cit., p.206.

⁹ Ibid., pp.191 & 330.

Flint continues to argue that by ‘characterizing aspects of dominant prescriptive views concerning reading’ some female autobiographers chose to present the self ‘as an exemplary figure’. These autobiographers imply that they practised ‘self-censorship’ by avoiding controversial religious or sexual texts or let others, such as parents or husbands, dictate their reading habits. According to Flint the use of such recollections of reading within autobiography help to put ‘forward the author’s life as a path fit to be followed by others’ and underscore the autobiographies ‘own potential didactic power as exemplary texts’.¹⁰ Essentially, then autobiographical portrayals of reading are shaped to fit the picture of the self that the author wishes to present.

The same is also true of other types of female autobiography. Information offered in features and books ‘which claimed to give insights into the working lives and methods of writers, and which functioned as a form of self-publicity’ indicate that the authors of such texts were keen to provide ‘A particular form of autobiographical didacticism’. Many went to great lengths ‘to point out (whatever their own stylistic modes) the difference between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ writing, as though emphasizing their acquaintance with the former ... They tend to emphasize their omnivorous reading, and the quality of its range not just in their childhoods, but currently’.¹¹ Since many working-class autobiographers considered by Rose also appear to have done the same, this analysis of their motivation fundamentally questions the validity of using working-class memoirs as authoritative guides for upholding canonical and classic

¹⁰ Ibid., pp.207 & 220.

¹¹ Ibid., pp.222 & 223.

texts as superior forms of literature. Instead of accepting the opinions offered we should try to uncover the motivations behind them.

In common with many of the autobiographers considered by Altick, Vincent and Rose, Flint also found that ‘the reminiscences of a number of nineteenth-century women indicate impressive schemes of reading — historical, classical, scriptural, mathematical, scientific — which many set themselves in the absence of formal serious education’. Furthermore she argues that ‘Many of the women who set themselves such formidable programmes were, consciously or otherwise, preparing themselves to enter into the public debate, frequently in print, with men who had been through rigorous systems at school and university’.¹² What Flint suggests is that as readers these women defined themselves in relation to the perceived educational status of their brothers or male contemporaries. Indeed many penned autobiographies because they felt that both their efforts of self-education and their later active commitment to the traditionally male sphere of public life made them subjects worthy of attention.

This same analysis can be applied to nineteenth-century working-class autobiographies. Many suggest that their own impressive schemes of reading singled them out as subjects. Statements such as the following given by Thomas Oliver (b.1830, pub.1914) in the preface to his autobiography are not unusual within working-class memoirs:¹³

¹² Ibid., pp.223 & 224.

¹³ Thomas Oliver, *Autobiography of a Cornish Miner*, Camborne: Camborne Printing and Stationery Co.Ltd. (1914), unnumbered preface.

For the want of something better to do, I thought I would pen a few incidents of my life. It has been a somewhat chequered life, and though there may not be anything in it very remarkable there may be some suggestions that may encourage the reader in the pursuit of knowledge and thereby make life a little smoother.

While some present their efforts to gain knowledge as the justification for their autobiographies others highlight the lowbrow reading habits of other members of their families, in contrast to their own sophisticated ones. For example, like one anonymous autobiographer (b.1876, pub.1935), many suggest 'One effect of reading and thinking was to make the society of my elders a thing to be borne rather than enjoyed'.¹⁴

Likewise, speaking of her relatives, Winifred Wells (b.1896, pub.1927) noted that she did not like them as 'They talked of dull subjects and ... they did not read and they did not think'.¹⁵

Similarly, many defined themselves as readers in relation to the perceived educational status of the middle and upper classes. Tellingly, when speaking of his own poetical efforts, Fred Stibbons (b.1872, pub.1923) noted that 'I do not look to it [the working class] for a deep and appreciative understanding of my verse. For this I look to the great middle class, recruited from the Public School, and such of the privileged classes as will condescend to notice me'.¹⁶ Furthermore many wrote their life histories because they had entered the expanding world of the lower middle-class. Their later

¹⁴ Anon., *Narrow Waters: The First Volume of the Life and Thoughts of a Common Man*, London: William Hodge and Co.Ltd. (1935), p.68.

¹⁵ Clare Cameron (pseud. of Winifred Wells), *Rustle of Spring, Simple Annals of a London Girl*, London: Cecil Palmer (1927), p.49; see also C.H. Rolph, *Living Twice: An Autobiography*, London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. (1974), p.37.

¹⁶ Fred Stibbons, *Norfolk's 'Caddie' Poet. His Autobiography, Impressions and some of his Verse*, Holt, Norfolk: Rounce & Wortley (1923), p.77.

successes in life prompted them to write self-histories and crucially acted as a lens through which to re-evaluate reading habits.

Flint's analysis of female autobiographies builds upon Regina Gagnier's Marxist theory of subjectivity. In *Subjectivities: A History of Self-Representation in Britain, 1832-1920* (1991) Gagnier argued that subjectivity — the ability to imagine oneself as an individual ego and as a subject worthy of the attention of others — is a pre-requisite of self-representation. She also suggests that the particular subjectivity of an autobiographer depends upon his/her acceptance or rejection of those master narratives that define (or position) the subject within society. Referring specifically to the authors of nineteenth-century working-class autobiographies Gagnier suggests that:¹⁷

subjectivity — being a significant agent worthy of the regard of others, a human subject, as well as an individual 'ego' for one self — was not a given. In conditions of long work hours, crowded housing, and inadequate light, it was difficult enough for them to contemplate themselves, but they also had to justify themselves as writers worthy of the attention of others.

This anxiety was often manifested within the opening pages of working-class autobiographies by an apology to the reader or through a self-conscious justification of the self not as a social atom but as an individual.

Accordingly, Gagnier suggests that autobiographies reveal the subject's mediation of what Althusser has termed Ideological State Apparatus: the broad cultural ideologies

¹⁷ Regina Gagnier, *Subjectivities: A History of Self-Representation in Britain, 1832-1920*, New York: Oxford University Press (1991), p.141.

that define and reify categories such as gender, class, race, religion or intelligence. By accepting or rejecting certain elements:¹⁸

Hegemony appears in autobiography in the form of master, or broad cultural 'narratives' that determine how people see their lives. For example, such narratives include ideologies of gender — of masculinity and femininity — that make women and men write their lives in terms of romance and financial success, whether or nor their lives are conducive to such pursuits. They also include narratives of the Enlightenment that legitimise workers in seeing their lives as the pursuit of 'bread, knowledge, and freedom,' and thus make their autobiographies read much like that of John Stuart Mill, a son of the middle-class intelligentsia, or Beatrice Webb, a daughter of one of the wealthiest capitalists in England. There are also narratives of family that make working-class people obsessed with parents they never knew and others, such as Samuel Butler and Florence Nightingale obsessed with parents and a family system they knew and hated.

Extending this analysis Flint suggests that women were compelled to write their life histories because they felt they either exemplified or challenged the dominant characteristics imparted to the category of woman.

Relating this to working-class memoirs it is evident that the subject's mediation of his/her place within society played a major factor in shaping autobiographical reminiscences. Indeed Rose argues 'The British class system had always drawn a sharp distinction between workers and thinkers'.¹⁹ Within autobiographies however, this distinction is both refuted by the individual story of success, and upheld through comparisons with other members of the working classes. For example, when working as a seaman John Patterson (b.1866, pub.1911) noted that his colleagues were 'simple

¹⁸ Regina Gagnier, *Subjectivities*, op.cit., p.6. In her theory of the acceptance/rejection or mediation model, Gagnier adopts both Foucault's notion of subjectivity and Althusser's conception of Ideological State Apparatus and attempts to examine how subjects mediate the ideological discourses of the State. In contrast to Foucault and Althusser however, Gagnier takes inspiration from E.P. Thompson, Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu to conceive a bottom up, rather than a top down approach.

fellows' who respected him for his 'book learning'.²⁰ Likewise as a reader, Stibbons recalled that he 'often regarded himself as a poor man's lawyer', while Frank Steel (born early 1860s, pub. 1939) noted 'among my humble life-acquaintances, I always passed for a person of education'.²¹ This again reinforces the opinion that autobiographical reflections on the value of reading form part of the author's contemplation of the self as an interesting subject or one who differed from the masses. Indeed, for Gagnier, it is the problematic attempt to represent or imagine oneself as a subject that characterises the variety of nineteenth-century working-class autobiographies.²²

Although deconstructionist critics²³ have resisted attempts to categorise autobiographies, Gagnier provides a useful framework for examining the varieties of working-class memoirs, which she classifies into three groups: conversion and gallows tales; autobiographies of storytellers and politicians; confessions and self-

¹⁹ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit., p.7.

²⁰ John Patterson, *My Vagabondage: Being the Intimate Autobiography of A Nature's Nomad*, London: William Heinemann (1911), p.253.

²¹ Fred Stibbons, *Norfolk's 'Caddie' Poet*, op.cit., p.32; Frank Steel, *Ditcher's Row. A Tale of the Older Charity*, London: Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd. (1939), p.218.

²² Julia Swindell takes the concept of problematic self-representation further in her study of nineteenth-century women writers and autobiographers. Adopting a feminist approach, she links the emergence of autobiography to the rise of the novel during the eighteenth century and argues that conventional literary or narrative forms provided inadequate models for structuring gender or class specific self-representations. See Julia Swindell, *Victorian Writing and Working Women*, Cambridge: Polity (1985), pp.140-153.

²³ Adapting the classical genre divisions of 'epic, dramatic and lyric', William L. Howarth and William C. Spengeman classified autobiographies into three groups: respectively defined as 'oratory, drama and poetry' or 'historical, philosophical and poetical'. Deconstructionist critics, such as Mary Jacobus and Barbara Johnson, however, argue that the difficulties encountered in any attempt to classify autobiographies as a genre essentially exposes the artificiality of all generic classifications. See William L Howarth, 'Some Principles of Autobiography', op.cit., pp.84-115; William C Spengeman, *The Forms of Autobiography: episodes in the history of a literary genre*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press (1980); Mary Jacobus, 'The Law of/and Gender: genre theory and the prelude' in *Diacritics*, 14 (Winter, 1984), pp.47-57; Barbara Johnson, 'My Monster/My Self' in Barbara Johnson (ed.), *A World of Difference*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press (1989), pp.144-54.

examinations.²⁴ Of these three groupings, the first two are relevant to the analysis of working-class attitudes to canonical texts and print culture given below. The third group of working-class autobiographies identified by Gagnier tend to be sensational in style and were penned primarily for pecuniary gain.²⁵ The authors of these types of autobiographies do not normally refer to their reading and so have been omitted from the analysis which follows.

Conversion tales tend to chart the transformation of an individual from a 'bad' to a 'good' character, while gallows tales chart the reverse process. The origins of this form can be traced to the sixteenth-century (traditionally religious) salvation narratives. By the nineteenth-century however conversion narratives came to stress other benefits of secular conversions. Typically these include the attainment of material success, freedom from the snare of drink or even from dominant narratives of citizenship. Indeed, Gagnier argues that both the conversion and the gallows narratives died out as 'Conversion became less important to organised workers than politicisation'. This is reflected by the fact that 'a surprising number of the texts bear out the working-class deconstruction of religion for political purposes. For more conservative writers ... the personal salvation of conversion became the ideological

²⁴ Gagnier builds upon the model provided in Nan Hackett, *XIX Century British Working-Class Autobiographies: An Annotated Bibliography*, New York: AMS Press (1985), pp.10-47. Hackett defines three periods of nineteenth century working-class political history (1800-1848, 1848-1880 and 1880-1900) and argues that each resulted in a specific form of autobiography: those which document political movements; those which emphasise the life of the author as a self-made agent but extol the virtues of collective mutual aid; and those which express either mass agitation against middle-class morality, or working-class apathy.

²⁵ For a further discussion of all three forms see Regina Gagnier, *Subjectivities*, op.cit., pp.138-170.

linchpin of secular success'.²⁶ Since they form part of the life story of the individual, this analysis can also be applied to autobiographical representations of reading.

The working-class autobiographies of Joseph Terry (b.1816, pub.1860) and John Kemp (b.1850, pub.1933) provide typical examples of the way in which reading is portrayed within narratives of religious conversion. In both of these autobiographies, scripture reading is described as a devotional act to which the author tried to commit regular time. Competing leisure activities, including other types of reading matter, are portrayed as obstacles to eventual salvation. For example, following his 'Call to Grace' in October 1869, Kemp felt compelled to burn the 'poison' he had been reading before this, stating:

I had been very fond of novels and songs and had collected quite a number of them ... but now they became very distasteful to me, and my guilt for having delighted in them became great upon my conscience. So, one day I cleared out the whole lot of them, casting them upon the fire.

When Kemp did attempt to pursue other interests and, for example, 'purchased a book, a camera and materials' in order to take up photography as a hobby, his testimony again insists that 'a guilty conscience' compelled him to discontinue such pursuits.²⁷ Since religious conversion narratives recast previous lifestyles as sinful the application of this interpretation to all activities, including reading, is evident.²⁸

²⁶ Regina Gagnier, *Subjectivities*, op.cit., pp.154-5.

²⁷ John Kemp, 'Autobiography' in *Memoir of John Kemp, First Pastor of 'Ebenezer' Strict Baptist Chapel, Bounds Cross, Biddenden, Kent*, London: J. Francombe & Sons Ltd. (1933), pp.7, 9, 10 & 71.

²⁸ The autobiography of Dyke Wilkinson (b.1830s, pub.1902) provides a good example of one that follows the format of the gallows tale. Charting his own downfall, Wilkinson also suggests that his reading acted a factor, attributing 'the pernicious effect of the only literature I was able to come by' —

Autobiographies that chart the secular conversion of the individual also portray reading as part of this life history. They suggest that like every facet of their lives it contributed to the discovery of a new self. For example, Vere Garratt (b.1892, pub.1939) concludes that ‘What I was really striving for was a sort of self-realisation of the first magnitude, and any books that helped towards the development of it I gulped down with avidity’. Others, such as John Ward (b.1866, pub.1906) are more explicit and state that ‘Reading ... changed the whole course of my life’.²⁹ Crucially they suggest that prior to their secular conversion — or in the case of reading, prior to their discovery of quality literature — that their reading had lacked direction: a situation that they then tried to remedy.

The second group of narratives defined by Gagnier, storytellers and politicians, are opposites. The former were usually written by transients — Southerners, or soldiers returning from war — or by those who were not affiliated to a Church or an organised political movement. Commonly they aim to stress the timelessness of a way of life that is under threat. Typically, narratives of politicians are written by politically radical members of the working class, often from the industrialised North. They portray change as a positive factor that helps to improve the lot of their class and treat their own politicisation as a turning point within their lives. Accordingly, ‘The politicization of the ‘social atom’ is thus the equivalent in working-class autobiography of the discovery of a new self in the traditional spiritual

this being ‘the dreadful trash which was almost the only literary food for poor lads of that time’ — for his resulting imprisonment. Dyke Wilkinson, *A Wasted Life*, London: Grant Richards (1902), p.153.

²⁹ Vere Garratt, *A Man in the Street*, London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd. (1939), p.93; John Ward, ‘How I Got On: Life Stories by the Labour MPs’, *Pearson’s Weekly* (15 March 1906), p.655.

autobiography.³⁰ Again it is evident that retrospective portrayals of reading are presented as formative parts of this discovery.

The autobiography of Walter Hampson (b.c.1866, pub.1931) who later became a member of the Independent Labour Party and a socialist lecturer provides a good example of the way in which reading is treated within a life history that charts the politicisation of the subject. While working at the Whittingham asylum as a caretaker (1885-7), Walter Hampson 'quickly discovered my limitations, especially when the subject of books was introduced'. From this moment on Hampson 'resolved to gain some knowledge' and, by borrowing texts from the asylum library began his 'pilgrimage of the ignoramus'. Up until his discovery of political literature Hampson asserts that his reading had been confined to the 'desultory study of penny bloods and sixteen String Jacks'.³¹ He continues to suggest that the discovery of new types of reading matter helped to confirm his burgeoning political beliefs and freed him from religious dogma. Typically, reading is again presented as one of the factors that helped to create the politicised self whose formation is charted.

In his analysis of the reading experiences of working-class autobiographers Rose also highlights the fact that 'the epiphany that struck Will Crooks is one of the most persistent themes of working-class autobiography'.³² What he does not note however is that this epiphany forms part of the narrative that emphasises the discovery of a new self. Instead, Rose cites its prevalence as evidence to support his view regarding the

³⁰ Regina Gagnier, *Subjectivities*, op.cit., p.164.

³¹ Walter Hampson, 'Reminiscences of 'Casey'', *Forward* (9 May 1931), p.12 and *Forward* (13 June 1931), p.15.

inherent value of canonical and classic literature. However, by encouraging us to examine the literary conventions used within autobiographies Gagnier provides a useful model for analysing working-class testimonies of reading. Her analysis fundamentally questions the manner in which Rose has used this source.

As a recurrent theme the 'epiphany' that struck working-class readers can be viewed as a literary device that parallels the conversion of the subject. Following this, the working-class author typically recounts his or her life as a progressive journey resulting in the attainment of particular goals: personal intellectual enlightenment, political awareness, or successful future employment. Often the turning point occurs during the author's adolescence. Many suggest that as juveniles they read and enjoyed periodical fiction. Once they realised that their intellect and energy could be better spent however, they suggest that they turned to canonical and classic literature, or to factual texts continuing to read these works throughout their adult lives. In 'The Adolescent Novel' (1990) Julia Kristeva offers a further suggestion as to why the juvenile reading of autobiographers is contrasted with their later more sophisticated tastes. She suggests that within autobiographies the adolescent figure is employed as a myth to distance the author from some of their perceived faults.³³ Therefore, rather than telling us about the inherent value of specific texts, the value of autobiographies as a source is that they enable us to examine working-class reading experiences as an expression of subjectivity.

³² Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit., p.8.

³³ Julia Kristeva, 'The Adolescent Novel', in John Fletcher and Andrew Benjamin (eds.), *Abjection, Melancholia and Love: The Work of Julia Kristeva*, London: Routledge (1990), p.8.

Working-class autobiographies: products of the period

However, while Gagnier's analysis helps us to understand why autobiographical portrayals of the effects of reading are strikingly similar, one further question remains: why do these memoirs mention reading at all? Rose observes that the working-class autobiographers:³⁴

wrote at length about their reading, as if they were pointing the way for future historians. An entire chapter on the subject is not unusual, and some autobiographies, such as Thomas Carter's *Memoirs of a Working Man* (1845), are predominantly accounts of a lifetime of reading.

Why is this the case? One suggestion is that these autobiographers were aware the reading habit of the masses was a topic of debate.

Following his discovery of the 'Unknown Public' in the 1850s Wilkie Collins optimistically argued that once the skill of reading was mastered the quality of literature read by the masses would improve since: 'The largest audience for periodical literature ... must obey the universal law of progress, and must, sooner or later, learn to discriminate'.³⁵ Following the passage of the 1870 Education Act, however, expansions in the mass-market publishing industry appeared to question this expectation. As a result 'The question of how far ... the literature of the common people has improved or deteriorated ... [became] a question of very great interest and importance.'³⁶ And it remained an enduring one throughout the periods in which these autobiographies were written and indeed, has never really subsided.

³⁴ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit., pp.2-3.

³⁵ Wilkie Collins, 'The Unknown Public', *Household Words*, Vol.XVIII, No.439 (21 August 1858), pp.217-24, p.222.

³⁶ William Alexander, 'Literature of the People — Past and Present', *Good Words*, Vol.XVII (1879), pp.92-96, p.92.

Throughout the second-half of the nineteenth century, and certainly until the introduction of English Literature (1871) as a new subject within schools, the fiction problem was an especially popular topic. Unlike religious and factual texts, the moral and educational value of literature was, with regards to the working classes, harder to define. On the one hand, classic and canonical texts were praised for their moral and ennobling character, while new sensational novels and periodical fiction of the penny dreadful variety were criticised for debasing moral values and appealing to the emotions rather than to reason.³⁷ For example, speaking of the fiction problem at the 1879 Library Association Conference, J.T. Kay stated that ‘reading per se is not valuable, and in the case of many of these novels it is dissipating and valueless.’ Furthermore, in his opinion, ‘Schoolboys or students who took to novel-reading to any extent never made much progress in after life. They neglected real practical life for the sensually imaginative and suffered accordingly from the enervating influence.’³⁸ On the other hand, some commentators of the period argued that even though the reading of such texts did not represent a rational use of leisure time, their perusal could at least ignite a desire to read and prompt a reader to value texts of a higher quality, due to their inherent literary merits. For example, speaking of the fiction problem Ernest Baker, librarian of the Midland Railway Institute in Derby, promoted this view arguing that ‘Instead of apologising for the popularity of novels, it

³⁷ For example see Joseph Ackland, ‘Elementary Education and the Decay of Literature’, *Nineteenth Century Society*, Vol.XXXV, (March 1894), pp.412-23; Alexander William, ‘Literature of the People: Past and Present’, *Good Words*, Vol.XVII (1876), pp.92-96; Anon., ‘Novels as Sedatives’, *Spectator*, No.LXXIII (28 July 1894), pp.22-24; ‘The Byways of Literature: Reading For the Millions’, *Blackwood’s Magazine*, No.LXXXIV (1858), pp.200-216.

³⁸ J. Taylor Kay, *The Provision of Novels in Rate-Supported Libraries*, London: Chiswick Press (1880), p.10.

would be well to take thought how this immovable fact may be made an instrument of progress'.³⁹

After the First World War the wireless and the cinema offered competing leisure activities to that of reading in working-class homes. And, after the Second World War the impact of the television was beginning to be observed. The detrimental and beneficial effects of these forms of entertainment were discussed widely within popular and highbrow publications. Indeed according to Robert Graves and Alan Hodge the two terms low- and high- brow became further popularised during the interwar period.⁴⁰ At the same time the notion of a canon of great texts was finally formalised. During the 1930s in *Fiction and the Reading Public* (1932) Q.D. Leavis highlighted the differences between the education of the elite and that of the masses in terms of their reading matter.⁴¹ Similarly, the findings of Mass-Observation tended to stress the differences between middle-class high and working-class low, or popular, culture. And from the 1950s, most notably with the publication of Raymond Williams's *Culture and Society* (1958), 'culture' itself became a key area for academic enquiry and political attention.⁴²

The cultural discourses of the periods during which these autobiographies were written may have helped to shape their content. Many autobiographers engage with these debates within their memoirs. For example, speaking of both his own and his

³⁹ Ernest Baker, *Descriptive Handbook to the More Noteworthy Works of Prose Fiction in the Library of the Midland Railway Institute, Derby*, Derby: published for the Midland Railway Institute (1899), p.25.

⁴⁰ See Robert Graves and Alan Hodge, *The Long Week-End: a social history of Great Britain, 1918-1939*, London: Faber & Faber (1940).

contemporaries juvenile love of ‘penny bloods’, Thomas Okey (b.1852, pub.1930) asserts: ‘none of us in after life adopted highway robbery as a profession ... What it did was to evoke the reading habit.’⁴³ Likewise, Frank Steel states:⁴⁴

I am far from being an advocate of the ‘penny dreadful’, in view of the abounding wealth of ‘live’ literature of a saner kind; but I dare assert that our minds owed more of quickening and exercise to an occasional copy of *The Sons of Britannia*, or *The Young Men of Great Britain* ... than to any mental pabulum furnished us by our pastors and masters.

Others such as John Leno (b.1826, pub.1892) — an active Chartist and radical publisher — refuted the dominant middle-class view that other working-class leisure pursuits such as drinking were opposed to that of gaining knowledge. Leno instead argued that within working-class public houses intellectual ‘wild bohemians’ were to be found such as:⁴⁵

Ward of the giant memory, who appeared to have remembered everything he had read; Rennie who carried in his pocket an entire classical library, and who, after confronting all the scholars would usually wind up in a Bow Street police cell; ... Davis, who could retail [sic] the entire series of lectures delivered at the geological and the rest of the museums, ... Ross who received £180 from the proprietors of the ‘Quarterly’, for a slashing article on Gladstone’s ‘Homer’.

Discourses regarding the benefits of a liberal education and efforts to extend this to the masses were central to many of the autobiographers’ later lives. Their contemplation of the above debates is therefore not surprising. Engagement with them suggests, as both Gagnier and Flint propose, that the subjects of these working-class autobiographies negotiated contemporary discourses on cultural attainment as master narratives. This helps to explain why many working-class autobiographers went to

⁴¹ Q.D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public*, London: Chatto & Windus (1932).

⁴² Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*, London: Chatto & Windus (1958).

⁴³ Thomas Okey, *A Basketful of Memories. An Autobiographical Sketch*, London: J.M. Dent & Sons (1930), p.52.

⁴⁴ Frank Steel, *Ditcher’s Row*, op.cit., p.111.

great lengths to document their own reading habits and highlight their appreciation of canonical and classic literature. In addition to portraying their reading as an act that singles them out as exceptional subjects, the life histories of many support the optimistic view that the reading of the masses could improve. Like the female autobiographers considered by Flint, their texts were offered as testimonies to the benefits of self-education. As such, they too suggested a path for others to follow.

Reading for entertainment: the fiction problem

Revealingly however, and with specific regards to the reading of fiction, many autobiographies maintain a tension throughout. While they suggest that they enjoyed reading fictional texts many also imply that they attempted to limit this form of reading, by concentrating on factual texts or ‘respectable’ fiction. This latter category is defined almost exclusively within autobiographies as canonical and classic texts. Adopting the style of the secular conversion narrative many suggest that once they realised they had wasted some of their own leisure time in the desultory pursuit of fiction they then tailored their reading in accordance with specific aims: notably, in order to improve their intellectual fibre.

This change in direction was usually followed by attempts to follow strenuous reading programmes. For example, while working as a clerk in a newspaper office, Winifred Wells (b.1896, pub.1927) who had apparently previously delighted in the fiction of Rider Haggard and Marie Corelli to ‘quicken the pulses’, ‘decided to study seriously’ and compiled a time-table which involved broadening her geography on Mondays, her

⁴⁵ John Leno, *The Aftermath: with Autobiography of the Author*, London: Reeves and Turner (1892),

history on Tuesdays and her English on Thursdays and Fridays.⁴⁶ During his early twenties, Neville Cardus (b.1890, pub.1947) who had previously found himself ‘engrossed’ in fictional works such as Henry Fielding’s novels, ‘compiled a cultural scheme ... plan of campaign; so many hours a week to that subject, so many hours to this’, which ‘involved metaphysics, with ethics and æsthetics correlated; sociology, economics, comparative religion and all literature’.⁴⁷ Likewise, after his ‘orgie’ of fictional reading, Edward Brown (b.1880, t.s.1950s) felt compelled to ‘look round for some definite course of study to pursue’ after his ‘first heat of ... reading enthusiasm had worn off.’⁴⁸ In the examples given here the reading of fiction is clearly presented as an obstacle to the nobler pursuit of self-education. What this indicates is that two distinct spheres of working-class reading activity emerged during the period 1850 to 1914: reading for leisure purposes and reading for broadly educational and/or cultural ones. Interestingly, the emergence of these two reading activities appears to have been linked to increases in literacy and the availability of texts. Discussing these changes the autobiographers suggest that they affected working-class attitudes to reading and helped to shape their own reading habits — or at least their portrayals of them.

Many autobiographies written after the turn of the century, suggest that members of their families read periodicals, newspapers and sensational texts as a means of relaxation. That this was the case, is not surprising. From the mid-century, following

p.75.

⁴⁶ Clare Cameron (pseud.), *Rustle of Spring*. op.cit., p.107.

⁴⁷ Neville Cardus, *Autobiography*, (2nd.ed. London: Fontana Books, 1955, first published by Collins 1947), pp.49 & 51.

⁴⁸ Edward Brown, untitled t.s., London: Brunel University Library (1950s), pp.38 & 40. For Brown, his ‘instructive urge to be doing something more than just general reading’ resulted in his firstly learning secretarial skills, English, arithmetic, French, company work and economics from text-books, and in his reading ‘many French novels’; *ibid.*, p.68.

the abolition of newspaper (1855) and then paper (1861) tax, expansions in the periodical press were characterised by the provision of a greater variety of cheap weekly periodicals and newspapers aimed specifically at the masses. During the 1870s and the 1880s, as publishers of such texts increasingly looked towards the new reading public for their audiences, both newspapers and magazines became progressively cheaper and, according to Simon Eliot, 'by 1884 over 68% of all newspaper, and over 45% of all magazine titles had a cover price of 1d or less'.⁴⁹ By the end of the nineteenth century, the utilisation of rotary presses and typesetting machines provided the working classes with cheap daily publications, such as Harmsworth's *Daily Mail* (1896), in addition to cheap weeklies. Vitally, throughout the period, such publications were comparatively cheaper than those appearing in book format and suited to the needs of the growing reading public, providing a variety of entertainment, instruction and topicality in short easy to read articles.

When referring to their own reading habits however working-class autobiographers usually stress the point that their reading was of a more serious nature. When they discuss their reading of periodicals and newspapers the autobiographers imply that it was carried out with a specific aim: to obtain up-to-date information, political commentary or guidance in relation to the reading of other texts. For example, as 'a subscriber to the Review of Reviews', Stibbons recalled that this publication helped with his goal of keeping 'in touch with world politics', while William Bowyer

⁴⁹ Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919*, London: Bibliographical Society (1994), p.88. Eliot also shows that decreases in prices were matched by increases in the number of publications. Taking 1864 as his baseline of 100 Eliot observes that the number of newspaper titles issued in the 1870s rose from 13 to 52 over the baseline while 'the 1880s witnessed even more rapid

(b.1889, pub.1941) implies that he used the book reviews within the *Daily News* to guide his reading.⁵⁰

Although they too enjoyed reading fiction, autobiographers suggest that this was not the only reason why they read it. In order to mediate competing discourses on the genre they usually present their perusal of such texts not as a leisure activity but as a broadly educational one: a means of improving, ennobling and enriching their lives. For example, as a youth Harry West (b.1880, t.s. c.1950) encountered an old man who 'interested me in literature, gave me booklets of extracts from the classics etc'. Commenting upon this supply of literature West continues: 'I owe him much, he extended my mental world, consolidated much that I felt, but could not then express, and helped me in the matter of rational reflection. I was doing well in non-academic education'.⁵¹ As such, these autobiographers attempt to show that their reading of fiction formed part of a wider cultural scheme. Rather than wasting their own leisure time, they suggest that they read with purpose — either to educate themselves, to increase their employment opportunities or to aid with the development of the cultural selves they felt they had become.

In order to ensure that they read the 'right' literature, some suggest they referred to authoritative guides. For example, as an adolescent Thomas Jackson (b.1879, t.s.

growth, rising from 60 to 111 points over the same baseline'. The number of magazine titles also increased dramatically in the 1880s and 1890s. *Ibid.*, pp.81-3.

⁵⁰ Fred Stibbons, *Norfolk's 'Caddie' Poet*, op.cit., p.24; William Bowyer, *Brought Out in Evidence: an autobiographical summing-up*, London: Faber and Faber (1941), p.113. See also George Elson, *The Last Days of the Climbing Boys*, London: John Long (1900), pp. 209 & 252; John Leno, *The Aftermath*, op.cit., p.19.

⁵¹ Harry West, 'The Autobiography of Harry Alfred West. Facts and Comments', t.s., London: Brunel University Library (c.1950), p.19.

c.1952) recalled that he referred to Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Best Books, noting: 'I was young enough to believe in the possibility of such a list; and to be glad of the guidance of an accepted 'authority' ... I took Lubbock's list seriously, and set myself to collect, and to read, everyone in his list. It took years to find them all ... at a price I could command. But as I found them I read them doggedly and conscientiously.'⁵² Others chose to attend evening classes, or to follow postal tutorial ones as a means of directing and focusing their study. For example, Frank Hodges (b.1887, pub1925) states that one of the benefits of attending night school was that teachers 'arranged one's books on a better plan.'⁵³ Whether or not they actually read all (or indeed any) of the texts recommended to them it is evident that these members of the working-classes were not immune to debates concerning the differences between 'good' and 'bad' literature, and were anxious to ensure they read the former.

While some consciously sought guidance, others accepted it unconsciously in the form of publishers' series and anthologies which were very popular with the autobiographers.⁵⁴ From the 1830s publishers had begun to develop cheap classic libraries of both poetry and fiction as an integral part of their businesses. This trend continued throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century.⁵⁵ As a result canonical or classic fiction was often encountered within series designed to promote the status of this literature. Many more autobiographers visited public libraries in

⁵² Thomas Alfred Jackson, 'Solo Trumpet: An interim Report of Fifty 'Red' Years', T.S., Vol.1, Manchester: Working Class Movement Library (c.1952), op.cit, p.9. For another reference to Lubbock's book see C.H. Rolph, *London Particulars*, op.cit., p.84.

⁵³ Frank Hodges, *My Adventures as a Labour Leader*, London: George Newnes Ltd. (1925), p.15.

⁵⁴ For example see Richard Hillyer, *Country Boy: The Autobiography of Richard Hillyer*, London: Hodder & Stoughton (1966), pp.134-135.

order to obtain reading matter. Once inside the institutional setting would again have suggested the broadly educational value of the types of texts encountered within — even if the motive for entering was not prompted by a desire to read ‘acceptable’ literature.

Certainly developing library acquisitions policies were limited. Debates surrounding the Libraries Act (1850) resulted in the broad view that the main function of a public library was to act as an adjunct to adult educational movements of the period. With specific regards to the provision of fiction, and especially of novels, this resulted in the provision of edifying, moral and established literature, in preference to the ephemeral and popular.⁵⁶ As a result, library holdings were generally characterised by safe and respectable collections of literature.⁵⁷

Discourses regarding the distinctions between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ literature were relayed to the working-class autobiographers in a number of ways throughout their lives. As chapter 6 will show, the topic was frequently debated in popular periodical publications. Some autobiographers used guides to literature and these provided the titles of edifying texts. Libraries contained this type of reading matter and the

⁵⁵ This trend was accelerated during the price wars of the 1880s. See Leslie Howsam, ‘Sustained Literary Ventures: The Series in Victorian Book Publishing’, *Publishing History*, Vol. XXXI (1992), pp.5-26.

⁵⁶ See Paul Sturges and Alison Barr, ‘“The Fiction Nuisance” in nineteenth-century British public libraries’, *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, Vol.24, No.1 (March 1992), pp.23-32.

⁵⁷ See Simon Eliot, ‘Public Libraries and Popular Authors, 1883-1912’, *Library*, VI.ser., No.8 (1986), pp.322-335. Eliot’s study of eighty-one printed library catalogues from the period 1883-1912 suggests that some libraries contained the works of authors such as Scott, Mrs Henry Wood and M.E. Braddon who were considered to be acceptable but that the works of other popular but ‘unliterary’ authors such as Ouida, Guy Boothby, Dick Donovan or Nat Gould were not acquisitioned. Paul Sturges and Alison Barr further suggest that librarians used literary reviews and published guides to shape their acquisition policies. Paul Sturges and Alison Barr, ‘The Fiction Nuisance’, *op.cit.*, pp.23-32.

publishers of cheap classic series similarly supplied the mass market with guidance. These factors can explain why autobiographers wrote at length about their reading habits: they were aware the reading habits of the masses were of interest, and by highlighting their own sophisticated tastes were able to define themselves as exceptional subjects. This also offers some suggestions as to why 'Again and again we find classic literature embraced by working people who thoroughly lacked literary education.'⁵⁸ Working-class readers were encouraged to read this type of literature. Stressing that they did formed part of the wider narrative of the self being put forward. Whether or not they actually enjoyed it, claims to that effect could prove their own intellect.

Many accepted guidance (either consciously or unconsciously) in relation to their reading matter and for some this may have affected their opinion of texts before they even read them. Tellingly, many say they preferred canonical or classic literature purely because others valued its cultural worth. For example, Jack Goring (b.1861, pub.1938) states 'The English classics have always appealed to me for two reasons at least. First they have been well tested by others and yet survive and secondly that reprints are cheap'.⁵⁹ Harry West also says he was 'always weary of the contemporary and popular', while Henry Hawker (b.1870, pub.1919) disapproved of 'the rage manifested by the greater part of the world for reading New Books'. Providing 'a list

⁵⁸ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit., p.5.

⁵⁹ Jack Goring, *Autobiographical Notes*, m.s., London: Brunel University Library (1938), p.114.

of the most important books' within his own library, he too agreed 'that with literature, as with music, I prefer the older writers'.⁶⁰

Interestingly, other autobiographers defined themselves in opposition to those who professed a love of reprinted classics. Speaking of 'conformists', the self-professed socialist Bowyer states: 'Their professed admiration for 'classics' in art and literature was a safe adherence to obsolete and empty forms, never wholehearted and often little better than a pretence'. Using book reviews within the *Daily News* to guide his reading of newer authors, Bowyer says he despised 'the laborious 'self-educated' person or the 'earnest' student of serious literature who knew and cared nothing about modern work'.⁶¹ Comments like this suggest that the self-educated member of the working-classes who read classic fiction had become a recognised stereotype. This suggests that the reading of canonical and classic texts may have been widespread and that the autodidact spirit associated with this may have become popularised during the second-half of the nineteenth century. This theme will be considered in the following chapters.

Although many autobiographers clearly enjoyed reading classic and canonical literature, it appears the autodidactic spirit associated with this was not entirely independent of cultural forces. The vertical influence of the authoritative custodians of literature (such as librarians, publishers, editors and teachers) essentially ensured that readers were aware of the distinctions between canonical and classic, and popular

⁶⁰ Harry West, 'Autobiography', op.cit., p.1; Henry Hawker, *Notes of My Life*, Glocs.: W.G.Davis, (1919), pp.52-53. Interestingly, the first volumes listed under the category of fiction are 'Dickens - 'Daily News' Memorial Edition. 18 Vols.'; p.56.

texts. This awareness may have shaped their reading habits. It helped to consolidate the view that the right kind of fiction reading could prove to be a rational leisure pursuit. It clearly provided some autobiographers with a means of defining their fictional, as well as their factual, reading as an activity that increased their cultural intellect and aided their aspirational intent of defining themselves as subjects.

Conclusion

Although Rose has brought together a vast body of evidence by ignoring the literary conventions used and the influencing discourses represented within them he fails to critically assess many of the statements regarding the value of canonical and classic literature. Whether they accepted or rejected them, theories about the value of a liberal education clearly informed and shaped recollections of reading. As an historical source, autobiographical recollections and retrospective reflections on the relative value of particular texts should be treated with caution. Working-class autobiographers were not immune to cultural debates and testimonies of the benefits of reading should not be taken at face value. As literary creations autobiographies adopt specific formulas. Although autobiographical recollections are not necessarily false they are essentially coloured by the literary conventions of the genre, later life experiences and by the discourses of the periods in which they were written. Because it forms part of this narrative device, recollections regarding the type of reading matter enjoyed by the autobiographer are selective. The activity of reading is itself presented as a factor contributing to both the transformation and the subjectivity of the self. Many autobiographical recollections of reading can be interpreted as testimonies

⁶¹ William Bowyer, *Brought Out in Evidence*, op.cit., pp.133 & 117.

that support or refute the dominant discourses of the period. Reading of canonical and classical fiction is presented (in contrast to the misdirected reading of sensational texts) as a rational use of the reader's time. By highlighting their own sophisticated reading in contrast to that of other members of the working-classes autobiographers suggest their own value as subjects. By offering their life histories as examples of exceptional working-class subjects they illustrate a path that can be followed while refuting the view that manual labour is not conducive to intellectual endeavour. More often than not they concur with the optimistic view that the reading habits of the masses could improve if its members are willing and are given the opportunities to read with purpose. By highlighting this opinion they suggest that leisure reading increased as access to printed texts rose during the period 1850 to 1914.

Although working-class autobiographies are a problematic source of reading experiences, the descriptions of the authors' reading habits suggest a number of themes. Firstly, two distinct spheres of reading activity emerged during the period 1850 to 1914: reading for the purposes of leisure or entertainment and reading for the purposes of study or for broadly educational reasons. Secondly, they indicate that as readers they often sought guidance from or were influenced by the authoritative custodians of literature. Thirdly, a few suggest that the reading of canonical and classic texts may have been quite widespread. Fundamentally these themes question the supposed distinct and independent nature of the working-class autodidact spirit prompting us to ask whether or not other members of the working-classes who may have read predominantly for leisure purposes also engaged in some form of educational reading? If they did, did they also seek guidance with regards to the types

of literature they should be reading? And again, if they did this, did any also seek guidance in relation to more popular texts, or was this perceived need for guidance limited to factual, canonical or classic texts? What did other members of the working class read?

In order to address these questions and to evaluate whether or not we can in fact answer them, the following chapters examine other sources. Since a variety of libraries were used by autobiographers, chapters 3 to 5 focus upon the differing provisions provided within such institutions. Through the utilisation of borrowing records they also examine the borrowing habits of their working-class patrons. Specifically, chapter three is a study of the Kidderminster Municipal Public Library, one of the first to be opened following the Museums and Libraries Act (1850), chapter four a study of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute and chapter five a study of the Southleigh village library, located within Devon. These chapters indicate that a number of mechanisms, such as the price of attaining a text or its perceived educational value, dictated library holdings. The library catalogues themselves suggest that working-class access to texts varied considerably over the entire period. Although the evidence presented within these sources is limited — showing which texts readers borrowed but not necessarily which ones they read — they provide some interesting insights into the ways in which working-class readers interacted with the supply of literature on offer. They show which texts readers chose to borrow and which they chose to ignore. Furthermore an analysis of individual readers' borrowing habits indicates that although some used such institutions for autodidactic purposes others used them for varying ones. They show that these institutions and the texts

within could be approached for a number of reasons. Suggestively they imply that some used these institutions in order to gain guidance in terms of reading, others to improve their reading skills. Some used them as sites for obtaining factual information and some as places for obtaining reading matter that could be read for the purposes of leisure.

Chapter 3

Conceptions of the Kidderminster Municipal Library:

Leaves From an Issue Book, 1855-1856

Introduction

Acting in an official capacity at the opening ceremony of the Kidderminster Municipal Library on the evening of 3 September 1855, Henry Saunders, town mayor, entered his name in the library's user register as the first visitor. Despite this ceremonial act however, he does not appear to have consulted any of the 364 volumes available for reference.¹ According to the surviving library register, which covers the period from its opening to 26 May 1856, Saunders did not return to visit the library during the following nine months.² Saunders' personal indifference to the newly established Municipal Library can be explained by the fact that the literary tastes of the upper and middle classes were already well served by several private subscription libraries in the

¹ The figure of 364 is taken from *1855-1955: Centenary Festival of the Public Library and Music Hall, Kidderminster*, Worcestershire: published for the Kidderminster Public Library as a souvenir brochure (1955), p.10. According to this source, all the texts in the library when it first opened were donated.

² Three volumes of the Kidderminster Borough Free Library Committee Minute Books (hereafter KBFLCMB) cover the period from 1872 to 1894 and are held at the Worcester Record Office, St Helen's Branch, 1872-1879, Acc. No.10470, Ref.b899.310, parcels 333 & 334. Parcel 333 also contains the borrower register. Specifically, the first contains entries for 1872 to 1879, the second

town. Indeed, as early as 1840 it was stated in *Bentley's Directory of Worcestershire* that 'Few places are so well supplied with these important depositories of knowledge as Kidderminster'.³ For those of Saunders' social standing and economic position, the early adoption of the 1850 Public Libraries Act and the opening of the Kidderminster Municipal Library more than six years before Birmingham had established a Public Library — and almost a generation before any other Worcestershire town followed suit — represented the culmination of efforts to bring rational recreation to the increasingly distressed masses of Kidderminster.

The 1851 census indicates that the majority of the residents of Kidderminster worked as handloom carpet weavers. This trade went into rapid decline shortly after the Great Exhibition (1851) when the patent rights to Mr Bigelow of Massachusetts's power loom were acquired by Messrs. Crossley of Halifax. As a result orders for carpets increasingly went to Yorkshire. The following decade saw the town's population decrease by over 5,000 as mass unemployment in the area led to the migration of many out-of-work weavers. In 1861 the population was just 15,399.

1879 to 1885, and the third 1885 to 1894. Here and in the following footnotes they are referred to as volumes 1, 2 and 3.

³ Joseph Bentley, *History, Directory and Statistics of Worcestershire*, Birmingham: published for the author by Bull & Turner (1840), Vol.VI, p.13. A circulating library had been established at Mr Pennell's since at least 1780 and by 1840 it contained an estimated 2,000 volumes. In c.1834 an endowed library containing c.1,200 volumes was founded by a company of literary shareholders and in 1837 a Mechanic's Library was established in Mill Street. By the time of its move to new premises above the Market in High Street (1840), a total of 500 volumes could be consulted for an annual subscription fee of 6s. A Town and District Library was also housed at Mill Street in 1837 where, for an annual subscription fee of 4s, 400 volumes were available for consultation. In addition to the above, newsrooms were included in the endowed library, the Mechanic's Library and the Town and District Library while the Athenaeum in High Street, various reading societies, book clubs, Sunday Schools and places of worship all maintained their own libraries.

Against this background of increasing unemployment and poverty in Kidderminster it was proposed at a public meeting on 20 March 1853 by Lord Ward (later Earl of Dudley) that a building be erected for the benefit of all the classes in the town:⁴

providing convenient public rooms, embracing accommodation for public meetings, lectures, assemblies and concerts; with rooms and buildings for committees, library, newsrooms, and school of design; and a convenient Exchange for the sale of corn, grain, seeds, flour, malt hops and other produce of the land.

As a result, the corn exchange, the music hall and the municipal library all came to be housed under the same roof in the new building at the bottom of Vicar Street. The building was described in 1855 by the recently elected MP for Kidderminster, Robert Lowe, as a temple to the spirit of Enlightenment which might look down upon a peaceful and prosperous town.⁵ The Music Hall and Library were to provide the masses with culturally uplifting rational entertainment while it was hoped that the building itself would visually raise spirits by restoring faith in the idea of prosperity in the town.⁶

⁴ *1855-1955: Centenary Festival*, op.cit., p.12.

⁵ Robert Lowe was returned as MP for Kidderminster in the 1852 General Election and sat for this borough until April 1859. Prior to this he had sat on the legislative council for New South Wales, Australia (1843-50) where, after a number of vain attempts, he was successful in promoting the adoption of a national board of education. During 1852, when he briefly served as a minister without office under Lord Palmerston, Lowe supported the 1855 Public Libraries Bill as a private member. When Lord Palmerston was again in office in 1859 Lowe accepted the position of vice-president of the committee on education and was instrumental in promoting the cause for payment by results. Speaking of his own education as a commoner accepted into Winchester College, Lowe commented that much of his adolescence was spent reading 'standard and sterling English books', to which he attributed his later success in life. As such, Lowe's support for the newly erected building and the early adoption of the 1850 Library Act within Kidderminster, along with his interest in education, can partially explain why Kidderminster became one of the first boroughs to open a Free Public Library. See Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, London: Smith, Elder & Co. (1893), Vol. XXXIV, p.197.

⁶ Although it was hoped that this building would house a library of some sort, that it was the municipal library which came to be housed within the newly erected building at the end of Vicar Street was somewhat fortuitous. Two earlier attempts to house this library, firstly in premises occupied by the Athenaeum and owned by the Corporation and secondly, in the ground floor of the Town Hall

As one of the first libraries to be opened under the 1850 Public Libraries Act, the surviving records from Kidderminster Municipal Library provide a valuable source for investigating both the provision of texts and the uses to which such resources were put.⁷ By 1896 only 334 districts in England and Wales had levied the library rate and, like Kidderminster itself, many of these districts were relatively small. The aim of this chapter is to provide an indication of the limitations of the early libraries themselves through a local study. I do not mean to suggest that the situation here reflected that of the rest of the country, this library was chosen for pragmatic reasons. Yet the records of Kidderminster library reflect the fact that most of the early libraries suffered from an inadequacy of funds despite the partial provision made for book purchase in the 1855 Libraries Act. These records enable the aims of the proponents of the library and the hopes of the users to be examined side by side.

Referring to his early days in Kidderminster, Joe Gilbert (a later emigrant to America) lamented that, 'Virtually the only form of recreation in Kidderminster was in the saloons, of which there were many. There were no theatres, no playgrounds, no parks'.⁸ The library was a place 'where a few shelves of books are watched over by a needy old man'. Despite this off-putting impression Gilbert sought refuge in its walls from the terms of his apprenticeship as a carpet weaver at Tomkinson and Adams. He

in High Street, had both failed. The Athenaeum was rescued from financial difficulty by a private donor, while attempts to raise subscriptions in order to convert the Town Hall faltered as only £27 7s 11d of the £300 needed were forthcoming. In 1855 the council was able to rent a ground floor room in the newly erected building for £25 per annum from the private company that owned it.

⁷ The 1850 Public Libraries (or Ewart) Act allowed boroughs with a population of over 10,000 and a two-third poll of rate-payers to levy a 1/2d rate for buildings and their management. The 1855 Public Libraries Act lowered the population limit to 5,000 and permitted the levying of a 1d rate, which could be used to additionally purchase books and other materials.

was supposed to attend a night art school three times a week, but instead sometimes chose to visit the municipal library where, according to his biographer, he read the novels of Dickens, Bulwer-Lytton or Scott. Gilbert was typical of many of the Kidderminster Municipal Library's early users who, according to James Penny the first librarian, were mostly 'young men from 14 to 30 years of age, chiefly belonging to the working classes'.⁹ However, as we shall see, Gilbert appears to have been something of an exception in what he read.

Library users

The user register for 3 September 1855 to 26 May 1856 contains a total of 7,130 entries providing the name of the reader, the reader's address and the title of the text consulted.¹⁰ Sixty-eight names are illegible but the remaining ones indicate that a total of 1,384 males consulted at least one of the works of reference during the nine-month period covered by the register. While this figure represents almost 7% of the total population of the parish at the time of the 1851 census and, due to migration, a larger proportion of the whole for 1855, a considerable number of these visits were isolated incidents. Indeed, of the 1,384 identified readers, 713 (or just over half) visited the library on one occasion only while a further 192 did so only twice. In total 1,235 (or

⁸ Davis Douthit, *Nobody Owns Us; the story of Joe Gilbert a Mid-Western Rebel*, Chicago: Co-operative League of the USA (1948), pp.11 & 13.

⁹ *Kidderminster Library Annual Report* (1856), p.5. No females used the library during the period covered by the user register.

¹⁰ This figure excludes the sixty or so people who visited the library on the evening of its opening but like Saunders do not appear to have consulted any books. Visitors to the library who did not consult a book were recorded within the library register. For example, on 3 September 1855 George Haycock (a chimney sweep from Dudley Street) entered the premises but was not issued with a volume. Likewise, William Sumpter (a carpet drawer from Jerusalem Street) visited the library on 4 September 1855 and, like Haycock, was not issued with a volume. Although the instances of those visiting the library

almost 90%) of the readers visited the library on ten or less occasions during the nine-month period; see tables 1(a) and 1(b) below.

Table 1(a): Total number of visits made to the library by individual readers.

No. of visits	No. of readers
1 - 10	1,235
11 - 20	81
21 - 30	32
31 - 40	10
41 - 50	5
51 - 60	8
61 - 70	6
71 - 80	0
81 - 90	1
91 -100	2
101 - 110	1
111 - 120	0
121 - 130	1
131 - 140	0
141- 150	1
201 - 210	1
Total	1384

Table 1(b): Breakdown of the number of visits made by those readers who visited the library on less than 10 occasions.

No. of visits	No. of readers	Total visits
1	713	713
2	192	384
3	94	282
4	65	260
5	44	220
6	33	198
7	37	259
8	25	200
9	12	108
10	20	200
Total	1235	2824

but not consulting the works are not numerous, their inclusion within the library register indicates that all who entered the premises were required to register their presence.

The high proportion of infrequent visitors may of course be an anomaly of the source itself. The user register covers a brief period of time from the opening of the library and readers may have returned during the following months, years or even decades for which no register exists. An examination of the dates on which visits were made, however, suggests that the most striking feature of the Kidderminster user records cannot be solely explained by the inadequacies of the source. Of the recorded 7,130 visits 2,085 (or almost a third) occurred during September 1855 — the month the library first opened. During the following eight months the total number of monthly visits declined drastically and, apart from the month of January when a total of 1,156 (or an average of forty-three daily) visits were made, after September 1855 the monthly visiting figure never rose above seven hundred while the average daily figure never reached thirty.¹¹ Furthermore, of the 2,085 visits made during the month of September, 223 were made by readers who visited the library only once during the entire nine-month period while ninety-three were made by readers who visited only twice; see tables 2(a) and 2(b). In total, of the 713 identified readers who visited the library only once, 672 did so during the first eight months in which the library was open, while only 44 did so during May 1856 — the last month covered by the register. Interestingly, an examination of return visits made to the Kidderminster Municipal Library implies that second and subsequent visits were usually made on consecutive

¹¹ The relatively high visitor figures for the month of September in comparison to later months can be partially explained by the probability that a number of those who visited the library during this month did so in order to satisfy their curiosity regarding the new building which now dominated the town. As a public room, the Kidderminster Municipal Library opened before the Music Hall. It is possible that some of the visits made during the month of September by readers who did not return to the library during the following nine months were fuelled by a desire to enter the new premises rather than by a genuine desire to read the books. However, it is unlikely that this explanation holds true for the majority of visitors as all (regardless of whether or not they did in fact consult a text) were registered on entering the library and only a small minority did not consult a work.

dates or in very short periods of time. For example, as tables 3(a) and 3(b) indicate, of the 192 readers who visited the library only twice during the nine-month period, ninety-one returned for their second visit within seven days while a further thirty-six did so within a month.¹² It seems that the infrequency of return visits cannot be solely attributed to the limitations of the source.

Table 2(a): Number of visits per month.

Month	No. days open	No. visits	Ave. visits / day
Sept. 55	24	2,085	87
Oct. 55	25*	614	25
Nov. 55	26	649	25
Dec. 55	25*	672	27
Jan. 56	27	1,156	43
Feb. 56	25	603	24
Mar. 56	25*	568	23
Apr. 56	26	483	19
May 56	22	300	14
Total	225	7130	37

* Other than Sundays, the library was closed on 15 and 16 October 1855, 25 December 1855 and on 21 March 1856.

Table 2(b): Month of the first visit for those who visited the library only twice.

Month of first visit	No. readers
Sept. 55	93
Oct. 55	12
Nov. 55	14
Dec. 55	15
Jan. 56	29
Feb. 56	6
Mar. 56	8
April 56	7
May 56	8
Total	192

We must consider possible explanations as to why the majority of visitors did not become regular patrons of the library. The library was a reference (rather than a borrowing) library so we might expect users to return on several occasions in order to finish reading their book, particularly if it was a novel, or to continue reading a

¹² The same visiting pattern is also displayed by those readers who consulted reference works on several occasions as they too often visited the library on consecutive days. For example, Herbert Bale who visited the library over fifty times during the period under consideration consulted at least one work every day (excluding Sundays) from 19 to 29 September 1855.

periodical. Most readers do not appear to have used the library in this way. On the other hand, readers wanting to look up a specific query might make isolated visits.

Before we can go this far, however, we need to examine the nature of the book stock.

Table 3(a): Frequency of visits — borrowers visiting library twice.

Time between visits (in months)	No. readers
1	127
2	23
3	13
4	12
5	3
6	7
7	4
8	1
9	2
Total	192

Table 3(b): Breakdown of those returning for second visit in one month.

Time between visits (in days)	No. readers
0 - 7	91
8 - 14	18
15 - 21	8
22 - 28	10
Total	127

The library attracted a large number of readers during the first month of its opening and a drastically reduced number thereafter. Was the paucity of the library stock and the general state of the reading room to blame? When it first opened the library contained a total of only 364 volumes, all of which had been donated. Despite an increase in stock to a total of 1,463 volumes by July 1879 attendance remained relatively low. Only when a lending library was established in 1881 and attached to the reference library did issues rise to a respectable 40,000 per annum.¹³ Having to sit and read in situ probably contributed to the low attendance as the reading room was ‘extremely hot at night requiring both windows open and the tops off the airshafts’. Indeed the condition of the room in April 1880 was described as ‘deplorable’.¹⁴ Quite

¹³ *1855-1955: Centenary Festival*, op.cit., p.11.

¹⁴ KBFLCMB, Vol.1 (1872-79), entry for 25 October 1878, p.110; and KBFLCMB, Vol.2, entry for 23 April 1880, p.13.

possibly some of the early visitors were dissatisfied by the limited number of books and periodicals and the discomfort of the reading room and therefore never returned.

Library stock

No catalogue exists for the Kidderminster reference library but using information taken from the surviving register I have found either a full or partial title for 232 of the 364 donated texts available in the library when it first opened. In addition, I have established the genre of 227, the exact title of 102 and full publication details for eighty-four of the 232 identified titles using the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (NSTC)*.¹⁵ Interestingly, although only seven can be categorised as pure works of reference (dictionaries, encyclopaedias, etc.), the majority of the works identified (148) were non-fiction and of a factual nature (see table 4).¹⁶ Fiction accounted for only thirty-two of the titles and poetry for only twenty-eight. Through the *NSTC* it is possible to see that some of the texts were from — or later became part of — publishers' named series. Leading the list is Murray's Family Library series (at least 21 titles), Bohn's Shilling or Standard Library (9) and the Library of Useful or Entertaining Knowledge (5) published under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK).¹⁷ In the register itself the Family Library is

¹⁵ See appendix A for a discussion of the methodology used and a summary of the texts consulted. Although only 232 titles have been identified it is safe to assume that this figure represents a substantial portion of the library stock since the figure of 364 most likely refers to the number of volumes within the library, rather than to the actual number of titles.

¹⁶ In addition to the seven works of reference, the figure of 148 comprises titles belonging to the following genres: arts and crafts (1), astrology (2), biography (34), geography (23), history (52), politics (1), science and technology (20) and self-educators (8).

¹⁷ The SDUK's Library of Useful Knowledge began in 1827. Priced at 6d per fortnightly thirty-two page part, it contained works of a scientific or utilitarian nature. Costing 2s a part (or 4s 6d per volume) the Library of Entertaining Knowledge was started in 1829. Similarly a non-fiction series, its subject matter was weighty, and the series essentially resembled a home university course. Following

referred to a total of eight times implying that several volumes of works belonging to this series were available in the library. It also appears that the library contained a series of British Poetry, possibly published by Bohn.¹⁸ Similarly, the large number of titles by Sir Walter Scott suggest that the library had acquired volumes from one of the many series of his works which abounded at this time or from a single collector-donor.¹⁹

Table 4: Genre breakdown of identified titles in the Kidderminster Municipal Library.

Genre	No. titles	No. consultations	Ave. / vol.
Arts & Crafts	1	3	3
Astrology	2	40	20
Biography	34	959	28
Fiction	32	915	29
Geography	23	298	13
History	52	1308	25
Periodicals	10	2709	271
Poetry	28	287	10
Politics	1	3	3
Reference	7	118	17
Religion	9	77	9
Science and technology	20	162	8
Self-educators	8	135	17
Unknown	5	69	12
Total	232	7083	31

the example of the SDUK to provide cheap educational literature for the masses, Murray's Family Library was started in 1829 as a non-fiction series and included works of biography, history and travel, initially priced at 5s per volume. Bohn's Standard Library, started in 1847, was also a non-fiction series, comprised of miscellaneous reprints sold at 3s 6d per volume. See Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, op.cit., pp.269-270, 273 & 308.

¹⁸ Although Bohn's and the SDUK's series are not referred to by their separate series names within the register itself, it is likely that a number of Bohn's volumes were to be found in the library. A number of the SDUK's titles were certainly available to readers since titles such as *The Architecture of Birds* or *Historical Parallels* were published by them alone according to the NSTC. Within the register three explicit references are made to the title *British Poets* while the names of those fitting this description were often accompanied by a volume number and the abbreviation 'BP' — for example, 'Tennyson, 3, BP'. Bohn's Cabinet Series of British Poets was published in 1851.

¹⁹ Fifteen titles by Sir Walter Scott were in the library, representing almost 50% of the libraries fiction stock. In the 1850s Scott's novels fell out of copyright and many publishers were therefore able to

Although the early library stock essentially represents an ad hoc collection of donated items, it does give us an insight into the motivation behind the selection of donated texts. The predominance of non-fiction suggests that, rather than being viewed as a place of entertainment, the main function of the library was deemed to be broadly educative. The inclusion of titles from publishers' series raises the question: were they selected because their imprint signified respectability and self-educative value? The surviving minutes of the library committee, which date from 1872, indicate that their acquisitions policy was based on these two premises.

At a meeting held during November 1875 the committee of the Kidderminster Municipal Library (comprised of local councillors) carried a resolution that a total of £75 should be spent on books. In preparation for this, the town clerk was 'instructed to make applications to five provincial towns for a catalogue of the Books in their Free Libraries'.²⁰ During the following meeting (January 1876), Councillor Harvey (the chairman of the committee) confirmed the requested library catalogues had been received and presented a list of suggested purchases he himself had selected, using the library catalogues as a guide, from a number of second-hand sale catalogues. Of the texts — which amounted to a total of £30 — the majority were histories, biographies, or weighty treaties ranging from Gibbon's *History of Rome* to Homer's *Iliad*. Of the sixty-nine suggested titles only one — the popular *Ingoldsby Legends* by Richard Harris — was fiction. However, having only spent £17 9s of the £75 allocated by the

issue reprints. All of Scott's novels contained within the Kidderminster reference library were first published before 1823. See Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, op.cit., p.383.

²⁰ KBFLCMB., Vol.1, entry for 24 November 1875, p.29. In the end, only four libraries were approached: Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool and Nottingham reference libraries.

time of the following meeting, the committee sought to obtain the terms upon which the Christian Knowledge Society and the Pure Literature Society would supply books to the library. The evidence shows that in Kidderminster at least, the committee copied the selections of other libraries, who may themselves have looked at the review literature,²¹ and accepted publishers' choices implicit in their series or list.

Interestingly, the surviving records indicate that in later years the committee's attitude to fiction began to change. In October 1876 they decided to establish a lending library in connection with the existing reference library once suitable premises had been found. Although the change was gradual, from this date a greater proportion of fictional texts were ordered by the library committee. For example, in March 1877 Burke's *Peerage*, Pope's *Homer's Iliad*, the *Life and Works of John Stuart Mill* and the works of Euclid were ordered, along with Disraeli's *Vivian Grey* and Dickens' *Pickwick Papers*.

Although expenditure on fiction continued to remain below that of non-fiction, by 1879 the librarian William Gethin was able to state in a report to the committee 'The additional books you have purchased for the Free Library and which are now upon the shelves, are read with great interest, Novels, Tales & co. still claiming the largest proportion of readers'.²²

The lending library was not opened until September 1881, but from the time when the decision to seek premises for this purpose was taken an increased amount of fiction

²¹ Paul Sturges and Alison Barr suggest that popular or more ephemeral texts were excluded from libraries because in their attempts to provide the correct type of reading matter librarians tended to look to the growing review literature for guidance. Paul Sturges and Alison Barr, 'The Fiction Nuisance', op.cit.

was gradually introduced into the reference library and came to form a significant part of the lending library. The borrowing figures of the lending library between 22 October and 21 December 1881 report 2,708 issues in the fiction category compared with ninety-six in history, fifty-four in biography and thirty-seven in religion.²³

This suggests that the committee saw the role of the lending library as different from that of the reference library. Although this in itself is not surprising (and indeed remains a modern day legacy), Gethin's comment that novels and tales claimed the greater portion of readers — made before the establishment of the lending library — suggests that the users of the Kidderminster reference library did not make such a distinction. The majority of those frequenting the reference library during the late 1870s sought fiction in its four walls. Was this also true of those visiting the library during the mid-1850s?

Using the Kidderminster Municipal Library register as a source for evaluating working-class reading experiences is difficult. In common with all library records, being issued the book does not necessarily mean that the reader read it. From its opening as a reference library, users were required to choose a text from a catalogue list and request the title of the work they wished to see from the librarian.²⁴ As a result, only once the book was handed to the reader would he have actually encountered the text itself.

²² KBFLCMB, Vol.2, entry for 31 January 1879, p.3.

²³ KBFLCMB, Vol.2, entry for 23 December 1881, p.59. In the following month the figures were 1,115 in Fiction, 55 in History, 31 in Biography and 22 in Religion.

²⁴ Although no early catalogue exists for the Kidderminster Municipal Library, it is likely that this document, in common with catalogues belonging to other early libraries, contained rudimentary information only, providing the title of the book, the name of the author and an indication of the genre

Since readers were unable to browse freely among the books we can assume that a number of the texts loaned were not read by the reader or disappointed them.

Nevertheless the title of the text borrowed indicates the preferences of readers with regards to particular genres, topics or authors. This is especially true of non-fiction contained in the library. As appendix A shows, the non-fiction titles — such as *The History of America*, *Peter the Great*, or *The Ruins of Ancient Cities* — tended to indicate quite clearly the subject matter of the book or volume itself. Although some consultations may have been unsatisfactory to the reader, it can be assumed that the majority were at least interested in the topic. For this purpose, aggregate consultation figures for non-fiction falling in the categories of history and geography have been taken as rough guides to the relative popularity of certain topics in the analysis that follows.²⁵ With regards to fiction however, the situation is somewhat different.

Although it is safe to assume that the early library catalogue listed books according to genre, we cannot assume that the title of a fictional text provided the reader with any clue as to its content. For example, for those unfamiliar with the fiction of Scott titles such as the *Bride of Lammermoor* or the *Fortunes of Nigel* would, on their own, be virtually useless as an indicator of content. For this reason, crude figures for individual works of fiction cannot be used as reliable guides to their relative popularity among the

of the text. For example, the library catalogue of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute (c.1856), discussed in the following chapter, only provided this basic information.

²⁵ Since this was a reference library, crude consultation figures may distort the popularity of certain works. For example, the *Reformation in England* was requested a total of thirty-four times but twenty-seven of these requests were made by the same person, James Haycock of Dudley Street. Such

users of the library. However, we can assume that in order to complete reading a novel a reader would have had to return to it on at least two occasions. Clearly, when a reader requested the same text on two or more occasions he evidently wished to continue his reading and perhaps finish it. Although it can be argued that the same checks should also have been carried out in order to ensure that non-fiction consulted met the expectations of the reader, referring to a non-fictional work on one occasion only does not indicate that the reader's demands were not met. He may have answered his query the first-time round. Because of the difficulties of the source the following hypothesis are offered as general observations rather than definitive conclusions.

Borrowing figures

History and geography

History appears to have dominated the libraries non-fiction collection with an overall total of eighty-six titles: forty-nine works in general history, thirty-four in biographical history and three in local history. Excluding periodicals (which will be considered later) history also accounted for the largest number of total borrowings: 2,267 altogether divided into general history (1,050); local history (258); biographical history (959). However, only a small minority of the eighty-six titles accounted for the popularity of this genre.

English history and England's relation with France and Napoleon Bonaparte most interested the users of the Kidderminster library. The most frequently consulted title

extremes however are rare and the aggregate borrowing totals as discussed above do give a fair representation of the general taste of the Kidderminster Municipal Library users.

for the entire nine-month period was the *Pictorial History of England* (borrowed a total of 475 times). Indeed, so popular was this work that one volume was listed among fourteen titles chosen to be repaired in May 1878 suggesting that it had been damaged by regular consultation and was still popular with readers.²⁶ The second and third most popular titles, *Life of Nelson* (230) and *Wellington* (169), dealt with the lives of those who had defeated Napoleon I (1769-1821) while the fifth, the *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (121), tackled the subject of the French general himself. Further works dealing with Napoleon's life and military feats were consulted a total of 65 times — *Camp and Court of Napoleon* (13), *Memoirs of Napoleon* (2), *Napoleon's Expedition to Russia* (28), *Napoleon in Exile* (22) — while the *Battle of Waterloo* and the *Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore* were borrowed 58 and 25 times respectively. In all works dealing with Napoleon, the Napoleonic wars and the British generals involved in them, were consulted a total of 668 times. No other historical figures, war or period in history held any great appeal for the library users.

The fourth most popular biographical subject was Columbus, followed by George IV, Sir Robert Peel and Mohammed. The titles dealing with these subjects, however, were only consulted between thirty and forty times each — *Life and Voyages of Columbus* (39), *Life and Times of George IV* (36), *Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel* (35), *Life of Mohammed* (32). Of the rest the *Life of Bruce* (1274-1329) and *The Trial of King Charles* were borrowed fifteen times each, *Lives of English Divines* was borrowed ten times, while *Lives of British Artists* and *Richard I* were borrowed on only nine occasions. Additional biographies dealing with British lives in general fared just as

²⁶ See KBFLCMB, Vol.1, entry for 14 May 1878, p.93.

badly, all borrowed less than nine times: *Life of Sir Isaac Newton* (8), *The Life of Sir Walter Scott* (6), a biography of Richard Neville Earl of Warwick (1428-71) (6), *Lives of Scottish Worthies* (4), a biography of the English general John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) (2), and finally *Lives of British Physicians* (1).

Despite the clear interest in the Napoleonic wars, however, the French revolution did not attract any great interest from those seeking historical works. A work entitled the *French Revolution* was borrowed only six times and one on the *History of the Bastille* only nine times. Likewise, other periods in both French and European history were largely ignored. Three general works, a *History of France*, the *Pictorial History of France* and *Lectures on the History of France* were referred to on only twelve, two and one occasions respectively, while a *History of Germany* was requested only four times, a *History of Europe* and *Ferdinand and Isabella* only three times each, *Venetian History* only twice and both *Pompeii* and a *History of Rome* only once.

Works dealing with more specific aspects of British history were also only infrequently referred to. The Reformation fared the best with a total of forty-five requests for a *Survey of the Reformation*, while a *Residence at the Court of London* (21), a *History of London* (16), the *Pictorial History of London* (1), the *Puritans in England* (8) and *Civil Wars in England* (4) were referred to a total of fifty times. War per se did not appear to hold any particular interest for the readers and the only other title in the register that dealt explicitly with this issue, the *Russian War*, appeared on only twenty-six occasions. Rather than history or war itself, it was the personalities — the ‘great

men' — of the Napoleonic wars that fascinated readers for whom the war was in living memory.

A number of working-class autobiographers suggest that the popular memory of Trafalgar and Waterloo combined with the activities of the later Louis Napoleon (1808-73) — especially his involvement with Britain in the Crimea War (1854-6) — was the source of this interest. For example, referring to his childhood experiences, Jack Goring (b.1861, t.s.1938) noted that his grandfather:²⁷

used to tell me how he remembered the battle of Trafalgar and of course Waterloo. In a quavering voice he used to sing an old story about Napoleon of which I can only remember the phrase
'Galloping Boney, and where are you now?'

Likewise, speaking of Napoleon III's later visit to England (1858), the Chartist autobiographer John Leno recalled that he and his colleagues wished to give the French Emperor an 'appropriate welcome', noting that 'This, as might be expected was the chief theme of discussion at the debating halls of London' during the late 1850s.²⁸ The high number of requests for such works are most likely to be the result of this topical interest.

Only one other topic, that of Worcestershire, commanded a similar amount of interest. The only other history book to be borrowed more than a hundred times (and the fourth most popular historical work) was Nash's *History of Worcestershire* (162). It too required repairing in May 1878. Similarly, Turberville's *Worcestershire in the*

²⁷ Jack Goring, *Autobiographical Notes*, op.cit., p.7.

²⁸ John Leno, *The Aftermath*, op.cit., pp. 82-83.

Nineteenth Century and a work referred to simply as *Worcestershire*, were consulted thirty-eight and fifty-eight times respectively — a combined total of 258. The subjects which interested readers the most were those nearest to them: their locality and Napoleon.

Throughout the nineteenth-century, it was London and the surrounding area which drew the majority of internal migrants, while the United States continued to attract the bulk of emigrants. During the 1850s, Australia and the colonies also became popular destinations. In terms of geography, it was those titles referring to the most popular destinations for internal migrants and emigrants, which were clearly favoured. With a total of seventy-nine loans, *London* was the most frequently consulted of the twenty-three geography titles. Amongst the history books, the *History of America* was consulted ninety-five times, making it the most popular work dealing with a country other than England.²⁹ In total, books about America from both the history and the geography sections were borrowed a total of 123 times and those about London a total of 105; the additional titles being *America* (8), *History of New York* (20), *Chronicles of London Bridge* (4), *London Gazetteer* (1), *Pictorial History of London* (1) and *History of London* (20). Books referring to the Antipodes and to the British Colonies in general, were requested ninety-four times and those about Mexico and Peru thirty-four times: *Our Antipodes* (43), *British Colonies* (27), *Australia* (15), *Supplement to the British Colonies* (4), *Supplement to Australia* (2), *History of Australia* (2), *New Zealand* (1); *Conquest of Mexico* (19), *Conquest of Peru* (13) and *Mexico* (2). Other

²⁹ While works dealing with the Napoleonic wars were popular, interest in France as a country was minimal.

than those referring to the destinations of emigrants, works of travel were largely ignored — *Six Months in the West Indies* (14), *Travel in Africa* (7), *Tales of Travel* (3) and *Tour in South Holland* (1).

Given the economic situation in Kidderminster itself it is not surprising that books dealing with the destinations of migrants and emigrants were popular. Addressing the Select Committee on Public Libraries in 1849, Mr Imray, an active participant in the promotion and establishment of Ragged Schools and the superintendent of one in Marylebone, stated that:³⁰

Since the means of emigration have been provided for those classes ... the inclination amongst them for reading works which will give them information regarding the countries to which they intend to go has been very great.

In return, he was asked:

Do not you think that in any part of the country where there is a tendency towards emigration, and, indeed, wherever there are local libraries, it is very desirable to have those libraries supplied with books which give correct information upon the subject of emigration?

to which he replied, 'I think it is of the highest importance.'³¹ In Kidderminster the introduction of steam power led to unemployment and mass migration as the census figures show: in the decade after 1851 the population of the parish of Kidderminster fell by over 5,000. Six months prior to the opening of the library in March 1855, the Town Council had been presented with a petition signed by over 500 weavers asking it to implement a scheme of assisted emigration to take the surplus labour to the

³⁰ Anon., 'Libraries and the People', *British Quarterly Review*, No. XI (1850), pp.73-78, p.76.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp.76-77.

colonies.³² Given the fact that the majority of the readers at the Kidderminster library were young males aged fourteen to thirty and dependent upon the threatened carpet trade for their livelihood, it is likely that those reading about London, America and the Antipodes were contemplating moving to find work. For example, Thomas Farmer of Park Lane Terrace, a 28 year old hand-loom weaver of carpets, borrowed *Our Antipodes* a total of thirty-one times. Similarly, evidence from autobiographies shows that the authors were interested in reading about countries where their relatives or friends had gone. For example, John Eldred (b.1885, pub.1955) decided to pursue 'a course of reading about some of the other British colonies and dominions' following a friend's emigration to South Africa. C.H. Rolph also observes 'both Grandma ... and my father wanted books about South Africa' where they had lived until the death of his grandfather during the first Boer war.³³

Other non-fictional texts

Of the remaining thirty-nine non-fiction titles contained in the library only two, Watt's *On the Improvement of the Mind* and the annually published *Index Of Patentees*, were consulted more than fifty times.³⁴ The relative popularity of these two titles is interesting since it suggests that those who referred to them also wished to improve their lives in either educational or economic terms. The fact that a high number of people requested Watt's *On the Improvement of the Mind* (a total of 109 times) implies that some visitors viewed the library as a repository of knowledge and as a

³² See *Centenary Festival*, op.cit., p.5.

³³ John Eldred, *I Love the Brooks*, London: Skeffington & Son Limited (1955), p.105; C.H.Rolph, *London Particulars*, op.cit., p.83.

³⁴ By a total of thirty-five and eighty-five different readers respectively.

place in which minds might indeed be improved. Interestingly, this text was consulted by thirty-five different readers, many of whom referred to it on more than one occasion. Since, like the reader guides referred to by some of the autobiographers, this book also contained instructions on the types of reading matter which could improve the mind it is possible that some visitors to the Kidderminster library were similarly seeking guidance.

Asked by the same Select Committee on Public Libraries of 1849 to provide ‘a description of the books which the working classes [in America] borrow from public libraries’, Mr Henry Stevens an American witness replied they are ‘Very miscellaneous; history, biography, travels, and a great deal of fiction.’³⁵ The high borrowing figures for the *Pictorial History of England* (and indeed those for *On the Improvement of the Mind*) suggests that the reading skills of many of the working-class users of the Kidderminster library may have been rudimentary. At least three other titles on a similar historical topic — *History of Britain*, *Civil Wars in England* and *Puritans in England* — were available but were consulted on less than ten occasions each. This may also explain why the most popular work of fiction was a children's book, Croker's *Fairy Tales* (probably *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*)³⁶ which was borrowed a total of 151 times by eighty-nine different readers.

³⁵ Anon., ‘Libraries and the People’, op.cit., p.73.

³⁶ No work by Thomas Crofton Croker (1798-1854) entitled simply *Fairy Tales* has been identified. It is likely that it is *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, first published in London with illustrations in 1825 by Murray, and later with Tegg. It was reprinted in 1834 as part of Murray's Family Library. It went into several editions, and in 1924 was reprinted with the shorter title *Irish Fairy Tales* as part of the New World School Series.

Fiction

Periodicals aside, Croker's *Fairy Tales* was the fifth most frequently requested title in the entire library. It was a collection of short fairy tales similar to those written by the German Grimm brothers, and could be described as a classic collection. Fans of the book included the younger brother of Maria Edgeworth who, in the preface to the 1862, stated 'My youngest brother has seized upon the new volume, and is devouring fairies and goblins while I am writing.'³⁷ While a wide audience could appreciate the tales, it was essentially a juvenile text, and not what you might expect working-class males aged fourteen to thirty to be reading.

Using the 1851 census it has been possible to trace fifty-one of the eighty-nine readers who consulted *Fairy Tales* and to establish their ages in 1855/6.³⁸ These range from the youngest, Edward Bennett of Waterloo Street who in 1856 would have been eight years old, to the oldest, Thomas Worrall of Horse Fair a butcher who in 1855 would have been aged forty-two. The majority were aged between fourteen and sixteen. Older readers may have borrowed it out of interest or because they were parents and wanted to read it in order to either relay the tales to their children or assess its suitability for them. It is also plausible — especially given the likely full title of this work, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* — that others requested

³⁷ Thomas Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions*, op.cit., London: John Murray (1862 ed.), p.xviii.

³⁸ To do this, four years have been added onto the ages taken from the 1851 census. The result gives the ages to within a year.

this text for its purported factual rather than fictional content. Yet only thirty-three of the eighty-nine who consulted this work did so more than once.³⁹ Why was this?

It could be that the request was a mistake: there was no browsing so readers could only base their choice on the titles in the catalogue and it is likely that readers requested titles which turned out not to be what they expected. It is more likely that it was because the individual tales were short and could be read in a single visit. Readers may therefore have preferred these tales to longer stories which would require several repeat visits. We cannot know which edition of Croker's *Fairy Tales* the library had, but if it was the Family Library edition it would have been illustrated and this may also have been a considerable attraction. Whatever the real reason, it is interesting to speculate whether reading practices were tailored according to the environment in which the text was encountered. There is some evidence to support this idea in the autobiographies. They suggest that reading practices differed in accordance with the settings in which they were encountered, some stating that they attempted to memorise parts of texts that they could not afford to buy but could only access within libraries.⁴⁰ Since visitors to this reference library read in situ the length of the tales may have attracted them.

The second most popular work of fiction was Sir Walter Scott's *Rob Roy*. It was issued ninety-one times to fifty-five different readers, forty-two of whom consulted this

³⁹ Of the 89 who borrowed Croker's *Fairy Tales*, fifty-six consulted this work on one occasion only, fourteen on two occasions, eleven on three, six on four and two on five.

⁴⁰ For example see Clare Cameron (pseud.), *Rustle of Spring*, op.cit., p.195; and Vere Garratt, *A Man in the Street*, op.cit., p.94

work on one occasion only.⁴¹ A larger percentage returned to continue reading *Fairy Tales* (37%) than *Rob Roy* (24%). Assuming that it was necessary to return to the same work of fiction at least twice in order to finish reading it, the consultation figures for Scott's other novels also indicate that the working-class readers at Kidderminster preferred to read short fiction as opposed to longer novels. Of the fifty-five readers who consulted *Rob Roy* and of the twenty-eight who consulted *Ivanhoe*, the third most popular work of fiction, only a possible thirteen could have completed each novel. And, of the thirty-three who requested *Pirate* (the fourth most popular) only a possible ten.⁴² None of the remaining works of fiction were consulted more than fifty times in total.⁴³

However, although an important factor, the reading environment alone cannot explain why of the thirty-two identified available works of fiction one clearly dominated the user records. Nor can it fully explain why, in comparison to the consultation figures for *Fairy Tales*, a further four texts whose titles alone might suggest that they too

⁴¹ A further seven readers were presented with this novel on two occasions each; two requested it four times while one requested it three times; another requested it six times; one on eight occasions; and one on ten.

⁴² *Ivanhoe* was issued eighty-six times to twenty-eight different borrowers, fifteen of whom consulted the work only once. Of the remaining readers three were issued with this novel on two occasions, three on three occasion, one on four and two on five. Interestingly, George Farmer (aged 14) confined his borrowing of this text to the months of March and April and as such appears to have regularly visited the reference library in order to finish reading this novel. *Pirate* was issued a total of seventy-six times to thirty-three readers. Of these, twenty-three consulted the book only once; two readers requested it twice; one on three separate occasions; three others requested it four times. Of the remaining four readers who consulted this text, three did so on six occasions and one on sixteen. It is probable that most readers took more than two visits to complete an entire work and therefore these figures probably over- rather than under-state the number who actually completed the works.

⁴³ Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred* was consulted on thirty-four occasions. Irving Washington's *Astoria* and *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon* were requested seven and twenty-nine times respectively while his collaboration with J.K. Paulding, *Salmagundi*, was borrowed on five occasions only. Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* was requested only twenty-seven times, unidentified works of William Shakespeare a total of thirty-six times and Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* a total of five.

contained short fiction were consulted on less than thirty occasions each.⁴⁴ In the above discussion of historical and geographical texts contained in the library it was interesting to note that of at least four titles explicitly dealing with the history of England only one, the *Pictorial History of England*, appears to have been requested a significant number of times (475 in total). Furthermore, of those who did consult other works of fiction in the library, a significant number displayed a clear preference for *Fairy Tales*. For example, Joseph Banner of Hall Street (a carpet weaver aged 15) consulted Scott's *Black Dwarf*, Washington's *Sketch Book*, Disraeli's *Tancred* and Davenport's *Sketches of Imposture* on only one occasion each, yet returned to Croker's *Fairy Tales* a total of four times. All of these consultations were made in a short space of time (on 21, 22 and 23 February and 1 March) indicating that this reader was clearly interested in the latter work. Likewise, William Carradine of South Street (identified as a sixteen year old hand-loom weaver) consulted *Black Dwarf*, *Bride of Lammermoor*, *Canterbury Tales*, and *Pirate* on one occasion each, but returned to *Fairy Tales* on three consecutive dates (19, 20 and 21 May 1856). In fact, of all the readers who consulted at least one work of fiction during the nine-month period, only twenty-five requested two or more titles on repeat occasions and therefore appear to have had the inclination to complete their reading.

In their recollections autobiographers commenting upon the 1850s stress the point that those who wished to read found it hard to obtain reading matter of any kind. Often they were limited to a finite supply of literature which might be found in the homes of

⁴⁴ The four texts whose titles alone might suggest to the uninformed reader that they contained short tales were *Canterbury Tales*, *Novels and Tales*, *Sketch Book* and *Tales and Stories from History*.

friends or relatives. Public libraries were not widespread and book prices obstructed members of the working classes from becoming extensive consumers. Additionally, Alexis Weedon's study of the Victorian publishing industry shows the volume of books produced did not keep pace with the growing demand for printed texts. Using 1846 as an index point, Weedon's figures on the estimated increase in books manufactured (all genres) as compared to the growth of the reading public in England and Wales, show that from roughly 1876 the gap between the two categories began to close at a rapid rate. Only by 1910, however, did the percentage increase in the former category finally meet that in the latter — i.e. from 1910 the percentage increase in books manufactured was sufficient to meet the percentage increase in the reading public and hence in the perceived demand for new books. Prior to this, increases in the production of books lagged behind increases in the growth of the reading public by about 66% in 1866, by roughly 83% in 1876, 51% in 1886, 45% in 1896 and 17% in 1906.⁴⁵ From about 1886 the gap had begun to close.

For the working classes of Kidderminster the situation would have been similar and it is therefore likely that the reading skills of some who visited the library in 1855/6 would have been limited. Indeed, one witness before the Newspaper Stamps Committee of 1851 stressed the fact that as a learnt skill reading was something which had to be practised, arguing that access to newspapers might ensure that boys who had learned only the rudiments of reading at school would not later relapse into illiteracy.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1830-1916*, London: Ashgate (2004, m.s.), table 2.3.

⁴⁶ *Report from the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps*, Parliamentary Paper, Vol.XVII (1851), Q.3240.

Possibly this is why illustrated texts, such as the *Pictorial History*, and children's tales, like those in Croker's book, were frequently consulted and returned to. Given the nature of the source however, nothing more conclusive than a speculation can be offered at this stage.

Periodicals

Readers at the Kidderminster library more frequently borrowed journals than any other genre.⁴⁷ In total, during the nine-month period under consideration 2,708 (or almost 40%) of the total 7,040 requests for reading matter were for periodicals. The most popular of these were Chamber's publications — *Chambers's Miscellany* (borrowed 1,595 times), *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (192) and *Chambers's Journal* (690)⁴⁸ — followed by the *Mechanic's Magazine* (158), the *Cottage Gardener* (33) and the *Tickler* (33), the *Mirror of Literature* (16), the *British Workman* (10), the *Spirit of the Public Journals* (3) and the loyalist *Anti-Jacobin Review* (1). That such texts were to

⁴⁷ The individual reader profiles of the two most regular patrons of the Kidderminster Municipal Library — Samuel Southan (hand-loom carpet weaver, aged 39) and Thomas Burgin (carpet weaver, aged 36) — also provide further evidence for this by highlighting the relative popularity of such periodicals. With a recorded total of 202 entries in the library register, Samuel Southan visited the library more times than any other reader during the nine-month period and, with a total of 145 entries, was followed by Thomas Burgin. With regards to individual titles, Southan borrowed a total of eighty-four different texts and Burgin twenty-nine. However, of the eighty-four works he consulted, Southan returned to only thirty-six on two or more occasions and Burgin to only eleven. Even though they were regular users of the Kidderminster library, both Southan and Burgin consulted only a small number of books on two or more visits, suggesting that they often failed in their attempts to locate suitable reading matter in the library. In contrast, however, both readers clearly enjoyed the short articles in *Chambers's Journal* as Southan referred to these volumes a total of fifty-four times and Burgin a total of seventy-nine. Both also borrowed the *Pictorial History of England* on several occasions. Apart from journals, Burgin borrowed no fiction during this period, favouring instead history and biography. Southan's interests on the other hand were wider. He requested a number of historical works, novels and volumes of poetry, although of these he only referred to a small number on more than one visit.

⁴⁸ *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* was continued as *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*. This is probably the *Chambers's Journal* referred to in the Kidderminster Library catalogue.

be found in the Kidderminster Municipal Library is not surprising. It was not unusual for periodicals like these to be donated to public libraries as they provided cheap wholesome literature and were circulated among the upper classes as well as among those for whom they were intended.⁴⁹ Indeed, as late as 1897 one anonymous journalist noted that the stock of texts contained in a typical 'gloomy and uncomfortable' village reading room usually included 'odd volumes of *Chambers's Journal*, a complete set of *Chambers's Miscellany*, [and] two or three Waverley novels'.⁵⁰

What is surprising, however, is how popular these works actually were. Many borrowers consulted issues of periodicals that were at least nineteen months old and probably much older, but this appears not to have deterred them.⁵¹ Similarly eighteen volumes of *Chambers's Journal* were earmarked for re-binding in 1878 indicating that in the experience of the library committee, such texts, whether they be old or new, were still in demand among the working-class population.⁵² Evidence from the autobiographies also suggests reading periodicals was quite a common activity.

However, despite the expansions in the periodical press, access to such printed matter

⁴⁹ On the general success of *Chambers's Journal*, see Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, op.cit., pp.332-39.

⁵⁰ According to this article, in addition to these, 'Beeton's *Dictionary of Geography*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a few Ballantynes, a volume of *Sunday at Home*, five or six volumes of Eliza Cook's *Journal*, and a score or more of books, mainly devotional' were also to be found; Anon., 'Village Reading-Rooms,' *Academy*, Vol.LII (1897), pp.280-86, pp.284-5.

⁵¹ Interestingly, from the eighteenth century technological changes had led to decreases in the durable quality of paper, as wood pulp replaced rags as the basic constituent of manufactured paper. The evidence here, however, shows that periodicals made of the less durable wood pulp were preserved.

⁵² In common with the autobiographies, however, evidence from the committee records does suggest that topicality later came to be a major factor in determining working-class reading habits. For example, on 1 February 1879 William Gethin, by then the librarian of five years, reported to the committee that he had 'noticed a greater demand for Newspapers and Periodicals the last few months

appears to have been uneven and dependent upon a number of factors, the most important of which were cost and geographical location. Although, some indicate that the expansions in the cheap periodical press resulted in such publications being bought, as new, on a regular basis⁵³, those who lived within villages suggest that at the turn of the twentieth century, they were still hard to find.⁵⁴ These readers also indicate that a thriving market of second-hand periodicals supplied them with reading matter which was bought, loaned and preserved.⁵⁵

The usual reason given for reading old volumes of periodicals, however, (especially old volumes of the Chambers's publications) was that there was a limited supply of other reading matter in the home.⁵⁶ Most autobiographers indicate that they preferred to read recent issues to obtain up-to-date information and political commentary. Yet in the library readers are perusing old volumes of periodicals in preference to the other books in the library. Perhaps this is because they contained short, articles suitable for reading in situ. Possibly it is because the working-class readers frequenting this library could not afford to purchase these works as new. Stamp duty had only just been abolished

... and [that] the opportunities given to readers of seeing the current news of the day has been much appreciated'; KBFLCMB Vol.2, entry for 1 February 1879, p.4.

⁵³ For examples see John Eldred, *I Love the Brooks*, London: Skeffington & Son Limited (1955), p.45; Richard Hillyer, *Country Boy*, op.cit., p.29; Sam Smith, 'Bosely Cloud: A North Country Childhood', T.S., London: Brunel University Library (n.d.), pp.13 & 57.

⁵⁴ For examples John Harrison, *My Village: Sheriff Hill, County Durham*, Gateshead: published for the author (1979), p.35; Clive Willetts, *When I Was A Boy*, Dudley: Dudley Teacher's Centre (1977), Vol.1, p.11; Margaret Penn, *Manchester Fourteen Miles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1947), p.145.

⁵⁵ For examples see Thomas Okey, *A Basketful of Memories*, op.cit., p.33; Frank Steel, *Ditcher's Row*, op.cit., p.45; George Elson, *The Last Days*, op.cit, p.274.

⁵⁶ For example, as a child the anonymous autobiographer discovered some odd volumes of *Chambers' Journal* at home but little else; Anon., *Narrow Waters*, op.cit., p.12.

(July 1855). Furthermore, unemployment in Kidderminster was high in 1855/6 so many may not have been able to purchase printed matter despite decreases in price.⁵⁷

Poetry

Poetry was the fifth most popular genre — also generally short in length and convenient to read in the reading room. However, although this section appears to have been relatively well stocked, the twenty-eight titles were consulted only 288 times. As table 5 shows the most popular poet was Pope — his work were consulted on thirty-nine occasions — followed by Burns, Dryden and Milton. The only other work in the category of poetry to be requested more than thirty times was the *Benighted Traveller; a tale and other poems* by Edward Francis Hughes (first published in 1846).

Table 5: Works of poetry consulted on more than ten occasions.

	Total consultations	Total readers
Pope	39	6
Burns	37	23
Dryden	33	11
Milton	31	22
Hughes	34	26
Young	21	10
Goldsmith	18	10

Borrowing a particular volume on more than one occasion indicates a clear interest in the author's poetry or prose though borrowing it only once does not imply disappointment in the volume itself. However, the figures reveal a general lack of

⁵⁷ Simon Eliot notes that due to a lack of sources it is difficult to measure the immediate effect of the abolishment of Stamp Duty on the prices of periodicals. Nevertheless he suggests that although it may

interest in poetry among the working-class readers at the Kidderminster library. Most notably, the works of Pope, although consulted a total of thirty-nine times, were actually only requested by six different readers. In fact, in terms of the number of readers who requested the works of particular poets, Pope rated not first, but last out of the above seven works. Consulted by a total of twenty-six different readers, it was in fact Hughes' *Benighted Traveller* which took first place, second came Burns then Milton, Dryden, Goldsmith and Young. Some of those who did request volumes of poetry consulted the same title repeatedly on consecutive dates or visits. For example, Charles Dobson of Park Lane borrowed the poetical works of Burns on 21, 22, 23 and 24 April 1855 while Thomas Hardcastle consulted the works of Pope twenty-eight times during the months of October, November, December and January and the works of Dryden on twenty separate occasions from the end of January to the beginning of April 1856.⁵⁸ Even though this genre was not widely requested by the users of the Kidderminster Library, the few who did borrow these texts appear to have consulted them serially in a manner similar to that suggested by some autobiographers. Many imply that they ordered their reading into stages to complete entire series of classic reprints, the entire works of particular esteemed authors or the works of authors from a particular historical period. For example, Jackson typically admits to:⁵⁹

have had an immediate effect that decreases in price clearly marked the later period from 1874 to 1884. Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends*, op.cit., p.87.

⁵⁸ The record shows that Hardcastle borrowed the works of Pope in three different volumes, numbered one to three in the register.

⁵⁹ T.A. Jackson, 'Solo Trumpet', op.cit., p.9. Winifred Wells also states that she used the local library as a source for obtaining all the works of 'Tennyson, the shorter poems of Keats, Shelley and Byron, the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare, *The Earthly Paradise* of William Morris and the sonnets of the Rossettis ... Browning ... *Sonnets from the Portuguese* ... [and] the lyrics of the Elizabethan writers'; Clare Cameron (pseud.), *Rustle of Spring*, op.cit., pp.120-1. Others such as Fred Stibbons attempted to assemble the works of 'the forty-eight best known English and American poets'; Fred Stibbons, *Norfolk's 'Caddie' Poet*, op.cit., p.18.

labouring all the time like a galley slave at my books and learning. I learned to read with system. When I had exhausted the available supplies of classic fiction I went on to poetry and the drama . . . I made a list of the poets and dramatists and set myself to work through them in their historical sequences.

The Kidderminster register suggests that a very small number of its patrons may also have attempted to do a similar thing. Possibly they too were reading for autodidactic purposes.

However, there is a revealing contradiction between the two sources. The library issue book can only show titles requested and gives no indication of whether the texts were read. But assuming that the requests to some extent reflect patrons' preferences in reading matter then the overall lack of interest in poetry for the majority of visitors contrasts with the evidence in the autobiographies. These suggest that in the late 1850s and 1860s poetry reading was relatively widespread — at least among those working-class readers who later in life wrote their autobiographies.⁶⁰ The reasons for this have been discussed in the previous chapter. As autobiographies their life stories are narratives of their successes. Many were aware of the distinctions between good and bad literature and the networks that supplied them with it suggested that canonical and classic poetry belonged to the former category. Highlighting their reading of these texts helped autobiographers to describe the cultured selves they hoped they had become.

⁶⁰ For examples see Dyke Wilkinson, *A Wasted Life*, op.cit., p.13; Jack Goring, autobiographical notes, op.cit., p.114; Fred Stibbons, *Norfolk's 'Caddie' Poet*, op.cit., p.18; Joseph Stammer, *So Long Ago*, London: Hutchinson & Co. (1960), pp.162 & 182.

Nevertheless, the selection of poets represented within the library register and autobiographies is insightful. Working-class autobiographers confined their reading to the few texts found in the home, on second-hand book-stalls or (if they could afford to buy them) to those republished in the modestly priced early series of classic texts.⁶¹ Their access to texts was essentially dictated by two main mechanisms: serendipity and economics. With regards to poetry, they were generally limited to eighteenth- rather than nineteenth- century texts (though their choice within these may have been guided by recommendations). Similarly, in the Kidderminster Library serendipity and economics played a role in the choice of poetry through the donation of books and their purchase. Of the twenty-eight identified texts belonging to the category of poetry, the majority were by eighteenth-century poets (Akenside, Burns, Byron, Collins, Cowper, Dryden, Goldsmith, Gray, Milton, Pope, Prior, Swift, Thomson or Young). In contrast, with regards to nineteenth-century luminaries only Tennyson appears to have been represented. What both sources show is that during the 1850s whether the working classes sought reading matter in the home or in the institutionalised setting of the library, their choice was dependant upon a narrow supply of texts and generally limited to those which were out of copyright and hence cheaper to buy.⁶² The fact that

⁶¹ Referring to the second-hand trade, Richard Altick also noted that during the first half of the nineteenth-century, 'The multiplicity of editions brought the prices of the English classic poets very low, with Shakespeare, Pope, Thomson, Goldsmith, Cowper, Burns, Byron, and Scott outselling Milton, Young, Prior, Dryden, and Gay'. As a result, 'The eighteenth-century poets generally were standard fare among the bookish young down into Victorian times: Goldsmith, of course, and Cowper; and Pope, Akenside, Gray, ... Blair, Collins, and Young ... These were the poets who were most frequently reprinted in cheap series and excerpted as space-fillers in the cheap religious and 'instructive' magazines', Altick, *The English Common Reader*, op.cit., pp.237 & 253.

⁶² Although the library no doubt contained other volumes of poetry which were not consulted, the fact that the library user register is dominated by the works of eighteenth- rather than nineteenth- century poets suggests that the latter were under-represented: Hood, Shelley, Coleridge, Wordsworth and Moore are especially conspicuous by their absence.

the Kidderminster library was dominated by canonical and classic poetry further supports the view that the institutional setting could suggest their cultural worth.

Religious texts

Only nine of the identified titles in the library can be described as religious texts and only three — the Bible, *Creations Testimony to its God* and an unidentified collection of sermons — are devotional works.⁶³ The Bible was the most frequently requested of the religious texts and indeed one of the more popular titles in the library itself (consulted a total of forty-three times by twenty-three different readers). Some visitors to the library seem to have combined religious with secular reading. On the one hand, a small number of readers such as Edward Coates (a carpet weaver aged 23) and Henry Bell (either a 33 year-old hand-loom weaver or his 13 year-old son) consulted only religious texts in the library, suggesting that they viewed it as a place in which to extend their religious knowledge. Coates consulted the Bible, *Easter Knowledge*, *Creations Testimony* and a dictionary in the course of sixteen visits. Likewise, Bell limited his reading to religious texts consulting *Creations Testimony* during each of his six visits.⁶⁴ On the other hand however, other readers such as William Sumpton (a carpet weaver aged 15) consulted religious texts but did not limit their reading to them. He requested the Bible twice during the month of September along with an

⁶³ The remaining six titles included the more theoretical *Works of Channing*, *Commentary on the Bible* and *Easter Knowledge* and the informative *Missions and Missionaries*, *Religion in Geneva* and *Religion in Belgium*.

⁶⁴ Although Bell visited the library only six times in total, the majority of his visits occurred around Christmas or Easter (29 and 31 December, 1 January, 3 and 29 February and 5 April) and are suggestive of another trend: seasonal religious reading. In common with the habits of Bell those of other readers appear to have been dictated by events in the religious calendar. For example, of those who consulted the Bible both Thomas Costin (son of a carpet weaver aged 12) and Henry Ingham

encyclopaedia, volumes of Chambers's journals and a text entitled *Cottage Dialogue*. Evidence from the working-class autobiographies suggests that religious reading was generally in decline. And, as Gagnier indicates, from the nineteenth century narratives of religious conversion were less common while those charting the secular conversion of the subject are prevalent. Studies of the publishing industry also support this view. For example, Simon Eliot's figures on the British publishing industry indicate that as a percentage of total recorded published titles, religious literature fell steadily from second place during the 1840s (22.05%) and the 1850s (19.89%) to fifth place during the 1910s (8%).⁶⁵ Furthermore, figures derived from the *NSTC* indicate that in overall terms titles belonging to the genre of 'Religion ... rose to a peak between 1831-50 (21.62%, 22.05%) and fell away in the last two decades [1850-1869] to end at 18.07%'.⁶⁶ It is therefore interesting to find that a small number of readers appear to have used the library as a place in which to consult devotional texts. Very few of the autobiographers suggest that they used libraries in this manner.

At Kidderminster reference library, however, the Bible was requested by both regular and infrequent visitors. For example, of those who visited the library only once during

(either the 16 year old son of a dyer or a 66 year old publican) visited the library only once in order to do so: the former on 27 December and the latter on 21 April.

⁶⁵ The first figure is taken from Simon Eliot, 'Patterns and Trends and the *NSTC*: some initial observations', part two, *Publishing History*, Vol.43 (1998), pp.71-112, Table E, p.73. The second and third are from *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*, op.cit, Figure 28, p.52. The percentage figures indicate that during the intervening decades religious publishing accounted for 22.05% of total recorded published titles during the 1840s, for 19.89% during the 1850s, 18.07% for the 1860s, 16% for the 1870s, 15% for the 1880s, 10% for the 1890s and 9% for the 1900s. Also see Simon Eliot *ibid.*, figures 24 to 28, pp.47-52.

⁶⁶ Simon Eliot 'Pattern and Trends and the *NSTC*', op.cit., p.90. The second figure is taken from Simon Eliot *Some Patterns and Trends*, op.cit, p.44. See also Gwen Averley (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, Series I, op.cit.

the nine-month period six requested the Bible during their only visit.⁶⁷ Herbert Bale (the 16 year old son of a builder) visited the library on fifty-six separate occasions and, in addition to secular texts such as the *Life of Nelson* or the *History of Insects*, requested the Bible once. Although the combination of texts he consulted is not particularly striking, the dates on which Bale consulted the various texts is. In common with a number of other readers, Bale very interestingly requested the Bible on his first visit before proceeding to read a number of secular texts. Similarly, Alfred Taylor (the 11 year old son of a carpet weaver) who visited the library a total of fifty-seven times borrowed the Bible on his first and second visits while other readers, such as William Carradine (a hand-loom weaver's assistant aged 16) and William Jones (unidentified) who requested volumes a total of fifty-three and seven times respectively, also requested a religious text (*Creations Testimony*) during their first visits.⁶⁸ Perhaps these texts were requested because of their religious significance, because of their familiarity — particularly the Bible — or because the request was likely to be approved of by parents or the librarian. In *A New History of the English Public Library* (1996) Alistair Black emphasises a significant point: 'the library counter is not just a physical, but also a psychological barrier. It symbolises the power of the library's staff over the user, and it can be positioned in such a way as to enhance, through supervision, that very power'.⁶⁹ Working-class visitors to one of the first free public libraries to be opened in England may well have been intimidated by the process of having to request

⁶⁷ In addition to Thomas Costin and Henry Ingham, William Thomson (a wool sorter aged 35), Thomas Willey (either a 22 year old carpet weaver, a 44 year old butcher or a 54 old hand-loom weaver), William Law (unidentified) and Alfred Pugh (unidentified) requested this text on their one and only visit.

⁶⁸In addition to the Bible, Alfred Taylor also consulted the poetical works of Milton during his first visit.

a text from its librarian and this may explain why some requested the Bible — a title they were certain to know — on their first visit.

Prior familiarity with the title or content of a book, possibly via contact with another reader, may also have prompted visitors to the library to request particular texts.

Evidence from the register indicates that members of the same family often requested the same title. For example, Thomas Farmer (hand-loom weaver aged 27) consulted a volume of Burn's poetry on 19 September while his brother George (hand-loom weaver aged 21) followed suit three days later. Also the *Benighted Traveller* was loaned to Charles Cole of Dudley Street on 13, 14 and 22 September and then to Frederick Cole of the same address on 24 December 1855.⁷⁰ Likewise, James and Joseph Banner both requested Croker's *Fairy Tales*; and Thomas and James Garmstone consulted the same text in the same month. These and other examples strongly suggest that texts consulted in the library were being discussed and recommended in the homes of some readers. Just as familiarity with the Bible may have boosted its consultation figures so prior knowledge of any work in the library may have led to a reader requesting it. This again reinforces the notion that guidance in the choice of reading matter was important. Here the vertical influences of the authoritative custodians of culture (the library committee and the librarian) appear to act concurrently with horizontal ones (friends, family members and neighbours) to shape working-class reading habits.

⁶⁹ Alistair Black, *A New History of the English Public Library: Social and Intellectual Contexts, 1850-1914*, London: Leicester University Press (1996), p.244.

⁷⁰ Although these two readers have not been identified within the 1851 census, since they both provided the same address within the library register it is assumed that they were related.

Conclusion

The Kidderminster Library register provides an insight into the ways in which the library was conceived and used. It aimed to provide the overwhelmingly working-class population of Kidderminster with a supply of educational, informative and morally instructive texts. Its modest library stock of 364 volumes was dominated by non-fiction and only a small number of these titles were repeatedly requested by readers — nineteen titles were consulted more than fifty times and only ten of these more than a hundred. The majority (127) were requested less than ten times each reflecting the fact that the library stock comprised an ad hoc collection of donated texts. The higher borrowing figures for those dealing with particular topics — particularly the Napoleonic wars — highlights the ways in which some of the early visitors used the library.

Unlike later readers, early visitors to the Kidderminster library were generally attracted by the stock of non-fiction rather than the fiction. The majority ordered texts providing information about the locality, England's recent history or destinations for emigration and migration while only a few attempted to complete reading any of the lengthier novels or works of fiction. The most popular fictional title was Croker's collection of short, illustrated *Fairy Tales*. Other popular works were the *Pictorial History of England* and *On the Improvement of the Mind*, two books which might attract the reader unsure of his reading ability. For this reason, it is also very interesting to note that the most popular texts in the library were in fact not books but periodicals specifically designed for the growing reading public and characterised by short

informative articles and fiction. It is also possible that visitors chose texts to read in situ. Rather than returning on a number of occasions in order to complete reading lengthier texts, they chose those designed to be read in a short space of time.

Interestingly, there is a fundamental difference between the way in which early visitors to the Kidderminster library and autobiographers viewed both libraries and such texts. Although periodicals in general were extremely popular with the autobiographers, they suggest that they preferred recent publications. While old volumes of journals were sometimes found in the working-class home, they were only read if other reading matter could not be found. In the Kidderminster library however such volumes were often favoured over books. Prior familiarity with a text or topic seems also to have influenced choice and consultation by a member appears to have induced other family members to look at the work. This again suggests that working-class readers sought guidance in their choice of reading matter.

For purposes of comparison, the borrowing records for a very different type of library, that of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute will be examined in the next chapter. The borrowing records for this institute deal with a period which was very close to that examined here. However, the records relate only to female readers. Furthermore, this library was attached to an educational institute and the pupils visiting it were able to borrow texts. They were not confined to reading in the library itself. Although dictated by economic factors and the output of the publishing industry itself, the content of the library in the Female Educational Institute quite clearly reflected

attitudes regarding the type of texts which were deemed to be suitable for female minds. The borrowing figures enable vertical influences to be examined in relation to gender specific roles. Significantly, the texts provided in the library offered borrowers a choice of literature which might instil the reading habit, literature which might improve it and literature which might prepare the reader for her role in society.

Chapter 4

Huddersfield Female Educational Institute:

Library Borrowing Records, 1856-1857

Introduction

When it first opened on 4 January 1847, the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute claimed the distinction of being the first in England ‘organised and managed on a separate and independent basis, for the education of the young women of the working classes’.¹ Yet its records — like those of later institutes at Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Nottingham and Birmingham — reveal ‘no clear reason’ why the female institute was established as a separate organisation.² Like the Huddersfield Mechanics’ Institute (1843 to 1884), throughout its life the female institute drew its membership from among the working classes attracting the factory operatives, textile workers and domestic servants who dominated female employment in and around the Huddersfield

¹ The archive of the Huddersfield Female Education Institute (ref. FEI 1-11), and that of the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute (ref. HMI 1-10), is at the University of Huddersfield Archives. The archive of the West-Riding Union of Mechanics' Institutes (WRUMI) is at the Sheepscar branch of the Leeds District Archive. The quote is taken from FEI 3/2/a, annual report (hereafter a.r.) (1859), p.8.

² From the 1830s women were admitted to some Mechanics' Institutes. Why this route was not followed at Huddersfield is uncertain. Jane Purvis, *Hard Lessons: The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England*, Cambridge: Polity Press (1989), p.104.

area.³ It is evident, however, that middle-class definitions of working-class masculinity and femininity shaped the curricula in both institutions. For, while its male counterpart ran classes in all the main subjects and additional classes in French, German, Chemistry and Design, the female institute limited its offerings to ‘sewing, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, and other branches of a sound, moral and secular education.’⁴ Why this was so, how it is reflected in the institute’s library and the ways in which working-class women readers approached the facilities available to them will be considered below.

Origins of the Huddersfield Mechanics’ Institute

The education of working-class women in Huddersfield became a topic for discussion among local ‘friends of education’ only after the success of the mechanics’ institute had been demonstrated.⁵ Formally established in 1843, the Huddersfield Mechanics’ Institute developed from the Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Society founded two years previously by employees of Frederick Schwann, a German-born merchant who moved to Huddersfield in the 1820s to take over his deceased brother’s export business. In the 1830s Schwann had provided a library for the use of his employees and in 1838 was one of the founders of the Huddersfield Proprietary School. He was elected as president of the mechanics’ institute from 1843 until 1853 and in 1856 was

³ The two institutes merged in 1884 to form the Technical School and Mechanics’ Institute which became the Huddersfield Technical College in 1896 and was succeeded by the College of Technology in 1958. In 1970 the College and the Oastler College amalgamated to become Huddersfield Polytechnic, becoming the University of Huddersfield in 1992. For a discussion of employment in the Huddersfield area see David T. Jenkins, ‘Textiles and Other Industries, 1851-1914’, in Hilary Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield a Most Handsome Town*, Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services (1992), pp.241-274.

⁴ ‘Annual Soiree of the Huddersfield Educational Institute’, *Huddersfield Examiner* (29 October 1864), p.12.

made a life member.⁶ A Liberal and a philanthropist, he supported the mechanics' institute financially until his death in 1882 and, until he left Huddersfield in 1850, taught some of the evening classes.

With ordinary weekly membership fees set at 3d per week the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute adopted a 'law of membership peculiar to this Institution' in order to ensure a working-class clientele. The use of a 'partial instalment system' allowed:

any student, paying six-pence per fortnight, to give in his card for an indefinite period — still keeping him however, in connection *with* the Institution, although his contributions are suspended during his absence, and only recommence when he again requires his card of the secretary.

This apparently worked as the working classes 'who seek instruction here ... are so frequently obliged to take advantage of it'.⁷ Whether or not as a direct result of this, the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute succeeded in establishing and maintaining a membership dominated by the working classes. In their 1844 annual report to the West-Riding Union of Mechanics' Institutes the committee claimed that 'Nearly the whole of the Members are operatives, in the receipt of weekly wages'.⁸ Of those members joining in 1846, fifty-eight were described as dressers, a further fifty-eight as

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See 'History of the Mechanics' Institute' in HMI 2/5, a.r. (1884), pp.11-17; and John O'Connell, 'From Mechanics' Institution to Polytechnic: further and higher education, 1841-1970' in Hilary Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield*, op.cit., pp.561-95. The five founding employees were John F. Briggs, George P. Beaumont, Samuel Hiley, Charles Kaye and Mr Mitchell. According to the institute's annual report for 1845, George Beaumont and John Briggs were both elected as secretaries to the institute in July 1843, while Samuel Hiley was one of ten other committee members. The positions of vice-president and treasurer were held by Joseph H. Walker (a timber merchant) and Samuel Holyroyd respectively; 'List of officers and committee', HMI 2/1, a.r. (1845), cover page.

⁷ HMI 2/1, a.r. (1847), p.3.

⁸ WRUMI a.r. (1844), p.27. In the same year it was also stated that of the fifty pupils attending the ornamental design class, 'the majority are artisans between the ages of 15 and 30, who are chiefly employed as fancy weavers, carpet weavers, woollen printers, painters, joiners, & c.', HMI 2/1, a.r. (1845), p.8.

finishers, fifty-two as errand and factory lads, forty-one as weavers and twenty-seven as spinners. These occupations dominated the institute's books during its early years and membership rose from c.40 (May 1841) to 495 (January 1845).⁹

Origins of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute

In its 1844 annual report the committee turned its attention to women's education. Possibly it was the success of the mechanics' institute that prompted this. In *Hard Lessons* (1989), Jane Purvis suggests a further possible reason: 'the struggle by the working class to control their own education and not simply to be recipients of what middle-class patrons wished them to receive opened a debate also about the right for women to have access to the institutes.'¹⁰ As early as the mid-1820s individuals associated with radical working-class movements such as Owenism had broached the issue of female education. For some equality of the sexes, in terms of educational opportunities, was viewed as a means of ensuring that class oppression was not translated into a system of oppression between the sexes. Speaking in 1826 'To the members and managers of the mechanics' institutions of Britain and Ireland' the

⁹ Figures taken from HMI 2/1, a.r. (1846), p.5. Although the regularity of attendance of such members was not established in the annual reports, the committee's claim 'The members of the Institution belong almost exclusively to the working classes' is supported by Richard Dawes, Dean of Hereford, who surveyed 600 Mechanics' Institutes in 1855, describing that at Huddersfield as 'the best in England'; HMI 2/1, a.r. (1848), p.7 and quote taken from Roy Brook, *The Story of Huddersfield*, London: MacGibbon and Kee Ltd (1968), p.204. By 1876, however, it is clear the majority of members were drawn from the expanding lower-middle class. Quoting from the WRUMI a.r. (1876), Brook states 'In Huddersfield in 1876, out of 1,000 students, all but 105 were clerks and office workers'; *ibid.*, p.204. Nevertheless, compared to other mechanics' institutes, the membership at Huddersfield was not dominated by 'business and professional men and their families' but, at least during the 1850s, by members drawn from lower down the social strata; Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, op.cit., p.191.

¹⁰ Jane Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, op.cit., p.100.

prominent Owenite, William Thompson pleaded:¹¹

Let your libraries, your models, and your lectures ... be equally open to both sexes. Equal justice demands it ... Long have the rich excluded the poorer classes from knowledge; will the poor classes now exercise the same odious power to gratify the same anti-social propensity — the love of domination over the physically weaker half of their race?

Of the small number of early institutions that made provisions for the admittance of women by the 1830s, the majority were controlled by working- rather than by middle-class men. For example, at Manchester a new mechanics' institute, founded by working-class men frustrated at middle-class governance of the institution, offered lessons to working-class women in March 1829. In Birmingham a group of women were admitted to the local Owenite college in 1840 after having been refused access to the mechanics' institute by a middle-class committee. Therefore the fact that the committee of the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute consisted of both employers and employees may have played a significant part in raising the issue as a topic for consideration in 1844.

In the end it was the middle-class patrons in Huddersfield who provided financial as well as ideological backing for the eventual establishment of the separate female institute in 1847. While it is unclear who all the founders were, a report in the *Huddersfield Examiner* in 1864 provides the names of four gentlemen who were 'foremost ... among them' though it does not name any of the ladies 'who were equally zealous' in this good work.¹² Of the four named gentlemen — Samuel Kell, William

¹¹ William Thompson, 'To the members and managers of the mechanics' institutions in Britain and Ireland', *The Co-operative Magazine* (January-February 1826), p.12.

¹² 'Annual Soiree of the Huddersfield Educational Institute', *Huddersfield Examiner*, (29 October

Paul England, Frederick Schwann and Joseph Batley — three had previously held prominent positions in the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute. Schwann and Batley had both been presidents of the mechanics' institute and Kell, a local merchant, had been a vice-president.¹³

Certainly two of the founders took prominent roles on the committee of the female institute. In the surviving annual reports which date from 1858, William Paul England, a local chemist, is named as president from at least 1858 until 1859. Joseph Batley succeeded him remaining as president until 1861. Whether or not Schwann and Kell also held prominent positions in the committee is unclear. By the date of the surviving annual reports, both men had moved out of Huddersfield. The evidence that does exist, however, indicates that of the four named men, Kell played the greatest part in the establishment of the female institute. The committee minutes of a meeting held on 19 October 1858, recorded that they:¹⁴

desire to express their sense of the deep obligation of gratitude that is due to Mr Kell for that continued support which he renders to the Institute which owes its origins chiefly to his efforts and which he has been so largely instrumental in sustaining by his pecuniary and still more by his personal aid.

1864), p.12.

¹³ Although it has not been possible to establish the occupation of Batley, it is known that his son, Joseph Batley junior, was a solicitor. In the 'List of annual subscribers' for the year 1848 Kell is described as a merchant, although James Hole describes him as a 'local businessman'; HMI 2/1, a.r. (1848), p.21; James Hole, *An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutions*, London: Longman (1853), p.39.

¹⁴ FEI 1/1, minute book (1856-1864), entry for 19 October 1858. James Hole also credits Kell with the establishment of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute; J.Hole, *An Essay*, op.cit., p.39. Significantly, after moving from Huddersfield to Bradford, the same Samuel Kell established a female educational institute in his new home town in 1857; see 'Education amongst the working women of

The committee was responsible for 'the general management of the institution, establishment and arrangement of classes, the appointment of teachers and of all subordinate stipendiary officers; the selecting, purchasing, and exchanging of books, and the making of regulations' during its formative years.¹⁵ However, judging by the later documents the committee — which comprised the president and 'Sixteen ... chosen from the voluntary teachers or honorary members, and the annual subscribers of ten shillings and upwards; and four [over the age of eighteen] ... elected from the classes' — was dominated by the middle-classes.¹⁶ The surviving reports indicate that although women generally out-numbered men as committee members, throughout its documented life the senior positions of president, vice-president, honorary secretary and secretary, and until its penultimate year that of treasurer, were held exclusively by men.¹⁷ The only position of prominence held continuously by a woman — other than as teachers — was that of librarian, one of whom was Samuel Kell's daughter. Therefore it is perhaps not surprising that the curriculum of this vanguard institution was conservative and reflected middle-class notions of female education rather than the broader curriculum of the male mechanics' institute.

Huddersfield and Bradford', *The Englishwoman's Review* (April 1869), p.185.

¹⁵ FEI 2/1, undated rules, p.3. On the lack of information about the early years of the Institute it is interesting to note that following its second soir e (held in October 1858) a local newspaper commented that 'some of our readers will perhaps be surprised to learn from the report read by the HONORARY SECRETARY that this important association ... has been quietly in operation for twelve years'; *Huddersfield Examiner*, 30 October 1858, p.2.

¹⁶ FEI 2/1, undated rules, pp.2-3.

¹⁷ Surviving minute books cover the period from 1856 to 1883, and annual reports periods from 1858 to 1866, 1869 to 1872, 1875 to 1876 and 1878 to 1882, inclusive.

Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute: curricula provision

At the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute, present and potential employees of committee members such as Frederick Schwann and Samuel Kell were offered lessons considered relevant to their social and economic positions, and of benefit to their employers and to English manufacturing as a whole. For example, referring to the class for ornamental design it was stated that:

The Committee would earnestly call the attention of the Fancy Manufacturers and others to this branch of instruction, which was originated with a view of elevating the taste of the artisans engaged in the trade of this neighbourhood; and they believe that if encouraged in a manner worthy of its object, it may in time be the means of raising the manufactures of this locality to a level in taste and elegance with those of our Continental rivals.

Although the report continued to express the committee's 'great pleasure in stating that several members of this class are at present filling better situations and receiving higher wages, than they could have done but for the instruction received in this institution' — indicating that such classes were not entirely founded and judged upon principles of utility relevant to employers — the ethos behind the provision of education for working-class men in Huddersfield was certainly bounded by the considerations of manufacturers and employers.¹⁸ For example, in a new set of rules drawn up for the government of the Drawing Classes, rule two stated 'No student to be admitted who is studying Fine Art solely for the purpose of being a Painter or Sculptor', while rule seven stipulated that:¹⁹

Every Student shall state within the first three months of his attendance whether to any and to what department of manufacture or decorative art he intends to apply his studies.

¹⁸ HMI 2/1, a.r. (1844), pp.8-9.

Nevertheless, prescriptive as it was, the curriculum on offer at the mechanics' institute did at least provide some scope for mental improvement beyond that of the three R's.

Huddersfield Female Educational Institute: curricula provision

At the female institute lessons were offered in writing, reading and arithmetic, and sewing, history, geography and singing. By the time of the institute's closure in 1883, this narrow curriculum had been further curtailed and, other than the "Three R's", the only lessons on offer were domestic economy and cookery. In light of contemporary debates about the education of working-class women the provision of such a restricted, gendered and class-specific timetable by a middle-class committee was hardly surprising.²⁰ From the 1820s the ill effects of industrialisation upon the English family were beginning to be noticed and debated. As workers migrated from the rural countryside to the expanding towns and cities, extended families became divided. For working-class women this meant a movement of employment away from home-based industries towards factory-work.²¹ At the same time, a shortage of domestic servants for the expanding middle-classes necessitated the cultivation of working-class girls suitable to take up employment.²² All of these developments were debated as evil

¹⁹ HMI 2/1, a.r. (1845), p.8.

²⁰ See Meg Gomersall, *Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth-Century England: Life, Work and Schooling*, New York: St. Martin's Press (1997). Gomersall discusses the educational opportunities available to nineteenth-century working-class children using Lancashire factory and agricultural workers in Norfolk and Suffolk as examples. She also shows how the education of working-class females differed from that received by their brothers and argues no matter what type of school girls attended, the inculcation of domestic skills and the three R's formed the bulk of the curriculum. Schooling, according to Gomersall, provided girls with marketable skills, not academic knowledge.

²¹ See E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, London: Penguin Books (1963, 3rd ed. 1980). Thompson notes 'Critics of the factory system saw it as destructive of family life'; *ibid.*, p.452. See also Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, *op.cit.*, p.56.

²² John Burnett suggests that domestic service became increasingly unpopular during the second-half of the nineteenth century because, in comparison to factory work, it could be very lonely, entail longer

effects of industrialisation and are reflected by the provision of lessons offered in the female institute. The aims of the committee members in educating working-class females were clearly also incorporated in the library stock made available to the pupils.

Contemporary debates

Confined to the private sphere of the home, it was feared that women of all classes who remained isolated from public (and essentially male) society tended to neglect the cultivation of their faculties for reasoning and were dangerously susceptible to the over-development of their 'innate feminine qualities'.²³ For example, a prize essay entitled 'Female education in relation to the wants of the age' (1851) stated that:²⁴

As part of Female Education, intellectual culture is peculiarly important, as it is necessary to the development of the female character. It refines the sentiments, deepens the emotions, enlightens and gives solidity to the judgement, and tends to ennoble and dignify the whole character. From the peculiar constitution of the female mind, woman is eminently susceptible to those influences which induce the light and the superficial in character, and she requires mental culture in order to develop the higher intellectual faculties which subdue the frivolous tendencies of the mind, and impart to it the elevation of tone.

The early departure of working-class women from their mothers' homes, it was argued, left them with no knowledge of how to run a home themselves. The

working hours, pay less, and require young women to wear a uniform, that 'outward and visible sign of servility'; John Burnett, *The Annals of Labour: Autobiographies of British Working-Class People, 1820-1920*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press (1974), p.171.

²³ For a further discussion of the ways in which nineteenth-century 'theories about how women's modes of reading differed from those of men' were linked to theories about the differences of the sexes, their physiology and psychology, see Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader*, op.cit., pp.53-70; *ibid.*, p.53.

²⁴ William Anderson, *Female Education in Relation to the Wants of the Age*, London: Ward & Co.

consequences of not knowing how:

to light a fire, to sweep a room, to wash crockery and glass without breaking the half of them, to wash clothes, to bake bread, to dress a dinner, to choose meat or fish or vegetables, and to know how to keep them when bought; ... the use of savings banks and the results of thrift

were grave.²⁵ A married woman who could not cook, clean and exercise thrift risked losing her husband to the public and her children to the poor house. A single woman without these skills would not be a capable servant. Neither working-class women who remained in the private sphere of the home nor those who ventured into the public sphere of work, it was claimed, were capable of sustaining a happy home life or of raising the nation's children. According to Carol Dyhouse, this was 'essentially the dominant middle-class image of the undesirable effect industrialism had had on working-class family life'.²⁶

Influential mid-Victorian opinion favoured the notion that the human mind was essentially comprised of two separate faculties — the intellectual and the moral. Of the two, it was believed that the intellect could be developed through training in the public spheres of school and work. But the development of the moral, defined as being characterised by traits of 'sobriety, piety, truthfulness and like', was dependent upon what was seen and heard at home, most crucially during the formative years, when the influence of the mother upon the infant was at its strongest. In his 1855 lecture to the

(1851), pp.14-15.

²⁵ James Booth, *On the Female Education of the Industrial Classes*, London: Bell and Daldy (1855), pp.14-15.

²⁶ Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (1981), p.79.

Wandsworth Mechanics' Institute 'On the female education of the industrial classes'

James Booth reiterated a prevalent nineteenth-century view when he stated:²⁷

when we are speaking of the home of the working man, and of the influence of home and of good example set at home, we refer almost entirely to the wife or mother ... The mother has to discharge as it were the moral duties of both parents. She is the centre of home influence; it is she who is to set the guiding example of sobriety, thrift, industry, and cleanliness.

Early philanthropic action aimed at improving working-class women's domestic skills was, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, eventually translated into the compulsory provision of a domestic curriculum for girls in the National and Board schools.²⁸ As one newspaper put it 'to educate women is to educate the coming generation ... on the mothers of England must depend, in the long run, the moral strength and purity of England'.²⁹

As the first of its kind the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute is an example of this kind of philanthropic effort. It was 'determined to remove the disadvantages under which [working-class women] suffer' and which have arisen 'from a neglected or

²⁷ James Booth, *On the Female Education*, op.cit., pp.8 &12.

²⁸ During the eighteenth century, in addition to sewing, both spinning and knitting had already become established as parts of the lower-class female curriculum in the early charity schools, the schools of industry and the dame schools. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, throughout England needlework was regarded as an essential component of a girl's education and eventually, through the Revised Code of 1862, was made a compulsory subject in schools relying upon state support. For a further discussion of this see Barry Turner, *Equality for Some. The Story of Girl's Education*, London: Ward and Lock (1974) p.29; and Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, op.cit., pp.79-114.

²⁹ *Huddersfield Examiner* (29 October, 1864), p.12.

inefficient schooling in their younger days.³⁰ Care was taken to reiterate the fact that:³¹

The institute does not attempt or wish to make factory girls, domestic servants, and the children of artisans, blue stockings, or prodigies of learning; nor yet by teaching them drawing, French, with other so-called accomplishments, to qualify them for the drawing-room, when they have little to expect beyond the duties and pleasures of the kitchen and cottage.

When it first opened the institute's avowed object was 'to teach sewing, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, and other branches of a sound and moral, and secular education' to the working-class females of the district.³² Plain sewing and a basic grounding in arithmetic were considered essential to the practice of frugality. Geography and history were beneficial to the cultivation of rational judgement, while the ability to read provided a rational form of recreation which could be enjoyed in the safe confines of the home. The institute's main aim in educating working-class women was 'to enable them to make their homes happier and more attractive to their husbands, and a training ground for their children.'³³

James Booth vividly portrayed the spiral of decline that such ignorance could lead to when speaking to the members of the Wandsworth Mechanics' Institute on 20 November 1855:³⁴

consider a young mechanic or artisan, earning his 25s. or 35s. a week. He sees a tolerably good-looking girl, whom he recollects to have been punctual in her attendance at school and at church. After a short intimacy, he marries her. They take a room or two, or perhaps a small cottage. He

³⁰ FEI 2/1 undated rule book, p. 1; FEI 3/18/a, a.r. (1880), p.5.

³¹ *Huddersfield Examiner* (30 October 1858), p.2.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Huddersfield Examiner* (29 October 1864), p.4.

³⁴ James Booth, *On the Female Education*, op.cit., p.16.

determines to work hard, to save, and to avoid all loose companions. Matters go on in a sort of way for a little; presently, he begins to find on his return home, tired from his work, that there is no neatness nor tidiness about his place; that everything is out of order or dirty; that his bread is sour, his meat bad and spoiled in the cooking, or the fire gone out and the hearth unswept; that on Sunday his linen is so discoloured it is not fit to be seen. Meanwhile the poor wife has been doing her best. She feels that nothing she does seems to please her husband. At last, he ceases to find fault, and betakes himself nightly to the gin palace, which he finds warm, neat, clean and comfortable; a good fire and his penny newspaper before him. His wife at last ceases to strive to please; she becomes a slattern, dirty in her person, a dram-drinker, running in and out of the public houses that are about in every direction.

Female education sought to rectify such ignorance and classes provided a legitimate evening activity, away from other temptations which surrounded the working girl. As late as 1879, it was asked:³⁵

Where do the hundreds of girls employed in our factories and shops spend their evenings? Many are to be seen loitering in the streets, and frequenting the dancing classes or gardens, finding more attraction there than in our sewing, or reading and writing classes.

How many of these in a few years, seeing the attainments of the rising youth, will wish that they had made a choice of a more lasting pleasure, that of being able to *read*, thereby making provision for thousands of hours of comfort in years to come.

The increased visibility of working-class women outside the home, either at work or at leisure, was also viewed as an undesirable side effect of industrialisation.

Dance classes provided an opportunity for the sexes to mingle in what were considered unsuitable circumstances. Middle-class commentators complained that the presence of prostitutes in public spaces — 'painted dressy women flaunting along the streets' in 'dirty white muslin and greasy cheap blue silk' — could exercise a pernicious influence

³⁵ FEI 3/17/a, a.r. (1879), pp. 3-4.

on other girls in the neighbourhood.³⁶ Even 'gardens' should therefore be avoided in the evenings.

Given the disreputable alternative leisure pursuits, objectors to the evening education of females were asked:³⁷

where in all probability would some of these young people spend their evenings if it was not for the institution? Might they not be in a music saloon, where they would learn worse than if they were in the street?

Similar concerns regarding the leisure pursuits of working-class men were also voiced throughout the nineteenth century, the most notable being in regard to the dangers of the public houses.³⁸ Throughout the country, in order to try and entice men away from such temptations as the gin palaces, and into the mechanics' institutes and, after 1850 the free libraries, novel approaches were adopted. A number of mechanics' institutes resorted to the ploy of 'intermingling ... social recreation, such as tea parties, and occasional excursions of the members *en masse*, with the more specific, direct and proper business and proceedings of the Institute'.³⁹ Others, such as the Haslingden Mechanics' Institute in 1869, went so far as to install billiards and bagatelle tables in an effort to attract new and retain old members.⁴⁰ Similarly newspapers were reluctantly

³⁶ Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*, New York: Cambridge University Press (1980), p.26. Kellow Chesney suggests women moved in and out of prostitution depending on their economic circumstances as the worst paid trades — ironically, including domestic service — often forced women into part-time prostitution to supplement income. Kellow Chesney, *The Victorian Underworld*, London: Maurice Temple Smith Ltd. (1970), pp.324-5.

³⁷ *Huddersfield Examiner* (29 October 1864), p.4.

³⁸ For a discussion of working-class uses of and middle-class attempts to control leisure time see Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. (1978).

³⁹ WRUMI, a.r., (1840), p.8.

⁴⁰ See John Dunleavy, *The Fall and Rise of the Haslingden Library*, Haslingden: Local History Society (1988), p.6. Although Dunleavy attributes the installation of such attractions to the apparent

admitted to the mechanics' institutes and free libraries because it was feared that their exclusion was 'a positive temptation to intemperance' as 'The poor man cannot now see a newspaper without first calling for liquor'. Also, it was believed that:⁴¹

to teach the *art* of reading is a small part of public instruction; we must teach the *habit* of reading before we can create a well-informed mind; and before that can exist the attention must be roused and an interest excited, which is always best done by those publications which treat of passing events.

Once imparted, a love of reading, it was hoped, would lead the reader onto better literature.

Nineteenth-century debates surrounding the female reader also indicated that 'innocent pleasures' were hard to find. While it was hoped that newly literate women would find hours of pleasure in 'the companionship of those who were pure and virtuous', it was at the same time feared that pernicious novels would form their staple mental diet.⁴²

Some more liberal commentators argued that no matter how undesirable the reading of novels might be, they could at least play a necessary role in inducing a love of reading.⁴³

At the Haslingden Mechanics' Institute the committee eventually bowed to popular taste. John Dunleavy's history of this institution shows that from the outset the library had 'concentrated heavily on works of non-fiction... but tastes demanded lighter reading, and eventually these found their way into the circulating stock.'⁴⁴ It is

'belief that recreation was just as desirable as mental improvement,' it is more likely that these tables were installed in the hope that having enticed men to at least enter the premises, they would also make use of the provisions for mental improvement.

⁴¹ WRUMI a.r. (1841), pp.38-39.

⁴² FEI 3/17/a, a.r. (1879), pp. 3-4.

⁴³ See Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914*, op.cit., pp.75-78.

⁴⁴ John Dunleavy, *The Fall and Rise of the Haslingden Library*, op.cit., p.6.

interesting to see how these debates are reflected in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute's library provision.

Library stock

In its limited curriculum and library stock the female institute clearly reflected the debates of the period. For a weekly fee of 3d (or 1d for presentees who formed about one third of those on the register), adult and child members could attend the evening lessons and lectures and borrow one book from the library which, by 1858, contained 572 volumes.⁴⁵ The surviving library catalogue (c.1854) and borrowing records (for the period from October 1856 to August 1857) are a valuable source for analysing the ways in which the available texts were used by its members.⁴⁶ These records have an advantage over those of the Kidderminster library: they have information about the volumes which were borrowed, but also provide information about those which were not. As a result, using the borrower register and the printed library catalogue it has been possible to establish borrowing figures for 556 of the volumes contained in the library during 1856/7. This information is displayed in tables 6 and 7 below.

⁴⁵ This figure is taken from the earliest surviving annual report of 1858; FEI 3/1a, a.r. (1858), p.5. Presentees were 'in the most cases orphans, or children of poor parents' nominated by committee members and subsidised by the 'kindness of the Annual Subscribers'; FEI 3/6a, a.r. (1863).

⁴⁶ Three surviving issue books covering the extended periods of 1856 to 1866, 1869 to 1872 and 1873 to 1883 were examined, but due to the nature of the source it has only been possible to analyse the borrowing records for October 1856 to August 1857. For a full explanation as to why see appendix B.

Classification of volumes

The classification system used by the library needs some explanation. The genre classifications differ slightly from those used in the Kidderminster library. The earliest surviving annual report of the female institute, dated April 1858 stated that the library:⁴⁷

now contains 572 Volumes which have been re-arranged and re-numbered, and are now classified, as under:-

A	Philosophy, Education, Morals	37 Vols.
B	Science, with Applications	16
C	Natural History	23
D	History, Antiquities	73
E	Biography	52
F	Geography, Voyages and Travels	68
G	Social Economy, Statistics, Commerce	31
H	Stories, Fiction	126
I	General Literature, Fine Arts	119
O	Poetry, Drama	27

The existing printed library catalogue (c.1854) predates the above classification.

Because it is significant, the 556 volumes identified in the library catalogue and issue book have been classified in this manner for the purposes of analysis in table 6 below.⁴⁸

This was done by firstly noting every subject classification provided by the *NSTC* for each of the given titles and secondly, by then allocating each title with multiple genres to all relevant categories until the results given in table 6 — where the number of titles

⁴⁷ FEI 3/1a, a.r. (1858), p.5.

⁴⁸ As both tables 6 and 7 displaying the genre breakdowns of borrowing figures indicate, although a total 556 volumes were identified the number of separate titles contained in the library was in fact, at 370, considerably lower. The discrepancy occurs because, in addition to a number of periodicals, the library also contained multiple copies of a number of texts and a number of titles comprised of two or more volumes. Taken as a whole, the identified library stock contained seventy-six volumes of periodicals, divided between seventeen titles. Titles have been used to establish the relative popularity of particular texts and genres. The number of volumes for each of the titles and each of the genres is, however, included in appendix B and tables 6 and 7 below. Although only 370 separate titles have been identified, the total of 556 volumes, listed in appendix B closely represents the entire stock

there classified approximates to those given in the report of 1858 — were obtained. The number of titles with multiple genre possibilities was in fact very low and when they did occur the genre classifications above were broad enough to accommodate most of them. For example, those which might otherwise have been classified as religious texts were here assigned to the category of ‘philosophy, education, morals’ — but I will return to this later. In fact, the main problem was in classifying a title as either ‘stories, fiction’ or ‘general literature, fine arts’. In the *NSTC*, a substantial number of children’s storybooks are recorded as children’s literature, rather than fiction. The Report had two categories: ‘stories, fiction’ and ‘general literature, fine arts’, so children’s story books, such as *Tales About Christmas* by Peter Parley, were classified as fiction, while children’s compendiums or anthologies, such as the *Well Spent Hour*, were classified as literature. As no separate category for reference works is listed, these titles were put under general literature, and periodicals were allocated to the appropriate genre, depending upon their subject.⁴⁹ For instance the *London Journal* and the *Edinburgh Review* were included as works of general literature while the *Family Economist* was put under social economy. For a discussion of the methodology used see appendix B.

In order to analyse the library issue figures the two absent categories of reference and periodicals were added to table 7 (see p.142) and the titles reclassified. Although this appears to complicate the analysis, each table was created for a specific reason; table 6

available to readers during the period from October 1856 to August 1857.

⁴⁹ In fact, as is shown below only one title, *Lardner’s Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, could be described as a pure work of reference.

allows us to examine the library's somewhat peculiar system of categorisation and table 7 enables us to study the use of periodicals and reference works in particular.

Table 6: Genre breakdown and borrowing figures for volumes contained in the library of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute according to the genre delineations provided by the 1858 annual report.

Genre	No. vols. in:		No. titles in catalogue/ Issue book	No. loans	% of total loans
	1858 report	catalogue/ issue book			
Unknown	-	12	12	43	5.8
Biography	52	43	32	28	3.8
Stories, Fiction	126	118	100	396	53.2
Geography, Voyages and Travels	68	68	49	24	3.2
History, Antiquities	73	65	40	32	4.3
General Literature, Fine Arts	119	105	43	136	18.3
Natural History	23	24	13	3	0.4
Philosophy, Education, Morals	37	43	27	39	5.2
Poetry, Drama	27	27	20	31	4.2
Science, with Applications	16	16	13	3	0.4
Social Economy, Statistics, Commerce	31	35	21	10	1.3
Total	572	556	370	745	100.1

Interestingly, table 6 indicates that the subject categories contained in the library reflected the educational aims of the committee members, but it also reflects some of the broader publishing trends identified in chapter 2. The four categories containing the greatest number of volumes were those defined as ‘stories, fiction’, ‘general literature, fine arts’, ‘history, antiquities’ and ‘geography, voyages and travels’. The categories containing the smallest number of volumes were: ‘science with applications’ and ‘natural history’. The high number of geography and history titles and the relatively few titles in science and natural history probably reflected the content of the

curriculum⁵⁰, but general figures for the output of the publishing industry show that the genres in the library with the greatest number of volumes were also those that were being published in larger numbers and at a cheaper price than the other genres.⁵¹ As we have seen in chapters 2 and 3 economics played an important role in determining what was available to the working-class reader. Here it seems that gender roles also played a part in determining the content of the library.

Morals and social economy

The sub-categories of morals and social economy indicate that the library was, if not actually *developed* with a particular view of female education in mind, certainly classified with such. In this catalogue the genre of ‘morals’ was linked to that of ‘education’ rather than — as in the *NSTC* — religion. Likewise, titles on statistics and commerce were grouped with social [essentially domestic] economy and therefore were linked to the home and the practice of thrift, rather than to the world of commerce per se. They included titles such as *Early Lessons on Money Matters*, *Going to Service*, *Young Women of the Factory*, *Family Secrets; or hints to those who would make a happy home* and *The Mother at Home* which were both gender and class specific. Other titles such as *Advice to Young Men*, *Communion Of Labour*, *Useful Hints for Labourers* and the *National Temperance Magazine* could theoretically help to foster, not only among the pupils but their ‘family circle that love of reading which

⁵⁰ It is also interesting to note that just as no lessons in foreign languages were offered to women, neither were any books upon the topic. At the Mechanics’ Institute however, both French and German were incorporated in the timetable.

⁵¹ See Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing*, op.cit., m.s. chapter 2.

helps to confirm the girls in their attainments, and to stimulate them to further progress in their studies'.⁵²

The debates of the period show that behind middle-class philanthropy lay apprehension: what would the working-classes do with their newly acquired skills of literacy?⁵³ On the one hand, reading was a tool which could be used to impart useful and, most importantly, prescribed knowledge to the masses, while, on the other, it was the means through which the masses could gain access to radical ideas. As a rational form of recreation reading was considered a safe alternative to other working-class leisure pursuits, but what was read was the issue. Therefore to the providers of education, control over the supply of texts to the working classes was considered to be of crucial importance. In the mechanics' institutes the reading of certain texts, such as newspapers, was frowned upon though they were tolerated as an essential vehicle to 'originate and strengthen a taste for reading',⁵⁴ and because they helped to 'remove from [the] ... minds [of working-class men] the notion of a disagreeable task.'⁵⁵ While pessimists remained, supporters consistently quoted the example of a working-class man who had progressed from reading 'debased' literature to the appreciation of works of a morally uplifting character.⁵⁶ In respect of women readers, however, the

⁵² FEI 3/5/a, a.r. (1862), p.7. This comment was made in reference to the donation of fifty copies of Mr J. Brook's lecture on "The Uses of Savings Banks and the evils of Improvident Habits" by Mr John Sugden, manager of the Penny Savings Bank at the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute following the annual tea party of the Female Institute. It was also hoped that this text would help to promote 'habits of thrift and economy in the homes of the working man'; *ibid.*

⁵³ See Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader*, *op.cit.*, pp.96-7, 109-15, 231-35 & 367-68.

⁵⁴ WRUMI a.r. (1840), p.6.

⁵⁵ WRUMI a.r. (1841), p.39.

⁵⁶ For example see George R. Humphrey, 'The Reading of the Working Classes' in *Nineteenth Century*, Vol.XXXIII (April 1893), pp.690-701; and Andrew Lang and 'X' a Working Man, 'The Reading Public' in *Cornhill Magazine*, Vol.XI (1901), pp.783-95.

issue of what was deemed suitable reading matter or topics for study was harder to define.⁵⁷

From the 1840s onwards, both the over-accomplished middle-class “blue-stocking” and the over-excited female reader of novels were evoked as images of ridicule and pity.⁵⁸

Listen to their conversation! They seek to show *their learning* by mixing scraps of French or Italian with their trifling discourse; *their taste*, by quotations from some fashionable novel.

The evil effects of such novels upon the female imagination went even further than making women disagreeable, ‘by cultivating a love of the romantic, which not only weakens the mind, but gives false views of the world in which we live, and state of society in which we move.’⁵⁹ The aims of educational provision for working-class women were defined in opposition to the two extremes of the over-accomplished, but in practical terms useless, blue-stockings and the under-educated women who ‘had become novel readers almost by necessity’ since their ‘education has not fitted them for becoming anything better.’⁶⁰ Writing in 1849 of the education offered to the women of Huddersfield, J Searle stated:⁶¹

⁵⁷ See Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914*, op.cit.

⁵⁸ Georgina Bennett, *Remarks on Female Education*, London: Longman, Brown and Co. (1842), p.27.

⁵⁹ Spicer Trevelyan, ‘Female Education. Notes of an address delivered to the pupils of Alfred House, Collegiate Institution for young ladies, Upper Holloway,’ London: WD Lockwood (1849), p.8. Again, although addressed more specifically to the middle ranks of society, the warnings were applicable to all.

⁶⁰ William Anderson, *Female Education*, op.cit., p.17.

⁶¹ J. Searle, ‘Huddersfield: its physical, social, manufacturing, commercial and religious characteristics’, *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine* (April 1849), p.239. The wording of this quotation is particularly telling since while it was not desirable to ‘manufacture’ literary pedants through education it was felt that useful women could, nonetheless be ‘manufactured ... in our educational looms’.

A ‘blue-stocking’ — that is a female literary pedant — is certainly no desirable person to know either in private or public; but there is no necessity to manufacture this kind of hosiery in our educational looms.

Since, it was held that in comparison to the male mind ‘the imaginative powers of the female are very active, and ... are easily developed’ and that even religious narratives, ‘though some are written by our learned prelates, and others by pious and clever ladies... [were] likely to be injurious to the quick and sensitive minds of girls, and ought to be kept out of their libraries until they have finished their education’, it is perhaps surprising to find that even though they were relatively cheap to acquire, titles belonging to the category of ‘stories, fiction’ dominated the stock of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library — 126 of the 572 (or 22.0%) volumes were in this category.⁶² Just over half of these, however, were juvenile literature.

Juvenile literature

This raises another interesting point. Of the entire identified library stock of 556 volumes in 371 titles, a total of 111 volumes, or 85 titles, have been identified as juvenile literature — at least 20% of the identified volumes.⁶³ According to the earliest surviving annual report, the total number of registered pupils during 1857 was 118, of whom 54 (or 45.8%) were under the age of fifteen and the demographic balance between adult and child members remained constant throughout the lifetime of the institute. Additionally, for the entire period from 1851 to 1901 the reading population

⁶² Rev. W.F. Wilkinson, *Education, Elementary and Liberal. Three lectures delivered at the hall of the Mechanics’ Institute, Derby*, London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday (November 1862), pp.170 & p.171.

⁶³ The actual figure for children’s volumes/titles is probably higher than this since the above calculation was dependent upon the work being specifically classified as such in the *NSTC*. For the

of England as a whole was characterised by its youth. As a rough guide to literacy itself, signatures on marriage registers indicate the proportion of the population able to read and write at the time of their marriage, on average between twenty to twenty-one years old. Since the average age of the population of England was only slightly higher, between twenty-five and twenty-six years, it has been calculated that during the 1850s between a quarter to a third of the reading population was still of school age. This, together with the push to expand the provision of elementary education, meant that for publishers, juvenile literature was to become a lucrative and expanding market.⁶⁴

In a lecture on the subject of female education delivered at the Derby Mechanics' Institute in 1861, the Reverend W.F. Wilkinson stressed the necessity of providing books which were easy to read, since girls quickly become bored with those that required greater efforts of concentration.⁶⁵ Since no distinction was made between juvenile and adult texts in the library both could be used by the adult members of the institute. These 'easy reads' included the didactic fiction of Maria Edgeworth (four titles), Elizabeth Hamilton (one title) and Maria MacIntosh (nine titles) and the economically instructive novels of Mary Howitt (eleven titles) and Harriet Martineau (twenty-two titles).⁶⁶ The only canonical or classical texts were those by Oliver Goldsmith (*Vicar of Wakefield* and one of his poetical works), Daniel Defoe

actual titles see appendix B.

⁶⁴ Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing*, op.cit, m.s. table 2.8, chapter 5 and correspondence.

⁶⁵ Rev. W.F. Wilkinson, *Education, Elementary and Liberal*, op.cit., pp.174-75.

⁶⁶ The fact that this library contained a total of twenty-two books by Martineau is not surprising. Altick points out that, although they were not admitted to the Sheffield Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library, successive committees nevertheless agreed that her economically instructive texts could be defined as 'safe' fiction; Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, op.cit., p.197.

(*Robinson Crusoe*) and Harriet Beecher Stowe (*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Uncle Sam's Emancipation*, *The Mayflower* and *Dred*).⁶⁷

Poetry

Of the twenty-seven identified volumes of poetry in the library were the poetical works of Young, Cowper, Burns, Campbell, Gay and Scott along with the more contemporary Longfellow and Bryant.⁶⁸ The reason for the inclusion of such authors in the categories of poetry may again be sought in both the dynamics of the publishing industry and the debates of the period regarding female education. Firstly, here as elsewhere, the working-class reader was more likely to encounter eighteenth- rather than nineteenth- century poetry — or those works which, due to the expiration of their copyright, were published in numerous cheap editions from the 1830s and found in increasing quantities upon the secondhand bookstalls. Secondly, the inclusion of titles such as Heman's *Songs of the Affections* or Young's *Night Thoughts* again indicate that here as elsewhere during the 1850s the working-class reader was likely to encounter popular religious poetry. Poetical texts of this kind were viewed as morally sound literature and were available in cheaper series.

⁶⁷ Indeed, even the inclusion of *Vicar of Wakefield* may be explained by the proximity of Huddersfield to Wakefield itself and the inclusion of the works of Stowe by virtue of the fact that she was a woman since, interestingly, the majority of texts belonging to these categories were also written by female authors. Similarly, with regards to poetry, a relatively high proportion of the twenty-seven identified volumes (or nineteen separate titles) contained in the library were written by women. Of the eleven titles belonging to this category for which the name (and hence gender) of the author was identified, four were women: Miss Segourney (one volume of *Poetical Works*), Anna Bache (one volume of *Clara's Amusement*), Anna Barbauld (two volumes of *Female Speaker*) and Felicia Dorothea Hemans (two volumes of *Songs of the Affections*).

⁶⁸ With regards to classical texts, one volume of the *Works of Virgil*, assigned to the category of 'history, antiquities' was also found in the library catalogue.

Periodicals

No separate classification for either periodicals or works of reference existed in the library catalogue. The majority of periodicals had been categorised in ‘general literature, fine arts’. In total, sixty-four volumes of periodicals were assigned to this category — the most numerous were the *Penny Magazine* (19), *Chambers’s Miscellaneous Tracts* (14), *Howitt’s Journal* (12), and the *Saturday Magazine* (8). The others were the *Edinburgh Review*, the *London Journal*, the *Monthly Visitor*, *Chambers’s Papers for the People*, *Chambers’s Pocket Miscellany*, *Chambers’s Repository*, the *Analectic Review* and the *Printing Machine*. Under social economy there were a few volumes of the *Family Economist* and the *Ladies Library*. In geography and history were the *Tales of Travellers* and the *Ladies Book*. The *National Temperance Magazine* was classified under ‘philosophy, education, morals’. Given the wide variety of periodicals in the library, ranging from the conservative *Edinburgh Review* to the popular *Penny Magazine*, it is likely that many had been donated. Evidence from the annual reports suggests this was a common practice. In 1858 Mrs Huth and her husband (a local MP) were thanked for ‘kindly presenting to the library, 2 Volumes of “Household Words”’. Later she was thanked for her annual donation of *All the Year*. Similarly, in 1858 Miss Pesel, a teacher at the institute, was thanked for her donation of ‘11 volumes of “Chambers’s Miscellany”’, while in 1880 William Smith was thanked for his annual gift of *Chambers’s Journal*.⁶⁹

History and geography

The titles in the categories of 'history, antiquities' and 'geography, voyages, travels' — both of which were considered to be appropriate topics for working-class females to study — appear to represent a more relaxed or ad hoc acquisitions policy. While both categories contained volumes that were certainly chosen for their perceived relevance to the pupils of the institute, they also included works dealing with a greater variety of topics. For example, in addition to *American Factories and their Female Operatives*, *Mind Among the Spindles*, *A Lady's Voyage Around the World* and *The Englishwoman in Egypt*, were to be found titles such as *Modern Travel in Arabia and Burma*, *Notes of a Visit to Some Parts of Haiti*, two volumes on the *Hindoos*, and one on the *Secret Societies of the Middle Ages*. Although books dealing with the history of England dominated the stock of historical works, books dealing with Egypt, Greece, France, Germany and the South Sea Islands were also to be found. And, in the category of geography nineteen volumes of 'The Modern Traveller' — from a thirty volume series by Joshia Condor dating from 1830 — covering Africa, America, Arabia and Burma, Brazil, Columbia, Egypt, Greece, India, Italy, Mexico, Palestine and Peru, Russia and Turkey, Spain and Syria. The greater variety of factual texts suggests that even if they did not necessarily relate specifically to the curriculum that they were viewed as safe reading matter.

Biography

No title dealing with the lives of women was included in the category of biography. Among the thirty-two identified titles belonging to this category were the biographies

⁶⁹ FEI 3/1/a, a.r. (1858), p.5; FEI 3/11/a, a.r. (1870), p.5; and FEI 3/18/a, a.r. (1880), p.5.

of male historical figures, poets and authors, religious figures, political figures and explorers, and texts entitled *Biographies of Self-taught Men, Distinguished Men, Boyhood and Early Life of Extraordinary Men* and *Lives of Industrious Men*. This may not be surprising as the number of biographies of women published — and therefore available — was not high, though there were some written for the education of women.⁷⁰ These however tended to be for ‘young ladies’ rather than the working classes and this suggests there was an absence of role models for the pupils of the institute.

Clearly the library stock reflected publication trends and was viewed as an adjunct to the type of education on offer. Yet which texts did female pupils borrow? Did they refer to those designed to prepare the working-class female reader for domestic service? Did any adults borrow juvenile literature, possibly as a means of practising the skill of reading? Did any use the library in an autodidactic manner?

Borrowing figures

Table 7 below treats the two absent categories of reference and periodicals as separate entities while two further columns, indicating the average borrowing figures per volume and per title in each category, have also been added. It also indicates that the borrowing of fiction accounted for just over 50% of the 745 loans while the borrowing of ‘General literature, fine arts’ accounted for nearly 13%. Therefore, accounting for a combined total of over 65% of all loans, fiction was clearly the most popular category

⁷⁰ For example, Mary Ann Keltly, *Biography for Young Ladies*, London: John Kendrick (1839).

in the library.⁷¹ However, since these two categories together comprised 28% of the identified volumes (or 35% of all titles), it is conceivable that the number of loans from each genre was proportionately linked to the number of titles or volumes contained in the library. The borrowing figures for the other categories, however, suggest that while this must have been an important factor, that borrowing was not solely dependent upon this. Additionally, the figures for average borrowings per titles or volume given in table 7 indicates that although affected by, the borrowing figures for each category were not entirely dependant upon, the total number of volumes or titles contained in the library.⁷²

Table 7: Reclassification of the genre breakdown of borrowing figures to include the two categories of periodicals and reference.

Genre	Catalogue/issue book number of:		Borrowing Figures			% of total loans
	volumes	titles	total	ave/vol	ave/title	
Unknown	12	12	43	3.6	3.6	5.8
Biography	39	29	24	0.6	0.8	3.2
Stories, Fiction	118	100	396	3.4	3.7	53.2
Geography, Voyages and Travels	66	48	21	0.3	0.4	2.8
History, Antiquities	64	39	28	0.4	0.7	3.8
General Literature, Fine Arts	39	30	96	2.5	3.2	12.9
Natural History	24	13	3	0.1	0.2	0.4
Philosophy, Education, Morals	42	26	39	0.9	1.5	5.2
Poetry, Drama	31	23	35	1.1	1.5	4.7
Science, with Applications	16	13	3	0.2	0.2	0.4
Social Economy, Statistics, Commerce	27	19	7	0.3	0.4	0.1
Periodicals	76	17	50	0.7	2.9	6.7
Reference	2	1	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	556	370	745	1.3	2.0	100.0

⁷¹ All of the titles classified as literature were in fact fictional texts. The combined figure is therefore comprised of the borrowing figures for 'stories, fiction' and 'general literature, fine arts'.

⁷² The borrowing figures for fiction compare to those elsewhere. For example, during the same period of 1856/7 'prose fiction accounted for almost half of the combined circulation of the consulting and lending departments' of the Sheffield public library, Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*,

In fact, only for the categories of 'stories, fiction', 'general literature, fine arts' and periodicals was the number of loans per title higher than the average (2.0), and only for that of 'stories, fiction' higher than the average per volume (1.3).

'Stories, Fiction', 'Literature, Fine Arts'

Contrary to the evidence from the Kidderminster library, fiction was the most popular category in the female institute library. Of course fiction could be taken away from the library and read elsewhere and it was the staple of the middle-class circulating libraries.⁷³ Perhaps most strikingly however was the amount of juvenile literature on the library shelves.

Juvenile texts accounted for over two-thirds of all library issues of fiction and general literature for the period from October 1856 to August 1857. The most popular stories were the nine volumes of *Stories for Summer Days and Winter Nights* by Elizabeth Leslie, which were borrowed by thirty-four different readers, making this the most popular title in the entire library. A further two of the top five most popular titles of fiction were juvenile works — *Summer Days; or the cousins* and *Little Robinson*.⁷⁴

The ages of the borrowers of these texts ranged from eleven to twenty years of age.⁷⁵

op.cit., p.231.

⁷³ Circulating libraries lent fiction to middle and upper class subscribers. Their typical patrons were women readers of novels, reading in the home. The fact that the Institute's library was a lending library may have been a significant factor in the number of users who chose to borrow fiction. See Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press (1970).

⁷⁴ The two other titles were *Grace Elliot* by Maria MacIntosh and *The Lamplighter* by Maria Cummins, borrowed a total of fourteen and thirteen times respectively.

⁷⁵ The ages of borrowers were identified through the attendance registers of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute.

Individual reader profiles suggest that the female working-class borrowers may have returned more frequently to such books because they were relatively easy to read. For example, nineteen year old Anne Ives borrowed *Stories for Summer Days*, two further juvenile titles, and a volume entitled *Little Clara*. Sixteen year old Jane Newsome borrowed *Stories* and a further six juvenile titles, and two volumes of the *Penny Magazine*. We cannot tell for certain whether readers like Ives intended to read such texts themselves, to loan them to another family member, or to read them to a younger child or sibling. Newsome's borrowing pattern suggests she preferred shorter texts and articles. Since lessons in reading were themselves an integral part of the institute's syllabus the notion that adult pupils turned to juvenile literature as an accessible form of reading matter is plausible. The annual reports also suggest that this might be the case. Sometimes they refer to individual pupils such as Hannah Davies a domestic servant 'who knew the alphabet from print, but not from script ... and after fifteen months attendance was enabled not only to read fairly well, but also to correspond with friends'.⁷⁶ The provision of juvenile texts may therefore have helped the institute to teach adult pupils to read.

The borrowing figures for the remaining titles in this category suggest some broad trends. In terms of popularity, children's authors generally fared the best with the novelist Maria MacIntosh being the most popular. Although Harriet Beecher Stowe came in second place, third place was again given to a children's author Anna Hall, another woman author. Two books by Timothy Arthur and six works of Peter Parley

were also fairly frequently borrowed, both male authors. These were the only writers whose works were loaned more than twenty times — the didactic novels of Maria Edgeworth were only borrowed five times and Mary Howitt's only six. It appears that the committee's aim of instructing pupils in moral, economic and social lessons were also best served through fiction.

Periodicals

Although they account for only 6.7% of the total loans, in relative terms, the borrowing figures for periodicals (fifty loans to twenty-eight different readers) suggest that, in common with juvenile literature, they too formed an important part of the reading experience for a number of pupils attending the institute. Chambers's publications were the most popular and Knight's *Penny Magazine* came a close second. These titles were borrowed on repeat occasions by a small number of readers. For example, both Ellen Crabtree and Mary Haigh borrowed different volumes of *Chambers' Repository* five and two times respectively, while Ellen Saville borrowed the *Penny Magazine* on three occasions. Interestingly, volumes whose titles might recommend them to female readers were borrowed less often — the *Lady's Book* on only four occasions and the *Family Economist* on only three — and not on more than one occasion by any one reader.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ FEI 3/9a, a.r. (1866), p.7.

⁷⁷ Although the library contained only one volume of *The Lady's Book* it did contain five of the *Family Economist*. Furthermore, all loans for the latter title occurred before January 1857 and therefore the fact that no reader returned to any of the other volumes is significant.

The profiles of readers who combined periodical reading with children's literature suggest that, like Jane Newsome, they preferred short articles and stories. For example, Ellen Saville borrowed the *Penny Magazine*, one volume each of the *Saturday Magazine* and the *Lady's Book*, and a total of twenty other texts, fifteen volumes of which could clearly be classified as juvenile literature.⁷⁸ Why a reader chose a particular text cannot be determined from the borrowing record but the reader profiles support the notion that either juvenile fiction was repeatedly borrowed to be read in the home, to either a sibling or an offspring, or they were borrowed to be read by the reader herself.

The example of Elizabeth Ibbeson (whose age has not been identified) suggests that periodical reading may have encouraged her to branch out and borrow more taxing texts. Loaned a total of sixteen volumes, the dates upon which this reader borrowed particular volumes is suggestive. The first two titles loaned to this reader, *True Heroism* and *The Girl's Weekday Book* have been identified as juvenile texts. After this however, Ibbeson then borrowed some periodicals:

Family Economist (Periodical)
Chambers's Repository (Periodical)
Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties (Periodical)
Dred by Harriet Beecher Stowe (Fiction)
Moral Tales by Elizabeth Guizot (Juvenile)
Ella of Garveloch by Harriet Martineau (Fiction)
Mind Among the Spindles edited by Charles Knight (history, economics)
Stories for Summer Days (Juvenile)

⁷⁸ The fifteen were: *Basket of Flowers*, *Blind Alice*, *Cousin Clara*, *Ellen Leslie*, *Florence Arnott*, *Little Robinson*, *Wonder of the Earth, Sea and Sky*, *Stories for little Readers*, two volumes of *Stories for Summer Days and Winter Nights*, *Stories from Natural History*, *The Little Girl's Own Book*, *The Parent's Assistant*, and *Truth and Trust* (borrowed twice). The remaining texts borrowed by this reader were *The Snow Stories*, *Drawing Room Tales*, *Home Scenes*, *Jacapo* and a biography of Oliver Goldsmith.

Moral Heroism, Moral Courage by Clara Balfour (Morals)
Poetical Works of Bryant (Poetry)
Tales for all Seasons (Fiction)
Poetical Works of Willis (Poetry)

Whether or not these texts were read by this reader or another family member, the progression from juvenile texts to instructive journals, edifying biographies and cultural texts is intriguing suggesting that this reader, or those to whom these texts were supplied, began to utilise the library in an autodidactic manner. In fact, of the five readers who borrowed the *Pursuit of Knowledge*, at least one other appears to have followed what can be broadly termed as a culturally educative reading pattern, characterised by the borrowing of poetry.

Twenty year old Martha Sykes was one who borrowed *Pursuit of Knowledge*. The combination of texts she borrowed suggests that she either read or lent both poetry and juvenile literature to others, or she herself preferred short textual passages. In the period from October 1856 to August 1857 she read in order:⁷⁹

Irish Girl (fiction)
Anna Lee (fiction)
Clara's Amusement by Anna Bache (Poetry)
Poetical Works of Longfellow (Poetry)
Poetical Works of Willis (Poetry)
Poems for Young People (Poetry)
Grandmamma's Pockets (Juvenile)
Selections from the Poems of Leatham (Poetry)
Dred by Harriet Beecher Stowe (fiction)
Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties (Periodical)
A Trap to Catch a Sunbeam (Juvenile)
Stories for Summer Days (Juvenile)

⁷⁹ The inclusion of poetry of William Henry Leatham (1815-1889) is interesting since, coming from Wakefield, Leatham was a local dignitary who regularly delivered lectures on literature at Literary and Mechanics' Institutes.

The concentration on poetry and the similarity between her list and other pupil's at the institute raises another possibility: that word-of-mouth peer recommendation directed some of her choices. It could also be that the librarian or the teachers in the institute suggested titles she might read for her improvement. Whatever the reason, the borrowing pattern is interesting. Again it suggests that a few working-class readers, either the borrower or the person to whom these texts were given, was encouraged to read some canonical poetry.

Poetry

Overall though the number of loans was low and only twenty-six readers borrowed poetry. The two most popular were *Songs of Home and Happiness* and the pious *Songs of the Affections* by Felicia Hemans. Hemans's book was loaned on five occasions each to ten different readers — an indication of the considerable popularity of this work in its day.⁸⁰ It is quite possible that such works were borrowed to be read aloud or even sung in the home. Interestingly the other poets that we know well today, Cowper, Gray, Burns, Collins, Young and Gay, were not borrowed at all.

'Philosophy, Education, Morals' and 'Social Economy, Statistics, Commerce'

Although the borrowing figures for this category are low, they do show that implicitly moral texts such as *Kind Words Awaken Kind Echoes*, *Anecdotes of Social Life*, *Village Dialogues*, *The Book of Entertaining Anecdotes* were favoured over the more explicitly religious or moralising ones. Similarly, socially relevant titles such as *Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties*, *The Girl's Week-Day Book* and *The Mother at*

Home were favoured over the overtly educative ones such as *On the Diffusion of Knowledge Among the Middle Classes*, *National Temperance Magazine* or *Self-Improvement*.

Likewise the unpopularity of the category 'social economy, statistics, commerce' may be explained by the subject matter and the over-didactic tone of some of the titles.

Interestingly, of the seven pupils who each borrowed one volume from this category, three were loaned *Going to Service* by Elizabeth Cheap, one *The Communion of Labour* by Anna Jameson and three the *Pearl of Days* by Barbara Farquhar. Dealing with the process of becoming and the duties involved in being a servant, and with the employment of women, these texts were practical and socially relevant to female members of the institute. Although the full title of the third *The Pearl of Days; or, the advantages of the Sabbath to the Working Classes* indicated its tone, the popularity of this text can be explained by the fact that it also included a sketch of the life of the author Barbara Farquhar, a labourer's daughter, making it the only title in the library to contain a biography of a woman, yet alone a working-class one. Of the remaining texts in this category, those with overtly moralising titles such as *Early Lessons on Money Matters*, *Exercises Political and Others* or *Lectures to the Working Classes* were not borrowed. The library contained a copy of Watt's *On the Improvement of the Mind* which was popular in the Kidderminster library. Along with other titles on self-education such as *Logic*, *Exercises for the Memory*, *Key to Knowledge* and *Self-Knowledge*, however, this title was not borrowed by any member of the institute.

⁸⁰ See Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader*, p.193.

The apparent absence of works which dealt explicitly with the topic of religion and the absence of the *Bible* itself can be explained by the committee's aim of providing a moral, but non-denominational, educational service. Moral education came from alternative sources — via the categories of 'philosophy, education, morals' and fiction. Those belonging to the category of fiction were borrowed most often, perhaps because their didactic purpose was obscured — or made more palatable — by the storyline. Or perhaps — since we do not know if any of these books were actually read — their moral purpose was not evident in the title of the book. A volume called *Stories from Switzerland* classified in the *NSTC* as belonging to both the categories of fiction and evangelistic and exhortatory writings, was borrowed on three occasions while one entitled *Moral Tales* was borrowed once. Additionally, the works of didactic authors were frequently loaned to pupils. We cannot tell whether they read, or how they reacted to the books they borrowed. But assuming the borrowing pattern does reflect what was read to some extent, and considering the debate on the debilitating effect of novel reading, it is ironic that pupils at the institute were more likely to borrow 'moral' fiction than to borrow texts specially written with moral education in mind.

Factual texts

Of the factual texts classified in the groupings of biography, geography, history, natural history and science, the borrowing figures for those of 'natural history' and 'science, applied' are the easiest to explain as these topics were not included in the curriculum nor considered suitable for females to study. This view was reflected in the library by the extremely low provision of titles belonging to these categories and appears to have

quite naturally been disregarded by the pupils, these texts accounting for less than 2% of all loans. In total, three readers borrowed *Romance of Natural History* by Charles Webber while a further three borrowed Peter Parley's *Tales About the Sun, Moon and Stars*. Other works by Peter Parley which dealt with the topic of science for a juvenile readership — and are classified under literature — were loaned to a small number of readers: *Tales About Animals*, *Wonder of the Earth, Sea and Sky* and *Tales About Plants*. The author was fairly popular, his *Tales About Europe, Asia, Africa and America*, *Tales About Great Britain* were the most borrowed geography titles, and his works were loaned a total of thirty-four times in all.

In comparison the categories of biography, history and geography fared slightly better than those of natural history or science with just under 10% of all loans. Interestingly, borrowing was virtually limited to those titles dealing with European (especially English and French) history and geography. Seven volumes of a *History of England* were borrowed by four different readers and a juvenile title *A Tale of Old England* was borrowed by eight. *A History of France* was borrowed by six and both *History of Napoleon and France* and *France: her martyrs and reformers* were each borrowed by two. Other borrowings included a *History of Scotland* and *Stories from European History*. The figures for these titles suggest that England and her relation with France was of particular interest, evidence which supports findings from the Kidderminster library records. One curiosity was the stocking of *Mind Among the Spindles* edited by Charles Knight. It was a miscellany composed by female factory workers in America.

The volume was loaned to three pupils, an interest which can be explained by its relevance to working-class women.

Conclusion

Although dependant upon economic factors and the dynamics of the publishing industry, the titles of texts contained in the library of the female institute reflected contemporary debates of the period regarding female education and the perceived role of women in society. Juvenile texts aside, fiction in general was limited to safe literature, such as the didactic novels of Edgeworth, Hamilton and McIntosh or the economically instructive texts of Howitt and Martineau while classic literature or canonical works were conspicuous by their absence. Poetry was dominated by eighteenth- rather than nineteenth- century poets and popular pious works of the contemporary poet, Hemans. Donated periodicals were of the safe family-orientated variety or, with titles such as *Home Made Happy*, *Family Secrets*, *Early Lessons on Money Matters* and *Going to Service*, were geared towards a female audience concentrating primarily upon the home economy and the roles of women as wives, mothers or domestic servants. Although religion itself was not explicitly represented, texts such as *Stories from Switzerland* or the *Pearl of Days* had a religious tone while morally edifying literature was predominant. Therefore although economics was an important factor in defining the stock of the library, its slant was nevertheless both gender- and class- specific.

In practical terms the library reflected the curriculum on offer at the institute itself. Basic literacy skills were taught to children and adults alike and this is probably the reason for the high borrowings of juvenile literature. Scientific volumes were kept to a minimum while, in accordance with the timetable, the categories of history and geography were relatively well-stocked. Although there were no biographies of women, the library did contain periodicals and other works which quite incidentally contained short biographies of women and these were borrowed. In addition there were a considerable number of volumes written by women, a few of whom were working-class and these in particular were popular.

Juvenile fiction and literature were borrowed by a number of adult readers suggesting that they were either loaned or read to younger family members or used by the borrowers themselves as accessible texts with which to practise reading. Readers shied away from the more obviously moralising titles about the virtues of thrift, sound moral behaviour and economic good sense although they did borrow those texts which might prepare them for domestic service or life in the home. Others appear to have taken their cultural education into their own hands after borrowing *Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties* or similar instructive periodicals. A few then went on to borrow the volumes of poetry which due to the availability of cheap reprint series were beginning to become popular with serious working-class readers elsewhere (see chapter 2).

The majority however, tended not to borrow instructive texts such as Watt's *On the Improvement of the Mind* — a volume which was extremely popular with readers in

the Kidderminster library. Readers at the female institute library tended to borrow either fiction or titles relevant to their education and to their future roles as housewives or domestic servants. Their borrowing patterns suggest that as readers they followed the requirements of curriculum. The majority do not appear to have planned their reading with the aim of self-improvement as many autodidacts claimed they did (see chapter 2).

The library borrowing records of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute date from 1856-1857 and are comparable in time with the Kidderminster Municipal library records from 1855-1856. The differences in use — one is a lending library the other is reference only — make it difficult to make definitive statements about male and female library use. However, what is clear is that at this time library stock was constrained by the cost of books, limited by the nature of donated material (which particularly affected the collections of periodicals) and determined by middle-class notions of gender and class roles. In the next chapter I examine the surviving borrowing records of a small library serving a village community which offers some insights into gender reading practices half a century later.

Chapter 5

Southleigh Village Library Borrowing Records, 1907-1914

Introduction

The borrowing book of the village library of Southleigh in east Devonshire records the title of the book lent, the name and address of the borrower, date of issue and of return for a total of 1,880 entries covering over seven years, from 10 February 1907 to 21 June 1914. The borrower's name is illegible for two of these, but the remaining 1,878 entries indicate that a total of 111 different readers borrowed at least one book during this time. Using school registers, parish records and the 1901 census returns, it has been possible to identify ninety-nine of the borrowers: ¹

- 51 current pupils
- 14 former pupils of the Southleigh School
- 6 parents of current pupils,
- 2 mistresses at the local school (Emily Goodspeed and her successor Kate Letten)
- 2 consecutive vicars at the church of Saint Lawrence (Reverends Buckley and Bowman)
- Reverend Buckley's wife
- 4 visitors to the parish

¹ The Southleigh Board School records and register of admission, progress and withdrawals (1881-1951) and the library borrowing book (1907-1914) are at the Devon County Council Archive, Exeter, Refs. 739c/EAL, 739c/EAA1 (school records) & 4522 M/Z1 (library register).

Given the location of the library in the schoolroom of Southleigh School, it is not surprising that a large percentage of the borrowers (over 45%) were local school pupils. Considering the size of the population of Southleigh however, the total number of borrowers is surprisingly large.³ According to both the 1901 and the 1911 census returns, the civil parish population of Southleigh was 196. The number of actual borrowers therefore represents over half the population of the parish, and the majority of these used the library frequently. Of the fifty-one pupils, twenty-eight borrowed more than ten books during this period and only six borrowed one; see tables 8(a) and 8(b). Similar figures also apply to the remaining resident borrowers.⁴ In total almost half using the library took out more than ten books. This is all the more surprising as

² Of the 51 pupils who borrowed books while students at the Southleigh Board School seven continued to borrow books after they had left in the quantities indicated: Fred Pennington (1), Florence Langford (1), Elsie Underdown (1), Johnny Summers (21), Wilfred Underdown (15); Daisy Turner (2) and Ivy Williams (6). These loans are analysed as loans to adults if the borrower had reached the age of fifteen at the time of borrowing. Of the fourteen former pupils of the Southleigh School, thirteen were adult borrowers but one, Charlie Mutter, left the school on 31 March 1910 aged 6 years (presumably to attend a school in the neighbouring parish of Northleigh). Mutter did not borrow any books during the short time he was a pupil at Southleigh school, but borrowed thirty-one after he had left; the last recorded loan to him was on 27 February 1914, when he was thirteen years old. Loans to him are included as loans to juveniles.

Emily Goodspeed was mistress at the school from March 1905 to October 1908. Kate Letten was her successor. Reverend Buckley was vicar of Saint Lawrence church from 12 January 1892 to 17 October 1913. Reverend Bowman was his successor. Three of the borrowers, Doris, Lorna and Eileen Hughes — each borrowed one book on 27 August 1907 — and Mrs Hubbert — who borrowed three books, one on 4 January, one on 11 January and one on 1 February 1912 — are assumed to be visitors to the parish. The library borrowing book records the rectory as their address. Because they were visitors and because their ages are not known, their loans have been included in the category of loans to unidentified borrowers.

³ For comparison, at Kidderminster only 7% of the population used the Reference Library during the nine-month period covered by the register and of these readers over half of the 1,384 visited on one occasion only. These differences in library use can be attributed to a number of factors, not the least of which are the records themselves. The register of Kidderminster library only covers a nine-month period while the borrowing book of the Southleigh village library covers a period of over seven years and incorporates a higher percentage of return visits.

⁴ The library record book records addresses in Southleigh for the twelve unidentified borrowers. Loans to them have been included in tables 8(a) and 8(b), but their borrowing patterns have been analysed as loans to unidentified borrowers in table 10(a) because it was not possible to ascertain their ages.

Southleigh library was not open everyday and it was not run according to a regular scheduled timetable (although its rules stated that it should be opened once a week).⁵ In fact, during the period of the borrowing book Southleigh library lent books on a total of only 351 days.⁶

An analysis of the Southleigh library highlights the extent to which reading itself had become established as a skill and as a leisure activity among the working classes and labouring population of England by the beginning of the twentieth century. According to David Vincent's figures on literacy rates by the 1904/1909 period 99% of bridegrooms working in semi-skilled occupations and 97% of those working in unskilled occupations signed their name on the marriage register, in comparison to only 66% (semi-skilled) and 41% (unskilled) for the earlier period of 1854/9.⁷ Speaking of the increases, which occurred between 1874/9 and 1904/9, Vincent suggests that the introduction of the Educational Acts of 1870 and 1880 (which introduced comprehensive and then compulsory elementary education) were most effective in promoting the skills of reading and writing among miners and labourers. His figures on the percentage of bridegrooms signing the marriage register indicate that 'In the space

⁵ Register of borrowers and books borrowed, Southleigh Library, 1907-1913, ref.4522 M/Z1, printed rules, pasted to inside cover.

⁶ Texts were borrowed on six dates during the following months: March, April, May and August 1907; February, April, May and November 1908; June and August 1909; January and February 1910; March 1913; and on more than six in April, May and October 1909; April 1910; June 1912; May 1913. On numerous other occasions (December 1907, October 1910, March, April, May and September 1911, August, September and October 1913) no books were borrowed. Whether or not the library was open during these months is unclear.

⁷ David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, op.cit., p.1 and table 4.1., p.97. Vincent's figures are derived from a study of at least 1,000 marriages recorded in the marriage registers of the follo Devon County Council Archive, Exeter wing ten Registration Districts: the industrial centres of Dudley, Macclesfield, Sheffield and Stoke-on-Trent; the urban districts of Bethnal Green and Lichfield; the mixed urban and rural areas of Nuneaton and Wokingham; and the rural areas of Cleobury Mortimer

of a single generation the miners leapt fifty points [from 47% to 97%] and labourers forty-one [from 56% to 97%].⁸ Indeed the fact that a lending library was established in the tiny rural village of Southleigh in 1900 and, during the period from 1907 to 1914, was used by roughly 50% of the total population of the parish does appear to support these findings.

Table 8(a): Number of texts borrowed by pupils and others.

No. Books Borrowed	No. Borrowers		
	Pupil	Other	Total
1 - 10	23	31	54
11 - 20	7	12	19
21 - 30	9	5	14
31 - 40	4	5	9
41 - 50	3	1	4
51 - 60	3	0	3
61 - 70	0	1	1
71 - 80	1	1	2
81 - 90	0	0	0
91 - 100	0	0	0
101 - 110	0	0	0
111 - 120	1	0	1
Total	51	56	107

Table 8(b): Breakdown of those borrowing less than ten books.

No. Books Borrowed	No. Borrowers		
	Pupil	Other	Total
1	6	12	18
2	3	2	5
3	3	2	5
4	2	0	2
5	2	8	10
6	1	1	2
7	2	1	3
8	2	2	4
9	1	1	2
10	1	2	3
Total	23	31	54

in Shropshire and Samford in Suffolk. For the purposes of his study, registers for every fifth year from 1839 to 1914 were sampled; see David Vincent, *op.cit.*, pp. 281-282.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.97.

Access to books in rural areas was an issue of the time. In his *Report on Library Provision and Policy* (1915), W.G.S. Adams reported to the trustees of the Carnegie Library Trust that the vast majority of the rural population — 97.6% — were without access to a public library while 79% of the urban population of Britain and Ireland were catered for.⁹ For some of these rural parishes, libraries such as the one at Southleigh partially bridged this gap in the provision of free reading material. While it cannot be assumed that the experiences of the parishioners at Southleigh were duplicated throughout the countryside, these records do at least provide an insight into the reading choices available in some rural areas. What is particularly interesting about these records is that the library was used by a cross-section of the entire community: adults and juveniles, males and females, working- and middle-class readers. This enables the borrowing patterns of specific groups to be compared. This chapter begins with the history of the Southleigh parish library, followed by a discussion of the nature of the library stock and an analysis of the borrowing figures for the entire period. Finally, the differing borrowing patterns of four groups of readers — adult males, adult females, juvenile males and juvenile females — are compared below.

History of the Southleigh lending library and school

Apart from the surviving borrowing book covering the period 1907 to 1914 and four minor references to the library in the school logbook of 1881 to 1930, no indication that a library ever existed at Southleigh can be found.¹⁰ We know that the library was

⁹ William G.S. Adams, *A report on library provision and policy to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees*, Edinburgh: Neill & Co. for The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust (1915), p.94.

¹⁰ The remarks in the school logbook (1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, state: 'we started our Carnegie library this week. A box of books has been sent from Exeter', entry for 11 November 1927, p.489; 'a

first opened on 11 June 1900 but no mention of the library is made in any local history of Devon nor in any local directories from the period. This is despite the fact that the library was transformed firstly into a Carnegie library (with books being sent from Exeter) in 1927 and then into a county branch library the following year. This virtual eradication of the Southleigh parish library from history can be attributed to its location. Situated four miles from the sea coast, three miles west of Colyton station, Southleigh was served by one post-office, had one public house, possibly one shop but no local newspaper of its own.¹¹ With a population of only 196 in 1901 it was a very small rural village. The majority of the population were small-hold farmers, agricultural labourers or farm-hands.¹²

The history of the library is bound up with the somewhat sketchy history of schooling in the village, because, like many of the early village libraries established during the first half of the nineteenth century, the library was housed in the local schoolroom.¹³ A Sunday school had been established in Southleigh around 1814.¹⁴ Supported by a £5 per annum bequest and open to all, the school had about twenty pupils. By 1833 there

county library has been opened in school. The books will be changed each Friday', entry for 12 January 1928, p.489; and 'Received fresh library books', entry for 27 June 1929, p.497.

¹¹ According to *Kelly's Directory* (1893) one shop, run by a Mrs Elizabeth Lee, existed in Southleigh. No further reference to this or to any other shop is found in the 1906, 1910 nor the 1914 directories although the occupation of one resident is recorded as a shopkeeper in the 1901 census. The Brunett-Morris index is a card index to primary and secondary sources relating to Devon and is located in the Devon County Council Archive, Exeter. It refers to the *Honiton Deanary Magazine* but gives no indication of the publication dates for this local publication. No copies of this have been located.

¹² According to the 1901 census returns, 196 people (104 males and 92 females) inhabited thirty-one houses in the civil parish of Southleigh. Twelve houses were not in occupation and the residents of a further two were not present on the day of the census. Occupations given are as follows: farmer (18); farmers' son (7); farm manger (1); agricultural or farm labourer (18); domestic or general servant (9); mason (3); gamekeeper (2); gardener (2); dressmaker (3); carpenter (2); school mistress (1); teacher (1); assistant teacher (1); publican (1); clergyman (1); laundress (1); builder/undertaker (1); blacksmith (1); postman (1); postmistress (1); shopkeeper (1); nurse (1).

¹³ See Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, op.cit., p.219 on early village libraries.

existed a day school of seven girls and six boys provided at the parents' expense in addition to the Sunday school (now supported by the interest on a £100 endowment). However, no reference to a school of any description is made in *White's Directory* (1850) but *Kelly's Directory* (1856 and 1860) does refer to a national school. This may have lapsed as in 1881 a government school inspector reported no school has been held in the parish since 1870.¹⁵

It can be assumed that a national school existed in Southleigh from the early 1850s until 1870 and that it was held in some existing premises adapted for the purpose.¹⁶ Following the 1870 Education Act the Southleigh School Board — described by R.R. Selman as 'one of the worst in Devon' — was formed in January 1875 but did nothing for five years.¹⁷ In 1876 a new single-roomed stone schoolhouse was built, presumably under the direction of the Lord of the Manor, from whom the School Board eventually rented the premises when a Board School was opened on 7 February 1881. After the 1902 Education Act, the board school became a council school under the local education authority, then a junior school in 1947 and was closed in 1951.

The surviving logbooks covering the period from its opening on 7 February 1881 to its closure in 1951, provide detailed insights into the quality of education provided by the Southleigh School. The annual reports of the school inspectors were critical of standards typically lamenting that 'The children are orderly but lack intelligence and

¹⁴ Parliamentary returns in response to the Select Committee on the Education of the Poor (1818).

¹⁵ School logbook, op.cit, p.21

¹⁶ Rather than being based on the monitorial system this small national school was probably in effect a dame school housed in an adapted cottage.

industry. The work is only fair and arithmetic is very weak' (1899) and the school consistently failed to receive anything other than the basic grant.¹⁸ After the turn of the century the school began to improve. In 1900 it was reported that: 'The order is good, and the instruction both of the older children and infants, shows improvement. Attention should be paid to the spelling generally, and to the arithmetic of the older scholars, as well as to the reading of the few children in the first standard'.¹⁹

The general inadequacy of the school can be attributed to two main factors — the rapid turn-over of school mistresses during the nineteenth century and high levels of absenteeism among the pupils.²⁰ In the twenty-year period from 1881 to 1901, there were no fewer than ten permanent head teachers and two temporaries. Of the permanent mistresses, only three stayed in the position for more than three years, and five lasted less than a year. From the opening of the school, low levels of attendance were common during the months of June, July and August as pupils were kept away from school by their parents in order to help with the hoeing of potatoes, weeding of gardens, pulling of charlick, sheep shearing, haymaking and gleaning.²¹ In March and April, children were kept from school to help with gardening and the planting of

¹⁷ R.R. Selman, 'Early Devon Schools', unpublished survey, Exeter: Devon County Council Archive (1984).

¹⁸ 'Government Report of Southleigh School', copied into the school logbook (1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, p.242.

¹⁹ School Report no.27021, copied into the school logbook (1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, p.277.

²⁰ Autobiographical evidence suggests that this situation was reflected throughout the countryside. For an account of village schooling see Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, London: Penguin Books (1979, first published by Oxford University Press 1939), pp.173-200.

²¹ High levels of absenteeism were also noted on days when events such as ploughing matches took place in the village. When the mistress or a number of pupils fell ill the school was also closed; for example, the entry for 18 May 1908 reads 'Reopened the school this morning, after being closed for three weeks through whooping cough. Only four months ago we were closed for six weeks with mumps. It is very disheartening to a mistress to work under these circumstances'; school logbook

potatoes and in October with the picking of potatoes and apples. Pupils were also granted holidays for local fairs and events such as the Seaton show, the Seaton Regatta, the Colyton club and circus, and for services held at the church of Saint Lawrence. Sometimes the school was closed for the day because attendance itself was low.²² In 1891 between thirty-five to forty pupils attended daily out of the fifty pupils registered. Even so it was commented in the logbook that 'attendances have improved since ... Free Education'.²³ From 1900 to 1914 both teaching and attendance did improve.²⁴ By 1913, the cautious optimism displayed in the 1900 report had turned to evident praise for the school as it was now reported that 'This small rural school is conducted with skill, care, and enterprise, and the work has been usefully developed in recent years.'²⁵ As a result of these improvements, the pupils of the 1907 to 1913 period were even better equipped than the previous generation to make use of the library. Indeed during the period covered by the borrowing book, fifty-one pupils borrowed a total of 1,041 books between them, accounting for over 55% of the total loans.²⁶

(1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, p.394. Following this, an epidemic of measles broke out in the village resulting in the school once more having to close from 15 December 1910 till 9 January 1911.

²² For example, on 18 June 1901 the school closed early to allow children to attend a wedding and on 18 July 1901 the school was closed due to a choral festival in the neighbouring parish of Beer. On 8 May 1903, the pupils were granted a half-days holiday to attend a tea given by the Reverend Buckley.

²³ School logbook (1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, 13 November 1891, p.107.

²⁴ Annie Turner held the position of school mistress from November 1898 to April 1901 and was succeeded by Rose Goodhall (April 1901 to September 1904); Elizabeth Norton (September 1904 to February 1905); Emily Goodspeed (March 1905 to October 1908); and Kate Letten (November 1908 till 1914).

²⁵ Report copied into the school logbook, (1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, p.420.

²⁶ This figure refers to loans to present or to former pupils under the age of fifteen. The thirty-one loans made to Charlie Mutter have not been counted.

According to the logbook the single-roomed school building was used as an amenity centre for the village. For example, on the 4 January 1889, school was closed 'for one week as the room is required for an entertainment' and again every afternoon for a week from 6 January 1890 for the same reason.²⁷ On 26 May 1882, a day's holiday was granted so that Mr Sharp could use the premises to collect cottagers' rents while further half-day holidays were again granted on 8 July 1885 so that Mr Drew could do the same and on 29 September 1898 so that a public tea could be held on the premises. On 20 April 1881, in anticipation of the complete restoration of the church 'The rural dean and two members of the School Board visited for the purpose of seeing if arrangements could be made for holding Sunday services in it'.²⁸ Subsequently, on 15 May 'morning and afternoon services were held for the first time in this schoolroom'.²⁹

It is therefore no surprise that the parish library was housed in the schoolroom as the close links forged between the parish church of Saint Lawrence, the local school and the wider community during the latter half of the nineteenth century continued into the twentieth. A member of both the school and library boards, the Reverend Buckley of Saint Lawrence's church gave weekly scripture and bible reading lessons to the pupils. Parishioners were informed of the library's opening times and dates by a notice in the church porch.³⁰ The influence of the church on the library is evident from the stock it contained.

²⁷ School logbook (1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, entry for 4 January 1889, p.81.

²⁸ School logbook (1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, entry for 20 April 1881, p.2.

²⁹ Ibid., 15 May 1881, p.2.

³⁰ From its opening, the president of the library council was William Edmonds, Lord of the Manor and owner of Wiscombe Park. As the thirty-four acre rectory with a net yearly value of £195, held since 1891 by the Reverend Buckley is described in Kelly's *Directory* as the 'gift of William Edmonds esq.' it seems likely that Edmond's presidential title was an honorific one. Edmonds' wife, his son,

Library Stock

In her report following a visit to the school on 24 June 1924 Miss Cooke, a school inspector, referred to the library 'which contains some hundred volumes'.³¹ No other indication as to the size of the library can be found in other sources. The borrowing book, however, contains 1,880 entries (ten of which are indecipherable) and these refer to 303 titles (see appendix C). So it can be assumed that the library was small and that the 303 represent a substantial portion of the library stock for the period 1907 to 1914. It has been possible to identify either the author, publisher, first date of publication or a combination of the three for a total of 281 of the 303 titles using the Consortium of Public Access Catalogues (COPAC), the Library of Congress on-line catalogue, the *NSTC* and the *English Catalogue of Books in Print*.³² These have been classified according to genre (see table 9 and appendix C).

Only ten titles were primarily of a religious nature. A further fifty-three of the 278 classified titles however, were at some point published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) who published books on a variety of subjects which promoted Christian principles.³³ The majority of those in the library were fiction,

the Reverend Buckley, the reverend's wife and the elected librarian completed the council. Of the two families — the Edmonds and the Buckleys — it is evident that the Buckleys, and more especially the Reverend Buckley, exercised more control over the library. While the Reverend Buckley and his wife borrowed books from the parish library between 1907 and 1913, no member of the Edmonds' family did so. As Lords of the Manor the Edmonds presumably had the economic means to procure their own reading material.

³¹ School logbook (1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, p.472.

³² The Consortium of Public Access Catalogues (COPAC) website address is: <http://copac.ac.uk>; the Library of Congress on-line catalogue website address is <http://www.catalog.loc.gov>; Gwen Averley (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, op.cit.

³³ Since some of the titles were not published exclusively by the SPCK the exact number cannot be ascertained. For a further discussion of the publishing activities of the SPCK see William O.B. Allen & Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898*, London: SPCK (1898).

several dealt with arts and crafts, and a few were on the subjects of geography, history and science, and one was a textbook/self-educator. This suggests that those supervising the content of the library felt that SPCK and similar publisher's books were particularly suitable for their readership.³⁴

Table 9: Genre of breakdown of texts borrowed from the Southleigh library.

Genre	no. titles	no. loans	Ave per title	% of total loans
Arts & Crafts (Agriculture)	8	26	34.0	1.4
Biography	17	59	3.5	3.2
Fiction	169	1226	7.3	65.6
Geography	16	95	5.9	5.1
History	15	42	2.8	2.2
Periodicals	0	0	0	0
Poetry	20	126	6.3	6.7
Reference	0	0	0	0
Religion	10	65	6.5	3.5
Science	20	90	4.5	4.8
Textbooks/self-educators	3	19	6.3	1.0
Unknown	25	122	4.9	6.5
Total	303	1870	6.2	100.0

The library also stocked juvenile fiction, stories for children, canonical titles and works by contemporary authors. Books for very young readers were represented by titles such as *The Book of Adventure*, *Three Giants and Other Stories*, *Children's Hour* or *Nursery Tales*. Older boys and girls were also catered for with the inclusion of authors like R.M. Ballantyne, Julia Horatia Ewing, G.A. Henty, W.H.G. Kingston and the moralistic C.M. Yonge. The library also contained a number of works by Dickens,

³⁴ Rule 6 of the Southleigh library stated that it was the job of the elected librarian to check the suitability of all books offered. However, the irregular opening hours of the library indicate that for much of the period no 'permanent' librarian took control of the library. The decision on the suitability of books would then have fallen to the library council itself, and most notably to the Reverend Buckley and his wife.

Scott and the more contemporary Mark Twain and Jules Verne. Fewer titles of popular novelists such as Walter Besant, Wilkie Collins, Elizabeth Gaskell and Evelyn Everette Green were also stocked.

Although all the novels were essentially safe, respectable texts, the inclusion of some contemporary authors (both British and American) and the range of others suggests that the library was reflective of broader trends in the publishing industry. The face of the publishing industry, particularly the novel publishing industry, had changed since the 1850s when Kidderminster and Huddersfield libraries were active. The market for the three-decker novel had collapsed and the Net Book system had established a set retail price for books. The six shilling novel was a staple of the trade and the proliferation of sixpenny cheap reprints had made more fiction available at lower prices.³⁵ The publishing industry of the 1900s was characterised by the availability of cheap copyright and non-copyright texts. For example, from 1889 the publishing house of Macmillan brought out the works of Kingsley and others at 6d a volume while other publishers issued the novels of authors such as Clark Russell and Richard Blackmore at the same price. Correspondingly, a number of non-copyright texts, such as the novels of Hugo, Marryat or Bulwer-Lytton were reduced to 3d a volume, while abridged versions could be purchased for the price of a penny. W.T. Stead's penny series were started in 1895 and the following year George Newnes began his Penny Library of Famous Books, offering unabridged paperbacks of popular texts at the same price.³⁶

³⁵ John Sutherland, *Victorian Novelists & Publishers*, London: Althone Press (1976); Simon Eliot, 'The Three-Decker Novel and its First Cheap Reprint, 1862-94', *The Library*, Vol.7 (1985) pp.38-53.

³⁶ Joseph O Baylen, 'Stead's Penny "Masterpiece Library",' *Journal of Popular Culture* 9 (Winter 1975), pp. 710-25.

Following this, J.M.Dent produced shilling versions of reprint texts in durable formats, eventually founding the famous Everyman's Library in 1906.³⁷

Although the imprint and format of those texts contained in the Southleigh library cannot be established, it is interesting to find that in comparison to the libraries at Kidderminster and Huddersfield, this one contained a number of fictional works whose copyright had expired during the 1890s or early 1900s — such as Wilkie Collins' *Queen of Hearts* (1859) — and a number of those which, although still subject to copyright status, were now appearing in very cheap editions. That copies of *Lorna Doone* (1869), *Prince and the Pauper* (1882), *The Water Babies* (1863), *Children of the Cavern* (1877), *Clipper of the Clouds* (1887) and *Our Mutual Friend* (1865) were to be found alongside several of the works of Scott and other older titles by Dickens is an indication of the fact that a variety of fiction published by secular houses was now cheaper to buy. Changes in the price structure evidently had an effect on the library stock.

The stock of poetry in the library differs from the libraries at Huddersfield and Kidderminster. Readers at Southleigh could borrow Victorian poetry and sample Robert Browning, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Longfellow, Tennyson and Hemans. Among the twenty poetry titles were also the works of Chaucer, Spenser, Burns, Coleridge, and Wordsworth. Readers at the Southleigh library had access to the contemporary poets of their predecessors at Kidderminster and Huddersfield, but they

³⁷ John Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, London: Routledge (1988).

did not have access to poets from their own era. The library also contained verse for young children: *Nursery Lyrics*, *Nursery Rhymes* and *Songs for the Nursery*.

The rural occupations of the village were reflected in five texts belonging to the SPCK's 'Helpful Hints for Hard Times' series: *Ducks for Farm and Cottage*, *Fowls for Farm and Cottage*, *Geese and Turkeys*, *Onions for Food and Market* and *Strawberries*. Two further titles, *Dairy and Butter* and *The Great World's Farm* also dealt with farming. Their presence in the library suggests that these books were either acquired because of their relevance or that they were donated by a local farmer who had previously bought them for his own use.

By this period biographies of women were more common and the library had a few: *Childhood and Girlhood of Remarkable Women*, *Life of Agnes Strickland*, *Joan the Maid* and *Queen Victoria* chronicled the lives of famous women. Biographies of men included: *King Alfred the Great*, *Edward the Exile*, *Boldness of a Great King*, *General Gordon*, *Life of Wellington*, *Henry Morton Stanley*, and the *Kings of Norway*. There were only fifteen history books, only two of which, *World History* and *Pictorial History of the World* dealt with English history. Since the library was attached to the school this is somewhat surprising as one might expect that such texts would have been borrowed by pupils and hence have appeared in the borrower records. However, writing of her own experiences in a village school Flora Thompson noted that although:³⁸

³⁸ Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise*, op.,cit., p.180.

History was not taught formally ... history readers were in use containing such picturesque stories as those of King Alfred and the cakes, King Canute commanding the waves, the loss of the White Ship, and Raleigh spreading his cloak for Queen Elizabeth.

Similarly, the records of Southleigh school show that instruction was limited to the three "R's" and the library reflected the limits of the timetable on offer.

This is also likely to explain the curious mixture of geography books which do not follow any defined plan, but may have been the result of donations. Titles such as *Five Years in Madagascar*, *From Peking to Calais by Land*, *Hydelabad, Kashmir and Nepal*, *Towards Pretoria* and *In the Great White Colonial Bush* dealt with the continents of Asia and Africa but none specifically referred to that of Europe, let alone England. Like history however, this genre did include at least one text, the *Pictorial Tour of the World* which dealt with general geography.

Six of the twenty science books belonged to Newnes shilling series '*The Story of ...*'. These texts were fondly recalled by the autobiographer Sam Smith as being presented to him as a school prize in the 1890s. Although he had selected a book about the adventures of Robin Hood 'the Clerk to the School Board intervened' and instead he was given:³⁹

five numbers of a shilling series on scientific and related subjects published by George Newnes & Co. Story of the Stars, Story of the Solar System, The Story of the Wexther [sic], the Story of a Piece of Coal, The Story of Extinct Civilisations of the East.

³⁹ Sam Smith, 'Bosely Cloud', op.cit., pp.12-13.

Here too it seems that these texts were considered as suitable reading matter for juveniles. Like the SPCK texts these were relatively cheap books which would not stretch the library budget. Interestingly, however, the library did contain two — *Factors in Life: three lectures on health and food education* and *The Guild of Good Life* — which dealt with the subject of domestic science and two — *Our Insect Enemies* and *Our Insect Friends* — which dealt with natural science, though the latter were primarily for children.

Given the location of Southleigh, it is reasonable to suggest the modest library stock represented the only books available to the village population in the 1900s and 1910s. The nearest public library, that of the Royal Albert Memorial University College, was over twenty miles away in Exeter.⁴⁰ Villagers may have been able to obtain books and newspapers from the Southleigh post office or shop (if one still existed in 1907), or from nearby towns or adjoining parishes. According to Kelly's *Directory of Devonshire* (1910), Beer and Branscombe had three shopkeepers (and presumably three shops). The railway town of Colyton three miles to the east of Southleigh and the market town of Sidmouth to the west were better equipped. Colyton had a fancy stationers, four shopkeepers, a W.H. Smiths' railway store and a social club and reading room. At Sidmouth there were two stationers, a newsagents, three shops, a W.H. Smiths, two reading rooms and four circulating libraries as well as two local weekly newspapers (the *Sidmouth Herald* on Saturdays and the *Sidmouth Observer*

⁴⁰ From 1910 to 1915, the only public libraries in Devonshire were to be found at Bideford, Moretonhampstead, Newton Abbot, Plymouth and Torquay. From 1911 a village library could be found at Clovelly, a public library at Devonport, and local libraries at St. Giles and Tavistock. By 1913

on Wednesdays).⁴¹ These papers may have been available through Southleigh's post-office, but obtaining any other reading material would most likely have entailed either a three mile journey to Colyton or a six mile one to Sidmouth.⁴²

Since the majority of the population of Southleigh were agricultural workers, they may have travelled to Sidmouth for the market which was held every Thursday and Saturday. Whether or not the reading room at Colyton, which was attached to the Social Club, or the two at Sidmouth — one of which was linked with the Young Women's Christian Association — were open to the residents of Southleigh is not known. It is however likely that the use of these reading rooms was confined to members of the association to which they were attached, or to parishioners.⁴³

The general lack of facilities in the immediate vicinity helps to explain the relatively high use of the library by the villagers. Prior to the opening of the library in 1900, only school children or possibly those reading a daily newspaper in the local public house

a village library had also been established at Swimbridge. All of these were however much further from Southleigh than was Exeter; see *The London Devonian Year Book* (eds. for 1910 to 1913).

⁴¹ Information taken from *Kelly's Directory of Devonshire* (1910). Whether or not there was a circulating library at the W.H. Smiths is not clear. However, if there were it would have been included in the count of four.

⁴² Distances given are from the centre of the village to the centre of the towns concerned and are calculated as the crow flies — in reality of course, the distance travelled would have varied between inhabitants.

⁴³ The third was located above the volunteer drill hall. It is not known how many members the Young Women's Christian Association actually had, but its counterpart, the Young Men's Christian Association had only seventy in 1906. The population of Sidmouth in 1901 was 4,201. At Southleigh a non-parishioner could use the library only after gaining special permission from the library board. Apart from the four visitors to the parish who were staying at the Rectory, there is no evidence to suggest that anyone other than parishioners used the library during the period under consideration.

would have had 'free' access to newspapers and books.⁴⁴ Only the fairly dedicated reader would have made the trip to Colyton or Sidmouth specifically to seek out reading material and then would have had to pay for it. For many of the residents, their experiences at school, their encounters with the texts in the Southleigh library and with any books belonging to their families or neighbours, would have shaped virtually their entire experience of printed literature and of its uses for leisure, learning and instruction.

Southleigh school record

Before 1900 the situation had been considerably worse. When the school opened on 7 February 1881, a large number of its pupils had never been to school before and did not know the alphabet.⁴⁵ As a result, the school logbook is littered with comments stating that 'Reading throughout the school is very weak', 'so many of the children have defective powers of speech', 'several big boys appear quite incapable of learning to read well' or, with regards to the infant class, 'the majority cannot read at all though they are six years old and some older'.⁴⁶ The dismay of successive new mistresses upon taking up position in the school is evident from entries in the logbook.

The Southleigh school logbook makes frequent reference to the lack of educational attainment of boys in particular. In a farming community boys were more frequently

⁴⁴ For a general discussion of the lack of newspapers to be found in villages at the turn of the twentieth century see Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit. p.334.

⁴⁵ For example, as late as 30 September 1889 three pupils, Emily, Samuel and Charles Pike aged 13, 10 and 8 respectively had never been to school and could not say their letters.

kept from school by their parents to help in the fields. One example is Arthur Pennington who started at Southleigh school on 22 April 1895 at the age of seven. His father was a farmer and the boy's early years at the school would have been interrupted by days of labour in the field. So it is not surprising to find that Pennington is reported to have borrowed only one title, *Day Dreams* — a collection of short stories for children — when aged twenty. But this was not the only cause of his disrupted education, Pennington's first days at school were marred by an unusual tension between the school mistress and the school board.

Relations between the Reverend Buckley and the schoolmistress, Alice Knowles, reached a crisis at Easter 1895 after Knowles' request for Easter week as holiday was put off.⁴⁷ She had on several occasions fallen foul of the Reverend Buckley through unpunctuality and the two did not get on.⁴⁸ She only learnt that her request had been refused during the Easter Sunday service at the church of Saint Lawrence when the Reverend Buckley announced that 'the day school would be open as usual the

⁴⁶ School logbook (1881-1930), Ref. 739c/EAL, entries for 6 May 1886, p.68; 27 May 1886, p.69; 11 November 1888, p.74; 16 May 1886, p.68. Such comments continued into the opening years of the twentieth century.

⁴⁷ Knowles was told that the 'chairman wishes the matter brought before the Board on Monday' school logbook, op.cit., 11 April 1895, p.158.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.160. The tension between Knowles and the Reverend Buckley was long-standing. One issue was Knowles' unpunctuality. On an earlier occasion, the vicar paid an unannounced visit to the school, arriving at 9.20am only to find that 'neither the mistress nor her assistant arrived till 9.25'. Knowles explained the late arrival of both herself and the monitor by stating that since very few of the children arrived on time it was more practical to begin classes at 9.30am rather than at 9am. Given the high levels of absenteeism among the children and the fact that the majority of them did arrive late each morning, her actions can be seen as pragmatic. Knowles' main failing however, was that her decision to open the school at the later time had been made autonomously, consulting neither the Board nor the vicar about the changes. The vicar's subsequent announcement at the Easter service that the school would be open during the Easter week can be seen as a reassertion of control over the running of the school. Buckley did not turn up to take his usual Friday morning scripture lesson during Easter week nor did he inform Knowles that he would not be present. He resumed his weekly

following day'.⁴⁹ Knowles' fury that no reply to her request for leave had been given — the 'announcement in church being the only information I received' — was exacerbated by the fact that no teacher had opened the school on Easter Monday in the previous twelve years.⁵⁰ Knowles resigned and left on 21 June 1895 after serving her notice. Given such incidents and the rapid turnover of staff it is not surprising that standards were poor. Unsurprisingly, the school inspector's report for the end of the year stated that 'Reading and arithmetic appear to have much fallen off.'⁵¹ Three years later her replacement Kate Westacott found that the situation had scarcely improved and noted: 'The boys right through the school are very dull scarcely a bright scholar among them'. The inspector agreed.⁵² Westacott resigned and was succeeded first by a temporary mistress, Elizabeth Hamel, and then on 7 November 1898 by a permanent one, Annie Turner, who also commented that 'the children are very backwards in their several studies particularly the boys.'⁵³

Although such remarks were occasionally punctuated by slightly more optimistic comments, the overall picture indicates a poor level of basic education and a lack of any supportive network outside the school itself. Very few pupils appear to have been taught the basics prior to their attendance at school and as a result, in 1881, when the first cohort of thirty-nine pupils were presented for examination under the Revised Code (1862), there were only twenty-two passes in reading, twenty-eight in writing

lessons on 20 September 1895 only after Knowles had left and a new Mistress, Kate Westacott, had been appointed.

⁴⁹ The underlining is Knowles' own; school logbook (1881-1930), op.cit., entry for 15 April 1895, p.158.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., entry for 24 June 1895, p.164.

⁵² Ibid., entry for 12 November 1898, pp.212-19.

and sixteen in arithmetic.⁵⁴ Although school inspectors understood the peculiar circumstances facing the newly opened school and duly made allowances for these, by 1885 it was reported that ‘My lords have ordered a deduction of one tenth from the Grant for faults of instruction’.⁵⁵ This was a serious blow. In 1892, 81.4% of the school revenue still came from the diminishing grant even though the Board school could draw upon the rates for funding.

In a report for the year ending 28 February 1893, a school inspector stated that ‘the books used for Reading in the first standard are too easy, and suitable only for older infants’, while a report of the following year noted that ‘More reading books are needed in several classes, especially a more suitable set in the first standard’.⁵⁶ While attempts were made to meet these shortcomings, the lack of funding in the school made it difficult to provide suitable books for all of the classes.⁵⁷ The total amount

⁵³ Ibid., entries for 24 June 1895, p.164; 7 November 1898, p.234.

⁵⁴ These results were despite the fact that Rebecca Batstone of Moorplash farm, who assisted with the teaching of the younger children, had also been taking night classes, presumably to prepare the children for their examinations.

⁵⁵ Report copied into the school logbook (1881-1930), op.cit., p.37. The same report also stated: ‘This school is very weak in the Elementary subjects and in English and Geography in all classes but I do not feel that the blame rests with the mistress’. The 1881 Report admitted that the poor results were probably due to the fact that ‘No school has been held in the parish since 1870; and consequently a large number of the children examined have never been at school before’, ibid. p.21. In the 1883 report it was commented that ‘This school has made 78 per cent of passes in the subjects of the Standards. Barely 50 per cent of passes were made in Grammar and Geography; but I think the Grant may be allowed under the circumstances of the school’, ibid., p.23.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp.122 & 144. See also J.M. Goldstrom, *The Social Content of Education 1808-1870: A Study of the working-class school reader in England and Ireland*, Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press (1972).

⁵⁷ An entry in the school logbook for 8 July 1895 reads ‘Two sets of reading books for sixth standard and one for standard II’ have been ordered. These books were received on 25 September 1895; school logbook (1881-1930), op.cit., pp.164 & 181. On 13 March 1896 a school inspector recommended a number of books for use in the school — Star readers for standard V, history readers for the upper division of standard IV, practical readers for standard III and Century readers for the lower standards — and granted a total payment of £51 6s, made up of the basic grant of £48 16s plus a fee grant of £2 10s; ibid., pp.181 & 183. Whether or not these suggested books were ever purchased is not known. As late as 11 June 1901 the school inspector again reported ‘a set of geographical readers is needed, also

spent on the school varied from year to year and was dependent on the Inspector's report. In the 1880s and 1890s it fluctuated from a low of £49 15s in 1885 to a high of £76 in 1892, including the mistresses' salary.⁵⁸ The combined effect of the lack of educational support outside the school and its poor funding record meant that the school children of Southleigh had limited experience of books and reading. When it opened in 1900 the library provided children and adult parishioners with the means to engage more fully, conveniently and freely with a greater variety of reading matter.

Borrowing Figures

In order to analyse the borrowing figures for separate categories of visitors to the Southleigh library the figures presented in table 9 have been reconfigured to show the borrowing for male (26) and female juveniles (26) and male (14) and female (34) adults separately.⁵⁹ Table 10(a) provides a genre breakdown of the aggregate borrowing figures for each of the above groups while table 10(b) displays this information as a percentage of the total loans made to each group.⁶⁰

some more historical books'. Following this recommendation eighteenth standard III and twelve standard II geography readers (published by Macmillan) and half-a-dozen history books (Whitehall) were received in October 1901; *ibid.*, pp.282 & 289-90. Six star readers, new books for drill and arithmetic were also received on 10 June 1903; *ibid.*, p.321.

⁵⁸ The penny-rate value of Southleigh was c.£10 in 1881. In 1895 a school inspector reported 'considering the circumstances the lower grant [£50 16s] may be given', school logbook, *op.cit.*, p.161. The 1897 report stated 'No grant is payable under article 105 as HM Inspector is unable to report that the school is well taught in the meaning of that article'. As a result the school again received only the basic grant of £54 9s 9d, p.204. This situation continued until the early 1900s.

⁵⁹ The thirty-four adult female readers includes the two teachers, the wife of Reverend Buckley and three — Daisy Turner, Elsie Underdown and Ivy Williams — who also borrowed works as juveniles during the period covered by the borrowing book. The fourteen adult males includes Reverend Buckley, Reverend Bowman and two — Fred Pennington and Johnny Summers — who also borrowed works as juveniles (for a further discussion of this see footnote 1).

⁶⁰ Since the number of loans from the unknown category differs between the groups of readers, these figures have been omitted from this table. Loans to unidentified readers have also been omitted, although the figures for them have been included in the column signifying the genre breakdown of total loans from the library. This library contained no periodicals or reference works.

The majority of loans to juveniles (approximately 60%) were to boys and girls between the ages of ten and fifteen. Excluding the borrowing figures for the Reverend Buckley, his wife and the two school mistresses, the majority of loans to adult readers were to those between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. Just over 43% of loans made to female readers were made to women over the age of twenty-five, a slightly lower percentage of loans were made to men over the age of twenty-five (37%). Prior to

Table 10(a): Genre breakdown of loans showing the aggregate number made to each category of reader.

Genre	Number of loans to Juveniles		Number of loans to Adults		Unidentified Readers	Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Arts & crafts	8	5	6	5	2	26
Biography	16	3	14	26	0	59
Fiction	307	381	133	356	49	1226
Geography	36	15	22	18	4	95
History	9	2	11	18	2	42
Poetry	44	54	7	17	4	126
Religion	9	30	3	22	1	65
Science	40	24	4	20	2	90
Textbooks	9	7	0	2	1	19
Unknown	28	45	14	31	4	122
Total	506	566	214	515	69	1870

Table 10(b): Genre breakdown of loans made to each category of reader expressed as a percentage.

Genre	% breakdown of loans to juveniles		% breakdown of loans to adults		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Arts & crafts	1.7	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.5
Biog	3.3	0.6	7.0	5.4	3.4
Fic	64.2	73.1	66.5	73.6	70.1
Geog	7.5	2.9	11.0	3.7	5.4
Hist	1.9	0.4	5.5	3.7	2.4
Poetry	9.2	10.4	3.5	3.5	7.2
Religion	1.9	5.8	1.5	4.5	3.7
Science	8.4	4.6	2.0	4.1	5.1
Textbooks	1.9	1.3	0.0	0.4	1.1
Total	100.0	100.1	100	99.9	99.9

1900 successive teachers had commented that school boys were backward in their reading which may account in part for the lower level of borrowing among men.

The borrowing figures for individual titles reflect the size of the village. The most popular single title, *Fur Coats and Feathered Frocks*, was borrowed forty times, while the majority of titles were borrowed less than ten times. Since a number of the books would have been intended for only a specific segment of the community — school children, men, women — a low borrowing figure might indicate that an individual text had in fact reached the majority of its potential readership. While any conclusions must be tentative, the comparative figures and genre breakdowns do indicate a number of trends.

Fiction

In aggregate terms female borrowers were loaned more texts than male borrowers. Fiction was the most popular category with each of the groups of borrowers, accounting for over 70% of all loans (see table 10(b)), though in percentage terms females borrowed more fiction than males. Table 11 gives the borrowing figures for individual authors. Interestingly the works of W.H.G. Kingston, R.M. Ballantyne and G.A. Henty — ‘undoubtedly the best writers of adventure for boys’ according to Edward Salmon (1886)⁶¹ — were loaned to males on a significantly higher number of occasions than to females; see table 11. One of R. M. Ballantyne's books was loaned to twelve different boys (very nearly half the boys in the village). Likewise, Matilda Anne

⁶¹ Edward Salmon ‘What Boys Read’, *Fortnightly Review*, new series No.39 (1886), pp. 248-59, p.254.

Planche, the author most frequently borrowed by girls, was also popular with women but was not in general borrowed by males. Similarly two books by Elizabeth Gaskell were loaned to female readers on eleven occasions but only once to a male reader. The popularity of these women authors with female but not male borrowers may be explained by the fact that the titles themselves — *Minnie's Love*, *Amy's Kitchen* and *Married and Settled*, *Mary Barton* and *Wives and Daughters* — suggested that they dealt with female topics of love or domesticity.

On the other hand, a small number of titles by women were more broadly popular suggesting that differences of age and gender were not an over-riding factor. Single titles such as Mary Shipley's *Bernard Hamilton*, *Curate of Stowe* and Edith Louisa Floyer's *The Black Jewel* (both published by the Christian Knowledge Society) were

Table 11: Borrowing figures for individual authors and titles.

Author/title	Loans to juveniles		Loans to adults		Unidentified			Total loans
	Male	Female	Male	Female	M	F	?	
Ballantyne	23	4	10	12	3	1	0	53
Henty	7	0	3	3	0	0	0	13
Kingston	13	9	2	8	2	0	0	34
Planche	6	25	4	24	0	0	3	62
Gaskell	0	3	1	7	0	1	2	14
Tynan	0	5	4	28	1	0	0	38
Yonge	7	6	1	13	0	0	1	28
<i>Tales from Hans Christian Andersen</i>	10	10	0	2	0	0	1	23
<i>Fur Coats</i>	11	26	0	2	1	0	0	40
<i>Day Dreams</i>	13	20	1	0	1	1	0	36
<i>Three Giants</i>	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	7
<i>Children's Hour</i>	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	7
<i>True Annals of Fairy Land</i>	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	10
<i>Children's Garland</i>	11	7	0	0	0	0	0	18
<i>Bernard Hamilton</i>	3	1	1	5	0	0	1	11
<i>Black Jewel</i>	2	3	2	4	0	0	0	11

loaned to both adults and juveniles, males and females, whose identified ages at the time of borrowing ranged from eleven years to forty-six years and from eleven years to forty-four years, respectively.⁶² In addition, even among the juveniles, the ages of those borrowing the same work varied widely. *The Children's Garland* was loaned to a total of eleven different borrowers whose ages varied from six years to fourteen years while *Day Dreams* was loaned to a total of nineteen different borrowers whose ages ranged from five to thirteen years.⁶³

While the majority of borrowers of juvenile fiction were children, over 10% were adults.⁶⁴ Like the adolescent borrowers of Croker's *Fairy Tales* found at Kidderminster in 1855, adults borrowing juvenile literature from the Southleigh library might have done so to practice or improve their reading skills. Or they may have read

⁶² Identified borrowers of *Bernard Hamilton* include George and Violet Trenchard and Ivy Williams (all aged eleven), Ethel Clode (eighteen), Ellen Richards (thirty-six) and Elizabeth Sharp (forty-six). Identified borrowers of *The Black Jewel* include Walter Hutchings (eleven), William Phillips (thirteen), Ivy Williams (thirteen), Emma Summers (thirteen), Ethel Clode (seventeen), Ellen Richards (thirty-four) and Elizabeth Sharp (forty-four).

⁶³ The eleven juveniles who borrowed *The Children's Garland* include Dolly Underdown (aged six), Dorothy Herrod (six), Frank Mutter (eight), Harry Baker (nine), Wilfred Underdown (nine), Emily Phillips (ten), Maud Summers (eleven), Violet Trenchard (twelve), Emma Summers (thirteen), Elsie Underdown (fourteen) and Johnny Summers who borrowed this book three times between the ages of eight, nine and ten.

The nineteen juveniles who borrowed *Day Dreams* were Bessie Williams (five), and Joy Mutter (six), Dolly Underdown (six), Ruby Littlely (seven), Dorothy Herrod (seven), Gwendoline Underdown (seven), Johnny Summers (eight), Arthur Williams (eight), Charles Baker (nine), Wilfred Underdown (nine), Alwyn Underdown (ten), Beatrice Underdown (eleven), Lily Lake (eleven), Charlie Pennington (eleven), Alice Phillips (eleven), Emily Phillips (eleven), Ivy Williams (twelve), Tom Pike (twelve) and Frank Mutter (thirteen). In addition, *Day Dreams* was also borrowed by Arthur Pennington at the age of twenty.

⁶⁴ The category of juvenile literature here referred to was made up of the fiction of W.H.G. Kingston, R.M. Ballantyne, G.A. Henty, Julia Horatia Ewing, Charlotte Yonge and Jessie Fothergill and of the following individual titles: *Fur Coats and Feathered Frocks* (1892), *Day Dreams* (n.d.), *Three Giants and Other Stories* (1887), *The Children's Hour* (n.d.), *The Children's Garland* (1875), *True Annals of Fairyland* (1909), *Tales from Hans Christian Andersen* (n.d.) and *Aesop's Fables* (n.d.). The proportion of juvenile fiction lent to adults may have been higher than the figure calculated since only loans of works identified as juvenile literature have been included here. Although the latter two titles were also suited to an adult readership they have been included as they contained short fiction similar to that in Croker's *Fairy Tales*, discussed in chapter 3.

whatever they could find through lack of choice. The reading population of Southleigh was, as stated above, still relatively young and this may also explain the general popularity of juvenile literature with adult readers.⁶⁵ Interestingly, the fiction of W.H.G. Kingston, R.M. Ballantyne, G.A. Henty and Charlotte Yonge and the sophisticated *Tales from Hans Christian Andersen* were favoured over more infantile literature such as *Fur Coats and Feathered Frocks*, *Day Dreams*, *Three Giants*, *The Children's Hour*, *True Annals of Fairyland* and *The Children's Garland*, suggesting a youthful interest rather than childish tastes. Varying levels of literacy among the members of the village may also explain the inconsistencies in the ages of the borrowers of juvenile books.⁶⁶

Some of the reader profiles reveal a kind of serendipitous reading of canonical, popular or juvenile literature. For example, during her early twenties Kate Collier, the daughter of a labourer, borrowed works by Jane Austen, R.M. Ballantyne, Evelyn Everette Green, Mark Twain, Katherine Tynan and Charlotte Yonge. Elizabeth Sharp, wife of a gamekeeper in her early forties, likewise borrowed canonical texts and titles of a more popular nature and appears to have roamed freely among the library stock. In addition to three novels by Dickens and a volume of poetry by Longfellow, she borrowed four novels by R. M. Ballantyne, H. Melville's *Holmby House*, Stables' *From Greenland's*

⁶⁵ Another possible explanation is that a number of adult users of the Southleigh library borrowed juvenile literature on behalf of their children or for younger siblings. However, as pupils at the Southleigh school, the majority of children of reading age had easy access to the library and did in fact borrow texts themselves.

⁶⁶ Speaking of the period 1896 to 1913, Christopher Baggs cautions us that even by this late period 'it is easy to overlook the fact that many members of the working class were still only just coming to terms with the three Rs'; 'Well Done, Cymmer Workmen!' The Cymmer collieries workmen's library, 1893-1920', in *Llafur* Vol.5, No.3 (1990), pp.20-27.

Icy Mountains, Charlotte Yonge's *The Dove in the Eagle's Nest*, Katherine Tynan's *Adventures of the Alicia* and other titles such as *The Black Jewel* and *Minnie's Love*.⁶⁷

The most popular of the canonical novelists was Dickens who was borrowed a total of forty-five times and Scott who was borrowed a total of twenty-three. Borrowing figures for individual titles however were low, the most popular work of Dickens being *David Copperfield*, borrowed a total of eleven times by seven different readers (two of whom were consecutive teachers at the school) while Scott's most popular title, *Woodstock*, was loaned on only four occasions to four different readers (two of whom were the Reverend Buckley and his wife). Given the low borrowing figures for the novels of Dickens and the even lower figures for those of Scott, it is likely that the Southleigh library did contain at least some of these authors' other works which do not appear in the borrowing register. Of the remaining canonical works lent from the library, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appears to have been the most popular, being loaned a total of twelve times to eleven different readers. In terms of aggregate borrowing figures, however, it was non-canonical women writers who dominated. Evelyn Everette Green's novels were borrowed a total of fifty-one times during this period with the *Fiery Chariot* and *The Wooing of Val* being loaned on a total of nineteen and fourteen occasions respectively while Katherine Tynan's *Adventures of Alicia* was borrowed twenty times and her *Fortune's Favourite* eighteen times.

⁶⁷ The remaining identified works borrowed by Elizabeth Sharp include three works of geography — *Lennard's Leader* (1890), *Towards Pretoria* (1900) and *In the Vine Country* (1893) — one work of history (*Days of Bruce*, 1852), one biography (*A Forgotten Hero*, n.d.), and seven further works of fiction; *Otterburn Chase* (1898), *From Playground to Battlefield* (1901), *Under the Blue Flag* (1882), *The Ship's Adventure* (1901), *Pirate's Creek* (1883), *Bernard Hamilton* (1880), *Will Trahair's Friends* (1888) and *Nick of the Woods* (n.d.).

The borrowing records of the clergy and those of the schoolmistresses boosted the figures for canonical literature. In 1908 Miss Goodspeed, mistress of the Southleigh school, borrowed eight of Dickens' novels in seven months. Mrs Buckley, the Reverend Buckley's wife, borrowed seven over the period of a year, while Kate Letten, a later mistress of the school, borrowed two in the five months from April 1909. Other than these three borrowers, only one other adult parishioner, Elizabeth Sharp (then in her mid-forties), borrowed any of Dickens' novels. This reader borrowed three during a six month period.⁶⁸ The same is also true of the fourteen novels by Scott which were loaned a combined total of twenty-three times. Of these, Mrs Buckley borrowed four (*Count Robert of Paris*, *Fair Maid of Perth*, *Peveiril of the Peak* and *Woodstock*) between 17 February 1907 and 22 May 1908, her husband the Reverend Buckley borrowed one (*The Bride of Lammermoor*) on 16 May 1909 while his successor the Reverend Bowman, borrowed two (*Kenilworth* on 21 November 1913 and *Woodstock* on 27 November 1913). Only one other adult reader, Mrs Pennington, borrowed more than one of Scott's novels, these being *Count Robert of Paris* and *The Fair Maid of Perth*, loaned to this borrower on 11 September and 4 December 1910 respectively.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Four juveniles also borrowed titles by Dickens. Johnny Summers, whose father was an agricultural labourer, borrowed two of the novels (*David Copperfield* and *The Old Curiosity Shop*) a total of three times. Summers was ten years old when he borrowed *David Copperfield* (March 1909) and *The Old Curiosity Shop* for the first time, and thirteen years old when he borrowed *The Old Curiosity Shop* for the second. Interestingly, Johnny's sister, Maud Summers, borrowed *David Copperfield* twice in April 1909 when aged thirteen. Earlier, in January 1908, she borrowed *Little Dorrit*. Frank Mutter, whose father Tom was also an agricultural labourer, borrowed *David Copperfield* on two occasions, once during 1909 and once during 1912 when aged thirteen. Mutter also borrowed *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *A Tale of Two Cities*. During October and December 1909 when aged fourteen, Ivy Williams, whose father Tom was a farmer, borrowed *Little Dorrit*, *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Our Mutual Friend*.

⁶⁹ Of the younger borrowers, Clara Pinney borrowed six titles — *Heart of Mid Lothian*, *Ivanhoe*, *Old Mortality*, *Quentin Durward*, *Rob Roy* and *The Talisman* — between 8 January and 12 August 1911

Poetry

The second most popular genre with young borrowers was poetry (approximately 10% of loans to juveniles); see table 10(b). It was less popular with adults ranking in only fifth place for men and in only sixth for women. This category contained a number of juvenile texts such as *March Hares and Their Friends*, *Songs for the Nursery*, *New Rhymes For You and Me*, *Nursery Lyrics*, *Nursery Rhymes*, *Rhymes for You and Me* and *Golden Numbers*, which were borrowed almost exclusively by young borrowers and accounted for forty-six of the total 126 loans from this category.⁷⁰ However, some young readers borrowed other texts. In particular the poetical works of Tennyson (seven loans), Coleridge (one) and E.B. Browning (two) which the adults did not take out. This may be because school pupils had to read poetry aloud to pass certain standards in reading.

Despite the low borrowing figures however, the profiles of a number of adult borrowers are interesting. A number of working-class autobiographers said that they pursued cultural or educational programmes of reading for short periods of time, before returning to read fictional texts. It seems that this pattern is repeated by three of the four adults who borrowed more than one text from the category of poetry — Ethel Clode, Mrs Herrod, John Summers, and Elsie Gardner. Clode, the seventeen year old daughter of an agricultural labourer and a former pupil of the Southleigh school, borrowed the poetical works of Browning, Chaucer, Longfellow and Hemans in quick

when aged thirteen to fourteen years. George Trenchard borrowed three — *Ivanhoe*, *Rob Roy* and *Woodstock* — between 12 December 1909 and 20 March 1910, when twelve years old.

⁷⁰ Of the children's poetry available, only two titles, *March Hares and Their Friends* and *Nursery Rhymes*, were lent to adults, on one occasion each.

succession during the month of August 1907 and then returned to a volume by Chaucer in October 1907. Afterwards she borrowed a number of fictional works, predominantly novels. Similarly, Mrs Herrod, the wife of a bailiff, borrowed a volume of poetry by Wordsworth in February 1909 and a week later a volume by Longfellow, followed by Browning and Tennyson.⁷¹ Summers did the same and borrowed the poetry of Longfellow, Wordsworth and Hemans in quick succession immersing himself in this particular genre for a while.⁷² Gardner's pattern was not as well defined as the other readers (*Burn's Songs*, the poetical works of Wordsworth and Scott) however she had been educated at a private school in Colyton which may explain her taste for borrowing the canonical poets.⁷³

Religion

More women and girls borrowed religious works than men and boys (approximately 5% to females, less than 2% to males). Girls borrowed the most accounting for almost 6% of all loans to this group. Boys borrowed slightly more than their elders. The most popular work was *Dawn of Day* borrowed fifteen times followed by *Clary's Confirmation*, borrowed thirteen times. Both of these texts were loaned to adult and

⁷¹ Prior to this Herrod borrowed four volumes of fiction (*Otterburn Chase*, *The Wooing of Val*, *John Halifax* and *Robinson Crusoe*). In total Herrod borrowed a total of twenty different titles from 1909 to 1913. However, other than Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* and *Burn's songs*, Herrod did not borrow any other works which can be considered as either classical or canonical. In terms of adolescent literature, however, she did borrow Ballantyne's *Ungava*. The remaining titles borrowed by Herrod were *The Post Woman*, *Pictorial Tour of the World*, *Five Years in Madagascar*, *In Cloister and Court*, *Fortune's Favourite*, *Minnie's Love*, *Rose Island*, *The Fiery Chariot* and one further title which is illegible.

⁷² After these four consecutive loans Summers was issued with *Our Insect Allies* (27 March 1910), *The Great World's Farm* (24 April 1910) and the poetry of Wordsworth (24 June 1910).

⁷³ An entry in the school logbook dated 23 September 1902 reads 'Elsie Gardner, a standard IV girl, left this school to go to a private school at Colyton'; school logbook, op.cit., pp.307-308. By 1909 when she appears in the register, she would therefore have been over the age of fifteen.

juvenile readers, although *Clary's Confirmation* was loaned to nine girls, one woman and one man but no boys.⁷⁴ This is somewhat surprising since both boys and girls would have been preparing for this religious rite. In addition to overtly religious works the library contained a number of titles which bore the imprint of a religious society or association. Therefore while the borrowing for religious texts was relatively low (accounting for under 4% of total loans), if these additional thirty-nine titles are included approximately 20% of loans were of either an implicitly or explicitly religious nature.

Factual Texts

The third most popular category in the Southleigh library was the joint one of historical and biographical works (101 loans). Over the entire period, seventeen works of biography were consulted a total of fifty-nine times and fifteen works of history a total of forty-two. The most popular were a biography of General Gordon (1833-85) and an unidentified volume entitled *A Forgotten Hero*, followed by *Crown and Sceptre*.⁷⁵ Although the aggregate borrowing figures for the remaining texts belonging to these genres are low, it is interesting to find that texts belonging to the categories of biography and history were more popular with adult than with juvenile readers.

⁷⁴ One reader borrowed this text on three occasions.

⁷⁵ The first of these texts was borrowed nine times, the other two eight times each. Six titles with the words 'a forgotten hero' have been identified. Judging by publication date, it has been possible to narrow the choice of possible titles to two — *The Quest of John Chapman: the story of a forgotten hero* (published by Macmillan in 1904) and *Not For Him: the story of a forgotten hero* (published by J.F. Shaw in 1883).

As a combined percentage, works from these two genres accounted for almost a quarter of all loans to men and for over 12% of those to women. This difference between the sexes is also apparent among the younger readers, accounting for just over 5% of the loans made to boys but for only 1% of those to girls. The most popular title among women readers, *A Forgotten Hero*, was borrowed a total of eight times by this group and only twice by boys. Why this book should have been popular with women but not with boys is not clear. In general, when women did borrow works of a biographical nature, they favoured works dealing with female rather than male figures — *Joan the Maid* being borrowed four times, *Child-life and Girlhood of Remarkable Women* three times and *The Life of Agnes Strickland* and *Queen Victoria* being borrowed once each by this group of readers. Likewise, when men or boys took out biographical works they chose those dealing with male rather than female figures, for example the biography of Henry Morton Stanley and a work entitled *Heroes of the Arctic* were borrowed three times each by boys. The biographies of King Edward, Alfred the Great and a work entitled *The Boldness of a Great King* were also borrowed once each by boys. Neither the men nor the boys borrowed any biographies of women, but the girls did borrow the biographies of General Gordon and Henry Morton Stanley (though only once each).

While the borrowing figures are too low to draw general conclusions, a few observations can be made. For instance, while the biography of General Gordon, the British soldier who came to fame commanding troops in the defence of Shanghai during the Taiping rebellion (1850-64), was relatively popular, a book dealing with the

rebellion itself, *Events in the Taiping Revolution*, was borrowed on only one occasion. Famously General Gordon had been interviewed by W.T. Stead in the *Pall Mall Gazette* before the campaign. Stead's new journalism had made him a celebrity.⁷⁶ This was all within living memory and this may have been the reason for the popularity of the biography. In contrast, the biography of Wellington which had been popular with readers in the Kidderminster library — when the events of the Napoleonic Wars were still remembered — was borrowed on only one occasion at Southleigh.

The most popular geography title *Towards Pretoria: A Record of the war between Britain and Boer* can also be explained by the proximity of the events of the story — the second Boer war (1899-1902). Geography was the fourth most popular genre for males in general, accounting for 11% of the total loans to men and for 7% of those to boys. In common with those of history and biography this genre was not quite as popular with female borrowers, accounting for less than 4% of all loans to women and for less than 3% of all loans to girls. Only three titles — *Towards Pretoria*, *A Pictorial Tour of the World* and *In the Great White Land* — were borrowed on more than ten occasions and two were borrowed more than five times: *Stories From the Gorilla Country* and *Lennard's Leader; or, on the track of the Emin Relief Expedition* (1890).

Of the remaining categories found in the Southleigh lending library, only science was borrowed a significant number of times; twenty titles were loaned on ninety occasions. This genre commanded over 8% of the total loans to boys, under 5% of those to girls,

⁷⁶See 'The End of General Gordon' in Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Arnold, General Gordon, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons (1918).

just over 4% of those to women and under 2% of those to men. A book entitled *The Zoo* was the most popular title with young readers but was not borrowed by any of the adults. Of the remaining nineteen titles, it is interesting to find that the six titles belonging to the *Story of Series ...* (1895/99) published by George Newnes were borrowed by pupils at the Southleigh school while titles such as *The Beauties of Nature*, *Naturalist Voyage Around the World*, were generally favoured by adults.

Conclusion

Despite the modest size of the Southleigh village library, the two most popular categories of fiction and poetry contained a number of works which catered for particular groups of readers. Young children were provided with titles such as *Fur Coats and Feathered Frocks* and *Songs for the Nursery* while older boys and girls could find the novels of W.H.G. Kingston, R.M. Ballantyne, G.A. Henty, Julia Horatia Ewing and Charlotte Yonge in the library. Adolescent and adult borrowers in general were also catered for as a number of titles by authors such as Walter Besant, Wilkie Collins, Charles Dickens, Evelyn Everette Green, Matilda Anne Planche, Walter Scott, Mrs Beecher Stowe, and Katherine Tynan formed a considerable portion of the library stock. In addition, volumes of poetry from the Romantic and Victorian periods offered readers a collection of titles which in terms of their cultural range were broader than those on offer in the two libraries of Kidderminster and Huddersfield. Other genres in the library, such as those of biography and history or arts and crafts also covered a range of topics and included both juvenile and adult literature.

In fact, it is significant to find that at the beginning of the twentieth century a village library serving a population of only 196 villagers boasted a stock containing over 300 titles. While the earlier libraries held more — in 1855 the Kidderminster Municipal Library held 364 and in 1858 the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute held 572 — they both served the population of a town. Changes in the publishing industry and the general trend towards lower priced books, which accelerated from the 1890s onwards, are reflected in the content of the library which included titles belonging to some of the cheaper series. Similarly, the number of actual borrowers — over 50% of the village population — and the high percentage of loans for fiction (over 70%) are indicative of the spread of literacy and the growth of leisure reading among the working class.

We might expect the study of a small village library like Southleigh to show differences in reading ability between the generations. Certainly a significantly higher proportion of loans were made to readers between the ages of ten and twenty-five. Due to the poor schooling in Southleigh prior to 1900, pupils of the later period (1907 to 1914) were very often the only members of a family who used the library. Indeed of the forty-eight readers whose adult borrowing patterns have been analysed, only six were the parents of current pupils.

In terms of borrowing patterns, there were as many similarities as there were differences between the various groups of borrowers and very few of the titles appearing in the borrowing book were lent exclusively to either adult or to juvenile

readers. The limited size of the library stock was naturally one of the causes of this trend but it was certainly not the only one. The only genre in which clearly defined demarcations between the borrowing of various groups occurred was that of biography which was stratified according to sex not age. That titles such as *Joan the Maid*, *Childhood and Girlhood of Remarkable Women*, *The Life of Agnes Strickland* and *Queen Victoria* were lent exclusively to women and girls shows that titles which clearly identified their biographical subjects as female influenced reader choice.⁷⁷

Borrowers' profiles also suggest that there were significant differences in literacy levels even within one school cohort. The improved situation after 1900 is reflected by the high number of pupil borrowers, yet varying levels of literacy were still to be found as a number of adults and adolescents borrowed the same texts as children. For some readers this anomaly can be attributed to the limited size of the library stock, but for others, like Arthur Pennington, it was the result of their schooling. This observation is supported by the evidence of the different borrowing patterns of those educated outside the village which show that they appropriated the library stock in different ways and borrowed more canonical authors.

Nevertheless, the borrowing register presents a staggering testimony to the pace at which reading itself had become established as a leisure activity among the labouring and working-class population of England. Frequent users of the Southleigh library borrowed canonical and educational works in tandem with popular, adolescence and

⁷⁷ This statement is not meant to imply that works of a biographical nature are aimed at members of the same sex as the subject, but that this factor played a part in borrower choice in Southleigh library.

juvenile ones. For such readers, the printed word clearly formed an important part of their lives and, as the borrowing figures indicate, books had become a part of home life. The following chapter traces the ascendancy of leisure reading through the correspondence pages of popular journals and examines the habits of readers who turned to canonical and educational texts as a means of study, and to popular ones as a means of relaxation.

Chapter 6

New Sources of Reading Habits and Reading Experiences:

‘Answers to Correspondents’ in the *Family Herald, Reynolds’ Newspaper* and the *London Journal*, 1860 to 1900

Introduction

The coming of the penny weekly journal, the popular Sunday newspaper and the introduction of the penny post in the 1840s, brought with them a new publishing phenomenon, namely the ‘Answers to Correspondents’. These sections of the popular weeklies, which were devoted to answering or discussing any query or topic raised by readers’ letters, enable the reading practices and experiences of the working classes who left no conscious record of their reading to be examined. The evidence presented here provides a means of contrasting the reading experiences of the autobiographers with some of their contemporaries and allows the gap between the former source and the statistics regarding library borrowing records, to be bridged. The unusual nature of the reading experiences revealed through the answers make this unique source a

particularly valuable one. This chapter shows how they can be used to explore both the specific and the general reading experiences of common readers. Although it focuses upon the answers to correspondents in three publications — the *Family Herald* (1842), the *London Journal* (1845) and *Reynolds' Newspaper* (1850) — for the period 1860 to 1900, it indicates an area where further research is needed.

The nature of the answers to correspondents and of the reading experience brought about by them is considered first. Following this, the topics discussed in these answers are analysed in order to ascertain how many refer to reading matter. Those which do, are then examined in greater detail. A statistical analysis reveals general changes in reading tastes and habits, while a final study of the specific reading experiences shows how the evidence provided here complements that of other sources.

The nature of the source

Sales figures, contemporary observation and internal evidence indicate that *Reynolds' Newspaper*, the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal* all drew their readership from the expanding lower-middle and working classes during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Founded by G.W.M. Reynolds in May 1850 as a Chartist organ, *Reynolds' Newspaper* was published under various titles until January 1967.¹ Likewise, the *Family Herald* enjoyed a long life being published for almost a century, from December 1842 to April 1940, while the *London Journal*, founded in 1845, was

¹ The various titles and dates of this publication are as follows: *Reynolds' Weekly Newspaper* (May 1850 to February 1851); *Reynolds' Newspaper* (March 1851 to January 1923); *Reynolds' News* (February 1923 to September 1924); *Reynolds' Illustrated News* (September 1924 to February 1936);

published until 1912.² Although it is difficult to establish exact sales figures, it is evident that all three publications maintained a wide circulation for most of this period. From the start, *Reynolds' Newspaper*, along with *Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper*, the *News of the World* and the *Weekly Times*, was cheaper than the national dailies or political weeklies and its low price attracted an estimated readership of 300,000 in the 1860s.³ In the first few years of publication the *Family Herald* sold an estimated 125,000 copies per week and this level of distribution appears to have been sustained throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁴ For example, an article of 1894 states 'Such papers as the *Family Herald*, depending entirely on fiction ... seem to have greatly extended their circulation', while an advert of 1901 contains the following quote taken from the *Illustrated London News*: 'The *Family Herald*, that joy of tens of thousands of innocent English households'.⁵ The publisher's own claim:

The combined circulation of the *Family Herald*, *Family Herald Supplement*, *Happy Hour* and *One-Story Magazine*, as certified by an eminent firm of Chartered Accountants, amounts to an average of 300,000 copies weekly

does not, therefore, appear to be a great exaggeration.⁶ In common with the above, the *London Journal* was one of the most popular mass-circulation periodicals, achieving an estimated circulation of 350,000 in 1858.⁷

Reynolds' News (March 1936 to August 1944); *Reynolds' News and Sunday Citizen* (August 1944 to 1962); *Sunday Citizen* (September 1962 to January 1967).

² In common with *Reynolds' Newspaper* the *London Journal* also went under various names, the dates and titles of which are as follows: *London Journal and Weekly Record of Literature, Science and Art* (March 1845 to April 1906); *New London Journal* (May 1906); *London Journal* (May 1909 to January 1912).

³ See Virginia Stewart Berridge, 'Popular Sunday Papers and Mid-Victorian Society', op.cit., pp.247-64.

⁴ Amy Cruse, *The Victorians and Their Reading*, op.cit., p.124.

⁵ Joseph Ackland, 'Elementary Education and the Decay of Literature', op.cit., p.421; and *The Newspaper Press Directory*, No.56, London: C.Mitchell and Co. (1901), p.341.

⁶ *The Newspaper Press Directory*, No.60, London: C.Mitchell and Co. (1905), p.553.

Contemporary observation, that *Reynolds' Newspaper*, the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal* were read by members of the 'Unknown Public', is confirmed by these figures and by internal evidence. Through its blend of political radicalism (albeit mild) and popular sensationalism, *Reynolds' Newspaper* appealed to a readership made up of members of the lower-middle and working classes, ranging from the older skilled artisans to the labouring poor and from old grass-root supporters of the Chartist movement to the members of the new trade unions. Information taken from the answers to correspondents in the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal* (both of which contained serialised and whole fictional stories) similarly suggests that their readers were not autodidacts, autobiographers, or future political leaders but small shopkeepers, domestic servants, factory workers, clerks and members of the armed forces; female as well as male readers. As a result, additional information contained in the answers to correspondents can be used to ascertain the interests of a significant group of common readers and to compare the readership of the three publications.

The overwhelming popularity of answers to correspondents in the second half of the nineteenth century is shown by the sheer number of communications received each week by various journals and newspapers. For example, Virginia Berridge has estimated that the *Weekly Times* alone was receiving an average of 167 questions per week in 1886, while in 1870, the editor of the *Family Herald* indicated that he was in

⁷ This figure is quoted in Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader*, op.cit., p.394 and is taken from an address by Henry Brougham, *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (1858), p.36.

receipt of roughly 200 letters per week.⁸ The launch of *Answers* (1888) by Northcliffe, a weekly devoted entirely to 'Answers to Correspondents on Every Subject Under the Sun', also testifies to this. Despite the sheer volume of enquires, a genuine attempt was made to answer all correspondence as quickly and as accurately as possible. If communications received had not been answered in a few days of their receipt enquirers were informed that their query would either be answered in the following edition or that it had been 'handed to those who may be able to reply'.⁹ Evidence from *Reynolds' Newspaper* also shows that when no answer was received in an acceptable time limit correspondents repeated their question and, as long as they abided by the rules, sending 'their full name and address as a guarantee of good faith', were obliged with an answer.¹⁰

Despite their evident popularity, answers to correspondents have never been the subject of serious research. This may be because they are belittled in contemporary surveys of popular periodicals as containing useless information, thus deterring the researcher, although it is more likely they have been overlooked because of their very nature.¹¹ Not only are they a unique publishing phenomenon, but a rather curious one. Unlike the 'Letters to the Editor', this section was made up entirely of answers, preceded by the correspondent's signature or pseudonym, while the letters which had prompted these replies remained unpublished. The replies themselves vary in length

⁸ Virginia Berridge 'Popular Sunday Papers and Mid-Victorian Society', op. cit., p.252; *Family Herald*, Vol.XXVIII, No.1433 (8 October 1870), p.364.

⁹ For example, see *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No.1536 (18 January 1880), p.4 and No.2626 (9 December 1900), p.4.

¹⁰ *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No.2578 (7 January 1900), p.4.

and in clarity. Generally, a handful are answered with a small paragraph, a larger number by one or two sentences, and even more by short phrases or a few words. As a result, many of these replies do not make much sense to the casual reader.

The most logical explanation for the format of these pages, that the intended audience of each answer was the enquiring correspondent only, does not hold true upon further inspection. Firstly, certain topics in these seemingly personal answers were thrown open to the opinions or knowledge of other readers. For example, in response to a query 'A.M.B.' received the following answer:¹²

We are unable, of our own knowledge to afford the desired information. To assist you however we publish your want, in the hope that some one of our readers may satisfy you. The following is the first verse of a poem, of which our Correspondent is anxious to know the title and name of the author:

*'Do you know you have asked for the costliest thing
Ever made by the hand of God
A woman's heart, and a woman's soul,
And a woman's marvellous love.'*

Similarly, those enquiring about a subject which had previously been answered were often told so, rather than given an answer themselves. For example, in *Reynolds' Newspaper* 'N.K. of Liverpool' was informed that 'We have already replied to a similar question,' while in the *Family Herald* 'M.B.' was told:¹³

we have repeatedly answered similar inquiries. Perhaps once in every five or six months the question crops up and we answer it afresh. You must have forgotten to keep a close watch on our Correspondence columns.

¹¹ For examples, see Anon. 'The Byways of Literature', *Blackwood's Magazine* Vol.LXXXIV (1858), pp.210-11; and Wilkie Collins 'The Unknown Public', op.cit.

¹² *Family Herald*, Vol.LXXXV, No.2995 (15 September 1900), p.316.

¹³ *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No.2578 (7 January 1900), p.4; *Family Herald*, Vol.LXXXV, No.2977 (13 May 1900), p.28.

In both cases, the implication is that these readers should have paid attention earlier. Indeed by means of an answer to their query, many were referred not only to previous articles, but to previous answers in earlier issues — a somewhat cumbersome way of gaining information although, as discussed below, an early marketing tool.

The editors of these pages, it appears, were essentially making two assumptions about the reading habits of their journals' audience. Firstly, they believed that the majority would actually read the published answers. In an advert for the *Family Herald* which ran in *Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory* from 1867 to 1900, the *Saturday Review* was quoted as stating that in the *Family Herald*, 'The Answers to Correspondents cannot be fictitious, a romance and a life history being embodied in almost every one of them'.¹⁴ That these pages warranted a mention in an article examining the magazine's general character and that this quote was then used by the proprietors in an advert for the magazine, implies that these pages were seen as attractive reading matter, or as a main component of the journal itself. The second assumption was that readers kept old issues and could easily refer back to previous answers as well as articles. In *Reynolds' Newspaper* correspondents were even provided with detailed instructions for making a file of the newspaper:¹⁵

To make a file of this newspaper adopt either of the following plans: (1) Fold the numbers in four breath wise, lay them on each other in order of dates, and pass a buckled strap round the pack; or (2) get a thin smooth

¹⁴ This quotation first appears in *The Newspaper Press Directory*, No.22, London: C.Mitchell, (1867), p.174

¹⁵ *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No. 2610 (19 August 1900), p.4. While keeping back issues of magazines is also a present day assumption, the idea that readers would re-read previous answers and file their old newspapers is a more curious one.

board (or a millboard or strawboard) the size of the page of paper, punch four holes about 1 in. from back edge of board, make four corresponding holes towards the back of your first number of Reynolds's for the year, then lace a piece of good sized twine in and out through board and number, and tie ends in a bow behind board so as to secure the newspaper to the board. Do the same with each weeks number as you get it, and at the end of the year you will have an annual file of the paper easy to stow away and handy to refer to. This latter is a plan very usually adopted.

The editors' assumptions do not appear to be unfounded. In these pages, readers corresponded with one another (via the editor), debated the occasional running theme, advised each other, or commented upon previous answers. For example, one using the pseudonym 'A SAUCY MINX' was told 'We are sure 'A.B.C.' will be glad you liked and thoroughly agreed with her letter' regarding suitors.¹⁶ In *Reynolds' Newspaper* the correspondence columns also acted as a medium for exchanging second-hand books or gaining literary texts. For example 'Mr J. Noss' was told that if he were to 'send a stamped directed envelope to Mrs. Donovan of 38, Pendray, Neath, South Wales that Mrs. Donovan will forward Mr. Oscar Wilde's poem '*Each One Kills the Thing He Loves.*'¹⁷ As the above suggests, the answers were not the personalised reading matter they appeared to be upon first glance. They were open to, and indeed intended for, mass consumption.

The second assumption, that some readers kept their old issues, also appears to have been true. For example, in January 1900 the following answer appeared:

JAMIE HILL sends us an extract from the *Family Herald* written in 1850, prospectively on the last half of the century, and particularly on its end, when the writer imagines 'some of the grey-headed men and women of

¹⁶ *Family Herald*, Vol.LXXXIV, No.2971 (31 March 1900), p.348.

¹⁷ *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No. 2590 (1 April 1900), p.4.

that epoch remembering these words.’ Our Correspondent does remember the words

and, has evidently recently re-read them.¹⁸ Other answers indicate that old issues were kept and referred to for common as well as commemorative reasons. For example, in issue number 1,171 of the *Family Herald*, ‘Ronald of the Rath and Spa Waters’ was informed that the recipes for skin which he sought were contained in issue number 526, while a substantial number of other readers were directed towards issues containing various articles on subjects as diverse as photography, deafness and marriage proposals.¹⁹ A number of the very short answers simply state ‘see number *n*’, also suggesting that many of these replies were to straightforward questions asking in which issue particular articles might be found. The readers of *Reynolds’ Newspaper* also appear to have consulted back issues and if they had not kept a file as recommended by the editor were advised ‘There is a file of the papers kept at the office, which you could consult at anytime.’²⁰

Back issues of the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal* may, of course, have been kept and bought after their initial publication date because they contained serialised fiction. For example, in issue number 1,171 of the *Family Herald* ‘Nelly’ was advised the story ‘Twice Married’ commenced in number 1,122 and that she therefore ‘requires eleven Numbers, and they will cost ... 1s 3d post free.’²¹ Rather surprisingly, in order to meet this demand for back issues the proprietors of both the *Family Herald*

¹⁸ *Family Herald*, Vol.LXXXIV, No.2961 (20 January 1900), p.188.

¹⁹ *Family Herald*, Vol.XXIII, No.1171 (7 October 1865), p.364.

²⁰ *Reynolds’ Newspaper*, No. 1566 (15 August 1880), p.4.

²¹ *Family Herald*, Vol XXIII, No.1171 (7 October 1865), p.364.

and the *London Journal* claimed that all the numbers of these publications were 'constantly kept in print' and, in issue number 893 the *Family Herald* printed the following statement:²²

BACK NUMBERS. — In consequence of the numerous complaints from persons residing in the country of inability to complete their Volumes, we again repeat *that not a single number of the FAMILY HERALD is ever out of print*. Subscribers unable to procure back numbers through their Bookseller or Booksellers through their agents, may have them forwarded from our publisher through the book post as follows:

3 numbers, 1d. extra; 7 for 2d. extra; 15 for 4d. extra and 30 for 8d. extra. A single Number costs 1d. extra by post.

Numbers 1 to 416 are twopence each; Nos. 417 to the present Number, One Penny each.

Issue number one, published in December 1842, could be obtained at least eighteen years later in 1860.

This attempt to accommodate subscribers also extended to overseas readers since it was claimed 'Wherever there is a bookseller or newsman to be found the *Family Herald* can be obtained, no matter in what part of the world'.²³ When there was no bookseller or newsman, personal overseas subscriptions were also catered for, 'Inquirer in Burma' being informed in 1860 that 'monthly parts of the *Family Herald* are sent free to India by post for 14s per annum'.²⁴ The first edition of *Reynolds' Newspaper* (printed on Thursdays) was also exported and, during the Boer war, soldiers reading a newspaper with a pro-Boer stance appear to have caused some

²² *Family Herald*, Vol. XVIII, No. 893 (7 June 1860), p.92.

²³ *Family Herald*, Vol. XVII, No. 873 (21 Jan 1860), p.604.

²⁴ *Family Herald*, Vol. XVIII, No. 889 (12 May 1860), p.28.

controversy as the editors asked readers to inform them if they knew of any case of *Reynolds' Newspaper* being forbidden in the barracks.²⁵

Just as the majority of overseas readers of *Reynolds' Newspaper* were British in origin, those of the *Family Herald* appear to have been expatriates, such as the South African friend of 'E.B.S.', referred to in the following quote:²⁶

We are much obliged to you for forwarding the quotation from your South African friend's letter, with its very gratifying compliment about the readableness of the *F.H.* from the beginning to end. We hope the copies you have sent out have done ten fold duty. Papers forwarded to friends abroad are often a great delight, and as you say, 'keep old memories green'

While the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal* were forwarded to friends and family, *Reynolds' Newspaper* was circulated by readers attempting to spread its influence and posted anonymously to grateful recipients such as 'John S. Rae' who, in one of the answers, 'thanks the anonymous reader of *Reynolds'* who sends him weekly a number of our newspaper and desires his name and address on a post card'.²⁷

The answers to correspondents can therefore tell us something about the business practices of the publishers and the general reading habits of these nineteenth-century journal readers. Comments indicating that old volumes of periodicals could be purchased as new directly from the publisher, suggests that the latter texts were kept not only by working-class readers (as evidenced in chapter two) and by libraries (as shown in chapters three and four), but stockpiled by publishers in anticipation of a later demand. The quantity of copies kept is not known, but both the practice and the

²⁵ *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No. 2596 (13 May 1900), p.4 & No. 2602 (24 June 1900), p.4.

²⁶ *Family Herald*, Vol. LXXXIV (24 March 1900), No. 2970, p. 332

advertising of this fact suggest publication figures often overestimated their demand. This implies that weekly circulation figures could vary quite widely and that even for the more popular journals establishing a base of regular weekly readers was difficult. Significantly, it also suggests that the answers pages were used as a marketing ploy to build and maintain a reader base, for both recent and old volumes of these journals.

The above evidence complements and adds to that given in the preceding chapters by indicating that the reading of old and second-hand or passed on volumes of periodicals formed a significant part of the reading habits of common readers throughout the second-half of the nineteenth century. It shows that horizontal exchange mechanisms could act not only over distances but also between readers who had in fact never met. Referring to the correspondence columns in *Notes and Queries* (1849) and their antiquarian chit-chat, Patrick Leary has suggested they were a Victorian analogue to modern day e-mail lists since they brought geographically diverse readers into contact with one another.²⁸ The evidence presented here suggests that the answers to correspondents played a similar role for some common readers. A closer examination of the topics discussed in these answers highlights the number of ways in which readers interacted not only with one another but with the journals themselves.

Statistical Analysis

A statistical analysis of the answers contained in every other issue of all three publications for the years 1860, 1880 and 1900 reveals that in 1860 just over 14% (or

²⁷ *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No. 2594 (29 April 1900), p.4.

approximately one in every eight) of the answers in the *Family Herald* made reference to reading matter not contained in the *Family Herald* itself (see table 12 below).²⁹ By 1880 this figure had risen to just over 24% (approximately 1 in every 4) and by 1900 to almost 30% (approximately 1 in every 3). The answers in *Reynolds' Newspaper* also display a similar percentage rise in references to extra reading matter. In 1860 just over 11% (approximately 1 in every 9) of the answers referred to such material. By 1880 this figure had risen to just over 13% (approximately 1 in every 7) and by 1900 to over 21% (approximately 1 in every 5). These figures indicate that as a percentage of the total, answers referring to reading matter increased over the entire period.

Table 12: Total number of answers analysed and the percentage referring to reading matter not contained in the periodicals themselves.

Date	1860			1880			1900		
	Total	Total referring to texts	% referring to texts	Total	Total referring to texts	% referring to texts	Total	Total referring to texts	% referring to texts
<i>Family Herald</i>	1,632	231	14.1	1,773	433	24.4	417	123	29.5
<i>Reynolds' Newspaper</i>	575	64	11.1	1,427	190	13.3	2,144	459	21.4
<i>London Journal</i>	2,104	246	11.7	960	71	7.4	1,385	123	8.9
Total	4,311	541	12.7	4,160	694	16.5	3,946	705	19.2

N.B. Due to the changing character of the answers to correspondents pages, as discussed below, personal (or lonely hearts) notices which appeared in the *London Journal* during 1880 have not been included in the count of total answers for that year. Likewise, with regards to *Reynolds' Newspaper*, those providing legal advice to correspondents have also been omitted from the total for the years 1860 and 1880. These latter replies to queries are however, interesting in themselves indicating the increasing dominance of print culture over the lives of the masses and the erosion of traditional and community based sources of oral information.³⁰

²⁸ Patrick Leary, 'A Victorian Virtual Community', *Victorian Review*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Winter 2000), pp. 62-79.

²⁹ This figure omits those answers referring to other issues of the periodicals under discussion.

³⁰ For a further discussion of this see David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, op.cit., esp. pp. 171-80.

The answers to correspondents contained in the *London Journal*, however, did not reveal the same increase over time. From a peak of just under 12% (or approximately 1 in 9) in 1860 the percentage of answers referring to other reading matter fell to just over 7% (approximately 1 in 14) in 1880 before increasing slightly to just under 9% (approximately 1 in 11) in 1900. These differences can, however, be explained by three factors. Firstly, it is likely that the drop in referrals observed in 1880 was due to the fact that by this date a large portion of the correspondence pages appearing in the *London Journal* were given over to personal (or lonely hearts) notices, or to correspondence of a more spicy nature. This may have acted as a deterrent to those wishing to ask more general questions.³¹ By 1900 advertisements of the lonely hearts variety no longer appeared in the *London Journal* and were in fact now frowned upon by the editor of these pages. This may explain the slight increase in more general correspondence by the later date.

Secondly, according to contemporary observers, such as Alexander Strathan, the journal had itself further declined in character by 1870 and the lower number of references to reading matter for both of the later dates in comparison to 1860, may be a reflection of a change in the journal's readership.³² Indeed, while references to outside reading matter were low for 1880, on the other hand, the number of correspondents asking for the editor's opinion on their handwriting was now sufficient to warrant a separate section in these pages devoted entirely to this issue. Under the

³¹ The personal columns are themselves an interesting phenomena, reflecting the isolation faced by dislocated members of the working classes who had moved from rural to urban communities.

³² See Alexander Strahan, 'Our Very Cheap Literature', in *Contemporary Review*, No.14 (1870), pp.439-60.

handwriting section, correspondents received answers such as 'Fair but cramped; wants freedom', 'to be fashionable it must be larger and more vigorous', or 'needs more practice'.

Thirdly, compared to the other two publications, the information given to correspondents of the *London Journal* regarding reading matter was of a more general nature. While both the *Family Herald* and *Reynolds' Newspaper* advised readers of book titles, prices, publishers, their addresses and whether the works were likely to be found in a public library or on a second-hand bookstall, the editor of the *London Journal* often instead told correspondents to see any work on the subject. This difference in the quality of answers provided may account for the lower number of correspondents requesting information regarding reading matter from the latter journal and for the higher number of those requesting such information from the two former ones.

Nevertheless, despite the differences between the figures for the *Family Herald* and *Reynolds' Newspaper* and those for the *London Journal*, the evidence from all three publications indicate that a substantial percentage of correspondents were requesting information on printed texts, or being directed towards them in the columns of the correspondence pages. Furthermore, unlike those contained in other sources, these references are not limited by genre, supply nor literary merit, but range quite freely from titles such as *A Dictionary of Cant and Vulgar Words* (n.d.) to *The Art of Perfumery* (1855), from the 'wants' columns of daily newspapers to catalogues of

books on the Russian language. They include information on the best dictionary to buy or use, discussions on classical literature and the dishonesty of advertisements which had duped readers. Both the quantity and quality of such answers allow a crude statistical analysis of changing reading patterns and uses to be made.

Table 13(a) below provides an aggregate genre breakdown of the texts referred to in the answers for each of the periodicals during the three sampled years, while tables 13(b) and 13(c) provide a percentage analysis of the same information. Specifically, table 13(b) provides a percentage breakdown of identifiable genres for each of periodicals during the years 1860, 1880 and 1900, while table 13(c) provides a percentage breakdown of the combined aggregate genre figures for each of the sampled years. In order to analyse the answers referring to other reading matter, those which did were assigned to a genre classification using the following method. If only one text was referred to in an answer, the genre of the text was used to assign the answer to the appropriate grouping. If two texts belonging to separate genres were mentioned in the same answer the classification was divided between them, accounting for the *n.5* figures in tables 13(a) and 13(c) below.³³ When more than two genres were referred to in the same answer, the classification was divided in accordance with the two most prominent groupings so as to retain the general character of the answer itself (for split genres see appendix D).³⁴

³³ In order to avoid distorting the figures this was deemed to be the most appropriate method since, as stated above, the answers themselves varied in length. Classifying each title separately would therefore have resulted in the dominance of certain answers.

In tables 13(a) and 13(c), the category ‘obtaining’ indicates that an answer provided information on how to obtain a text, but no signification as to the genre of the text itself. For example, the following answer to ‘O.S.M.’ which clearly referred to reading matter, falls in this category: ‘if there be any work at all upon the subject, you would doubtless be able to procure it at Weale’s bookseller, Holborn’ (see appendix D, table J for further examples).³⁵ Although they too are an interesting phenomenon — indicating that the readers of these periodicals viewed the editors of these pages (and the pages themselves) as a source of information which could help them to locate texts — they have, in common with those whose genre classification could not be identified, been omitted from the percentage analysis of the genres referred to, given in tables 13(b) and 13(c) below.³⁶ The base figures used in calculating the percentages are, however, given in both tables.

Since this analysis is offered as an exploration of the source the eight genre groupings used in tables 13(a), 13(b) and 13(c) are quite broad comprising periodicals, ‘general literature, fiction, poetry, drama and song’, reference works, how to books, textbooks and self-educators, ‘economics, politics and law’, religion and philosophy, ephemera and other factual matter.³⁷ Nevertheless, it is an indication of the value of these pages that certain genres which did not appear in significant numbers in the sources considered in chapters two to five make a strong showing in this one.

³⁴ It was considered appropriate not to split the genres further, since this would bring no substantial statistical value.

³⁵ *Reynolds’ Newspaper*, No.508 (6 May, 1860), p.8.

³⁶ The content of the answers analysed in tables 13(b) and 13(c) are given in appendix D.

Specifically, table 13(c) indicates that as a percentage of the whole, ephemera accounted for over 10% of all references to reading matter during 1860 and for over 5% in 1880 and 1900. Included in this category are answers to questions regarding placards in the street, legends on coins, printed circulars and the meaning of letters such as *R.S.V.P.* or *P.P.C.* appearing on cards. In addition, a large proportion of these answers refer the reader to the wants columns of newspapers, the employment sections or to catalogues of books on particular subjects. As such, they indicate that locating printed information and books remained a problem for common readers throughout the period and support the evidence which suggests that geographical location played a major role in shaping reading habits. With regards to the genres discussed in the preceding chapters, the evidence taken from these pages also provides a number of interesting insights regarding the ways in which common readers interacted with print culture itself.

As tables 13(b) and 13(c) indicate, throughout the period as a whole, references to other newspapers and magazines remained substantial in all three publications, accounting for between 12% to 16% of those in the *Family Herald*, for between 6% to 14% of those in the *London Journal* and for a higher proportion of between 22% to 34% for *Reynolds' Newspaper*. Indeed, of the total answers in *Reynolds' Newspaper* which refer to reading matter, this category represents the single largest genre for the entire period.

³⁷ For this reason, the figures given here differ from those provided in Teresa Gerrard, 'New Methods in the History of Reading: Answers to Correspondents in *Family Herald*, 1860-1900', *Publishing*

Interestingly, both readers' comments, contained in, and the actual answers provided, were often critical of other newspapers and their political stance. For example, one answer from *Reynolds's Newspaper* agreed with the correspondent 'Ferdinand Week of Norwich' that 'some of the unscrupulous Jingo journals which are now being published in this country are a disgrace to civilisation.'³⁸ In their reactions to such texts, a number of autobiographers also indicate that increased exposure to a wider variety of newspapers and of the political bias therein made them aware of the differences between varying types of publications. For example, referring to four publications used to practice shorthand, C.H. Rolph (b.1901, pub.1974) notes that *John Bull* was 'successful scandal-mongering' while, referring to his grandmother's reading practises, suggests that although she 'knew a bit about contemporary public affairs ... it seemed mainly to have been absorbed, and was exclusively expressed, in the kind of clichés and catch-phrases with which the Northcliffe Press was newly nourishing a readership that could be satisfied or fobbed off with outlines and jeering witticisms'.³⁹ Where political opinions were voiced a number of later autobiographers also suggest they did not accept them without question. For example, although George Elson (b.1833, pub.1900) noted that before the age of twenty-one his reading of the *News of the World* aroused 'thoughts and feelings of patriotism ... within me, creating a sympathy for, and a desire to be of service to, the wronged and oppressed in all countries', the later Tom Thomas (b.1902, pub.1977) recalled:⁴⁰

History, Vol.XLII, No.10 (1998), pp.53-70.

³⁸ *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No. 2622 (11 November 1900), p.4.

³⁹ C.H. Rolph, *London Particulars*, op.cit., pp.85 & p.122.

⁴⁰ George Elson, *The Last Days*, op.cit., p.209; Tom Thomas, 'A Propertyless Theatre for the

I became a socialist, an emotional and ill-formed one, quite early in life because of the influence of my grandmother who was an Ulster Unionist, and of her *Daily Mail*, which was the only newspaper that came into our house. I read it each day from the age of seven or eight. Disgust turned to loathing as I read the campaigns which it ran against the reforms which the Liberal government of Mr Asquith was introducing ... The proposal to pay a pension of 5s. a week to persons of 70 who had actually not contributed a single penny to the cost of providing it, was an almost criminal act in the *Mail's* eyes, a loosening of the moral fibre of the nation. In the same issue I would read fulsome descriptions of country house parties, presentation parties, etc. The clothes worn and the meals eaten received the full flunkey treatment. I was nauseated by such selfishness.

Referring to the reporting of the Boer war and of opposition to it, T.A. Jackson (b.1879, t.s. c1952) also notes 'how easily Tory gangs could be mobilised to attack not only Radical meetings ... and the homes of those known to be 'pro Boers'', stating: 'The Daily Mail played a scandalous part in all but openly inciting those mob violences. It took care that anything in the way of a demonstration, big or little, got what was for them the 'right' sort of publicity, and they wrote up the riots when they occurred in a humorous vein as evidencing a good, healthy British 'spirit of fun!''.⁴¹

Significantly, for both the *Family Herald* and *Reynolds' Newspaper* the number of titles being recommended to readers or to which they were directed for information

Propertyless Class', *History Workshop Journal*, No.4 (Autumn 1977), pp.113-127, p.113.

⁴¹ T.A. Jackson, 'Solo Trumpet', *op.cit.*, p.20.

also increased over the period. Where 'see local paper' sufficed for the two former sample years, references to a number of specific publications are found during the latter with, for example, answers directing the correspondents more specifically to the *Stamford Mercury*, *Yorkshire Post* and the *Preston Guardian* by 1900. In accordance with the growth in the number of available titles and efforts to provide a qualitative

Table 13(a): Aggregate genre breakdown of texts referred to in the answers to correspondents pages of the *Family Herald*, *Reynolds' Newspaper* and the *London Journal*.

	<i>Family Herald</i>			Total	<i>Reynolds' Newspaper</i>			Total	<i>London Journal</i>			Total
	1860	1880	1900		1860	1880	1900		1860	1880	1900	
Date												
Periodicals	25.0	45.0	17.5	87.5	11.0	28.0	135.5	174.5	29.0	8.0	6.5	43.5
Fiction, poetry, drama	27.0	36.5	35.0	98.5	6.0	18.0	43.5	67.5	53.0	15.0	45.0	113
Reference	27.0	56.0	14.5	97.5	3.0	41.0	43.5	87.5	26.0	8.0	13.5	47.5
How to	15.5	87.0	13.0	115.5	1.5	3.0	21.5	26	13.0	3.0	7.0	23
Textbooks, self-educators	19.5	27.0	7.5	54	1.5	8.0	20.5	30	12.0	5.0	1.0	18
Economics, politics	3.0	8.0	3.0	14	6.5	22.0	67.5	96	9.0	4.0	2.0	15
Religion	23.5	34.5	3.0	61	0.0	1.0	20.0	21	13.0	4.0	14.0	31
Ephemera	17.0	23.0	11.0	51	7.0	3.0	16.0	26	27.0	2.0	14.0	43
Other	25.5	31.0	5.5	62	13.5	22.0	39.0	74.5	31.0	8.0	4.0	43
Unidentified	4.0	9.0	0.0	13	0.0	2.0	0	2	0	0.0	2.0	2
Obtaining	44.0	76	13.0	133	14.0	42	52.0	108	33.0	14.0	14.0	61
Total	231.0	433.0	123	787	64.0	190	459	713	246	71.0	123	440

Table 13(b): Aggregate genre breakdown of texts referred to in the answers to correspondents pages of the *Family Herald*, *Reynolds' Newspaper* and the *London Journal*, expressed as a percentage.

	<i>Family Herald</i>			Total	<i>Reynolds' Newspaper</i>			Total	<i>London Journal</i>			Total
	1860	1880	1900		1860	1880	1900		1860	1880	1900	
Periodicals	13.7	12.9	15.9	13.7	22.0	19.2	33.3	28.9	13.6	14.0	6.1	11.5
Fiction, poetry, drama	14.8	10.5	31.8	15.4	12.0	12.3	10.7	11.2	24.9	26.3	42.1	30.0
Reference	14.8	16.1	13.2	15.2	6.0	28.1	10.7	14.5	12.2	14.0	12.6	12.6
How to	8.5	25.0	11.8	18.0	3.0	2.1	5.3	4.3	6.1	5.3	6.5	6.1
Textbooks/self-educators	10.7	7.8	6.8	8.4	3.0	5.5	5.0	5.0	5.6	8.8	0.9	4.8
Economics, politics	1.6	2.3	2.7	2.9	13.0	15.1	16.6	15.9	4.2	7.0	1.9	4.0
Religion	12.8	9.9	2.7	9.5	0.0	0.7	4.9	3.5	6.1	7.0	13.1	8.2
Ephemera	9.3	6.6	10	8.0	14.0	2.1	3.9	4.3	12.7	3.5	13.1	11.4
Other	13.9	8.9	5	9.7	27.0	15.1	9.6	12.4	14.5	14.0	3.7	11.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	183	348	110	641	50	146	407	603	213	57	107	377

information service, a greater diversity of periodical publications in general were also referred to in the answers from 1900, examples ranging from *The Lady's Pictorial* to *The Animals Friend*.

In comparison to *Reynolds' Newspaper*, however, references to works belonging to the combined category of fiction, poetry, general literature, drama and song formed the single largest group for the entire period for the *London Journal* (almost 25% in 1860, over 26% in 1880 and over 40% in 1900) and the highest for the period 1900 (over 30%) in the *Family Herald*. In *Reynolds' Newspaper* references to works of fiction or poetry remained fairly stable throughout, with a lower combined percentage of approximately 11% for each of the sampled years.

Therefore, by 1900 works of poetry and fiction accounted for over 30% of all the enquiries, recommendations or discussions about reading material found in the *Family*

Table 13(c): Combined genre aggregate figures for each of the years, expressed as both a total and a percentage.

	1860			1880			1900	
	Total	%		Total	%		Total	%
Periodicals	65	14.6		81	14.7		159.5	25.6
Fiction, poetry, drama	86	19.3		69.5	12.6		123.5	19.8
Reference	56	12.6		105	19.1		71.5	11.5
How to	30	6.7		93	16.9		41.5	6.7
Textbooks/self-educators	33	7.4		40	7.3		29	4.6
Economics, politics	18.5	4.1		34	6.2		72.5	11.6
Religion	36.5	8.2		39.5	7.2		37	5.9
Ephemera	51	11.4		28	5.1		41	6.6
Other	70	15.7		61	11.1		48.5	7.8
Unidentified	4	--		11	--		2.0	--
Obtaining	91	--		132	--		79	--
Total	541	100		694	100		705	100
Base		446			551			624

Herald and the *London Journal* while newspapers and periodicals accounted for approximately one third of those in *Reynolds' Newspaper*. The observed differences between the publications may be attributed to the fact that both the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal* were themselves predominantly fiction based, suggesting a significant difference in readership by the later period in comparison to *Reynolds' Newspaper*. In chapter 2 it was suggested that increases in the number of titles, and decreases in the price of periodicals and newspapers resulted in the purchase of a greater variety of titles by common readers. Rather than limiting their reading to family orientated journals, they appear to have begun to regularly buy their own reading matter, especially newspapers, by the 1880s. It seems that changes in the structure of the publishing industry, and in reader's affiliations to particular publications, affected reading habits.

For all three publications, however, and over the entire period, the genre comprising dictionaries, directories (such as the *London Directory* or various trade directories) and general reference books (such as the *Penny Cyclopaedia*, medical dictionaries, various catalogues and almanacs), make a strong showing. References to these texts peak in 1880 for each of the periodicals, when they account for over 16% of the answers referring to reading matter in the *Family Herald*, for over 28% of those in *Reynolds' Newspaper* and for over 14% of those in the *London Journal*. After this, the percentage figures for all three publications indicate a decrease in the number of references to these texts to just over 13% in the *Family Herald*, approximately 10% in *Reynolds' Newspaper* and over 12% in the *London Journal*.

The fact that works of reference figured quite largely in the correspondence pages suggests that as early as 1860, common readers were using printed texts in order to gain specific information, facts and even addresses. This supports the view that some readers at the Kidderminster library may have entered the premises for this purpose. Additionally, however, this again shows that locating printed sources of information was difficult since readers were writing to the editors of these pages asking not only for the titles of such texts but for the methods to use when consulting them. For example 'Investigator' received the following reply:⁴²

We appreciate your consideration in asking us to inform you how you can most readily procure, on your own account, the information you require, instead of requesting us to find it for you. The process is simple. You will find bound volumes of the *Times* newspaper in your Free Library. Every library keeps the *Times* for reference purposes. Also the library will doubtless have, or certainly ought to have, *Palmer's Index to the Times* ... In all similar cases of search for information it is well to consult the librarian respecting his stock of index books.

That referrals to dictionaries, reference books and directories peak in 1880 for all three publications and then being to tail off in 1900, may possibly indicate an increased familiarity with this genre and with methods for obtaining specific facts from printed sources. By the later date, the greater number of public libraries to be found may be a cause of this.

This same familiarity with the genre may also explain the changes in the totals of the 'How to Book' or guide, a genre which was very popular in the *Family Herald*. This category — which included titles such as *Etiquette of the Ballroom*, *Etiquette of*

⁴²*Family Herald*, Vol.LXXXVI, No.3009 (22 December 1900), p.124.

Courtship and Marriage, *The Secret of a Good Memory*, *Ventriloquism Made Easy*, or *Fancy Dress Described* — rose from over 8% in 1860, to a peak of approximately 25% in 1880, before falling to just under 12% in 1900. Although the figures for the *Family Herald* are somewhat distorted by the fact that the publishers of this periodical were using these pages to publicise their own series of ‘Handy Books’, they also referred readers to relevant titles published by other firms. That three titles were given per answer in 1900, where one had sufficed in 1860 or 1880, implies that familiarity with the genre may nevertheless explain the changes in the figures over the entire period. For example in 1900, a correspondent was supplied with the titles of three different books, all of which explain the game of draughts and of backgammon: Berkeley’s *Draughts and Backgammon*, Sturge’s *Guide to the Game of Draughts*, and Chamber’s *Handbook on the Game of Draughts and Backgammon & co.* If, as appears to be the case, more titles were being published by 1900, then the drop in the number of queries regarding such reading material may well be explained by an increased familiarity with the genre as a whole.

While references to the ‘How to Book’ remained relatively low for both *Reynolds’ Newspaper* and the *London Journal*, not rising higher than 7% for any of the dates, the most striking contrast between the three publications occurred with regards to the genre of economic, political and legal texts. Referrals to or discussions about such works remained low for the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal* rising no higher than 7% for either publication during the entire period. For *Reynolds’ Newspaper* on the other hand, references to political works remained substantial throughout at

roughly 15% for the entire period. The fact that readers of *Reynolds' Newspaper* were writing to enquire where they could obtain such works as *Democratic Readings* or cheap editions of the speeches of John Bright and Cobden, partially questions Vincent's assertion (based on autobiography and an analysis of the text itself) that 'for purchasers of *Reynolds'* ... politics was a disposable supplement of recreation'.⁴³ A number of readers were sufficiently interested in politics and current affairs to prompt this statement from the editor:

We have received so many inquiries with reference to books, and co., dealing with the history of the Transvaal question that I have compiled the following brief list,

containing the titles of eight books dealing with the issue.⁴⁴ Reading lists such as this show that unlike many of the social commentators of the period, the editor of *Reynolds' Newspaper* did not believe that the mixture of politics with sensational journalism would necessarily detract attention from nor trivialise more serious issues. In fact, a number of the answers suggest that these pages actually worked to bring readers together, providing a political forum for them to question contemporary issues.

Likewise, the editor of the *Family Herald* did not assume that his readers were only interested in reading popular fiction of the type contained in the *Family Herald* itself — titles such as 'How Dulcie Loved', 'Sister or Wife?', 'Married in Black'. The reading lists recommended by both editors and the authors referred to, could not be further removed. They include fictional writers such as Defoe, Fielding and Swift, contemporary novelists such as Twain and Dickens, poets such as Coleridge, Byron,

⁴³ David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, op.cit., p.266.

⁴⁴*Reynolds' Newspaper*, No.2578 (7 January 1900), p.1.

Pope, Shelley and Wordsworth, and the philosophy of Burke, Emerson and Bacon, to name but a few.

Such lists and citations indicate that the editors of these publications did not think it implausible that some of their readers would also read works of a serious nature and of a higher literary merit. This belief that some correspondents would read and enjoy both popular and canonical texts, sensational and serious tracts in tandem, is somewhat surprising. Such a view was not shared by the contemporary surveyors nor is it commonly accepted by present-day historians or cultural theorists, the contemporary view being that readers would progress from popular fiction to works of higher literary merit and the present-day view being that reading one form of literature tends to preclude reading of the other.

Reading experiences

This therefore begs the question, was the editor's view of his readers a realistic one? Is there actually any evidence to suggest that the readers of the *Family Herald and Reynolds' Newspaper* actually read any of the works of higher literary status? The evidence contained in these pages suggests that a limited number certainly did. For example, in the *Family Herald* we find the editor agreeing with R.S. that:⁴⁵

the genius of the past age of Richardson, Fielding, Smolett, Gibbon, Addison, Steele, and others was of much more vivid as well as solid a nature than the ephemeral and over lauded authors of the present day.

⁴⁵ *Family Herald*, Vol. XVIII, No.905 (1 September 1860) p.284.

Elsewhere 'Edward H.' writes to censure:⁴⁶

more harshly than we did, DARK EYED GIPSY , who bade him be cheerful; ... he writes '... if she read certain portions of Stuart, Mill and Combe, she will soon find her cheerfulness vanish, and learn the lesson now being learned by thousands, that there is nothing upon the earth which can (or should) excite in a reflecting mind the emotion of gratitude'.

Another correspondent relayed his own and his friend's views on Carlyle to the editor, while another proffered their opinion on the literary merits of Gray's *Elegy*.⁴⁷ In *Reynolds' Newspaper*, book recommendations made in the answers section also indicate that a number of readers enjoyed *Reynolds' Newspaper* along with works of a less sensational character. For example, C.F.S. of Rugby was informed:⁴⁸

A correspondent, 'M.M. Barrie', writes to the effect that Gammage's 'History of the Chartist Movement, from its Commencement Down to the Present Time,' is both comprehensive and trustworthy,

while 'James Chapman' recommended:⁴⁹

to workingmen Ruskins' volume 'Unto This Last,' and also the penny pamphlet published by W.Reeves 185, Fleet Street London, 'The Rights of Labour According to John Ruskin'.

As the evidence indicates, reading one form of literature (i.e. popular) did not preclude reading the other.

⁴⁶ *Family Herald*, Vol.XVIII, No.917 (24 November 1860), p.476.

⁴⁷ *Family Herald*, Vol.XLV, No.1947 (14 August 1880), p.252 and Vol. LXXXIV, No.2965 (17 February 1900) p.252.

⁴⁸ *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No.2584 (18 February 1900), p.4.

⁴⁹ *Reynolds' Newspaper*, No.2582 (4 February 1900), p.4.

However, many of the answers also imply that readers were struggling with some of the harder works. While some enjoyed poetry, and stated that it helped to fill an otherwise monotonous life, other readers such as 'HOMO' read it too literally as indicated by the following answer:⁵⁰

It certainly never occurred to us that Tennyson's lines
*'And may there be no moaning of the bar
When I put out to sea,
But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundaries deep
Turns again home,'*

could by any possibility be read as if the two last lines referred only to the outgoing sea-tide. The whole significance of the poem depends upon the parallelism between the coming and going of the human spirit and the flowing and ebbing of the sea ... It comes to us as something of a shock that anybody can be reading Tennyson and missing this ... Anybody who cannot realise the aptness and beauty and profundity of the thought ought to be adding up figures or breaking stones, and not reading poetry or hoping to get at the hidden meanings of the world.

Examples such as these imply that there were certain skills or ways of reading that these common readers simply had not acquired, while the manner in which such reading matter was approached implies that there existed a certain amount of confusion when it came to dealing with canonical works. For example, 'Erin' wished to know if Milton was a suitable author to be chosen as one's favourite while 'E.C.K.' asked the editor of the answers to correspondents pages in the *Family Herald* to provide 'an opinion of fifteen writers' whom he had listed, including Fielding, Poe, Smollet, Thackeray and Longfellow.⁵¹ Similarly, many other readers were keen to hear the editors' opinions on certain authors or requested reading lists which would make 'the

⁵⁰ *Family Herald*, Vol.LXXXV, No.2983 (18 August 1900), p.284.

⁵¹ *Family Herald*, Vol.LXXXIV, No. 2965 (17 February 1900), p.252 and Vol.LXXXV, No.2993 (1 September 1900), p.284.

man of information', 'remedy the neglect of early education' or, like Ignoramus, enable him to 'give an enlightened opinion on any subject'.⁵²

These requests for reading lists and opinions on books imply a number of things.

Firstly, they suggest that a number of these common readers wanted to read in order to better themselves mentally and intellectually. This indicates that a general popularised version of autodidact culture existed during the period 1860 to 1900 and was promoted and sought in the pages of popular periodicals. Secondly, they also suggest that this interest in print culture was directed by a desire to utilise the tools of literacy not only for purposes of leisure, but for purposes of self-improvement. This indicates that reading for leisure and reading for study were viewed as distinct spheres of activity by common readers themselves. Thirdly, they show that a desire for guidance in relation to reading matter suited to the latter reading practice was quite widespread. Fourthly, this reading activity may have been driven by a desire to appear knowledgeable in front of others.

Desire and reality however, did not always meet. For example, 'Kansas City' was asked:⁵³

Have you read *David Copperfield*? Your verbal floridness reminds us of Mr. Micawber, but he used to use his big words correctly ... you say that "the rapture occasioned me language would retreat at the attempt to depict" when the principle (?) of a high school, 'who' had the kindness to survey my small library, and was simply amazed at my high opinion of literature and proficiency in the various branches politely alighted his hand on my shoulder and said, 'Your attitude is simply egregious'.

⁵² *Family Herald*, Vol. XVIII, No.899 (21 July 1860), p.188; Vol.XVII, No.885 (14 April 1860), p.796; and Vol.LXXIV, No.2970 (24 March 1900), p.332.

⁵³ *Family Herald*, Vol.LXXXV, No.2977 (12 May 1900), p.28.

Interestingly, evidence such as this suggests that common readers were aware and somewhat in awe of the canon and that their reading habits were driven as much by deference towards this canon and their own egos as readers, as they were by a general enthusiasm to read or attempt to read such works. These two suggestions have further ramifications for the way in which other sources are used.

In his 1992 article 'Rereading the Common Reader', Rose states:⁵⁴

Throughout the Victorian period and well into the twentieth century, the British working class maintained a vital autodidact culture that, quite independently of ruling-class cultural hegemony, found inspiration in the canonical works of Western culture

— a theory which he develops in *The Intellectual Life of the Working Classes*. Rose accepts that both popular and canonical or 'high' and 'low' literature might be read by the same reader, but nevertheless argues that the British working-class autobiographers tended to draw a clear distinction between these different forms of fiction 'independently of ruling-class cultural hegemony'.⁵⁵ The answers on the other hand suggest that common readers were making these distinctions in a deliberate attempt to acknowledge cultural hegemony, rather than in spite of it. Indeed cultural hegemony itself was promoted in the pages of popular journals and very interestingly, despite the fact that they themselves were considered as lowbrow literature, promoted cultural education in a specific manner related to the wider discourses regarding the reading matter of the common reader.

⁵⁴ Jonathan Rose 'Rereading the Common Reader', op.cit., p.54

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Although suggested reading lists provided in response to individual enquiries in popular periodicals were partially tailored to suit the requirements and abilities of the correspondents, they could in common with other reader guides, prove to be intimidating. For example, having requested a list of books which could help to ‘remedy the neglect of early education’, ‘enable him to write his native language with fluency and correctness, and also store his mind with general knowledge’, this correspondent was directed (after the *Bible*) to ‘the works of Russell, Shuckford, and Prideaux, which connect *Sacred and Profane History*; Rollin’s *Ancient History*, and some compendious *History of Greece and Rome*; Eothen, and other modern travels of its class, together with Harmer’s *Observations on Certain Passages of Scripture* ...Shakspeare [sic], Burns and Bryon ... Defoe, Scott, Bulwer, and Dickens ... Addison, Charles Lamb, Washington Irving, and Macaulay ... Pope, Walpole and Byron’.⁵⁶

Whatever the source, the advice regarding the reading of modern literature was essentially the same in the periodical publications and the more formal reader guides with both tending to avoid the issue of contemporary fiction. For example, in *What Shall I Read?* (1887), a booklet published by the Sunday School Union, Lily Watson advised every young man and woman to begin their reading with the Bible, Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Herodotus, AEschylus, Euripide, Plato, *The Aeneid* and Virgil, before moving onto Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, Shakespeare, Milton, Spencer’s *Faerie Queene* and Bacon’s *Essays*.⁵⁷ Likewise, in *The Best Books* (1887), the introduction

⁵⁶ *Family Herald*, Vol. XVII, No.885 (14 April 1860), p.796.

⁵⁷ Lily Watson, *What shall I read? Helps to the study of English literature*, London: Sunday School

admits to one caveat, this being that not many contemporary titles were included since they had not yet been established while in, *What Shall I Read?* (1909), the chief librarian of the city of Birmingham free libraries stated there are so many writers of fiction, 'I therefore propose to refer only to those novelists who are no longer living'.⁵⁸ As a result, working-class readers were deterred from reading works of general literature which had not yet been established by posterity.⁵⁹ It is therefore interesting that several autobiographers appear to have accepted this view, while some later ones derided those who read only old literature, suggesting a recognised stereotype.

The effect of this omission by advisors and editors resulted in a discourse that provided the general working-class reader with a disjointed view of literature. By encouraging them to read texts which were clearly defined for them as established, the underlying implication was that if such works were not appreciated, it was the fault of the reader. When the correspondents' opinions of canonical or classic authors, differed from those of the replying editor or authoritarian figure, they were informed of this in clear terms. For example, in contrast to the view of one correspondent the editor of the *Family Herald* replied 'The novel has many admirers ... [it being] a subject of much interest in the literary world. A new edition of it is announced in a shilling form by the publisher

Union (1887).

⁵⁸ William Swan Sonnenschein, *The Best Books. A readers guide to the choice of the best available books in every department of science, art and literature*, London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co. (1887), p.xvi; A.Chapel Shaw, *What Shall I Read?*, Birmingham: Free Libraries Committee pamphlet (1909), p.28.

⁵⁹ Although the notion of establishment occurring only through posterity applied in equal measure to the opinions of the middle- and upper- classes, the effect of this discourse upon the working classes (as shown in the preceding chapters) exacerbated cultural lag in relation to their reading. It was also manifested not only in the choice of reading matter but also in the provision with both library stocks, cheap reprint series and reader guides reflecting the overarching view that the working classes could

of the *Railway Library*; sufficient evidence that they at least, entertain an opinion of its merits different to yours.’⁶⁰ Elsewhere, ‘Ethel Newcombe’ was told her opinion on Meredith was ‘curiously right’ purely because ‘there was a great critic who expressed your view in slightly different words’, while ‘Reformers’ suggestion that ‘the human intellect has been somewhat barren in pictures of an ideal life’ was quashed by the following extended reply:⁶¹

Your suggestion ... is perhaps warranted if a comparison be made with the immense amount of other forms of literature of the imagination; but there is a considerable aggregate of writings of the kind, ranging from Plato’s *Republic* to Mr Pellamy’s *Looking Backward*. Of all the works of that type Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* is incomparably the boldest and most suggestive. Plato’s *Republic* is vague and philosophical — fine-spun theories; but More, though fantastical, is far more practically constructive. Although much of his comment is satirical, like Swift’s more savage pictures in *Gulliver’s Travels* or Butler’s onslaughts on our social usages in *Erewhon*, there is a vast mass of serious suggestion in *Utopia* that has proved prophetic. Take as an example the description of hospitals — a forecast which time has made true. Campanella’s *city of the Sun* was in a large degree borrowed from More. Bacon’s *New Atlantis* was designed to introduce his ideas of scientific research primarily, and in Lytton’s *Coming Race* also the predominant interest is scientific. Without mentioning books by living authors, you have here a shelf filled with works of imagination portraying ideal societies. Though the store might be richer you cannot say it is insignificant.

As a result, personal judgements in relation to such texts were not only discouraged but also effectively dismissed.⁶²

not be trusted to either choose or read those books whose aesthetic and moral quantities had not yet been established.

⁶⁰ *Family Herald*, Vol.XVIII, No.919 (8 December 1860), p.508. Unfortunately the title of the novel being referred to is not given.

⁶¹ *Family Herald*, Vol.LXV, No.2476 (10 October 1890), p.364; & Vol.CIV, No.3473 (December 1909), p.46.

⁶² See chapter 2 for autobiographical evidence of the reserving of judgement for texts not yet established by posterity.

Rather than being promoted in relation to canonical or classical texts, personal opinion instead was reserved for the sphere of popular publications and, conversely, for that of poetry. As an obvious means of gauging their readership, editors of periodicals such as the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal* encouraged readers to proffer their opinions on the serialised and whole fiction stories contained therein — fiction written by contemporary authors for a mass readership. In contrast to the above answers, those correspondents who either praised or criticised texts which were aimed specifically at a popular audience were commended for having done so, being told:

we are always glad to know the opinions of readers on the stories we publish; they are a guide to us in providing pleasurable reading for our subscribers, which is an all-important matter; we thank you therefore for writing so freely, and trust that you may have in the future the same reasons for satisfaction that you have found in the past.

Or, 'we thank you for your letter, and are grateful to hear that the story interests you; write to us again when you have read it through.'⁶³ Albeit in a different vein and in defined parameters, the discussion of poetry in popular publications permitted a mutated form of freedom of expression to the reader.

Although not essentially encouraged to challenge orthodox opinions, readers were at least told that in relation to poetry, 'The question of appreciative taste and receptiveness has its personal meaning for each of us'.⁶⁴ As such, any reader not understanding or enjoying canonical poetry could take comfort in the fact that rather than being a failing on their part this could be attributed to 'personal meaning.' Interestingly, both the discussions in the correspondence pages and the content of such

⁶³ Both quotes from *Family Herald*, Vol.LXXXIV, No.2971 (31 March 1900), p.348.

journals indicate that these publications were used not only as a source of information regarding the location of particular texts, but as adjuncts to adult education. For example, volume 114 of the *Family Herald* which covered the period from 6 November 1909 to 30 April 1910, contained articles on ‘Chatterton —the boy poet’, ‘A Poet’s Fame’, ‘Poetry Does it Pay?’, ‘The future of Poetry’, ‘The Poet’s Month’, two articles on Tennyson, and twenty-eight actual poems.⁶⁵ For those members of the working classes who displayed an interest in literature, poetry formed a major part of this although, as with fiction, it was to the established poets that they were guided and to whom they turned. The connotations surrounding the reading of poetry help to explain why it was discussed so frequently in the correspondence pages and why it appears to have been read so widely by autobiographers. The evidence presented in the answers to correspondents pages indicate that rather than being entirely independent of cultural forces, that the observed autodidact culture of the latter half of the nineteenth century was popularised in low brow periodicals.

⁶⁴ ‘The Future of Poetry’, *Family Herald*, Vol. CIV, No. 802, (March 1910), p. 447.

⁶⁵ The figure of twenty-eight includes those poems sent in by readers, some of which were originals others of which were copied from other sources.

Chapter 7:

Conclusion

Introduction

Examining the reading habits of the working classes for the period 1850 to 1914 requires alternative sources. Autobiographies show how exceptional members of this class chose to portray their relation to printed texts. Contemporary surveys and debates highlight the preoccupations of middle-class commentators. Library catalogues indicate the ways in which attempts to control reading habits were translated into the provision of texts in an institutional setting. Although they do not provide a guarantee that they were actually read, library borrower registers tell us which titles and genres attracted readers. Studies of the publishing industry show how changes in the availability and price of texts may have affected reading habits. The ‘Answers to Correspondents’ pages in popular periodicals give insights into the practical questions which occupied the minds of common readers as they encountered the written word in all its forms. They are more spontaneous and less self-promoting than the planned narratives found in autobiographies. They also allow us to examine a wider supply of titles than were stocked in libraries. When used in conjunction these

sources portray a fuller picture of the common reader and raise some interesting points for consideration.

Reading for educational purposes

Chapter 2 shows that autobiographers felt their reading practises and reading habits distinguished them from other members of the working class. Rather than wasting their leisure time they suggest they often planned their reading and read with purpose. When they read fiction they read 'good' literature, or texts which later were defined formally (most notably during the period in which many of these autobiographies were written) as canonical and classic literature. When they read periodical publications they used them as a source for gaining up-to-date information on political topics or used the book reviews provided in them as guides to future reading. What they suggest is that two distinct spheres of reading activity were evident during the period 1850 to 1914: reading for broadly educational purposes and reading for the purposes of leisure.

The distinction between differing types of reading activities fuelled debates of the period. Often they focused upon the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' fiction. Although the debate did not end during this period, commentators generally came to agree that the works of tried and tested authors, such as Scott, could be of broadly educational value. In the commercial sector distinctions between high and popular culture became more established as publishers began to market their wares in a perceivably modern fashion, aiming them at particular audiences and structuring their prices accordingly. Publishers issued affordable reprints of classics while cheap

periodicals catered for the popular taste in fiction and fact. The effect of these changes was debated in both high- and low- brow journals, reflected in reader guides and, as shown in the previous chapter, in the reading lists provided by the editors of the answers to correspondents pages.

The *Family Herald*, the *London Journal* and *Reynolds' Newspaper* provided readers with stories and articles that could be read during leisure periods, but also supplied guides to and reading lists of books to be read for cultural and educational improvement. With regard to poetry and fiction, the works of older authors were often recommended in preference to those whose value had not yet been established. The answers to correspondents pages also indicate that distinctions between reading for leisure purposes and reading for educational ones were upheld by the editors of these journals and promoted in their publications. Whether or not the recommended texts were actually read, this suggests common readers were encouraged to draw distinctions between leisure reading and study reading and were advised to spend some of their time in the latter pursuit. Lists of books were often provided in response to specific queries, indicating that some readers of popular periodicals were anxious to read in the advised manner.

Although dependent upon the availability and the price of the text, library holdings also show that this attitude was a prevalent one. Supporters of the public library movement hoped that these institutions would promote serious reading and, as we have seen in chapters 2 to 4, library provision was generally circumscribed by debates of the period. Or, as shown in chapter 5, characterised by the inclusion of safe

literature such as texts published by the SPCK. The library of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute was also clearly viewed as an adjunct to the type of education on offer.

Need for guidance

Chapter 2 shows that some nineteenth-century working-class autobiographers consulted reader guides, chose to attend evening classes, or to follow postal tutorial ones as a means of directing and focusing their study. Others appear to have been influenced by the authoritative custodians of culture in other ways. Many autobiographers read fiction which was out of copyright and signalled as improving literature or suitable mental pabulum by the fact that it was often encountered in series designed and marketed to promote the status of the literature contained therein. Some suggest that they frequently visited libraries. In these buildings the institutional setting would again have suggested the broadly educational value of texts available and provided the reader with the reassurance that he/she was reading the right sort of literature.

A number of visitors to the Kidderminster Municipal Reference Library borrowed Watt's *On the Improvement of the Mind*, suggesting that they too may have sought advice on how to improve their intellectual fibre, or direct their reading.

Value judgements about the literary merit and practical value of a work were in many instances derived from the opinions given in reader guides, by editors or authoritarian figures, views which could shape personal judgements before the texts had even been read. Like the members of the middle class who dominated literary production, some

autobiographers suggest that they too drew similar conclusions, preferring the works of older, tried and tested authors. Others imply that readers who focused predominantly upon older literature were a recognised stereotype by 1900.

Borrower profiles of individual readers using the Kidderminster reference library, the library of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute and the Southleigh village library suggest that a few of their patrons utilised the texts contained in these libraries in an autodidactic manner. Some borrowed canonical and classic texts, often focusing upon this type of literature for distinct periods in a similar manner to that suggested by autobiographers. Correspondents to the popular periodicals also sought advice on the types of texts that should be read, notably during distinct periods of study. These pages certainly indicate that some readers of the *Family Herald*, the *London Journal* and *Reynolds' Newspaper* used periodicals as a source of leisure reading but attempted to read other texts — including canonical and classic literature — for broadly educational purposes. Some even asked the editors of these pages for reassurance that they had read the latter works in the right manner.

That common readers used guides or sought authoritative opinions is not surprising. They offered readers a method for navigating their way through the increasing number of texts becoming available to them either in the public libraries, upon second-hand bookstalls or in cheap reprint series. Studies of the publishing industry show the availability of texts certainly did increase during this period and changes in the price of texts are reflected in the provision of stock at the Southleigh village library. Volumes of poetry from the Romantic and Victorian periods offered readers a

collection of titles which in terms of their cultural range were broader than those on offer in the two libraries of Kidderminster and Huddersfield. The borrower records of the Kidderminster library suggest that prior familiarity with a text may have affected reading habits. Some requested the Bible, the one title they were sure to know, on their first visit. Others appear to have been influenced by word-of-mouth peer recommendations as members of the same family often consulted the same text within a short time of one another.

Similar patterns of borrowing are evident in the records of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library and the Southleigh village library. Although the library records only hint at this, the trends are suggestive. Correspondents to periodicals also sought guidance on where and how to obtain printed information on a number of topics and in relation to both canonical and classic literature, and popular texts. It seems that some working-class readers clearly wanted to know what to read.

This is even less surprising if we consider the varying levels of literacy throughout the period. Autobiographers commenting upon the 1850s suggest that illiteracy was widespread. This is supported by studies of signatures on marriage licences. These show that only 66% of partly skilled and only 41% of unskilled grooms and only 52% of brides whose fathers belonged to the occupational category of unskilled, and only 48% of those whose fathers were unskilled, signed their names in 1854/9. Although this had risen to between 97% to 99% for all groups by 1914, the reading population

of England was relatively young.¹ This may explain why many adult borrowers using the Southleigh village library read juvenile works of literature by authors such as W.H.G. Kingston, R.M. Ballantyne, G.A. Henty and Charlotte Yonge. At Southleigh uneven educational provision and geographical location interacted to effect reading habits. The example of Pennington is a clear indication of this.

The borrower records of the Kidderminster library indicate that readers often consulted 'easy reads', such as Crocker's *Fairy Tales*, or texts containing illustrations, such as the *Pictorial History of the World*. The borrowing figures for these two texts, which were loaned to both adults and juveniles, suggests some visitors to the library viewed it as a place to practise reading. Adult borrowing of juvenile texts also emerges as a pattern in the borrower records for the library of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute. Here, as elsewhere, it seems that juvenile reading matter was viewed as a useful source for practising newly acquired skills of reading. Because the reading population of England was relatively young, those who could and who chose to read are unlikely to have been able to turn to family elders for guidance.

Some autobiographers suggest that this was the case and Vincent argues that learning to read in an institutional setting challenged the traditional role of the family or parents as teachers. Instead, working-class readers appear to have turned to those of their peers who did read, or to the authoritative custodians of literature. The answers to correspondents pages of the *London Journal* brought readers into contact with one another in a virtual sense. That some readers chose to use these pages as a medium for

¹ See David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, op.cit., tables 4.1 & 4.3, pp.97-98.

gaining information on texts, or as one for making recommendations, highlights the fact that more sophisticated readers could feel isolated. This is not surprising. Where illiteracy was rife the very act of reading, most notably among the young, could still promote suspicious reactions. Indeed the attitude often expressed by non-literate or non-literary members of the social sphere in which readers lived their lives, was that reading itself was an idle activity which represented a waste of time.

Within their reminiscences, those whose reading histories included the perusal of particular atheist or political texts indicate that as the ideas contained therein could be specifically related to working-class life, that their knowledge in such matters provided them with the opportunity to discuss their acquired insights. In contrast, those who limited their reading to texts defined as belonging to the culture of their middle-class contemporaries, found that with limited outlets for discussion, their reading tended to isolate them and hence ensure that further guidance in matters pertaining to print came increasingly from the authoritative sources located outside their own class.

Contemporary debates resulted in the emergence of a distinct discourse which tended to define the well-read autodidact in opposition to the reader of cheap popular literature. As common readers were made aware of the distinctions between light and serious reading some, as shown in chapter 6, deliberately attempted to at least try the later activity. Some members of the working class engaged with these debates in their autobiographies, while others suggest that their serious reading was carried out with a specific purpose in mind. Evidence taken from the answers to correspondence pages,

reader guides, library borrowing records and debates of the period 1850 to 1914 certainly question the supposedly distinct and independent nature of autodidact culture. They show that reading for the purposes of education, enlightenment, or cultural awareness was promoted as a distinct reading activity in opposition to that of reading for leisure. Although the evidence shows that a popularised form of autodidactic culture did emerge, it also highlights the fact that reading for the purposes of leisure increased more dramatically during the period. Reading was clearly established as a leisure activity throughout England by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Reading for entertainment or as a leisure activity

In 1855 at Kidderminster only 7% of the population used the reference library during the nine-month period covered by the register and of these readers over half of the 1,384 visited on one occasion only. In contrast, during the period from 1907 to 1914 over 50% of the rural population of Southleigh borrowed texts from the village library. At Southleigh the high percentage of loans for fiction (over 70%), and the library stock itself, are indicative of the spread of literacy and the growth of leisure reading among the parish population. This percentage compares with a figure of only c.13% at the Kidderminster library. Nevertheless, periodicals were especially popular with visitors to the Kidderminster library. This suggests that rather than wanting to study, many wanted to read short informative articles or fictional tales.

Later committee reports indicate that the majority of those frequenting the Kidderminster reference library during the late 1870s now sought fiction in its four

walls, again indicating that reading for the purposes of entertainment continued to grow. The same reports also show that the library committee began to relax its acquisitions policy, adding more fictional texts to its stock, although these were still limited to the works of approved authors. The very different stock of texts contained in the village library of Southleigh — which in 1907 to 1914 included some titles by popular authors such as Walter Besant, Wilkie Collins, Elizabeth Gaskell and Evelyn Everette Green — shows that reading for the purposes of entertainment had become accepted as a legitimate leisure pursuit by the 1900s. Changes in the publishing industry and decreases in the price of texts ensured that fiction was available in cheaper formats, but the admittance of these works is nevertheless telling. Although access to the works of newer writers was still restricted, the stock of this library (which served a population of only 196) differed substantially from that at Kidderminster. In 1855 fiction accounted for only thirty-two of the 232 identified titles and poetry for only twenty-eight. The majority of texts contained within the Kidderminster library were of a factual nature. At the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute the library stock was circumscribed by, and classified according to, the restricted timetable on offer. The didactic fiction of Maria Edgeworth, Elizabeth Hamilton and Maria MacIntosh and the economically instructive novels of Mary Howitt and Harriet Martineau confirm this. The library also contained texts designed to prepare the working-class female reader for domestic service.

The stock of texts made available to female readers at the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute essentially comprised an ad hoc collection of donated and purchased volumes, yet its content differed from that at the Kidderminster library. At

the female educational institute the content of the library reflected contemporary debates regarding the education of women and specifically the position of working-class women in English society. Varying levels of literacy and the limited range of the curriculum offered to pupils defined the reading practices of the institutes' members. While the content of the library of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute was at least partially determined by gender, it is interesting to find that the borrowing patterns of later male and female readers who visited the Southleigh library, appear to differ. Many female visitors borrowed biographies of women or fictional titles that suggested a domestic or romantic theme while male borrowers tended to prefer biographies of men. That of General Gordon was especially popular. The Taiping rebellion (1850-64) was within living memory and this may have been the reason for the popularity of this biography. Similarly, at Kidderminster the biography of Wellington was popular with readers in 1855/6 when the events of the Napoleonic Wars were still remembered. Other readers using the Kidderminster library referred to texts providing details on popular places for immigrants and migrants, while the library in Southleigh contained titles which reflected the rural status of the village and a few visitors borrowed these books. This too reinforces the notion that wider cultural influences acted to shape reading habits.

Autobiographies: a problematic source

Those who wrote autobiographies were exceptional members of the working class, or at least viewed themselves as such. They negotiated contemporary discourses regarding the reading matter of the masses in the planned narratives of their own lives and, by highlighting their ability to enjoy canonical and classic texts, indicated that

they were subjects worthy of attention, suggesting a path that could be followed by others. They show they progressed from easy to harder reads. However, because access to texts was dependant upon availability the harder reads usually came from reprint series. Although some drew distinctions between individual canonical and classic texts they generally say that these were preferable to the works of contemporary or popular authors. However, rather than telling us anything about the inherent value of canonical or classic literature, autobiographies tellingly suggest that reading for autodidactic purposes became recognised as a distinct reading activity, defined in opposition to reading for the purposes of leisure which was generally more widespread.

Reading for autodidact purposes required a certain command over the skills of literacy. Having achieved this autobiographers were aware that their own sophisticated reading habits distinguished them and this helped them to define themselves as exceptional or interesting subjects. All of the above factors help to explain why, in working-class autobiographies, 'Again and again we find classic literature embraced by working people who thoroughly lacked literary education'.² Although the notion of fictional reading could still be viewed as a distraction from attempts to gain factual knowledge, or to educate the self, reading canonical literature or classic fiction was promoted as a superior activity in contrast to the reading of sensational literature, popular publications or novels per se.

² Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual life of the British Working Classes*, op.cit, p.5.

Chapter 2 shows that autobiographers certainly accepted this view. Attempts to read the entire works of a respectable author, or to read entire series of publishers' classic libraries, or attempts to follow the recommendations given in reader guides and book reviews appears to have allowed the self-defined autodidact to view even his/her fiction reading as an activity which increased his/her cultural intellect. The vertical influence of the authoritative custodians of literature seems to have affected both reading habits and autobiographical representations of reading. In addition, accepting the guidance on offer helped to consolidate the ambiguous attitude towards the reading of fiction. This allowed autobiographers to view their reading of such literature as a rational leisure pursuit or as an activity that aided aspirational intent. Broad cultural narratives regarding the education of the working classes and their reading matter played a decisive role in shaping recollections.

With regard to the latter point, is important to remember that the guides available — publishers' reading lists, library holdings and catalogues, librarians' and editors' recommendations — were influenced by the tastes and values of the educated middle-classes, and generally middle-class *men*. Since this affected reading habits, it urges us to question the validity of using autobiographical recollections as a source to legitimise distinctions between popular and highbrow literature. We should be cautious in accepting the opinions of autobiographers. The answers to correspondents pages reveal the number of ways in which the printed word infiltrated every aspect of working-class life and the ways in which readers interacted with the journals

themselves.³ Readers used these periodicals both as a source of leisure reading and, crucially, as a means of gaining information about other, often canonical or classic texts, for purposes of study. Readers of these pages (or rather those writing to the editors of them) combined leisure reading with the reading of canonical texts for self-education, a practice that again brings into question the supposed distinct and independent nature of autodidact culture.

The range of queries raised by the correspondence of readers and the number of answers providing information on how or where to obtain reading matter or printed information suggests that as the changing landscape of English society immersed the masses in a culture whose laws, rules and regulations were defined in relation to print, that a need for guidance emerged. While chapters 2 to 5 suggest that this need for guidance was focused predominantly upon canonical and educational texts, chapter 7 shows that the need for guidance was also related to popular forms of literature that might be found within working-class communities or accessed via the distribution networks that served them.

Conclusion

As print culture became ubiquitous in every aspect of working-class life, reading practises were crucially altered, though the change progressed unevenly throughout England. The period 1850 to 1914 saw an increase in the rise of reading for leisure purposes, a transformation that continued throughout the twentieth century and

³ With regard to the former theme see especially David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, op.cit.

ultimately helped to define two distinct spheres of reading activity: reading for entertainment and reading for broadly educational purposes.

The memoirs of autobiographers suggest that they attempted to limit their reading to this latter activity. In order to do so many consulted reader guides or book reviews and frequented public libraries or second-hand bookstalls or purchased cheap reprints as new. Focusing upon the distribution networks questions the supposed distinct and independent nature of autodidact culture. Vertical authoritative sources were often sought as guiding factors. One of the uses of the 'Answers to Correspondents' pages is that they provide evidence of the variety of alternative ways readers searched for and found texts in this period. For instance, the correspondence pages of the *London Journal* brought readers of them into contact with one another, albeit via the editor, thus providing documentary evidence of 'peer group' recommendations. It is evident that as an activity reading itself was often viewed as a means to an end. For some, the aim of reading was to gain educative or cultural knowledge, for others it was to gain entry to the ideology of a particular group.

Like Altick, Rose has shown that autobiographical evidence indicates that working-class autodidacts shared a common literary diet comprising canonical texts defined by the intellectual elite. Despite these similarities however, Rose suggests that working-class autodidact culture was not contaminated by cultural hegemony and that the autobiographers' veneration of canonical texts effectively provides historical evidence that legitimises the value of high culture. However, many of the memoirs Rose cites were penned during the twentieth century. All present retrospective recollections, re-

castings of memories and experiences. The majority were written by 'exceptional members' of the working classes. As a result, the fact that they virtually unanimously equate canonical or classic literature with good literature can be read as both an apology for the tastes of their peers and as a testimony to their own achievements. Broad cultural narratives regarding the education of the working classes and their reading matter played a decisive role in shaping recollections. Working-class autobiographers reveal a tendency to equate the reading of canonical literature with reading for educational purposes. This suggests that the reverential respect afforded to such texts arose not only as a response to the printed word but from the manner in which such texts were approached.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Titles consulted in the Kidderminster Municipal Reference Library

Method used to classifying titles

The *NSTC* derives most of its entries from some of the great national and university libraries of the UK and USA; namely, The Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, The Library of Trinity College Dublin, National Library of Scotland, Harvard University Library, The British Library, Newcastle University Library and The Library of Congress. As such, Phase II acts as a guide rather than as a comprehensive finding aid to publications for the period 1816-1870. However, given the fact that popular, ephemeral and cheap publications, rather than those chosen by librarians responsible for collecting such books, are under-represented it is a useful source for the purposes of this study. As a Municipal Library, the titles found within the Kidderminster Library were likely to be subjected to the same limitations, albeit on a smaller scale. It is therefore reasonable to

assume that donated volumes held within the Kidderminster Municipal library can be identified using this source.¹

As this appendix shows, it has been possible to establish an exact title for 102 of the above, and full publication details for eighty-four of these. This discrepancy between the identification of full titles and publication details arises because seventeen of the 102 titles refer to works of fiction for which the entries within the *NSTC* are too numerous to be easily sorted; as a result, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and sixteen of Sir Walter Scott's novels are listed here with their earliest date of publication. All identified titles have been categorised according to their primary Dewey Decimal Classification within the *NSTC*

Of the remaining 130 titles taken from the register, a further seventy-two have been positively classified according to genre. Twenty-seven provided the name of a British poet and, although the full title could not be identified, have thus been listed under poetry. A further forty-seven may refer to one of a number of possible titles taken from the *NSTC*. For forty-five of these titles, however, each possible entry nevertheless belongs to the same genre and it has therefore been possible classify these titles accordingly. For example, the title *Novels and Tales* may refer to one of six different entries within the *NSTC* — the *Novels and Tales* of Sir Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper, Goethe, Charles Dickens or *Household Words* — all of which are works of

¹ For a further discussion of the limitations of the *NSTC* see Simon Eliot, 'Patterns and Trends and the

fiction. Of the fifty-six titles which were too vague to identify through the *NSTC*, fifty-three have been classified by the genre deemed to be the most appropriate. For example, *Anatomy* is placed under biology, *Asia* under geography and *Wellington* under biography with the classification 'unknown' being reserved for the more ambiguous titles which, according to the *NSTC*, could refer to two or more separate titles with different subject classifications. For example, *Extracts From Various Authors* could signify *Extracts from various authors on the culture and preparation of flax* (London, 1839, *NSTC* reference number 2E15540) with the Dewey subject classification agriculture and field crops (633) or, *Extracts from various authors; with remarks and observations on the mode, subjects, and history of baptism* (London, 1805, *NSTC* reference number W1388) with the classification 'baptism, confession, confirmation, communion, ordination, other rite' (265).

This method of classification is certainly not without its limitations, the least of which being that the title *Asia* could signify a work belonging within the history rather than the geography section. This problem, however, is mostly confined to the two aforementioned categories of geography and history where country names are used to abbreviate a title or titles. In fact it is this latter problem of quantification, rather than that of classification per se, which poses the greater dilemma by additionally complicating the process of assessing borrowing figures for particular works. Placing a volume entitled *Asia* under geography rather than history does not seriously effect the analysis of the library stock presented in

NSTC, op.cit.

chapter three since the main aim was to establish the relative interest of the library users with regards to particular countries — for example the colonies, Europe or further a field. As such, the two categories are linked by such comparisons and the borrowing figures dealing with the same country or continent can be combined in order to establish relative interest. For example, according to the Borrowers Register *Asia* was consulted on only three occasions whereas *America* (placed under geography), the *History of America* and the *History of New York* (both placed under history) are referred to eight, ninety-five and twenty times respectively, producing a combined total of 123. From this it is clear that interest in America was high, while that in Asia was extremely low. However, whether or not the work referred to as *America* is the same as that referred to as the *History of America* is not entirely clear.

The uncertainty in quantifying the number of titles which refer to a particular topic was most problematic when examining the relative borrowing figures for the individual titles involved. For example, whether or not the *History of England* and the longer *Pictorial History of England* signified the same work effects the interpretation, presented in chapter three, regarding the level of literacy among the adult male working-class population of Kidderminster — i.e. as adult readers, were such users of the library requesting those texts which required a high level of literacy in order to be read, or were they requesting those which additionally contained illustrations and could be understood by readers who had only a basic grasp? Bare borrowing figures suggest that the former work was consulted on 283 occasions and the latter on 195. Within the register, however,

the former work was variously referred to as simply the *History of England*, Martineau's *History of England*, and the *Cabinet History of England* — thus the register alone implies that at least four versions of a history of England were available for consultation, making it impossible to attribute absolute borrowing figures for any of those involved. This problem of quantification was, however, overcome by firstly using the *NSTC* to establish the number of works entitled *History of England* which were available for reference, and, secondly the reason why clear distinctions were not always made between them within the register.

The *NSTC* provides nine separate references to the *Pictorial History of England* (reference numbers 2C41972, 2C41973, 2C41974, 2C41975, 2ENG9520, 2 ENG9521, 2G13838, 2H36564 and 2M3782) but, in terms of full title and author, only three distinct versions; the *Pictorial History of England* edited by George Lillie Craik and Charles MacFarlane in four (1837/41) and then seven (1854/58) volumes, one of which, *History of the Peace, 1816-1846*, was written by Harriet Martineau (1855, *NSTC* reference number 2M17388); *A Pictorial History of England* by Samuel Griswold Goodrich (1846); and the *Pictorial History of England by Hume and Smollett, abridged and continued to the accession of Victoria* by John Robinson (1848).² While Martineau also authored the second volume of Charles Knight's *History of England*, entitled *The History of England during the thirty years' peace, 1816-46* (1849/50, London) it is evident that

² The dates of publication given in brackets are for the earliest imprint of each title shown within the *NSTC*. The last publication here mentioned, *Pictorial History of England by Hume and Smollett, abridged and continued to the accession of Victoria* was a combined abridgement of two distinct works; namely the

the Martineau *History of England* referred to in the Borrowers Register was in fact volume seven of Craik and MacFarlane's 1855 pictorial collection (also published by Knight) since this title was often prefixed by the number seven, or "Vol. 7" within the register. This indicates that the *Pictorial History* available for reference within the Kidderminster library from September 1855, was most certainly that of Craik and MacFarlane and that either the most recent seven volume edition was presented or that Martineau's volume was an addition to an earlier set. Either way, the borrowing figures for both the *Pictorial History of England* and Martineau's *History of England* refer at the very least to the same collection and, at times, to the same volume. As candidates for a place in the early library stock, both Samuel Griswold Goodrich's *Pictorial History* and John Robinson's abridgement of the texts by Hume and Smollett, were therefore discounted.

Similarly, with regards to the title the *Cabinet History of England*, the NSTC reveals only two references both of which refer to a work bearing the full title *The Cabinet History of England, an abridgement of the chapters entitled Civil and Military History in the Pictorial History of England*, and, like the *Pictorial History* itself, were edited by Craik and MacFarlane (1845/47, NSTC reference numbers 2C41977 and 2M3787). This therefore indicates that it was certainly Craik and MacFarlane's *Pictorial History* which was available to the users of the Kidderminster Reference Library. Therefore, in all instances, the plain title *History of England* referred to a work characterised by its

History of Great Britain by David Hume (1763) and *A Complete History of England* by Tobias Smollett

illustrative use of wood-cuts. Given the nature of the borrowing records, it is very unlikely that the readers consulted any other works entitled *History of England* during the nine month period, although they may have course have existed within the library stock.

This claim can be made with certainty for two reasons. Firstly, the user register was designed to keep a check on the works lent to readers and it is therefore assumed that the librarian's use of abbreviated titles was designed to avoid confusion. Therefore, the fact that the terms *History of England* and *Pictorial History of England*, Martineau's *History of England* and the *Cabinet History of England* are used interchangeably, indicates that all the works belonged to a similar series. Even when the vaguest indication, *History of England*, was given, it was often accompanied by a volume number stretching from one to seven, thus supporting the view that this title also referred to the *Pictorial History* series. Secondly, given the nature of the source, if a separate title were consulted, one would expect this to show up on the records, with either a distinct author, volume or abbreviated title entry, on at one least occasion. That this does not occur, further supports the opinion outlined above.³ Having established that the *History of England* referred in all instances to a volume or abridgement of Craik and MacFarlane's *Pictorial History*,

(1765).

³ This point is reinforced by the fact that the same librarian, the aforementioned James Penny, remained within this position until 1874. Although a condition of his employment was that he should 'employ and pay a proper person to assist him in his duties', Penny alone was 'responsible to the Corporation for the direct management of the Library and the safety of the books', *Centenary Festival*, op.cit., p.11. Although it has not been possible to ascertain when (or indeed if) a second person was eventually employed, the entries within the register suggest that if made by a second person, they too were following the system started by Penny.

absolute borrowing figures for each volume are no longer necessary and the problem of quantification, like that of classification, can thus be largely overcome.

One remaining problem, that of establishing which edition of a title was being used within the library, is harder to surpass, except in those cases where only one reference appears within the *NSTC*. For example, *Lives of Scottish Worthies* receives only one mention indicating that this work was written by Patrick Fraser Tyler and was published in London in 1831/33 as part of the Family Library series. Therefore, although it is not clear whether the volume within the Kidderminster library was an earlier or a later imprint, it is evident that the volume consulted clearly formed part of the Family Library series during the early 1830s. Since volumes of this series are also recorded within the user register (for example as 'Family Library, vol.xx'), it is safe to assert that the copy of *Lives of Scottish Worthies* held within the Kidderminster Municipal Library belonged to this same series. In most cases, however, it has not been possible to establish which edition of a text was available for consultation within the Kidderminster Reference Library. This appendix therefore provides the *NSTC* reference number for each separate form entry under the given title, lists the earliest date and place of publication and, if different, the earliest date of publication within the UK, along with information on whether or not the work was at any time published as part of a publishers' series. For example, the entry for *Life of Mohammed* provides the following information: this work was available in at least three distinct versions; the first, fully entitled *The Life of Mohammed, from original sources*, the second, *The Life of Mohammed Ali ... to which*

are appended *The Quadruple Treaty etc.* and the third, *The Life of Mohammed, founder of the religion of Islam etc.* The first version has two form entries within the NSTC which give the earliest date of publication as 1851 by the Allahabad Presbyterian Mission Press (2M40256 and 2S34865); the second version, has three distinct entries and gives the earliest date and place of publication as 1841, London; the third version, has five distinct entries and gives the earliest date of publication as 1830, New York, also indicating that in 1832 this title formed part of Harper's Family Library series; three other entries refer simply to the short title *Life of Mohammed* and thus it cannot be determined whether these refer to separate works or to one of the above.

While it is long-winded, the above method of listing the titles within this appendix has the advantage of allowing the publication details of the eighty-four fully identified and forty-seven possible titles to be compared.

Appendix A continued

Summary of titles consulted in the Kidderminster Municipal Reference Library

The number of times each text was consulted is provided next to the title.

Arts / Crafts:

Lectures in Gardening 3

Astrology:

Demonology & Witchcraft 12 *Natural Magic* 28

Biography:

<i>Ali Pasha, Life of</i>	21	<i>Lives of British Artists</i>	9
<i>Life of Cervantes</i>	1	<i>Lives of British Physicians</i>	1
<i>Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel</i>	35	<i>Lives of English Divines</i>	10
<i>Life of Sir Isaac Newton</i>	8	<i>Lives of Scottish Worthies</i>	4
<i>Life of Sir Walter Scott</i>	6		
<i>Camp & Court of Napoleon</i>	13	<i>Life of Nelson</i>	230
<i>H of Heroes</i>	1	<i>Life of Washington</i>	18
<i>Guy Earl of Warwick</i>	6	<i>Louis I</i>	18
<i>Lectures on Great Men</i>	1	<i>Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte</i>	2
<i>Life and Times of George 4</i>	36	<i>Napoleon Bonaparte</i>	98
<i>Life and Voyages of Columbus</i>	39	<i>Napoleon's Expedition to Russia</i>	28
<i>Life of Alexander the Great</i>	8	<i>Napoleon in Exile</i>	22
<i>Life of Bruce</i>	15	<i>Narratives of Peril & Suffering</i>	53
<i>Life of Cicero</i>	8	<i>Peter the Great</i>	14
<i>Life of Gustavus Adolphus</i>	4	<i>Richard I</i>	9
<i>Life of Marlborough</i>	2	<i>Trail of King Charles I</i>	15
<i>Life of Mohammed</i>	32	<i>Wellington</i>	169
<i>Life of Napoleon Bonaparte</i>	23		

Biology:

<i>American Ornithology</i>	9	<i>Architecture of Birds</i>	2
<i>Anatomy</i>	3	<i>Aspects of Nature</i>	8
<i>Animal & Vegetable Physiology</i>	9	<i>Owls & Manpaklos</i>	1

Fiction, General Literature:

<i>Antiquary, Scott</i>	13	<i>Novels & Tales</i>	12
<i>Astoria</i>	7	<i>Old Mortality, Scott</i>	28
<i>Black Dwarf, Scott</i>	38	<i>Paul & Virginia</i>	8
<i>Bride of Lammermoor, Scott</i>	6	<i>Peveril of the Peak, Scott</i>	21
<i>Canterbury Tales, Chaucer</i>	27	<i>Pirate, Scott</i>	76
<i>Critical Biographical Miscellany</i>	3	<i>Quentin Durward, Scott</i>	11
<i>Essays & Tracts</i>	2	<i>Rob Roy, Scott</i>	91
<i>Fairy Tales, Crocker</i>	151	<i>Salmagundi</i>	5
<i>Fortunes of Nigel, Scott</i>	17	<i>Shakespeare</i>	36
<i>Guy Mannering, Scott</i>	37	<i>Sir Walter Scott</i>	8
<i>Heart of Mid Lothian, Scott</i>	49	<i>Sketch Book</i>	29
<i>Ivanhoe, Scott</i>	86	<i>Sketches of Imposture</i>	19
<i>Kenilworth, Scott</i>	17	<i>Tales and Stories from history</i>	15
<i>Legend of Montrose</i>	31	<i>Tancred, Disraeli</i>	34
<i>Literature & Arts</i>	1	<i>Tom Jones, History of, Fielding</i>	5
<i>Monastery, Scott</i>	27	<i>Waverley, Scott</i>	24

Geography:

<i>America</i>	8	<i>Mexico</i>	2
<i>Asia</i>	1	<i>New Zealand</i>	1
<i>Australia</i>	15	<i>Our Antipodes</i>	43
<i>British Colonies</i>	27	<i>Picture of Edinburgh</i>	3
<i>British India</i>	4	<i>Six Months in the West Indies</i>	14
<i>British Walks</i>	1	<i>Supplement to Australia</i>	2
<i>Cambrian Traveller's Guide</i>	2	<i>Supplement to British Colonies</i>	4
<i>Chronicles of London Bridge</i>	4	<i>Tales of Travel</i>	3
<i>Gazetteer of the World</i>	14	<i>Tour in South Holland</i>	1
<i>London</i>	79	<i>Travels in Africa</i>	7
<i>London Gazetteer</i>	1	<i>Walks Through Kent</i>	23
<i>Maps & Plans</i>	39		

History:

<i>Anglo Saxons, History of</i>	9	<i>History of Australia</i>	2
<i>Bastile, History of</i>	9	<i>History of Bibles</i>	3
<i>Battle of Waterloo</i>	58	<i>History of Britain</i>	6
<i>British Museum</i>	10	<i>History of Civilisation</i>	4
<i>Church History of Britain</i>	18	<i>History of Eminent</i>	1
<i>Churches of the World</i>	6	<i>History of England</i>	283
<i>Civil Wars in England</i>	4	<i>History of Europe</i>	3
<i>Conquest of Mexico</i>	19	<i>History of France</i>	12
<i>Conquest of Peru</i>	13	<i>History of Germany</i>	4
<i>Court of Russia</i>	1	<i>History of Impostures</i>	1
<i>Ferdinand and Isabella</i>	3	<i>Jews, History of</i>	20
<i>French Revolution</i>	6	<i>Lectures on History of France</i>	1
<i>Historical Parallels</i>	3	<i>Library History</i>	1
<i>History of America</i>	95	<i>Literary History</i>	1

<i>London, History of</i>	16	<i>Residence at the Court of London</i>	21
<i>Memoirs of Plague</i>	18	<i>Rome, History of</i>	1
<i>Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore</i>	25	<i>Ruins of Ancient Cities</i>	49
Family Library	8	<i>Ruins of Sacred Lands</i>	1
<i>New York, History of</i>	20	<i>Russia, History of</i>	1
<i>Pictorial History England</i>	195	<i>Russian War</i>	26
<i>Pictorial History of France</i>	2	<i>Survey of the Reformation</i>	11
<i>Pictorial History of London</i>	1	<i>Universal History</i>	2
<i>Pompeii I</i>	1	<i>Venetian History</i>	2
<i>Puritans in England</i>	8	<i>History of ??</i>	12
<i>Reformation</i>	34		
History, Local:			
<i>Worcestershire in the 19th Century</i>	38	<i>Worcestershire</i>	58
<i>Worcestershire, History of</i>	162		
Medical:			
<i>Homoeopathy Fairy of the Senses</i>	1	<i>Philosophy of Health</i>	3
Periodicals:			
<i>Anti-Jacobin</i>	1	<i>Chamber's Journal</i>	690
<i>British Workman</i>	10	<i>Mirror of Literature and co.</i>	16
<i>Cottage Gardener</i>	31	<i>Mechanic's Magazine</i>	158
<i>Chamber's Miscellany</i>	1595	<i>Spirit of the Public Journals</i>	3
<i>Chamber's Edinburgh Journal</i>	192	<i>Tickler</i>	13
Poetry:			
Akenside	6	Howard's Poems	7
<i>Benighted Traveller</i>	34	Joseph's Works	1
<i>British Poets</i>	3	Kirk White	9
Brown	1	Milton	31
Burn's Poems	37	Parnell Poems	2
Butler's Poems	2	Poems	1
Byron's Poems	1	Pope	39
Collins	3	Prior	3
Cooper's Poems	4	Spencer	1
Cowper's Poems	6	Swift	8
Devon Poets Lives	2	Tennyson's Poems	1
Dryden	33	Thompson	7
Goldsmith's Poems	18	Wyatt	2
Gray	4	Young's Poetical Works	21
Politics:			
<i>Politics for the People</i>	3		

Reference:

<i>Cyclopaedia</i>	28
Dictionary	33
Encyclopaedia	14
French Import Duties	3

On Proverbs	1
Penny Cyclopaedia	37
<i>Wonders of the World</i>	2

Religion:

Commentary on the Bible	2
Creation's Testimony to its God	19
Easter Knowledge	1
Holy Bible	43
Missions and Missionaries	1

Religion in Geneva	3
Religions in Belgium	1
Sermons	4
<i>Works of Channing</i>	3

Science:

<i>Conversation on Natural Philosophy</i>	16
<i>Conversation on Mineralogy</i>	3
<i>Cosmos</i>	5
<i>Jesse's Gleanings</i>	4

<i>Natural History of Deeside</i>	12
<i>Natural History of Insects</i>	23
<i>Quadrupeds, History of</i>	2

Self-Educators:

<i>English Past & Present</i>	1
<i>Entertaining Knowledge</i>	2
Learning & Working	8
School Master's Assistant	2

Tutor's Assistant	2
Young Man's Best Companion	5
<i>Youth's Faithful Monitor</i>	6
<i>On the Improvement of the Mind</i>	109

Technology:

<i>Engineers C</i>	1
<i>Patent Index</i>	54
<i>Patents Specification</i>	4

<i>Subject Matter</i>	1
<i>Useful Arts</i>	1

Unknown:

<i>Cottage Dialogue</i>	36
<i>Criminal Trials</i>	1
<i>Extracts from Various Authors</i>	6

<i>Father Josephus</i>	24
<i>Useful Knowledge</i>	1

Appendix A continued

Information taken from the NSTC

Arts / Crafts

– *Lectures on Landscape Gardening in Australia*, (ed.) John MAC GARVIE and Thomas SHEPHERD, (1836, Sydney)

Subject: Civic & Landscape Art [710]

Reference number: 2M4008, 2S18857

Astrology

– *Demonology and witchcraft; a series of caricatures designed by Le Poitevin and engraved by H. Heath*, HEATH, Henry, (1840?, London)

Subject: Parapsychology, Occultism & Witchcraft [133]

Reference number: 2H15327, 2L11754

– *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, 1771-1832*, SCOTT, Walter, Sir, (illus.) Geo. Cruikshank (London 1868)

Subject: Parapsychology, Occultism & Witchcraft [133]

Reference number: 2S9932

– *Natural Magic; a familiar exposition of a forgotten fact in optics, including strictures on Aulus Gellius and his interpreters*, GELLIUS, Aulus and HORNER, W.G. (1832)

Subject: Parapsychology, Occultism & Witchcraft [133]

Reference number: 2G4318, 2H31214

Biography

– *The Life of Ali Pasha, of Tepeleni, Vizier of Epirus: surnamed Aslan, or the Lion*, DAVENPORT, Richard Alfred (London 1837, **Family Library**)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2D3588, 2A8230, 2A8236, 2B13613, 2A8231, 2L15234

– Author: CASTRO Y ROSSI, Adolfo de, [see CASTRO, Adelfo de at D], 1823-1898

Title: *El Buscapie Miguel de Cervantes*, A. de Castro, (trans.) with a life of Cervantes by Thomasina Ross (London, 18--)

Subject: Biography _ Literary People [928]

Reference number: 2C11075

—
Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel, TAYLOR, William Cooke (vol. IV. By Charles Mackay, London 1846)
Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]
Reference number: 2P9323, 2T4579, 2M5275

—
The Life of Sir Isaac Newton, BREWSTER, David, Sir (London 1831, **Family library** v41); (1831 New York, Harper's **Family Library**, no.26)
Subject: Biography _ Scientists [925]
Reference number: 2B47445, 2N7031, 2N7039

—
Life of Sir Isaac Newton; Newton's Principia ... translated, CHITTENDEN, Nathaniel William (1843)
Subject: Biography _ Scientists [925]
Reference number: 2C19420

—
Author:, 1774-1862
Title: *Life of Sir Isaac Newton*, BIOT, Jean Baptiste (trans.) Sir H.C. Elphinstone (London 1829, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge - **Library of useful knowledge**, 50)
Subject: Biography _ Scientists [925]
Reference number: 2B34135, 2E8393

—
The life of Sir Walter Scott, LEIGHTON, Alexander (1861)
Subject: Biography _ Literary People [928]
Reference number: 2L10651

—
Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart (1839 Edinburgh,10v), LOCKHART, John Gibson, BULL, John and MORRIS, Peter
Subject: Biography _ Literary People [928]
Reference number: 2L19462

—
Life of Sir Walter Scott, MACLEOD, Xavier Donald (1852 New York)
Subject: Biography _ Literary People [928]
Reference number: 2M7293, 2S10501

—
The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart, BLACK, David Dakers (1832 Brechin)
Subject: Biography _ Literary People [928]
Reference number: 2B35740, 2S10507

—
The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart, GRANT, George (1849 Dublin)
Subject: Biography _ Literary People [928]
Reference number: 2G17589

—

Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart, GILFILLAN, George (1870)
Subject: Biography _ Literary People [928]
Reference number: 2S10495, 2S10496

Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., with notices of his works, MACDONALD, G (London 1838)
Subject: Biography _ Literary People [928]
Reference number: 2M2933, 2S10500

Life of Sir Walter Scott, with critical notices of his writings, G. Allan and W. Weir (1832/34 Edinburgh)
Subject: Biography _ Literary People [928]
Reference number: 2A8556, 2S10504, 2W11541

Lives of British Artists - not found

Lives of British Physicians , MACMICHAEL, William (London 1830, **Family Library**)
Subject: Biography _ Agriculture, Engineering, Medicine, Printing [926]
Reference number: 2M7454, 2B49146, 2L18175

Lives of English Divines, Bishop Andrewes, Doctor Hammond, Bishop Bull, Bishop Wilson, Jones of Nayland (London 1846)
Subject: Biography _ Religious People [922]
Reference number: 2T4842, 2A12275, 2H5823, 2B56911, 2W26165, 2J11851

Lives of Scottish Worthies, TYTLER, Patrick Fraser (London 1831/33, **Family Library**)
Subject: Biography _ Collective; & of Bibliographers, Librarians, Journalists [920]
Reference number: 2T22266

The Court and Camp of Bonaparte, WHITEHEAD, S. Dunham (London 1829 **Family Library**)
Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]
Reference number: 2W17759, 2N801, 2W17758, 2F13634, 2C39828

H of Heroes - too vague

Lectures on Great Men ..., MYERS, Frederick (London 1856)
Subject: Biography _ Collective; & of Bibliographers, Librarians, Journalists [920]
Reference number: 2M42745

-

The Life and Times of His Late Majesty, George the Fourth: with anecdotes of distinguished persons of the last fifty years, CROLY, George, 1780-1860 (London 1830); (1831 New York, Harper's **family library** edn.)

Subject: Biography _ Collective; & of Bibliographers, Librarians, Journalists [920]

Reference number: 2C43748, 2G4949

The Life and Voyages of C. Columbus (The Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus), IRVING, Washington (London 1850, 3v, **Bohn's Shilling Series'**)

Subject: Biography _ History, Travel, Other; Heraldry; Genealogy; Wills [929]

Reference number: 2I4659, 2I4657, 2I4656

The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus ... Abridged ... for the use of schools, IRVING, Washington (1829 New York); (London 1830 **Family Library**); (1839 Boston, v1 of **The American Library of Literature and Science'** and **The School Library**)

Subject: Biography _ History, Travel, Other; Heraldry; Genealogy; Wills [929]

Reference number: 2I4669, 2I4668, 2I4671, 2O2536, 2I4660, 2I4658

The Life of Alexander the Great (London 1853)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2A7354

The life of Bruce, the African traveller, HEAD, Francis Bond, Sir, Bart (London 1830, **Family Library**)

Subject: Biography _ History, Travel, Other; Heraldry; Genealogy; Wills [929]

Reference number: 2H14866, 2B54278

Life of Cicero - too vague

The Life of Gustavus Adolphus, HOLLINGS, James Francis (London 1838)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2G25836, 2G25837, 2H20059, 2G25842, 2G25833, 2A6929, 2H26632

A Life of Marlborough, MAC FARLANE, Charles, 1799-1858 (London 1852)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2M3805

Life of Mohammad ((London 1847)

Subject: Biography _ Religious People [922]

Reference number: 2M40261, 2B39908, 2M40259

The Life of Mohammad, from original sources, SPRENGER, Aloys (1851 Allahabad Presbyterian Mission Press)

Subject: Biography _ Religious People [922]

Reference number: 2M40256, 2S34865

The Life of Mohammed Ali ... To which are appended, The Quadruple Treaty and the official Memoranda of the English and French Ministers (London 1841)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2M40275, 2M42211, 2I5087

The Life of Mohammed, founder of the religion of Islam, and of the Empire of the Saracens BUSH, George (1830 New York); (1832 New York Harper's **Family Library**, 10)

Subject: Biography _ Religious People [922]

Reference number: 2B62152, 2M40241, 2M40247, 2I5087, 2A1723

Life of Napoleon Bonaparte - too vague

Narratives of Peril and Suffering, DAVENPORT, Richard Alfred (London 1840, 2v, **Family Library**)

Subject: Biography _ Collective; & of Bibliographers, Librarians, Journalists [920]

Reference number: 2D3591

Life of Nelson (London 1847 Society for promoting Christian Knowledge)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2N2980

The life of Nelson, SOUTHEY, Robert (1813, 2v); (1830 **Family Library**); (1849 **Bohn's Illustrated Library**)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2N2971, N474, S3135, 2S32367, 2S32364, 2D22157, 2S32368, 2S32369, 2B8168, 2N2981, 2N2979, S3135, 2S32365, 2C45230, 2S32366

A Life of Washington PAULDING, James Kirke (1835 New York, 2v)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2P7330, 2W7258, 2W7278

The life of Washington, and history of the American revolution; together with Washington's farewell address, WEEMS, Mason Locke (1850? New York)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2W11312

—

The life of Washington, in the form of an autobiography; the narrative being, to a great extent, conducted by himself, in extracts and selections from his own writings (1840 Boston 2v)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2U1011

Louis I - too vague

Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte. From the French of M. Fauvelet de Bourienne, John S. Memes (1830 Edinburgh, 3v, **Constable's Miscellany**, v57-59); (London 1836 **English Classic Library**)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2F2993, 2M24097, 2F2997, 2F2995, 2N833, 2N759, 2J13511, 2N769

Napoleon Bonaparte - see other entries for Napoleon Bonaparte

History of the Expedition to Russia, undertaken by the Emperor Napoleon in the year 1812, SEGUR, Philippe Paul (1825, 2v)

Subject: Military Science, Campaigns, Medical aspects of war, Societies [355]

Reference number: 2N884, 2S12507

Napoleon in Exile; or a Voice from St. Helena ..., CROKER, John Wilson, Right Hon. and WAVERLEY, Edward (London 1822)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2C43606, 2O3767, 2N871, 2C43606, 2O3767, 2O3762

Peter the Great -too vague

Richard I - too vague

The Trials of Charles the First, and of some of the Regicides: with biographies of Bradshaw, Ireton, Harrison, and others. And with notes (London 1832)

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2C15669, 2H9906

Wellington - too vague

Biology

— *American Ornithology; or, the natural history of the birds of the United States*, A. Wilson and C.L. Bonaparte, edited by R. Jameson (1808/14 Philadelphia, 9v); (1831, **Constable's Miscellany**, v68-71)

Subject: Zoology _ Reptiles & Birds [598]

Reference number: 2B40204, 2J2729, 2B40208, 2W24743, 2W24742, 2W2237, 2J3209

Anatomy - too vague

— *Animal and Vegetable Physiology considered with reference to Natural Theology*, ROGET, Peter Mark (1834, 2v, **The Bridgewater Treatises** - Treatise 5)

Subject: Natural religion [210]

Reference number: 2R16034

— *The Architecture of Birds*, RENNIE, James (1831, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge - **Library of Entertaining Knowledge**)

Subject: Zoology _ Reptiles & Birds [598]

Reference number: 2R7081, 2LON5833, 2A15055

— [*Ansichten der Natur*] *Aspects of Nature in different lands and different climates; with scientific elucidations*, HUMBOLDT, Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von, Baron, (trans.) Sabine, Elizabeth Juliana, Lady (London 1849, 2v)

Subject: Earth Sciences _ Geology, Meteorology, Volcanoes, Earthquakes [551]

Reference number: 2H36371, 2S948

Owls and ? - too vague

Fiction

— *The Antiquary*, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1816)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

— *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an enterprise beyond the Rocky mountains*, IRVING, Washington (London 1836, 3v); (London 1850, **Bohn's Shilling Series**); (1839, **Bentley's standard library of popular modern Literature**, v2)

Subject: Literature _ American _ Fiction [813]

— *The Black Dwarf*, SCOTT, Walter, Sir, Bart (1816)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

The Bride of Lammermoor, SCOTT, Walter, Sir, Bart. (1823)
Subject: Literature _ English _ Drama [822]

Canterbury Tales, Chaucer

Biographical and Critical Miscellanies, PRESCOTT, William Hickling (London 1845)
Subject: Literature _ American _ Miscellaneous Writings [818]
Reference number: 2P25370

Essays and Tracts, ABERCROMBIE, John, M.D. (1842 Edinburgh)
Subject: Literature _ English _ Essays [824]
Reference number: 2A1171

Croker's *Fairy Tales* - found as:

Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland, Croker, Thomas Crofton (1825 London); (1834, London, **Family Library**)
Subject: Folklore, Prophecy, Proverbs [398]
Reference Number: 21RE824, 2C43650

The Fortunes of Nigel, SCOTT, Walter, Sir, Bart. (1822)
Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Guy Mannering, SCOTT, Walter, Sir, (1815)
Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

The Heart of Mid-Lothian, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1818)
Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Ivanhoe, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1819)
Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Kenilworth, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1821)
Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

A Legend of Montrose, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1819)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Literature and Arts - not found

—
The Monastery, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1820)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

—
Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley, (Waverley - Guy Mannering - Antiquary - Rob Roy - Tales of my Landlord: The Black Dwarf, Old Mortality, The Heart of Midlothian, The Bride of Lammermoor, A Legend of Montrose), SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1819)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Reference number: 2N11633, 2S9294, 2S9286, 2S9287, 2S9288, 2S9289, 2S9290, 2S9282

—
Novels and tales, COOPER, James Fenimore (1825/32 New York, 64v in 33)

Subject: Literature _ American _ Fiction [813]

Reference number: 2C36757, 2C36753

—
Novels and Tales, GOETHE, Johann Wolfgang von (London 1850)

Subject: Literature _ German _ Fiction [833]

Reference number: 2G11587

—
Novels and Tales by Goethe: Elective Affinities (trans.) J.A.Froude and R.D. Boylan (1854 **Bohn's Standard Library** no.93)

Subject: Literature _ German _ Fiction [833]

Reference number: 2G11588, 2B44536, 2F17791

—
The Novels and Tales of Charles Dickens ... In three volumes, DICKENS, Charles, Smaller Collections, 1812-1870 (1854 Philadelphia, Library edition)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Reference number: 2D11895, 2D11860

—
Novels and Tales, reprinted from Household Words conducted by Charles Dickens (1856, **Collection of British Authors**, v376)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Reference number: 2D12731

—
Old Mortality, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1816)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

—

Paul and Virginia; and the Indian cottage, Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint Pierre (1827, **Jones Cabinet Edition**)

Subject: Literature _ French _ Fiction [843]

Reference number: 2S2324

Peveiril of the Peak, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1822)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Pirate, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1822)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Quentin Durward, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1823)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Rob Roy, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (1817)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Salmagundi , IRVING, William and Washington, and PAULDING JK (1808)

Subject: Literature _ American _ Satire & Humour [817]

Shakespeare - too vague

Sir Walter Scott - too vague

The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent, IRVING, Washington (London 1850, **Bohn's Shilling Series**);(1850, **Parlour Library** v41); (London 1834, 2v **Family Library**, 39, 40);(1843 **Collection of British Authors** v33)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Sketches of Imposture, Deception, and Credulity, DAVENPORT, Richard Alfred (London 1837, **Family Library**)

Subject: Folklore, Prophecy, Proverbs [398]

Reference number: 2D3595, 2S23610

Tales and stories from history, STRICKLAND, Agnes (London 1836, 2v)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Reference number: 2S44397

Tancred: or, The New Crusade, DISRAELI, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (London 1847, 3v)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Reference number: 2D14241

The History of Tom Jones, FIELDING, Henry (1749); (London 1820, 3v **British novelists**, new edn., v19-21); (1819 London & Weybridge ,2v **Walker's British Classics**); (London 1831, 2v **Novelist's Library**, v5, 6); (1844, 2v **British Authors** v60, 61); (1820, New edn. **British Novelists**, 19-21)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Waverley, SCOTT, Walter, Sir (18)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Fiction [823]

Geography

America - too vague

Asia - too vague

Australia - too vague

British Colonies - too vague

British India - too vague

British Walks - not found

The Cambrian Traveller's Guide and Pocket Companion; collected information of the most ... authentic writers, relating to the Principality of Wales ... additions,

NICHOLSON, George (1808 Stourport)

Subject: Topography, Geography and Travels in Europe [914]

Reference number: N982, W187

Chronicles of London Bridge. By an Antiquary ... 1827. Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the State of London Bridge..., THOMSON, Richard (1827); (London 1839, **Family Library**, no66)

Subject: Topography, Geography and Travels in Europe [914]

Reference number: 2T10481, 2T10480, 2A13825, 2A13824, 2P8167

A gazetteer of the world, BAYLEE, John Tyrrell (London 18--)

Subject: Geography; Shipwrecks; Travels [910]

Reference number: 2B12416

A Gazetteer of the World, SWANSTON, George H.

Subject: Geography _ Maps, Atlases [912]

Reference number: 2S48024

A Gazetteer of the World, or, Dictionary of geographical knowledge ... Edited by a member of the Royal Geographical Society. Illustrated with ... woodcuts and one hundred and twenty engravings on steel (1850/57, Edinburgh & London, 7v)

Subject: Geography; Shipwrecks; Travels [910]

Reference number: 2G3981, 2W32602, 2G3983

London - too vague

London Gazetteer - too vague

Mexico - too vague

New Zealand - too vague

Our Antipodes: or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a glimpse of the Gold-Fields, MUNDY, Godfrey Charles (London 1852, 3v)

Subject: Australia [994]

Reference number: 2M40851

The Picture of Edinburgh; containing a description of the city and its environs ... With a map and forty views, STARK, John (1806 Edinburgh)

Subject: Topography, Geography and Travels in Europe [914]

Reference number: 2S36971, S3555

Six months in the West Indies, in 1825, COLERIDGE, Henry Nelson (London 1826); (London 3rd edn. 1832, **Family Library**)

Subject: Travels _ in North America & West Indies [917]

Reference number: 2W13525, 2W13524, 2C30125

Supplement to Australia - not found

Supplement to the British Colonies - not found

Tales of Travel, MILLER, F.B (London 1833);

Subject: Geography; Shipwrecks; Travels [910]

Reference number: 2M27970

Tour in South Holland - not found

Travels in Africa - entries include:

Travels in Africa, by Mr. Mungo Park ... From the Cape of Good Hope to Morocco, by Damberger [ie Zacharias Taurinius]; and in the interior districts of Africa, by Ledyard and Lucas, abridged by William Mavor (London 1807, Vol 21 of an **unnamed series**)

Subject: Travels _ in Africa [916]
Reference number: M1777.5, P352, L969.5, L2567.5

Travels in Africa performed during ... 1785, 1786 and 1787 ..., GOLBERY, Sylvain Meinrad Xavier de (London 1802, Vol.3 and 4 of a collection entitled '**Modern Discoveries**')
Subject: Travels _ in Africa [916]
Reference number: G1280, 2M32437

Walks through Kent - not found

History

The History of the Anglo-Saxons, TURNER, Sharon (1836, vols.1-3 of 1768-1847 *The History of England from the earliest period to the death of Elizabeth*)

Subject: History _ Ancient _ Northern Europe [936]
Reference number: 2T20597, ENG1633, 2T20591, T1900

History of England. Vol.I. Anglo-Saxon period, COHEN, Francis, (London 1831, **Family Library**)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]
Reference number: 2C29026

History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the earliest period to the Norman Conquest, Author: MILLER, Thomas (London 1848); (3rd edn. 1849, **Bohn's Illustrated Library**)

Location: British Museum General Catalogue
Subject: History _ Ancient _ Northern Europe [936]
Reference number: 2M28572

The History of the Bastille, and of its Principal Captives, DAVENPORT, Richard Alfred (London 1838, **Family Library**)

Subject: France _ History, Institutions, Politics [944]
Reference number: 2D3587

Battle of Waterloo - too vague
British Museum - too vague

The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ, until the year 1648, FULLER, Thomas (London 1837, 3v); (1845 Oxford, 6v. A new edition ... by ... J.S. Brewer)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]
Reference number: 2B47312, 2F18428, 2F18426, 2F18427, 2N7627

Churches of the World - too vague
Civil Wars in England - too vague

—
The conquest of Mexico! An appeal to the citizens of the United States, on the justice and expediency of the conquest of Mexico; with historical and descriptive information respecting that country (1846 Boston)

Subject: U.S.A. _ History, Law, Institutions, Politics, Social, Slavery [973]

Reference number: 2C34550

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Most likely *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru* are earlier editions of:

Conquest of Mexico and Peru, CORTES, Hernando, Marquis del Valle de Oaxaca and V (1860) [*The Conquest of Mexico* being a new edition of the abstract of the 'Historia de la conquista de Mexico' by A. de Solis y Ribadeneyra, originally published in 1756 in *A Compendium of Authentic ... Voyages.*]

Subject: Biography _ Law, Politics, Military, Rulers, Finance, Slaves [923]

Reference number: 2P18329, 2D23139, 2C38752, 2D180

Court of Russia - too vague

—
History of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, PRESCOTT, William Hickling (London 1838, 3v)

Subject: Spain & Portugal [946]

Reference number: 2F4210, 2I4969, 2P25386

French Revolution - too vague

—
Historical Parallels. Comprising the most interesting incidents in ancient and modern history, MALKIN, Arthur Thomas (1831, 2v, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge - **Library of Entertaining Knowledge**)

Subject: History _ Miscellany [902]

Reference number: 2P2960, 2LON5846, 2M11043

—
History of the Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore: with an Enquiry into its Origin and Treatment: and Suggestions for the Prevention of Future Discontent in the Royal Navy, NEALE, William Johnson (London 1842, **Family Library**)

Subject: Naval Forces & Warfare [359]

Reference number: 2N2336, 2S34370

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The history of America (Pinnock's catechisms), London (1820)
Subject: U.S.A. _ History, Law, Institutions, Politics, Social, Slavery [973]
Reference number: 2A10383

The History of America, ROBERTSON, William ((London 1800/01, 3v, **Penny National Library**, v9)

Subject: U.S.A. _ History, Law, Institutions, Politics, Social, Slavery [973]
Reference number: 2R13351, 2R13350, 2R13349, 2R13352, R1273, , 2R13348,
2R13361, 2M4985, 2R13356, 2R13355, 2R13353, 2R13354

The history of America, in two books, MORSE, Jedidiah, 1761-1826 (1819 Philadelphia)
Subject: U.S.A. _ History, Law, Institutions, Politics, Social, Slavery[973]
Reference number: 2M37981

The history of America ... Containing the history of the Spanish discoveries prior to 1520,
GORDON, Thomas Francis, 1787-1860 (1831 Philadelphia 2v, **Cabinet of American History**)
Subject: U.S.A. _ History, Law, Institutions, Politics, Social, Slavery [973]
Reference number: 2G14752

History of Australia - too vague
History of the Bible - too vague

The History of Britain, that part especially now called England; from the first traditional beginning, continued to the Norman conquest, MILTON, John, (ed.) MASERES, Francis (London 1818)
Subject: England _ History [942.1]
Reference number: 2M30054, 2M18549

The history of Civilisation [in Europe; - in France] from the fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution ..., GUIZOT, Francois Pierre Guillaume, (Trans.) W. Hazlitt and MACKINNON, William Alexander (1846 **Bohn's Standard Library**)
Subject: History _ Modern _ General [940]
Reference number: 2G25096, 2H14691, 2H14702, 2M6271

History of Eminent ?? - not found
History of England - see *Pictorial History of England*
History of Europe - too vague; could refer to *History of Civilisation* above.
History of France - too vague
History of Germany too vague
History of Impostures (?) - not found
History of the Jews - too vague

Lectures on the History of France, STEPHEN, James (1851, New York);(London, 1851, 2v)
Subject: France _ History, Institutions, Politics [944]

Reference number: 2S38314

Library History - not found

Literary History - not found

The History of London, and its environs ... account ... towns, villages and country, within twenty-five miles of London, HUNTER, Henry, D.D., (London 1811, 2v)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]

Reference number: H3149, LON745

A History of London from its foundation by the Romans to the accession of Queen Victoria, with ... sketches of the manners and customs of the people in early and later times, MACKAY, Charles (London 1838)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]

Reference number: 2M5265

A History of London from the earliest period to the present time, ABBOTT, John William

Subject: England _ History [942.1]

Reference number: 2A877

The History of London, illustrated by views in London and Westminster, (ed.)

FEARNSIDE, William Gray and T. Harral, (illus.) J. Wood (London 1838)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]

Reference number: 2F3322, 2W30609, 2H8841

An Abridgment of the History of the Great Plague in London, in the Year 1665. By a citizen, who lived the whole time in London [Abridged from Defoe's 'A Journal of the Plague Year']. Together with an account of the fire in 1666; from the memoirs of Evelyn (London 1824)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]

Reference number: 2D7463, 2LON6887

History of the Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore: with an Enquiry into its Origin and Treatment: and Suggestions for the Prevention of Future Discontent in the Royal Navy, NEALE (1842 **Family Library**)

Subject: Naval Forces & Warfare [359]

Reference number: 2N2336, 2S34370

The family library, (1836/45 New York) (v1-3, 5-19, 21-28, 30-37, 39-59, 61-89, 91-105, 107-113, 115-133, 135-153, 158, 175) (15cm)

Subject: Literature _ American _ Miscellaneous Writings [818]

Reference number: 2F1595

New York, History of - too vague

A Pictorial History of England, GOODRICH, Samuel Griswold, PARLEY, Peter and LILLY, Lambert (1845 Philadelphia)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]

Reference number: 2G13838

The Pictorial History of England, MAC FARLANE, Charles and CRAIK, George Lillie, 1799-1858 (1838, 4v)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]

Reference number: 2M3782, 2ENG9520, 2C41975, 2C41972, 2ENG9521, 2C41973, 2C41974

Pictorial history of England, HUME, David and Smollett: abridged, and (1848 Boston)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]

Reference number: 2H36564

The cabinet history of England, an abridgment of the chapters entitled Civil and military history in the Pictorial history of England, CRAIK, George Lillie and MACFARLANE, Charles (1845/47, 26v)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]

Reference number: 2C41977, 2M3787

Pictorial history of France and Normandy, from the earliest period to the present time, TAYLOR, William Cooke (1848 Philadelphia)

Subject: France _ History, Institutions, Politics [944]

Reference number: 2T4592

The pictorial history of France and of the French people: from the establishment of the Franks in Gaul, to the period of the French revolution, BUSSEY, George Moir and GASPEY, Thomas, (illus.) DAVID, Jean Baptiste Jules (London 1841, 2v)

Subject: France _ History, Institutions, Politics [944]

Reference number: 2B62443, 2G3274, 2D3727

A pictorial history of France, for schools, GOODRICH, Samuel Griswold

Subject: France _ History, Institutions, Politics [944]

Reference number: 2G13839, 2G13840

Pompeii - too vague

The Puritans in England - not found

Reformation - too vague

Memoranda of a residence at the Court of London, RUSH, Richard (1833 Philadelphia);
London 1845 (2v)
Subject: Topography, Geography and Travels in Europe [914]
Reference number: 2R20725, 2R20726

History of Rome - too vague

Ruins of Ancient Cities; with general and particular accounts of their rise, fall, and present condition, BUCKE, Charles (London 1840, 2v, **Family Library**, 70,71)
Subject: History _ Ancient _ General [930]
Reference number: 2B55866

Ruins of sacred and historic lands, Babylon, Nineveh, etc (London 1850)
Subject: History _ Ancient _ Palestine [933]
Reference number: 2N8760, 2R20334

A History of Russia, BELL, Robert (London 1836/38, 3v, **Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia**)
Subject: Russia & Eastern Europe [947]
Reference number: 2B16320

The History of Russia from the earliest period to the present time, compiled from the most authentic sources, including the works of Karamsin, Tooke, and Segur, KELLY, Walter Keating (1846 **Bohn's Standard Library**)
Subject: Russia & Eastern Europe [947]
Reference number: 2K2272

History of Russia and of Peter the Great, SEGUR, Philippe Paul de, Count(London 1829)
Subject: Russia & Eastern Europe [947]
Reference number: 2P12223, 2S12510

History of Russia, from the foundation of the Empire, by Rurik, to the present time, WILLCOCKS, Thomas (1832 Devonport)
Subject: Russia & Eastern Europe [947]
Reference number: 2W21509

History of Russia from the foundation of the Empire by Rourick to the close of the Hungarian Wars, DUNCAN, Jonathan and RABBE, Alphonse (1851)
Subject: Russia & Eastern Europe [947]
Reference number: 2D22292, 2R421

The Russian War, and Blockade of the Baltic (London 1854)

Subject: Russia & Eastern Europe [947]
Reference number: 2A4228, 2C43204, 2R21912,

—
The Russian War justified; with various perceptions in the present tense, WILCOX, Henry (London 1855)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Poetry [821]
Reference number: 2W20225, 2R21911

—
A Popular Survey of the Reformation, and Fundamental Doctrines of the Church of England, CUSTANCE, George (London 1813 Kidderminster &)

Subject: Church of England [283]
Reference number: C4634

Universal History - too vague

—
Sketches from Venetian History, SMEDLEY, Edward (London 1831/32, 2v, **Family Library**)

Subject: Italy [945]
Reference number: 2S24794, 2V2134, 2V2107

History Local

—
Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century. A complete digest of facts occurring in the county since the commencement of the year 1800, TURBERVILLE, T.C (1852 London & Birmingham)

Subject: England _ History [942.1]
Reference number: 2T19913

Worcestershire, History of - see above
Worcestershire - see above

Medical:

—
Philosophy of health; natural principles of health and cure, or Health and cure without drugs. Also, the moral bearings of erroneous appetites, COLES, Larkin B (London 24th edn. 1850)

Subject: Medicine _ General & Personal Hygiene [613]
Reference number: 2C30385

—

The Philosophy of Health; or, An exposition of the physical and mental constitution of man, with a view to the promotion of human longevity and happiness, SMITH, Thomas Southwood (London 1835/37, 2v); (London 3rd edn. 1847, 2v, **Knight's Monthly Volumes**)

Subject: Medicine _ General & Personal Hygiene [613]

Reference number: 2S28594

Periodicals

The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine; or, monthly political and literary Censor, 1798-1821, (ed.) John Gifford; *The New Anti-Jacobin* (London 1833); *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, G. Canning and others

Subject: Serial publications _ In English [052]

Reference number: 2PER3059, PER386, 2PER5867, 2PER5868, F1767, 2E4520, A1448, 2C6053, C508, C508, PER388, PER385, E696, 2A13763, 2F16522, 2PER3057, 2G8372, 2PER3058

The British Workman, and Friend of the Sons of Toil (Feb 1855 - Sept 1921)

The Cottage Gardener, and Country Gentleman's Companion ... Conducted by G.W. Johnson and R. Hogg (1849 - 1898)

Chambers's Miscellany

Chambers's Edinburgh Journal

Chambers's Journal

London Gazetteer

Mirror of Literature and Co.

Mechanic's Magazine

Spirit of the Public Journals

Poetry

The Benighted Traveller; a tale - and other poems, HUGHES, Edward Francis (London 1846)

Subject: Literature _ English _ Poetry [821]

Reference number: 2H34985

See Appendix A for list of poets whose works were consulted.

Politics

Politics for the people, COBBETT, William (1819 Birmingham, Association for the refutation and suppression of blasphemy and sedition)

Subject: Politics _ Parliamentary, Roman Catholics, Jewish disabilities, Other [329]

Reference number: 2C27816, 2B34752

Science

— *Conversations on Natural Philosophy; in which the elements of that science are familiarly explained, and adapted to the comprehension of young pupils ...*, MARCET, Jane (1819)

Subject: Physics, Natural Philosophy [530]

Reference number: 2M13861

Conversation on Mineralogy - not found

— *Cosmos, a survey of the general physical history of the universe*, HUMBOLDT, Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von, Baron, (trans.) E.C. Otte, B.H. Paul and W.S. Dallas (London 1849/52, **Bohn's scientific library**)

Subject: Earth Sciences _ Geology, Meteorology, Volcanoes, Earthquakes [551]

Reference number: 2H36376, 2H36379, 2H36378, 2O6162, 2P7127, 2S949, 2S911

— *Gleanings in Natural History*, JESSE, Edward (London 1832/35 London)

Subject: Life Sciences _ Biology, Animal Economy [574]

Reference number: 2J5475, 2J5474, 2W16880

— *The Natural History of Dee Side and Braemar ...*, MACGILLIVRAY, William, (Ed.) E. Lankester (London 1855, Privately printed)

Subject: Life Sciences _ Biology, Animal Economy [574]

Reference number: 2M4338, 2L4264

— *The natural history of insects. Illustrated with anecdotes and numerous engravings. Designed for youth*, RENNIE, James and WESTWOOD, John Obadiah (London 1829/35, 2v **Family Library** 7,51)

Subject: Zoology _ Other Invertebrates, Insects [595]

Reference number: 2R7101, 2H23634, 2W14525, 2N1755

— *A History of Quadrupeds. Adapted to the capacities of youth*, TRIMMER, Mary (London 1803)

Subject: Zoology _ Reptiles & Birds [598]

Reference number: H1886, T1620, B1972

Reference

Cyclopaedia - too vague
Dictionary - too vague
Encyclopaedia - too vague

French Import Duties - not found
On Proverbs - not found

The Penny Cyclopaedia (1833 Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge - **Library of useful knowledge**)

Subject: Encyclopaedic works _ In English [032]

Reference number: 2E9636, 2P10500, 2L20404, 2R1620, 2LON5755

The Wonders of The World in Nature and Art (ed.) INCE, Henry (London 1839)

Subject: Encyclopaedic works _ In English [032]

Reference number: 2I977, 2T11147, 2W32629, 2I978, 2M39876, 2W29242, 2W32628

Religion

A Commentary on the Bible; with the sacred text at large, Robert Hawker (London 1842/44, 3v)

Subject: Bible [220]

Reference number: 2B21959, 2H12901

Creation's Testimony to its God; or the accordance of science, philosophy and revelation, RAGG, Thomas (London 1855)

Subject: Natural religion [210]

Reference number: 2R883

Easter Knowledge - not found

Holy Bible - too vague

Missions and missionaries historically viewed from their commencement, KINGSMILL, Joseph (London 1853)

Subject: Missions; Mission Societies [266]

Reference number: 2K6256

Religion in Geneva - not found

Sermons - not found

Religion in Belgium - not found

The Works of William E. Channing, CHANNING, William Ellery (London 1829)

Subject: Christianity _ Collected works of religious authors; Miscellany of [202]

Reference number: 2C14676, 2C14678, 2C14677, 2C14681, 2C14680

Self-Educators

—
English, Past and Present. Five lectures, TRENCH, Richard Chenevix (London 1855)
Subject: Language _ Study & Teaching [407]
Reference number: 2T17219

—
Entertaining knowledge: or, The curious origin and primary meaning of numerous words & phrases, illustrated and explained, CATER, Philip
Subject: Language _ Etymology [412]
Reference number: 2C11448

—
The Improvement of the Mind: or, a supplement to the Art of Logick, WATTS, Isaac (London 1801)
Subject: Education _ general [370]
Reference number: W905
NB; 34 references given to this work in the NSTC. The one above is the earliest edition.

—
Learning and Working. Six lectures delivered in Willis's rooms, London, in June and July 1854. The Religion of Rome, and its influence on modern civilization. Four lectures, MAURICE, John Frederick Denison (1855 Cambridge & London)
Subject: Christianity _ Study & teaching of [207]
Reference number: 2M20792

School-Master's Assistant - not found
Tutor's Assistant - not found

—
The young man's best companion, and book of general knowledge, MURRAY, L., F.A.S (London 1819)
Subject: Education _ general [370]
Reference number: 2M41973, 2M11605, D1626, 2S14858, 2Y1350, M923, 2M11604, 2M21048

Youth's Faithful Monitor - not found

Technology

Engineer's C - too vague
Patent Index - see below
Patent Specifications - see below

Subject Matter Index ... of Patents and Invention from March 2, 1617 (14 James I.) to October 1, 1852 (16 Victoriae) (Key to ... Index) (London 1854/57)

Subject: Technology _ Exhibitions; Patents [608]

Reference number: 2ENG4628

Subject Matter Index of Patents applied for and Patents granted, from 1st October to 31st December 1852 (London 1855)

Subject: Technology _ Exhibitions; Patents [608]

Reference number: 2ENG4632

The useful arts and manufactures of Great Britain, TOMLINSON, Charles, F.R.S., F.C.S., (London, 1846, Christian Knowledge Society)

Subject: Manufactures [670]

Reference number: 2ENG9985, 2T14243, 2U1544_

The useful arts, considered in connexion with the applications of science, BIGELOW, Jacob (1840 Boston)

Subject: Technology _ Miscellany [602]

Reference number: 2B33288

The Useful Arts employed in the Construction of Dwelling Houses, (London 1844)

Subject: Buildings _ Auxiliary Construction Practices [692]

Reference number: 2A17208, 2U1545

The Useful Arts employed in the Production of Clothing (London 1844, Parker's **Collections in Popular Literature**)

Subject: Domestic Arts & Sciences _ Sewing, Clothing, Personal Grooming [646]

Reference number: 2A17209

The Useful Arts employed in the Production of Food (London 1844, Parker's **Collections in Popular Literature**)

Subject: Domestic Arts & Sciences _ Food & Meal Service [642]

Reference number: 2A17210, 2A17210, 2U1547

The Useful Arts of the Greeks and Romans. Illustrations of the State of the Useful Arts in Other Nations and Times (1851)

Subject: Technology _ Historical & Geographical Treatment [609]

Reference number: 2C58

The Useful Arts; their birth and development edited for the Young Men's Christian Association, (ed.) MARTIN, Samuel (London 1851)

Subject: Technology _ Historical & Geographical Treatment [609]

Reference number: 2M16912

Unknown

— *Criminal Trials*, JARDINE, David (1832 Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge **Library of Entertaining Knowledge**)

Subject: Law _ Criminal law; Criminal trials; Courts Martial [345]

Reference number: 2J3176, 2T17631, 2LON5840, 2D10637

— *Criminal Trials, illustrative of the tale, entitled: 'The Heart of Mid-Lothian'*, PORTEOUS, John, Captain (1818 Edinburgh)

Subject: Literature _ Lit. Criticism; Authorship Questions; Literary History [809]

Reference number: 2M27083, 2S9667, 2C43220, 2P22217

— *Criminal Trials in England; their defects and remedies*, COOKE, George Wingrove (London 1834)

Subject: Law _ Criminal law; Criminal trials; Courts Martial [345]

Reference number: 2C35773

— *Criminal Trials in Scotland, from A.D. 1488 to A.D. 1624*, PITCAIRN, Robert (1833 Edinburgh, 3v)

Subject: Scotland _ History, Institutions, Politics [941.5]

Reference number: 2P17850

— *Extracts from various authors on the culture and preparation of flax* (London 1839)

Subject: Agriculture _ Field Crops [633]

Reference number: 2E15540

— *Extracts from various authors; with remarks and observations on the mode, subjects, and history of baptism*, WESTLAKE, Thomas (London 1805)

Subject: Baptism, Confession, Confirmation, Communion, Ordination, Other rite [265]

Reference number: W1388

Useful Knowledge - too vague

Appendix B

Huddersfield Female Educational Institute

Borrower records

Although three library issue books covering the extended periods of 1856 to 1866, 1869 to 1872 and 1873 to 1883 have survived, only the records for October 1856 to August 1857 have been analysed below. The reason for the limitations imposed upon this study are to be found within the sources themselves. Apart from the period from October 1856 to August 1857, within all three issue books, rather than the title of the book, the catalogue number of the volume loaned was recorded alongside either the members' name and registration number (1858 to 1866) or registration number alone. Therefore, in order to analyse the records from 1858 it would have been necessary to locate a library catalogue in order to translate the book numbers into titles. However, within the archive of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute, only one catalogue citing 402 volumes was found, pasted to the inside cover of a register documenting pupil attendance for the period 1855 to 1863. Although it has not been possible to identify the exact year in which this catalogue was produced, it is evident that it pre-dates the renumbering of the library stock which occurred sometime after 14 October

1857. At a committee meeting held on this date, the library committee reported that they had 'classified the catalogue' according to genre, and suggested the following:

1. The books be renumbered and rearranged so as to bring volumes of the same size together in the shelves.
2. That new labels be placed in the books and that on each label be written the letter indicating the class to which it belongs.
3. That a MS catalogue be made; the books entered in this catalogue to constitute a stock book.
4. That the lost books be omitted in the new catalogue.
5. That the fine for not returning a book according to rule be /1d per week instead of /2d.¹

Following this, the earliest surviving annual report of the institute, dated April 1858, refers to the fact that the library of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute:

now contains 572 Volumes which have been re-arranged and re-numbered, and are now classified, as under:-

A Philosophy, Education, Morals	37 Vols.
B Science, with Applications	16
C Natural History	23
D History, Antiquities	73
E Biography	52
F Geography, Voyages and Travels	68
G Social Economy, Statistics, Commerce	31
H Stories, Fiction	126
I General Literature, Fine Arts	119
O Poetry, Drama	27 ²

Since the surviving catalogue cites only 402 titles, it is evident that it pre-dates the re-numbering which occurred between October 1857 and December 1857. In addition, a significant number of titles within the printed catalogue match those given within a hand-written record reproduced within the 1856 to 1866 issue book. Along the top of 436 of the pages numbered from 1 to 598 within this document, are written the title of

¹ HFEI 1/1, entry for 14 October 1857.

² HFEI 3/a 1858 annual report, p.5.

a book; the page number for the title coincides with that of the library catalogue for 258 of these. A further fifteen of the numbers from 1 to 412 (this being the highest number given within the printed catalogue) are blank within both of the documents, while the sources differ on only three of the titles.³ The remaining 178 titles appear only within the issue book. Since the total number of titles given within the library issue book number 434, and include books which, according to the minutes were bought after September 1856 but do not appear within the printed catalogue, it is assumed that the latter was published a few years earlier. Using both sources in conjunction, it has been possible to establish the title of 583 volumes contained at some time within the library.

The reason for analysing only those loans which occurred during the period from October 1856 to August 1857, is that for these dates only, the method of recording the book loaned differed to that adopted after the renumbering of the catalogue at the end of 1857. For this period only, the pupils name, date of loan and date of return was recorded beneath the hand-written title within the issue book. At a committee meeting on 4 October 1856 it was resolved 'that the library committee purchase a book for the catog [sic] of issues & c.'⁴ Since the recorded issues within this document date from 20 October 1856 it is evident that the book referred to within the minutes is that which records the loans from this date until 1866. Almost a year later, on 5 August 1857, it

³ Within the issue book, title number fourteen is given as *Tales About Great Britain and Ireland* by Peter Parley, number sixty-eight as *Chambers's Repository* and number sixty-nine as *Chambers's Papers for the People*, vol. 9. Within the printed catalogue, however, title number fourteen is given as *Which is the Wiser* by Mary Howitt and titles sixty-eight and sixty-nine both as the *Temperance Gazette*. The difference in these three titles can be attributed to the fact that the latter three volumes had either been lost and/or replaced by the time they were written within the issue book.

⁴ HFEI 1/1, minute book, entry for 4 October 1856.

was resolved that 'That the library be closed and the secretary call in all the books, and furnish to next meeting a list of lapsed numbers'. Since no loans are recorded for the months of September, October, November and December of 1857, it is assumed that the library remained closed throughout this period, while the entire stock was re-numbered and re-arranged. After this, the new method of recording loans was adopted in January 1858 and since no further catalogue was found, those loans recorded after this date as numbers only have not been analysed.

In order to establish the method of classification used within the library, an attempt was made to categorise each title taken from the library catalogue and issue book in accordance with the above mentioned annual report of 1858. This was done by firstly noting every subject classification provided by the *NSTC* for each of the given titles and secondly, by then allocating each title with multiple genres to all possible categories until the results given in table 1 below were obtained.

The inclusion of a number of volumes of periodicals within the library catalogue is reflected within table 1 by the fact that the total number of titles within the library (396) is somewhat lower than the total number of volumes identified by genre (564).⁵ The discrepancy between the two figures however, was not solely due to the inclusion of periodicals but indicative of the fact that the library also contained multiple copies of

⁵ Taken as a whole, the identified library stock contained seventy-one volumes of periodicals, divided into fourteen titles — one volume each of the *Analectic Magazine*, the *National Temperance Magazine*, *Printing Machine* and *The Lady's Book*, two volumes each of the *Edinburgh Review*, *London Journal*, and *Tales of Travellers*, three of the *Monthly Visitor* and *The Ladies Library*, five of the *Family Economist*, eight of the *Saturday Magazine*, eleven of *Chambers's Miscellany*, twelve of *Howitt's Journal* and nineteen of the *Penny Magazine*.

certain titles and a number of titles comprised of two or more volumes. In order to analyse the library issue figures and examine the contents of the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library the results given in table 6 were reconfigured to include the two absent categories of 'reference' and 'periodicals' as separate entries. As the reclassified table 7 indicates, even after the removal of periodicals to a separate category, the number of volumes within each genre still outstripped the number of titles.⁶

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library

The titles of the texts have been arranged below according to the way in which they were classified within table 6, using the guidelines provided within the 1858 annual report. Those titles which were reclassified within table 7 appear in bold. Where the field of author and date have been left blank, but that of genre filled in for both columns, this indicates that a number of texts with the short title taken from the borrowing register were identified and that while it was not possible to ascertain exactly which these was referred to that they all had the same genre within the NSTC; eg *Home Made Happy*.

⁶ This was due the inclusion of multiple copies of certain titles and multi-volume titles within the catalogue. Within this category of 'stories, fiction' two three deckers, *Edinburgh Tales* by Christian Isobel Johnstone and *Harry and Lucy* by Maria Edgeworth were found. According to the NSTC, *Edinburgh Tales* was first published in Edinburgh during 1845 to 1846 as a three decker while *Harry and Lucy* was first published in Boston in 1818 and in London in 1825. The 1825 publication was a four-volume edition, with three decker versions following in 1827, 1837 and 1853.

Appendix B continued

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library

	Title	Author	Date	Genre	No. vols	No. loans
	Classification: Unidentified					
1	Carl Thorn's Revenge			?	1	10
2	Dialogues			?	1	0
3	Jerseymen Meeting and Jerseymen Parting			?	1	0
4	London in May			?	1	0
5	Meetings for Amusing Knowledge			?	1	0
6	Miss Brewer's H?? Family			?	1	1
7	Philip Farmer?			?	1	2
8	River Bank			?	1	6
9	Sequel to the Wells Guest House			?	1	9
10	Story book of Birds			?	1	4
11	The Carossal?			?	1	9
12	The Geese?			?	1	2
				Total	12	43
	Classification: Biography					
1	Biography of Self-taught men	Bagley, Sarah		biog	1	1
2	Boyhood and Early Life of Extraordinary Men	Russell, William		biog	1	2
3	Cabinet Pictures of English Life	Saunders, J		biog	1	0
4	Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies, vol 1			biog	2	0
5	Charles Lever	Gresley, William		biog	1	4
6	Civil Wars of Rome, select lives of Plutrach, vol 1	Long, G		biog	2	0
7	Distinguished Men, vol 3	Malkin, Arthur		biog	4	0
8	History of Alfred the Great			biog	1	2
9	Life and Travels of Bruce			biog	1	0
10	Life and Voyages of Columbus			biog	1	0
11	Life of Benjamin Franklin			biog	1	0
12	Life of Felix Neff	Bost, A		biog	1	0
13	Life of Leo the Tenth, vol 1	Roscoe, William		biog	1	0
14	Life of Mohamet	Irving, Washington		biog	2	1
15	Life of Sir Thomas Gresham	MacFarlane, Charles	1845	biog	1	0
16	Life of Sir Walter Raleigh			biog	1	2
17	Life of the Duke of Wellington			biog	1	2

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

18	Life of Washington vol 1	Parley, Peter		biog	2	0
19	Lives of Industrious Men			biog	1	4
20	Lives of the Poets	Johnson, Samuel		biog	3	0
21	Lives of the Successors of Mahomet	Irving, Washington		biog	1	0
22	Luther and his times	Riddle, Joseph		biog	1	0
23	Memoirs of Felix Neff, John Oberlin	Williams, Sydney Mrs		biog	1	0
24	Memoirs of George Fred Cooke	Cooke, George		biog	2	0
25	Memoirs of John Frederick Oberline	Atkins, Sarah		biog	1	1
26	Memoirs of the Dr Joseph Priestly	Priestly, Joseph		biog	1	0
27	Memorials of Early Genius			biog	1	1
28	Oliver Cromwell			biog	1	2
29	Oliver Goldsmith			biog	1	2
30	Spenser and His Poetry, vol 2	Craik, GL		biog	1	1
31	Life and Remains of Henry Kirk White	White, H.K.		biog, poetry	2	3
32	Meditations on the Starry Heavens, Flowers, Gardens & co.	Harvey, Rev. James		biog, poetry	1	0
				Total	43	28
	Classification: Stories, fiction					
1	Camp of Refuge	MacFarlane, Charles	1844	fic	1	0
2	Cottagers of Glenburnie	Hamilton, Elizabeth	1808	fic	2	1
3	Dairyman's Daughter	Richmond, Legh	1810	fic, rel	1	0
4	Dred	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	1841	fic	1	6
5	Duty and Affection	Moritz, G	1848	fic, child	1	6
6	Edinburgh Tales	Johnstone, Christian Isobel	1845	fic	3	2
7	Grace Elliot	MacIntosh, Maria Jane	1853	fic, child	1	14
8	History of Mrs Catherine Crawley	Butt, Mary Martha	1824	fic, child	1	0
9	Home Scenes	Arthur, Timothy	1852	fic	1	10
10	Look to the End	Stickney, Sarah	1845	fic	2	1
11	Moral Tales	Guizot, Eliz (Madame)	1852	fic, child	1	8
12	Praise and Principle	MacIntosh, Maria Jane	1845	fic, child	1	3
13	Retrospection a Tale	Taylor, Ann	1821	fic	1	0
14	Robinson Crusoe	Defoe, Daniel	1719	fic	1	2
15	Stories from Switzerland	Malan, Cesar Henri	1825	fic	1	3
16	Tales for all Seasons	X		fic	1	11
17	Tales of My Grandfather	X		fic	1	0
18	Tales of the Covenanters	Pollock, Robert	1833	fic, rel	1	1
19	Tests of Time	Wood, Sarah	1843	fic	1	0
20	The Irish Girl	More, Hannah		fic	1	10
21	The Lawyers Story	Maitland, James	1853	fic	1	8
22	The Mayflower	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	1846	fic	1	5
23	Uncle Sam's Emancipation	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	1853	fic	1	7
24	Uncle Tom's Cabin	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	1852	fic	1	7
25	Allen Lucas	Chubuck, Emily	1844	fic	1	6

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

26	Dollars and Cents	Lothrop, Amy	1852	fic	1	2
27	Home	Sedgwick, Catherine Maria	1835	fic	1	0
28	Stories for Summer Days and Winter nights	Leslie, Eliza	1849	fic, child	9	51
29	Three Experiments of Living	Lee, Hannah F	1837	fic	1	7
30	Uncle Sam's Money Box	Hall, Anna Maria	1848	fic, child	1	8
31	A Kiss for a Blow	Wright, Henry Clarke		fic, child	1	0
32	A Tale of Old England	Miller, Thomas	1848	fic, child	1	8
33	A Trap to Catch a Sunbeam	Planche, Matilda Ann		fic, child	1	3
34	Alfred in India	X		fic, child	1	9
35	Alice Franklin	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
36	Annie Donaldson	MacIntosh, Maria		fic, child	1	5
37	Basket of Flowers	Schmid, Johann		fic, child	1	11
38	Blind Alice	MacIntosh, Maria		fic, child	1	9
39	Clever Boys	X		fic, child	1	9
40	Clockmaker	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
41	Conquest and Self-Conquest	MacIntosh, Maria		fic, child	1	3
42	Cousin Clara	X		fic, child	1	10
43	Ellen Leslie	MacIntosh, Maria		fic, child	1	9
44	Florence Arnott	MacIntosh, Maria		fic, child	1	4
45	Grace and Clara	MacIntosh, Maria		fic, child	1	1
46	Grandmamma's Pockets	Hall, Anna Maria		fic, child	1	8
47	Harry and Lucy	Edgeworth, Maria		fic, child	3	1
48	Hope on Hope Ever	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
49	Jessie Graham	MacIntosh, Maria		fic, child	1	8
50	Little Coin Much Care	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
51	Love and Money	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
52	My Own Story	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
53	No Sense Like Common Sense	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
54	Orlandino	Edgeworth, Maria		fic, child	2	1
55	Pretty Little Stories	X		fic, child	1	5
56	Robinson Crusoe, abridged	Defoe, Daniel		fic, child	1	0
57	Sowing and Reaping	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
58	Stories for little Readers	X		fic, child	2	7
59	Stories from Natural history	X		fic, child	1	2
60	Strive and Thrive	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
61	Sunshine and Shade	Clowes, Alice A		fic, child	1	11
62	Swiss Family Robinson	Wyss, Johann David		fic, child	1	4
63	Tales About Christmas	Parley, Peter		fic, child	1	4
64	Tales About the Sea	Parley, Peter	1837	fic, child	2	10
65	Tales for the Young	X		fic, child	1	7
66	The Island Home	Mitford, Mary Russell		fic, child	1	4
67	The Mimic and other tales	Edgeworth, Maria?		fic, child	1	1
68	The Steadfast Gabriel	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	6
69	The Swann's Egg	Hall, Anna Maria		fic, child	1	5
70	The Token	Parley, Peter		fic, child	1	0

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

71	The Trial of Skill	Arden, Humphrey		fic, child	1	5
72	The Whisperer	Hall, Anna Maria		fic, child	1	2
73	True Heroism	Guerin, Leon		fic, child	1	8
74	Work and Wages	Howitt, Mary		fic, child	1	0
75	Berkeley the Banker & Messrs Vanderput and Snoek	Martineau, Harriet	1833	fic, ecs	1	0
76	Berkeley the Banker / the Charmed sea	Martineau, Harriet		fic, ecs	1	0
77	Brook and Brook Green / Tenth Haycock	Martineau, Harriet		fic, ecs	1	0
78	Cinnamon and Pearls / French Wines	Martineau, Harriet	1833	fic, ecs	1	0
79	Farrars of Budge Row	Martineau, Harriet	1834	fic, ecs	1	0
80	The Parish and the Hamlets	Martineau, Harriet		fic, ecs	1	0
81	Drawing Room Tales	Leslie, Emma [ed Caroline Horwood)	1820	fic	1	4
82	Legend of Reading Abbey	Mac Farlane, Charles	1845	fic	1	0
83	Traits and Trials. A Novel	X		fic	1	0
84	Vicar of Wakefield	Goldsmith, Oliver	1766	fic	2	0
85	Anna Lee	Arthur, Timothy S	1850	fic	1	12
86	Annals of the Poor	Richmond, Legh		fic	1	0
87	Confessions of a Working Man	Souvestre, E	1853	fic	1	1
88	Dawn Island	Martineau, Harriet	1845	fic, ecs	1	0
89	Ella of Garveloch & Weal & Woe in Garveloch	Martineau, Harriet	1832	fic, ecs	1	1
90	Homes Abroad / Briery Creek	Martineau, Harriet	1833	fic, ecs	1	1
91	Loom and the Lugger	Martineau, Harriet	1834	fic, ecs	1	0
92	Manchester Strike	Martineau, Harriet	1833	fic, ecs	1	0
93	The Hill and the Valley and Cousin Marshall	Martineau, Harriet	1832	fic, ecs	1	0
94	The Park and the Paddock / For Each and All	Martineau, Harriet	1832	fic, ecs	1	2
95	The Three Ages/ Ireland	Martineau, Harriet	1833	fic, ecs	1	0
96	Stories of the Irish Peasantry	Hall, Anna Maria	1840	fic, hist	1	0
97	Jacapo			fic	1	6
98	Little Clara			fic	1	5
99	The Snow Stories			fic	1	5
100	Bible in Spain	Borrow, George Henry	1842	fic, rel	1	0
				Total	118	396
Classification: Geography						
1	A Lady's Voyage Around the World	Sinnett, Jane		geog	1	1
2	Arctic Regions			geog	1	0
3	Bruce's Travels	Bruce, James	1840	geog	1	0
4	Cook's Voyages	Anderson, George William		geog	1	0
5	Curiosities of Physical Geography	Wittich, Wilhelm		geog	1	0
6	Dangers of the Deep	X		geog	1	0

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

7	Grammar of Geography	Parley, Peter		geog, child	1	0
8	Gypsies of Spain	Borrow, George Henry		geog	1	0
9	Italian Republics	Simonde di Sismondi		geog	1	0
10	Journal of Voyages and travels in the South Sea Islands, China and India	Tyreman, Rev Daniel and Bennett, George		geog	2	0
11	Journey Through ??, Tibet and China	X				
12	Letters From the West	X		geog	2	0
13	Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa	Moffat, Robert		geog	1	1
14	Modern Travel in Africa	Condor, Joshia		geog	3	0
15	Modern Travel in America	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
16	Modern Travel in Arabia and Burmah	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
17	Modern Travel in Brazil	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
18	Modern Travel in Columbia	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
19	Modern Travel in Egypt	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
20	Modern Travel in Greece	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
21	Modern Travel in India	Condor, Joshia		geog	2	0
22	Modern Travel in Italy	Condor, Joshia		geog	3	0
23	Modern Travel in Mexico	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
24	Modern Travel in Persia & China	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
25	Modern Travel in Russia & Turkey	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
26	Modern Travel in Spain	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
27	Modern Travel in Syria	Condor, Joshia		geog	1	0
28	Modern Egyptians	Lane, EW		geog	2	0
29	New Zealanders	Craik, George Lillie		geog	1	0
30	Notes of a Visit to Some Parts of Haiti	Hanna, Rev S.W.		geog	1	0
31	Paris	X		geog	2	0
32	Scenes in China	X		geog	1	1
33	Scenes of Modern Travel and Adventure	X		geog	2	1
34	Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of his Shipwreck	Porter, Jane		geog	1	1
35	Sketches of Eastern Travel	X		geog	1	0
36	Stories from Russia, Siberia, Poland and co	Lee, Russell		geog	1	1
37	Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees	Stickney, Sarah	1841	geog	1	0
38	Summer Cruise in the Mediterranean	Willis, Nathaniel	1853	geog	1	1
39	Tales About Canada	Parley, Peter		geog, child	1	0
40	Tales About Europe, Asia & co.	Parley, Peter		geog, child	1	4
41	Tales About Great Britain & Ireland	Parley, Peter		geog, child	2	4
42	Tales About Greece	Parley, Peter		geog, child	1	0
43	Tales About Shipwrecks	Parley, Peter		geog, child	1	0

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

44	Tales About the United States	Parley, Peter		geog, child	1	3
45	Tales of Travellers	X		geog	2	3
46	The Ball I Live on	Taylor, Emily	1839	geog, child	2	3
47	The Chinese	Davis, John Francis		geog	6	0
48	The Englishwoman in Egypt	Lane, Miss		geog	2	0
49	Travels of Mungo Park	Park, Mungo		geog	1	0
				Total	68	24
Classification: History, antiquities						
1	A Short View of the Whole Scripture History	Watts, Isaac		hist, PEM	1	0
2	American Factories and their Female Operatives	Scoresby, William		hist	3	0
3	Beauties of History	Dodd, William		hist	1	0
4	British Costume	X		hist	1	0
5	Conversations on the History of England	Marcet, Jane		hist	1	0
6	Criminal Trials vol 1	X		hist	2	0
7	Egyptian Antiquities vol 1	Stobart, henry		hist	2	0
8	Elgin Marbles vol 2	?		hist	2	0
9	Essays on History (Jewish)	Holland, John		hist	1	0
10	France, her Martyrs and Reformers	X		hist	1	2
11	Geography and History	X		hist	1	0
12	Grecian Stories	Hack, Maria		hist	1	0
13	Hindoos	X		hist	2	0
14	Historical Parallels	Malkin, AT		hist	2	0
15	History of British Commerce	Craike, GL		hist	2	0
16	History of England	X		hist	7	8
17	History of France	X		hist	2	6
18	History of Napoleon and France	X		hist	1	3
19	History of Scotland	X		hist	1	3
20	History of the Reformation	D'Aubigne?		hist	4	0
21	History of York	X		hist	3	0
22	Landmarks of the History of England	White, rev James		hist	1	1
23	Memorials of the Dawn of the Reformation	X		hist	1	0
24	Mind Among the Spindles	Knight, Charles		hist, ecs	1	3
25	Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea islands	Williams, John		hist	1	0
26	New History of Great Britain	Adams, John		hist	1	0
27	Pompeii, vol 2			hist	2	0
28	Secret Societies of the Middle Ages	Keightley, Thomas		hist	1	0
29	Sketch on the History of Van Dieman's Land	Bischoff, James		hist	1	0
30	Sketches of the History of Learning in England	Craik, GL		hist	4	0

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

31	Stories From European History	X				
32	Tales About the Mythology of Greece and Rome	Parley, Peter		hist	2	2
33	Tales About Universal History	Parley, Peter		hist. child	1	0
34	Tales About Wonders of History	Parley, Peter		hist. child	1	0
35	Tales Aout Rome And Italy	Parley, Peter		hist. child	1	0
36	Temperance documents			hist. mor	1	0
37	The Lady's Book	X		hist	1	4
38	Townley Gallery	Ellis, Henry		hist	1	0
39	Traditions of Palestine	Martineau, Harriet		hist	1	0
40	Works of Virgil	Dryden (trans)		hist	1	0
				Total	65	32
	Classification: Literature, fine arts					
1	Analectic Magazine	X		lit, per	1	0
2	Arabian Tales and Anecdotes	Lane, Edward William	1845	lit	1	0
3	Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia	Lardner, Dr		lit, ref	2	0
4	Canterbury Tales From Chaucer	Saunders, John	1845	lit	1	0
5	Casket of literary Gems		184?	lit	1	0
6	Chambers's Miscellaneous Tracts	X		lit, per	14	0
7	Chambers's papers for the People	Chambers, William & Robert		lit, per	1	0
8	Chambers's Pocket Miscellany	X		lit, per	1	5
9	Chambers's Repository			lit, per	1	11
10	Early Impressions	?		lit, child	1	0
11	Edinburgh Review or critical Journal	X		lit, per	2	0
12	Essays in Rhyme	Taylor, Jane	1816	lit, mor	1	0
13	Evenings at Home	Barbauld, Mrs		lit, child	1	0
14	Fables of Aesop and Others	X		lit	1	0
15	Family Book	X		lit	1	0
16	Family Library	X	1836	lit	2	0
17	Farmer's Boy	Bloomfield, Robert		lit	1	0
18	Fireside Amusements	X		lit	1	7
19	Goldsmith's Works	Goldsmith, Oliver		lit	1	1
20	Howitt's Journal	X		lit, per	12	0
21	Introduction to the English Reader	Murray, Lindley	1801	lit	2	0
22	Little Robinson	X	1848	lit, child	2	13
23	London Journal	X		lit, per	2	5
24	Monthly Visitor	X		lit, per	2	0
25	Pebbles From the Sea Shore	X		lit, child	1	4
26	Penny Magazine	X		lit, per	19	15
27	Printing Machine, or Companion of the library			lit, per	1	0
28	Saturday Magazine	X		lit, per	8	4

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

29	Search After Happiness/Sacred Dramas	Moore, Hannah	1810	lit	2	0
30	Sequel to the English Reader	Murray, Lindley	1808	lit	1	0
31	Summer Days; or the cousins	X	1853	lit, child	2	22
32	The Lamplighter	Cummins, Maria S		lit	1	13
33	The Parent's Assistant	Edgeworth, Maria?	1804	lit, child	3	2
34	The Power of Kindness	Barton, George	1853	lit, child	1	2
35	The Speaker	Enfield, William	1801	lit	1	0
36	The Well Spent Hour	Follen, Eliza Lee	1827	lit, child	2	2
37	Truth and Trust	X	1848	lit, child	1	8
38	Boys' Own Book	Clarke, William		lit, child	1	2
39	Girl's Own Book	Francis, Lydia Maria		lit, child	2	3
40	The Little Girl's Own Book	Francis, Lydia Maria		lit, child	1	11
41	Wonder of the Earth, Sea and Sky	Parley, Peter		lit, nat hist, child	1	1
42	Tales About Animals	Parley, Peter		lit, nat hist, child	1	4
43	Tales About Plants	Parley, Peter		lit, nat hist, child	1	1
				Total	105	136
Classification: Natural History						
1	A Natural History of Beasts, Birds and Fishes	Tiller, William		nat hist	3	0
2	Architecture of Birds	Rennie, James		nat hist	2	0
3	Faculties of Birds	Rennie, James		nat hist	1	0
4	Habits of Birds	X		nat hist	1	0
5	History of the Dog	Martin, William Charles		nat hist	1	0
6	Insect Architecture	Rennie, James		nat hist	3	0
7	Insect Miscellanies	Rennie, James		nat hist	1	0
8	Insect Transformations	Rennie, James		nat hist	1	0
9	Menageries of Monkeys	Rennie, James		nat hist	3	0
10	Natural History of Selborne	White, Gilbert		nat hist	1	0
11	Natural history of the Year	X		nat hist	3	0
12	Romance of Natural History	Webber Charles	1853	nat hist	1	3
13	The Calendar of Nature	?		nat hist	3	0
				Total	24	3
Classification: Philosophy, education, morals						
1	Analogy of Religion	Butler, Joseph		PEM, rel	1	0
2	Anecdotes. Social Life		1849	PEM, rel	1	1
3	Educational Tour	Hodgson, William B	1846	PEM, educ	1	0

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

4	Exercises for the Memory and Understanding	Holland, John	1805	PEM, educ	1	0
5	Familiar Dialogues			PEM, rel	1	0
6	Family Secrets; or hints to those who would make a home happy vol 1	Stickney, Sarah	1841	PEM, educ	3	0
7	Girl's Week-Day Book	White, Dorothy	1830	PEM, educ	2	7
8	Key to Knowledge	Budden, Maria	1816	PEM, educ	1	0
9	Kind Words Awaken Kind Echoes	X	1853	PEM, rel	1	1
10	Logic	Watts		PEM, educ	1	0
11	Matins and Vespers	Bowring, John	1823	PEM, rel	1	0
12	Moral Courage	X		PEM,	1	9
13	Moral Heroism	Balfour, Clara	1846	PEM	1	4
14	Morals of Manners	Sedgwick, Catherine Maria	1846	PEM	1	0
15	National Temperance Magazine	X		PEM	1	0
16	On the Diffusion of Knowledge Among the Middle Classes	Wellington [Williamson], James	1835	PEM	3	0
17	On the Improvement of the Mind	Watts		PEM, educ	1	0
18	Paley's Natural Theology	Brougham, Lord		PEM, rel	3	0
19	Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties	Craik, George Lille		PEM, educ	9	6
20	Self-Improvement	?		PEM, educ	1	0
21	Self-Knowledge	Mason, John	1817	PEM, rel	2	0
22	Sequel to Lectures	Leatham, William Henry	1845	PEM, educ	1	0
23	The Mother at Home	Abbott, John	1830	PEM, educ	1	2
24	Universal Letter Writer	Cooke, Thomas	1801	PEM	1	1
25	Book of Entertaining Anecdotes	Cope, Richard	1838	PEM, rel	1	2
26	Home Made Happy			PEM, rel	1	5
27	Village Dialogues	Hill, Rowland		PEM, rel	1	1
				Total:	43	39
	Classification: Poetry					
1	Bryant's Poetical works	Bryant, William Cullen		poetry	1	1
2	Clara's Amusement	Bache, Anna		poetry	1	4
3	Cowper's poems vol 2	Cowper		poetry	3	0
4	Industry Rewarded	X		poetry	1	4
5	Lady of the Lake	Scott, Walter		poetry	1	2
6	Longfellow's Poetical Works	Longfellow		poetry	2	1
7	Miss Segourney's Poetical Works	Segourney		poetry	1	1
8	Poems for Young People	X		poetry	1	2

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

9	Poems of Thomas Gray and Robert Blair	Gray & Blair		poetry	1	0
10	Poetical Works of Burns	Burns, Robert		poetry	1	0
11	Poetical Works of Collins	Collins, William		poetry	2	0
12	Selection from the poems of Leatham	Leatham, William Henry		poetry	1	2
13	Songs of Home and Happiness	X		poetry	1	5
14	Songs of the Affections	Hemans, Dorothy		poetry	2	5
15	The Dewdrop and the Mist	Varnham, E.G.		poetry	1	0
16	Poetical Works of Willis	Willis, N.P.	1850	poetry	1	4
17	Young's Night Thoughts	Young, Edward		poetry	1	0
18	Female Speaker	Barbauld, Anna		poetry	2	0
19	Gay's Fables	Gay, John		poetry	1	0
20	Pleasure of Hope	Campbell, Thomas		poetry	2	0
				Total	27	31
Classification: Science						
1	Descent in the Copper Mine in Cornwall	X		sci	1	0
2	Dialogues on Instinct	Brougham, Henry Peter		sci	1	0
3	Mechanical Works	X		sci	1	0
4	Notes on the Bedouins and Wahaby	Ousely, Sir William ed		sci	2	0
5	Scientific Dialogue	Joyce, Jeremiah		sci	1	0
6	Tales About the Sun, Moon and Stars	Parley, Peter		sci	1	3
7	The Rain Cloud	Tomlinson, C		sci	1	0
8	Treatise on Haberdashery and Hoisery	Perkins, EE		sci	1	0
9	Vegetable Substances, Timber, trees and Fruit	X		sci	2	0
10	Wonder of Nature and Art	X		sci	1	0
11	Principles of Physiology	Combe, Andrew		sci	1	0
12	The House I live in	Alcott, William		sci	2	0
13	Vegetable Substances, Food for Man	Lankaster, Edwin		sci, soc ecs	1	0
				Total:	16	3
Classification: Social economy						
1	Communion of Labour	Jameson, Anna		soc ecs	1	1
2	Cottage Economy	Cobbett, William		soc ecs	2	0
3	Early Lessons on Money Matters	?Connellan or Whatley		soc ecs	1	0
4	Exercises, Political & Others vol 1	Thompson, Col. Thomas		soc ecs	6	0
5	Family Economist	X		soc ecs	5	3
6	Going to Service	Cheap, Eliza		soc ecs	1	3
7	Introductory Addresses Debate the opening of the new Hall of the York Institution	X		soc ecs	1	0
8	Lectures to the Working Classes	Hanson, John		soc ecs	1	0
9	Pearl of Days	Farquhar, Barbara		soc ecs	1	3
10	Present for Servants	X		soc ecs	1	0
11	Social State of Great Britain and Ireland	Bermingham, Thomas		soc ecs	1	0
12	The Lost Senses	Kitto, John		soc ecs	1	0

Summary of texts in the Huddersfield Female Educational Institute library continued

13	The People	Michelet, Jules		soc ecs	1	0
14	Useful Hints for Labourers	?		soc ecs	1	0
15	Young Women of the Factory	X		soc ecs	1	0
16	British Manufactures	Dodd, George		soc ecs	3	0
17	Arts of Life	Aikin, John	1802	soc. ec.	1	0
18	Lectures addressed to the Working Classes of the American Society			soc. ec.	1	0
19	The Struggle			soc. ec.	1	0
20	Young Governesses' Friend			soc. ec.	1	0
21	The Ladies Library			soc. ecs, PEM	3	0
				Total:	35	10
				Total:	556	745

Appendix C

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library, 1907 - 1914

A number in the author column indicates the number of possible texts to which the short title may have referred.

	Title	Author	Date	Genre	Publisher	No. loans
	Classification: Arts and crafts					
1	Dairy and Butter	Mathews and Bartrum, Edward	n.d.	a/c	not given	1
2	Great World's Farm	Gaye, Selina	1893	a/c	Seeley & Co.	4
3	Pictorial Sport and Adventure			a/c		12
4	Ducks for Farm and Cottage	Digby, Henry	1895	a/c	SPCK	2
5	Fowls for Farm and Cottage	Bartrum, Edward	1895	a/c	SPCK	4
6	Geese and Turkeys	Digby, Henry	1895	a/c	SPCK	1
7	Onions for Food and Market	Fish, David Taylor	1895	a/c	SPCK	1
8	Strawberries	Bartrum, Edward & Bunyard, George	1897	a/c	SPCK	1
					Total	26
	Classification: Biography					
1	Childhood & Girlhood of Remarkable Women	Adams, William Henry Davenport	1885	biog	Swann Sonnenschein & co.	3
2	Forgotten Hero, A	6		biog		10
3	Henry Morton Stanley	9	1871	biog		4
4	Attila the Conqueror		--	biog		1
5	Boldness of a Great King		--	biog		1
6	Edward the Exile	Davidson, Mary	1901	biog	Hodder & Stoughton	4
7	General John	31	--	biog		5
8	Heroes of the Arctic		--	biog		4
9	Heroes of the Hebrew History	Wilberforce, Samuel	1870	biog		4
10	Heroism in Humble Life	Hoare, Edward Newham	1883	biog	Nelson & Sons	1
11	King Alfred the Great	14	--	biog		1

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library continued

12	Life of Agnes Strickland	Strickland, Jane Margaret	1887	biog	W.Blackwood & Sons	1
13	Life of Queen Victoria	23	--	biog		1
14	Life of Wellington	14	--	biog		1
15	Unknown to History	Yonge, Charlotte Mary	1882	biog	Macmillan & co.	4
16	Joan the Maid	7	--	biog, rel		4
17	General Gordon	68	1890?	biog	SPCK ?	10
					Total:	59
	Classification: Fiction					
1	Adventures of a Fair Rebel	Crim, Matt	1892	fic	Chatto & Windus	5
2	Adventures of Alicia	Tynan, Katherine	1906	fic	White & co.	20
3	Aesop's Fables		early	fic		12
4	Against the Tides of Fate	Barry, John	1899	fic	Duckworth & co.	12
5	Algerian Slave	Strathan, Lisbeth Gooch	1888	fic	Bartholomew	5
6	Among the Gnomes. An occult tale of adventure in the Untersberg etc.	Hartman, Franz	1855	fic	T.Fisher Unwin	5
7	Amy's Kitchen	Planche, Matilda Anne	1860	fic	Lockwood & co.	7
8	Arabian Knights Entertainment	Galland, Antoine	1802	fic		9
9	Aunt Charlotte's Stories	Yonge, Charlotte	1875	fic		3
10	Aunt Louisa's Book	Jewry, Laura	1899	fic	Warne & Co.	12
11	Barnaby Rudge	Dickens, Charles	1841	fic		4
12	Betrothed	Scott, Sir Walter	1825	fic		1
13	Bleak House	Dickens, Charles	1852/ 3	fic		4
14	Book of Adventure	Bruce, C (ed.)	1875	fic	Nimmo	10
15	Bride of Lammermoor	Scott, Sir Walter	1819	fic		1
16	Brownies	Ewing, Juliana Horatia	1871	fic		9
17	By Hook or by Crook			fic		5
18	By Right of Sword	Marchmont, Arthur	1897	fic	Hutchinson & co	3
19	Chilburg Folk			fic		5
20	Children of the Cavern	Verne, Jules	1877	fic	Sampson Low & co.	2
21	Children's Garland	Tucker, Mrs. C.	1875	fic		18
22	Children's Hour	61		fic		7
23	Clipper of the Clouds	Verne, Jules	1887	fic	Sampson Low & co.	1
24	Coming Home	Planche, M. A.	1858	fic		4
25	Cottage Next Door	Shipton, Helen	1884	fic		13
26	Count Robert of Paris	Scott, Walter	1832	fic		2
27	Court of King Arthur	Twain, Mark	1889	fic		3
28	Crock of Gold	Tupper, Martin	1844	fic	London	14
29	Crystal Fairy Book	Vredenburg, E	1903	fic	Raphael Tuck & Sons	8

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library continued

30	David Copperfield	Dickens, Charles	1849/ 50	fic		11
31	Dog Crusoe	Ballantyne, Robert Michael	1861	fic		9
32	Dombey and Son	Dickens, Charles	1847/ 8	fic		4
33	Dorothy Forster	Besant, Sir Walter	1884	fic	Chatto & Windus	6
34	Dove in the Eagles Nest	Yonge, Charlotte Mary	1841	fic		5
35	Dream Chintz	Planche, M A	1851	fic		6
36	Eric - A Golden Heart	10		fic		8
37	Erling the Bold	Ballantyne, Robert	1869	fic	J.Nisbet & co.	6
38	Fair Maid of Perth	Scott, Walter	1828	fic		2
39	Fiery Chariot	Green, Evelyn Everett	1900	fic	Hutchinson & co.	19
40	First Violin	Fothergill, Jessie	1877	fic		2
41	Flitch of Bacon	Ainsworth, William Harrison	1902	fic	Gibbings & co.	6
42	Fortune's Favourite	Tynan, Katherine ?	1905	fic	White & Co.	18
43	Fortunes of Nigel	Scott, Walter	1822	fic		1
44	Frontier's Fort. Stirring times in the Northwest territory of British America	Kingston, William	1879	fic		8
45	Fur Coats and Feathered Frocks		1892	fic	E. Nister	40
46	Great Expectations	Dickens, Charles	1860/ 1	fic		2
47	Heart of Mid Lothian	Scott, Walter	1818	fic		1
48	Holmby House	Melville, George	1859	fic		5
49	House on the Rock	Planche, M. A.	1852	fic		8
50	In Quest of the Golden Pearl	Hutchinson, J.R.	1897	fic	Ward & Downey	11
51	Interrupted			fic		1
52	Ivanhoe	Scott, Walter	1820	fic		2
53	Jacqueline			fic		4
54	John Halifax	Mullock, Dinah Maria	1857	fic		8
55	Kenilworth	Scott, Walter	1821	fic		1
56	King Richard II	Shakespeare	early	fic		3
57	Knight of the Nineteenth Century, A	Roe, Edward Payson	1895	fic	NISBET & co.	5
58	Lances of Lywood	Yonge, Charlotte Mary	1855	fic		4
59	Last of the Mohicans	Cooper, James Fenimore	1826	fic		2
60	Little Dorrit	Dickens, Charles	1857/ 8	fic		6
61	Little Duke. Richard the Fearless	Yonge, Charlotte Mary	1891	fic		10
62	Lorna Doone	Blackmore, Richard Doddridge	1869	fic		4

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library continued

63	Love and Life	Yonge, Charlotte Mary	1880	fic	Macmillan & Co.	4
64	Manchester Rebels	Ainsworth, William Harrison	1873	fic	Tinsley Bros.	2
65	Married and Settled	Planche, M A	1870	fic		3
66	Martin Rattler	Ballantyne, Robert Michael	1858	fic		11
67	Mary Barton	Gaskell, Elizabeth	1848	fic		8
68	Merchant of Venice	Shakespeare, William	early	fic		3
69	Middy and the Moors	Ballantyne, Robert Michael	1888	fic		4
70	Minnie's Love	Planche, M A	1860	fic		21
71	Mollie's Prince	Carey, Rosa Nouchette	1898	fic	Hutchinson & Co.	7
72	Mrs Halliburton's Trouble/Sorrow			fic		4
73	Nicholas Nickleby	Dickens, Charles	1838/ 9	fic		1
74	Nick of the Woods	10		fic		2
75	Nursery Tales			fic		4
76	Old Curiosity Shop	Dickens, Charles	1840/ 1	fic		6
77	Old Farm House	5		fic		9
78	Old Fashioned Fairy Tales	Ewing, Juliana Horatia		fic		14
79	Old Mortality	Scott, Walter	1816	fic		2
80	Olga's Dream	Underdown, Emily	1892	fic	Skeffington & Son	8
81	Once Upon a Time	65		fic		12
82	Our Mutual Friend	Dickens, Charles	1864/ 5	fic		4
83	Outcast	61		fic		2
84	Peveril of the Peak	Scott, Sir Walter	1822	fic		1
85	Phantom Ship	Marryat	1839	fic		1
86	Pride and Prejudice	Austen, Jane	1813	fic		7
87	Prince and the Pauper	Clemens, Samuel	1881	fic		9
88	Queen of Hearts	Collins, Wilkie	1859	fic		4
89	Quentin Durward	Scott, Sir Walter	1823	fic		1
90	Right of Sword	Marchmont, Arthur Williams	1897	fic	Hutchinson & Co.	2
91	Rob Roy	Scott, Walter	1818	fic		3
92	Robinson Crusoe	Defoe, Daniel	1719	fic		13
93	Rosalinda	Cross, Anna & Atkinson, Baldry	1890	fic	George Allen	25
94	Rose Island	Russell, William Clark	1900	fic	E. Arnold	9
95	Shadowland	Green, Evelyn Everett	1930	fic		8

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library continued

96	Ship's Adventure	Russell, William	1901	fic	Archibald Constable & Co.	14
97	Silver Axe	Green, Evelyn Everett	1900	fic	Hutchinson & Co.	3
98	Six Devonshire Dumplings	Batchelor, Margaret	1910	fic		10
99	Son of Odin, A	Smith, Elsie	1909	fic	Jarrold & Sons	3
100	Son of the Constable of France	Rousselet, L (trans. from)	1882	fic	Sampson & Low & co.	7
101	Star in the Desert	Planche, M.A.	1853	fic	London	7
102	Sweet Sunny Days	21		fic		8
103	Tale of Two Cities, A	Dickens, Charles	1857/ 8	fic		3
104	Tales from Hans Christian Andersen	Andersen, Hans		fic		23
105	Talisman	Scott, Sir Walter	1825	fic		1
106	Three Giants and Other Stories	Reader, Emily E	1887	fic	Longmans & Co.	7
107	Tip-Tail	Bennett, Tertia	1899	fic	Langley & Co.	9
108	Trap to Catch a Sunbeam, A	MacKarness (Planche), Matilda	1849	fic		6
109	True Annals of Fairyland		1909	fic	J.M.Dent & Sons	10
110	True Blue	Kingston, William Henry Giles	1909	fic		7
111	Twenty Thousand Leagues	Verne, Jules	18??	fic		3
112	Two Chiefs of Dunboy	Froude, Jame Anthony	1889	fic	Longmans, Green & Co.	1
113	Two Whalers	Kingston, William Henry Giles	1879	fic		7
114	Uncle Tom's Cabin	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	1852	fic		12
115	Ungava	Ballantyne, Robert Michael	1857	fic		7
116	Water Babies	Kingsley, Charles	1863	fic		5
117	Westward Ho	Kingsley, Charles	1855	fic		7
118	Winning His Spurs	Henty, George Alfred	1882	fic	Sampson & Low & Co.	10
119	Wives and Daughters	Gaskell, Elizabeth	1866	fic		6
120	Woman of the Commune, A	Henty, George Alfred	1895	fic	White & Co.	3
121	Woodstock	Scott, Sir Walter	1826	fic		4
122	Wooring of Val	Green, Evelyn Everett	1900	fic		14
123	World of Ice	Ballantyne, Robert Michael	1896	fic	Nelson & Sons	8
124	Young Fur Traders	Ballantyne, Robert Michael	1855	fic		8

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library continued

125	Book of Worthies	Yonge, Charlotte Mary	1869	fic, hist	Macmillan & co.	2
126	Conquering and to Conquer	Charles, Elizabeth	1876	fic, hist	SPCK (reissued)	5
127	Isabeau's Hero	Stuart, Esme	1882	fic, hist	CKS	7
128	Women of Christendom	Charles, Elizabeth	1880	fic, hist	SPCK	3
129	Won Not By Might	Gee, Annie L.	1902	fic, hist	CKS	3
130	Bernard Hamilton, Curate of Stowe	Shipley, Mary Elizabeth	1880	fic	CKS	11
131	Brothers of Pity and Other Tales of Beasts and Men	Ewing, Juliana Horatia		fic	SPCK	5
132	Butterflies and Fairies	Albert, Mary	1873	fic	SPCK	10
133	Farmer Goldsworthy's Will	Sitwell, Sydney Mary	1894	fic	CKS	4
134	From Greenlands Icy Mountains	Stables, William Gordon	1892	fic	CKS	7
135	>From Playground to Battlefield	Harrison, Frederick	1901	fic	CKS	8
136	How Bill Simms Honoured His Father	A. W.	1886	fic	CKS	9
137	Ice Prison	Moore, Frank Frankfort	1891	fic	CKS	1
138	In Cloister and Court	Green, Evelyn Everett	1900	fic, rel	J.F. Shaw & Co.	7
139	Jackanapes	Ewing, Julian Horatia		fic	CKS	25
140	Last Wolf, the. A story of England in the fourteenth century	Mercier, Anne.	1884	fic	CKS	7
141	Lily of Leyden	Kingston, William Henry Giles	1880	fic	CKS	3
142	Log House by the Lake	Kingston, William Henry Giles	1865	fic	CKS	2
143	Otterburn Chase	Carvalho, C.N.	1898	fic	SPCK	13
144	Owen Hartley	Kingston, William Henry Giles	1877	fic	SPCK	1
145	Pirate's Creek	Sadler, Samuel Whitchurch	1883	fic	CKS	10
146	Post Woman	Finnemore, Emily Pearson	1898	fic	CKS	11
147	Rainbows. A Book of Allegories and simple tales, intended as mirrors of religious truths, etc	Diggle, John William	1888	fic	SPCK	11
148	Seven Idols. A Tale for Girls	Reade, F.E.	1890	fic	CKS	17
149	Shepard of Salisbury Plain	More, Hannah	1810c	fic, rel		5
150	Silent Jim	Cobb, James Francis	1871	fic	SPCK	13
151	Soldiers of a Great King		1882	fic	CKS	5
152	Stolen From the Sea	James, Wilhelmina Martha	1884	fic	SPCK	4
153	Thorn Fortress	Bramston, Mary	1879	fic	SPCK	8

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library continued

154	Told By Two	Bramston, Mary	1898	fic	National Society's Depository	4
155	Two Shipmates	Kingston, William Henry Giles	1874	fic	CKS	3
156	Uncle Bart	Fenn, George Manville	1900	fic	CKS	12
157	Village Mystery	Orr, Emily C.	1881	fic	CKS	6
158	Will Trahair's Friends	Sitwell, Sydney Mary	1888	fic	CKS	13
159	Willie and Lucy	Giberne, Agnes	1882	fic	RTS	3
160	Village Story, A	M., A.E.	1881	fic	CKS	3
161	Under the Blue Flag	Palgrave, Mary E.	1882	fic, hist	CKS	4
162	An Eventful Night	3	1877	fic	SPCK	1
163	Black Jewel	Butcher, Edith Louisa Floyer	1888	fic	CKS	11
164	Charge Fulfilled, A	Molewsoth, Mary Louisa	1886	fic	CKS	10
165	Mountain Moggy	Kingston, William Henry Giles	1866	fic	SPCK	3
166	Pupil Teachers of St Martins	S.W.L.	1888	fic	CKS	8
167	Snow King's Trumpet et al	G., H.J.M.	1884	fic	CKS	7
168	Day Dreams	27	n.d.	fic	--	36
169	Miss Brown	Lee, Vernon	1860	fic	Ward & Lock	26
					Total	1226
Classification: Geography						
1	Coming Seas		--	geog		1
2	Five Years in Madagascar	Maude, Francis Cornwallis	1895	geog		2
3	From Pekin to Calais by Land	De Windt, Harry	1889	geog	Chapman & Hall	4
4	Hydelabad, Kashmir and Nepal		--	geog		3
5	In the Great White Colonial Bush	Elias, Edith L.	1910	geog	Methuen & Co.	4
6	In the Great White Land	Stables, William Gordon	1902	geog	Blackie & Son	11
7	In the Vine Country	Somerville, Edith Ann & Ross, Violet Florence	1893	geog	W.H.Allen & co.	8
8	Physical Geography	343	--	geog		1
9	Pictorial Tour of the World		--	geog		15
10	Region of Eternal Fire	Marvin, Charles	1884	geog	W.H. Allen & Co.	2
11	Stories of the Gorilla Country	DuChaillu, Paul	1868	geog		8
12	Towards Pretoria	Ralph, Julian	1900	geog	C.A.Pearson	19
13	Up North	Lund, Captain T??	1878?	geog		4
14	Lennard's Leader	Hoare, Edward Newenham	1890	geog	CKS	6
15	Saat	Wilkinson, Thomas Edward	1898	geog	CKS	3

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library continued

16	Ocean	Gosse, Philip Henry	1846	geog	CKS	4
					Total	95
	Classification: History					
1	Crown and Sceptre		--	hist		8
2	Days of Bruce		1852	hist	Groombridge & Sons	5
3	Events in the Taiping Rebellion		--	hist		1
4	Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World	Creasy, Sir Edward Shepard	1851	hist		3
5	History of the Crusades	14	--	hist		3
6	Kings of Norway	Carlyle, Thomas	1875	hist		1
7	Routledge's World History		--	hist		3
8	Spanish Inquisition	30	--	hist		2
9	Viking Path	Burgess, James John Haldane	1894	hist	W.Blackwood & Sons	4
10	For Church and King	Carlyon, Hope	1899	hist, rel	SPCK	4
11	Pillar of Fire	Ingraham, Joseph Holt	1898	hist, rel	Hodder & Stoughton	1
12	Prince of the House of David	Ingraham, Joseph Holt	1856	hist, rel		2
13	Victory That Overcometh	6	1898	hist, rel?		1
14	Village Church	15	--	hist, rel		3
15	Pictorial History of the World	Frost, john	1846	geog	Walker & Gillis	1
		History			Total:	42
	Classification: Poetry					
1	Browning's Poems	Browning, Robert		poetry	1812 - 1891	3
2	Burns' Songs	Burns, Robert	1920?	poetry	Andersons	13
3	Cavalier Lyrics	Ebsworth, Joseph Woodfall	1887	poetry	Stephen Austin & sons	5
4	Chaplet of Pearls. Rhymes and fragments of ancient and modern verse	Randolph, Mrs. Charles	1851	poetry		7
5	Chaucer's Poems	Chaucer, Geoffrey		poetry	c1340-1400	3
6	Coleridge's Poems	Coleridge, Samuel Taylor		poetry	1772 - 1834	1
7	Longfellow's Poetical Works	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth		poetry	1807 - 1882	7
8	March Hares and Their Friends	Gibson, Arthur S.	1883	poetry	Griffin & Farran	21
9	Mrs Heman's Poetical Works			poetry	1793 to 1835	3
10	New Rhymes For You and Me		--	poetry	--	26
11	Nursery Lyrics		--	poetry	--	3
12	Nursery Rhymes		--	poetry	--	2
13	Poems of E B Browning	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett		poetry	1806 to 61	2
14	Rhymes for you and me		1892	poetry		6
15	Scott's Poetical Works	Scott, Walter		poetry	1771 - 1832	1

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library continued

16	Songs for the Nursery	Robertson, David (ed.)	1844	poetry	Glasgow	3
17	Spenser's Faerie Queen	Spenser, Edmund		poetry		1
18	Tennyson's Poetical Works	Tennyson, Alfred		poetry	1809 - 1892	7
19	Wordsworth's Poems	Wordsworth, William		poetry	1770 - 1850	10
20	Golden Numbers	Barnett, Annie	1906	poetry	Longmans & Co.	2
		Poetry			Total:	126
Classification: Religion						
1	Christian Year		--	rel		4
2	Clary's Confirmation	Reade, F.E.	1877	rel	SPCK	13
3	Dawn of Day	9	1844	rel		15
4	Eldad the Pilgrim		1855	rel	SPCK	1
5	Imitation of Christ	A Kempis, Thomas	early	rel		1
6	Life's Crosses	Arthur, Timothy Shay	1865	rel	Nimmo	9
7	Muriel's Two Crosses	Lyster, Annette M.	1884	rel	CKS.	9
8	Throne of David	14	early	rel	1659	1
9	Through all the Changing Scenes of Life	Gould, Sabine Baring	1892	rel	CKS.	11
10	What Can I Do?	22	1838	rel		1
					Total:	65
Classification: Science						
1	Beauties of Nature	15	--	sci		1
2	In Touch With Nature		--	sci		6
3	Naturalist Voyage Around the World		--	sci		1
4	Story of Forest and Stream	Rodway, James	1897	sci	George Newnes	3
5	Story of Frost and Ice	Brend, William Alfred	1899	sci	George Newnes	7
6	Story of the Earth's Atmosphere	Archibald, Edmund	1897	sci	George Newnes	1
7	Story of the Plants	Allen, Charles	1895	sci	George Newnes	2
8	Story of the Stars	Chambers, George Frederick	1895	sci	George Newnes	1
9	Story of the Weather	Chambers, George Frederick	1897	sci	George Newnes	2
10	Factors in Life. Three Lectures on Health Food Education	Seely, Harry Govier	1887	sci, dom		1
11	Guild of Good Life, the	Richardson, Sir Benjamin Ward	1884	sci, dom		2
12	About the Feathered Folk	Corfield, Clara	1896	sci		8
13	Lily and Waterlilies			sci		8
14	Our Insect Enemies			sci		4
15	Our Insect Friends	Cragin, Belle S.	1899	sci	G.P. Putnam's Sons	2
16	Our Reptiles and Batrachians	Cooke, Mordecai Cubitt	1865	sci	Robert Hardwicke	3

Books borrowed from the Southleigh Library continued

17	Playing at Botany	Allen, Phoebe	1887	sci	Hatchards	7
18	Nature and Her Servants	Wood, Theodore	1897	sci	CKS	7
19	Our Insect Allies	Wood, Theodore	1884	sci	CKS	4
20	Zoo	Wood, John	1888	sci	CKS	20
		Science			Total:	90
Classification: Self-educators						
1	How to Draw in Freehand		1882	textbook	Cassell & co.	7
2	Naval Alphabet, A	Hassall, John	1901	textbook	Sands & Co.	7
3	Be Kind to Your Old Age		1882	textbook	CKS	5
		Self-educators			Total:	19
Classification: Unknown						
1	Adventurous Voyages of the Polly			?		4
2	Allan Quarterman			?		3
3	Battlefield of Life			?		4
4	Brothers Fighting			?		1
5	Chairs			?		1
6	Durrins Masies			?		3
7	From Mary Sands			?		4
8	Knights of Rose Mullion			?		1
9	Lassie			?		2
10	Malise(?) the Servant			?		1
11	Marlborough Choir Boys			?		10
12	Michael Pengayne			?		6
13	Modern Giant Killer			?		12
14	Naomi			?		2
15	Now and Again			?		2
16	Oak and the Nettle			?		15
17	Pebble in the Brook			?		13
18	Rehearsal			?		6
19	Siege Perilous			?		6
20	Sons and Life			?		2
21	Sussie	61		?		1
22	Two Clippers			?		9
23	Paths in the Great Waters		1883	?	CKS	6
24	Through Tumult and Pestilence	Lawson, Emily	1886	?	CKS	7
25	Around the Moon			?		1
		Unknown				122
Total:						
						1870

Appendix D

Texts referred to in the answers to correspondents

Tables A to I below provide information regarding other reading matter referred to within the answers to correspondence pages of all three journals for each of the sampled years; 1860, 1880 and 1900. The entries are organised according to classification and the information provided within each answer is given. For example, under the classification ‘periodicals’, table A shows that both issues 875 and 883 refer to advertisements within the *Times* newspaper. When one answer refers to more than one text, the titles are kept together within the tables. Single answers which refer to two genres have been highlighted at the beginning of each table and the final column indicates how the genre was split for purposes of analysis within chapter 6, tables 13(a) and 13(b). The total figure given for each of the categories reflects this. In the few instances where an answer refers to more than two genres, it is classified according to its overall content. For example, in table A the answer from issue 903 beginning ‘*Romance of War*’ was classified within the category of fiction since, although it made reference to one periodical, *Tait’s Magazine*, it referred to nine historical romances. Likewise, within table C, the same methodology applies to the answer from issue 2,963 which begins ‘*Lorna Doone*’, here classified as belonging to the categories of ‘fiction, poetry, drama, song’ and history. Although this answer also refers to philosophy, biography, literary criticism,

popular journalism and biography in addition to history, fiction and poetry, the genre classification is divided between the latter two categories only, since splitting it further would detract from its overall content. Fiction, poetry, drama and song have been grouped together within these appendices and analysed as one within tables 13(a) and 13(b) for similar purposes, as many answers referred to a combination of these genres. Since the intention of these tables is to show the range of information provided within the answers, additional dates of publication etc. have not been added; these can however, be located via *COPAC*.¹ Where one issue refers to the same text, this is indicated by repeat references within the tables.

Table J provides examples of the type information included within those answers which indicate how to obtain a text.

¹ The Consortium of Public Access Catalogues (COPAC) website address is: <http://copac.ac.uk>.

Appendix D, Table A

References to reading matter within the *Family Herald*, 1860.

	Issue	Title/Comments	Author/Publisher/Bookshop/ Price	
		Split Genres		
1	879	<i>Life of Byron; Corsair Lara</i>	Moore; Byron; from C. Goodman, Strand	biography/ poetry
2	883	sonnets in Italian, not trans; <i>Life of Petrarch</i>	Petrarch; Mrs Dobson	poetry/ biography
3	873	tales, dictionary		fiction/ reference
4	895	<i>Boy's Number of Family Herald; Young Anglers Guide</i>		periodicals/ how to
5	895	<i>Bible</i> ; the newspaper press		periodicals/ religion
6	917	a grammar, <i>Penny Cyclopaedia</i>		reference/ textbook
7	885	<i>Bible; Sacred and Profane History; Ancient History; History of Greece and Rome; Observations On Certain Passages of Scripture; some compendious history; Cyclopaedia</i>	Eothen and co. Shakspeare [sic], Burns; Byron; Defoe; Scott; Bulwer; Dickens	history/ fiction
			Total:	7
		Classification: Arts and Crafts		
1	873	<i>Art of Perfumery</i>	Piesse's	
2	875	<i>The Carver and Gilder</i>	Little Book	
3	907	<i>Art of Perfumery</i>	Piesse	
4	913	<i>Art of Magic</i>	Piesse	
5	919	<i>Painting on Muslim</i>	Windsor & Newton	
6	877	<i>The Art of Fencing</i>		
			Total:	6.0
		Classification: Biography		
1	901	<i>Memoires de George; Memoires de Louis XVIII</i>		
2	911	<i>Life of Charlotte Bronte</i>		
			Total:	3.0
		Classification: Economics, Politics		
1	881	Blue Books		
2	889	<i>Second Report to the Board of Trade on the Life of Insurance Societies of the United Kingdom</i>	Bentley	
3	885	<i>Building Societies</i>	Stone, 8s, any bookseller	
			Total:	3.0
		Classification: ephemera		
1	871	advertisements by "quacks"		
2	873	recipe		
3	875	recipes		
4	877	printed circular		
5	885	printed instructions	From the person who sold it	

Table A, *Family Herald* 1860, continued.

6	887	letters P.P.C. (pour prendre conge) written in the corner of the card mark a farewell call		
7	891	false advertisements		
8	895	advertisement in the <i>Times</i>		
9	895	false advertisement		
10	917	placards in the street		
11	921	catalogue of Christmas presents		
12	921	<i>Girl's Number</i> for festive games	<i>Family Herald</i>	
13	921	list of advertisements		
14	873	Prospectus		
15	873	catalogue of books on Russian language	Trubner & co., Paternoster Row	
16	913	catalogue from	Stevens & Son, 26 Bell Yard, Carey Street WC	
17	871	<i>Deaf & Dumb Alphabet</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> handbill, free	
			Total:	17.0
		Classification: Fiction, Poetry, Drama, Music		
1	871		Byron	
2	873	<i>Douglas</i>	Home	
3	877		music or bookseller	
4	877		De Quincy,	
5	879	Baviad and Maedviad on the Dela Crusa school of poetry	Gifford, William	
6	889	any comic song book		
7	891	<i>Pyramus and Thisbe</i>	Chadwick	
8	891	<i>Home, Sweet Home</i> from opera Clari, or the <i>Maid of Milan</i>	Howard Payne	
9	893	<i>Othello</i>	Shakespeare	
10	895	Amelie opera catalogue of songs	Rooke, Cocks & co.	
11	895		Rogers, Samuel	
12	899		Milton; Young; Cowper; Tennyson	
13	901	<i>Petrarch and Laura</i>	Shakespeare	
14	901	<i>Ovid</i>		
15	901	<i>Don Quixote</i>		
16	901	<i>Adam Bede</i>		
17	903	<i>Romance of War; Adventures of an Aide- de-camp; Kirkaldy's Memoirs; Walter Fenton; Bothwell; Hepburn's Memoirs; Jane Seton; Philip Rolo; Mary of Lorraine; Dublin University's Tait's Magazine</i>		
18	905		Richardson; Fielding; Smolett; Gibbon; Addison; Steele	
19	911	<i>Macbeth</i>	Shakespeare	
20	913	English poets		
21	913	Poetry	Moore	
22	917		Stuart; Mill; Combe	
23	917		Scott	
24	917	<i>Fox and the Stork</i>		
25	919	novel	Railway Library, 1s.	
			Total:	27.0

Table A, *Family Herald* 1860, continued.

		Classification: Geography		
1	875	<i>New Zealand</i>	Thompson	
2	877	<i>England Delineated</i>		
3	893	<i>Emigrant's Guide to Canada</i>	Stanford, 1s.	
4	901	<i>Rural Life in Bengal With Copious Detail of the Culture and Manufacturing of Indigo</i>	18s.	
5	913	<i>Environs of London</i>	Lyson	
			Total:	5.0
		Classification: History		
1	873	<i>Dynasties; Ancient Universal History</i>	Manetho	
2	875	history		
3	891	<i>Elements of General History; Histories of Greece and Rome; History of Ireland; History of the United States; History of the American Revolution; History of the French Revolution</i>	Tyler; Goldsmith; Moore; Bancroft; Allen; Mignet	
			Total:	3.5
		Classification: How to		
1	873	<i>Etiquette of the Ballroom</i>		
2	873	<i>Hints on Photography</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , 1s. 4d.	
3	877	<i>Etiquette of the Ballroom, and Guide to All the New and Fashionable Dances</i>	1s.	
4	877	<i>Family Herald's Economical Cookery</i>		
5	881	<i>Economical Cookery</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , 1d.	
6	881	<i>Economical Cookery</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , 1d.	
7	883	<i>Family Herald's Economical Cookery</i>		
8	879	<i>Health & Happiness</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , extra no.	
9	879	<i>Health & Happiness</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , extra no.	
10	879	<i>Etiquette of the Ballroom</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , extra no., 1s.	
11	893	<i>Health and Happiness</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , extra no.	
12	901	<i>The French Ollendorff</i>	D Nutt, 270 Strand	
13	905	<i>The Rules of Draughts in Boys' Number</i>	<i>Family Herald</i>	
14	917	<i>Bottling and Preserving Beer</i>	Abbott	
15	921	<i>Economical Cookery</i> (in reply to numerous enquiries)	<i>Family Herald</i>	
			Total:	15.5
		Classification: Periodicals		
1	875	<i>Girl's Number of the Family Herald</i>		
2	875	<i>Boy's Number</i>		
3	919	<i>Medical Times</i>		
4	873	<i>Salisbury Journal</i>		
5	875	<i>The Times</i>		
6	875	local paper		
7	881	newspapers		
8	883	<i>The Times</i>		
9	885	<i>The Times</i>		
10	889	American newspaper		
11	891	<i>Galignanis Messenger</i>	Mitchell & Co.	
12	895	Liverpool newspaper		
13	899	<i>Journal of the Society of Arts</i>	Bell & Dandy	
14	899	file of <i>The Times</i>		
15	903	<i>The Times</i>		

Table A, *Family Herald* 1860, continued.

16	907	<i>The Times</i>		
17	907	<i>Agricultural Gazette</i>		
18	911	<i>Leisure Hour</i>		
19	913	<i>The Times</i>		
20	913	<i>Athenaeum</i>		
21	913	<i>The Times</i>		
22	917	Journal		
23	917	Newspaper		
24	921	Newspaper		
			Total:	25.0
		Classification: Reference		
1	871	<i>A Peerage Parliamentary Companion</i>	Dodd	
2	873	<i>Guide to Government Appointments</i>		
3	875	<i>Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures</i>	Ure	
4	881	encyclopaedias		
5	881	<i>Dictionary of Arts</i>	Ure	
6	891	<i>Boswell's Pigeons, & co.</i>	1s.2d	
7	893	Master Key to Public Offices	3s.8d.	
8	899	<i>System of Heraldry</i>	Nisbet	
9	899	<i>Manual of Friendly Societies</i>	Hardwick, 3s.	
10	907	<i>English Synonyms</i>	Crabb	
11	907	<i>Penny Cyclopaedia</i>		
12	915	<i>Penny Cyclopaedia</i>		
13	921	<i>Botany of the Southern States; Book of Botany; Culpepper's is out of print</i>	Darby, 9s. and Wood, 9s.	
14	921	<i>Complete Practical Guide to the Civil Service</i>		
15	871	<i>Newspaper Press Directory</i>	Mitchell	
16	877	<i>London Directory</i>		
17	879	<i>Army List</i>		
18	881	Dictionary		
19	899	<i>London Directory</i>		
20	905		Johnson and Walker	
21	907	<i>A Dictionary of Cant and Vulgar Words</i>	very cheap, J.H. Hotten, Piccadilly	
22	911	<i>Classical Dictionary</i>	Lempiere or Smith's	
23	913	biographical dictionary		
24	913	Post Office Directory		
25	917	Dictionary of the Arts	Ure, 5s.	
26	919	Index		
			Total:	27.0
		Classification: Religion, philosophy		
1	871	<i>Bible</i>		
2	871	<i>Logic and Rhetoric</i>	Whateley	
3	873	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>	Bede	
4	877	<i>Bible</i>		
5	879	<i>Bible; Protestant, Latin or 20 vol. version</i>	Tremellius & Junius; Schmidt; second-hand booksellers; D.Nutts, Strand	
6	879	<i>Of Heaven and Hell, treatise</i>	Hedysen; Portugal Street	
7	881	<i>Immortality of the Soul; Antidote Against Atheism</i>	Henry Moore	
8	881	<i>Bible; Acts vi.3</i>		

Table A, *Family Herald* 1860, continued.

9	887	<i>Book of Common Prayer</i>		
10	889	Psalms		
11	889	Verse		
12	889	<i>Prayer Book</i>		
13	889	<i>Luke X</i>		
14	891	<i>Enquiry into the Doctrine of Necessity and Predestination</i> ; treatise upon Christian ethics	Bishop Coplestone	
15	893	<i>Bible</i>		
16	901	<i>Bible</i>		
17	903	<i>New Testament</i>		
18	903	<i>Prayer Book</i>		
19	907	<i>Commentary on the Minor Prophets</i>	Dr. J.H.Pusey & J.Parker	
20	909	religious periodicals		
21	911	Philosophy	Locke	
22	921	<i>Old Testament</i>		
23	921	<i>Book of Common Prayers</i>		
			Total:	23.5
		Classification: Science, technology		
1	875	any modern work on organic chemistry		
2	881	<i>Piessé's Chemical and Natural Magic</i>	3s. 6d.	
3	883	<i>Elements of Phrenology</i>	Combe	
4	885	<i>Deafness and Diseases of the Ear</i>	Wright, Newby	
5	893	<i>Chemistry for Students</i>	Turner	
6	895	<i>Pranotiones Theologicae; System Mineralogicum & Chemica Physica</i>	Nicholas Wallerius; John Gottschalk; Wallerius	
7	903	<i>Memoria Technica; Artificial Memory</i>	Grey; Fenigale	
8	917	<i>Natural History</i>		
			Total:	8.0
		Classification: Textbooks/self-educators		
1	881	copy book		
2	887	<i>French Librarian; Lycee ou Cours de Literature</i>	Ventouillac, cheap; La Harpe, second-hand	
3	889	grammar	Cobbett	
4	889	<i>Chamber's Course of Arithmetic and Mathematics</i>		
5	893	<i>Principles of Punctuation</i>	Hartley or Smallfield	
6	899	books for self-tuition		
7	905	Copybooks		
8	909	<i>Grammar and Key</i>	Lennie	
9	909	tables of logarithms	Hutton	
10	915	<i>Specifications, with examples and co.</i>	Donaldson	
11	917	grammar rules		
12	919	school books		
13	921	best for self-education	Ollendorff	
14	877	<i>Educational Register</i>	Whittaker & co., Ave Maria Lane EC	
15	885	<i>Essay Marks</i>	Morgan, out of print	
16	909	<i>Instructor</i>	Hamilton	
17	909	<i>ABC</i>	Master	

Table A, *Family Herald* 1860, continued.

18	919		Dr Bell & Joseph Lancaster	
19	921	<i>Shorthand</i>	Master, 4s.6d.	
			Total:	19.5
		Classification: Unidentified		
1	873		Lord Macaulay	
2	893		Crichton	
3	871		Fanny Fern	
4	905	<i>Treatise</i>	Chambers	
			Total:	4
			Obtaining:	44
			Total:	231
			Base used for table 13(b):	183

Appendix D, Table B

References to reading matter within the *Family Herald*, 1880.

	Issue	Title/comment	Author/Publisher/Bookshop/Price	Genre
		Split genres		
1	1935		Dickens; Thackeray; Macaulay	fiction/ history
2	1927	Scripture	Darwin	Religion/ science
			Total:	2
		Classification: Arts and Crafts		
1	1923	<i>The Shoemaker</i>	Houlston; 2s.	
2	1927	<i>Dictionary of Arts And Manufacturing; Technology</i> ; book on soap and candle making	Ure Watt Dr Campbell Morfitt	
3	1929	<i>The Varnisher</i>		
4	1941	<i>Sizing and Mildew in Cotton Goods; Sizing of Cotton Goods</i>	Thompson; David; Dreyfus and Holland; Heywood	
5	1941	<i>The Art of Fan Painting</i>	Lechertier, 60 Regent Street, 1s.	
6	1945	<i>Ancient And Modern Handbook of Sculpture</i>	Westmacott; Longmans, 7s. 6d.	
7	1957	<i>Illustration of Joinery</i>	Chambers, 3s.	
			Total:	7
		Classification: Biography		
1	1915	<i>Life of Nelson</i>	Southeby	
2	1915	<i>Men at the Helm</i>	Gall & Inglis; 3s.	
3	1915	<i>Men of the Time</i>	Routledge	
4	1919	<i>Biography of Brummell</i> ;	secondhand bookseller	
5	1943	biography	Foster	
6	1963	biography of the dramatist		
7	1965	<i>Sir Robert Peel's Life and Career</i>	Longmans, 8s. 6d.	
			Total:	7
		Classification; Economics, Politics		
1	1921	tracts on legal and political subjects, 12 monthly vols. 1648	Jenkins; dealer in old books	
2	1927	Parliamentary Reports		
3	1939	Parliamentary Debates		
4	1941	Landlord Tenants Rights Act		
5	1941	<i>Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom</i>		
6	1943	Register General's Reports		
7	1955	see the Act for particulars	'tenant farmer'	
8	1959	<i>Opium Trade - What Is It?</i>	Hamilton, 1s.	
			Total:	8
		Classification: Ephemera		
1	1915	false advertisement		
2	1919	a publisher's circular		
3	1919	catalogue of books for boys	Routledge or Warne	
4	1923	false advertisement		
5	1923	Ordance Map		
6	1925	map		

Table B, *Family Herald* 1880, continued.

7	1925	recipe for curling fluid	<i>Family Herald</i>	
8	1927	catalogue of books	MacMillan co.; Bedford Street	
9	1929	circular: 'quacks'		
10	1931	catalogue from	Murray	
11	1931	wants colums in papers		
12	1933	advertisments in daily newspapers		
13	1933	catalogue		
14	1933	school prospectus		
15	1935	indexes to the vols.	<i>Family Herald</i>	
16	1941	supplement		
17	1951	wants columns		
18	1955	our indexes	<i>Family Herald</i> ; 31 2p. stamps each	
19	1957	advertisement		
20	1959	catalogue	B Williams ; Chappell & co.; 49 New Bond Street 60 Pasternoster Row	
21	1959	legend on a giunea		
22	1965	book catalogue, one of their little vols.	Warne & co., Bedford Street	
23	1965	pamphlet	JH Watson; 129, Devonshire Road Holloway; 3 stamps	
			Total:	23
		Classificaton: Fiction, Poetry, Drama, music		
1	1917		Shakespere [sic]	
2	1917		Robert Burns	
3	1917	read the story again		
4	1921	poem	Aaron Hill	
5	1921	<i>The Love That Gives</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> ; 1s.8d.	
6	1923		Elizabeth Laetita Landon; Hurst & Blackett, 12s.	
7	1923	<i>Penny Readings</i>	Routledge	
8	1923	<i>The Gentle Life Series</i>	J.Hain Friswell, collection of vols.; <i>Family Herald</i> ; 1/2 crown	
9	1925	<i>Pilgrim's Progress</i>		
10	1927	from musicseller		
11	1929		De Quincey	
12	1929		music seller	
13	1929	arranged for piano solo and duet	Schuman	
14	1929	<i>Twenty Years After</i>	Routledge, 1s.	
15	1933		music seller	
16	1933	American poet		
17	1933	<i>Foreign Novelists</i>	Warne	
18	1935	<i>Divina Commedia</i>	trans. by Cary; Simpkin; 1s. 6d.	
19	1935	<i>Pelham</i>	Lord Lytton	
20	1937	<i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage</i> cantoiv.stanza115	Byron	
21	1937	<i>Notre Dame de Paris</i>	Victor Hugo	
22	1939	you will find the first lines in <i>Gil Blas</i> ; <i>Anthologia Graeca</i>	Le Sage; trans. from	
23	1941	Music seller		
24	1945		music seller, Pitman	
25	1945	<i>Tim Bobbins</i>	Simpkin, 6d.	

Table B, *Family Herald* 1880, continued.

26	1947	<i>Rendered a Recompense</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> ; may be had in parts; 24 stamps	
27	1953	<i>Ladybird's Penitence</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> supplement	
28	1955	<i>On a Distant Prospect of Eton College</i>	Gray	
29	1957		music seller	
30	1957	<i>Hamlet</i>		
31	1957	<i>Tales of the War</i>	MacMillan & co., 6s.; Longmans, 5s.	
32	1961		music seller	
33	1961	early dramatists	Shakespeare	
34	1961	story		
35	1963	an edition of the poet's works	few shillings	
36	1963	novel		
			Fiction:	36.5
		Classification: Geography		
1	1917	<i>Guide to London</i>	Routledge, 1s.	
2	1925	work on Florida and Dublin	Duffy; 12 vols., Low & Co.; 2s.	
			Total:	2
		Classification: History		
1	1915	history	Macaulay	
2	1915	<i>History of Cheshire</i>	Ormerod; in British Museum or London Institute	
3	1917	<i>County Families</i>	Walford	
4	1919	<i>Outlines of English History</i>	Ince and Gilbert, Kent; 1s.6d.	
5	1927	<i>Outlines of English History</i>	Kent, 23 Paternoster Row; 1s. 6d.	
6	1947	<i>History of the Army; Famous Regiments</i>	Scott, 42s; 3s.6d.; Stocqueler, 21s.; borrow expensive works from a library	
7	1957	history of his [Napoleon's] captivity	Montholon; Colburn, 4 vols., 56s.	
			Total:	7.5
		Classification: How to		
1	1927	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>	<i>Family Herald</i>	
2	1915	<i>Hints on the Toilet</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , seven half-penny stamps	
3	1915	<i>Hints on the Toilet</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , seven half-penny stamps	
4	1915	<i>Hints on the Toilet</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , seven half-penny stamps	
5	1915	<i>How to Play Draughts, Dominoes & co.</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , seven half-penny stamps	
6	1917	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>	<i>Family Herald</i> , seven half-penny stamps	
7	1919	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>		
8	1919	<i>Himts on the Toilette</i>	<i>Family Herald</i>	
9	1919	<i>Principles of Elocution</i>	Chambers, 2s.6d.	
10	1919	<i>Rules of Ryhme</i>	Hogg, 2s.6d.	
11	1919	<i>Ventriloquism Made Easy</i>	Warne, 6d.	
12	1919	<i>Economic Cookery</i>		
13	1921	<i>Etiquette for Gentlemen</i>		
14	1921	<i>How to Grow Flowers and Vegetables</i>	<i>Family Herald Handy Book</i> , seven half-penny stamps	

Table B, *Family Herald* 1880, continued.

15	1923	<i>Hints on Stammering</i>	Longmans, 5s.	
16	1923	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
17	1923	<i>How to Play Draughts & co.</i>		
18	1925	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>	<i>Family Herald</i>	
19	1929	<i>Directions for Making Wills</i>	Longmans, 2s. 6d.	
20	1929	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i> <i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
21	1929	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>	<i>Family Herald</i>	
22	1929	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>	<i>Family Herald</i>	
23	1929	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
24	1931	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>	seven half-penny stamps	
25	1931	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
26	1933	<i>A Few Hints on Proving Wills</i>	Low, 1s.	
27	1933	<i>British Decorations</i>	Brine; Simpkin, 1s. 6d.	
28	1933	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>		
29	1933	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
30	1933	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
31	1935	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
32	1935	<i>How to Grow Flowers, Fruit and Vegetables</i>	seven half-penny stamps	
33	1937	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
34	1937	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
35	1937	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
36	1937	<i>Whist, Dominoes & co.</i>	<i>Family Herald Handy Books</i>	
37	1939	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>	seven half-penny stamps	
38	1939	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
39	1941	books on commercial correspondence	Longman	
40	1941	<i>Economical Cookery</i>	<i>Family Herald</i>	
41	1941	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>		
42	1941	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
43	1943	<i>Hints on Photography</i>		
44	1943	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
45	1943	<i>Economic Cookery</i>		
46	1945	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
47	1945	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
48	1945	<i>Self Mastery</i>	Warne, 2s.6d.	
49	1945	<i>Student's Hallam; Student's Home</i>	Murray, 7s.6d.	
50	1947	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
51	1949	<i>Angler's Complete Guide</i> <i>Handbook of Angling</i> <i>How to Angle</i>	Routledge, 1s.; Longman, 5s., <i>Family Herald</i> , send stamps	
52	1949	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
53	1949	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
54	1951	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
55	1951	our self improvement series	<i>Family Herald</i> , 9s.5d	
56	1951	useful series	<i>Family Herald</i> , Handy Books	
57	1953	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>		
58	1953	<i>Vanderwell On Skating</i> <i>The Skater's Textbook</i>	MacMillan, 10s.; Trubner, 2s. 6d.	
59	1955	<i>Fancy Dress Described</i>	2s.	
60	1955	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
61	1955	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		

Table B, *Family Herald* 1880, continued.

62	1955	<i>The Secret of a Good Memory</i>		
63	1957	<i>Ball Room Guide</i>	Warne, 6d.	
64	1957	<i>Etiquette for Gentlemen</i>		
65	1957	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>		
66	1957	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>		
67	1957	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
68	1957	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
69	1957	little book on bee keeping		
70	1957	self-improvement series	<i>Family Herald</i> , 9s.5d.	
71	1959	<i>ABC of Photography</i>	London Stereoscopic co., Regents Street, 1s.	
72	1959	Bee Keeping	Hunter; Simpkin, 3s.6d.	
73	1959	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>		
74	1959	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
75	1959	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
76	1959	<i>Manual of Photography</i>	Churchill, 5s.6d.	
77	1959	<i>The Secret of a Good Memory</i>	Bogue, St Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square	
78	1961	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>		
79	1961	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
80	1961	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
81	1961	<i>Domestic Cookery</i>		
82	1963	Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage		
83	1963	<i>Hints on the Toilette</i>		
84	1965	<i>Advice to a Wife on Health</i>	Churchill, 2s.6d.	
85	1965	<i>Directions For Making Wills</i>	Longman, 2s.6d.	
86	1965	<i>Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage</i>		
87	1965	<i>Flower Making</i>	Routledge, 1s.	
				Total:
				87
		Classification: Periodicals		
1	1917	<i>Queen</i>	346 Strand	
2	1921	newspapers		
3	1921	<i>Queen</i>		
4	1921	<i>Volunteer Service Gazette</i>	121 Fleet Street	
5	1921	<i>Western Mail</i>	Cardiff, 1d.	
6	1923	daily newspapers		
7	1923	leading newspapers		
8	1923	<i>Nineteenth Century</i>		
9	1923	<i>The Patentee; The Engineer</i>	monthly journal 1d.; weekly journal, 6d.	
10	1925	<i>Jewish World</i>		
11	1927	daily newspapers		
12	1927	newspapers		
13	1931	periodical		
14	1933	<i>Times</i> ; one published by	Cassell, 3s.6d.	
15	1935	<i>The Times</i>		
16	1935	we look upon it as a mischevious sheet		
17	1937	<i>Field</i>		
18	1937	gazetter		
19	1939	a Melbourne paper		
20	1939	London periodicals		
21	1939	<i>Queen</i>		

Table B, *Family Herald* 1880, continued.

22	1939	<i>The Gaurdian</i>		
23	1939	works on history		
24	1943	daily newspapers		
25	1943	<i>Shipping and Mercantile Gazette</i>	54 Grace Street	
26	1945	<i>Japan Mail; Tokyo Times</i>		
27	1945	<i>Notes and Queries</i>	20 Wellington Street, Strand, 4d.	
28	1945	<i>Times</i>		
29	1949	broadsheet		
30	1949	daily newspapers		
31	1949	monthly from any newsvendor;	1 Inrham court, Fenchurch Street	
32	1949	small pamphlet on the subject; <i>Pottery and Glass Trades Journal</i>	Howell, James & co.; 5 Regent Street	
33	1949	<i>Times</i>		
34	1951	<i>Notes and Queries</i>		
35	1953	<i>Engineer</i>		
36	1953	<i>Times, Daily Telegraph</i>		
37	1955	daily newspapers		
38	1955	local paper		
39	1955	newspaper files		
40	1955	student numnber of <i>The Lancet</i>	from any bookseller or W.H.Smiths	
41	1959	county newspapers		
42	1959	newspapers		
43	1959	<i>Times</i>		
44	1961	<i>Notes and Queries</i>		
45	1963	<i>Journal of Horticulture</i>	6d.	
				Total:
				45
		Classification: Reference		
1	1915	Biographical Dictionaries		
2	1915	<i>London Directory</i>		
3	1917	<i>A Practical Handbook to the Principle Professions</i>	Bogue, 3s.6d.	
4	1917	Almanack		
5	1917	<i>Rhyming Dictionary</i>	Simpkin; 5s. 6d.	
6	1917	<i>Yearbook for 1877</i>	Ham	
7	1919	<i>Medical Dictionary</i> or advretisements within a medical journal		
8	1921	<i>A Practical Guide to the Principal Professions</i>	Bogue, 3s.6d.	
9	1921	<i>Moneys, Measures, & c. of All Nations</i>	Lockwood, 1s.6d.	
10	1923	almanac		
11	1923	<i>English Dictionary</i>		
12	1923	<i>Guide to the Civil Service</i>	Johnson, Longman, 3s.6d.	
13	1925	<i>Guide to the Civil Service</i>	Longmans, 3s.6d.	
14	1925	song	Robinson, 369 Strand	
15	1927	country guide or directory		
16	1927	Medical Directory		
17	1931	<i>Almanach de Gotha</i>		
18	1931	<i>Directory to Metropolitan Charities</i>	Longman; 1s.	
19	1931	<i>Gems, Jewels, Coins and Medals</i>	Bell, Billings, 31s.6d.	
20	1933	<i>Guide to the Civil Service</i>	Longman, 3s.6d.	
21	1933	pronounciation dictionaries		

Table B, *Family Herald* 1880, continued.

22	1935	<i>A Practical Guide to the Principal Professions</i>	Bogue, 3s.6d.	
23	1935	any good Encyclopedia; lists at end of a dictionary		
24	1935	<i>Directory to the Metropolitan Charities</i>	Longman, 1s.	
25	1937	<i>Guide to the Civil Service</i>	Longmans, 3s. 6d.	
26	1937	<i>Newspaper Directory</i>	Mitchell, Red Lion Court, Fleet St; 2s.	
27	1939	Dictionary; encyclopaedia		
28	1939	<i>Medical Dictionary</i>	Dunglishon	
29	1939	<i>Schools for Girls; Colleges for Women</i>	3s.6d.	
30	1941	<i>British Butterflies</i>	Routledge, Broadway, Ludgate Hill, 3s.6d.	
31	1941	<i>Handbook of the Telegraph</i>	any bookseller, Stationer's Hall Court, 3s	
32	1941	<i>Our Schools and Colleges</i>	Bogue; 3s.6d.	
33	1941	<i>Public Advertiser, 1769 to 1772</i>	Routledge, 3s.6d.	
34	1943	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>	new ed.	
35	1943	<i>History, Directory and Gazetteer of Essex</i>	Simpkin, 12s.6d.	
36	1945	<i>A Practical Handbook to the Principal Professions</i>	Bogue, 3s.6d.	
37	1945	<i>A Practical Handbook to the Principal Professions</i>	Stevens & Sons, 119 Chancery Lane	
38	1945	small book on the army; papers on army		
39	1947	a manual on the subject	1s.	
40	1947	<i>A Practical Guide to the Principal Professions Under the Red Ensign</i>	Bogue, 3s.6d.; Potter, 1s.	
41	1949	<i>Guide to the Civil Service</i>	Longman, 3s.6d.	
42	1949	<i>Whitaker's Almanack</i>		
43	1949	<i>Whitaker's Almanack 1880</i>	any bookseller; 1s.	
44	1951	<i>A Practical Handbook to the Principal Professions</i>	Bogue, 3s.6d.	
45	1951	<i>Medical Directory</i>		
46	1953	<i>General Armoury</i>	Harrison, Pall Mall, 52s.6d.	
47	1953	<i>London Directory</i>	Kelly & co.	
48	1955	<i>Army List</i>	Hart; 42s.	
49	1955	Guide	Black, 1s.	
50	1955	<i>Guide to the Civil Service</i>	Johnson, Longman, 3s.6d.	
51	1959	<i>Guide to the Metropolitan Charities</i>	Longmans; 1s.	
52	1959	<i>Whitaker's Almanack</i>		
53	1965	<i>Guide to the Civil Service</i>	Johnston, Longman, 3s.6d.	
54	1965	<i>Manual</i>	Cox, Longmans, 3s.	
55	1965	<i>The Australian Handbook</i>	Gordan & Gotch, St Bride Street, 8s.6d.	
56	1965	<i>Wine and Spirit Merchants Companion The Tasting of Wine and Spirits</i>	Simpkin, 5s.; Griffin, 5s.	
			Total:	56
		Classification: Religion		
1	1915	Bible		
2	1915	four gospels		

Table B, *Family Herald* 1880, continued.

3	1917	<i>Ordination Questions as Given in Various Dioceses</i>	Bell, 2s.	
4	1919	<i>Gospel Truth and Anglo-Israel Heresy</i>	pamphlet	
5	1919	<i>Is it Possible to make the Best of Both Worlds?</i>		
6	1919	Prayer Book		
7	1921	Bible		
8	1921	<i>Catechism</i>	Hamilton; Robert Cock, New Burlington Street	
9	1925	Bible		
10	1927	Bible		
11	1927	Bible		
12	1929	Bible		
13	1929	Bible		
14	1929	Gospel		
15	1929	Key to the Prayer Book	Rivington, 2s.6d.	
16	1929	Old and New Testaments	revised eds.	
17	1931	the story will be in a Bible, with an Apocrypha		
18	1933	Bible		
19	1933	New Testament		
20	1935	Bible		
21	1935	Scripture		
22	1937	Bible		
23	1937	Prayer Book		
24	1939	Bible		
25	1939	Bible		
26	1939	Scripture - story of Boaz & Ruth		
27	1941	history?	Bellarmino	
28	1943	Bible*		
29	1943	Catechism		
30	1951	Berkeley's Philosophy		
31	1951	scripture		
32	1955		Paley, Pearson	
34	1963	Gospel, Epistle		
			Total:	34.5
		Classification: Science, technology		
1	1923	<i>Dictionary of Science & Art, Dictionary of Chemistry, History of Chemistry</i>	Brande; Watt; Rodwell	
2	1923	know of no text on the differences between sexes with regards to the size of the brain		
3	1931	<i>Land and Engineering Surveying</i>	Lockwood, 2s.	
4	1937		Darwin	
5	1953	book by medical 'quack'		
6	1957	<i>Companion to the Pharmacopoeia</i>	Squire	
7	1959	<i>Rudimentary Treatise on Galvanism</i>	Lockwood, 1s.6d.	
			Total:	7.5
		Classification: Textbooks/self-educators		
1	1917	<i>Arithmetic</i>	Barnard Smith	
2	1919	statistics		

Table B, *Family Herald* 1880, continued.

3	1925	<i>Instruction Book; Novello & co.; Singing</i>	Hamilton, New Burlington Street; Cock; Randegger, Berners Street	
4	1927	instruction books	Windsor & Newton, 37 Rathbone Place	
5	1931	primer	MacMillan, 1s.	
6	1933	<i>Guide to the Excise</i>	Johnson, 1s.6d.	
7	1935	<i>Guide to the Excise</i>	Longman, 1s.6d.	
8	1937	obtain books recommended by director of class		
9	1937	<i>The Voice</i>	Cocks, 4s.	
10	1941	<i>Algebra</i>	Lockwood	
11	1941	<i>Electricity and Magnetism</i>	science textbook series, Longman, 3s.6d.	
12	1941	telegraphic alphabet, telegraphic instruction book	6d.	
13	1943	an arithmorem		
14	1945	Typing system	Pitman; Paternoster Row, 1s.	
15	1949	<i>Grammar</i>	Trubner, Ludgate Hill, 5s.	
16	1949	<i>Journals and Journalism</i> for literary beginners		
17	1949	<i>Novello & co., Music Primer, Singing</i>	A.Randegger, 4s., 1 Berners Street, Oxford St.	
18	1949	<i>Primer of Pianoforte Playing, Instruction Book for the Pianoforte</i>	Franklin Taylor; Carl Engel	
19	1949	<i>Progressive Exercises in Book-keeping</i>	Hunter, Longman, 1s.6d.	
20	1951	<i>Guide to the Excise</i>	Johnston, Longman, 1s.6d.	
21	1953	<i>Arithmetic</i>	Thompson, Longman, 3s.6d.	
22	1963	<i>Guide to Excise Candidates</i>	Johnson, Longman, 1s.6d.	
23	1963	primers	Macmillan, 1s., Tegg, 4s.6d	
24	1965	copy books		
25	1965	<i>Guide to the Excise Candidates</i>	Johnston, Longmans, 1s.6d	
26	1965	manual for self instruction	Music seller	
27	1965	vol. of recitation	French, 1s., 89 Strand	
			Total:	27
		Classification: Unidentified		
1	1959	3 vols.	Hurst & Blackett; 3 1s.6d.	
2	1915	cannot speak favourably of in a literary sense		
3	1921	<i>Elijah Gough</i> , 2parts	Dawes; 1s.	
4	1927	<i>Olive Varcoe</i>	2s. 6d.	
5	1945		Ogilvie	
6	1947		Caryle	
7	1949		Bacon	
8	1953	avoid such authors		
9	1957	read a bit at a time		
			Total:	9
			Obtaining:	76
			Total:	433
			Base used for table 13(b)	348

Appendix D, Table C

References to reading matter within the *Family Herald*, 1900.

	Issue	Title/Comments	Author/Publisher/Bookshop/ Price	Genre
		Split Genres		
1	2961	<i>The Vicar of Wakefield</i> <i>Century Dictionary</i>	Goldsmith	Fiction/ reference
2	2997	<i>Dictionary of London</i> has maps <i>How to Become a Nurse</i>	Dickens Miss Honor Morten	Geography /how to
3	2985	do not know of any history of proverbs <i>Curiosities of Literature</i>	Disraeli's popular article	History/ Fiction
4	2997	<i>The Art of Housekeeping</i> <i>House Decoration</i> <i>The Queen</i> <i>The Lady's Pictorial</i> other ladies papers	the late Mrs. Haweis Bemrose & Co., 1s Cassell & Co., 1s.	How to/ periodicals
5	2965	<i>Primer</i> on English literature	Milton Stopford Brooke's, 1s	Poetry/ textbook
6	3009	<i>Essay on Man</i> (1733-34) <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i>	Alexander Pope (1688-1744) Burke	Poetry/ History
			Total:	6
		Classification: Arts and Crafts		
			Total:	0
		Classification: Biography		
			Total:	0
		Classification: Economics, Politics		
1	2993	J.C. Kenworthy, <i>The Anatomy of Misery</i> , introduction by Count Tolstoi, new preface and appendix, including correspondence with Prof. Alfred Russell	2nd edition, Wallace	
2	3003	<i>Small Dwellings Acquisition Act 1899</i>) to enable you to purchase your home without a building society	From Eyre & Spottiswoode (62 & 63 Vict., ch 44), 2p	
3	2997	Political tracts	Provide the name of the contributor	
			Total:	3
		Classification: ephemera		
1	2959	sketches	M.B.Spurr, Reynolds	
2	2969	newspaper advertisement		
3	2977	wills	Somerset House, 1s.	
4	2977	engraving on watch		
5	2983	original cartoons and sketches	Mr. F. Carruthers Gould	
6	2989	patterns for clothes		
7	3005	newspaper advertisements by 'quacks'		
8	3005	letters in corner of the card (<i>R.S.V.P.</i>)		
9	2961	map of Lincolnshire		
10	2985	shipping ads in any leading London daily		

Table C, *Family Herald* 1900, continued.

11	2959	prospectus for schools		
			Total:	11
		Classification: Fiction, Poetry, Drama, Music		
1	2963	poetry or prose on friendship requested		
2	2965	<i>Elegy: Written in a Country Courtyard</i> (1751)	Thomas Gray (1716-71)	
3	2965	wants them to select verses to put in ladies album		
4	2969	poem - acknowledge its source		
5	2971	poem probably published in a collection of recitations		
6	2971	<i>The Light of Asia & c</i> <i>England as She Seems</i> <i>Phra, the Phoenician</i> we are unable to discover that any large work of this kind has been pub by him	Sir Edwin Arnold, brochure, Messrs. Warne, 1s	
7	2975	poetry		
8	2979		'poetaster' Tom Hood	
9	2991	poem	Tennyson	
10	2995	want to know name of the author of a poem	We are unsure, he published lines for others	
11	2997	<i>A Woman's Question</i>	Elizabeth Barrett Browning	
12	2999	we are not aware that the poems have been translated and published in English		
13	3007	poem <i>Elizabeth</i> , in <i>Tales of a Wayside Inn</i>	Longfellow	
14	3007	Latin phrase is from <i>Juvenal</i>	Possibly Gifford's?	
15	3007	copy of verses sent for another reader		
16	3009	poem	find in a complete edition of Tennyson's works	
17	2965	<i>Phil May's Annual</i>	Thacker & co.	
18	2975	the story you name		
19	2983	supplement	<i>Family Herald</i> , 2s.3p	
20	2983	<i>Wilful Doreen</i>	the story has now been published in book form, 1s.	
21	2997	<i>At Random</i>	Mr. L.F.Austin	
22	2997	cannot identify the story		
23	3009	<i>A Fountain Sealed</i>	Sir Walter Beasant, in <i>Illustrated London News</i> a few years ago, now available in book format, Chattus & Windus, 6s.	
24	3009	stories you name		
25	3009		Lucas Malet is the pen name of Mrs. St.Leger Harrison, Charles Kingsley's daughter	
26	2983	<i>Recreations of a County Parson</i>	Rev Andrew Kennedy Hutchinson Boyd, DD	

Table C, *Family Herald* 1900, continued.

27	2963	<i>Lorna Doone, Far From the Madding Crowd, Richard Feverel, A Window in Thrums, Life's Handicap, Many Inventions, The Jungle Book, Marcella</i> , poetry, history and philosophy, biography, literary criticism, popular journalism, <i>Travel In India</i>	R.D.Blackmore, Thomas Hardy, George Meredith, J.M.Barrie, Kipling, Mrs. Humphery Ward, Swinburne, Sir Lewis Morris, Austin Dobson, William Watson, Stephen Phillips, John Morley, Lecky, Trevelyan, Andrew Lang, G.W.Steevens, Mrs Meynell	
28	2991		Shakspere [sic]	
29	2993	<i>Humphrey Clinker</i>	Fielding, Smollett, Thackeray, George Eliot, Poe, Longfellow, Renan, Prescott, Motley, Bayard Taylor, Douglas Jerrold, Wilkie Collins, G.A.Sala, Charles Mackay	
30	2999	letters	T.E.Brown, Macaulay, Stevenson, Lamb, Swift, Matthew Arnold, Bunyan, Richard Jefferies, Walter Pater, Defoe, Thackeray, Ruskin, Johnson, Liegh Hunt, De Quincey, Augustine Birrel, Gibbon, Pepys, Cobbett, Frounde, Huxley, Dickens, John Morley, Kipling, Carlyle	
31	2999		Shakspere [sic]	
32	2999		Milton	
33	3001	<i>Vicar of Wakefield</i>	W.Hepworth Dixon, Fenimore Cooper, Captain Mayne Reid, Harrison Ainsworth, Mortimer, Collins, Milton, Goldsmith	
			Total:	35
		Classification: Geography		
1	2977	<i>Imperial Gazetteer, Gazetteer of British Islands</i>	Blackie's, 2vols.; Cassell	
			Total:	1.5
		Classification: History		
2	2959	Any English history or history of local government		
3	2999	history	Dr Kenyon	
			Total:	3
		Classification: How to		
1	2959	know of no book to make a good talker		
2	2971	<i>The People's Daily Cookery; Domestic Cookery</i>	M.C.Davies, 6p., Virtue & Co.; <i>Family Herald Handy Book</i> , 3p.	
3	2973	no book on how to grow tobacco for business is available		
4	2979	popular handbooks	Hazell; Whitaker	

Table C, *Family Herald* 1900, continued.

5	2981	<i>House Keeping</i>	Hamilton & Ball	
6	2995	A Manual of Oil Painting <i>A Plain Guide to Oil Painting</i> a guide to oil painting	Hon. John Collier, Cassell & co., 2s 6d Hume Nesbet, Reeves & Sons, 1s 6d George Rawney & co., 1s	
7	2999	cannot learn to draw by reading about it		
8	3001	<i>How to Pickle and Preserve</i>	No.18 of the <i>Family Herald</i> Handy Books, 3d.	
9	3005	there are no books which can teach you to draw		
10	2969	<i>The Riviera and Italy: how this trip can be done for £10</i>	Continental Traffic Manager	
11	2985	<i>Advice to a Wife</i> <i>Advice to a Mother</i>	Chavasse's Chavasse's	
12	2999	no popular and easy manual for learning Greek		
			Total:	13
		Classification: Periodicals		
1	2959	<i>The Times</i> - newspaper files in library		
2	2959	<i>Westminster Gazette</i>		
3	2961	<i>New York Herald</i>		
4	2969	<i>Law Journal</i> <i>Law Journal Reports</i> <i>Law Quarterly Review</i>	every Saturday pub by D.J. Gilgour, Strand, 6d, reports of cases pub by Stevens & Sons ltd., £3 4s/yr legal articles, notes on current cases & co. Stevens & Sons ltd., 5s	
5	2975	<i>Times</i>		
6	2975	<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> <i>Spectator</i>		
7	2975	<i>Shipping Gazette</i>		
8	2977	newspaper files		
9	2983	newspapers		
10	2987	<i>Stamford Mercury</i> <i>Yorkshire Post</i> <i>Preston Gaurdian</i>		
11	2989	London Daily newspapers		
12	2989	<i>Spectator</i>		
13	2989	daily papers		
14	2995	<i>The Animals Friend</i> <i>The Animal World</i>	Covent Garden Pasternoster Row	
15	2997	cuttings from Eng press re. The South African Question		
16	3007	<i>The School Mistress</i> or <i>Church Times</i>		

Table C, *Family Herald* 1900, continued.

17	3009	<i>The Times</i> - see back issues in a free library <i>Palmer's Index to the Times</i> <i>Spectator</i> periodical lit		
			Total:	17.5
		Classification: Reference		
1	2959	<i>The Englishwoman Yearbook</i>	ed. Emily James, A.&C.Black, 2s.6d.	
2	2961	<i>Lean's Royal Navy List</i>	published quarterly, 7s.6p.	
3	2963	<i>Whitaker's Almanack</i>	Whitaker, half a crown	
4	2987	<i>Directory of London</i>	e.g. <i>Kelly's</i> from public library.	
5	2989	<i>A Dictionary of Employment Open to Women</i>	Womem's Institute, 18p.	
6	2997	trade directories, dictionaries		
7	3005	trade directory		
8	2973	See articles in the <i>Bibliothèque Universelle</i>		
9	2963	<i>Who's Who</i>	A & C Black	
10	2965	<i>Guide to Employment in the Civil Service</i> <i>Civil Service Year Book and Official Calendar</i>	Cassell & co., 1s 2s	
11	2971	<i>Insurance Year- Book</i>		
12	2973	<i>Literary Year-Book</i> <i>Who's Who</i>		
13	2995	<i>Englishwoman's Year Book</i>		
14	2997	<i>Englishwoman's Year Book</i>		
			Total:	14.5
		Classification: Religion, philosophy		
1	3009	a history of philosophy <i>Outlines of the History of Ethics for English Readers</i> <i>Types of Ethical Theory</i>	Hulme - Scottish thinkers Reid Hamilton George Henry Lewes's Sidgwick's Dr. James Martineau	
2	2985	<i>Christian Year</i> **	Keble (1827)	
3	2991	New Testament		
			Total:	3
		Classification: Science, technology		
1	2969	<i>First Principles of Electrical Engineering</i> <i>Examples in Electrical Engineering</i> <i>The Electrician</i>	C H Briggs Joyce, Whittaker & Co instructive articles, published every Friday, Longman	2s 6d 5s 6d
			Total:	1
		Classification: Textbooks/self-educators		
1	2975	accountancy info		
2	2991	books on learning French		
3	2999	<i>Algebra for Beginners</i>	Hamblin Smiths, Rivington	
4	3005	Question on pronunciation of Latin and Greek		

Table C, *Family Herald* 1900, continued.

5	3009	grammars and dictionaries for learning French	Moderately priced	
6	3003	general directions for reading	London University Correspondence College	
7	3001	<i>Precious Stones and Gems</i>	E.W. Streeter	
			Total:	7.5
		Classification: Unidentified		
			Total:	0
			Obtaining:	13
			Total:	123
			Base used for table 13(b):	110

Appendix D, Table D

References to reading matter within *Reynolds' Newspaper*, 1860

	Issue	Title/Comments	Author/Publisher/Bookshop/Price	
		Split Genres		
1	514	work on etiquette <i>Reynold's Miscellany</i> (French less) <i>Levizac's Grammar & a Fr. Dic.</i>	cheap Kent & Co., Fleet-street	How to/ textbook
2	506	Parliamentary Papers <i>History of British India</i> - 10 vols.	Hansard Mill's, 6s. per vol.	Politics/ History
			Total:	2.0
		Classification: Arts and crafts		
1	538	<i>Modern Painters</i> - consists of five volumes	Mr Ruskin, prices vary Smith, Elder & Co., 65 Cornhill	
			Total:	1.0
		Classification: Biography		
1	526	<i>Life of Napoleon</i>	Bourriennes	
			Total:	1.0
		Classification: Ephemera		
1	492	pawnbrokers books		
2	506	advertisement		
3	508	initials are of postal districts		
4	518	advert		
5	532	an undirected letter found in street		
6	536	advert in local paper		
7	540	advert		
			Total:	7.0
		Classification: Fiction		
1	492	<i>The Mysteries of the Court of London</i> in volumes		
2	500	<i>Ottawah, the Last Red Chief of New Foundland</i>	Not by G.W.M. Reynolds	
3	526	<i>All Round the Wrekin</i>		
4	526	<i>Ottawah, the Last New Chief of the New Foundland</i>	Not by G.W.M. Reynolds	
5	538	<i>The Merry Wives of London</i> **	Not by G.W.M. Reynolds	
6	500	<i>Every Boy's Book</i> <i>The Boy's Own Book</i> contain instructions on the pyrotechnical processes	Routledge, 8s.6d. Tegg, 8s.6d.	
			Total:	6.0

Table D, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1860, continued.

		Classification: Geography		
1	500	<i>Greece and the Greeks of the Present Day</i> <i>Travel's in Greece</i> <i>Ancient and Modern Egypt</i> <i>Travel's in Turkey</i>	E. About Baird Russel Captain Spencer	
			Total:	1.0
		Classification: History		
1	492	history	Macaulay	
2	494	<i>The Pictorial History of England</i>		
3	534	<i>Comparative History of England</i>	Blackie	
			Total:	3.5
		Classification: How to		
1	490	book on etiquette	Kent & Co., Fleet Street, 1s.	
			Total:	1.5
		Classification: Periodicals		
1	490	periodical		
2	492	<i>Reynolds' Miscellany</i>		
3	496	<i>Army & Navy Gazette</i>		
4	500	a daily paper		
5	512	<i>Bell's Life in London</i>		
6	514	<i>News of the World</i>		
7	524	<i>Times</i>		
8	530	<i>Reynolds' Miscellany</i>		
9	538	<i>Shipping Gazette</i> (files)		
10	538	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>		
11	540	<i>Times</i>		
			Total:	11.0
		Classification: Economics, Politics, Law		
1	496	Acts of Parliament	Hansard	
2	498	<i>The New Black Book</i>	Mitchell Red-Lion Court, Fleet Street	
3	498	<i>The Greatest of Our Social Evils</i>	Bailliere, 1857 Regent Street	
4	514	Acts of Parliament		
5	520	<i>Wrongs Which Cry for Redress</i>	Thomas Hopley	
6	504	a work on the subject	any law bookshop	
			Total:	6.5

Table D, Reynolds' Newspaper 1860, continued.

		Classification: Reference		
1	534	<i>National Cyclopaedia</i> in 12 oc. in vols. (abridged version of <i>Penny Cyclopaedia</i>)	any respect. Second-hand bookseller	
2	540	see articles in <i>Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences</i> <i>Cyclopaedia of Receipts</i>	Ure Cooley	
3	492	<i>Statistical Notes</i>	Mr Watkins, Shawcross Council Chambers, Ancient Order of Foresters, Durham, 6 stamps.	
			Total:	3.5
		Classification: Science		
1	498	<i>Astronomy and Navigation</i> <i>Use of the Globes</i> <i>Course of Astronomy</i>	Weal, 2s. Longman, 1s. Orr, 10d.	
2	496	Book upon the ear	Mr Harvey, Strand	
3	498		Dr. Rowe, Churchill's - medical bookseller, New Burlington Street	
4	504	wk on nervous disease	Dr. Rowe, as above	
5	518	about diseases of the brain	Dr. Forbes	
6	536	treatise on diseases of the ear	William, Renshaw, Strand	
7	540	work on stricute and co./ treatise on treatment of diseases	Mr Bayfield, Renshaw, Strand	
			Total:	7.0
		Classification: Textbooks		
1	534	<i>Text Book of Elementary Chemistry</i>	Allman & Son Holborn Hill	
			Total:	1.5
		Classification: Unidentified		
			Total:	0.0
			Obtaining:	14.0
			Total:	64.0
			Base used for table 6.2(b):	50.0

Appendix D, Table E:

References to reading matter within *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 1880.

	Issue	Title	Author/Publisher/Bookshop/Price	
		Split Genres		
1	1550	<i>Financial Reform Almanac;</i> <i>Molesworth's History of England</i>	1s.;18s.	reference/ history
2	1542	<i>Kinglake's History;</i> a parliamentary guide		history/ reference
			Total:	2.0
		Classification: Arts and Crafts		
1	1558	<i>The Art of Manufacturing Soap and Candles</i>	Adolpha, 10s.6d; Ott, E.&F.N. Spon, 48 Charing Cross, SW	
2	1578	<i>The Carver and the Guilders;s Guide and Picture Frame Maker's Companion</i>	Geo Kent, Paternoster Row, E.C., 3s.6d.	
3	1582	<i>Carpenter and Builder</i>		
			Total:	3.0
		Classification: Biography		
1	1548	biography of Brougham		
2	1570	<i>Lord Beaconsfield: A Biography,</i>	T.P. O'Conner, Stewart & co., Holborn Viaduct-Stops, E.C.	
			Total:	2.0
		Classification: Economics, Politics, Law		
1	1538	<i>Free Trade</i> <i>New Reciprocity Cry</i>	Mongredin, 6d.; 4d.	
2	1538	Friendly Societies Act 1875		
3	1538	from parliamentary agents	W.Clowes & Son, Charing Cross	
4	1540	a parliamentary digest		
5	1540	<i>Tribulation Tubal</i>		
6	1540	No.4 of campaigning papers, <i>Cost of the Conservative Government</i>	H.J. Infield, 160 Fleet-street, 2d.	
7	1542	a small pamphlet is pub. on the Q	any bookseller, 6d.	
8	1550	hansard	Hansard	
9	1552		parliamentary bookseller	
10	1554	pamphlets on Republican topics	Messers.Watts, Fleet-street	
11	1564	copy of the Act	Spottiswoode	
12	1572	copy of the Act	Eyre Spottiswoode	
13	1572	Carriers Act	Eyre Spottiswoode	
14	1574	the Act		
15	1574	<i>London Labour and London Poor</i>	Mayhew	
16	1578	copy of the Act	Eyre & Spottiswoode, New-street Square EC	
17	1578	copy of the Act	Eyre & Spottiswoode, New-street Square EC	
18	1580	Real Property Limitation Act 37 & 38 vic.	Spottiswoode	
19	1584	in the short title of the Act		

Table E, *Reynolds's Newspaper* 1880, continued.

20	1584	Acts of Parliament related to subject		
21	1564	a copy of any law stationers		
22	1580	law books	British library	
				Total:
				22.0
		Classification: Ephemera		
1	1562	instructions - back of summons		
2	1562	rules of the club		
3	1576	daily predictions of the weather		
				Total:
				3.0
		Classification: Fiction, Drama, Poetry, Song		
1	1538	he is a novelist of some note	novelist	
2	1540	<i>John Halifax</i>		
3	1552	<i>Yellow Jack</i>		
4	1558		German writer	
5	1560	<i>Breton Folk</i>	Henry Blackburn, Cassell & Co., Ludgate Hill	
6	1578		Ouida	
7	1578	<i>The Mysteries of the Court of London</i> , Vol.V, 7s.3d., pub office, 313 Strand		
8	1536		Tennyson	
9	1540	Play	Mr Will	
10	1540	<i>The Bells</i>		
11	1542	<i>Middlemarch</i>	George Eliot	
12	1550		George Eliot	
13	1552		Douglas Jerrold	
14	1554	complete set of the English poets	very cheap sets from 2nd hand bkellers	
15	1564	list of classics	H.G. Bohn Tavistock-street, Covent Garden	
16	1538	<i>Madame Angot</i>		
17	1558	<i>Molly Darling</i> - song	W.S.Hays	
18	1570	<i>Oh Nannie, Wilt thou gang with me</i>	Dr. Percy Mr. Carter (music)	
				Total:
				18.0
		Classification: Geography		
1	1536	any geography		
2	1538	work on geographical features of the Channel		
3	1540	Gazetteer		
4	1564	Gazetteer		
5	1564	<i>Land and Water, or the Field</i>		
6	1572	Guide to the U.S.A.	Appleton, 8s.6d.	
				Total:
				6.0
		Classification: History		
1	1536	Smith's History		
2	1540	<i>History of England</i> , 3vols	Mills; Molesworth, 6s. per vol.	
3	1552	History	Molesworth	
4	1568	<i>History of England, 1830-1874</i>	Molesworth	
5	1548	works on history	Green; Molesworth	

Table E, *Reynolds's Newspaper 1880*, continued.

6	1534	works on history	Macaulay, Robertson, Fallam, Gibbon	
				Total: 7.0
		Classification: How to		
1	1564	<i>The Management of the Voice,</i>	J.C.Bishenden, from Mr Seeley, Fleet-street EC; or from the author, 4 Chester-place, Regents Park NW	
2	1566	book on memory	W. Stoakes, Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, 1s.	
3	1570	<i>Logic For the Million</i>	Guilbert, 5s.	
				Total: 3.0
		Classification: Periodicals		
1	1534	Manchester Papers		
2	1534	<i>Sportsman</i>		
3	1538	<i>Sportsman</i>		
4	1546	musical journal		
5	1546	daily newspapers		
6	1556	<i>Times</i>		
7	1558	<i>The Pioneer Papers</i> ; Alsager, Hay Hill; 15 Russell St., Covent Garden		
8	1558	<i>Bazaar</i>		
9	1558	<i>London Gazette</i>		
10	1560	<i>Colliery Guardian</i>	48 Essex-street, Strand	
11	1560	<i>Colliery Guardian</i>	48 Essex-street, Strand	
12	1564	never heard of the paper		
13	1566	<i>Jewish World</i>		
14	1566	<i>Times and Telegraph</i>		
15	1566	<i>European Mail</i> , or in <i>St Thomas Tidende</i>	West Indies	
16	1568	<i>Edinburgh Review</i>		
17	1572	<i>Daily Telegraph</i> or want ads in daily newspapers		
18	1572	<i>Volunteer Service Gazette</i>		
19	1572	Brighton papers are full list		
20	1574	most newspaper offices keep files		
21	1574	wants columns of daily newspapers		
22	1578	<i>Times</i>		
23	1578	<i>Labour News</i>	Russell-street Covent garden	
24	1582	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>		
25	1582	<i>Labour News</i> publications	their office, 15 Russell-street, Covent Garden	
26	1582	<i>Brewer's Journal</i>	Mr Lyon, 175 Strand	
27	1582	<i>New York Herald</i>		
28	1584	<i>Farmer</i>	their office, Wellington-street, Strand	
				Total: 28.0
		Classification: Reference		
1	1534	affinity tables		
2	1534	<i>Guide to London</i>	Dickens	
3	1536	<i>Guide to the Metropolis</i>	Dickens	
4	1538	an Almanack		
5	1542	<i>Financial Reform Almanack</i>	1s.	
6	1542	dictionary of dates		

Table E, *Reynolds's Newspaper* 1880, continued.

7	1542	dictionary of dates		
8	1542	consult Debrett	Debrett	
9	1544	dictionary of dates		
10	1544	<i>Guide to London</i>	Dickens	
11	1546	dictionary of dates		
12	1546	dictionary of dates		
13	1546	dictionary of dates		
14	1548	any encyclopedia on mining or a mining journal		
15	1548	dictionary of dates		
16	1550	<i>Whitaker's Almanack</i> ; <i>Financial Reform Almanack</i>		
17	1550	<i>Slang Dictionary</i>		
18	1550	<i>Guide to London</i>	Dickens	
19	1550	census returns		
20	1552	directory		
21	1552	<i>Guide to London</i>	Dickens, 1s.	
22	1554	<i>Whitaker's Almanack</i>		
23	1554	printed statement showing investment return	local post master	
24	1560	<i>Financial Reform Almanack</i> -1880	Longmans, Green & Co., Paternoster-row E.C., 1s.	
25	1560	<i>British Heraldry</i>	Robson	
26	1562	report and <i>ABC Railway Guide</i>	Educational Dept., Whitehall	
27	1564	<i>Unclaimed Money</i>	Mr Preston, St. George-street, Westminster	
28	1564	<i>The Civil Service Guide</i>	Civil Service Publishing Co., Dorset Street, Salsbury Square E.C.	
29	1564	papers from war office & small book all on the army		
30	1566	<i>Post Office Directory</i>		
31	1566	<i>Manchester Directory</i>		
32	1568	<i>British Manufacturing Industries</i>	Phillip Bevan, Spon (p), Charing-cross, 5s.	
33	1568	<i>Investor's Manual</i> (info on standing of tin & lead mining co.s	Cassell & Co. (p)	
34	1570	heraldry		
35	1572	<i>The Australian Handbook and Almanack</i>	Gordon & Gotch St Bride-street, Ludgate-circus	
36	1574	<i>Black's Guide</i>	Longmans, 1s.	
37	1574	<i>Army List</i>	Hart	
38	1578	<i>Civil Service Guide</i>	Longmans, Paternoster Row, 3s.6d.	
39	1582	<i>A Practical Guide to the Principal Professions</i>	3s.6d., Boyne	
40	1584	see tables published		
			Total:	41.0
		Classification: Religion		
1	1566	<i>The Priest in Absolution</i>	Dadson, Essex-Street, Strand	
			Total:	1.0

Table E, *Reynolds's Newspaper* 1880, continued.

		Classification: Science, technology		
1	1536	a work on bridges		
2	1570	medicine	Laurie	
3	1570	small book on phrenology	D.Fowler, Ludgate-circus, EC	
4	1560	British Botany	Van Voorst, Paternoster-row EC	
			Total:	4.0
		Classification: Textbooks/self-educators		
1	1538	<i>Morell's Grammar</i>	second hand booksellers, c.6d.	
2	1554	list of previous exam papers	civil service comm.	
3	1562	<i>Hints on Training</i>	Ward & Lock, Pasternoster-Row, 1s.	
4	1562	copy books	Vere Foster	
5	1562	short hand books	Pitman, Pasternoster-Row	
6	1566	<i>Mental Arithmetic</i>	W.R.Gleig, Hammond & Co. Paternoster-Row, London, 1s.	
7	1582	<i>Practical Plane Geometry</i>	Crosby, Lockwood & co., Stationers House Court E.C., 2s.	
8	1582	<i>Manual of Music</i>	Chambers, Paternoster-Row, seven half-penny stamps	
			Total:	8.0
		Classification: Unidentified		
1	1534		Burke	
2	1536		Bellini	
			Total:	2.0
			Obtaining:	42.0
			Total:	190
			Base used for table 6.2(b):	146

Appendix D, Table F:

References to reading matter within *Reynolds' Newspaper*, 1900.

	Issue	Title/Comments	Author/Publisher/Bookshop/Price	
		Split Genres		
1	2610	<i>Bits O Blarney</i> <i>Health</i> weekly	Robert J Martin, Sands & co. <i>Health</i> Office, 1d., Burleigh St.	fiction/ periodicals
2	2580	History of the French Rev. <i>Christ and the People</i>	A. Sequier	history/ religion
3	2616	General Hints to Emigrants Pamphlets on the topic	Crosby, Lockwood & Son, 1s, Emigration Office, free	how to/ reference
4	2584	<i>Daily Nation</i> <i>Investors Review</i>		periodicals / economics
5	2584	<i>Boer and Ultander</i> <i>Daily Nation</i>	Mr Regan, out of print	periodical/ politics
6	2626	<i>The Reasonableness of Christianity</i> <i>Thoughts of a Thoughtful Reader</i> <i>The Laws of Physic Phenomena</i> <i>An Experimental Study in the Domain</i> <i>of Hypnotism</i> <i>Principles of Psychology</i> 2 vols.	Cumberland, Sampson Low, 10s.6d. Hudson, George Putnam & Sons, 7s.6d. Dr Kraft-Ebbing, George Putnam & Sons, 6s. Spencer, 36s.	religion/ science
7	2582	<i>Direct Taxation</i> (1860) illus. <i>Pilgrims Progress & Holy War</i> ; Shakespeare; their illustrated books are out of print: <i>The London Daily Press</i> <i>The Biographical Magazine</i> (1852)	Leo H. Courtney, 3s.6d. each illustrated by H.C. Selous, Cassell, £3 3s. H.W. Massingham J Passmore Edwards	reference/ fiction
8	2598	Books on Freemasonry by <i>Freemasonry</i> complete edition, 20 vols. in a cheap edition: <i>Sartor Resartus</i> <i>Heroes and Hero Worship</i> <i>Essays</i>	Dr Oliver, C Griffin & co., 6s Le Plougeon, 2s 6d Mackey, Chapman & Hall, 6d/ed Carlyle	reference/ fiction
9	2590	<i>Hymns of Modern Thought With Music</i> American Newspapers	International Press Agency, 39 Great Marlborough Street WC Brearns Buildings, Chancery Lane EC	fiction/ periodicals
10	2620	<i>Whateley's Logic</i> <i>Cobbett's English Grammar</i> <i>The Rights of Man</i>	C. Griffin, 36 Essex Street, Strand WC 20; Ward, Lock & co., 3s.; Methuen & co.; Dent, 1s.; Thomas Paine, Putnam & Sons	Textbook/ politics
11	2606	<i>People's Journal</i> <i>Visions of Judgement</i> Byron	Second-hand bookseller	periodicals /poetry
			Total:	11.0

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

		Classification: Arts and Crafts		
1	2588	<i>Art Portfolio</i>	Simpkin Marshall & Co, 20 Bishopgate Street, E.C., 1s.	
			Total:	1.0
		Classification: Biography		
1	2578	biog. of Gladstone:	Smith, Denny, Holywell Street, Strand W.C., cheap	
2	2586	<i>Life and Letters of Cromwell</i> ; recent vol. On same subject	Carlyle	
3	2588	biog of J.S. Parnell		
4	2606	<i>The Life and Last Days of Robert Owen</i> (1871)	G.J. Holyoake, Labour Association, 15 Southampton Row, 4d.	
5	2618	biography of Lord Byron		
6	2620	<i>Life and Writings of Mazini</i> 6vols	Smith Elder & co. (p), Waterloo Place, 4s.6d.	
7	2628	<i>Life And Speeches</i> (1846)	his son John, public library	
8	2578	no book on virtue; get biographies of Benjamin Franklin, W. Hutton, J Lackington, William Chambers	from public library	
			Total:	8.0
		Classification: Economics, Politics, Law		
1	2604	<i>Merric England</i>		
2	2584	<i>Two Penny Thrash</i>	Cobbett, out of print	
3	2584	<i>History of the Chartist Movement, from Its Commencement Down to the Present Time</i> (1854)	Holyoake & co (p)	
4	2602	<i>History of South Africa</i>	Dr. Thoal	
5	2618	<i>English Political History</i>	Ackland & Ranson, Liberal Publishing Dept. 42 Parliament Street; public library	
6	2626	<i>Analysis of English History</i> <i>The Constitutional History of England</i> 3 vols.; <i>Hallam's Constitutional History Abridged</i> ; Half Crown vols. Of : <i>Representative Statesmen</i> 2 vol.s <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> speeches 10 vols. Or: good selection of the speeches Burke & Palmerston	Tait, 12s.; Macmillan; Bishop Stubbs, Clarendon Press, 7s. 6d; Smith, Murray, 24s.; Chatain, Macmillan, 12s.6d.; Edward Leslie Stephen, Chapman & Hall, 1/2cn, 1s.; public library; Methuen; Routledge	
7	2628	legal treatises	Prof. Amos	
8	2580	<i>Chamberlain's Speeches</i>		
9	2582	<i>Unto This Last</i> <i>The Rights of Labour According to John Ruskin</i> (penny pamphlet)	Ruskin, arranged by Thomas Barclay, W. Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, 1d.	
10	2582	book on S Africa out of print	Whiter	
11	2582	<i>The Truth About the War</i>		
12	2590	Canadian Parliamentary papers		
13	2590	pamphlet on war burials		
14	2602	<i>War in South Africa</i>		

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

15	2604	pamphlet re. Treatment of a Scotch farmer	
16	2604	Books on Socialism by	Henry George Hyndman
17	2606	<i>Le Commune Paris</i> (1898)	Louise Michael
18	2612	pamphlets on land question	
19	2622	<i>Rights of Man; Conflicts of Oligarchy and Democracy</i>	Paine, Free Thought Publishing co., 2s.; Yates & Alexander, Stationer's Hall Court
20	2624	Speeches	Bright
21	2628	no English books devoted to the army campaign	
22	2586	<i>The Truth About the War Shall I Slay my Boer Brother?</i>	1 1/2d 6d Both: <i>Review of Reviews</i> Office Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand, WC
23	2588	<i>The Truth About the War Shall I Slay my Boer Brother?</i>	1 1/2d 6d <i>Review of Reviews</i> Office Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand W
24	2590	<i>The Truth About the War</i>	1 1/2d <i>Review of Reviews</i> Office Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand W
25	2592	<i>The Truth About the War War Against War in South Africa</i>	1 1/2d 1 1/2d <i>Review of Reviews</i>
26	2598	Housing of the Working Classes Act	1/2p Eyre & Spottiswoode East Harding Street EC
27	2590	<i>The War and Its Causes</i>	GP Gooch 1d Transvaal Commission St Ermin's Mansions, West SW
28	2600	<i>Lipton's Millions</i> pamphlet	1d Labour Leader Publishing co (p) 1 & 3 Queen's Arcade, Glasgow
29	2620	<i>The War in South Africa</i>	1d Transvaal Committee St Ermys, Westminster
30	2580	<i>War Against War in South Africa</i>	1d./wk
31	2590	<i>The War in South Africa; Its Causes and Effects</i>	1s James Inset & co (p) 21 Berners Street W
32	2620	<i>Gladstone's Speeches</i>	1s Routledge (p) Eyre & Spottiswoode
33	2600	<i>Workhouses and Pauperism</i>	Louisa Twining 2s 6d Methuen & co 36 Essex Street WC

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

34	2612	<i>John Bright's Speeches on Public Politics</i> cheap ed <i>John Bright's Public Addresses</i> <i>Cobden's Speeches on Public Politics</i>	Prof. Thorold Rogers (ed.), Macmillan 3s.6d.; Prof. Thorold Rogers (ed.), Macmillan 14s.; Macmillan, 3s.6d.	
35	2588	<i>The Transvaal Boer Speaking for Himself</i>	Jarrold & Sons, 10 & 11 Warwick Lane EC, 6d.	
36	2620	<i>The Candidates of Cain</i>	WT Stead, Stop the War Committee, 6d.	
37	2626	<i>The Candidates of Cain</i>	WT Stead, Stop the War Committee, 6d.	
38	2626	<i>The Candidates of Cain</i>	WT Stead, Stop the War Committee, 6d.	
39	2614	<i>National Railways</i> <i>The State Purchase of Railways</i>	James Hole, Cassell & co, 6s.; Charles Waring, Chapman, 5s.	
40	2612	<i>Text Book of Political Economy</i> <i>First Lessons in Political Economy</i> <i>Principles of Economics</i> <i>Elements of the Economics of Industry</i> <i>Principles of Political Economy</i>	F.A. Walker, Macmillan, 6s. 6d.; F.A. Walker, Macmillan, 5s.; Marshall, Macmillan, 12s.6d.; Marshall, Macmillan, 3s 6d; C. Gide, Isbisters, 7s.6d.	
41	2586	<i>The War in South Africa; Its Causes and Effects</i>	JA. Hobson, James Nisbett & co ltd 21 Berners Street W., 7s.6d.	
42	2626	<i>Handbook to Political Questions of the Day</i>	John Murray, Albemarle Street, 7s.6d.	
43	2620	<i>Our Factories and Workshops</i> <i>The Factory and Workshop</i> <i>The Public Health Act Annotated</i> <i>History of the Industrial and Social Legislation in the UK</i>	A.H. Thwaites, 9s.; A. Redgrave, Spon; W.G. Lumley, Shaw & Son	
44	2618	pamphlets on slavery under British rule	Aborigine's Protection Society Broadway Chambers, Westminster	
45	2624	<i>Are we in the Right</i> <i>A Country of Wrong</i> <i>The Truth About the War</i> <i>The War Against the Two Republics</i> <i>The New Imperialism</i>	Stop the War Committee, Arundel Street, Strand W.C. 6d. and 1d.	
46	2610	<i>Highland Clearances</i>	Denny Holywell Street, Strand WC	
47	2596	<i>The Elements of Social Science</i>	E Truelove (Free thought p & b) Holborn (shop does not now exist)	
48	2580	<i>Small Dwellings Acquisition Act</i>	Eyre & Spottiswoode East Harding Street	
49	2588	any act of Parliament	Eyre & Spottiswoode	
50	2598	Act of Parliament	Eyre & Spottiswoode East Harding Street EC	
51	2598	Act of Parliament	Eyre & Spottiswoode East Harding Street EC	
52	2604	Blue Book	Eyre & Spottiswoode	
53	2608	Acts of Parliament	Eyre & Spottiswoode	
54	2592	Parliamentary Papers	Eyres & Spottiswoode	
55	2600	Act of Parliament	Eyres & Spottiswoode	
56	2614	Blue Book	Eyres & Spottiswoode	

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

57	2616	Act of Parliament	Eyres & Spottiswoode	
58	2590	series of cheap pamphlets on the war	W.T. Stead, Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand W. few p.	
59	2598	Act of Parliament	Eyre & Spottiswoode, East Harding Street E.C., few p.	
60	2600	<i>Democratic Readings</i>	W.M. Thompson, John Dicks, 313 Strand	
61	2602	<i>Lipton's Millions</i> pamphlet	<i>Labour Leader</i> , 53 Fleet Street	
62	2592	Books on Indian famine speech on them as pamphlet	Hyndman Charles Bradlaugh now out of print Indian Political Agency - cannot be had now	
63	2604	Parliamentary papers	public library	
64	2602	<i>With the Grand Army to Moscow</i>	Mr Tegan Simpkin, Marshall & co.	
65	2582	write to the Societies to see if they publish anything	Sunday Society, Commons & Footpaths Preservation Society National Society for the Preservation of Historical Places of Interest	
66	2620	<i>The Rise of Early Democracy</i>	W.M. Thompson, W. Reeves, 83 Charing Cross Road WC	
			Total:	67.5
		Classification: Ephemera		
1	2624	see a prospectus		
2	2626	know of no such pamphlet		
3	2626	catalogue of books on subject	F.N. Spon Ltd., 125 Strand	
4	2586	mottos on seals		
5	2588	handbills		
6	2592	inscription on coin		
7	2592	adverts	Foster & co.	
8	2596	leaflet		
9	2596	leaflets on a Radical programme		
10	2596	trademark of a brand of tobacco		
11	2602	advert		
12	2612	advert	AW Fosters & co.	
13	2626	adverts		
14	2628	contents bills		
15	2628	advert		
16	2620	maps	Stanford, Charing Cross	
			Total:	16.0
		Classification: Fiction, Poetry, General Literature, Song		
1	2584	<i>In Memoriam</i>	Tennyson	
2	2592	<i>Inferno</i>	Dante	

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

3	2594	<i>Virgil</i> trans.; <i>Ovid</i> trans., 3 vols. <i>Keightley's Classical Mythology</i>	G. Bell & Sons, 3s.6d.; 5s.; Whittaker & co., York Street, 2s.; second hand booksellers in town	
4	2596		Carlyle	
5	2602	<i>Paradise Lost</i>	Milton	
6	2602	<i>Legend of Montrose</i>	Walter Scott	
7	2604	Aristotle's Works trans. In 2 vols. Of <i>Classical Series</i> <i>Aristotle's Masterpiece</i>	5s. per vol.; Bohn, c.2s.; Bell & Sons; any second-hand bookseller, York Street W.C.	
8	2610	three tales <i>Decameron</i> trans.	De Kock, Routledge, 1s.	
9	2614	<i>Resurrection</i>	Tolstoy, A & F Denny 147 Strand WC	
10	2616	<i>Thus Spake</i> [sic.] <i>Zarathustra</i>	Nietzsche, Watts & Co., 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, 10s.6d.	
11	2620		Oscar Wilde	
12	2600	<i>The True Heroism</i>	Charles Mackay	
13	2586	serial stories		
14	2586	serial stories		
15	2586	<i>History of John Bull</i>	Dr. Aruthnot	
16	2588		Ouida	
17	2608	<i>Christopher Tadpole</i> (1857)	Albert Smith, George Routledge & co., 2s.	
18	2610	<i>Autocrat of the Breakfast Table</i>	Oliver Wendell Holmes, George Routledge & Sons Broadway E.C., 6d.	
19	2620	<i>The Scottish Chiefs</i>	Miss Porter, Routledge, 6d.	
20	2600	<i>Story of a South African Farm</i>	Olive Schreiner	
21	2578	poem		
22	2582	<i>Hudibras</i>	Butler	
23	2590	poem	Samuel Lover	
24	2590	<i>Queen Mab</i>	PB Shelley	
25	2590	poem: <i>Each One Kills the Thing He Loves</i>	Oscar Wilde	
26	2602	poem	Burns	

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

27	2622	people's editions of the poetical works of : <i>Songs of Innocence in Aldine Poets</i> <i>Lyrical Poems</i> <i>My Lyrical Life: Poems Old and New</i> 2 vols. <i>Poems By the Way</i> 1891 <i>Poems</i> people's ed. <i>Leaves of Grass</i> two books <i>Past and Present</i> cheap edition <i>Les Miserables</i>	Byron, John Dicks, 1s.; Burns, John Dicks, 6d.; Shelly, John Dicks, 6d.; Wordsworth, John Dicks, 6d. Blake, 6d.; Massey, G Bell & Son, 2s.6d; out of print separately, 5s./vol.; William Morris JR Lowell W Whitman, 1s E Carpenter, 9s 2s 6d 1s Keegan Paul	
28	2628	blank verse		
29	2608	<i>Quevedo's Vision</i> poem	cannot find	
30	2608	<i>The Lord of the Isles</i> poem	Scott	
31	2614	poetry	William Watson	
32	2620	<i>The Pottery Gazette</i>	Scots, greenwood & co., Ludgate Hill EC, 1s	
33	2622	<i>Hoaratus</i> poem	Macaulay	
34	2584	recitations: <i>Kissing Cups Last Race & My Lady's Leap</i>		
35	2590	song: <i>All Honour to the Gallant</i> 24th		
36	2628	<i>The Jolly Old Farmer</i> song		
37	2586	<i>Kissing Cups Last Race & My Lady's Leap</i> in one book	Mr French, 89 Strand WC, 1s	
38	2620	book on playing the ocarina	Keith, Prowse & co., 1s.4d.	
39	2596	<i>No.5 John Street</i>	Grant Richards, 9 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden W.C., 6s.	
40	2620	<i>Hymns On Modern Thought</i>	Houghton & co., 39 Great Marlborough St	
41	2592	music	music seller	
			Total:	43.5
		Classification: Geography		
1	2588	geography		
2	2598	<i>Palestine: Its Historical Geography</i> Other books on the subject by	Dr Archibald Henderson, Clark , 2s.6d.; Gadsby; Talmadge Edinburgh	
3	2596	English geography book		
			Total:	3.0
		Classification: History		
1	2578	historian	Frounde	
2	2582	any good history of Greece	For example one by Sir W. Smith; Rose Malkin,; Sergeant; Max Dunken can be found in a public library	

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

3	2582	<i>Smaller History of England Intermediate History of England History of the English People</i>	W.M. Smith, 3s.6d.; Green, 6s.; Murray; George Bell & Son	
4	2594	<i>Our Old Nobility</i>	Howard Evans, Simpkin, Marshall & co., Strand, 1s.	
5	2598	<i>History of the Conflict Between Science and Religion</i>	Draper	
			Total:	5.5
		Classification: How to		
1	2582	<i>How to Pronounce & Seven Thousand Words Often Mispronounced</i>	W. Phyle, Putnam & Sons, Bedford Street W.C., 3s.6d.; 2s.6d.	
2	2588	<i>How to Join the Royal Navy</i>	free from any Post Office	
3	2592	<i>Modern Magic; More Magic; Drawing Room Conjuring; Conjuring Tricks</i>	all by Prof. Hoffman, Routledge, 7s.6d.; 5s.; 1s.; 1s.	
4	2592	<i>How to Join the Navy</i>		
5	2600	<i>Principles of Batting Practically Considered; no cheap popular handbook on the subject</i>	Boys & Davies, <i>Estates Gazette</i> Office, 21s.	
6	2604	<i>How to Join the Navy</i>		
7	2610	<i>Patenting Made Easy</i>	Iliffe & Son, 3 St Bride Street E.C., 1s.	
8	2610	<i>Elocution Made Easy</i>	Miss Herand, Dean & Son, Fleet Street, 1s.	
9	2620	<i>Hoyle's Card Games</i>	Routledge, 1s.	
10	2622	<i>Patenting Made Easy</i>	Ilffe & Sons 3 St Bride Street E.C., 1s	
11	2622	<i>Patenting Made Easy</i>		
12	2624	<i>All About Cookery; The Art of Pastry Making, French and English; The Confectioner; Pastry Cook</i>	Beeton, Ward & Lock, 2s.6d.; Helisse, Ward & Lock, 2s.6d.; Dean & Sons, 1s 6d	
13	2624	<i>Company Promoting, or How to Form Your Business into a Limited Liability Company</i>	Byrne & co, advertising agents (p)	
14	2624	<i>Patenting Made Easy</i>	Ilffe & Sons, 3 St. Bride Street E.C., 1s.	
15	2626	<i>Patenting Made Easy</i>	Ilffe & Sons, 3 St. Bride Street E.C., 1s.	
16	2628	<i>Patenting Made Easy</i>	Ilffe & Sons, 3 St. Bride Street E.C., 1s.	
17	2620	<i>How to Deal With Your Banker</i>	Henry Warren, Grant Richards, 9 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden	
18	2612	<i>Stokes on Memory The Science of Good Memory Technical Memory Memory and Its Cultivation</i>	M. Granville, 1s., Houlston & Sons; Dr Grey, W. Allen & Co 1s.; Eldridge, 1s.; Green, Crosby, Lockwood & Son	

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

19	2614	<i>Patenting Made Easy</i>		
20	2614	<i>Patenting Made Easy</i>		
21	2616	<i>Compleat [sic.] Angler</i>		
			How to	Total:
				21.5
		Classification; Periodicals		
1	2578	the papers named		
2	2628	minister's journalism		
3	2578	newspapers - American & English		
4	2578	cutting from newspaper		
5	2578	cannot trace periodical		
6	2578	jingo press		
7	2578	newspapers		
8	2602	<i>Glasgow Weekly Herald</i> <i>Glasgow Weekly Mail</i>	G Outrans & co., 1d.; Mail Newspaper Co., 1d.	
9	2614	<i>Weekly Gazette</i>	Stubb's 42 Gresham Street EC	
10	2624	<i>Laundry News</i> mthly	Cordingly & Co. 39 Shoe Lane EC , 2d	
11	2624	American Paper		
12	2624	newspapers		
13	2626	<i>Free Age Press</i>	Mealdon, Essex	
14	2626	newspaper - out of date		
15	2626	newspaper - no longer exist		
16	2628	<i>Daily News</i>		
17	2628	newspaper		
18	2578	Irish papers		
19	2580	jingo press		
20	2582	<i>Morning Post</i>		
21	2584	"Yellow" press of England		
22	2584	New York journal		
23	2586	Jingo press		
24	2586	Jingo press		
25	2586	Rhodesian Press		
26	2588	sporting news		
27	2588	local paper		
28	2588	<i>Yarmouth Independent, Yarmouth and Gorleston Times, Yarmouth Mercury, Yarmouth Advertiser and Gazette</i>		
29	2588	<i>Times</i>		
30	2588	newspapers		
31	2588	Gutter & garbage press		
32	2588	newspaper		
33	2588	<i>Edinburgh Evening News</i>		
34	2590	<i>Friend</i>		
35	2590	<i>Newspaper Directory</i>		

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper 1990*, continued.

36	2590	<i>Freeman's Journal; Liverpool Mercury</i> <i>Manchester Guardian</i> <i>Leeds Mercury</i> <i>Sheffield Independent</i> <i>Birmingham Post</i> <i>North British Daily Mail</i> <i>Dundee Advertiser</i> <i>People's Journal</i>		
37	2590	<i>Jingo press & Daily Mail</i>		
38	2590	<i>Jingo press & Daily Mail</i>		
39	2590	newspaper cutting sent		
40	2590	newspaper cutting sent		
41	2592	local papers		
42	2592	newspapers		
43	2592	<i>Unified Irishman</i>		
44	2592	cutting from a newspaper		
45	2592	<i>Times - jingo</i>		
46	2592	<i>South West Daily News, North Wales Chronicle,</i> <i>Newcastle Chronicle,</i> <i>Birmingham Daily Post,</i> <i>Leeds Mercury,</i> <i>Sheffield Independent,</i> <i>Leicester Post,</i> <i>Bradford Observer</i>		
47	2592	postage 1s 1d on each paper		
48	2592	sporting news		
49	2592	<i>Daily Mail</i> <i>Daily News</i>		
50	2592	<i>Morning Post</i>		
51	2592	<i>Investor's Review</i>		
52	2592	<i>Daily News</i>		
53	2592	<i>Free Press - Ottawa</i> <i>Citizen</i> <i>Toronto Mail</i>		
54	2592	<i>Star</i>		
55	2594	weekly serial in <i>London Journal</i>		
56	2594	<i>Clacton Gazette</i> <i>East Essex Advertiser</i> <i>Clacton News</i> <i>Southend -on-Sea Echo</i> <i>Southend Standard</i> <i>Walton News and Coast Times</i> <i>Walton Gazette</i>		
57	2598	<i>Daily Mail</i> pro-capitalist		
58	2598	Jubilee Supplement		
59	2598	cannot trace the paper		
60	2598	<i>Sporting Life</i> <i>Referee</i>		

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper 1990*, continued.

61	2600	Papers owned by Jews: <i>Daily Telegraph</i> <i>Daily News</i> <i>St James Gazette</i> <i>Financial News</i>		
62	2600	newspapers - jingo press		
63	2600	<i>Daily News</i> - jingo press		
64	2600	<i>Analyst</i>		
65	2600	colonial press		
66	2600	<i>Sun</i>		
67	2602	<i>Reformer</i> <i>Bradford Observer</i>		
68	2602	journals		
69	2602	newspapers		
70	2604	<i>Tory Glasgow Evening Citizen</i>		
71	2604	newspaper		
72	2604	<i>Sun</i> - jingo press		
73	2606	Jingo press		
74	2606	<i>Hampshire Post</i> <i>Hampshire Telegraph</i> <i>Portsmouth Times</i>		
75	2608	<i>Daily Telegraph</i> <i>Daily News</i> <i>St James' Gazette</i>		
76	2608	newspapers		
77	2608	sporting newspaper		
78	2608	<i>North British Daily Mail</i> jingo		
79	2610	<i>Newcastle Chronicle</i> jingo now		
80	2610	<i>Daily Mail</i> jingo		
81	2610	jingo press		
82	2612	<i>Times</i> <i>Standard</i> <i>Morning Post</i> all jingo		
83	2612	newspaper no longer exists		
84	2612	cannot trace newspaper		
85	2614	<i>La Rappel</i> <i>L'Intransigeant</i> <i>La Libra Parole</i> <i>Le Radical</i> all dailies		
86	2614	Jubilee No. & Supplement		
87	2614	newspaper		
88	2616	<i>Glasgow Weekly Mail</i>		
89	2616	local paper or London Daily		
90	2616	newspaper		
91	2616	<i>Review of Reviews</i>		
92	2616	<i>Hampshire Advertiser</i> <i>Southampton Times</i> <i>Southampton Independent</i>		
93	2618	<i>Lancashire Daily Post</i>		
94	2618	<i>Daily Mail</i>		
95	2618	journal		
96	2618	ordinary press		

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper 1990*, continued.

97	2618	paper	
98	2620	clippings	
99	2620	<i>West Middlesex Times</i> <i>Windsor & Eton Express</i> <i>Windsor Chronicle</i>	
100	2620	sporting news	
101	2620	jingo press	
102	2622	jingo journals	
103	2622	<i>Messenger de Paris</i> <i>Le Courier François</i> <i>Le Concilier des Families</i> <i>La Mode Pour Tous</i>	
104	2622	newspaper	
105	2624	technical journal	
106	2608	<i>Truth</i>	10 Bolt Court Fleet Street EC (p)
107	2598	<i>Financial Reformer</i> mthly <i>Phonetic Journal</i> wkly	Pitman & Sons Ltd 18 Hawkins Hey, Liverpool, 1d.; 1 Amen Corner E.C., 1d.
108	2616	<i>Dalton's Weekly Advertiser</i>	South Lambert Road S.E., 1d.
109	2578	<i>Southend Standard</i>	1d.
110	2594	<i>Mathematical Gazette</i> mthly <i>English Mechanic</i> wkly	G Bell & Sons, York Street WC, 1s.; 2d.
111	2582	<i>The Library</i> <i>The Publisher's Circular</i>	Sampson Low & co., Bloomsbury Street E.C. 1s. 10 Fetter Lane E.C., 1 1/2d.
112	2604	<i>Insurance Record</i> <i>Insurance Post</i>	J. Callingham, 13 York Street, W.C., 2d.; J Stacey 2 Whitefriars Street E.C., 3d.
113	2586	<i>Hardware Trade Journal</i> mthly	Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1 Creed Lane E.C., 6d.
114	2592	<i>The Bookseller</i> - mthly <i>The Stationer</i> - mthly	J Whitaker & Sons, 12 Warwick Lane E.C., 6d.; Dean & Son Ltd., 160a Fleet Street E.C., 6d.
115	2594	<i>Sandow's Magazine of Physical Culture</i> mthly	43 St Martin's Lane W.C., 6d.
116	2604	<i>Philatelic Journal of Great Britain</i> monthly; <i>Philatelic Record</i> monthly	W Brown, St Thomas Square, Salisbury, 11 Queen Victoria Street E.C., both 6d
117	2624	<i>Ceylon Observer</i>	AM & J Ferguson (p) Colombo, India
118	2584	<i>Field</i>	Bream's buildings, Fetter Lane, WC
119	2600	books on newspapers	British Museum
120	2624	<i>The Canterbury and Lyttleton Times</i>	Canterbury, New Zealand
121	2592	<i>Truth</i>	Carteret Street, Westminster SW
122	2596	<i>Phrenological Journal</i>	Fowler & co., 7 Imperial Arcade, Ludgate
123	2622	<i>Weekly Freeman</i> <i>Nation</i>	Freeman's Journal Company, Nation Newspaper, Dublin
124	2604	American papers	Gordon & Gotch, 15 Bride Street EC

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

125	2586	<i>Scotsman</i> <i>Western Mail</i> <i>Speaker</i> <i>Bookman</i>	J Ritchie & Co., Western Mail Ltd., 14 Henrietta Street W.C.; Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row EC	
126	2586	<i>Carpenter and Builder</i> wkly	John Dicks (p) 313 Strand	
127	2608	reform magazine	know of none you can obtain	
128	2588	<i>Cape Argue</i> <i>Cape Daily Telegraph</i>	London Office 164 Fenchurch Street EC Port Elizabeth, South Africa	
129	2612	<i>Cape Times</i>	London Office 61 Cornhill EC	
130	2578	<i>British Socialist News</i>	publishing office 181 Queen Victoria Street EC	
131	2582	<i>London Daily Press</i>	H.W. Massingham Religious Tract Society	
132	2614	paper you refer to	Salisbury Square EC	
133	2588	<i>Stage</i>	Wellington Street, Strand WC	
			Total:	135.5
		Classification: Reference		
1	2628	<i>Pall Mall</i> special: The Hundred Best Books	6d.	
2	2578	<i>Whitaker's Almanac</i>		
3	2580	French Dictionary		
4	2580	Press Directory	local free library	
5	2582	<i>Burke's Peerage</i>	public library	
6	2586	<i>London Directory</i>		
7	2588	<i>Fry's Royal Guide to the London Charities</i>		
8	2588	<i>Directory of Directors</i>		
9	2590	<i>Press Directory</i>		
10	2590	<i>Classical Dictionary</i>	Lempriere	
11	2594	Chamber's Encyclopaedia <i>Cassell's Concise Cyclopaedia</i> <i>Cassell's Miniature Cyclopaedia</i> <i>The Universal Cyclopaedia</i>	expensive; Cassell, 7s.6d.; Cassell, 2s.6d.; W.R. Balch, 3s. 6d.; Griffith & Farren	
12	2596	<i>Kelly's Directories</i>	High Holborn W.C.	
13	2596	<i>Century Dictionary</i>		
14	2602	<i>Whitaker's Almanac</i>		
15	2604	<i>Dictionary of Quotations</i>	Bartlett	
16	2604	directory of county		
17	2604	Post Office Directory		
18	2606	<i>Statesman's Year-Book</i> <i>Whitaker's Almanac</i>	Bradford Public Library	
19	2608	<i>Whitaker's Almanac</i>	Redditch public library	
20	2620	Local Directories		
21	2620	<i>Whitaker's Almanac</i>		
22	2622	Local Directory		
23	2626	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>	A. & C. Black, purchase on instalment system through <i>Daily Mail</i> , 4 Soho Square W.	
24	2628	<i>Nuttal's Dictionary</i>	2s	
25	2582	<i>The Statesman's Yearbook</i>		

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

26	2588	<i>Annual Register</i>		
27	2590	<i>Unclaimed Moneys</i>		
28	2602	files at patent office		
29	2604	<i>Culpepper's Herbal</i>		
30	2626	official publications on subject <i>To Canada With Emigrants</i>	JER Techie, T Fisher Unwin, 7s.6d.	
31	2584	<i>Naval and Military Heroes</i> files of newspapers 3yrs <i>Invention, Knowledge and The Scientific American</i> ; Encyclopaedias e.g.; <i>Chambers</i> or <i>Britannica</i>	Johns & Nicholas; pub lib	
32	2588	unclaimed moneys in Chancery	Harrison & Sons Ltd., St Martin's Lane WC, 1s.	
33	2606	<i>Guide to London</i>	Cassell, 1s	
34	2616	Emigrants Handbook to the British Colonies	W. Bannow, 1s	
35	2610	synopsis of imports & exports	Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1s 6d	
36	2622	<i>Unclaimed Money</i>	Harrison & Sons, St Martin's Lane, 1s 6d	
37	2606	<i>Culpepper's Herbal Guide</i>	E Bakers, 14 John Bright Street, Birmingham, 3s	
38	2590	<i>Navy List</i> <i>Army List</i>	Eyres & Spottiswoode, 5s & 1s 6d	
39	2612	<i>The Brass Founders Manual</i>	Graham, Crosby, Lockwood & Son, 7 Stationer's Hall Court EC, 7s	
40	2578	<i>English Surnames</i> <i>English Surnames</i> <i>Introduction to the Origin of Surnames</i> <i>Surnames as a Science</i>	Rev. C.W. Baring, Chattus & Windus, 7s.6d.; C.L. Gordon, Houlton & Son, 3s.; P. Dudgeon, Routledge, 3s.6d.; R. Ferguson 5s.2d.	
41	2588	technical handbooks	Crosby, Lockwood & Son 7 Stationer's Hall Court EC	
42	2618	<i>Unclaimed Moneys</i>	Harrison & Sons, St Martin's Lane WC	
42	2618	<i>Unclaimed Moneys</i>	Harrison & Sons, St Martin's Lane WC	
			Total:	43.5
		Classification: Religion		
1	2586	<i>Hebrew Scriptures</i>		
2	2588	New Testament		
3	2588	pamphlet on justification of Judas Iscariot		
4	2592	Bible		
5	2606	Bible		
6	2606	Catechism		

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

7	2608	Bible		
8	2610	Bible		
9	2616	apocryphal book of Daniel Revelations		
10	2620	theology	John Calvin; Jeremy Bentham, public library	
11	2620	bible		
12	2578	<i>Why I Ceased to be a Christian</i>	Wm. Reeves, 183 Fleet Street E.C., 3d.	
13	2628	<i>The Social Philosophy and Religion of Comte</i> <i>Reasons For Dissenting from the Philosophy of Comte</i>	Prof. Caird, Macklerhose, 5s.; Herbert Spencer, William & Norgate, Glasgow, 6d.	
14	2588	<i>The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Gospels</i> ed. Of Apocryphal Gospels	Dr Cheerton, 7s.6d.; William Hone, J Whitaker, 1/2 crown., can sometimes get in large towns second-hand, Warwick Lane	
15	2610	<i>Texts From the Buddhist Canon</i> <i>Sale's Koran</i> <i>The Zend Avista</i> <i>The Story of the Religious</i>	Keegan Paul, Trench Trubner & co. (p), 7s 6d; Routledge, 1s.; Clarendon Press, 10s.6d.; George Newnes ltd., 1s.	
16	2628	<i>Mistakes of Moses</i>	RG Ingersoll Free Thought Publishing co., few pence	
17	2588	No-Popery book	Mr Stirling, out of print try C.J. Thyme, 6 Great Queen Street WC	
18	2596	<i>The Age of Reason</i> <i>Some Mistakes of Moses</i>	Thomas Paine; Col. Ingersoll; try R. Forder, 23 Stone-cutter Street, Farringdon Street, WC	
19	2586	<i>The Prophet of Nazareth</i>	Watts & Co (p) Johnson's Court, Fleet Street	
			Total:	20.0
		Classification: Science, technology		
1	2578	simple book on astronomy; <i>The Story of the Solar System</i> ; <i>The Story of the Stars</i>	both cheap; public library; George Newnes Ltd., Plymouth, London	
2	2592	<i>Illustrated Carpenter and Builder</i>		
3	2600	<i>Every Man His Own Farrier; The Smithy and the Forge</i>	Ciater, Milner & co., 2s.; W.J Crane, Crosby, Lockwood & Son, Paternoster Row, 2s. 6d.	
4	2586	<i>Farrier and Cattle Doctor</i>	Clater, Millner & co., Paternoster Row, 2s.6d.	
5	2592	<i>Sexual Physiology</i>	Dr.R.T.Traill, Morrison of Glasgow, 3s.6d.	
6	2610	<i>Naval Architect and Shipbuilders' Pocket Book</i> ; <i>The Practical Naval Architect</i>	Crosby, Lockwood & Son, 12s 6d; W Collins & co., 2s 6d.	
7	2608	<i>Butterflies; Manual of Butterflies and Moths</i> Vols. I & II; <i>Butterflies and Moths, European</i>	W.S. Coleman, Routledge, 1s.; H.T. Stainton, Gurney & Jackson, 4s 6d and 5s 6d; W.F. Firby, Cassell 35s.	

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

8	2600	<i>Lectures on Genito-Urinary Diseases</i> <i>Atlas of Venereal Disease</i> <i>Homeopathy in Venereal Disease</i>	Scientific Press, 6s; Dr.McClaren, Y.J. Pentland, Edinburgh , 63s.; Dr.Yeldham, Homeopathic Publishing co., Warwick Lane , 3s 6d.	
9	2620	medical book	Liautard, George Kimpton, 126 Wardour Street W.; Henry Kimpton, 82 High Holborn W.C.	
10	2620	<i>The Coal Merchant and Shipper</i>		
11	2620	<i>Steam Boiler Construction</i> <i>Boiler Makers Companion</i>	W.S. Hutton, Crosby, Lockwood & Son, 18s.; J Fodea, Spon, 25 Strand W.C., 5s.	
12	2626	<i>A Practical treatise on Electrical Bells</i> <i>Electric Bells and All About Them</i>	F.C.Allsopp, Spon, 3s.6d.; Bottone, Routledge, 3s.	
13	2624	technical books for mechanics	crosby, Lock &sons	
14	2620	technical books for mechanics	Crosby, Lockwood & Sons	
15	2602	book of practical trade recipes for mixing paint & co.	J.Thomlin, Eidon Street, Barnsley, Yorkshire, 2s.	
16	2610	book on French polishing	J. Thomlin, Eldon Street, Barnsley, Yorkshire, 2s.	
17	2624	<i>French Polishing</i>	J. Thomlin, Eldon Street, Barnsley, Yorkshire	
18	2578	Works on science and astrology		
19	2578	Books on science or astrology		
20	2578	Consult further works on science and astrology		
			Total:	20.5
		Classification: Textbooks		
1	2588	prospectus for pharmacy exams		
2	2596	reliable new edition , <i>Cassell's Lessons in French</i>	Cobbett, Ward. Lock & co., 1s.; 3s.6d.	
3	2616	<i>Journalism For Women</i>	John Lane, Denny, Bodley Head, Holywell Street W.C.; Vigo Street W., 3s.6d.	
4	2600	<i>Spanish Grammar</i> <i>Spanish-English and English Spanish Dictionary</i> <i>The Great Silver River</i> no cheap and pop guide book	A Elwes, Crosby, Lockwood, 12s; Sir Horace Rumbold, Murray	
5	2598	<i>Logic</i> <i>Elements of Euclid</i> <i>Entomologist mthly</i> <i>Entomologists' Monthly Magazine</i> in vols.	Isaac Watts, Milner & co., 1s.; Whateley , W. Collins & Sons & co., 2s; Simpkin & Marshall, 1 Paternoster Row EC, 6d; Cassell & co., Ludgate Hill 5s.vol.	
6	2604	<i>Manual of English Grammar</i> <i>Measuration and Measuring</i>	Rev. AM Trotter, Collins & Son & co., 1s; T Baker, Crosby, Lockwood & Son, 1s 6d	

Table F, *Reynolds' Newspaper* 1990, continued.

7	2610	<i>Manual Of English Grammar</i>	Trotter, William Collins, Sons & co., 1s	
8	2602	Spanish Grammar	A Eiwes, Crosby, Lockwood & Son, 1s 6d	
9	2582	<i>English Grammar</i>	Cobbett, Ward, Lock & Co., 1s.	
10	2582	<i>Mercantile Arithmetic</i> <i>Practical Arithmetic</i>	Pickering Jackson; both Blackie & Son, 1s.6d.	
11	2620	<i>Universal Instructor</i> 3vols <i>Cassell's Popular Educator</i> 8vols	22s.6d Ward, lock & Co , 5s.	
12	2610	<i>Arithmetic</i> <i>Practical English Grammar</i>	Saul, Whittaker & co., 2s.; William Collins, Sons & co.	
13	2596	<i>Knowledge</i>	326 High Holborn	
14	2612	<i>Practical and Easy Method of</i> <i>Learning French</i> Key to ditto <i>New Method Applied to French</i> Key to ditto <i>Cobbett's French Grammar</i>	Ahn, Dulan & co., 3s.6d.; 1s.; Ollendorf, Ward, Lock & co., Soho Square W , 6s.6d.; 7s.; 1s.	
15	2624	<i>Elements of Gaelic Grammar</i> <i>The Phonetics of the Gaelic Language</i> <i>Grammar of the Welsh Language</i> Spurrell's Grammar	Mc Lauchli, McLachlin of Edinburgh, 3s 6d; Mc Farlan, Pariane Pasiley, 1s. 6d.; Rowlands, D. Nutt , 4s 6d	
16	2624	<i>Practical Mensuration</i> <i>Problems in Arithmetic and</i> <i>Mensuration</i> <i>Mensuration of Lines, Surfaces and</i> <i>Solids</i>	Niebet, Longmans, 3s.6d.; Newell, Birington, Percival & co., 1s.6d.; Collins, Sons & co., 4d.	
17	2610	<i>Self-Teaching French Grammar</i> <i>Cobbett's French Grammar</i>	Tourrier, David Nutt, 4s.; Ward, Lock & co., Long Acre, 1s.	
18	2622	<i>Cassell's Popular Educator</i> mthly	6d.	
19	2608	<i>Civil Service Candidate</i> <i>Civil Service Competitor</i> <i>Civil Service Examiner and Candidate</i> <i>Civil Service Hints</i>	all wkly 1d.; WE Morgan, Roseberry avenue E.C.; Skerry & co., 27 Chancery Lane; W. Mole, 61 & 62 Chancery Lane; 29 Memorial Hall Buildings, Farringdon EC	
20	2618	<i>The Violin Player</i> 2 parts <i>The Violin</i>	SD Cray, Curwen & Sons, 1s.6d.; George Hart, Dulan & co., Warwick Lane, 7s.6d.	
			Total:	20.5
		Classification: Unidentified	Total	0.0
			Obtaining:	52.0
			Total:	459.0
			Base used for table 6.2(b):	407.0

Appendix D, Table G

References to reading matter within the *London Journal*, 1860.

	No.	Book Title	Author/ Price/Publisher/ Bookseller	
		Split Genres		
			Total	0.0
		Classification: Arts and craft		
1	792	art of stuffing birds and animals		
			Total	1.0
		Classification: Biography		
1	790	<i>Men of Our Time</i>		
2	802	biography of John Wesley		
3	796	<i>Heroes of the Crimea</i>	George Ryan	
			Total	1.0
		Classification: Economics, Politics, Law		
1	780	Will	East India House	
2	784	Wills	East India House	
3	784	Wills	East India House	
4	784	Act of Parliament		
5	786	Will	will-office, Dublin	
6	788	<i>Adulteration of Food Prevention Bill</i>		
7	804		Robert Owen	
8	826	<i>Handy Book of the Law</i>	Lord St Leonard	
9	794	Wills	East India Office	
			Total:	9.0
		Classification: Ephemera		
1	778	Advert of quacks		
2	778	instructions on the bottle of hair dye		
3	780	wedding cards		
4	782	Advert of a quack		
5	782	Advert of a quack		
6	784	adverts		
7	786	adverts		
8	788	Advert of quack		
9	790	inscription		
10	792	adverts of money lenders		
11	792	adverts in Times		
12	794	adverts of quacks		
13	794	new life insurance offices, pamphlet	W Carpenter	
14	796	love letters		
15	802	adverts for German lotteries in press		
16	802	cards of wedded couple		
17	806	adverts of scamps		
18	806	adverts on loans		

Table G, *London Journal* 1860, continued.

37	808		Shenstone	
38	814	The Missing One (poem)		
39	816		Milton; Pepys	
40	818	The Greek Child (verse)	Victor Hugo	
41	820	Poetry		
42	822	Poet	Shenstone	
43	822	Fortune in the Fire (trans from Irish of a Peasant Bard at Ballingray & sent in)		
44	822	<i>Lines to a Lady</i> (trans from Polish & sent in)		
45	824		Burns	
46	826	poem on Hallow E'en	Burns	
47	828	Poem	Pope	
48	828	the verses were pub in a contemporary journal four years ago		
49	800	hymn book in church		
50	820	<i>By the Margin of Zurich's Fair Waters</i> (song)		
51	820	songs on emigration	out of date now	
52	822	<i>Song of the Shirt</i>	Hood; first pub in <i>Punch</i>	
53	826	<i>Song of the Shirt</i>	Hood	
			Total:	53.0
		Classification: Geography		
1	822	book on Scotland	Dr. Wardlow	
			Total:	1.0
		Classification: History		
1	782	history		
2	784	<i>History of the Steam Engine</i>	Dr. Lardner	
3	784	history of the Isle of Man	publisher in Sheffield	
4	784	<i>Historical Doubts</i>	Walpole	
5	796	a history of the County of Croyden		
6	798	history of Windsor Castle		
7	798	ancient and modern history		
8	820	(history)	Macauley	
9	820	<i>History of the Popes</i>	Ranke	
10	822	History of Music	Chapel	
11	822	stupid books on Tartars (history)		
			Total:	11
		Classification: How to		
1	780	etiquette of the ballroom	6p	
2	782	book on etiquette	1s	
3	788	work on etiquette - last edition	Lady Blessington	
4	792	<i>Hints on Etiquette</i>		
5	792	elocution	Sheridan Knowles	
6	794	<i>Hints on Etiquette</i>		
7	796	work on stammering		
8	798	work on stammering		
9	804	<i>Hints on Etiquette</i>		
10	810	work on stammering	any respectable booksellers	

Table G, *London Journal* 1860, continued.

11	814	latest work on etiquette	any bookseller	
12	818	work on ventriloquism	Love	
13	824	work on photography		
			Total:	13.0
		Classification: Periodicals		
1	778	<i>English Woman's Magazine</i>		
2	778	reports in newspaper		
3	778	milliners' bills in the newspapers		
4	780	newspaper files	Peele's Coffee House & Deacon's	
5	782	<i>Weekly Times</i> lists of ships in		
6	784	<i>Guide</i>	334 Strand	
7	786	Melbourne Newspapers		
8	786	public press		
9	788	<i>Weekly Times</i>		
10	790	<i>Weekly Times</i> stations of army regiments		
11	794	<i>New York Herald Newspaper</i> advert		
12	796	Melbourne newspaper		
13	796	Melbourne paper		
14	798	London Newspapers		
15	798	<i>Weekly Times</i>		
16	798	public press		
17	802	newspapers		
18	804	<i>Civil Service Gazette</i>		
19	806	<i>New York Herald</i> advert		
20	806	<i>New York Herald</i> advert		
21	810	daily newspapers		
22	812	newspaper		
23	812	periodicals (posting)		
24	814	newspaper		
25	816	public press		
26	818	newspaper		
27	822	Melbourne Newspapers		
28	822	Morning Advertiser		
29	824	<i>New York Herald</i>		
			Total:	29.0
		Classification: Reference		
1	778	<i>Pronouncing Dictionary</i>	Webster	
2	778	work on government situations		
3	780	list of unclaimed dividends	Bank of England	
4	788	<i>Medical Dictionary</i>		
5	788	Index to <i>LJ</i>		
6	788	cyclopaedia		
7	790	Directory of Hereford		
8	790	<i>London Directory</i>		
9	796	<i>Medical Directory</i>		
10	798	pronouncing dictionaries	Walker's and Webster's	
11	806	<i>Pronouncing Dictionary</i>	Webster	
12	806		Webster	

Table G, *London Journal* 1860, continued.

13	806	<i>Hints to Emigrants</i>	James Burton	
14	808	Dictionary	Dr Johnson	
15	808	Peerage	Dodd	
16	808	<i>Medicina Britannica</i> (on herbs)		
17	808	modern published receipt books		
18	810	<i>London Directory</i>		
19	810	clergy list		
20	812	Latin & English Dictionary (cent & 1/2 old)		
21	816	peerage		
22	818	German Dictionary		
23	820	cookery book	Sawyer	
24	820	work on confectionary	Mrs Acton	
25	828	London Medical Dictionary		
26	812	Peerage	Brett	
				Total: 26.0
		Classification: Religion		
1	782		Rev John Angell James	
2	790	Bible		
3	790	Bible		
4	790	Bible		
5	792	Bible		
6	800	rare work in Old English <i>The Testament of Jacob, made at his Death to his Twelve Sons ...</i>		
7	802	old bibles		
8	804	rubric of the Church of England	any religious print shop	
9	808	old Bible		
10	816	old bible		
11	818	canon 62		
12	820	marriage service		
13	822	<i>Book of Common Prayer</i>		
				Total: 13.0
		Classification: Science, Technology		
1	778	<i>Cure for Coetaneous Diseases</i>		
2	786	cheap book on galvanism		
3	814	work on treatment of diseases in horses		
4	824	phrenology	Combe	
5	792	the cultivation of the tea plant in China	Fortune	
6	806	botany	Lounden	
7	806	physiognomy	Lavater	
8	828	no book pub on the Language of the Eyes		
9	784	work on electricity		
10	792	work on glass manufacturing		
11	794	work on gunnery	Gen Burgoyne	
12	810	work on shipbuilding		
13	818	treatise on marine engines	Lardner	
14	798	study Lavater		

Table G, *London Journal* 1860, continued.

15	816	books on church architecture		
				Total: 15.0
		Classification: Textbook		
1	778	book-keeping	scores have been pub last few yrs	
2	780	Grammar English School Grammar	Lennie's Allen & Cornwell's	
3	786	work on electro-typing		
4	790	study history, maths or French		
5	792	System of Logic	Reid	
6	798	work on Practical Mathematics		
7	800	French Grammar	Cobbett	
8	804	chemical science books		
9	812	system of handwriting	Lewis	
10	816	system of shorthand	Gurney	
11	816	Latin Grammar	Valpy	
12	818	work on shorthand	1/2cwn	
				Total: 12.0
		Classification: Unidentified		
				Total: 0.0
				Obtaining: 33.0
				Total: 246.0
				Base used for table 6.2(b): 213.0

Appendix D, Table H

References to reading matter within the *London Journal*, 1880.

	Issue	Title/Comments	Author/Publisher/Bookshop/Price	
		Classification: economics, politics, law		
1	1823	speeches of eloquent orators		
2	1829	Debates	Hansard	
3	1835	Act of Parliament		
4	1837	<i>Black List</i>	Sir John Barrington	
			Total:	4.0
		Classification: ephemera		
1	1821	trans of a Latin motto for reader		
2	1825	note with present - ask editor to interpret		
			Total:	2.0
		Classification: fiction,		
1	1827		Shelley	
2	1835	old book for sale	Shakespeare	
3	1833	<i>Curiosities of Literature</i>	Isaac Disraeli	
4	1853	criticism on the article		
5	1867	<i>Tom and Jerry: or, Life in London</i>	Pierce Egan the elder	
6	1827	poetry	Tennyson Chaucher	
7	1847	Jacula Prudentum (trans.)	George Herbert	
8	1835	poetry		
9	1837	poem		
10	1841	poets		
11	1859	verse	Prior	
12	1863	(poet laureate)	Tennyson	
13	1865	<i>Retribution</i> (trans. from the German of Friederich Von Logau)	Longfellow	
14	1847	copied song		
15	1855	music to the Tempest: <i>Where the Bees Suck</i> <i>Come Unto These Yellow Sands</i>	Dr. Arne	
			Total:	15.0
		Classification: Geography		
1	1845	<i>Australian Handbook</i>	Gordon & Gotch	
			Total:	1.0
		Classification: history		
1	1829	books on history of Freemasonry	198 Fleet Street	
2	1831	<i>Sports and Pastimes</i> (1801)	Strutt	
3	1827	<i>Origin of Civilization</i>	John Lubbock	
4	1845	<i>Prehistoric Times</i>	Sir John Lubbock	
			Total:	4.0
		Classification: how to		
1	1827	cheap guide to painting in oil colours	any artist colourman	
2	1821	guides to the ballroom	music-seller	
3	1849	<i>Etiquette</i>	6d	
			Total:	3.0

Table H, *London Journal* 1880, continued.

		Classification: Periodicals		
1	1823	<i>Times</i>		
2	1831	article in newspaper		
3	1835	railway journals		
4	1837	<i>Weekly Times</i>		
5	1843	<i>Lancet</i>		
6	1853	paper		
7	1863	<i>Era</i> newspaper		
8	1865	paper		
			Total:	8.0
		Classification: Reference		
1	1827	<i>Peerage</i>		
2	1829	<i>Peerage</i> (?)	Burke	
3	1835	<i>Peerage</i>		
4	1841	<i>Post Office Directory</i>		
5	1857	<i>Post Office Directory</i>		
6	1859	Dictionary	Webster	
7	1833	books on gold and silver watches etc		
8	1851	Civil Service Guide	several are pub	
			Total:	8.0
		Classification: Religion		
1	1831	bible		
2	1833	Scripture		
3	1869	bible		
4	1855	Letters	Rev. Charles Davy	
			Total:	4.0
		Classification: Science, Technology		
1	1833	works on botany; succinct history of Russia was given in <i>Home Circle</i>	Longman & co., Paternoster Row; W.S.Johnson, 60 St-Martin's Lane	
2	1845		medical bookseller	
3	1821	<i>Nursing</i>	Nightingale, 6d.	
			Total:	3.0
		Classification: Textbook		
1	1827	works on the management of ladies schools	schoolbookseller	
2	1821	stenography: best system for self-tuition	Pitman	
3	1821	on construction & preservation of violin	Otho	
4	1825	<i>Handbook to the English Tongue</i>	Angus	
5	1829	books for learning French	Longmans & co.	
			Total:	5.0
			Obtaining:	14.0
			Total:	71.0
			Base used for table 6.2(b):	57.0

Appendix D, Table I

References to reading matter within the *London Journal*, 1900.

	Issue	Title/Comments	Author/Publisher/Bookshop/ Price	
		Split Genres		
1	860	English authors & leading articles in best newspapers		fiction/ periodicals
2	842	Dictionary never heard of a vol of sermons by name given	Webster	reference/ religion
3	846	Scripture <i>Tristram Shandy</i>	Lawrence Sterne	religion/ fiction
			Total:	3.0
		Classification: Economics, politics, law		
1	880	<i>A Vindication of Natural Society</i>	Edmund Burke	
2	860	reports of co-op societies	bookseller/newsagent	
			Total:	2.0
		Classification: Ephemera		
1	840	love letters		
2	846	advertising cards of daily newspapers		
3	852	ads in paper		
4	854	adverts of remedies etc		
5	858	Latin words want translated		
6	872	RSVP stands for ...		
7	872	heliotrope signifies devotion		
8	876	wax impression of coins sent in		
9	878	recipe		
10	880	advert		
11	886	personal ads in daily papers do not reply to them		
12	854	agony column of a leading newspaper		
13	880	ad in paper		
14	872	mapseller		
			Total:	14.0
		Classification: Fiction		
1	838		Shakespere	
2	840		Shakespeare	
3	842	<i>Tales of a Grandfather</i>	Sir Walter Scott	
4	848	<i>Hamlet</i>	Shakespeare	
5	850		Bulwer	
6	854		Shakespeare	
7	856	<i>Chess Board</i>	Sir Bulwer Lytton	
8	862		Robert L. Stevenson	
9	862		Charles Dickens	
10	864		Shakespeare	
11	878	<i>King Henry VIII</i>	Shakespeare	
12	882	<i>Julius Ceasar</i>	Shakespeare	
13	882		Shakespeare	
14	842	the stories may be republished		
15	842	(French authoress)	Madame de Steal	
16	846	a strong dramatic story		

Table A, Family Herald 1860, continued.

17	846	Story is being considered for reprint		
18	848	the story named is out of print		
19	852	the story has not been published in book form		
20	854	<i>Speed the Plough</i> (comedy) <i>Black-Eyed Susan</i>	Morton Douglas Jerrold	
21	858	Story named is out of print		
22	878	<i>Passages in the Life of Mrs Margaret Maitland, of Sunnyside</i> (1849)	Mrs. Oliphant	
23	886	Dutch literature		
24	844	<i>Black-Eyed Susan</i> (drama)	Douglas Jerrold	
25	852	<i>The Spanish Student</i> (drama)	Longfellow	
26	854	<i>The Lady of Lyons</i>	Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton	
27	838	(poet)	Robert Burns	
28	840	(Irish poet) <i>The Seige of Corinth</i>	Thomas Moore Byron	
29	848	poetry		
30	852	(poem)	Campbell	
31	854	<i>Come to the Sunset Free</i> (poem)	Mrs. Hemans	
32	856	<i>Oh Breathe Not This Name</i> (poem)	Thomas Moore	
33	860	<i>The Deserted Village</i> (poem)	Oliver Goldsmith	
34	866	poems (gift for lady)	Tennyson	
35	866	(poet)	Cowper	
36	866	<i>Festus</i> <i>Alexander Selkirk</i>	Philip James Bailey Cowper	
37	874	verses		
38	874	<i>Love of Fame</i>	Young	
39	874	verses		
40	876	' <i>Ostler Joe</i> (popular poem) in various collections	any newsagent	
41	856		publisher of music	
42	864	<i>Barbara Allen</i> (old song)		
43	872	Music production	music publisher	
44	882	cannot find the songs	newsagent/music pub	
			Total:	45.0
		Classification: Geography		
1	838	books of travel, the best periodicals, physical geography		
2	848	any illustrated modern atlas		
			Total:	2.0
		Classification: History		
1	876	history of the country of Derby		
			Total:	1.0
		Classification: How to		
1	842	<i>The Compleat Angler</i> (and English author & writer)	Isaac Walton	
2	842	Book of parlour games	order from newsagents	
3	846	tutor for playing guitar	any good music shop, 1s.	
4	846	books cannot teach you to become an actress		
5	862	to be a tailor		
6	866	work on stammering	any bkseller, cheap	
7	876	guides to letter writing		
			Total:	7.0

Table A, Family Herald 1860, continued.

		Classification: Periodicals		
1	854	<i>Exchange and Mart</i>		
2	858	newspapers		
3	860	<i>Lancet</i>		
4	862	magazines		
5	866	old newspapers		
6	870	London Morning Papers		
			Total:	6.5
		Classification: Reference		
1	842	Business Directory		
2	846	dictionary	Webster	
3	850	London Directory		
4	860	London Directory		
5	862	dictionary		
6	868	London Directory		
7	870	German-English Dictionary	bkseller	
8	884	Dictionary	Webster	
9	854	popular cyclopedias (articles on embalming)		
10	860	work on silk-worms and silk-culture	several cheap ones pub	
11	868	modern cyclopedia		
12	876	modern cyclopedias		
13	880	works of reference		
			Total:	13.5
		Classification: Religion		
1	838	Bible		
2	844	bible		
3	858	Scripture		
4	860	Book of Common Prayer		
5	862	Scripture		
6	864	Bible		
7	866	Bible		
8	870	Bible		
9	870	Genesis		
10	874	<i>Prayer Book</i>		
11	880	Bible		
12	880	Scripture		
13	886	Genesis		
			Total:	14.0
		Classification: Science, technology		
1	880	book of nature		
			Total:	1.0
		Classification: Textbooks		
1	850	manual of poultry raising	booksellers / newsagents	
			Total:	1.0
		Classification: Unidentified		
1	842		Hume	
2	854		Dr. Richardson	
			Total:	2.0
			Obtaining:	14.0
			Total:	123.0
			Base used for table 6.2(b):	107.0

Appendix D, Table J

Examples of the type information included within those answers that indicate how to obtain a text.

Issue	<i>Family Herald, 1860</i>	
1917		Warne; Routledge
1917	obtain one from	Low & co.
1917	on published at	170 Strand
1919		Second-hand bookseller
1921	published in book form shortly	
1923		Longman; 2s 6d
1927		Chatto & Windus; 74 Piccadilly
1927		Chambers; Paternoster Row
1927		Routledge
1927	try second-hand booksellers	James Stillie; 79 Princess Street, Edinburgh
1929		Chambers, Paternoster Row; 6d.
1929		Simpkin, Stationer's Hall Court
1929	Part 6	Houlston, 2s.
1937	2 vols.	Murray, 32s.
1937	apply to publishers	
1937		any bookseller
1937	work on the subject published by	Routledge, 1s
1941	2 vols.	Van Voorst ; 94s. 6d.
1941	series	Weale
1943	enquire of	Oxford University Press; Bagster & Sons; Paternoster Row
1943	obtaining	Pitman, 20 Paternoster Row, 1s.
1943	out of print	
1945		Zetter; Longman, 8s. 6d.
1945	published at that price	170 Strand
1949		Routledge & co.; Bedford Street, 1s.
1955	little book	Hood
1957	9 vols.	Griffin; 10 Stationer's Hall Court 5s.
1957	through his publisher	
1959	no such translation	
1959	now out of print; new edition recently issued	
Issue	<i>Reynolds' Newspaper, 1860</i>	
502	American Publications	Trubner & Co., Paternoster Row
500	both the books you require	Very cheap, Routledge, Farrington Street
502	no such works	
512	try old books	
520	forwarded letter to pub named	
522	can purchase the book of	Mr.Edward James, Truelove, Strand, or Holyoake, Fleet-street

528	two vols	
532	letters have not been pub sep	
536	old, scarce and curious books	Mr Millard, Newgate-street
540	the work is on sale at our office	
Issue	<i>Reynolds' Newspaper, 1880.</i>	
1580	not pub as a book	
1534		Routledge & co.
1536	only one size pub	
1536	the set, cheaper second hand	£2 10s
1538	each of the two parts	c2s.6d., respectable bookseller
1540		any second-hand bookseller
1544		try local bookseller
1548	list of the publications	Mr Infield, Fleet-street
1548	out of print	
1550	about 15 vols.	
1550	published 1874	
1552	2 editions	
1552	out of print	
1556	write for catalogue	C.J.Watts, Fleet-street
1558		Ward & Lock, Paternoster-Row, 1g.
1560	book	Ward & Lock, Paternoster-row E.C., 1s.
1562	abridged edition	
1562		Watts & Co. Booksellers, Fleet Street, E.C.
1564		local bookshop
1564	no pamphlet published on subject	
1564	pamphlet	
1570	not in print	
1570	the book is not of use	
1570	the pamphlet	shop at corner of Essex-street Strand
1570		W. Collins & Co. (school p) St Bride-street
1572	second hand books from	Poole (2nd b), Bookseller's-row
1574	out of print	
1580	Foster's series	
1582	not pub in penny numbers	
1584	cheap work published by	Ward, Lock & Co., Salisbury - square, Fleet-street
1584	know of no such work	
1584		any publishers
1584		any booksellers
1584	know of no such work	

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