‘Humming-tops’ and ‘Steampunk synergies’: Dickens’s Journalism and Non-Fiction since the turn of the Twenty-First Century

Five years on from the establishment of what rapidly became Britain’s highest profile weekly magazine of non-fiction, Dickens wrote to his great (and still under-estimated) mentor in radical journalism, Leigh Hunt, that his life lately ‘has been a perfect whirl’: in part due to ‘that great humming-top *Household Words* which is always going round with the weeks and murmuring “Attend to me!”’[1] Dickens’s delight in the mechanism of the child’s toy is acknowledged here but the machinery of the press now seems to dwarfs its master, who is slave to its incessant demands. For years Dickens had longed to be at the helm of a multi-authored periodical, and for twenty years he was London’s most compelling author-editor, but the sheer quantity of letterpress and ideas and time which the exercise consumed was clearly daunting. Pausing to admire the quality and imaginative depth of Dickens’s editorial involvement in his new journal, David Pascoe has noted how Dickens’s ‘ambitions were so high for the journalism with which he was involved; for he was aiming for nothing less than an absolute engagement with the processes of the world around him: the way it was run, its goings-on, its falling into decay and final ends.’[2] The humming-top, in other words, was not dissimilar to the globe itself, which the editor felt nightmarishly challenged to keep whipping into circulation, week on week. It is an evocative picture, but powerful and accurate enough to remind us, should reminder be needed, as to why Dickens’s non-fiction matters, and why it is worth taking stock, in a special issue of this journal, of the development of the field.

*

1 31 January 1855. *Letters of Charles Dickens*, VII, 518.

2 David Pascoe, ‘Introduction’ *Charles Dickens. Selected Journalism 1850–1870* ‘Penguin Classics’ (London: Penguin Books, 1997), xvi.

A twenty-year timespan seems appropriate. Pascoe's indispensable and widely-available selection of Dickens's mature journalism (1997) came during the serialization of a larger scholarly project, comprising the four volumes of the so-called 'Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens' Journalism (1994, 1996, 1998, 2000)—not very uniform, as their principal editor, Michael Slater, has lamented.[3] Nevertheless, the first of these recuperated much of Dickens's earliest unsigned political journalism and theatre reviewing, even before the celebrated pen-pictures of City life collected as *Sketches by Boz*, and then, with separate introductions, explanatory headnotes for each item, a glossary and cumulative bibliographical listing, the series moved through the decades of Dickens's pomp as a writer of non-fiction, republishing if not the totality but the majority of his output, including the cream of his contributions to *Household Words* and *All the Year Round.* It would be no simple matter to explain why such an important initiative in Victorian Studies was not carried out until the end of the twentieth century, but it can certainly be thought of as one which fittingly resonated with the conclusion of Oxford University Clarendon Press's 12-volume *Letters* project (1965-2002)—and which pointed up the not-so impressive hiatus in the same Press's project to publish authoritative textual editions of all of Dickens's major works of fiction (8 volumes, 1965 – present).[4]

Press reviews of the Dent edition were widespread and enthusiastic—understandably, perhaps, as journalists across the political spectrum were delighted to welcome Dickens not as the object of highbrow theoretical scrutiny in the ivory towers of the academy, but as one of their own. There 'has never been a greater novelist than Dickens,' crowed Philip Hensher in *The Spectator*, 'and it seems entirely unfair that he should so unarguably, so effortlessly,

---

[3] See 'Foreword' to *Charles Dickens and the Mid-Victorian Press, 1850–70* ed. by Hazel Mackenzie and Ben Winyard (Buckingham: Buckingham University Press, 2013), pp. i–v.

[4] The last volume to be published was *Great Expectations* ed. by Margaret Cardwell in 1993. Now under a new General Editor and Advisory Board, the series is due to re-launch in 2019 with a pioneering edition of *Sketches by Boz* prepared by editor Paul Schlicke using the original newspaper and magazine instances of the relevant sketches as copy text.

have acquired the mantle of the greatest journalist along the way.'[5] Though a questionable assertion in many ways, the comment shows that Dickens's non-fiction at the start of the twenty-first century was actually being read and thought about, and could be read and thought about, for the first time in generations. Michael Slater then went on to publish in 2009 the first biography of Dickens fully to integrate knowledge of the breadth of Dickens's output as a journalist into its critical survey of his writing life.[6] As co-editor of the fourth volume, I too drew on the experience in writing the first book-length study of Dickens's lifelong engagement with journalism and the periodical press, *Dickens the Journalist* (2003). In both cases, the profile of Dickens that emerges, as a writer of exceptional versatility and creativity for newspapers and magazines, is one which sets him in perpetual motion with that most contested but ever-present of concepts, modernity.

Thus, since the turn of the century, the stage has been properly set, we might surmise, for a series of informed interventions extending our understanding of Dickens's non-fiction as a field of cultural production. It would be otiose, though, to try to judge whether or not the field has been advancing rapidly or slowly, because any idea of progress is dependent on how we approach, consume and construe Literary Journalism more generally. Literary journalism—'creative non-fiction', 'witness literature', the 'literature of fact', 'immersion journalism', 'narrative non-fiction'—however it is denominated, is still a contested field, with methodological as well as theoretical challenges, and ideological assumptions hanging around any construction of its canons and history. Thus access to scholarly editions of Dickens's four hundred or more contributions to the press, does not immediately compensate for the lack of accepted methods of critical approach and appraisal, notwithstanding the postmodern turn which supposedly renders all types of text equally susceptible to critical deconstruction. But

5 Hensher, 41.
6 Slater, Michael, *Charles Dickens* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

not every critic has the political inclination necessary for deconstruction, and the fact remains that an undiscovered novel is much easier to assimilate into a great tradition of readings of Victorian novels than an undiscovered article. The handling of a marriage or a bigamy plot, an unreliable narrator, a doubled character in a work of fiction can be judged by criteria more or less formal(ist): whereas the formal properties of a piece of literary journalism are much harder to identify. Its twists and turns are *sui generis*, rather than according to pattern; it is a 'publishing genre' rather than a narrative one.[7] As for reaching judgements about the 'quality,' or the 'greatness' of literary journalism, surely G. K. Chesterton put paid to that line of enquiry when he tartly observed 'It is often necessary for a good journalist to write bad literature. It is sometimes the first duty of a good man to write it'?[8]

While it is possible to overstate these difficulties, those who have done most to encourage critical dialogue about literary journalism, have been the first confess to the pitfalls of the process. 'Its full power and problems cannot be understood,' Daniel Lehman observed in 1995, 'until the discursive relationships among author, subject, and reader that undergird nonfiction are read as closely as the words and images that make up the narrative itself.'[9] More than twenty years on, obstacles to that closeness of reading still remain in Dickens's case. None among the 'profusion of terms' available to denote literary journalism 'has won wide acceptance, despite considerable debate,' and Richard Keeble and John Tulloch still find it a field with 'fuzzy boundaries,' where 'different traditions and practices of writing intersect, a disputed terrain within which various overlapping practices of writing [...] camp uneasily, disputing their neighbors' barricades and patching up temporary alliances'.[10] For Doug Underwood, in *The Undeclared War between Fiction and Journalism* (2013), it is 'an

---

7 See Margaret Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre' in Brake *et al., Investigating Victorian Journalism*, pp. 19–32.

8 *Appreciations and Criticisms of the Works of Charles Dickens* (London: J. M. Dent, 1911), p. 242.

9 Lehman, p. 2.

10 Ricketson (2014), pp. 14–15, Keeble and Tulloch (2014), p. 7. See also valuable critical introductions to Sims and Kramer (1995) and Keeble and Tulloch (2012).

interesting feature of our age—as the concept of a literary canon has been challenged and the culture in general has become more skeptical that news organisations or anyone else can present an unbiased picture of the world—that critics, scholars and writers have become lazar-focused upon the fact-fictional divide'. And all this before the phrase 'alternative facts' became a global embarrassment, and before examination boards in Britain introduced a compulsory paper in nineteenth-century non-fiction as part of the General Certificate in Secondary Education requirement for English Language.[11] In spite, therefore, of such theoretical and epistemological challenges, there has never been a more urgent mandate to read and understand Dickens's non-fiction.

*

Fortunately, over a similar twenty-year period, many of the reference tools and theoretical frameworks that are needed to contextualise and calibrate Dickens's performance as a 'Conductor' of weekly magazines and as a freelance writer of non-fiction have become available. Crucial among these is Laurel Brake and Marysa DeMoor's comprehensive *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (2013), which has pinpointed editors, contributors, newspapers, periodicals and circulation figures much as Weinreb *et al.*'s indispensable *London Encyclopedia* (3rd ed., 2008) dates, locates and relates the stories of the streets, shops, monuments and landmarks that constituted the working environment of the former. Taken together with digital facsimiles of historic maps of London now available via David Hale's MAPCO (2006–16) these resources can stimulate reconstructive detective work into the journalistic networks in which writers like Dickens throve and plied their trade, even as they claimed it was no longer a trade but a dignified profession. Beginning from the discovery that three very different editors worked out of offices on the same thoroughfare at

[11] The specification requires students 'to read fluently, and with good understanding, a wide range of texts from the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, including literature and literary non-fiction as well as other writing such as reviews and journalism.' *AQA GCSE English Language 8700 Specification*, 1.3 (1 July 2016), p. 9.

the same time, Mary Shannon's fascinating *Dickens, Reynolds, and Mayhew on Wellington Street. The Print Culture of a Victorian Street* (2015) demonstrates what can now be achieved in terms of triangulating people, places and publishing modes, in order to understand the interconnectedness and hence larger significance of apparently miscellaneous letterpress. If there is an element of do-it-yourself in using such tools to piece together the stories and unknot the nodes of meaning in which the non-fiction of the past is so often bound up, then researchers can take heart from recalling the element of creativity there is to be found in *bricolage*.[12] More joined-up, discursive accounts of particular Victorian media networks can be found in the individual essays commissioned for Joanne Shattock's *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2017).[13] Nevertheless, whichever guides to the (under)worlds of nineteenth-century non-fiction, including Dickens's, that we choose to take, there is still for the researcher the frisson of discovery that goes with literary detective work, more or less amateur, or exploring new territory, more or less uncharted. In this respect, Brake and others' early attempt to map the terrain theoretically, in *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (1990), is still paradigmatic.

Aside from *Dickens the Journalist,* only three other monographs have been published to date that take Dickens's non-fiction as its primary quarry.[14] In *Commodity Culture in Dickens's Household Words* (2008) Catherine Waters responds to what has been well identified as the 'material turn in Victorian Studies' which in turn is premised on the evident

[12] As Lévi-Strauss portrays it in *The Savage Mind* (1962; trans. London: Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, 1966), pp. 16–36. Incidentally, he identifies at once what many critics of Dickens fail to identify, which is that Dickens's apparent realism is itself a form of 'mytho-poetical' 'intellectual "bricolage"', and he cites 'the case immortalized by Dickens in *Great Expectations* but no doubt originally inspired by observation, of Mr Wemmick's suburban "castle" with its miniature drawbridge, its cannon firing at nine o'clock […]' (p. 17).

[13] For Dickens's network, see Drew, 'Dickens and the Middle-Class Weekly' in Shattock, ed., pp. 301–316.

[14] It could be objected that two monographs of the 1970s—Grillo's *Charles Dickens's Sketches by Boz: End in the Beginning* and DeVries's *Dickens's Apprentice Years*—take *Sketches by Boz* as their primary quarry, and while most of the sketches are indeed non-fiction, both books read them as proto-fictional and as studies that evolve ineluctably into the canon of Dickens's novels: a process which, however eloquent of the latter, constantly runs against the grain of the original newspaper and magazine articles and their synchronic and metonymic correspondences. Important articles on the *Sketches* by Bernstein and Breslow follow the same tendency, and stand only partially corrected by the brilliance of Hillis Miller's post-structuralist reading (see Bibliography).

impetus given to the commodification of metropolitan social life by the 1851 Great Exhibition.[15] Waters accordingly reads *Household Words* as replete with articles 'addressing commodity culture in one way or another: biographies of raw materials; stories spun from advertisements; process articles describing visits to manufactories; tales of the flaneur; and narratives describing those residual or marginal economies in which waste is recycled'.[16] However, while it is demonstrably inviting and illuminating to read non-fiction by Dickens and co-writers such as R. H. Horne, Henry Morley or G. A. Sala, in the light of both Marxist theory and postmodern 'thing theory,' and to see *Household Words* itself as contributing self-consciously to the retailing of manufactured articles, Waters argues that the emphasis on recycled and second-hand goods in *Household Words* complicates 'the journal's efforts to ensure that commodities continue to speak about their origins, and about the social relations invested in their production, to those who buy them.' Indeed, the process reveals 'a deep ambivalence about the social life of goods, about the growing importance of commodities in imagining the modern self' (17, 156).

The 1851 Exhibition also forms a starting point for Sabine Clemm's *Dickens, Journalism, and Nationhood* (2009), which endeavours to 'map the world' through the eyes of *Household Words* and its impressive coverage of global affairs—an interest in other countries that is shown to be predicated on 'an ever-present preoccupation with what it means to be English' (3). In the same way that the Exhibition itself projected a distorted image of the 'Works of Industry of All Nations', so, Clemm argues, *Household Words* reproduces this in adopting 'the tone of national achievement and self-congratulation that pervaded the British press at large' and sustaining 'most assumptions about national character that the Exhibition's contrast between national and foreign products provoked' (31). That other

[15] Pykett Lyn, 'The Material Turn in Victorian Studies,' *Literature Compass* 1.1 (2003–2004): n. p. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-4113.2004.00020.x [accessed 30.04.2018].

[16] Waters, p. 7. See also Farina (2007) which assesses regular contributor Harriet Martineau's representation of the processes of industrial production in her 'process' or 'factory-tourism' articles for *Household Words.*

commentators have disagreed, arguing that the journal took a far more quizzical and ambivalent line on the Exhibition than other publications, is indicative of the difficulty critics have in construing the overall 'line' of a periodical over a long publication run, and hence in disambiguating Dickens's own response as a journalist and writer from those of other anonymous contributors.[17] Nevertheless, Clemm has read both widely and sensitively in *Household Words*, and as her study moves from the cosmopolitan microcosm of the Exhibition to consider in successive chapters the representation of Englishness, Europe, Ireland and the Indian subcontinent in the journal's pages, it increasingly notes how it appears to undercut its own imperialist and prejudiced overtones, revealing against the grain a fluctuating and flexible attitude to questions of race and national identity. In the Conclusion, a balanced reading of Dickens's distastefully racist debunking of Romantic ideas of 'The Noble Savage' (his leader for 11 June, 1853) finds that while his demand that the 'savage […] be civilised of the face of the earth' is 'extreme in its tone and, to modern sensibilities, highly offensive,' it models savagery not as the innate genetic property of any particular race but as something susceptible to civilisational and educational refinement. Indeed, the presumption of the need for enlightenment shown by the savage helps crystallise the identity of the Western powers, in Clemm's analysis of the journal's position, which by this point has been subsumed into Dickens's: 'The very severity of Dickens's disavowal shows that the savage is intrinsically necessary to his—and *Household Words*'—definition of "self"' (162). The slippage is telling, as it opens the possibility that the 'relational and flexible' model of international and racial hierarchies which Clemm has patiently identified in the journal—its fuzzy signal, as it were—is the result of the inevitable bandwidth of opinion operating in a multi-authored journal. In a single-authored text, such equivocal or contradictory positions might straightforwardly be deconstructed by the postmodern critic as evidence of the

[17] These include Isobel Armstrong (2008, p. 246), Drew and Buckmaster (2014, p. 321), and Wynne (2001, p. 231).

Derridean anarchy of language, etcetera—but, as indicated, the Victorian miscellany presents challenges to literary theory that the student of Dickens's non-fiction must learn to negotiate.[18] One of these is the fact that the text of which periodicals are composed is a moving rather than a fixed target for criticism: we became conditioned in the twentieth-century to the endeavour to read and appraise writers in authoritative, 'final,' legacy editions, and limited judgements of literary value followed. But Victorian writers and readers alike were familiar with texts being moved flexibly through different print formats, and being re-purposed and re-mediated for altered circumstances. Dickens's dreamy and meditative travel writing in *Pictures from Italy*, for example, has a quite different air and transactional purpose when presented in instalments as the 'Italian affairs' coverage of the newly-launched Liberal broadsheet, *The Daily News*.[19]

Robert Bledsoe's *Dickens, Journalism, Music* (2012) sidesteps such theoretical challenges in order to profile knowledgeably an under-explored theme in Dickens Studies.[20] This consists of 'music's social role and its public functions,' as represented in *Household Words* and its subsequent handling in *All the Year Round*, which, with its enquiry into the merits of the '"new German school" of instrumental and operatic music (especially Richard Wagner's "music of the future")' shows that

[18] Dallas Liddle's celebrated answer to these challenges in *The Dynamics of Genre* (2009) rightly questions the over-simplification and ahistoricism of the application of 'social science' theories (such as those of Benedict Anderson, Pierre Bourdieu and Jürgen Habermas) to the problem, but in recommending 'Bakhtin's ideas about genre as a guide for future critical practice in Victorian periodical studies' does not ultimately outline, in this reader's view, any more coherent or enabling heuristic.

[19] See Drew, 'Pictures from *The Daily News*: context, correspondences, and correlations,' *Dickens Quarterly* 24 (2007), pp. 230–46.

[20] Robert T. Bledsoe, *Dickens, Journalism, Music. Household Words and All the Year Round* (London: Continuum, 2012). The theme has only been taken up elsewhere by Christine Kyprianides, who commends the original research undertaken by Dickens's journals into the impact of 'music for the millions', but finds that Dickens's partiality to certain composers and acquaintances such as J. P. Hullah (1812–84), skewed their coverage; see 'Musical Miscellany in Charles Dickens's Journals, 1850–70,' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 47.3 (2014): 398–431.

> Dickens's editorial interest in the canon of classical music in his new journal is retrogressive, but his editorial support for the amusements of the people continues to be paternalistically progressive.[21]

Two central chapters are dedicated to contextualizing and interpreting writing on musical subjects in *All the Year Round* which are either known to be by a regular contributor and important friend of Dickens's later years, Henry Fothergill Chorley (1808–72), or which Bledsoe suggests are probably from his pen. This is a necessary process, given that, with no 'Office Book' extant for the later journal as it is for *Household Words*,[22] authorship of articles in *All the Year Round* has until very recently had to be established piecemeal by combinations of external and internal evidence and a certain amount of educated guesswork.[23]

In 2011, an attempt was made to harness the 'Burrows method' in computational stylistics as a way of establishing which of a number of possible candidates for authorship of an anonymous article, each of whom has been lexically profiled for their characteristic usage patterns, is the most likely candidate for authorship of a given 'mystery article'. The process was carefully carried out using a test item from *All the Year Round*, 'Temperate Temperance' (18th April 1863), and the authors concluded that of the writers tested—Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins, W. H. Wills, Henry Morley and Edmund Ollier—Dickens was identified by the procedure as the most likely candidate for authorship.[24] However, in July 2015 the field of Victorian studies reverberated with the announcement by Beckett scholar and antiquarian bookseller Jeremy Parrott that he had acquired a unique set of volumes I–XX of *All the Year Round* (the whole of the First Series) in which the authorship of the vast majority of the

---

21 Bledsoe, pp. 1, 74.

22 The 'Office Book' for *Household Words* forms the basis for Anne Lohrli's indispensable *List of Contributors* and their contributions (see Bibliography); lacking such primary evidence, readers of *All the Year Round* have at present only E. A. Oppenlander's only partially complete *Descriptive Index and Contributor List* as a guide. This offers attributions for only c. 30% of the journal's contents under Dickens's editorship (1859–70).

23 Such traditional methods have also been used relatively recently to argue for Dickens's authorship of a range of journalistic pieces in the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Daily News*; see Long and Schlicke 2017, Drew 2008, Drew and Slater, 2010, 2011.

24 Drew, John, and Hugh Craig, 'Did Dickens write "Temperate Temperance": an attempt to identify the authorship of anonymous articles in *All the Year Round*' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44.3 (2011), pp. 267–290.

articles was annotated in pencil by a contemporary hand. Cross referencing these with Oppenlander's *Descriptive Index* (see Bibliography) as well as with other new attributions made on solid external evidence, and amidst considerable press interest on both sides of the Atlantic, a team of scholars quickly established the accuracy of the information in what is now referred to as the 'marked-up set.' A number of scholarly articles have now appeared, outlining and assessing the importance of this discovery, and exploring credible scenarios concerning the circumstances in which the set may have been annotated (potentially by two clerks, 'back-room boys' working for the journal, with one calling out names from the ledger, and the other writing them down).[25] A table of contents and contributors book is currently under preparation by a leading university press, with agreed plans for digital dissemination in Open Access already in place.

As the authorship information contained in the 'marked-up set' will thus constitute breaking news—at least in scholarly terms—for some years to come, it is a safe prediction to say that this aspect of Dickens's non-fiction will remain high on the agenda, though there is not much likelihood of any new material emerging from the discovery that puts Dickens's own name as sole author firmly onto any of the contents lists for the journal.[26] In other words, the existence of the marked-up set will allow complex issues in periodical studies such as revisionary, collaborative, and primary *versus* secondary authorship, to be refined and nuanced, using both computational and traditional scholarly means.[27] To illustrate: 'Temperate Temperance' is not, in fact, attributed to Dickens in the marked-up set of *All the Year Round* but turns out to be authored by Charles Allston Collins (1812–73), Wilkie's

[25] See Bibliography: Parrott 2015, 2016 and Litvack.

[26] The only article to which Dickens's name can now be added as co-author thanks to the 'marked-up set' is the savagely satirical 'What is Sensational?' (*AYR* 2 March 1867), which is currently listed in Oppenlander as a solo contribution by Joseph C. Parkinson. See facsimile at http://www.djo.org.uk/indexes/articles/what-is-sensational.html.

[27] The work of Harold Love is paradigmatic here (see Bibliography), and new journals in the field such as *Authorship* are defining the parameters of discussion (see http://www.authorship.ugent.be/about accessed 17/04/2018).

talented younger brother, who has now emerged as one of the most prolific contributors to the journal. This means that, stylistically (strictly, lexically), his profile is closer to Dickens's than that of any of the other writers tested in 2011. This has implications for our understanding of Dickens's own style, and the way in which he identified and groomed younger writers to assimilate the house style for the journal, allowing him the luxury of appearing to write for the journal while not doing so.

Besides the currently preoccupation with questions of authorship, the last two decades have seen a steady flow—neither trickle nor flood—of chapters and articles that take either individual or groups of essays and sketches known to be by Dickens as their primary objects of enquiry, and which develop critical approaches and lines of interpretation almost on a 'case study' basis. In handbooks and scholarly guides to Dickens studies, sturdy chapters are now devoted to discussing the journalism as a matter of course. In the most recent, to be published later this year, Hazel Mackenzie rightly notes how to date 'the impracticalities of connecting' with the abundance of Dickens's non-novelistic writings 'in a substantive way have meant that beyond a few well-known canonical texts much of this material remains relatively neglected.'[28] Beyond these surveys, a dozen or so interventions can be picked out to give an outline of the field, and some of its high points. One of the latter is surely Grahame Smith's 'experiment in correspondences' between Dickens's work in the articles collected variously as *The Uncommercial Traveller* (1861 et seq.), and that of the film-maker Bill Douglas in *Comrades* (1986). With great tact and perception, Smith allows each artist's work in their respective media to illuminate the other's, to show how '[b]oth seek to make viewers and readers self-consciously aware that they are involved with images of reality, not the thing itself,' and how regardless of linear timelines, both can be seen to 'interpenetrate

[28] See Drew (2008), Winter (2015) and Mackenzie (forthcoming 2018; para. 1) in Bibliography.

synchronically' with one another's techniques, so that it becomes possible to speak of narrators of each text as in important respects, interchangeable.[29]

Far more rooted in a version of history as one-way-street, Geoffrey Hemstedt's chapters on *Sketches by Boz* (1996) and the 'later journalism' (2000) present a characteristic shift in perception of Dickens as a social critic who moves from an open celebration of the 'social improvisation' of London's lower and lower middle classes as they try on the costume of different class identities against a series of metropolitan backdrops, to a much harder authoritarian position with respect to the urban poor and dispossessed, complete with a controlling, reformist High Victorian rhetoric.[30] This is not necessarily a harsh, only a partial, point of view.

Wider-reaching and perhaps more nuanced analysis is offered by Joseph Childers (2006) and Sally Ledger (2007), in separate chapters dealing specifically with Dickens's political and cultural journalism of the 1850s. The fact both can anchor their readings in the material annotated and reprinted in Dent Edition may account for their greater degree of contextual understanding. Ledger is particularly interested in the interface between the radicalism of Dickens's pre-Victorian childhood and the rising populism of the new mass-market editors and serial-writers, such as G. W. M Reynolds. She argues, against Hemstedt's position, that

> [F]ar from being a species of Althusserian state apparatus, Dickens's cultural and political project in *Household Words* was to bridge—in a manner more imaginative, if not more lucrative, than anything ever conceived of by Reynolds—the incipient chasm that was opening up between popular and radical culture from the 1840s onwards. By determinedly pursuing a broadly popular readership at the same time as promoting a politics of social reform […] Dickens's journalism persists with an older conception of 'popular' culture (a culture 'of the people') that was gradually being superseded […] by a commercial culture produced 'for' a mass-market populace. In a stroke of

[29] Smith, p. 38. Other sustained engagements with the narrative strategies and philosophical tenor of Dickens's 'Uncommercial Traveller' essays can be found in Drew, 1996 and 1998.

[30] See also Drew, 2003, pp. 38, 151.

> journalistic genius Dickens positions *Household Words* between, on the one hand, a tradition of 'miscellanies' aimed at a broadly defined popular audience and, on the other hand, the tradition of campaigning journalism associated with William Cobbett, Thomas Wooler and William Hone earlier in the century.

This is a helpful synthesis. Childers likewise assists the reader of the dazzling variety of Dickensian journalism to see the wood for the trees, reminding us that Dickens's positions in individual articles are not necessarily to be dredged for markers of a fixed political system, but to be read flexibly as creative pieces that put 'into play ideas that are not always fully formed, not always completely accepted, not always absolutely identifiable in the positions they support' (213). The argument that the canon of Dickens's non-fiction is questing for meaning even as it parodies and caricatures the contemporary scene cannot be carried conclusively in a single essay, but Childers closes with a well-contoured prediction:

> The cultural work done by Dickens the novelist is enormous, perhaps incalculable; it reaches ostentatiously beyond his own day into ours and those to come. The cultural work of his journalism is, initially, more modest. But as critics and historians continue to pursue what T. B. Macaulay called 'the noiseless revolutions' of Victorian society, those changes in fashion, religious beliefs, methods of philosophical and scientific enquiry that 'are carried on in every school, in every church, behind ten thousand counters, at ten thousand firesides,' the importance of Dickens's journalism as part of those daily, shifting conversations will continue to grow. (213)

In earnest of this, increasing numbers of critics are involving Dickens's non-fictional output as journalist and editor in their cultural, literary and historical enquiries. Louise Henson (2004) has investigated the ambivalent and proto-sensational presentation of ghosts in *All the Year Round*, and its relation to the journal's handling of scientific material. Elaine Ostry (2001) has examined similar material in relation to the Dickensian touchstone of 'fancy', which Shu Fang Lai (2001) has also pursued in relation to editorial policy, demonstrating that contrary to orthodox belief concerning the extent of Dickens's control over the content of his periodicals, it was inconsistency of oversight that led to some of his more autocratic (and belated) interventions. David and Deirdre Stam (2008) build from consideration of the place of the Franklin expedition in Dickens's periodicals to considering

how periodicals were read, in a time-bending fashion, and sometime also produced, on board polar expeditions themselves.

Caroline Reitz (2013) can likewise be seen as building on Childers's contention in positioning

> Dickens's journals as a crucial part of the current conversation about cosmopolitanism and Victorian culture. They need to be read not just as interesting context for understanding the novels, or for Dickens himself, but as part of what Lauren Goodlad calls a 'geopolitical aesthetic' in which form is seen as 'a medium through which transnational processes are encountered, figured, and, to some degree, shaped.' (24)

That shaping process is also the basis of Jonathan Farina's probing 2009 essay on the various ways in which the form of numerous keynote *Household Words* articles by Dickens and other writers was projected from the editor's original notion for the periodical to emanate from the pen of 'The Shadow,' a vigilante spirit capable of being in all places unseen and reporting without fear or favour on what it finds. This results in the journal's numerous attempts to make abstract entities and inanimate objects address readers in the first person, as though they were living things possessed of 'deep character', but for Farina this too often involves a rhetorical invoking of hollow secrets and mysteries—typical enough of Victorian texts, but ultimately unsatisfying and leading *Household Words* 'to muddle the distinctions between information and imagination' (407). In defence of Dickens and his collaborators, one could respond that blending instruction with amusement in original and unexpected ways was their primary and entirely un-muddled objective, in order to outperform fact-rich vehicles like *Chambers's Journal* on the one hand, and racy panderers to pure sensation like *Reynolds's Miscellany* on the other.[31] Either way, Farina's approach speaks to the relevance of Waters's emphasis on goods, objects and things in *Household Words* and the need for a suitable 'thing theory' to accommodate them.

[31] Illuminating articles by Lorna Huett and Iain Crawford (see Bibliography) finely calibrate Dickens's journals in terms of the physical and reputational hierarchies of the Victorian periodical press, stressing the intentional hybridity of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* as cultural artifacts.

*

In 2012, to coincide with the Dickens Bicentenary celebrations, a team of scholars at the University of Buckingham launched a major digital resource, *Dickens Journals Online* (www.djo.org.uk), which has undoubtedly played a role in bringing access to Dickens's non-fiction to an international readership. The site makes available digital facsimiles and manually corrected transcripts of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* throughout the period of Dickens's editorship, as well as of two rare supplementary publications, *The Household Narrative of Current Events* (a monthly digest of news and information, 1850–55) and the short-lived *Household Words Almanac* (1856, 1857), together with tables of contents, authors' names wherever known, biographical information, plus editorial introductions to key volumes. Each article is indexed according to one of 22 distinct genres/sub-genres, and according to Library of Congress 'Authorized Subject Headings' so that searches can filter on combinations of these and author details. The site is currently in use in over 200 countries, albeit primarily anglophone, and since 2012 has had upwards of 263,000 user sessions averaging over eight minutes per session: dry data, but indicative of relatively sustained research engagement with the resource. Reviewing it in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Clare Horrocks commended its 'innovative user-led projects created from within the academic community rather than by commercial vendors' (360). Among these can be specified the various 're-serialistion blogs' in which a group of scholars and web-users worldwide read long fiction from the site week by week, in synch with its original serial run, blogging via WordPress about their responses to each instalment, in an effort to recreate in the 21st century something akin to the experience of serial reading for the Victorians. To date, *A Tale of Two Cities*, Wilkie Collins's *No Name*, and *Great Expectations* have been read in this way,[32] with participants such as Joanne Shattock and Ben Winyard later reflecting analytically on the

[32] Archived at, respectively, https://dickensataleoftwocities.wordpress.com/about/ ; https://collinsnoname.wordpress.com/ and https://greatexpectationsreadalong.wordpress.com/ [accessed 30.04.2018]

experience in blog posts for academic journals: noting for example, how 'readerly memory' is challenged by the weekly intervals between instalments and how the shared platform for debate remains provisional and undogmatic, 'opening up spaces that encourage and enable uncertainty, digression, interpretation, discussion, imaginative investment, and fantasy, giving life to Dickens's vision of the radical communality of reading.'

The *Dickens Journals Online* project has stimulated increased understanding of Dickens's non-fiction in other ways, notably through the proceedings of its launch conference in March 2012, collected under the title *Charles Dickens and the Mid-Victorian Press, 1850–1870.* The volume collects twenty-two essays and a critical introduction which between them explore Dickens's overall performance as an editor (Section 1); his individual journalistic contributions on various themes (Sections 2 and 4); the work of individual contributors—Harriet Martineau, G. A. Sala, Henry Morley among them—and the journals' approach to authorship and anonymity (Section 3). It is perhaps the single most varied and contextualized account of Dickens's non-fiction during this period, though far from comprehensive in intent or scope.[33] Reviewing it for *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* Joseph McLaughlin observes that the volume provides 'an exciting glimpse of the kinds of work that are now happening and will continue to happen thanks to the advent of *Dickens Journals Online* [which] promises a quantum leap in our understanding of Dickens and the Mid-Victorian Press' (87). More gradually, the same group of scholars behind the online project has been working systematically through the bi-annual volumes in the archive, publishing in traditional print form synoptic overviews of each, in order to capture and contextualise the political, cultural and personal dynamic at work over each six-month period.[34] The two-way traffic between

[33] An account of Wilkie Collins's work for Dickens's journals is an obvious omission. The lack can partly be supplied by Nayder's admirable if occasionally polemi *Unequal Partners.*

[34] See John Drew, Hazel Mackenzie, and Ben Winyard, 'Introduction to *Household Words* Volume 1' *Dickens Quarterly* 29.1 (2012), pp. 50–67; John Drew and Jonathan Buckmaster, 'Introduction to *Household Words* Volume 2, September 28, 1850–March 22, 1851: Nos. 27–52' *Dickens Quarterly* 31.4 (2014), pp. 312–333;

print and digital is set to continue, as, noted above, the fruits of Jeremy Parrott's discovery of, and research into, *All the Year Round* authorship details will in the not-too-distant future be uploaded to *Dickens Journals Online.*

There are positive signs here of what can be thought of as the natural affinities between the digital era and Dickens's own approach to the media, particularly as exemplified in his work as an editor, journalist and magazine proprietor. This has been well captured by Jay Clayton:

> More than any other writer of the nineteenth century, Dickens would have been fascinated by the Internet. Throughout his long career, he exhibited a passion for new technology and eagerly exploited every innovation in the communications and transport networks of his day. He published admiring articles on the London Post Office, the railroads, and steam engines. When away from London, he composed on mail coaches and railway cars, dashed off letters by every post, and dispatched messages by telegraph. […] Like today's Internet pioneers, he showed genius in creating new channels of distribution for his writing. He had a hand in inventing such major breakthroughs as publication by monthly numbers, serialization of new fiction in weekly journals, and uniform editions of a living author (himself). […] If Dickens did not invent a publishing technology, he was invariably what is known in computer circles as an 'early adopter'. One could think of his journal *Household Words*, with the banner across every page reading 'Conducted by Charles Dickens' as an information outlet as close to a corporate home page as nineteenth-century print media could devise. (3)

I have discussed elsewhere these kinds of parallel, with all due allowance for anachronism, in terms of the 'poetics of communication' and the 'dynamics of modernity' evident in Dickens's journalism, but analysis of Dickens's digital afterlives clearly needs to go beyond merely detecting and celebrating these neo-Victorian 'steampunk synergies' across the centuries.[35] The values of the 'corporate home page' established by Dickens are clearly in need of considerable interrogation and contextualization, all the more so because of the panache of execution that we associate with his house style. Clayton's prescient book

---

Hazel Mackenzie, Ben Winyard and John Drew, 'Introduction to *All the Year Round* Volume 1' *Dickens Quarterly* 29.3 (2012), pp. 251–77; and John Drew, 'Introduction to *All the Year Round* Volume 2, October 29 1859–April 7, 1860: Nos. 27–50' *Dickens Quarterly* 30.3 (2013), pp. 198–222.

[35] See Drew, 2012, *passim.*

negotiates such matters successfully, though with much less emphasis on Dickens's own writings and example than one might expect from the title.

The adoption of Dickens's non-fiction by the so-called Digital Humanities, while a desirable consummation of recent energies in many ways, requires a further caveat, however. On the one hand, its availability in Open Access acts as a counterweight to the restriction of much of the digitized archive of historical periodicals to affluent institutional subscribers and public libraries in better-funded municipalities and boroughs, a problem highlighted by recently by Paul Gooding.[36] On the other hand, over time, and to the extent that it remains popular, its citation impact may well skew the representation of the British press in future generations. For example, *Household Words* sought to rival in narrative satire the graphic satire of *Punch* (1841–1992; 1996–2002), and the two journals vied throughout the 1850s for influence and leverage.[37] However, the *Punch* online archive is restricted to institutional subscribers to a relatively expensive Gale/Cengage Learning resource, while *Household Words* is free: it is not hard to predict which will feature more frequently in scholarly quotations and analysis.[38]

That is not yet a quantifiable prediction, however, and in the meantime, few will quibble at the restoration to a community of readers of the totality of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, those 'humming tops,' in all their High Victorian pomp. A brief quotation from one of Dickens's last essays, will perhaps illustrate what a valuable and enduring nexus of ideas are put into circulation by the rhythms of his restless prose. The

---

[36] See '"Unequally free": Mapping public access to digitised collections,' chapter 6 of *Historic Newspapers in the Digital Age: "Search All About It!"* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 145-70

[37] See Drew 2017 for an examination of Dickens's derivation of approaches to narrative satire from the neo-classical traditions in parliamentary rhetoric and news reporting. For detailed new research into Dickens's *modus operandi* as a parliamentary reporter, see Hessell's excellent study.

[38] A similar argument about the dangers of privileging *The Times* over other historical newspaper archives is made by Andrew Hobbs in 'The deleterious dominance of *The Times* in nineteenth-century historiography,' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 18.4 (2013): 472–97:'If we study the history of *The Times* we do not gain a grasp of nineteenth-century press history; we gain a grasp only of *The Times*.'

scene is (of course) London and the time (ditto), night. Dickens's narrator, the 'Uncommercial Traveller,' that shadowy journalistic vigilante, has just thrown a coin into the midst of a group of feral children 'hard by Temple Bar' and retired to watch what happens when a nearby police constable emerges to break up the brawl that ensues. When all have dispersed and silence again descends, he follows up his account of the incident with this startling meditation:

> I looked about at the disorderly traces in the mud, and I thought of the drops of rain and the footprints of an extinct creature, hoary ages upon ages old, that geologists have identified on the face of a cliff; and this speculation came over me:— If this mud could petrify at this moment, and could lie concealed here for ten thousand years, I wonder whether the race of men then to be our successors on the earth could, from these or any marks, by the utmost force of the human intellect, unassisted by tradition, deduce such an astounding inference as the existence of a polished state of society that bore with the public savagery of neglected children in the streets of its capital city, and was proud of its power by sea and land, and never used its power to seize and save them![39]

It is a prolepsis that, in spite of manifesting the kind of authoritarian and paternalistic impulses that some commentators have found problematic ('seize and save them!', the 'public savagery' of children, and so forth) effortlessly sweeps beyond our own vantage point, our own political and social problems, not to mention our scientific and technological advances, and on into the future.

John Drew

University of Buckingham

[39] Charles Dickens, 'New Uncommercial Samples: On an Amateur Beat [xxxiv]' *All the Year Round* vol. I 'New Series' (27 February 1869): 300-303; p. 301.

Bibliography

Armstrong, Isobel, *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination, 1830–1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Bernstein, Carol L., 'Nineteenth-century urban sketches: Thresholds of fiction,' *Prose Studies* 3.3 (1980): 217-240

Bledsoe, Robert T., *Dickens, Journalism, Music. Household Words and All the Year Round* (London: Continuum, 2012)

Brake, Laurel, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden, eds, *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (London: Macmillan, 1990)

Brake, Laurel and Marysa DeMoor, eds, *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (London: The British Library & Academia Press, December 2008)

Breslow, Julian, 'The Narrator in *Sketches by Boz*' *ELH* 44 (1977), 127–49

Campbell, Kate, ed., *Journalism, Literature and Modernity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000)

Chesterton, G. K., *Appreciations and Criticisms of the Works of Charles Dickens* (London: J. M. Dent, 1911)

Childers, Joseph W., 'Politicized Dickens: the Journalism of the 1850s' in *Palgrave Advances in Charles Dickens Studies* ed. by Robert L. Patten and John Bowen (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 198–214

Clayton, Jay, *Charles Dickens in Cyberspace: The Afterlife of the Nineteenth Century in Postmodern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Crawford, Iain, '"Faithful Sympathy": Dickens, the *Edinburgh Review*, and Editing *Household Words.*' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44.1 (2011): 42-68.

Clemm, Sabine, *Dickens, Journalism, and Nationhood: Mapping the World in Household Words* (London: Routledge, 2008)

DeVries, Duane, *Dickens's Apprentice Years: the Making of a Novelist* (New York: Harvester Press 1976)

Dickens, Charles, 'New Uncommercial Samples: On an Amateur Beat [xxxiv]' *All the Year Round* vol. I 'New Series' (27 February 1869): 300-303

———, *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, 'The Pilgrim Edition' (12 vols, 1965–2002) vol. VII, ed. by Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson and Angus Easson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

Drew, John, 'Dickens, Miscellanies, and classical traditions of Satire,' *Dickens Quarterly* 34.3 (2017), pp. 221–42

———, 'Dickens's Evolution as a Journalist', in *A Companion to Dickens*, ed. David Paroissien; (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 174–86.

———, 'Texts, E-Texts, Paratexts: Dickens and the Dynamics of Modernity,' in *Dickens and Modernity* (*Essays and Studies,* 2012) ed. Juliet John, (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), pp. 40–55

———, 'An Uncommercial Proposition? At work on *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 46.3 (Fall 2013), pp. 291-316

———, 'Introduction to *All the Year Round* Volume 2, October 29 1859–April 7, 1860: Nos. 27–50' *Dickens Quarterly* 30.3 (2013), pp. 198–222

———, ‘Dickens on “Poor Hood”: a new article’ *The Dickensian* 104 (2008), pp. 111–22.

———, ‘Pictures from *The Daily News*: context, correspondences, and correlations,’ *Dickens Quarterly* 24 (2007), pp. 230–46.

———, ‘The Victorian Commercial Traveller, and Dickens’s Uncommercial” philosophy’ *Dickens Quarterly*, 15 (1998), pp. 50–61, pp. 83–110.

———, ‘Voyages Extraordinaires: Dickens’s “travelling essays” and *The Uncommercial Traveller*’ Part II, *Dickens Quarterly*, 13 (1996), pp. 76–96, 127–50.

Drew, John, Hazel Mackenzie, and Ben Winyard, ‘Introduction to *Household Words* Volume 1’ *Dickens Quarterly* 29.1 (2012), pp. 50–67

Drew, John, and Hugh Craig, ‘Did Dickens write “Temperate Temperance”: an attempt to identify the authorship of anonymous articles in *All the Year Round*’ *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44.3 (2011), pp. 267–290

Drew, John, and Jonathan Buckmaster, ‘Introduction to *Household Words* Volume 2, September 28, 1850–March 22, 1851: Nos. 27–52’ *Dickens Quarterly* 31.4 (2014), pp. 312–333

Drew, John, and Michael Slater, ‘What's in *The Daily News*? A re-evaluation’, *The Dickensian* 106.3 (2010), pp. 197–206; 107.1 (2011), pp. 22–39

Farina, Jonathan V. “‘A Certain Shadow’: Personified Abstractions and the Form of *Household Words*.” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 42.4 (2009): 392-415.

———, ‘Characterising the Factory System: Factory Subjectivity in *Household Words*’ *Victorian Literature and Culture* 35.1 (2007): 41–56

Gooding, Paul, ‘“Unequally free”: Mapping public access to digitised collections,’ chapter 6 of *Historic Newspapers in the Digital Age: “Search All About It!”* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017)

Grillo, Virgil. *Charles Dickens’s Sketches by Boz: End in the Beginning.* Boulder, Colorado: Colorado University Press, 1974.

Hale, David, ‘London and Environs Maps and Views’ (MAPCO 2006–16) http://mapco.net/london.htm [accessed 09/04/2018]

Hemstedt, Geoffrey, ‘Dickens’s Later Journalism’ in *Journalism, Literature and Modernity* ed. by Kate Campbell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp. 38–53

———, ‘Inventing Social Identity: *Sketches by Boz*’ in *Victorian Identities* ed. by Ruth Robbins and Julian Wolfreys (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 215–29

Hensher, Philip. ‘A genius at his best and worst’ [Review of *D*ent Uniform Edition of Dickens’ Journalism, Vol. 4]. *The Spectator*, 9 December 2000, 40-41.

Henson, Louise, ‘“In the Natural Course of Things”” Ghosts and Science in Charles Dickens’s *All the Year Round*’ in L. Henson et al. eds, *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004) pp. 113-24

Hessell, Nikki, *Literary Authors, Parliamentary Reporters: Johnson, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Dickens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Hobbs, Andrew, ‘The deleterious dominance of *The Times* in nineteenth-century historiography,’ *Journal of Victorian Culture* 18.4 (2013): 472–97

Horrocks, Clare, ‘Advances in Digitzation: The *Dickens Journals Online* Project,’ *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45.3 (2009): 207–243

Huett, Lorna, ‘Among the Unknown Public: *Household Words, All the Year Round* and the Mass-Market Weekly Periodical in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.’ *Victorian Periodicals Review* 38.1 (2005): 61–82

Keeble, Richard Lance, and John Tulloch, eds, *Global Literary Journalism: Exploring the Journalistic Imagination* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012)

———, eds, *Global Literary Journalism: Exploring the Journalistic Imagination. Volume Two* (New York: Peter Lang, 2014)

Kyprianides, Christine, ‘Musical Miscellany in Charles Dickens’s Journals, 1850–70,’ *Victorian Periodicals Review* 47.3 (2014): 398–431

Lai, Shu-Fang, ‘Fact or Fancy: What Can We Learn about Dickens from His Periodicals *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*?’ *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34 (2001) 41-53

Lehman, Daniel W., *Matters of Fact. Reading Nonfiction over the Edge* (Columbus OH: Ohio State University Press, 1997)

Ledger, Sally, ‘*Household Words*, politics and the mass market in the 1850s,’ Chap. 6 of *Dickens and the Popular Radical Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 168–92

Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *The Savage Mind* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1966)

Liddle, Dallas. *The Dynamics of Genre: Journalism and the Practice of Literature in Mid-Victorian Britain.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009.

Litvack, Leon, ‘Dickens and the Codebreakers: The Annotated Set of *All the Year Round*’ *Dickens Quarterly* 32.4 (2015): 313–337

Lohrli, Anne. *Household Words: A Weekly Journal, 1850–59, Conducted by Charles Dickens*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Long, William and Schlicke, Paul, ‘Dickens and the City of London Conservatives,’ *Dickens Quarterly* 34.3 (2017): 197–220

Love, Harold, *Attributing Authorship. An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Mackenzie, Hazel, ‘Journalism and Correspondence’ *The Oxford Handbook of Charles Dickens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2018)

Mackenzie, Hazel, Ben Winyard and John Drew, ‘Introduction to *All the Year Round* Volume 1’ *Dickens Quarterly* 29.3 (2012), pp. 251–77

Mackenzie, Hazel and Ben Winyard, eds, *Charles Dickens and the Mid-Victorian Press, 1850–70* (Buckingham: University of Buckingham Press, 2013)

McLaughlin, Joseph, review of *Charles Dickens and the Mid-Victorian Press, 1850-1870,* in *Nineteenth Century Contexts* 37.1 (2015): 84-7

Miller, J. Hillis, ‘The Fiction of Realism: *Sketches by* Boz, *Oliver Twist* and Cruikshank’s Illustrations,’ in *Dickens Centennial Essays* ed. by Ada Nisbet and Blake Nevius (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 85–153

Oppenlander, Ella Ann, *Dickens’s All the Year Round: Descriptive Index and Contributor List* (New York: Whitston Publishing Company, 1984).

Ostry, Elaine. ‘“Social Wonders:” Fancy, Science and Technology in Dickens’s Periodicals.’ *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34 (2001) 54-78.

Parrott, Jeremy, 'The Skeleton out of the Closet: Authorship Identification in Dickens's *All the Year Round'*, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48.4 (2015): 557–568

———, 'George Holsworth and Henry Walker: the Backroom Boys at *All the Year Round*', *The Dickensian*, 112.3 (2016): 247–259

Pascoe, David, ed. & intro. *Charles Dickens. Selected Journalism 1850–1870* 'Penguin Classics' (London: Penguin Books, 1997)

Reitz, Caroline, 'Household Style: Dickens edits a Nation' *English*, 62 (2013), pp. 22–46

Ricketson, Matthew, *Telling True Stories: Navigating the challenges of writing narrative non-fiction* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2014)

Shannon, Mary L., *Dickens, Reynolds, and Mayhew on Wellington Street. The Print Culture of a Victorian Street*. 'The Nineteenth Century Series' (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015)

Shattock, Joanne, 'The Best of Times: Reading *A Tale of Two Cities* Week by Week', *Journal of Victorian Culture Online*, May 2013, http://blogs.tandf.co.uk/jvc/2013/05/14/the-best-of-times-reading-a-tale-of-two-cities-week-by-week/

Shattock, Joanne, ed., *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Sims, Norman and Mark Kramer, eds, *Literary Journalism* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1995)

Slater, Michael, *Charles Dickens* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009)

Slater, Michael, ed., *The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens' Journalism* 4 vols (London: J. M. Dent, 1994–2000)

Slater, Michael and John Drew, eds, *The Uncommercial Traveller and Other Papers, 1859-70* Vol. 4 of 'The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens' Journalism' (London: J. M. Dent, 2000)

Stam, David H. and Deirdre C. Stam, 'Bending Time: The Function of Periodicals in Nineteenth-Century Polar Naval Expeditions', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41.4 (2008): 301-322

Smith, Grahame, 'The Travelling Lanternist and *The Uncommercial Traveller*: an Experiment in Correspondences' in David Seed, ed., *Literature and the Visual Media, 'Essays and Studies' 2005* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 29–47

Waters, Catherine, *Commodity Culture in Dickens's* Household Words*: The Social Life of Goods* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)

Winter, Sarah, 'Dickens, Charles, Journalism' in *The Encyclopedia of Victorian Literature* ed. by Dino Felluga, Pamela K. Gilbert and Linda K. Hughes, 4 vols (Malden MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), Vol. 1

Winyard, B., '"May We Meet Again": Rereading the Dickensian Serial in the Digital Age' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 2015 (21), p. None. DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.737

Wynne, Deborah, 'Responses to the 1851 Exhibition in *Household Words*', *The Dickensian* 97.3 (2001): 228–34

From: Larry Mazzeno [mailto:larry.mazzeno@gmail.com]
Sent: 07 May 2018 18:28
To: John Drew <john.drew@buckingham.ac.uk>
Subject: Re: Article for Nineteenth-Century Prose

John—

This article is exactly what I'd hoped for. Many thanks!

I will convert the format to accommodate the Editor's 'curious' house style (a blend of MLA in-text citation with some holdovers from the *Chicago Manual of Style*) and to have the article conform to American spelling and punctuation. You need do nothing else on that score. But I wanted you to know that in the conversion some footnotes will be lost, as these can be cited in the text. For example, your Note 2 will disappear, and the page number from Pascoe will be inserted into the text in parentheses after the quotation. If you wish, I can send you the edited copy before it goes to press.

The article will also be converted from A4 paper size to American letterhead (8.5" x 11"), as this is the size the editor uses to send materials to the printer. The result is that the pagination will change slightly.

I have only one question about content: In the paragraph beginning "The 1851 Exhibition also forms a starting point …" you write the following:

> In the Conclusion, a balanced reading of Dickens's distastefully racist debunking of Romantic ideas of 'The Noble Savage' (the leading article for) finds that while his demand that the 'savage […] be civilised of the face of the earth' is 'extreme in its tone and, to modern sensibilities, highly offensive,' it models savagery not as the innate genetic property of any particular race but as something susceptible to civilisational and educational refinement.

I'm not sure what to make of the phrase I've highlighted. Can you help me here?

Again, many thanks for such a fine article, which I'm sure will lead off the special issue.

Larry