

THE CAMBRIDGE History of the Book in Britain

VOLUME VI 1830-1914

The years 1830–1914 witnessed a revolution in the manufacture and use of books as great as that in the fifteenth century. Using new technology in printing, paper-making and binding, publishers worked with authors and illustrators to meet ever-growing and more varied demands from a population seeking books at all price levels. The essays by leading book historians in this volume show how books became cheap, how publishers used the magazine and newspaper markets to extend their influence, and how book ownership became universal for the first time. The fullest account ever published of the nineteenth-century revolution in printing, publishing and bookselling, this volume brings the *Cambridge History of the Book* up to a point when the world of books took on a recognisably modern form.

DAVID MCKITTERICK, FBA is Fellow and Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Honorary Professor of Historical Bibliography in the University of Cambridge. His many publications include *A History of Cambridge University Press* (three volumes, Cambridge, 1992–2004) and *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2003). He is a past President of the Bibliographical Society and recipient of its Gold Medal.





THE CAMBRIDGE

History of the Book in Britain

The history of the book offers a distinctive form of access to the ways in which human beings have sought to give meaning to their own and others' lives. Our knowledge of the past derives mainly from texts. Landscape, architecture, sculpture, painting and the decorative arts have their stories to tell and may themselves be construed as texts; but oral tradition, manuscripts, printed books, and those other forms of inscription and incision such as maps, music and graphic images, have a power to report even more directly on human experience and the events and thoughts which shaped it.

In principle, any history of the book should help to explain how these particular texts were created, why they took the form they did, their relations with other media, especially in the twentieth century, and what influence they had on the minds and actions of those who heard, read or viewed them. Its range, too – in time, place and the great diversity of the conditions of text production, including reception – challenges any attempt to define its limits and give an account adequate to its complexity. It addresses, whether by period, country, genre or technology, widely disparate fields of enquiry, each of which demands and attracts its own forms of scholarship.

The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, planned in seven volumes, seeks to represent much of that variety, and to encourage new work, based on knowledge of the creation, material production, dissemination and reception of texts. Inevitably its emphases will differ from volume to volume, partly because the definitions of Britain vary significantly over the centuries, partly because of the varieties of evidence extant for each period, and partly because of the present uneven state of knowledge. Tentative in so many ways as the project necessarily is, it offers the first comprehensive account of the book in Britain over one and a half millennia.

JOHN BARNARD · DAVID MCKITTERICK · I. R. WILLISON

General Editors





THE CAMBRIDGE History of the Book in Britain

VOLUME VI 1830-1914

Edited by

DAVID MCKITTERICK

Fellow and Librarian, Trinity College, Cambridge





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107668294

© Cambridge University Press 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2009 First paperback edition 2014

Printed by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon CRO 4YY

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ısвn 978-0-521-86624-8 hardback ısвn 978-1-107-66829-4 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of illustrations ix
List of tables x
List of contributors xi
Preface xv

Introduction 1
DAVID MCKITTERICK

- 1 · Changes in the look of the book 75

 DAVID MCKITTERICK
 - 2 · The illustration revolution 117
 MICHAEL TWYMAN
- 3 · The serial revolution 144
 GRAHAM LAW and ROBERT L. PATTEN
 - 4 · Authorship 172
 PATRICK LEARY and ANDREW NASH
 - 5 · Copyright 214
 CATHERINE SEVILLE
 - 6 · Distribution 238 STEPHEN COLCLOUGH
- 7 · Reading 281
 STEPHEN COLCLOUGH and DAVID VINCENT
 - 8 · Mass markets: religion 324 MICHAEL LEDGER-LOMAS

vii



Contents

9 · Mass markets: education 359
CHRISTOPHER STRAY and GILLIAN SUTHERLAND

10 · Mass markets: children's books 382 BRIAN ALDERSON and ANDREA IMMEL

11 · Mass markets: literature 416 simon eliot and andrew Nash

12 · Science, technology and mathematics 443

JAMES A. SECORD

13 · Publishing for leisure 475
VICTORIA COOPER and DAVE RUSSELL

14 · Publishing for trades and professions 500

15 · Organising knowledge in print 531
DAVID MCKITTERICK

16 · The information revolution 567

17 · A place in the world 595

JOHN BARNES, BILL BELL, RIMI B. CHATTERJEE, WALLACE KIRSOP and

MICHAEL WINSHIP

18 · Second-hand and old books 635

DAVID MCKITTERICK

19 · A year of publishing: 1891 674 SIMON ELIOT and RICHARD FREEBURY

20 · Following up The reading nation 704
WILLIAM ST CLAIR

Bibliography 736 Index 793

viii



Illustrations

| Intro. 1. | Advertising for the Linotype composing machine | page 34 |
|-----------|--|---------|
| Intro. 2. | Advertising for the 'latest improved' Wharfedale press | 35 |
| Intro. 3. | The Terrific Register | 47 |
| Intro. 4. | Cheap magazines at the end of the century | 61 |
| 1.1 | Prospectus for Walter Crane, Of the decorative illustration of books old | |
| | and new (1896) | 84 |
| 1.2 | James Beattie, The minstrel, illustrated by Birket Foster (1858) | 100 |
| 1.3 | 'Yellowbacks' from the 1850s to 1870s | 115 |
| 2.1 | From Samuel Rogers, Italy, a poem (1830) | 126 |
| 3.1 | Charles Dickens Our mutual friend | 163 |
| 10.1 | [William Martin, ed.] Peter Parley's annual (1844) | 386 |
| 10.2 | Puss in boots; and the marquis of Carabas (1844) | 390 |
| 10.3 | E.V.B [i.e. Eleanor Vere Boyle] Child's play (1851) | 393 |
| 10.4 | H. W. Dulcken, ed., The boy's handy book of natural history (not after 1869) | 397 |
| 10.5 | George MacDonald, 'At the back of the north wind', in Good Words for | |
| | the Young, 1860 | 400 |
| 10.6 | [William Roger Snow, author and illustrator] Puss in boots [1880] | 405 |
| 10.7 | Mrs Sherwood, The Fairchild family (1902) | 410 |
| 10.8 | Promotional brochure for Andrew Lang's Colour Fairy Library (c.1902) | 412 |
| 12.1 | Henry de la Beche complains of those who become members of the | |
| | Geological Society of London and attend expensive annual dinners, but | |
| | fail to purchase the published Transactions | 455 |
| 12.2 | Problems in typesetting advanced mathematics | 467 |
| 12.3 | 'Out of the Stone Age into the Wonder Age', Children's Magazine (July | |
| | 1912) | 472 |
| 13.1 | Advertising for Mrs Beeton's Book of household management | 477 |
| 16.1 | Great Western Railway banoramic auide [1876] | 588 |



Tables

| 3.1 | UK periodical titles, 1846–1916 | page 156 |
|------|---|----------|
| 17.1 | Values of British book exports, 1828-98 | 598 |
| 20.1 | Gall & Inglis, publishers in Edinburgh and London: examples of production | |
| | of cheap books | 716 |
| 20.2 | Gall & Inglis, works of James Gall | 717 |
| 20.3 | Late Victorian sixpenny paperback editions, one firm unnamed only | 717 |
| 20.4 | Some typical Victorian book prices | 721 |
| 20.5 | Illustrative pay rates in late Victorian Britain, mostly London | 723 |



Contributors

- Brian Alderson has been involved with children's books for most of his working life, among other things as critic, translator and collector. Much of his recent published work has been devoted to the history and bibliography of the genre.
- JOHN BARNES is Emeritus Professor of English at La Trobe University and Senior Honorary Research Associate in the Centre for the Book at Monash University. His books include *The Penguin Henry Lawson: short stories* (1986), *The order of things: a life of Joseph Furphy* (1990) and *Socialist champion: portrait of the gentleman as crusader* (2006). He is currently writing a study of Charles Joseph La Trobe.
- BILL BELL is Director of the Centre for the History of the Book at the University of Edinburgh. He is General Editor of the *Edinburgh history of the book in Scotland* and has held visiting posts at the Australian National University, the University of Ottawa and St John's College, Oxford.
- RIMI B. CHATTERJEE is a novelist and academic, at present teaching English at Jadavpur University, Calcutta. Her recent work includes *Empires of the mind: a history of Oxford University Press in India under the Raj* (2006) and a novel, *The city of love* (2007).
- STEPHEN COLCLOUGH is Lecturer in nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature in the School of English, Bangor University. He has written extensively on text distribution and the history of reading and is the author of *Consuming texts: readers and reading communities*, 1695–1870 (2007). He is also a contributor to the third volume of the *Edinburgh history of the book in Scotland* (2007).
- VICTORIA COOPER is Senior Commissioning Editor at Cambridge University Press for the music and theatre lists. Her publications include *The house of Novello: practice and policy of a Victorian music publisher*, 1829–1866 (2003).
- SIMON ELIOT is Professor of the History of the Book at the Institute of English Studies, University of London, and Deputy Director of its Centre for



List of contributors

Manuscript and Print Studies. He is the General Editor of the multi-volume *History of Oxford University Press* and is editor of the journal *Publishing History*. He has recently edited (with Jonathan Rose) *The Blackwell companion to the history of the book* (2007) and (with Andrew Nash and Ian Willison) *Literary cultures and the material book* (2007).

- RICHARD FREEBURY is Head of Hansard Printed Indexes in the House of Commons Library. He is currently using *The Bookseller* as a source for research into the book trade, underselling and copyright in the second half of the nineteenth century.
- AILEEN FYFE lectures in the History Department at the National University of Ireland, Galway. She is the author of *Science and salvation* (2004) and coeditor of *Science in the marketplace* (2007), and is completing a project about the impact of technological changes on the nineteenth-century book trade.
- Andrea Immel is Curator of the Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University Library. She is co-editor of *Childhood and children's books in early modern Europe 1550–1800* (2006), *Under fire: childhood in the shadow of war* (2008) and the forthcoming *Cambridge companion to children's literature*.
- Wallace Kirsop is an Honorary Professor and Director of the Centre for the Book in the School of English, Communications and Performance Studies at Monash University. He is General Editor of *A history of the book in Australia* and has worked extensively on the French book trade in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
- Graham Law is Professor in Media Studies, Waseda University. His books include *Serializing fiction in the Victorian press* (2000), and he is preparing *Wilkie Collins: a literary life*, written with Andrew Maunder.
- PATRICK LEARY is in the History Department of Northwestern University, and is a co-founder of the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP). He is completing a book about the *Punch* circle.
- MICHAEL LEDGER-LOMAS is a Fellow and Director of Studies at Selwyn College, Cambridge and a research associate of the Cambridge Victorian Studies Group. He is writing a book entitled *Selective affinities: England and Protestant Germany*, c.1825–1870.
- DAVID MCKITTERICK is Librarian and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a Vice-President of the British Academy. His books include *Print*, manuscript and the search for order (2003) and the *History of Cambridge University Press* (3 vols., 1992–2004).
- Andrew Nash is Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Reading. He has published essays on various aspects of nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature and publishing history. He is the author of *Kailyard and*



List of contributors

- Scottish literature (2007), editor of The culture of collected editions (2003) and co-editor of Literary cultures and the material book (2007).
- ROBERT L. PATTEN is Lynette S. Autrey Professor in Humanities, Rice University. His publications include *Literature in the marketplace: nineteenth-century British publishing and reading practices*, written with John O. Jordan (2003), and many studies of Charles Dickens.
- DAVE RUSSELL is Professor of History and Northern Studies in the Institute of Northern Studies, Leeds Metropolitan University. His most recent work is *Looking north: northern England and the national imagination* (2004) and he has published extensively on the history of English popular culture, especially sport and music.
- WILLIAM ST CLAIR, formerly Senior Research Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, is author most recently of *The reading nation in the romantic period* (2004) and *The grand slave emporium* (2006).
- James A. Secord is Professor of History and Philosophy of Science at the University of Cambridge and director of the Correspondence of Charles Darwin. The author of *Victorian sensation: the extraordinary publication, reception, and secret authorship of* Vestiges of the natural history of creation (2000), he is currently completing a book on science in newspapers in nineteenth-century London, Paris and New York.
- CATHERINE SEVILLE is Vice-Principal and Director of Studies in Law at Newnham College, Cambridge. She is the author of *Literary copyright reform* in early Victorian England (1999) and The internationalisation of copyright law: books, buccaneers and the black flag in the nineteenth century (2006).
- CHRISTOPHER STRAY is Honorary Research Fellow in the Department of Classics, Swansea University. His recent work includes studies of the history of examinations, textbooks and classical scholarship. He edited and contributed to Classical books: scholarship and publishing in Britain since 1800 (2007).
- GILLIAN SUTHERLAND is a Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge and has written extensively on the social history of education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Her most recent book is *Faith*, *duty and the power of mind: the Cloughs and their circle* 1820–1960 (2006).
- MICHAEL TWYMAN is Emeritus Professor of Typography and Graphic Communication at the University of Reading, and is presently Director of the Centre for Ephemera Studies there. His most recent book is *Images en couleur*, a study of early chromolithography (2007).



List of contributors

DAVID VINCENT is Professor of Social History and Pro Vice-Chancellor of the Open University. He is the author or editor of fifteen books on British and European social history including *Literacy and popular culture* (1989) and *The rise of mass literacy: reading and writing in modern Europe* (2000).

MICHAEL WINSHIP is the Iris Howard Regents Professor of English II at the University of Texas at Austin. He is a co-editor of and contributor to *The industrial book*, 1840–1880 (2007: volume 3 of *A history of the book in America*), and the author of *American literary publishing in the mid-nineteenth century: the business of Ticknor and Fields* (1995).



Preface

This volume of the Cambridge history of the book in Britain both complements and is complemented by other projects, most notably those dealing with Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Of these, only the last has been published in its entirety, as a collection of essays A nation and its books: a history of the book in Wales. The first volume of the Oxford history of the Irish book, dealing with the Irish book in English, 1550-1800, appeared in 2006.2 The third and fourth volumes (and first to appear) of the Edinburgh history of the book in Scotland, covering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were published in 2007, shortly before these words went to the publisher.³ The existence of these projects has influenced the structure and approach of the present volume, and they should be read alongside it. Nonetheless, though all these enterprises are loosely connected both by their subject matter and by personal ties, they are emphatically independent. They share common methodologies only incidentally; they share common viewpoints still less. More importantly, they do not seek, as a group, to be comprehensive. To do so would be impractical, even overweening. In each of them, and not least in the present volume, not only have large areas of activity been ignored; it will also be plain how much is still tentative, and how much more work needs to be done even at quite fundamental levels. Given the size of the book trade in the nineteenth century, and the immense volume of evidence in the shape of printed material and manuscript documentation that has survived, readers may perhaps find occasion for some relief. Besides these other national projects, the more general Cambridge history of libraries in Britain and Ireland⁴ is an essential companion to the following pages.

- 1 Ed. Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (Aberystwyth, 1998).
- 2 Ed. Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (Oxford, 2006). A further four volumes are planned.
- 3 Bill Bell (ed.), Ambition and industry, 1800–1880; David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (eds.), Professionalism and diversity, 1880–2000 (Edinburgh, 2007). A further two volumes are planned for previous periods.
- 4 Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (eds.), *The Cambridge history of libraries in Britain and Ireland.* 2. 1640–1850 (Cambridge, 2006); Alistair Black and Peter Hoare (eds.), *The Cambridge history of libraries in Britain and Ireland.* 3. 1850–2000 (Cambridge, 2006).



Preface

This volume is tentative in other respects as well. As an activity, the history of the book is still finding its feet: that is plain from the debates and position papers that appear in abundance each year. Under its generous umbrella shelter dozens of claims and approaches, some based more than others on the evidential, artefactual and archival value of books themselves. Contributors to this volume have been encouraged to found their work on the physical archival record, whether books, periodicals and newspapers, or other written, printed and visual related documentation. The wealth of surviving evidence, on a scale many times greater than for any previous period and perhaps greater than for any other country at this time, is both a strength and a difficulty. It is impossible to attain the relative coverage of earlier volumes in the *Cambridge history of the book in Britain*.

Where so much has survived, conclusions must frequently imply further questions even more than usual. Some are raised explicitly in the following pages; others by implication or even by their absence. In important and quite fundamental respects, this volume is tentative. At the most basic level, there is still no adequate bibliographical record of the output of the press in the British Isles after 1800, the closing date of the English short title catalogue. The Nineteenth century short title catalogue, which in any case covers only part of the period with which this volume is concerned, is avowedly selective, based on a small and, in important respects, unrepresentative selection of libraries. We still have no idea of the real scale of the pamphlet literature that was such a feature of nineteenth-century publishing. Excellent though it is, the Waterloo directory of Victorian periodicals is by no means complete. Moreover, while retrospective bibliographies are adept at describing titles and editions, they are not designed to provide details of how many copies of an edition were printed, or (often) how frequently reprints were called for, or over how long a period. For this, we rely on the business archives of printers and publishers. Not only have these survived very incompletely. Even for those that have survived, there has thus far been no concerted and systematic attempt to recover from them the quantities of books or periodicals that were manufactured. Understandably, all forays that have been made into archives for statistical purposes have been selective and unrepresentative in various ways. As a result of these two shortcomings, one concerning print and one mostly concerning manuscript, not only are we still very far off from knowing how far and in what ways society was saturated with

⁵ See among recent examples, with copious reference to previous literature, Michael Suarez, 'Historiographical problems and possibilities in book history and national histories of the book', *Studies in Bibliography* 56 (2003–4; published 2007), pp. 147–70; David L. Vander Meulen, 'How to read book history', *ibid.*, pp. 171–93.



Preface

print even of a permanent or semi-permanent kind, let alone more ephemeral materials. There is, at present, not even an agenda that elaborates the limitations and potential benefits of such archives as have survived, or how they relate to wider contexts of authorship, use and reading.

The chapter by William St Clair, that serves as an endpiece, is deliberately personal in its approach and tentative in its theme. In part, it continues discussions about his book *The reading nation in the romantic period* (2004), which has refashioned questions on periods far beyond that suggested in his title. It also calls for the collecting of a broader statistical basis, and analysis of better figures than are currently available. It implies the need for a fuller understanding of contexts and their relationships – bibliographical, topical, geographical, financial and human – than has so far been developed. It is to be hoped that this volume as a whole will contribute to that debate, and to others.

In preparing this volume, I am firstly grateful for their support, advice, encouragement and criticism to the other general editors of the Cambridge history of the book in Britain, John Barnard and Ian Willison. Simon Eliot brought crucial advice in shaping the volume and in the early stages of recruiting authors, and was to have been joint editor until other demands on his time made that impossible. Bill Bell generously shared with me the nineteenthcentury volume of the Edinburgh history of the book in Scotland, while it was still in proof. This volume was given its preliminary form at a seminar held at Trinity College, Cambridge. The Leverhulme Trust provided a grant to support Alexis Weedon in a project on statistics, and some of the fruit of that work can be seen in her guides to archives and in her Victorian publishing (2003), referred to at many points in this volume. I have unashamedly drawn on the experiences and lessons not just of editors and contributors in other volumes in this series, but also of those involved in similar projects in other parts of the world, especially Australia, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United States. At the University Press, Linda Bree, Maartje Scheltens and their colleagues have brought to this volume, as they have to others in the series, a degree of friendly patience as well as skilled interest for which every contributor is grateful and for which I am profoundly so. As always, however, my wife Rosamond is the person who has lived with this volume as long as anyone. For her willingness to listen, offer suggestions and read drafts with a judicious eye, and for her continuing support of all kinds, I am more thankful by the year.

David McKitterick

xvii

