

Writing with “one hand for the booksellers”:  
Victorian Poetry and the Illustrated Literary Periodical of the 1860s

by

Caley Liane Ehnes  
BA, University of Alberta, 2005  
MA, University of Victoria, 2007

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the Department of English

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University of Victoria

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## **Supervisory Committee**

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**Outside Member**

## Abstract

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Focusing on the poetry published in the *Cornhill*, *Once a Week*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy*, four of the most prominent illustrated literary periodicals of the 1860s, this dissertation contends that the popular poetry found in mid-century periodicals is not only essential to our understanding of the periodical press, but also that the periodical is integral to our understanding of Victorian poetics. Each chapter examines the poetry and poetics of a single periodical title and addresses several key issues related to the publication of poetry in the periodical press: the power and influence of illustrated poetry in contemporary visual culture, the intended audience of the literary periodical and the issues that raises for editors and poets, the sociology and networks of print, and the ways in which periodical poetry participated in contemporary debates about prosody. This dissertation thus offers an alternative history of Victorian poetry that asserts the centrality of the periodical and popular poetry. In other words, it argues that without a consideration of the vital importance of periodical poetry, Victorian poetry studies is quite simply anachronistic.

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## **Dedication**

For my dad, who taught me the value of popular literature and the importance of the book  
as a material object.

## Introduction: Poetry, Popularity, and the Periodical Press

And there's the extract, flasked and fine,  
And priced and saleable at last!

—Robert Browning, “Popularity”

Over the past decade, the new media of the Victorian period, including its periodicals and illustrations, has gone digital. Scholars of Victorian literature and the periodical press such as Patrick Leary, Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, and Andrew Stauffer have all written about this shift in the availability of primary sources. As Leary points out in his 2006 essay “Googling the Victorians,” this mass digitisation of nineteenth-century literature has transformed “our everyday working relationship to the Victorian past, a relationship now crucially mediated by digital technology” (73).<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the inspiration for my study of nineteenth-century periodical poetry came from an unanticipated encounter with a digitized text. In the fall of 2007, a *Google Books* search for information about the periodical contexts of Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s poem “L. E. L.’s Last Question” led me to its reprint in a digitised copy of Joseph Robins’s the *Ladies’ Pocket Magazine* (1839). While the initial discovery of Barrett Browning’s poem in the *Ladies’ Pocket Magazine* seems serendipitous, it actually serves as a simplified example of how focused digital searches can, as Stauffer argues, “guide us toward new patterns and connections that are only visible through the power of digital processing: reading by machinery” (“Introduction” 64).<sup>2</sup> Without digital projects such as *Google Books*, I would

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<sup>1</sup> Stauffer makes a similar comment five years later, noting that digital turn in Victorian scholarship has caused “a basic change to our discipline” as increasingly “our textual encounters are mediated by digital technologies” (“Introduction” 64).

<sup>2</sup> Leary comments on the serendipitous nature of digital scholarship, writing: “The extraordinary power, speed, and ubiquity of online searching has brought with it a serendipity of unexpected connections to

have never found the connection between “L. E. L.’s Last Question,” Barrett Browning, and the *Ladies’ Pocket Magazine* as no recorded reference to this publication context exists in the available print resources, including the *Armstrong Browning Library Database* and the *EEB Archive Online*.<sup>3</sup> The bibliographic information available on “L. E. L.’s Last Question” suggests that the poem appeared only once in the periodical press, as part of the 26 January 1839 issue of the *Athenaeum* (*The Brownings: A Research Guide*).

This submission of “L. E. L.’s Last Question” to the *Athenaeum* indicates that Barrett Browning wanted her poem to appear in a particular kind of periodical: a serious literary publication. Barrett Browning’s selection of this particular publication context for “L. E. L.’s Last Question” is what makes the poem’s subsequent appearance in the *Ladies’ Pocket Magazine* a perfect example of the core assertion made in my thesis: periodical contexts are crucial to the study of Victorian poetry and poetics.<sup>4</sup> After all, the *Ladies’ Pocket Magazine* catered to a very different audience than the *Athenaeum*. A magazine built on the model of the era’s popular literary annuals, the *Ladies’ Pocket*

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both information and people that is becoming increasingly central to the progress of Victorian research, and to our working lives as students of the nineteenth century” (74). However, while Leary does acknowledge that chance involved in digital research, he also points out that successful digital scholarship depends on the scholar’s ability to follow a set of best practices for online research. Stauffer (“Digital Scholarly Resource”), and Latham and Scholes make similar arguments though their articles focus more on the best practices required for scholarly digital archives.

<sup>3</sup> Leary’s research experiences support my own. Writing of his research on allusion in *Punch* comics, he notes that “[n]o amount of time spent in the library stacks would have suggested to me that any of those sources would be an especially good place to look for instances of the particular phrase, and if it had, the likelihood of actually discovering the phrase in a printed edition of any of them would have been virtually nil” (76).

<sup>4</sup> My discovery of the poem through *Google Books* also introduced me to the importance and limitations of the digital archive even as it opened up my research on Barrett Browning and the poetess tradition. Because I could only access a digital copy of this particular issue of the *Ladies’ Pocket Magazine*, I had to rely on my knowledge of the periodical form in order to evaluate how that placement of Barrett Browning’s poem affected the meaning of the poem. I was, however, able to view several physical volumes of the magazine (dated between 1825 and 1836) held by the Yale University Library. All physical descriptions of the magazine are based on this first-hand knowledge of the periodical and the scanned 1839 volume found through *Google Books*.

*Magazine* published household tips and recipes alongside poems from popular poets such as Letitia Elizabeth Landon, the L. E. L. of Barrett Browning's poem.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the content of the *Ladies' Pocket Magazine* amplifies the poem's critique of the popular poetess' identity and the feminine literary ideals that constrained Landon. The magazine locates the poem within the hyper-feminised discourses of the poetess figure, literary celebrity, fashion, and the annual: the very discourses that Barrett Browning's poem repudiates.

"L. E. L.'s Last Question" opens with a direct quotation from Landon's final poem, "A Night at Sea" (1839), which was published posthumously in the *New Monthly Magazine* for January 1839.<sup>6</sup> The poem answers and modifies Landon's plea for her friends back home to remember her as she remembers them, turning it into an exploration of the poetess figure and the literary notoriety that accompanied Landon's poetess persona and led to her social banishment through marriage. Ultimately, Barrett Browning rejects the poetic model offered by Landon, turning away from such "mortal issues" (58)

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<sup>5</sup> Established by Joseph Robins in 1825, the *Ladies' Pocket Magazine*, which originally appeared in monthly parts, exemplifies for Cynthia White a "new type of 'feminine' literature" designed "solely to entertain, being composed of fiction, fashion and miscellaneous light reading of a superficial kind" (41). The *Ladies' Pocket Magazine* incorporated elements traditionally associated with the annual alongside features of the era's popular women's magazines. The issue containing Barrett Browning's "L.E.L.'s Last Question" provides evidence of the magazine's hybrid status as it interweaves sections on domestic issues and the fashions of London and Paris among the publication's literary content. Tellingly, the table of contents delays indexing the practical sections on domestic concerns (e. g. how to remove grease spots from linen, how to wash cotton without fading, and how to cure burns) until the last page, thus privileging the literary content of the magazine. However, though the magazine attempted to align itself with the literary annual, it remained a cheap, ephemeral publication all but forgotten in recent critical surveys of women's magazines. For further information on the *Ladies' Pocket Magazine*, see Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman.

<sup>6</sup> The manuscript for the poem is dated 15 August 1838 (Dilbert-Himes and Lawford 459). Landon died on 15 October 1838. Though I tend to agree with Angela Leighton's assertion that Barrett Browning's knowledge of Landon's final question comes from the poem "A Night at Sea" (72), there are actually two potential sources. A 28 January 1839 letter to Hugh Stuart Boyd from Barrett Browning's sister Arabella suggests some published excerpts of Landon's final letter home as an alternative source: "I dare say you heard of Miss Landon's last letter that she wrote to some friend in England, a day or two before her death—supposing it may not have been in yr. newspaper, I must tell you, that *the question* upon wh. these lines are written, were the last words of her letter" (Kelley and Hudson 4: 346).

to the “vocal pathos” of Christ, “HE who drew / All life from dust, and *for* all, tasted death” (60–61). The poem closes with Christ repeating L. E. L.’s last question, “Do you think of me as I think of you?” (63), as Barrett Browning opens up a new space for poetic and social inquiry, one that responds to consequential issues, such as religion, rather than celebrity and the false promise of love songs.

The placement of two conventional, if not banal, fashion plates in the middle of the poem effectively sutures “L.E.L.’s Last Question” into the feminine world of fashion, furthering the magazine’s insertion of Barrett Browning into annual culture and the poetess tradition.<sup>7</sup> These visual representations of “London Dinner and Evening Dresses” subvert Barrett Browning’s critique of the poetess. They recast the poem’s conclusion by associating it with the fashionable images that Barrett Browning found morally and culturally degrading. Such images are a consistent feature of the *Ladies’ Pocket Magazine*. They are printed on thicker paper stock, which makes them stand out from the letterpress, and they depict the latest fashions described by the magazine, perhaps acting as patterns for the latest dress designs. Moreover, the space given to these images implies that they were one of the saleable features of the periodical. This emphasis on fashion over literary illustration further depreciates the value of the magazine’s literature.

It is impossible to determine whether the layout of Barrett Browning’s poem was intentional or not, and, in fact, this lack of information about Robins’s editorial intentions does not matter when one reads the poem as part of a deeper print context, specifically that of the Victorian poetess and the culture of the literary annual. Regardless of intent,

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<sup>7</sup> The active participation of women editors and contributors such as Hemans, Landon, and Barrett Browning’s friend Mary Russell Mitford (to say nothing of the product’s perceived audience and fashionable bindings) led to what Patricia Pulham calls a feminisation of the product.

the placement of the poem after the obituary for “Mrs. Maclean” (Landon’s married name) presents the poem as part of a broader cultural project interested in establishing Landon as a secular saint and identifying Barrett Browning as heir to Landon’s poetics and celebrity.<sup>8</sup> A comparison with the print context offered by the *Athenaeum* emphasises how each periodical context affects the tone of Barrett Browning’s commentary on Landon and the figure of the poetess. In the *Athenaeum*, the poem functions like the newspaper poems studied by Natalie Houston (239); it provides an alternative and more emotional response to the factual news of Landon’s death, which the same periodical reported a few weeks earlier on 5 January 1839. As it appears in the *Athenaeum* surrounded by brief literary reviews, book notices, foreign correspondence, and gossip (figure 2), the poem documents one poet’s response to the death of another. Its embeddedness in a periodical known for its literary reviews simultaneously emphasises Landon’s reputation as a prominent poet in the period, supports the critical perspective offered by the speaker of “L. E. L.’s Last Question,” and elevates Barrett Browning’s own stature by giving her a critical voice in a popular literary review.<sup>9</sup>

As previously mentioned, Barrett Browning’s decision to submit “L. E. L.’s Last Question” to the *Athenaeum* suggests that she was aware of how the literary reputation of this particular periodical supported the message of her poem.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, no evidence exists to suggest that Barrett Browning ever knew of the republication of her poem in the

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<sup>8</sup> For example, in a review of Barrett Browning’s *The Seraphim and Other Poems* (*Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, August 1838), John Wilson inserts “our Elizabeth” into a chronology of the poetess, identifying her as the child-like heir to the poetic fame of Tighe, “she who died first,” Hemans, and Landon (281).

<sup>9</sup> My use of the term *embeddedness* here and throughout my thesis comes from Hughes’s essay “Inventing Poetry and Pictorialism in *Once a Week*” (46).

<sup>10</sup> For further information about the submission of “L. E. L.’s Last Question” to the *Athenaeum*, see Arabella’s 28 January 1839 letter to Hugh Stuart Boyd (Kelley and Hudson 4: 346).

*Ladies' Pocket Magazine*.<sup>11</sup> The recognition of these early publication contexts enriches our current understanding of Barrett Browning's development as a poet. They show how Barrett Browning attempted to negotiate the ideological power of the periodical even as publications such as the *Ladies' Pocket Magazine* assigned her a poetic persona based on the reputation of her elder contemporaries. However, the periodical press did more than just shape poetic reputations through the solicitation and promotion of poetry. It also contributed to the poetics of the era by publishing the poetry of writers who specialised in popular verse forms such as the hymn and sentimental verse, and it affected both the reception and the meaning of popular poems as seen in this brief case study of Barrett Browning's "L. E. L.'s Last Question."

I began with the periodical culture of the 1830s and the *Ladies' Pocket Magazine* because the critical reception of the era's gilded annuals and women's magazines influenced contemporary responses to popular periodical poetry.<sup>12</sup> Victorian critics of the annuals perceived them as promoting "a small and trivialized style of poetry" best composed by the poetess (Pulham 13), and this perception of popular poetry (down to the

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<sup>11</sup> Kathryn Ledbetter discusses the consequences of lax copyright laws, especially in America, in *Tennyson and Victorian Periodicals*. She notes that editors took advantage of the gaps in copyright law and "clipped, cut, and pasted stanzas, lines, and sections of whole poems as they pleased, according to the amount of space they decided poetry should have or would fill on a page" (3). Editors also reprinted poems from the popular literary periodicals of the era as part of their literature section. For instance, *The Lady's Newspaper and Pictorial Times* (published by William J. Johnson) published "Extracts from *Once a Week*" (specifically, Tom Taylor's "Magenta" and Shirley Brooks's "Once a Week") on 2 July 1859 and "Black Monday. (From *Once a Week*)" on 29 October 1859. The appearance of these poems in *The Lady's Newspaper* occurs on the same day as their initial publication in *Once a Week*, making it unclear whether these poems were reprinted without permission or used by Bradbury and Evans as a form of advertisement. Nevertheless, the circulation of *Once a Week*'s poetry outside the periodical demonstrates how easily poetry could be detached from its original publication context. For further information on the culture of reprinting and copyright, see Meredith McGill and Cheri Larsen Hoekley.

<sup>12</sup> The annuals were the first periodical publications to receive scholarly attention due to the recovery of Hemans and Landon as important Romantic-era poets. For scholarship on the annuals and the figure of the poetess, see Brown, Hoagwood and Ledbetter, Lawford, Leighton, Linley, Lootens, Peterson, Prins, and Vincent.

very language used to describe it) continued into the twentieth century.<sup>13</sup> In her important essay “What the *Wellesley* Left Out: Why Poetry Matters to Periodical Studies,” Linda K. Hughes suggests that the critical view of periodical poetry as “trite or sentimental ‘filler’ worth no one’s time” informed Walter Houghton’s editorial policy to exclude verse from the *Wellesley Index* (91).<sup>14</sup> For Hughes, however, such poetry has the potential to enrich scholarship on the “periodicals’ cultural politics, editorial principles, authorship, formal dynamics, and visuality” (“What the *Wellesley* Left Out” 115). While my thesis acknowledges the important role that poetry plays in the “cultural politics” of the era’s periodicals, I am equally interested in the formal innovations of periodical poetry. This attention to form allows my analysis of popular periodical poetry to test the over-determined and historically unstable binaries that currently define the canon of Victorian poetry: masculine versus feminine, cultural versus popular, and margin versus centre. In other words, I evaluate each periodical poem in terms of its poetics rather than its perceived cultural value or lack thereof to demonstrate how these aforementioned binaries erase periodical poetry from the canon on the basis of cultural perceptions despite the poetic innovations of the genre.

Focusing on the poetry published in four of the most prominent illustrated literary periodicals of the 1860s, the *Cornhill* (January 1860 to December 1863), *Once a Week* (2

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<sup>13</sup> For further information, see Bennett, Hughes, “What the *Wellesley* Left Out”; and Ledbetter, *British Victorian Women’s Periodicals*.

<sup>14</sup> While there is little scholarship available on the poetry of the periodical press, a vast amount of scholarship exists on the Victorian periodical. Early work on the genre tends to focus on developing a methodology for working with periodicals. These texts aim to define the field, to introduce the resources available to students and scholars of the periodical press (Don Vann and Van Arsdel), and to outline the theoretical questions confronting the researcher of periodicals (Pykett). Complementing these early studies of the periodical press is the empirical and archival research performed by scholars; notably, Alver Ellegård and George Worth enumerate the circulation of Victorian periodicals and the poetry published in *MacMillan’s Magazine* respectively. Other scholars, such as Linda Hughes and Michael Lund in their foundational work *The Victorian Serial*, examine how the demands of serial publication influenced the form of literature in the Victorian era.

July 1859 to 22 December 1860), *Good Words* (January 1860 to December 1862), and the *Argosy* (December 1865 to December 1869), this thesis contends that the popular poetry found in mid-century periodicals is not only essential to our understanding of the periodical press, but also that the periodical is integral to our understanding of Victorian poetics. Published in the early 1860s, the *Cornhill*, *Once a Week*, and *Good Words* provided the model for the literary periodicals of the era. The *Argosy*, which appeared five-and-a-half years after the *Cornhill*, provides a glimpse of what the literary periodical became later in the decade after the rise of sensation fiction. The data set selected for my dissertation is strategically focused yet deep, built from my index of the poetry published in the early volumes of each periodical (see appendix C). These inaugural volumes published poetry at a greater frequency than subsequent volumes, suggesting that poetry played an important role in the initial self-definition of the literary periodical. Indeed, alongside serial fiction, it defined the literary periodical. Each chapter examines the poetry and poetics of a single periodical title and addresses several key issues related to the publication of poetry in the periodical press: the power and influence of illustrated poetry in contemporary visual culture, the intended audience of the literary periodical and the issues that raised for editors and poets, the sociology and networks of print, and the ways in which periodical poetry participated in contemporary debates about prosody. The chapters that follow re-draw the conventional map of Victorian poetics, offering an alternative history of Victorian poetry that asserts the centrality of the periodical and popular poetry to the genre.

## The History of Popular Periodical Poetry

The history of periodical poetry begins in the early nineteenth century, running parallel to and intersecting with the conventional history of Victorian poetry and poetics. In *The Reading Nation*, William St. Clair documents how periodical culture facilitated the circulation of poetry several years before the development of the literary annual. He observes that the commonplace books of the early nineteenth century contained significant amounts of poetry, most of which was cut from magazines. St. Clair's research into the reading practices of the era suggests that from the early years of periodical culture and mass readership, periodical poems were, in the words of Benjamin Gregory, "a Methodist preacher's son in Yorkshire in the 1820s[. . .] 'not read and cast aside, but re-read, conversed upon, and kept as household treasures'" (225). I will return to this understanding of periodical poetry as worth re-reading and discussing in my chapter on devotional poetry and *Good Words*. For now, the important thing to note is that in the nineteenth century, commonplace books were also known as *annuals* and were largely associated with women readers. These personal collections of "original drawings and water colours, [and] cuttings from newspapers" anticipated the composition of the literary annuals published in the 1820s and 1830s, and for a while, the annuals actually "coexisted and competed with" the commonplace book (St. Clair 224, 229). The annuals thus built on the commonplace book's presentation of collected literary texts as something to treasure. This sense of literature as a treasured memento even appeared in the annuals' titles: the *Keepsake*, the *Forget-Me-Not*, the *Literary Souvenir*, and *Friendship's Offering* to name but a few. The commonplace book and the literary annual

of the 1820s were commercial products aimed at women, ranging from books composed of “mainly blank pages but with advice on how to make selections” to books that contained blank pages “interspersed with pages containing printed pictures and verses” (St. Clair 229). Eventually, the blank pages began to fill with pre-selected text and the literary annual dominated the poetry market for the next twenty years.<sup>15</sup>

The rise of the literary annual in the 1820s occurred at the moment when the market collapsed for volumes of original poetry by a single author. As Lee Erickson observes, “[m]ost new poetry continued to be printed in editions of 500 copies, found few readers, and made no money” (“Market” 345). Few publishers were willing to take the financial risk of publishing poetry in light of the weak market. Even when a publisher did agree to produce a print run of a poet’s work, he often required the poet to publish on half profit. This meant that the poet had to take “half of the publishing risks and assume half of any losses” (Erickson, “Market” 348). Of course, the poet stood to gain half the profits if his or her poetry sold. Building on the pre-existing audience for commonplace books, publishers of literary annuals created a new venue for popular literature. They offered readers a ready-made collection of poetry and prose written by popular authors such as Felicia Hemans, Letitia Elizabeth Landon, Walter Scott, Mary Shelley, and Alfred Tennyson. The annual represents an important cultural artefact because its production points to the expansion of poetry’s readership through the popular periodical, the changes

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<sup>15</sup> Poetry continued to appear in newspapers as Elizabeth Gray, Andrew Hobbs, and Natalie Houston have shown. However, for the purposes of my dissertation, I am focusing on self-consciously literary periodicals such as the annual and the well-defined genre of the illustrated literary periodical. These publications were the purveyors of popular literature and culture for the Victorian middle class in London. It is important to note, however, that the poetry of these London-based periodicals did circulate outside the capital, reaching audiences who were not part of the city’s middle class. Poems from the literary periodicals were often printed in local and provincial newspapers alongside regional poetry. For further information, see Hobbs.

to circulation and distribution that were occurring within the era's publishing and literary market, and "the place of the poet in Victorian literary culture" (Ledbetter, *Tennyson* 13). At the height of their popularity in the 1830s, there were more than two hundred annuals and gift books under production (Linley 54), making the annual "one of the most popular outlets for poetry" (Brown 190). It was certainly the most profitable for authors. Editors frequently offered popular writers exorbitant sums for their contributions—as much as £25 for a lyric and up to £100 for a short story. Thus, though poets like Tennyson maligned the literary annual, these popular publications represented a significant source of income for poets in an otherwise stagnant literary market.<sup>16</sup> The presence of poetry by Tennyson and other canonical poets in the annuals of the 1830s demonstrates poetry's dependence on the popular market during this period.

The annuals were more than a literary product, however. They were a luxury item. Bound according to the latest sartorial fashions, "be it watered silk, velvet, satin, or morocco embossed with gilded lyres and flowers" (Lawford 103), the annuals also contained steel engravings of social beauties and reproductions of famous works of art. These illustrations were the publication's main selling feature even as the literary works of Landon, Tennyson, and others enriched the literary content, if not the reputation, of the annuals. This is particularly evident in the title pages of *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook* (figure 3), which advertise a series of "poetical illustrations" by L. E. L. The wording used on the title page subordinates poetic text to image just as L. E. L.'s poems are meant to illustrate the image. In her case study of the literary annual, Lindsey Eckhart

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<sup>16</sup> Tennyson calls annuals those "vapid books," and in a letter dated 3 August 1831, he complains, "I have been so beGemmed and beAmulatted and be-forget-me-not-ted that I have given all these things up" (1: 63).

describes how “Landon was responsible for the vast majority of the ‘poetical illustrations’ in *Fisher’s Drawing Room Scrap-Book*. In her prefaces, and sometimes in the poems themselves, she voices the difficulties of writing poems to suit engravings” (Eckhart, Item No. 32: L.E.L.). This subordination of poetic text to image in the literary annuals contributed to the dismissal of such publications and their poetry. It also fed the critical perception of the poetess, a figure so closely associated with the annuals, as an *improvisatrice*, responding to art rather than creating it.<sup>17</sup> While this critical dismissal of popular illustrated poetry continued long after the last literary annual ceased publication in 1857, the verbal/visual relationship seen in the annual’s illustrated poems continued to influence the critical reception of illustrated popular poetry into the 1860s.<sup>18</sup>

The transition from annual to illustrated poetic gift book and, finally, illustrated literary periodical is complex. Both the illustrated periodicals of the 1840s and the literary annuals of the 1830s influenced the production of the illustrated gift book by establishing what Loraine Janzen Kooistra identifies as “an expectation that poetry and pictures belonged together” (*Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 80). Moreover, though the final issue of *The Keepsake* signalled the end of the literary annual, the expectations of the commercial Christmas market continued to influence the production of poetry as the poetic gift book filled the gap left by the now-defunct annuals. Examples of such publications include the first Dalziel’s *Fine Art Gift Book*, Robert Willmott’s *The*

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<sup>17</sup> Such attitudes towards the illustrated poetry of the annuals continued through the 1850s.

<sup>18</sup> The 1774 ruling on copyright in Britain denied claims to perpetual copyright (thwarting bookseller monopolies) and argued that copyright could be limited in duration. After this ruling, “of the millions of volumes which became cheap and plentiful, almost every one [was] illustrated with at least one engraving, and some with many” (St. Clair 134). St. Clair notes, that this “explosion of reading [. . .] literary texts was accompanied by an explosion of the viewing of engraved pictures,” and, like the gift books of the Dalziel brothers and Moxon, these literary texts often paired older texts with new illustrations (134–35). For further information on the effect of copyright law on the book market, see St. Clair, *The Reading Nation*.

*Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, and a lavishly illustrated edition of Tennyson's *Poems* published by Edward Moxon.<sup>19</sup> Both texts repackaged previously published poems with a series of new illustrations created by many of the decade's best artists. Willmott's *Poets*, for example, included over one hundred engravings by eighteen artists, while Moxon commissioned 54 wood engravings from eight artists for his edition of Tennyson's poems. Moxon mixed the old with the new, placing illustrations by established, if outmoded, artists such as Daniel Maclise and Clarkson Stanfield alongside wood engravings produced by members of the recently defined Pre-Raphaelite School, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais, and William Holman Hunt.<sup>20</sup> Both Dalziel and Moxon intended to attract consumers during the Christmas season with their gift books. These luxury illustrated editions replaced the annuals in the literary market. However, they did not publish the same miscellaneous content as the annuals. They published only poetry, a decision that emphasises the genre's cultural value as a symbol of middle-class taste in mid-Victorian England.<sup>21</sup>

The illustrated gift books of the 1850s functioned in much the same way as the literary annual; they provided consumers with a visual signifier of their literary taste and class status. However, unlike the annual, the illustrated poetic gift books of the 1850s

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<sup>19</sup> Coincidentally, Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh*, which calls for a new kind of poetry, is also dated 1857 (though it was published in December 1856). Barrett Browning's verse novel challenges the annual tradition of a hyper-feminised lyric modality through Aurora's discussion of her poetry and the very form of the verse-novel itself.

<sup>20</sup> The visual dissonance between the older generation of illustrators and the developing Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic, which came to define black-and-white illustrations in the 1860s, was one of the main criticisms of the Moxon Tennyson and partially accounts for the volume's lack of success. Delays that forced Moxon to miss the Christmas market also contributed to the poetry's volumes commercial failure. Later gift books tend to be more unified in their design. An example is Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market and Other Poems* (1862), which was illustrated by Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

<sup>21</sup> Kooistra discusses the role of illustrated poetry as a cultural signifier at length in *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing*.

were “shot through with the discourses of ‘high’ art and poetry” (Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 77). Indeed, Willmott’s *Poets* and Moxon’s Tennyson simultaneously define and re-affirm contemporary middle-class literary tastes. As the title of Willmott’s *The Poets of the Nineteenth Century* suggests, this particular poetry volume proposes a canon of nineteenth-century poets, gathering prominent and popular figures together as cultural representatives of the age.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, after the disappointment of *Maud and Other Poems* (1855), Moxon’s edition of Tennyson provided readers with a collection of some of the poet’s most well-known and celebrated poems, and thus asserted Tennyson’s status as the poet laureate.<sup>23</sup> While the Moxon Tennyson and similar poetry volumes functioned, in part, to define and reflect middle-class literary values, they also participated in a major shift in the cultural value of illustration. The poetic gift books of the 1850s embraced the aesthetics of the Pre-Raphaelite school of black-and-white illustration. Pre-Raphaelite illustrators such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais, and William Holman Hunt approached illustration as a legitimate art form comparable to painting, leading to the high-art discourse noticed by Kooistra. As Paul Goldman observes in his study of Victorian illustration, the “high seriousness” and rigorous designs of the Pre-Raphaelites made illustration equal to the text (1). In some cases, these illustrations even superseded the text, becoming art objects in their own right. The packaging of the *Cornhill*’s illustrations as an art book titled *The Cornhill Gallery* (1864) occurred at the height of this trend.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> For further information about the creation of the nineteenth-century canon of poetry, see St. Clair, “Chapter 12: Romance.”

<sup>23</sup> *Maude* was the first poetry volume published by Tennyson as poet laureate.

<sup>24</sup> Special thanks are owed to Lisa Surrige, who drew my attention to *The Cornhill Gallery* and allowed me to view her scans of the rare book in preparation for my dissertation and my chapter on the *Cornhill*.

Equally important was the renewed popularity of wood engravings and the changes this brought to page layouts in the poetic gift books of the 1850s. The return to wood engravings allowed illustrations to be printed in relief alongside the type. “Thereafter,” Kooistra explains, “the half-page vignette, most often positioned above the title, became the standard form for illustration in the period” (“Poetry and Illustration” 400). The standardisation of this layout for illustrated poetry changed the way readers interacted with illustrated poems. The integrated relationship between image and text presented poem and illustration as a single text, making the way an illustrator chose to re-present the text visually an important part of the document as opposed to a value-added feature. The revolution of this layout altered the appearance of the periodical press of the 1860s. As Kooistra observes, the literary periodicals of the period “continued the approach to illustrating poetry that was inaugurated in the Moxon Tennyson: the bold black-and-white designs demanded to be read with the same attentiveness as the poetic lines” (*Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 83). The layout of *Once a Week* provides evidence for this new recognition of illustration as an art form equal to that of poetry. *Once a Week* offered a new model for the relationship between image and poetic text in the periodical press as the first literary periodical of the era to published “original poems and original woodcut engravings” together (Hughes, “Inventing Poetry” 41). Subsequent literary periodicals followed suit, and the first poetic gift book published with original content and original wood engravings, Christina Rossetti’s *Goblin Market and Other Poems* with illustrations by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, appeared in 1862 (Kooistra, “Poetry and Illustration” 402).<sup>25</sup> The literary market of the 1860s thus offered middle-class

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<sup>25</sup> Of course, the publisher Macmillan had first tested the market by publishing Christina Rossetti’s poems in his magazine, which affords an example of how periodical poetry and volume poetry intersect.

readers two different venues for the art and poetry of the period: the poetic gift book and the literary periodical.

Periodical scholars often identify the literary periodical of the 1860s as either the shilling monthly, which refers to the periodical's price of one shilling per issue, or the family literary magazine (Phegley, *Domesticating*; Wynne, *The Sensation Novel*), which alludes to the periodical's intended audience, the middle-class family. The rise of the literary periodical occurred for a number of reasons, including the reading public's desire for value-added texts, the move of serial fiction to the periodical press as facilitated by Dickens's *Household Words*, the mechanisation of print, and the repeal of the taxes on knowledge.<sup>26</sup> The mid-Victorian literary periodical published a significant amount of what is now considered canonical literature, including serial novels such as Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations* (published in *All the Year Round* from December 1860 to August 1861) and non-fiction prose pieces, including Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (published in *The Cornhill* from July 1867 to August 1868). The presence of such significant literature in the literary periodicals of the era makes the absence of scholarship on periodical poetry puzzling, especially since the centrality of the literary periodical in Victorian culture means that the genre defined the literature of the period. In her work on illustrated poetry, Kooistra observes that the poetic gift book was "[m]ass-produced by the Victorian culture industry, [. . .] as a standardized form whose ideological and disciplinary manipulation of consumers cannot be ignored" (*Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 4). The gift books promoted domesticity, an association made explicit in the title of *Home Thoughts and Home Scenes*, and publishers marketed them as

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<sup>26</sup> For further information on the rise of the mid-Victorian periodical, see Altick, Huett, and Leighton and Surridge, "Introduction."

ideal texts for the middle-class parlour. These compilations, including the Moxon Tennyson and Willmott's *Poets*, defined poetry for mid-Victorian middle-class readers. The same can be said for the literary periodical.

Though there were hundreds, if not thousands, of literary periodicals published in the 1860s, the *Cornhill*, *Once a Week*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy* represent four distinct areas of the periodical market: the respectable, middle-class literary monthly, the family weekly, the religious press, and the late-sixties journal of sensation fiction.<sup>27</sup> Of these periodicals, the *Cornhill* provides the best example of how the literary periodical functioned to manipulate consumer tastes by appealing to the existing ideology of middle-class literary and domestic culture. Thackeray, the periodical's first editor, describes the periodical as appropriate for the entire family: "At our social table, we shall suppose the ladies and children always present" (Ray 4: 161). However, the *Cornhill* not only conforms to middle-class sensibilities, it also helps to define and guide the development of its readership, especially its women readers. Moreover, Thackeray's presentation of the periodical's contents functions to shape middle-class literary tastes, containing the most high-profile poets, including Tennyson, Barrett Browning, and Charlotte and Emily Brontë.<sup>28</sup> However, despite its status as a cultural signifier, the *Cornhill* was but one of many periodicals aimed at a middle-class audience. The editor of

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<sup>27</sup> The *Argosy* is the sole example in my dissertation of a periodical edited (and later published) by a woman, but it is important to note that women were working as editors throughout the nineteenth century. For example, George Eliot edited the *Westminster Review* in the 1850s (though, like Isa Craig's silent work for the *Argosy*, Eliot's role as editor was not advertised nor was she ever officially named as editor); *The English Woman's Journal* (1858–64) was published by the Victoria Press and edited by women associated with the Langham Place Group, including Barbara Bodichon, Emily Davies, Emily Faithful, Mary Hays, and Bessie Rayner Parkes; and Mary Elizabeth Braddon edited the literary periodical *Belgravia* for ten years (1866–76).

<sup>28</sup> For further information on how the *Cornhill* modelled and shaped its readership, especially the woman reader, see Jennifer Phegley's chapter on the *Cornhill* in *Educating the Proper Woman Reader*.

*Once a Week*, Samuel Lucas, promotes a similar agenda with the publication of the periodical's inaugural poem, Shirley Brooks's "Once a Week" (2 July 1859; 1: 1–2). Brooks's poem establishes the periodical's focus on domestic reading practices and family entertainment as opposed to the more cultured tone of the *Cornhill*. Appearing on the literary market at the same time as the *Cornhill* and *Once a Week*, *Good Words* participated in both the religious and popular literary market. Its layout and contents promote Christian reading practices. In particular, the periodical's poetry, which often takes the form of a hymn, adopts the conventions of contemporary devotional traditions. This formal echo of established devotional texts and practices turns the periodical's poems into visual and textual spaces for spiritual reflection. Finally, the *Argosy*, a truly miscellaneous periodical with no single definable identity, strives to attract and shape a particular type of reader: the middle-class domestic woman. The periodical's editors accomplish this in two ways. Under the editorship of Isa Craig, the publication's first editor, the periodical's often sentimental poetry identifies the *Argosy* as a product published for women readers. For example, Craig's poem introducing the *Argosy*, "On Board the Argosy" (December 1865; 1: 37–38), references the philanthropic work many middle-class women undertook in the nineteenth century while R. B.'s "Hermioné" (December 1865; 1: 47–49) describes a husband's admiration for his intellectual wife who is wise, educated, and utterly delighted by her role as a mother. As these brief examples suggest, the periodical press contributed to the poetics of mid-Victorian poetry, defining the popular poetics and literary tastes of the era. My thesis builds on previous research into the periodical press and poetry, paying particular attention to what has, thus

far, been an understudied issue: how the genre of the literary periodical shaped mid-Victorian poetic forms.

### **Puff-Poets: The Critical Reputation of Periodical Poetry**

In *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature* (1896), George Saintsbury writes: “Very large numbers of the best as well as the worst novels themselves have originally appeared in periodicals; not a very small portion of the most noteworthy nineteenth-century poetry has had the same origin” (166). The numbers confirm Saintsbury’s assertion. The *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry* (<http://web.uvic.ca/~vicpoet/database-of-victorian-periodical-poetry/>), for example, has indexed 6,807 poems by 1,960 authors in sixteen periodicals as of 24 February 2014.<sup>29</sup> As the numbers produced through the *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry* suggest, the amount of periodical poetry published far exceeds the parameters of my thesis, requiring me to make several strategic choices about which periodicals to study in order to limit the scope of my research. I decided to focus on illustrated periodicals because the rise in black-and-white illustrations in the 1850s changed the publication of poetry and led mid-Victorian readers to expect illustrations accompanying their poems just as they expected their fiction to be illustrated. I then considered each periodical individually to determine the most appropriate date ranges. In each case, I decided to focus on the inaugural years of the periodical since the early stages of each publication’s run generally functioned to define

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<sup>29</sup> The periodicals indexed in the *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry* include *All the Year Round*, *Atalanta*, *Chambers’s Edinburgh Magazine*, *Good Words*, *Household Words*, *Once a Week*, *Pageant*, the *Chartist Circular*, the *Dark Blue*, the *English Woman’s Journal*, the *Keepsake*, the *Penny Magazine*, the *Yellow Book*, *Victorian Magazine*, *Waverley Journal*, and *Woman’s World*.

the periodical's mandate and literary tone. Finally, I chose periodicals that represent their particular genres: the inaugural literary monthly and weekly, the religious journal, and the literary periodical of the late-sixties. Even with these restrictions, my study of the patterns, poetics, and readerships of periodical poetry considers 402 poems.<sup>30</sup>

Projects such as my thesis, the *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, and *The Periodical Poetry Index* (<http://www.periodicalpoetry.org/index.htm>), have only begun to explore the vast amount of poetry published in the periodical press of the nineteenth century. This lack of scholarship and basic information on periodical poetry until relatively recently, especially when it comes to authors, has its roots in nineteenth-century attitudes that viewed poetry as a high art and the periodical press as a commercial product. As Pierre Bourdieu notes in "The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Scale," "the opposition between 'commercial' and the 'non-commercial' reappears everywhere. It is the generative principle of most of the judgements which [. . .] claim to establish the frontier between what is and what is not art" (82). Such assertions about the cultural value of periodical poetry appear with some frequency in periodical essays on the state of contemporary poetry, but they also appear in poetry itself.

The 5 March 1843 issue of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* offers one example of the type of criticism that popular poetry faced in the press. An essay from this issue titled "The Puff-Poets" satirises the degradation and commercialisation of poetry. The anonymous author makes the link between periodical poetry and commercialism explicit with the suggestion that "the advertising columns may be looked upon as forming a national monument of poetic labour" (582: 73). Poetry, like the commercial and

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<sup>30</sup> The *Cornhill* (60 poems), *Once a Week* (114 poems), *Good Words* (119 poems), and the *Argosy* (109 poems).

manufacturing worlds taking over nineteenth-century Britain, is for sale, and this saleable poetry is overtaking that of “true art,” threatening to become, much to the author’s horror, Great Britain’s new “school of national poetry” (582: 74). Barrett Browning’s *Aurora Leigh* (1857) displays a similar distaste for commercial poetry. As a poet, Aurora states that she must “work with one hand for the booksellers / While working with the other for myself / And art” (3: 302-305). Aurora views her contributions, her “frivolous fame” (3: 235), as trivial; she “played at art, / Made thrusts with toy sword, / Amused the lads and maidens” (3: 240–41), writing “To suit light readers” (3: 319). Barrett Browning’s focus on the division between art and financial success anticipates the divisions that define much of the current scholarship on Victorian poetry: the cultural versus the popular and the centre versus the margin.

Recent scholarship on the periodical press dismisses such valuations of popular periodical poetry. Critics such as Paula Bennett, Linda Hughes, Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, and Kathryn Ledbetter emphatically refute the critical perception of periodical poetry as “light verse” and inconsequential filler. All four critics argue that the poetry published in British and American serial print played a significant role in the development of nineteenth-century poetry. As Hughes notes in *The Cambridge Introduction to Victorian Poetry*, periodicals “shaped Victorian poetry. They did so by the pressure they exerted on length and content, their timing, and their reviews” (91). To ignore periodical poetry is to accept an incomplete and false history of poetry as a genre. For example, Bennett’s essay “Not Just Filler and Not Sentimental: Women’s Poetry in American Victorian Periodicals, 1860–1900” makes clear the consequences of ignoring periodical poetry, demonstrating why periodical poetry matters to the study of nineteenth-century poetry

and poetics. From the first page, she counters the critical view of periodical poetry as insignificant, arguing that “whether it was filler or not,” nineteenth-century periodical poetry “was pivotal to the evolution of women’s periodical poetry in the United States” (202). For Bennett, the “erasure” of periodical poetry “from the cultural memory” results in a false cultural narrative that makes “the flowering of women’s poetry at the beginning of the twentieth century seem far more autonomous and self-contained than it actually was” (204). Though Bennett focuses on American poets and poetry, a similar argument can nonetheless be made about the poetry published in British periodicals.<sup>31</sup>

Published ten years after Bennett’s essay, Hughes’s “What the *Wellesley* Left Out: Why Poetry Matters to Periodical Studies” highlights the importance of poetry to Britain’s literary history. Instead of focusing on women’s literature, however, Hughes emphasises the importance of poetry to periodical studies, rejecting the notion that periodical poetry functions as *merely* “trite or sentimental ‘filler’ worth no one’s time” (91).<sup>32</sup> Hughes points out that “[t]he presumptive association of poetry with ‘filler’ is belied by the sheer extent of poems first published in Victorian periodicals that are now deemed canonical” (92). For Hughes, the sheer volume of poetry published in the periodical press means that “poetry should matter to all who are interested in Victorian periodicals whether they care for poetry or not” (91). The implications of Hughes’s

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<sup>31</sup> Of course, the transatlantic culture of reprinting complicates any distinction between British and American periodical poetry. For further information, see McGill.

<sup>32</sup> I have emphasised the word *merely* here because some poems do appear to be filler due to their position on the page. The publication of Christina Rossetti’s “The Round Tower at Jhansi.–June 8, 1857” in the 13 August 1859 issue of *Once a Week* provides one example. In this particular instance, the poem’s role as filler as opposed to feature is suggested by the omission of the poem’s central stanza in *Once a Week*, as well as the misattribution to Caroline G. Rossetti. Unfortunately, Crump’s variorum edition does not give information about the poem’s periodical context, although she does note that no manuscript is extant (1: 237). The four stanzas are divided between the two columns at the very end of a page, suggesting the poem was shortened to fit the space available.

assertions are borne out in her subsequent essay “Inventing Poetry and Pictorialism in *Once a Week*.” In her study of the first six months of the periodical, Hughes identifies *Once a Week* as an innovative text that appears at “an important node in the history of Victorian illustrated poetry” (41). What makes *Once a Week* so important, Hughes suggests, is its approach to illustrated poetry; it “paired original poems *and* original woodcut engravings” (“Inventing Poetry” 41). As such, *Once a Week* offered readers a new literary experience, one different from that offered by the literary annuals of the 1830s, which paired engravings of well-known paintings with original poetry, and the poetic gift books of the 1850s, which paired original woodcut engravings with previously published poems. Locating this difference in the layout of the periodical, Hughes spends the remainder of her essay discussing the materiality and visibility of the printed poetry, examining how editorial effects such as decisions about layout, adjacent imagery, and intertexts affect the status and reading experience of word and image in the periodical. While important, this focus on the layout of *Once a Week* overlooks the intertextual connections that develop between the periodical’s poems on the level of content. In fact, an examination of the formal connections that shape periodical poetry is absent from most scholarship on the subject, yet, as my thesis argues, such intertextual networks allow us to see how periodical poetry plays with the era’s poetic conventions.

Hughes’s interest in the materiality of periodical poetry participates in recent critical conversations about the material nature of popular poetry, whether it was published in a periodical or not, and what the presence of poetry in the periodical press from the literary annual to the weekly newspaper and, eventually, the literary periodical can tell us about Victorian readers. Natalie Houston, for example, proposes that the

physical presence of poetry in close-columned newspapers “raises a number of important questions about the history of reading” (236). She describes how the metre and alternating rhythm of poetry and prose in nineteenth-century newspapers provided a break in the closely printed newsprint that probably encouraged some readers to slow down and “look more closely at the text” (236).<sup>33</sup> For Houston, the topical poetry that appeared in newspapers such as *The Times* demonstrates “poetry’s capacity to offer emotional responses to current events in [a] different language than the daily news” (239).<sup>34</sup> The concept of poetry as an alternative form of reportage allows Houston to identify newspaper poetry as a form of new media (similar to illustrations and photographs) that influences the way Victorian readers encountered the news.<sup>35</sup> Significantly, this notion that poetry both participates in and helps to define the new media of the nineteenth century provides a different way to address issues related to authorial and editorial intentionality. Houston posits that the newspaper page is “a material artefact which shaped the historical reading experience [. . .] even when we have no individual author or editor to credit with the specific arrangement of text on the page” (236). Thus, rather than imposing a solely contextual or biographical reading onto a poem, Houston focuses on “the literal place of poetry” (234) and how it shapes the reader’s interaction with the page. This approach implicitly aligns her reading of

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<sup>33</sup> Hughes notes that the visual field of poetry has a similar effect in the literary periodical: “Far from serving as filler, poetry diversifies closely printed columns in dailies and weeklies and acts as a value-added visual and literary feature. A poem’s surrounding white space literally lights up the page, the sacrifice of unprinted space simultaneously suggesting a shift from mundane to sacred or spiritual spaces in which contemplation can occur” (“What the *Wellesley* Left Out” 103).

<sup>34</sup> Charlotte Boyce’s essay “Representing the ‘Hungry Forties’ in Image and Verse: The Politics of Hunger in Early Victorian Illustrated Periodicals” offers a comparable argument, noting that representations of hunger in image and verse offered readers a perspective that “‘factual’ journalism did not” (423).

<sup>35</sup> See also Houston’s essay on Victorian sonnets and photographs as “souvenirs” of the Crimean War.

newspaper poetry with recent scholarship on Victorian visual culture and the periodical press.

Lorraine Janzen Kooistra's work on illustrated poetry intersects with my focus on the relationship between image, text, and page. While Kooistra's earlier conceptualisation of the relationship between image and poetic text in "The Illustrated *Enoch Arden* and Victorian Visual Culture" and *The Artist as Critic* remains important to how I understand illustrated texts, her recent work on illustrated poetry and Victorian publishing practices provides an immediate framework for my own study of popular poetry. In *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing*, Kooistra emphasises the "need to engage with the way material packaging affected poetry's place in Victorian culture" (3). The act of engaging with the material book reframes the type of questions that can be asked about the poetry published in the popular press, moving beyond studies based solely on aesthetic valuation. According to Kooistra, in order for this methodological shift to occur, scholars must recognise that poetry, "in its very material existence within the bindings of a mid-century gift book, [. . .] becomes middlebrow—a commodity for mass consumption, an object within Victorian material culture" (35).<sup>36</sup> The alignment of poetry with flagrantly commercialised products, as evident in the history of the literary annual, affected the way critics have approached the era's poetry and allowed for the construction of the binaries (especially high versus popular art) that in many ways still define the study of Victorian poetry. To counter the traditional dismissal of such poetry, Kooistra both invokes and

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<sup>36</sup> Kooistra borrows the term *middlebrow* from Bourdieu, who defines the term as follows: "ordinary commercial businesses whose concern for economic profitability forces them into extremely prudent cultural strategies, which take no risks and create none for the audiences, and offer shows that have already succeeded [. . .] or have been newly written in accordance with tried and tested formulae [. . .] shows of pure entertainment whose conventions and staging correspond to an aesthetic that has not changed for a century" (84–85).

challenges the traditional categories applied to Victorian poetry and the poetic gift book through her use of theoretical terms as opposed to aesthetic valuations. In particular, Kooistra adopts Pierre Bourdieu's concept of restricted cultural production and large-scale cultural production to point out that the gift book, "as a product of large-scale cultural production[, . . .] carries with it some of the symbolic value of restricted cultural production" (4). For Kooistra, illustrations provide this cultural capital and the black-and-white wood engravings of the periodical function in a similar manner. For instance, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood redefined black-and-white illustrations as "high art," and the publication of such images in the periodical press and gift books allowed middle-class readers to own original art works. Kooistra's interest in the production of the mid-Victorian gift book makes any aesthetic concerns about popular poetry secondary to the ideology of its surrounding apparatus. Consequently, her study of poetry and popular publishing focuses more on the material form of the gift book in print culture rather than popular poetics.

Kathryn Ledbetter takes a similar approach in *British Victorian Women's Periodicals*. She argues that reading poetry "within the physical and symbolic context of a woman's periodical invites a shift in perspective that upends traditional critical perceptions of Victorian poetry and cultural centres, situating it squarely in the mainstream of Victorian domestic life, rather than at the margins" (118). In particular, Ledbetter's interest lies in how periodical poetry contributes to the ideological rhetoric of women's periodicals. She traces how the sentimental, patriotic, and domestic verse of women's magazines "evokes a sense of power for women readers" (9) and participates in contemporary debates about femininity and the ideal woman reader. Ledbetter's approach

to periodical poetry fills a significant gap in recent work on the periodical press and the cultivation of ideal women readers. Ledbetter claims a space for her discussion of periodical poetry in a critical discourse that tends to focus on how the fiction and essays of the periodical press shaped the woman reader.<sup>37</sup> In effect, she argues for a reevaluation of the existing history of periodical literature. Ledbetter's point (reminiscent of Hughes's in "What the *Wellesley* Left Out") is that poetry, whether it acted as filler or not, *did* take up important space in the periodical press. While this approach to women's poetry does allow Ledbetter to make a persuasive argument about the importance of periodical poetry at times the argument betrays uneasiness with the poetry's quality. The study constantly qualifies and reaffirms poetic value, reiterating that although it may be sentimental, feminine, and affective, the poetry nonetheless contributes to an "ideological community" (73). By focusing on the community of the periodical press rather than its poetics, Ledbetter limits the effectiveness of her argument about poetic value. For instance, even as she rejects the critical dismissal of periodical poetry on the grounds of aesthetics, her study of women's poetry nonetheless avoids discussing the form and aesthetic qualities of the sentimental poetry published in women's periodicals, turning instead to broader questions of readership and culture.<sup>38</sup>

Jennifer Phegley's study of periodical literature in *Educating the Proper Woman Reader* also focusses on the ideological structures of the mid-Victorian family literary magazine. She pays particular attention to how such periodicals, including *Harper's New*

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<sup>37</sup> For example, Helen Groth describes how the construction of the cultivated woman reader continued into the 1890s. She writes, "[d]eveloping a taste for poetry [. . .] became the perfect anecdote to the unsavoury effects of mass modern culture, a wholesome cure leading to a resurgence of a healthy feminine influence in an age of sterile mass production and consumption" (198).

<sup>38</sup> She criticises those "[n]arrow aesthetic judgements (shared by [. . .] critics of commercial publishing)," arguing that they "do not help us understand the influence and interests of Victorian readers and culture" (161).

*Monthly Magazine*, the *Cornhill*, *Belgravia*, and *Victoria Magazine*, “defended women from the highly publicized accusation that they were uncritical readers whose reading practices threatened the sanctity of the family and the cultural reputation of the nation” (2). For Phegley, the family literary periodicals of the 1860s, including those periodicals discussed in my thesis, entered contemporary debates about middle-class values, addressing and representing women readers through their serial fiction and their editorials, such as Thackeray’s “Roundabout Papers.” Her reading of the periodical press as engaged with and contributing to the cultural values of the Victorian middle class informs my approach to periodical poetry throughout my dissertation. However, while she provides an in-depth analysis of the way each periodical’s prose shapes and defines its readers, her only prolonged discussion of periodical poetry appears in her analysis of Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s *Belgravia*. My thesis thus builds on Phegley’s work through its examination of the ways in which periodical poetry contributed to the explicit project of the 1860s literary periodicals: the representation, affirmation, and construction of the proper middle-class reader, which includes not only the woman reader, but also the paterfamilias and the professional author figure. However, while my study of periodical poetry does follow the models offered by Ledbetter and Phegley, it also reframes their discussion of the periodical press and poetry to consider how the periodical press shaped poetry as a genre.

I argue that the form of periodical poetry must play a crucial role in our understanding of periodical poetry as a genre. The study of form and aesthetics allows us to trace the development of periodical poetry alongside that of the traditional poetic canon. By focusing solely on the ideological role of poetry in the periodical press,

scholars miss the important contributions that popular poetry made to the Victorian definition of poetry and poetics and perpetuate the myth that such poetry does not possess cultural value.<sup>39</sup> In fact, the poetry published in the literary periodical carried with it the cultural capital associated with the *genre* of poetry. Periodical poems defined poetry and poetics for the majority of middle-class readers, complicating conventional critical conceptions of value, quality, and taste. This thesis understands periodical poetry as a particular genre of Victorian poetry related to the now-canonical products of restricted production but evaluated according to a different set of criteria. Using Bourdieu's "*relational* mode of thought [about] cultural production" (Johnson 6), I understand periodical poetry as participating in two different systems of cultural production: restricted (poetry volumes) and large-scale (the periodical and the periodical market). I am most interested in this latter system, which placed less emphasis on questions of taste and value, allowing me to consider and appreciate the specific poetics of periodical poetry.

My thesis builds on the work done by Bennett, Houston, Hughes, Kooistra, Ledbetter, and Phegley, acknowledging the importance of the literary periodical's material packaging and ideological presentation of poetry. "Writing 'with one hand for the Booksellers'" studies popular poetic forms as they are shaped by the periodical press and Victorian poetics as a whole. I ground my discussion of poetics in the theoretical model offered by strategic formalism, particularly Caroline Levine's definition of form in

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<sup>39</sup> Popular poetry is not produced by what Bourdieu terms the *avant garde* (the producers of cultural capital); rather, it is middlebrow poetry, which exists as a "socially neutralized product" that "in its ideal-typical form, is aimed at a public frequently referred to as 'average'" (Bourdieu 125).

“Strategic Formalism: Toward a New Method of Cultural Studies.”<sup>40</sup> Levine understands literary, social, and cultural forms “as ways of imposing order, of shaping and structuring experience” (635). This means that “the cultural critic can attend to conflicts and overlaps not just among race, class, and gender but also among forms of knowledge, forms of narrative, forms of subjectivity, forms of space, forms of circulation, forms of community, forms of worship, forms of administration, forms of intimacy, and forms of thought” (Levine, “Strategic Formalism” 635). In other words, Levine’s model invites cultural critics to consider how these competing and complementary forces shape literature. This definition of form is similar to that offered by the *Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics*, which defines form as “a term for the multiple systems that shape as well as convey information” (497). My thesis considers how the features of the periodical press and contemporary poetry contribute to the aesthetic of periodical poetry. As I argue, such poetry must thus negotiate the rules and expectations associated with both genres. It is here that Bourdieu’s theories of cultural production become important because they emphasise “the complex network of social relations that make the very existence of the texts possible” (Johnson 10). In his introduction to a collection of Bourdieu’s essays on cultural production, Randal Johnson observes that, for Bourdieu, “[t]o be fully understood, literary works must be reinserted into the system of social relations which sustains them. This does not imply a rejection of aesthetic or formal properties, but rather an analysis based on their position in relation to the universe of possibilities of which they are a part” (11). Bourdieu’s approach to the act of literary interpretation, like that of Levine, encourages the cultural and literary critic to pay

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<sup>40</sup> For more information on strategic formalism and the debate surrounding the theory, see Dever, Levine (“Scaled Up, Writ Small”), Rudy, and Tucker.

attention to the forms and conditions of publication when evaluating literature. In his work on sentimental poetics, Jerome McGann argues that “adequate reading begins [. . .] by entering into those conventions, by reading in the same spirit that the author writ” (4). The same thing can be said about popular poetry. It requires the reader to understand the cultural forms and modes of production at play in its composition and subsequent publication in the periodical press.

As I have noted throughout this introduction, until recently, the nineteenth-century criticism and modern scholarship available on Victorian poetry largely reinforces the cultural hierarchies that evolved due to the rise of large-scale production and mass readership in the nineteenth century. These changes in the production and availability of literature led to middle-brow culture. The poetry produced within this model became “a commodity for mass consumption, an object within Victorian material culture” (Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures and Popular Publishing* 35). Its production occurred outside the restricted and, in Bourdieu’s terms, avant-garde culture of the poetry volume. As a result, most studies of Victorian popular/periodical poetry take a defensive stance, positioning the study of such poetry as important to periodical studies or the history of reading. My thesis takes a different approach, starting from the assumption that the formal features of popular periodical poetry are integral to the genre of Victorian poetry as a whole. In other words, I recognize popular poetry as an art object that engages with the formal elements of Victorian poetics just as any other poem does. Because my research starts from a discussion of form and the ways in which the periodical, the literary market, and the era’s middle-class readers influenced the type of poetry published, I am able to discuss periodical poetry as its own form and ultimately argue for the genre’s central role in the

development of Victorian poetry.<sup>41</sup> In this thesis, the popular poet is not a marginal poet: he, and especially she, occupies the centre of literary culture, producing the poetry read and consumed by the majority of Victorian readers.

I thus begin my thesis at the centre of literary culture in the 1860s: the *Cornhill*.<sup>42</sup> As previously noted by critics such as Gowan Dawson, Jennifer Phegley, and Andrew Maunder, the *Cornhill* defined the form of the literary periodical as a genre. Phegley, for example, asserts that the *Cornhill* effectively “set the standard upon which the genre was modelled throughout the 1860s” (*Educating* 22).<sup>43</sup> However, I argue that the *Cornhill* also defined middle-class readership and authorship. Throughout my discussion of the periodical, I pay particular attention to how Thackeray’s literary tastes and his self-identified role as the publication’s paterfamilias determined the form and content of the poetry published in the *Cornhill*. The chapter closes with an in-depth examination of Barrett Browning’s relationship with Thackeray and her contributions to the periodical. As part of my discussion about Barrett Browning, I unpack the poetics and politics of her poem “A Musical Instrument,” published in the July 1860 issue of the *Cornhill* with an illustration by Frederick Leighton. My analysis of Barrett Browning’s illustrated Pan poem raises a number of questions about gender, the politics of periodical publication,

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<sup>41</sup> As Johnson notes, Bourdieu’s theoretical model is ultimately “a *relational* mode of thought to cultural production [. . . that] see[s] each element in terms of its relationships with all other elements in a system from which it derives its meaning and function” (6).

<sup>42</sup> Cornhill is the name of a major street in London and the location of the Smith, Elder publishing firm, where the *Cornhill* was published. It is the historical financial centre of London.

<sup>43</sup> The influence of the *Cornhill* is particularly evident in the pricing of the *Argosy*. When Ellen Wood took over the publication and editorship of the *Argosy* in October 1867, she immediately increased the price of the periodical to one shilling per issue, equating it with the other literary periodicals of the period and confirming how important price was in the marketing of a periodical. By the 1860s, price was a cultural signifier for the literary periodical as represented by the *Cornhill*. Strahan initially priced the *Argosy* at sixpence per issue.

and relationship between image and poetic text. These questions inform my interrogation of popular poetics and the periodical press in subsequent chapters.

While my first chapter considers how the *Cornhill* defines the form of the mid-Victorian literary periodical, my second chapter argues that *Once a Week* played a similarly significant role in the development of periodical poetry. In particular, the thematic patterns found in the poetry and illustrations of *Once a Week* link the periodical's poems to the era's serial fiction and its representation of Victorian life, demonstrating how a periodical's poetry could contribute to the development of a publication's structure and brand. As a periodical produced for a middle-class readership, *Once a Week* shares the *Cornhill*'s focus on domesticity. For example, *Once a Week*'s inaugural poem by Shirley Brooks offers its middle-class readers several father figures that anticipate Thackeray's self-assigned position as the paterfamilias of his readership. However, the emphasis on domesticity in *Once a Week* differs from that in the *Cornhill* insofar as the *Cornhill* published poetry designed to cultivate middle-class literary tastes while the poetry in *Once a Week* presented readers with an ideal middle-class experience, mediating, circulating, and affirming the era's dominant domestic ideologies. I argue that the frequent publication of such poems in the weekly demonstrates how Victorian poetry contributed to the era's definition of middle-class life, disseminating and preserving the cultural narratives of the period through poetry.

The *Cornhill* and *Once a Week* are both secular periodicals directed at a middle-class domestic audience; however, as I discuss in chapter three, there was also a significant market for religious periodicals and devotional texts in mid-Victorian England. The most popular religious periodical of the period was Alexander Strahan's

non-denominational *Good Words*. Strahan envisioned the periodical as a popular publication that promoted Christian thought and practices among middle-class readers through poetry, prose, and biblical readings. During the periodical's first few years on the market, the editorial agenda established by Strahan and the periodical's first editor Norman Macleod linked the devotional tone of the periodical's contents to the era's religious print culture.<sup>44</sup> Grounding my argument in Macleod's editorial mandate and the devotional culture of the period, my chapter on *Good Words* examines how the devotional forms of the Victorian period informed the periodical and its poetry. I consider how the very structure of the periodical confirmed the periodical's mandate as a Christian magazine. For instance, Macleod framed each issue between 1860 and 1862 with sermon-like essays and devotional readings (such as Bible passages presented for domestic reading with brief sermons attached), implicitly arguing that the potential for devotional thought existed within the pages of the illustrated family magazine. The majority of the chapter considers the integral role of periodical poetry in the definition of *Good Words*' literary identity. I argue that the relationship between poetry and illustration in the periodical as well as the frequent appearance of hymn-like poems contributed to and confirmed the periodical's message that a literary work made of good words could and should act as a prompt for devotional thought and practices.

My final chapter considers the "feminine" poetics of popular periodical poetry in the *Argosy*, the only periodical addressed in this study that was edited by a woman. Isa Craig acted the periodical's first editor, and Strahan later sold the periodical to Ellen

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<sup>44</sup> Even though Strahan and Macleod defined *Good Words* as a literary periodical aimed at a broadly Christian audience, the periodical's contents still contributed to the affirmation and construction of middle-class identity/readership in a manner similar to that of the *Cornhill* and *Once a Week*.

Wood. Returning to the tensions noted in my discussion of Barrett Browning's contributions to the *Cornhill*, I consider how the form, content, and authorship of the *Argosy*'s poetry, specifically its sentimental subject matter, its imagery, and the gender of its authors, challenge the common critical dismissal of such poetry as simplistic, marginal, and trite. In this chapter, I rely on the work of Bourdieu and Levine to ground my discussion of feminine poetics. Their interest in the relationship between culture and power and how this affected the production and reception of literature makes the issue of aesthetic value irrelevant. There are much more interesting questions to ask of women's popular periodical poetry. As my chapter on the *Argosy* demonstrates, the periodical's female poets deftly engaged with the era's poetics, modifying, adapting, and challenging the generic labels applied to popular poetry. The editorial work and poetry of Isa Craig, as well as the poems contributed by Christina Rossetti and Sarah Williams, put pressure on the sentimental forms commonly associated with periodical poetry. The texts written by these popular women poets facilitate my examination of how the seemingly sentimental utterances associated with periodical poetry in fact undermine the critical tendency to read mid-Victorian sentimental poetry as either simplistic or only valuable for its thematic and ideological elements. The poets studied in this chapter are emblematic of the kind and range of poets discussed in my thesis: the sentimental poet, whether male or female; the popular but now forgotten poet; the canonical poet; and the amateur poet who used the periodical press to build an audience and make a case for a book.

As the study of periodical poetry continues to develop, we must think critically about how we approach the poetry published in the most popular and, in some cases, the

most obscure periodicals of the nineteenth century. While the importance of periodical literature has long been recognized in studies of Victorian serial fiction, periodical poetry remained ignored until recently. As a result, scholarship on Victorian periodical poetry must draw from previous work on the periodical press, serial publication, and the Victorian reader.<sup>45</sup> Even the language developed to discuss Victorian illustrations has its limits because the established terminology does not always work when discussing a periodical poem.<sup>46</sup> My thesis approaches the study of periodical poetry differently from previous scholarship, arguing that it should also be the study of Victorian poetics and periodical culture. This approach allows for the adaptation and application of existing methodologies, opening up a productive space in which periodical poetry can be discussed as poetry without apology. My analysis thus challenges the boundaries of a scholarly field that until recently was dominated by scholarship on elite canonical poets and those who published in conventional, non-periodical contexts. It asserts the fundamental importance of popular periodical poetry to our understanding Victorian poetics, and, in doing so, it argues that without a consideration of the vital importance of periodical poetry, Victorian poetry studies is quite simply anachronistic.

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<sup>45</sup> The seminal works on these topics include Hughes and Lund, *The Victorian Serial* and Altick, *The English Common Reader*.

<sup>46</sup> These terms, as outlined by Surridge and Leighton (“The Plot Thickens”), include *proleptic* (anticipating events in the verbal plot and, on occasion, making the verbal text appear repetitive), *analeptic* (referring back to a scene in the written text, making the illustration repetitive and/or iterative), *extradiegetic* (representing scenes that do not appear in the verbal text), *diegetic* (a scene from the narrative), and *interpictorial* (referring to other well-known images or modes of visual representation).

## Chapter 1: The *Cornhill Magazine* as a Purveyor of Poetic Culture

From its first issue in January 1860, the *Cornhill* redefined the scope and influence of the literary periodical. More than any other periodical from the 1860s, the *Cornhill* signalled a definite shift in the production of middle-class literature and poetry from individual serial parts and poetry volumes to the literary periodical.<sup>1</sup> Its cover, format, and contents came to define the genre. In other words, the *Cornhill* effectively “set the standard upon which” the family literary magazine (an alternative name for the literary periodical) “was modeled throughout the 1860s” (Phegley, *Educating* 22). This chapter deepens previous claims made about the critical and cultural importance of the *Cornhill*, contending that the format of the famous monthly defined much more than the genre of the family literary magazine; it defined the nature of popular literature, especially poetry, and the role of the author in the 1860s.<sup>2</sup> Each section of this chapter addresses the influence of the *Cornhill* and William Makepeace Thackeray, who acted as the periodical’s first and most prominent editor. I begin with an examination of Thackeray’s editorship, which established the tone of the periodical. I argue that Thackeray’s persona as the paterfamilias of the periodical played a significant part in the monthly’s critical reception throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> After all, it is under his name that the *Cornhill*

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<sup>1</sup> While serial novels and popular poetry was published in periodicals prior to the 1860s (the publication of Dickens’s *The Old Curiosity Shop* in *Master Humphrey’s Clock*, Elizabeth Gaskell’s *North and South* in *Household Words*, Dora Greenwell’s “The Railway Station” in *Household Words*, and Barrett Browning’s “The Slave at Pilgrim’s Point” in the *Liberty Bell*), the 1860s are when the middle-class literary periodical became the dominant mode of publication for popular literature and serial fiction. For further information on the importance of *Household Words* to periodical culture as whole, see my discussion of Dickens’s weekly in chapter two.

<sup>2</sup> For further information on the *Cornhill*’s cultural value, see Maunder (“Discourses of Distinction”).

<sup>3</sup> Recent scholarship on the *Cornhill* tends to focus on the periodical’s early years, especially Thackeray’s role as editor and the way in which his personal beliefs on issues such as spiritualism and the role of the

“quickly assumed an almost mythic status as a cultural signifier” (Maunder, “Discourses” 239). I argue that reading Thackeray’s editorial letters alongside the *Cornhill*’s poetry demonstrates that the Victorian poem is not an isolated text, the central contention of my thesis. As such, the second section of this chapter considers how the periodical’s contents identify poetry as participating in contemporary debates about the moral and ethical purpose of periodical literature, an issue that also appears in *Once a Week*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy*; the current state of Victorian prosody; and the literary labour of the professional author. I conclude with a case study of Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s “A Musical Instrument.” I chose to isolate Barrett Browning’s poem because its publication in the *Cornhill* as an illustrated text encapsulates the issues discussed throughout this chapter. Indeed, Barrett Browning appears repeatedly in this chapter as a figure engaged with the politics of the periodical press. Her professional and domestic roles seemingly collapse in the pages of the *Cornhill* as Thackeray capitalises on her cultural capital as a poet and mother, a duality that perfectly supports the mandate of the periodical to produce high-quality, family-friendly literature. The publication of Barrett Browning’s final Pan poem in the *Cornhill* thus locates the poem’s commentary on the gendered power dynamics present in poetic production as part of the domestic ideology of the most iconic literary periodical published in the 1860s.

The *Cornhill*’s reputation as “the most reputable and critically revered of the family literary magazines” (Phegley, *Educating* 21) makes it central to any discussion of the

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gentleman inform the identity of the periodical (Colby, Gowan, Fisher). Phegley similarly focuses on the periodical during Thackeray’s reign as editor in *Educating the Proper Woman Reader*.

literary periodical, its readership, and the nature of popular literature in the 1860s.<sup>4</sup> My quantitative study of the poetry published during Thackeray's tenure as editor reveals several distinct patterns that define the monthly's approach to poetry and social issues. Of the 43 poems published under Thackeray's editorship, nine address the work of literature and the author, seven address issues of domesticity and motherhood, and five reference classical subjects. In other words, 48% of the poetry published under Thackeray can be sorted into one of three categories: authorship, domesticity, and literary tradition. These specific categories overlap with one of the other main themes of the *Cornhill*: death, which represents 35% of the periodical's poetry. What this data tells us is that the typical *Cornhill* poem published under Thackeray's editorial guidance tended to address a particular subset of topics that represented the contemporary middle-class experience. The existence of this pattern suggests that the periodical's contents assumed and, to some extent, constructed a particular type of middle-class readership: educated, literary, domestic, and, though this chapter does not discuss the theme of death in detail, mortal. Significantly, the type of audience cultivated by Thackeray informs his decision to both solicit and later reject poems from Barrett Browning, "one of the best wives, mothers, women in the world" (Ray 4: 226).

As a product designed for middle-class readers interested in the literature of the period, the poetry of the *Cornhill* played an important part in the development of the era's cultural identity.<sup>5</sup> After all, it published original literature by some of the most prominent

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<sup>4</sup> Of all the periodicals considered in this study, the *Cornhill* contains the least amount of poetry, publishing only sixty poems between January 1860 and December 1863. In comparison, between 1860 and 1863, *Good Words* published 276 poems and *Once a Week* published 289.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Barrett Browning recognised the *Cornhill*'s importance as early as January 1861, noting in a letter to E. F. Haworth that the journal's success had inspired an overwhelming number of similar publications, which flooded the literary market (2: 423). Later in the century, commentators such as

figures of the period, including Alfred Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, Dora Greenwell, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Charlotte and Emily Brontë (whose previously unpublished poems were published posthumously), John Everett Millais, Frederic Leighton, John Ruskin, Anthony Trollope, Elizabeth Gaskell, and George Eliot.<sup>6</sup> Focusing on the first three years of the periodical under Thackeray (December 1860 to January 1863), this chapter considers how the presentation of poetry within the cultural context of the *Cornhill* challenges traditional critical assumptions that evaluate periodical poetry solely on aesthetic terms, arguing that the *Cornhill* did more than establish the genre of the literary periodical (Maunder, “Discourses”; Phegley; and Smith), it defined the poetry of the period.<sup>7</sup>

### **“The original programme”: Defining the *Cornhill***

In the closing lines of his letter to the periodical’s friends and contributors, Thackeray hopes for “a fair custom from the public for our stores at ‘THE CORNHILL MAGAZINE’” (Ray 4: 161). His wish for the public’s fair custom came true. The first issue of the *Cornhill* sold 110,000 copies, exceeding Thackeray’s expectations. The *Cornhill* quickly

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George Smith, Anne Thackeray Ritchie, and Leonard Huxley viewed the early years of the *Cornhill* as the golden age of the literary periodical. More recently, *Victorian Periodicals Review* dedicated two issues to the bibliographic, literary, and cultural history of the *Cornhill*, recognising its importance to the history of the Victorian periodical and its readership. Barbara Schmidt explains the reasons behind this nostalgia. As the periodical, its publisher, and its readers grew old together, the remembered persona of William Thackeray and the iconic golden-orange cover with its rustic labourers came to act as a countercharm to readers’ experiences of modernity and change (“Patron” 12).

<sup>6</sup> *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature: 1800 to 1900* confirms that the *Cornhill* was the first place of publication for Emily Brontë’s “The Outcast Mother” (May 1860; 1: 616), and Charlotte Brontë’s “Watching and Wishing” (December 1860; 2: 741) and “When thou Sleepest” (August 1861; 4: 178–79).

<sup>7</sup> Few critics focus on the periodical’s poetry. Thus far, only Rosemary Scott has addressed the poetry of the *Cornhill*. Other critics briefly refer to poetry in their bibliographic histories of the periodical (Colby, Teare).

established itself as *the* family literary magazine of the sixties; it was, to borrow from Thackeray's 6 January 1860 letter to Sir John Fox Burgoyne, "an immense success, such a sale has never been known in England before. The Editor & Publisher are reasonably pleased" (Harden 2: 935). The periodical's monthly publication schedule, literary focus, and book-like format filled a specific niche in the periodical market of the era. Its combination of serial fiction, educational essays, and short stories gave middle-class readers more literature for their shilling than the similarly priced part-issue novel. As Jennifer Phegley observes, the *Cornhill* "marked a new era in periodical publishing that signalled the decline of the old British quarterly reviews" (*Educating* 70).<sup>8</sup> Instead, the *Cornhill* focused on literature for the entire family; hence, Thackeray's insistence on uncontroversial literature and his emphasis on Barrett Browning's maternity. The periodical's monthly publication schedule reinforced this shift away from the literary reviews even as the temporal pattern depicted by the four quadrants of the cover (figure 4) suggested a connection between the periodical's new shilling-monthly format and the era's more prestigious quarterly publications. This link created a sense of continuity between the older quarterlies and the new monthly schedule, transferring the cultural capital of the literary reviews to the shilling monthly. More importantly, it established the *Cornhill* as heir to the literary review, taking its place in the literary market and speaking to the renewal and continuation of literary tradition in the *Cornhill*.

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<sup>8</sup> Published in America, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* was the model for the British literary periodical. The profitability of *Harper's* in the 1850s "as an advertisement for its publications and an outlet for [the publishing house's] authors" led to the explosion of the genre in London, "where nearly every major publishing house began its own magazine" (Phegley, *Educating* 13). For further information on the trans-Atlantic influence of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, see Phegley, *Educating*.

The success of the *Cornhill* was due to two men: George Smith and William Makepeace Thackeray.<sup>9</sup> In the late 1850s, Smith noticed a distinct gap in the literary market, observing that “[t]he existing magazines were few, and when not high-priced were narrow in literary range” (Smith 4). Smith recognised the need for a family literary magazine to serve an eager middle-class readership ignored by the mid-Victorian periodical market. “It seemed to me,” he reflects in his 1901 essay on the monthly, “that a shilling magazine which contained, in addition to other first-class literary matter, a serial novel by Thackeray must command a large sale” (4). Smith’s astute reading of the periodical market established the model for the *Cornhill* and all subsequent literary periodicals from the period. Smith considered Thackeray “essential to the scheme” (Smith 4). At first, Smith was only interested in Thackeray as a potential contributor, offering the author £4,200 for one or two novels “to appear in twelve monthly instalments through 1860 and 1861 (Eddy 8). Once Thackeray agreed to Smith’s terms, the publisher began to look for an editor. However, his initial choice, Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown’s School Days* (1857), had already accepted the editorship of *Macmillan’s Magazine*, one of the *Cornhill*’s chief rivals.<sup>10</sup> After several other people declined the editorial position, Smith turned his attention back to Thackeray, offering him a salary of £1000 per year to edit the periodical (Eddy 11). Thackeray was to handle the

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<sup>9</sup> In his retrospective on the periodical, Leonard Huxley suggests that the *Cornhill* survived into the twentieth century through a consistent devotion to the literary ideals established by Smith, which included “treating each subject, [. . .] telling each story with the manifold responsiveness of thought to feeling and word to thought which differentiates literature from which is not literature” (370). For more information on George Smith and the publishing house of Smith, Elder and Company, see Schmidt (“Smith, Elder and Company” and “The Patron as Businessman”), Scott, and Sutherland.

<sup>10</sup> *Macmillan’s Magazine* began publication in 1859. Though it was eventually overshadowed by the *Cornhill*, *Macmillan’s* helped to inaugurate the era of the middle-class literary periodical. The publication aimed for an upper-middle class audience, presenting the periodical as an intellectual alternative to publications such as *Once a Week* and Dickens’s *Household Words*. It cost one shilling per unillustrated issue, and it published poetry by a number of the top poets of the period, including Christina Rossetti, who published 21 poems in the periodical throughout the 1860s.

literary side of the publication while Smith would take care of the business matters that he knew Thackeray despised. Both men used their respective positions in the literary world to attract contributors. Ultimately, Thackeray did much more than handle the literary side of the publication. He determined the periodical's tone and familial ideology through his editorial voice, which defined the *Cornhill* from its very first issue framed as it was by Thackeray's letter to contributors and his first instalment of the "Roundabout Papers."<sup>11</sup>

Thackeray's letter to the *Cornhill*'s readers and contributors originally prefaced the January 1860 issue, establishing the publication's editorial plan for its first readers.<sup>12</sup> The letter, originally written and circulated in November 1859, closes with an extended metaphor that uses the language of agriculture to define the *Cornhill*'s mode of publication and the project of the periodical as a whole. Thackeray writes: "The kindly fruits of the earth, which grow for all—may we not enjoy them with friendly hearts? The field is immensely wide; the harvest perennial, and rising everywhere; we can promise competent fellow-labourers a welcome and a good wage; and hope a fair custom from the public for our stores at 'THE CORNHILL MAGAZINE'" (Ray 4: 161). Thackeray's description in this letter of the *Cornhill* as an agricultural product becomes part of the periodical's prescriptive metaphor, defining its audience and content. His reference to the "kindly fruits, which grow for all" (Ray 4: 161) gestures towards the accessibility and

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<sup>11</sup> The "Roundabout Papers" appeared in every issue edited by Thackeray, constantly reminding readers of the presence of the editor, his reputation as a social critic and satirist, and the values informing the periodical's contents.

<sup>12</sup> The volume editions of the periodical available at the University of Victoria library do not contain the letter or the original golden-orange cover. The loss of such material contexts is one of the challenges encountered when undertaking research on the periodical press. My work is defined by the condition and content of what survives.

relative affordability of the new shilling monthly; it belongs to all middle-class readers who can afford to purchase it. The metaphor of innocuous wholesome fruit also alludes to Thackeray's desire to avoid controversial subjects while his description of the periodical's scope as an "immensely wide" field with "harvest perennial, and rising everywhere" (Ray 4: 161) points to the miscellaneous nature of the periodical as well as its continuous serial publication. Lastly, Thackeray's identification of his contributors as "competent fellow labourers" (Ray 4: 161) speaks to his interest in publishing articles written by specialists in a variety of professional fields and anticipates the theme of literary production as labour seen throughout the periodical.

Thackeray's use of agricultural metaphors to explain the work of the *Cornhill* in his letter links his understanding of the periodical to the iconic visuals of the periodical's famous golden-orange cover, the design of which Thackeray commissioned from illustrator Godfrey Sykes in November 1859 (the same month that he wrote his letter to potential contributors).<sup>13</sup> The cover itself contains four interconnected vignettes that depict rustic figures ploughing, sowing, reaping, and threshing (figure 4). Read alongside Thackeray's initial letter, which acts as the periodical's editorial manifesto, these agricultural images render the almost georgic idealism of Thackeray's letter visual, contributing to the overall branding of the periodical. The seasonal cycle depicted on the cover acknowledges the periodical's serial structure; it appears reliably month after month just as the seasons recur year after year. The quarterly, agricultural structure implied by Sykes's design also references "previous modes of living and previous modes

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<sup>13</sup> The letter was originally sent to G. H. Lewes in early November after Lewes's contributions were already secured. Smith then circulated the letter among other potential contributors before it appeared as part of the periodical's first issue.

of publishing” (Turner 192). These seasonal images allude to the georgic poetry of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, introducing an implicit narrative of labour politics and British national identity to the periodical.<sup>14</sup> Such themes reappear throughout the history of the periodical, including Thackeray’s introductory letter; the periodical’s inaugural poem, “Father Prout’s Inaugurative Ode to the Author of *Vanity Fair*”; Anne Thackeray Ritchie’s 1896 essay celebrating the birth of the *Cornhill*; and, of course, the periodical’s golden-orange cover, which bound every issue.

Published near the middle of the first issue, the inaugural poem written by Francis Sylvester Mahony under the pseudonym Father Prout repeats the agricultural language of the cover and Thackeray’s letter. Mahoney was a frequent contributor to periodicals such as *Fraser’s Magazine* and *Bentley’s Miscellany*, and he was known to a number of Victorian writers, including Charles Dickens, the Brownings, and Thackeray.<sup>15</sup> “Father Prout’s Inaugurative Ode to the Author of *Vanity Fair*” demonstrates his familiarity with the literary world of mid-Victorian England and Thackeray’s place in it. The poem acknowledges the mix of the modern world and the idealised past depicted on the *Cornhill*’s cover. Its opening lines refer to the modernity of the period, “Ours is a faster, quicker age” (1: 74), acknowledging the technological and social changes of the period as well as the shift between quarterly publication and the monthly format adopted by the *Cornhill*. However, while the poem begins with this reference to modernity, it ends by associating Thackeray with the rustic thresher on the cover. To use Mark Turner’s turn of

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<sup>14</sup> Dwight Durling discusses the seasonal mode of georgic poetry in his seminal work *Georgic Tradition in English Poetry* (1935). The majority of critics (Baker, Crawford, Van Hagen) writing on the georgic discuss the genre in terms of labour politics and nation building in light of late-eighteenth century changes to agricultural production and the continuing growth of empire.

<sup>15</sup> Appendix B provides abridged biographical entries on all the major figures associated with the periodicals referenced in this dissertation.

phrase in his discussion of the *Cornhill*'s cover, "the timeline becomes tangled and folds back in on itself" (192). The poem's use of metaphor to represent Thackeray as a labourer allows it to layer the past and the present, an effect supported by a series of allusions in the poem that reference authors from Britain's past. The *Cornhill* under Thackeray builds on the literary traditions associated with the figures Prout names, including Shakespeare, Goldsmith, and the young Thackeray. The fact that the speaker refers to Goldsmith and Shakespeare alongside the agricultural myths of Greece transforms the inaugural ode into a highly intertextual poem that privileges the educated and well-read reader. It also establishes a set of expectations for the periodical's reader. For example, Prout's exaggerated mockery of Goldsmith's language implies that the *Cornhill* aims to produce literature of a different quality, one more complementary to the tastes and trends of mid-Victorian Britain.

After the speaker rejects the type of literature associated with Goldsmith and *The Vicar of Wakefield*, he suggests that Thackeray "proffer good material— / A genuine Cereal, / Value for twelvecence, and not dear at twenty" (1: 75). The description of literary material as a natural product or cereal picks up on the harvest imagery used by Thackeray at the end of his letter to contributors. The poem confirms Thackeray's stated editorial agenda and the periodical's identity as a respectable, accessible, and affordable publication, an identity reinforced by the cover, which advertises the affordable price and greets readers with old-fashioned georgic visuals. The pun on *cereal* reinforces the implicit link between the products and processes of agriculture, which Sykes's depicts on the cover and Thackeray alludes to in his letter, and the serial structure of periodical publications. The poem plays with language, creating multiple puns and relying heavily

on metaphorical meanings that restate Thackeray's editorial agenda. Such wordplay supports the existence of a textual and pictorial network of agricultural metaphors in the periodical's inaugural issue. For example, the poet's play with the meaning of *corn* strengthens the poem's connection to Thackeray's letter. One of the primary meanings of *corn* during the nineteenth century defines the grain as "[t]he fruit of the cereals" (*Oxford English Dictionary*), returning us to Thackeray's description of the periodical as composed of "kindly fruits" (Ray 4: 161). Prout echoes such agricultural language through the poem, describing the periodical's contents as grain harvested by Thackeray and held "Ready for use, within thy Cornhill granary" (1: 76). Building on this idea of a literary granary manned by the publishing house of Smith Elder, the final stanzas of the ode identify Thackeray with the labouring figures of the cover. The speaker advises the new editor to choose his ground and "Put forth thy shining sickle" to "reap North, South, East, Far West / The world-wide Harvest!" (1:76). Here, the language of the poem mirrors the quadrants of the cover design, associating the four labourers with Thackeray and the work of a periodical's editor. Prout links literary labour to a concrete image of work, and, once again, the visual language of the cover reinforces this idea. The agricultural language along with the speaker's references to Goldsmith and Shakespeare ground the periodical in the established literary tradition, positioning it as a high quality publication designed to both entertain and educate. As the speaker observes, the *Cornhill* will not a "deign to win one laugh / With empty chaff" (1: 75).

After the *Cornhill*'s first issue, the verbal text of Thackeray's letter and the "Inaugurative Ode" fade into the periodical's index, though they are never entirely forgotten as long as the visual text of the cover remains. The cover acts as an afterimage

of these earlier texts, reappearing issue after issue, sustaining the memory of Thackeray's *Cornhill*. Anne Thackeray Ritchie, for instance, explicitly refers to Sykes's visual images in her 1896 explanation of the *Cornhill*'s continuing presence in the Victorian literary market. She observes that "for over a quarter of a century the four sturdy labourers have kept at their work" (2). Through Ritchie's essay, the cover image becomes a symbol of the *Cornhill*'s continuity, and, with the launch of the periodical's new series, the nostalgia associated with the image creates a link between the new series and the *Cornhill* of the 1860s. The agricultural labourers, whom Prout strongly associated with Thackeray in the publication's inaugural issue, remain a symbol of the periodical's continuous literary identity, even as the connection between the labourers and Thackeray fades into the past. Ritchie's isolation of the four labourers teases out the metaphor of the cover illustration, reinforcing the periodical's connection to her father and emphasising the power of the visual in defining the literary identity of a particular text, in this case the *Cornhill* as a whole. The inaugural issue of the *Cornhill* establishes this strong relationship between image and text through the intertextual network of Sykes's design, Thackeray's letter, and the periodical's inaugural poem. As Ritchie's essay suggests, over time, Sykes's design becomes the dominant text; its visual metaphors come to define the periodical's literary identity, both past and present.

Mark Turner offers an in-depth reading of the cover's visual qualities, noting that Sykes's depiction of agricultural labourers is an example of "time in crisis and cultural memory at work" (192). Arguably, the "Inaugurative Ode" does something similar in its first stanza. As previously mentioned, the poem opens with a reference to the fast-paced modern world only to contrast it with late eighteenth-century literature. Such literature,

the speaker suggests, lacks the propriety and the wisdom of the more staid *Cornhill*, which compiles its contents under the influence of Ceres, the Roman goddess of agriculture, grain crops, fertility, and motherhood.<sup>16</sup> However, the agricultural associations of the cover also suggest a second possible reading of the visual text. As Turner points out, one of the most interesting aspect of the cover is its “seasonal, natural reading of time” (192). He writes: “here what is paid homage to is not just a type of periodicity (the quarterly) but also a way of life—a pre-industrial, pre-urban vision which appears natural, in tune with nature, a slower way of life—but a way of life that really was no longer part of the here or now, the present. Except as nostalgia or memory” (192). The periodical “stretches back in time while simultaneously projecting the future” (Turner 192). It conforms to modern modes of publication even as Thackeray appears as an antiquated thresher. He harvests the literary products of his contributors, transforming their work into the *Cornhill* just as Pan hacks and hews at the reed to produce the panpipe in Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s “A Musical Instrument.” Turner locates this tension between past, present, and future in the serial fiction of the novel, referring to the nostalgia of Trollope’s Barchester novels (*Framley Parsonage* was the periodical’s first serial novel) and the threat of railway time and its associated technologies in Gaskell’s *Cousin Phillis* (serialised from 1863 to 1864). A number of poems published in the *Cornhill* under Thackeray’s editorship refer to this sense of nostalgia and the threat of modern time as well; however, the agricultural imagery prominent in the first issue (and

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<sup>16</sup> The connection to Ceres and motherhood is interesting because one of the major themes of the periodical’s poetry is motherhood and, more broadly, the condition and treatment of women. It also refers back to Thackeray’s editorial aims, specifically his desire to produce kindly fruit appropriate for all readers. The allusion to Ceres becomes even more significant in light of Jennifer Phegley’s reading of the periodical’s investment in educating the woman reader, training her to become a better mother, wife, and middle-class citizen (*Educating* 70).

continuing into the 1890s via Ritchie's essay) suggests that a portion of the periodical's constructed nostalgia looks back to the early nineteenth-century georgic.<sup>17</sup> The periodical's georgic language and the labouring figures on the cover come to embody the periodical's approach to literary work. If, as Prout's poem implies, Thackeray can be seen as a thresher, then literary pursuits can be understood in terms of labour. The visual and textual network constructed by periodical's inaugural issue establishes this connection, foreshadowing the periodical's interest in the idea of literary labour and its definition of middle-class literature.

### **“Reap North, South, East, Far West”: Literary Labour in the *Cornhill Magazine***

The *Cornhill*'s self-definition as a carefully cultivated form supported by literary labour and overseen by its paterfamilias defined the foundational years of the monthly, and during this period, it became the centre of popular culture, publishing the poetry and prose (both fiction and nonfiction) now considered canonical by many scholars of Victorian literature.<sup>18</sup> In the 1860s, periodicals such as the *Cornhill* and Dickens's contemporary periodical *All the Year Round* shaped their middle-class audience through the literature they published and the values they promoted. They determined what kind of literature was appropriate for the Victorian middle class and defined the relationship

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<sup>17</sup> Poems such as Alfred Tennyson's "Tithonus" (February 1860: 1: 175–76), S. R. H.'s "Mabel" (March 1860; 1: 282), Owen Meredith's "Last Words" (November 1860; 513–17), and R. K. A. E.'s "Hæc olim meminisse juvabit" (February 1861; 3: 190–91) all reference time, suggesting a tension between the promise (or lack thereof) of the present moment and the speaker's memories of or nostalgia for the past.

<sup>18</sup> In her discussion of the periodical's serial fiction, Phegley notes that "[w]hile the *Cornhill*'s featured novels did not always increase the magazine's readership as dramatically as Smith hoped, they allowed the magazine to advertise itself as a signifier of middle-class taste" (*Educating* 75). For further information on the *Cornhill*'s cultural influence and domestic ideology, see Eddy's monograph on the periodical (45) and Maunder's essay on Trollope's serial fiction ("Monitoring").

between editor and contributor. As the most popular and respectable literary periodical of the period, the *Cornhill* became “a symbol of cultural knowledge and authority” (Phegley, *Educating* 80) in the middle-class home.<sup>19</sup> Its focus on the middle class and its families placed particular importance on how such periodicals addressed the morality of reading.<sup>20</sup> Dickens’s *Household Words*, and by extension *All the Year Round*, transformed the weekly periodical into a middle-class publication by hiring reputable authors and capitalising on Dickens’s reputation “as a prophet of the hearth, [. . . a] purveyor of cozy domestic bliss” (Waters 120). The *Cornhill* similarly capitalised on Thackeray’s reputation as a well-respected author, representative of the middle-class father and responsible for guiding the literary and moral tastes of his readers. In an April 1861 letter to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, for example, Thackeray positions himself as the gate-keeper of the *Cornhill*, which “is written not only for men and women, but for boys, girls, infants, sucklings almost” (Ray 4: 226). He is the father figure overseeing the type of literature made available to his family members, the *Cornhill*’s readers. In response to Thackeray’s rejection of “Lord Walter’s Wife,” Barrett Browning explicitly and sarcastically identifies him with the middle-class father: “Also I confess that from your Cornhill stand point, (paterfamilias looking on) you are probably right ten times over” (Ray 4: 228). The *Cornhill* thus had the promotion of reading as a morally appropriate middle-class practice built into its very structure. It consistently presented reading as an educational and improving activity for middle-class women (Phegley, *Educating* 71). Traditionally, critics have attributed its success to Thackeray’s editorship,

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<sup>19</sup> The *Cornhill*’s cultural value stands out among the periodicals discussed in my dissertation. The editors of *Once a Week*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy* were not as concerned with cultural value. These periodicals put the entertainment value and/or moral quality of their publications first.

<sup>20</sup> I discuss the morality of reading, especially as it relates to Sabbath reading, in chapter three.

the periodical's investment in entertaining over didactic literature, and its avoidance of controversial issues that would, to borrow from Thackeray, disturb the monthly's "squeamish public" (Ray 4: 227). It required readers and contributors alike to accept the domestic model offered for and by the middle class. However, focusing on the monthly's fiction and nonfiction prose, Phegley argues that the *Cornhill* was more than just lightweight entertainment appropriate for a female audience. Rather, it stretched the bounds of its mandate, advocating for "women's formal education—and, to a lesser degree, women's movement into the professions—as a means of assisting the development of the newly defined 'professional gentleman' who was emerging as the leader of the British nation" (*Educating* 72). The *Cornhill's* approach to the woman reader positions the periodical as a participant in contemporary debates about the morality of reading, which addressed (among other issues) a series of ethical concerns, including literary labour and the moral role of the author.

While such lessons appear in the periodical's prose, a number of poems also deal with the nature of literary life, presenting it as a distinct profession bound up in broader ethical concerns, including the moral role of the author figure. During the 29 months that Thackeray was editor, poems about literary labour appear in five separate issues with three poems on literature appearing in the July 1860 issue alone.<sup>21</sup> This number is more significant than it may seem at first. Out of the 29 issues published during this period, 25 contain poetry, meaning 20% of the issues that included poetry published a poem about

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<sup>21</sup> These poems include "Father Prout's Inauguration Ode" (January 1860; 1:75–76), the unsigned "Dante" (April 1860; 1: 483), Adelaide Anne Procter's "The Carver's Lesson" (May 1860; 1: 560), Matthew Arnold's "Men of Genius" (July 1860; 2: 33), Thackeray's "Vanitas Vanitatum" (July 1860; 2: 59–60), Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "A Musical Instrument" (July 1860; 2: 84–85), Owen Meredith's "Last Words" (November 1860; 2: 513–17), and "Elisabetta Sirani" (April 1861; 3: 500–03).

literary or artistic labour.<sup>22</sup> The periodical's preoccupation with literary labour is not surprising. Critics such as Robin Gilmour and Jennifer Phegley have demonstrated the *Cornhill's* preoccupation with the rise of a new definition of the gentleman in the 1860s. He became a figure defined by his participation in the professions. This shift in the definition of gentlemanliness, from the model of the aristocrat to the model of the professional man, defined the mid-Victorian middle class.

The *Cornhill* appeared on the market at the tail end of this mid-century rise of the professional. Between 1851 and 1861, there was a 219% increase in the number of authors who identified themselves as professionals (Reader 208), and the number of self-identified professional authors continued to increase into the twentieth century (Reader 211). Thackeray and Smith responded to this shift in middle-class identity by self-consciously positioning their monthly as a professional publication that contributed to the health of the nation through its support of the middle-class professional and his family. Thackeray's initial letter, for instance, calls on professional and "well-educated gentleman and women" to write on what they know (Ray 4: 161). Thackeray's list, which includes a geologist, engineer, and lawyer, is interesting for both the occupations he includes, the majority of which conform to the attributes of the era's ideal gentlemanly professions as defined by Gilmour and Reader, and the occupations he excludes, those of the professional author and the professionalised middle-class woman. However, the periodical does shape these last two categories through the literature it publishes. Using

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<sup>22</sup> This number increases when we broaden the definition of labour to include the act of birth and subsequent maternity, another key thematic strain found during Thackeray's reign as editor. With this definition in mind, a third of issues edited by Thackeray include poems about labour and production through labour. The presence of maternity in the *Cornhill* is worth further study; however, it is beyond the scope of this project. See Timney for a discussion of the metaphorical connotations of the word *labour* in working-class by women.

Phegley's study of the *Cornhill* as a model, this section considers how the periodical's promotion of "all things middling: middle-brow culture, middle-class power, and a middle-of-the-road political stance" (Phegley, *Educating* 73) cultivated more than an image of the ideal woman reader in relation to the rise of the middle-class professional; it defined the role of the professional writer, establishing a model for middle-class literature and authorship.

Scholars of the Victorian periodical generally agree that such publications were important organs for the development of the literary professional. Linda Peterson, for example, discusses how the concept of authorship developed through the periodical press: "that is where the debates about authorship were aired, where the discourse evolved, and where writers established their literary reputations" (*Becoming* 5). A recent issue of *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* confirms the presence of this discourse in the press. Marysa Demoor and Andrew King describe how nineteenth-century periodicals contributed to the development and expansion of professional communities, becoming a resource and training ground for the publication's imagined community of readers—the middle-class professional and/or those who aspired to join the professionals' ranks (para. 7). While Demoor and King reference specialist journals, the *Cornhill* also participated in this culture of professionalism. Like the specialist periodicals referenced in Demoor and King's introduction, the *Cornhill* acted as a regulatory body, albeit one that was collaborative and supportive of a very general ideal of professionalism. It functioned as an organ for the delineation of the professional author's role in society, demonstrating the periodical's role in determining cultural tastes.

The *Cornhill*'s editorial apparatus and literary contents promulgate the social role of the professional author according to contemporary understandings of the professional as "a figure governed by a distinctive set of ethics specific to the specialist" that come to define "the professions' singular characteristics of autonomy and prestige" (Larson x). These qualities, especially the notion of ethics, informed the professional's presumed difference from other labourers, although a similar set of categories could apply to the work of craft or industrial labour. However, despite the attempt to elevate the professional above that of commercial labourers, the professional could not escape the commercial need for an identifiable product. While the text produced by literary labour represented a tangible product (the text), there remained significant anxiety about the identity of the professional author and his/her value to society as whole. In order for literary production to be valued as a professional product, the literary professional had to produce his and her professional identity. Consequently, as Mary Poovey points out, the lack of a physical product and a desire to avoid an association with the commercial aspects of the industrial world meant that the professional writer had to imagine his or her "works as contributing inestimable benefits to society" (*Uneven* 102). The *Cornhill* addresses this anxiety, linking literary work to georgic images of labour. The imagery of the monthly's first issue, including its cover illustrations, Thackeray's letter, and Father Prout's ode, explicitly identifies Thackeray as an agricultural labourer, and these georgic themes reverberate throughout the periodical and its exploration of the professional.

Most critics of the georgic tradition focus on the eighteenth century, examining how the georgic form contributed to the development of specific narratives of British

nationhood and productivity.<sup>23</sup> In her study of the English georgic and British nationhood, Rachel Crawford quotes Andrew Low's useful definition of the georgic genre "as a mode that stresses the value of intensive and persistent labor against hardship and difficulties" (92). While work in the *Cornhill* is not presented as a hardship, it is defined as a form of idealised labour tied to the nostalgically remembered processes of harvest. This dilution of the reality of agricultural labour is part of the georgic model. Steve Van Hagen suggests that the discussion of labour in a large number of literary georgics acted as a form of periphrasis, abstracting the true nature of the work through an idealised lens that served to remove much of the vocabulary of work (426).<sup>24</sup> Part of this idealisation led to a shift in the metaphorical potential of the georgic; it "became a metaphor for Britain labouring which supplied a national and aristocratic imaginative ideal of Great Britain as a newly created georgic Eden" (Crawford 96). In other words, the georgic form functioned to cultivate a national identity, one that could benefit the broader project of empire. Samuel Baker discusses how the ideals of georgic labour became associated with the colonial project (531). This idea of national as well as individual cultivation through literature appears throughout the *Cornhill*.<sup>25</sup> It is applied to Thackeray as editor, especially in "Father Prout's Inaugurative Ode," which depicts Thackeray as a thresher, and it is cultivated *by* Thackeray through his editorial choices.

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<sup>23</sup> See Baker, Durling, and Crawford.

<sup>24</sup> Van Hagen contrasts such georgics with Stephen Duck's *The Thresher's Labour* (1730), which, Van Hagen argues, returns the language of labour to the georgic, presenting the reader with a realistic description of labour devoid of any idealistic language. Dwight Durling makes a similar point when discussing George Crabbe's *Village* (1783) and Robert Burns's poetry, which he argues, adhere to the "sternest realism[. . .] to realistic truth in reflecting country life" (151).

<sup>25</sup> Phegley discusses this in relation to the periodical's representation of the woman reader in *Educating the Proper Woman Reader*. She notes that the periodical's contents tended to portray women as integral to the development of the nation and the success of the middle-class gentleman.

Matthew Arnold published what seems to be his only poetic contribution to the literary periodicals in the *Cornhill* for July 1860.<sup>26</sup> “Men of Genius” (July 1860; 2: 33) opens with the figure of God and his “far-shining train” (2: 33) looking down from heaven on the madness of the world below. The diction of the poem’s first stanza isolates the contemporary human community from the world of God, deliberately juxtaposing the silence of heaven with the violent mêlée on earth:

Silent, the Lord of the world  
 Eyes from the heavenly height,  
 Girt by his far-shining train,  
 Us, who with banners unfurl’d  
 Fight life’s many-chanc’d fight  
 Madly below, in the plain. (2: 33)

The poem builds on the sensation of a disjointed and confused world by depicting God as an army general who prepares his “far-shining train” to enter “the battle below” and carry his peace to earth (2: 33).<sup>27</sup> The speaker of the poem never defines the nature of this peace, but the connotations of “genius” suggest that the peace referred to is one of cultured, intellectual reason that will act as a balm for the uncertainty and tumult of modern life. The construction of the third stanza emphasises the militaristic tone of the poem initially introduced through prior allusions to battle and banners. The speaker

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<sup>26</sup> Although further study is needed to verify this claim, I can confirm that Arnold does not appear in either the *Database of Periodical Poetry* or the *Periodical Poetry Index*.

<sup>27</sup> The connection of the intellectual man to God suggests that such labour is also a vocation. For an examination of literary work as vocation, see Kyriaki Hadjiafxendi.

observes how “Gladly they rise at his call; / Gladly they take his command; / Gladly descend to the plain” (2: 33). The dactyls of these lines, together with the repetition of the word *gladly*, recall the structure of Tennyson’s famous war poem “The Charge of the Light Brigade” (1854).<sup>28</sup> The martial allusions lend a sense of legitimacy to the work of the man of genius both thematically and structurally. Like joining the army, one of the acceptable and, more importantly, established professions of the era, intellectual work becomes a valuable and necessary vocation for peace in the world of the poem. Arnold thus makes a claim for the importance of the intellectual man in society, even if he may go astray or die before he can complete his “bold-follow’d way” (2:33).

Arnold’s poem speaks to the role of the intellectual man in cultivating a rational society. The poem describes a specific sort of labour that requires the intellectual’s engagement with society and suggests that his work will help build a stable nation, mediating conflict. The message of the poem complements that of the *Cornhill* as whole. The periodical aimed to build a stable, well-read community of middle-class readers: the foundation of the modern British nation. However, this association of literature and literary work with the improvement of the British nation predates the *Cornhill* and Arnold’s poem. It belongs to the legacy of literary professionalism, which has its roots in the eighteenth-century georgic tradition and its “rhetoric of cultivation” (Baker 531). The georgic came to represent the spread of British ideas within the borders of Britain and then world through imperial expansion. Then, in 1831, Edward Bulwer Lytton argued for an understanding of literary work as a profession, noting “that writers were ‘crusaders for their nation,’ since through their contributions to the press they forged a national identity

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<sup>28</sup> “The Charge of the Light Brigade” was also a periodical poem, published in 9 December 1854 issue of *The Examiner*.

for readers” (King, “Army” para. 16).<sup>29</sup> As Andrew King points out, Bulwer Lytton’s “tactical use of the term relied on the idea that the professions heroically carried forward, even embodied, the idea of the nation, a notion much grander than earlier applications of the term to writers at periods when it was used more in the sense given in Johnson’s *Dictionary* as an employment” (para. 16).<sup>30</sup> The *Cornhill* re-establishes this sensibility in the 1860s through contributors such as Thackeray, who began his career as a writer under Bulwer Lytton’s model of the literary professional. It invites this comparison with its georgic cover design and the agricultural language that permeates the monthly’s first issue. This repetition of georgic imagery in the periodical cultivates a specific definition of the professional as a one who responds to and helps build a moral and educated middle class. Each representation of literary labour in the *Cornhill* contributes to this notion of literature’s responsibility to the social and moral health of society. The monthly’s representation of Thackeray as a paterfamilias figure, presiding over a middle-class dinner table, positions the author as responsible for the moral reading habits of the family, and Arnold’s metaphors of heavenly battle transform the status of the intellectual into a professional figure responsible to society and the nation.

Though Adelaide Anne Procter’s poem “The Carver’s Lesson” (May 1860; 1: 560) does not contain the georgic or militaristic language found in the texts by Thackeray and Arnold, her poem nonetheless contributes to the periodical’s definition of the author,

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<sup>29</sup> Bulwer Lytton is best known for the florid prose of his popular “silver fork” novels from the early decades of the nineteenth century. Educated at Cambridge, Bulwer Lytton made his living as an author, writing best sellers in the 1830s and participating in periodical culture throughout his career. He was a prolific author, and “for thirty years after his death he remained a pillar of the literary establishment; besides innumerable cheap reprints, no fewer than twenty-five multi-volume collections of his complete novels were issued in Britain and America between 1875 and 1900” (Brown). The only contemporary author to outsell him was Dickens.

<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, Bulwer-Lytton’s son would write two poems on the professional artist for the *Cornhill* under the pseudonym Owen Meredith.

outlining the moral and social role of the author/artist from the perspective of the reader/viewer. Procter's poem is didactic, teaching its reader about the nature of art and the role of the artist. Rather than speaking from the position of the artist or about the artist, Procter's poem speaks to the artist, reassuring the carver about the importance and significance of his work. The speaker argues that art is "no mere skill of subtle tracery" (1: 560). Rather, art contains a "hidden spirit, / That we may, or may not, understand" (1: 560). This hidden spirit serves a social function because, in Procter's poem at least, art comforts people who view it in times of need. The particular artist figure addressed by Procter is an empathetic figure who encodes some "loving message to" the viewer (1: 560). Unlike Arnold, who focuses exclusively on the fate of the men of genius and how such men lose themselves on earth, Procter examines the role of art, and by extension, the artist in a person's everyday life. The poem ends with an anonymous viewer who, "With perplexed struggle in his brain" (1: 560), views the long-dead carver's work and receives "the loving token" that the carver "hid there many years ago" (1: 560). The artistic labour of the carver produces a balm against "life's turmoil" and "perpetual pain" (1: 560), linking it to debates about literary labour. In effect, Procter's poem serves to define the important social function of art: to connect to the viewer and perhaps even offer comfort.

In contrast, Owen Meredith's two poems on artistic figures, "Last Words" (November 1860; 2: 513–17) and "Elisabetta Sirani" (April 1861; 3: 500–03), counter Procter's optimistic views of artistic production. In "Last Words" Meredith examines the role of the professional author on earth and displays an anxiety about the artist-figure's moral role and the relevance of his or her art. During his monologue, the speaker of the poem, himself a poet, outlines his early beliefs about the role of a poet in society:

“Therefore I mingled among them, deeming the poet should hold / All natures saved in his own, as the world in the ark was of old; / All natures saved in his own to be types of a nobler race” (Meredith 2: 515). Meredith’s poet figure frames his profession as a vocation, positioning the poet as a man separate from humanity. He is supposed to belong to a nobler race, one duty bound like Noah with his ark or, when read intertextually, Arnold’s man of genius to save humankind from its folly.<sup>31</sup> However, similar to the lost men in Arnold’s poem, who “Baffled, bewilder’d [. . .] stray” (2: 33), the poet-speaker in “Last Words” laments that “All my life (looking back on it) shows like the broken stair / That winds round a ruin’d tower, and never will lead anywhere” (2: 515). Despite his intentions and the promise of being a professional writer, his life remains wanting; his literary labour is a futile endeavour. The poet spends the remainder of the monologue commenting on the futility of life and his work as a poet. He ends his speech by equating life with labour: “We are but day labourers all” (2: 517). On the surface, the poet’s observation brings the *Cornhill*’s cover to mind and the way in which the cover and the periodical’s poetry link physical labour to that of the mind. But the poem also rewards the educated reader with its explicit reference to Milton’s “Sonnet XVI,” which Milton wrote one year after he went blind.

In Milton’s sonnet, the line in question, “Doth God Exact day-labour, light denied / I fondly ask” (7–8), captures the speaker’s sense of loss just as the volta moves the poem away from this despair. No longer able to write, the speaker fears that he has lost his purpose in life and can no longer meet the expectations of God, who gave him his talent. The second half of the sonnet sees the speaker realising that he can still serve God: “who

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<sup>31</sup> While the Ark saves only Noah’s family, letting the rest of humankind drown for its sins, God nonetheless charges Noah and his family to continue the human race after the water recedes.

best / Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best” (10-11).<sup>32</sup> Milton’s poem, like Meredith’s, thus explores the idea of labour. However, while the concerns of Meredith’s poet focus primarily on his reputation and impact on the world, Milton’s speaker understands literary labour as the application of “that one Talent” lodged in his soul to the service of God. The intertexts of the Meredith’s poem (the *Cornhill* and Milton’s sonnet) complicate the poem’s representation of poetic labour and reputation, undermining the pathos associated with Meredith’s poet speaker. His focus on the potential legacy of literary labour and the idealised genius of Shakespeare, Milton, and Burns, who “Look not down on the praises of fools with a pity my soul yet spurns” (2: 516), misses the point of Milton’s poem. In effect, the poet speaker erases the second half of Milton’s sonnet, ignoring Milton’s recognition that all of humanity serves God if they live within His grace. In the secular context of the *Cornhill*, Milton’s message about serving God can be extended to serving the community and not doing harm to those around you. The speaker poet’s solipsistic focus on his words prevents him from achieving the acceptance and peace found in Milton’s sonnet. In this way, Meredith’s poem implicitly responds to the more idealistic narratives of Arnold and Procter, while also referring to the periodical’s original prescriptive metaphor of physical, ephemeral, and cyclical labour.

Meredith returns to the notion of genius and artistic legacy in his second contribution to the *Cornhill*, “Elisabetta Sirani.” Another dramatic monologue spoken from the artist’s point of view, “Elisabetta Sirani” imagines the deathbed speech of a young female Baroque painter. Known for her prolific talent, modesty, and beauty, Sirani (1638–1665) was an Italian painter who started painting at seventeen with most of her

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<sup>32</sup> Of course, Milton would go on to compose the biblical epic *Paradise Lost* (1667) with the help of amanuenses.

work created for private patrons.<sup>33</sup> She died at the age of 27. The poem progresses from the speaker's emphatic declaration about her impending death: "Just to begin,—and end! so much,—no more!" (3: 500). The enjambed lines enact the speaker's scattered almost frantic state of mind, leading to her final acceptance of death, which Meredith signals through the dizzying of her brain and darkening of her eye. Meredith's poem represents one of the only portrayals of a female artist in the poetry published under Thackeray. It acts as a foil to Meredith's previous deathbed poem, speaking from a feminine perspective. While the male poet muses on his professional homosocial relationships and the moral effect of his literary output, Meredith domesticates Sirani's final thoughts about her relationship to art. He presents her as a virginal figure: a pure and virtuous artist who dies, sacrificing her life for her vocation and family. She informs her imagined auditor(s):

[. . .] never loved but you,

Dear family of friends, except my art:

Nor any form save those my pencil drew

E'er quiver'd in the quiet of my heart.

I die a maiden to Madonna true,

And would have so continued. (3: 502–03)

The domestic register of Sirani's sacrifice is distinctly different from the martial sacrifice of Arnold's men of genius and the noble (if short-sighted) goals of Meredith's unnamed poet in "Last Words." Meredith's "Elisabetta Sirani" thus bridges the gap between the

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<sup>33</sup> Her paintings were considered part of the seventeenth-century Emilian Baroque School. Her work was dismissed in the nineteenth century.

two main thematic trends in the *Cornhill's* poetry: literary or artistic work and domesticity or motherhood. The tension between literary work and domesticity also informs Thackeray's editorial process, as I will show in my reading of Barrett Browning's "A Musical Instrument" in the final section of this chapter. By grounding Sirani's monologue in her domesticity, the poem confirms Phegley's reading of the periodical's representation of educated women. For Phegley, the *Cornhill's* contents present women's education as supportive of the domestic roles associated with women rather than those of the private sphere. Therefore, even though female authors figured prominently in debates about professional authorship, contemporary representations of women writers portrayed them as "amateur counterparts against which male authors defined their professional careers[. . .] co-labourers in an emerging field of artistic and cultural endeavour" (Peterson, *Becoming* 5). By calling women *amateurs*, contemporary discourse about professional authorship tempered the role of female writers. They became a measure against which male authors could define their professional code. Within the context of the *Cornhill*, Sirani's domestic turn serves to define female artistry as something different from the militaristic action of Arnold's men, the sympathetic influence of Procter's carver, and the professional goals of Meredith's poet.

Yet, the domestic turn in Meredith's poem supports the monthly's overall ideology, implicitly echoing the familial community constructed by Thackeray in his initial letter to contributors. Moreover, subsequent poems continued to emphasise the central role that domesticity should play in the middle-class life of the professional author/artist—even

after Thackeray's resignation.<sup>34</sup> W. M. W. Call's "Manoli" (September 1862; 6: 346–50), which was published after Thackeray's resignation, warns the male artist about the domestic costs of professional preoccupation. The poem complicates the presentation of the professional as a noble (if unrealistic) intervener depicted by Arnold, Procter, and Meredith. It describes an artisan's decision to sacrifice his wife in order to complete the great walls and towers of his community. As Manoli's wife wanders to her fate, the speaker critiques the professional desires of the poem's masons:

Meanwhile the master-masons saw her come,—  
 The lords of art that, throned above all life,  
 Make thought and fancy blossom out of stone,  
 And live for them—they only. (6: 348)

The masons described by the speaker only care for the production and preservation of their art. This infatuation with artistic labour and production becomes their moral code as they lust after a "beauty that demands / All sacrifice of child, or wife, or self" (6: 348). In the poem, the consequence of such beliefs is the entombment of Manoli's wife. Frederick Sandys immortalises this crucial moment in his illustration (figure 5), which depicts the final plea of Manoli's wife as she reaches out of the tomb-like structure. Her face twists in anguish as she begs her husband, whom Sandys imagines as a racial other, to cease his deadly task. Through the illustration, the sacrifice becomes the focal point of the poem, echoing the text's emphasis on Manoli's wife. She becomes part of the tower's narrative.

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<sup>34</sup> This is consistent with Phegley's observation that "G. H. Lewes (who sporadically served as editor of the *Cornhill* after Thackeray's resignation) carried on Thackeray's message about the value of educational reading for women, but rather than focusing on the health of the readers themselves, he shifted his attention to the cultural health of the nation" (*Educating* 77).

The masters will tell “Of the true, noble life that passed away, / To round their labour to full-sphered success” (6: 350). The poem ends with the speaker’s explicit criticism of this blind labouring for progress, suggesting that in modern times “The same old doom will reign, and men will die, / To crown their age with beauty, and to bring / Imperial days while *they* go building on” (6: 350). Call’s poem argues that imperial expansion occurs at the cost of men and women’s lives. The poem’s speaker has a double vision, looking outwards to imperialism and looking inwards at the costs of such activities and beliefs at the domestic level. Though published after Thackeray left the *Cornhill*, Call’s poem nonetheless joins those by Arnold, Procter, and Meredith in their exploration of the cost, legacy, and responsibility of literary labour. The concept of literary labour seems to preoccupy the poets of the *Cornhill*.

The different ways in which Arnold, Procter, Meredith, and Call approach the issue of authorship and literature in society emphasise how popular periodical poems contributed not only to the structure of the periodical in which they were published but also to contemporary cultural debates. The tension between a nostalgic conception of labour and the costs of artistic life in all of these poems parallels the periodical’s negotiation of the era’s anxiety about the changing nature of time. As Turner notes in his reading of the *Cornhill*’s cover, the quarterly pattern designed by Sykes represents “the new rhythms of modernity” (192). It references older forms of publication such as the quarterlies even as it announces the development of the new literary monthly. The periodical’s nostalgia for a simpler, slower paced past becomes entwined with the persistent progress of modernity and new modes of publication. A similar layering of past and present is evident in the editorial presence of Thackeray. The speaker in Father

Prout's poem, for example, introduces the famous editor through an allusion to one of Thackeray's earliest works: the travelogue *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (1846). He states, "There's corn in Egypt still / (Pilgrim from Cairo to Cornhill!) / Give each his fill" (1: 76). This specific reference to Thackeray's work establishes a connection between the editor and the idea of the *Cornhill*. It plays on Thackeray's literary fame, assumes an informed audience, and promises this audience that Thackeray still has stories to tell. These contexts establish how the literary and cultural identity of the *Cornhill* relied on Thackeray to promote its modern product. However, the editorial stability offered by Thackeray's literary persona would not last.

### **The End of an Era: Thackeray's Resignation**

The poetry *not* published in the *Cornhill* near the end of Thackeray's reign as editor gives a unique perspective on the apparent discord between publisher and editor. Barbara Schmidt suggests that there were a number of factors behind Thackeray's resignation, including his displeasure with some of the novels acquired by Smith and the exorbitant fee that Smith offered to pay Eliot for *Romola* ("Smith, Elder").<sup>35</sup> Thackeray's letters support these theories about his departure. In a letter to Smith from March 1860, Thackeray defends his decision to reject "Manoli," claiming that "in its present state it would not be agreeable to very many of our readers" (Harden 2: 955). He continues: "The name of *Allah* used lightly I will always object to. I doubt whether the public will bear being told god is the author of evil" (Harden 2: 955–56). Thackeray's rejection of

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<sup>35</sup> Smith ended up paying Eliot £7000 for the serial novel. This was £3000 less than his original offer, which he reduced because "Eliot refused to write her novel in the specified number of monthly parts" (Phegley, *Educating* 75).

“Manoli” stems from the text’s representation of the Christian God as ineffective and complicit in the act of human sacrifice. The topic, he suggests, is not appropriate for a family publication. Thackeray later repeats this line of reasoning when he rejects Barrett Browning’s “Lord Walter’s Wife” in 1861. However, despite Thackeray’s initial reaction, three months after his final issue as editor, Smith and his group of co-editors published “Manoli,” signalling a distinct shift in the periodical’s tone and editorial policies. The move towards more sensational and popular literature could be seen as an attempt to bolster decreasing sales in a saturated market. For example, the monthly published Wilkie Collins’s *Armadale*, a sensational novel about murder, family, and villainous maids, from November 1864 to June 1866.<sup>36</sup> Regardless, the direct challenge to Thackeray’s editorial voice through poetry emphasises the subtle break between Thackeray’s vision of the *Cornhill* and that of Smith’s new editorial team comprised of George Smith, George Henry Lewis, Frederick Greenwell, J. F. W. Herschel, and Edward Dutton Cook. These changes provide a valuable contextual frame through which we can read the poetry and poetic politics of Thackeray’s editorship.

The final poem published in the *Cornhill* under Thackeray’s editorial guidance was a selection from the *Iliad* translated by John (J. F. W.) Herschel. The presence of Herschel, an eminent figure in the world of Victorian science and astronomy, supports the periodical’s cultural claims. Herschel’s name carries cultural weight and identifies the translation as the product of a highly decorated and respected member of the scientific

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<sup>36</sup> In a letter to Samuel Lucas on 28 December 1859, George Meredith criticises the *Cornhill*, writing: “As to the *Cornhill Maga[zine]*: the first Number fairly entitles it to be call[ed] the ‘*Old Fogies*.’ It reeks with old Fogydome” (49). The tone, rigour, and relative aesthetic sedateness of the periodical under Thackeray certainly support Meredith’s critique, at least compared to *Once a Week*. Yet, the periodical’s first issues outsold the weekly by appealing to the high-culture tastes and pretensions of its middle-class audience.

community. His contribution affirms the editorial vision that Thackeray established in his November 1859 letter to contributors, specifically his wish “to invite pleasant and instructed gentleman and ladies to contribute their share to the conversation” (Ray 4: 161). The essay and excerpt from Herschel’s translation in the *Cornhill* presents him as an educated professional man, entering the broader conversation about hexameter verse and its potential as a viable verse form for English poetry. The preliminary remarks preceding Herschel’s translation firmly locate the translation and, by extension, the *Cornhill* in contemporary debates about English prosody. Herschel defends his use of hexameter in translation, claiming that hexameter brings power and variety to English verse forms (5: 591). He points out, “it is not in favour of bad verse of this or any other kind that we contend” (5: 590). Well-written hexameter, he argues, represents “the least monotonous [metre] in which a long poem can be translated or written” (5: 592).<sup>37</sup> Herschel’s prefatory comments and subsequent translation are part of what Yopie Prins calls the “hexameter mania” of the nineteenth century (“Victorian Meters” 100). In her work on Victorian metre, Prins describes how “[t]he viability of writing verse in classical meters was an ongoing debate, if not an obsession, among poets and prosodists throughout the Victorian period” (“Victorian Meters” 100). Central to this debate was the figure of Matthew Arnold, who, in the early 1860s, called for the use of hexameter verse in his series of lectures titled *On Translating Homer*. According to Prins, Arnold “prescribed hexameter not only for future translators of Homer but also for the future of English poetry” (“Metrical Translation” 231). For Arnold, the kinetic qualities associated

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<sup>37</sup> For Herschel, poets who write bad hexameter believe “that the English hexameter *must gallop*” and thus sacrifice the metre’s structural variety, exchanging it “for a monotony the heaviest and most wearisome of which human competition is capable—the monotony of forced, unceasing, laborious activity” (5: 592).

with dactylic hexameter came to echo the rapid progress and movement of the Victorian era, “not as nostalgia for the time of the ancients but as a way of comprehending the temporality of modernity and the modern” (Prins, “Metrical Translation” 232). In response to Arnold’s lectures, writers such as Herschel, who published his translation of Homer’s *Iliad* in 1866, C. B. Cayley, J. Henry Dart, and James Inglis Cochran attempted to produce hexameter translations of Homer’s poetry. All of them included prefatory material with their translations that justified their adoption of the quantitative metre.

This move to quantitative verse, which critics claimed was incompatible with the accentual patterns of the English language, occurred just after print became the hegemonic medium of the nineteenth century (Rowlinson 59). Poetry’s transition into the era’s print culture invited experiments in and manipulation of metre.<sup>38</sup> Prins locates these experiments as part of the era’s exploration of voice and audience through poetic form.<sup>39</sup> She writes: “If the circulation of poems in nineteenth-century print culture already trouble[d] the relations of person to voice, then in Victorian metrics we see a further transformation of voice into a spectral form, simultaneously present and absent, and strangely detached from spoken utterance” (“Victorian Meters” 91). This effect of a transformed poetic voice is part of the hexameter debates. Hexameter seems removed from the natural English accent. Its quantitative structure seems at odds with the traditional poetic lines used by English-speaking poets. However, the verse form works in print because it is a material form. Defending his decision to translate in hexameter,

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<sup>38</sup> The move from oral tradition to print culture also signalled a shift in the politics of nineteenth-century verse. Anne Janowitz describes how “[a]t the micro-level of poetic form, an assertion of the four-beat stress metre against the five-beat stress-syllable metres of print culture encodes arguments about social and personal functions articulated at the macro-level of poetic thematics” (14). Janowitz links this shift to the communitarian lyric and nineteenth-century politics of labour.

<sup>39</sup> The dramatic monologue provides another example.

Herschel writes that hexameter lines “shall render the full sense of the original in every *material* particular, [. . .] producing unforced, fluent, and readable verse” (5: 503, emphasis in the original). In other words, the English translation will have the same number of syllables per line as the Greek original. Herschel admits, however, that on occasion “the hexameter mantle will be found to sit too loosely” on the English language and “require a little expansion on the part of the wearer to fill it out properly” (5: 594). He distinguishes these added words from the translated Greek through italics, emphasising the difference and self-consciously exposing the act of translation. For Herschel, translators should signal any deviation from the source text with some kind of typographical difference (5: 594). Herschel’s essay represents one of the few critical pieces on poetry and/or prosody published in literary periodicals from the early 1860s, and his conscious exploration of the work of translation and the critical thought behind prosody supports the periodical’s presentation of the literary professional. It provides something of a vocational guideline to future writers/translators. Herschel’s translation also informs our understanding of poetry in the *Cornhill* under Thackeray’s editorship.

Read as part of both the larger debates on prosody and the periodical’s interest in the role of the artist/writer, Herschel’s translation implicitly (and probably unconsciously as no correspondence from Thackeray about this particular poem survives) acts as Thackeray’s final statement on the role of poetry in the *Cornhill*. In her article on the *Cornhill*’s poetry, Scott notes that the quality of any given poem, along with Thackeray’s own tastes, often determined which poems were published. He would reject poems for their “imperfections in rhyme” and “any hint of impiety or lack of religious sensitivity” (Scott 272). As established in the periodical’s inaugural issue, Thackeray only wanted to

publish “kind fruits” and “genuine cereal”: wholesome texts that would feed the minds of his readers. Thackeray’s active participation in the selection and rejection of texts suggests that Thackeray supported Herschel’s project, aligning Thackeray with Arnold and his argument for hexameter as the future of Victorian poetry. It is interesting, then, that eighteen months after Thackeray’s resignation, the periodical’s new editors published Tennyson’s “Attempts at Classic Meters in Quantity” in which the poet laureate blasts the contemporary mania for hexameter verse.

Published in the December 1863 issue of the *Cornhill*, Tennyson’s poem “On Translations of Homer: Hexameters and Pentameters” (8: 707–09) undermines the literary project of hexameter translation as supported by Herschel and others. The poem is worth reproducing in full:

These lame hexameters the strong-wing’d music of Homer!

No—but a most burlesque barbarous experiment.

When was a harsher sound ever heard, ye Muses, in England?

When did a frog coarser croak upon our Helicon?

Hexameters are no worse than daring Germany gave us,

Barbarous experiment, barbarous hexameters. (8: 707).

Prins offers a useful way of reading of the poem. She examines how Tennyson’s application of metrical elements undermines contemporary arguments for hexameter verse forms. Her work describes how Tennyson’s poetic lines are deliberately awkward, emphasising the incompatibility of the English language and hexameter verse forms (“Metrical Translation” 247–28). Tennyson ends the poem by dismissing the work of

poets and prosodists such as Herschel. He calls their work a “Barbarous experiment” of “barbarous hexameters” (8: 707). The repetition in the line, emphasised by the pause of the caesura, draws attention to the word *barbarous* and its potential connotations.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *barbarous* has two main meanings. The first meaning identifies something barbarous as being not Greek or Latin (i.e. not classical or pure). According to the second meaning, the word *barbarous* can also refer to something or someone unpolished, illiterate, and/or without literary culture (e.g. illiterate people). Tennyson’s poem capitalises on both definitions of the word. If, as Prins’s work on Victorian metre suggests, the turn to hexameter for translations of Homer represents a desire to capture the essence of the classical verse, then Tennyson’s choice of the word *barbarous* completely undermines these goals, implying that such experiments in this verse form are neither classical nor Greek; they merely mimic or degrade Greek verse forms by forcing the English language to conform to the rules of hexameter. They are the product of sub-literary authors: the popular poets and poetry of the periodical press. Prins picks up on such connotations, noting that “the scansion of the last phrase is so ridiculous that it sounds almost like ‘*barbarous hexameters*’ are written by ‘barbarous amateurs’” (“Metrical Translation” 247). The form of Tennyson’s poem matches the content; he deliberately constructs awkward lines in hexameter to make his point about the barbarous verse. A. A. Markley points to a number of instances where Tennyson uses poetic form to present his own understanding of poetry. For example, in the poem “Hendecasyllabics,” also published in the December 1863 *Cornhill*, Tennyson “addresses his ‘chorus of indolent reviewers,’ using the meter which Catullus frequently used for satirical jabs at those who had earned his scorn for one reason or another”

(Markley 464). These examples show how Tennyson used poetic form as a tool for criticism, and he continues to do so in the December 1863 issue of the *Cornhill*, offering readers a blank-verse translation of the *Iliad* to contrast with previous hexameter versions.

The direct challenge to hexameter translations such as those prepared by Herschel represents a challenge to the poetics and literary content of Thackeray's *Cornhill*. Indeed, after Thackeray's resignation, the tone of the journal's poetry shifted. There was a move away from poems concerned with the professionalization of authorship. The periodical's new editors replace such poems with those concerned with legends or heroic topics. Thackeray's resignation from the periodical was due, in part, to his displeasure with the content of the periodical. One must wonder, then, if this shift in poetic style contributed to his sense of the periodical's declining literary and moral standards. Certainly, the appearance of the once-rejected "Manoli" suggests that Smith, in conversation with the group of co-editors succeeding Thackeray did revise the standards that Thackeray applied to the periodical's contents. However, as Leonard Huxley observes, "Thackeray left a deeper mark upon the CORNHILL than the shortness of his editorship suggests" (377). Huxley goes on to explain that Thackeray's novels and essays "gave form to a great part of the original programme" (377), and as I have argued throughout this chapter, Thackeray's editorial decisions regarding poetry also played a significant role in the development of the periodical's "original programme." The visual and poetic network of the periodical's early issues demonstrates how Thackeray cultivated a specific vision of the literary professional through the content of the *Cornhill*, contributing to contemporary social and literary debates, such as the nature of the professional and prosody, while also

building the reputation of an important literary publication that influenced the periodical market of the 1860s.

### **The Politics of Periodical Poetics: Barrett Browning's "A Musical Instrument"**

Before I turn to a discussion of Barrett Browning's poem, I want to return briefly to the cultural importance of the *Cornhill* because Barrett Browning's poetry both responds to and challenges the ideology found in the periodical and supported by its editor. In his description of the *Cornhill*'s debut, George Smith writes: "It was the literary event of the year. Along Cornhill nothing was to be seen but people carrying bundles of the orange-coloured magazine" (9). The visual spectacle of the famous golden-orange cover, dominating the streetscape from which it takes its name, embodies the *Cornhill*'s strong presence in the Victorian literary market and cultural thought. Its bright, easily identifiable cover became a symbol of mid-Victorian middle-class culture as evident in John Everett Millais's 1873 portrait of Effie Gray, which depicts Millais's wife sitting with a copy of the *Cornhill* on her lap. As the iconic nature of the periodical's cover suggests, the visual elements of the *Cornhill* were an important part of the monthly's identity. For instance, the cover established and reaffirmed the periodical's introductory invocation of the georgic issue after issue. The illustrations bound between the cover are equally important to the periodical's critical reputation though comparatively few of the periodical's poems are illustrated. The monthly paired its roster of respected writers with some of the most prominent artists from the period, including John Everett Millais and Frederic Leighton. The quality and reputation of the *Cornhill*'s illustrators, poets, and

authors meant that the periodical quickly became the most celebrated illustrated periodicals of the period, quickly surpassing *Once a Week*, which published more illustrations per issue by many of the same artists.<sup>40</sup> The difference between the *Cornhill* and *Once a Week* lies in how each periodical approached literature and illustration. *Once a Week* focused on popular literature designed for the middle-class leisure hour; the *Cornhill* focused on respected authors and published essays invested in questions about culture and society. The layout of *Once a Week* made illustrations part of the text; the *Cornhill* printed its illustrations on a thicker stock of paper, emphasising the illustration's status as art through the periodical's material form.<sup>41</sup> These tipped-in pages were not numbered, allowing the illustration to take over the space assigned to a particular text. In the case of Barrett Browning's "A Musical Instrument," Frederic Leighton's illustration of Pan shares a page number with Barrett Browning's poem in the periodical's table of contents. The layout of "A Musical Instrument" thus raises a number of important questions about the relationship between image, text, and periodical in the 1860s. The remainder of this section endeavours to answer these questions, situating Barrett Browning's poem within the values and culture of the *Cornhill*, including Thackeray's investment in the quality and scope of the illustrations produced for the periodical.

As editor, Thackeray demonstrated an awareness of new developments in illustration and printing throughout his time with the publication (Colby 211). The care

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<sup>40</sup> Richard Oram's article on wood engraving supports this definition of the *Cornhill* as one of the most significant illustrated periodicals of the Victorian period.

<sup>41</sup> In this way, the *Cornhill* mimics the physical qualities of the Victorian novel. As Julie Thomas notes, nineteenth-century publishers encouraged Victorian readers to flip through a novel's illustrations before they read the text by printing them on thick, sometimes coloured paper (23). As a whole, the *Cornhill*'s material quality (even the text was printed on higher-quality paper than that of *Once a Week*) appropriated the book's cultural value, an action that made the periodical acceptable for middle-class audiences.

and attention that he gave to the illustrations published in the *Cornhill* helped the periodical cultivate its reputation as the most important illustrated monthly of the 1860s. Modern critics such as Rodney Eigen confirm this reputation. Eigen calls the *Cornhill* “the most influential illustrated literary magazine of the genre” and claims that it did “more for the art of wood-engraving than any other Sixties School publication” (6). Paul Goldman similarly states that the *Cornhill* was “[a] major periodical from both the artistic and literary points of view” (266). The publication of *The Cornhill Gallery* in 1864 underscores the periodical’s investment in illustration. Sold as an art book by its publishers, the *Gallery* enabled the public to own original art works created by some of the most celebrated artist of the period and to decorate their home with this symbol of middle-class taste and culture. The material production of the *Gallery* further confirms the art status of its illustrations. The collection reproduced each illustration from the original woodblock rather than the electrotype used for periodical publication. The resulting images appeared without a caption on thick high-quality paper. Advertisements for the *Gallery* emphasised the quality and cultural value of the publication, drawing the reader’s attention to the status of the illustrators and the number of images reproduced.<sup>42</sup>

The appearance of the *Gallery* in 1864 makes a very specific claim about the *Cornhill*’s cultural capital. It locates the *Cornhill*’s cultural value in its illustrations, acting as a significant reminder of the central role that illustrations played in the

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<sup>42</sup> For example, a selection of advertisements from the *Examiner* (12 November 1864, 19 November 1864, and 10 December 1864) all emphasise the names of the illustrators and use language that presents the *Gallery* as a book of modern art. A review published in the 9 November 1864 issue of *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser* (titled “London Correspondence”) considers the *Gallery* the equivalent of other contemporary art books, reviewing it alongside *Millais’ Album*, a collection of the artist’s engravings. The reviewer for the *English Woman’s Domestic Magazine* (1 January 1865), however, denied the *Gallery* the status of a book, writing that “[the] beautiful pictures in the resplendent covers are not literature—they are not Christmas books—if a book is to be read” (27). The reviewer does concede that the *Gallery*’s illustrations are nice to look at.

production of the literary periodical and its featured texts. Nowhere is this more evident than in the *Gallery*, which proclaimed that readers could “revive, in a new and agreeable way” their memories of the serial narratives published in the monthly periodical (“Preface”). The publishers of the *Gallery* expected their readers to identify the characters and their associated narratives through the illustrations. This understanding of the mnemonic power of illustration demonstrates how illustrations were understood to define literary texts for Victorian readers.<sup>43</sup> The relationship between image and poem in the *Cornhill* is more difficult to define. The poem as a non-narrative form does not support the verbal/visual relationship seen in serial fiction. However, the relationship between poem and image in the *Cornhill* remains important for how it lays bare the ways in which illustration can impose a particular meaning onto a poetic text.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s “A Musical Instrument” (July 1860; 2: 84–85) acts as an ideal case study for examining the relationship that develops between image and text in the literary periodical for two reasons. First, the poem is preoccupied with questions of poetic power and influence, reflecting Barrett Browning’s own concerns with her poetic reputation. By 1860, the Victorian public and the era’s literary critics conflated Barrett Browning’s role as wife and mother with her role as poet. This made her the perfect contributor to Thackeray’s *Cornhill*: the materfamilias to his paterfamilias. It also constrained Barrett Browning. Critics viewed her political poetry, especially *Poems before Congress*, which Barrett Browning published in 1860, as aberrant, unfeminine, and unmotherly. This leads to the second reason behind my decision to focus on Barrett Browning’s final Pan poem. When she submitted “A Musical Instrument” at Thackeray’s

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<sup>43</sup> This is an artefact of serial publication where illustration provided visual continuity and reminded readers of characters and potential situations at the beginning of each serial part.

request, she was well aware of the contemporary criticism directed at her poetry and poetic persona. She even alludes to the scandal associated with her *Poems before Congress*, which I will discuss in detail later, in her letter to Thackeray. “A Musical Instrument” tackles the politics behind Barrett Browning’s reception in the periodical press and provides commentary on the very ideological structure in which it first appeared.

The frame of the poem sets up this interrogation of creative power with a question: “What was he doing, the great god Pan, / Down in the reeds by the river?” (2: 84). The poem’s final stanza answers the question posed, explaining Pan’s activities in the pastoral Hellenic landscape: “Yet half a beast is the great god Pan, / As he sits by the river, / Making a poet out of a man” (2: 85). Barrett Browning’s modification of the poem’s refrain juxtaposes images of the great god Pan with images of violence. The poem focalises the cost of Pan’s creative power through the figure of the reed, the conduit through which Pan applies his energy or influence. For example, Barrett Browning describes how Pan drops “his mouth to a hole in the reed” (2: 85) to blow “in power by the river” (2: 85), reanimating the reed that he destroyed at the moment of creation. Through this almost simultaneous act of violence and reanimation, Pan becomes the creator of both the sweet music of the reed and the poet who grows out of Pan’s music. Both the poet and the creative act become products of violence, complicating the power dynamics described in the poem.

The poem's commentary on poetic power hinges on Pan's violent treatment of the reed and the poem's source text: the myth of Syrinx and Pan.<sup>44</sup> In brief, the myth of Pan and Syrinx as found in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* explains the origins of the panpipe. In the tale, Pan chases Syrinx to the river's edge where she begs the river nymphs to protect her from the goat god.<sup>45</sup> The nymphs agree, and when Pan reaches for Syrinx at the water's edge, they transform her into a reed, leaving Pan to grasp a handful of the tall marsh plants. As Pan stands on the water's edge, a wind rustles the reeds, making a plaintive sound that inspires the god to construct a musical instrument out of those reeds in memory of his lost Syrinx. However, as Alison Chapman notes, in Ovid's version of the myth, "the act of memorialisation destroys the reed" (273). Syrinx's escape is only temporary. As a reed, she is still subject to the violence of Pan, manipulated and destroyed as part of his creative process. He disturbs the ahistorical, pastoral landscape of the poem, "spreading ruin and scattering ban / And breaking the golden lilies afloat / [. . .] / He tore out a reed [. . .] / From the deep cool bed of the river" (2: 84), to make his panpipe. "A Musical Instrument" emphasises this continuation of Pan's violence beyond the initial chase by continuing it "long after the reeds were nymphs" (Leighton 40). Though Barrett Browning does not identify the reed with a specific gender in these passages, she did use this particular myth "at several times in her poetic career to articulate her sense of the violence of representation, and a violence that is explicitly

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<sup>44</sup> In an alternative reading of "A Musical Instrument," Chapman identifies the poem's politics as part of Barrett Browning's exploration of the "ethics of Italy's representation as a tragic feminine figure" (275). She writes: "Situating alongside the architectural and literary double genealogies of Italy, and particularly Florence, 'A Musical Instrument' may be interpreted as a poem about tyranny and power in the specific environment of its creation and dissemination" (277).

<sup>45</sup> Once again, the contents of the *Cornhill* privilege the educated, cultured reader. The poem's classical source also links it to my previous discussion of poetry and the literary.

gendered” (Chapman 273). Significantly, the poem’s connection to the myth of Pan and Syrinx implicitly genders the reed female.<sup>46</sup>

This connection between the poem and the myth leads some of the most influential critics of the poem to identify the reed with the cultural position of the Victorian female poet. Such readings focus on Barrett Browning’s biographical identity and her struggle against the constraints of the poetic identities available to women writers. Margaret Morlier, for instance, contends that Barrett Browning’s treatment of the reed represents the poet’s identification of “something sinister, especially for women, in the Romantic privileging of imagination over nature” (133). In response to the sinister behaviour of Pan and, by extension, the Romantic poet, the poem proposes an alternative model of creativity: “the role of any poet should be like reed mediating morality rather than, like Pan, presuming to create it” (Morlier 144). According to this interpretive model, the poem becomes a response to and disavowal of masculine poetics, creating a space for a more feminine poetics. Interestingly, Morlier’s reading the poem as an argument for the role of morality and ethics in poetry also links “A Musical Instrument” to the *Cornhill*’s interest in defining the ideal literary professional. Yet, Barrett Browning’s position as a popular female poet complicates the poem’s engagement with the politics of professionalism. It perpetuates the divide between feminine and masculine poetics and professionalism, problematically reinserting Barrett Browning’s treatment of the reed into a very specific mold, that of the ideal feminine subject whose position in the private sphere requires her to uphold the moral laws of England. We can see this ideology at work in essays written by Barrett Browning’s contemporaries. For example, in *The*

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<sup>46</sup> For a history of Pan in literature, see Merivale.

*Women of England* (1839), Sarah Stickney Ellis describes how women function as a “second conscience” (1633), helping men to resist temptation by thinking “of the humble monitress who sat alone, guarding the fireside comforts of his distant home” (1633). However, Barrett Browning’s construction of the reed in “A Musical Instrument” troubles such binate readings of the poem’s engagement with the gender politics of Victorian poetics and professionalism.

Barrett Browning’s description of Pan as he draws “the pith, like the heart of a man” (2: 84) hybridises feminine and masculine poetics through the implicit allusion to Syrinx, the reed, and Barrett Browning’s use of a masculine noun. In this passage, the reed becomes a complex “double figure” (Leighton 40) that knits multiple meanings into a single image. As Angela Leighton writes, “Barrett Browning brings together the two poles of her own aesthetic of poetry: the heartless and the heart felt” (40). This moment in the poem allows Barrett Browning to acknowledge “both the sensibility of the reed—it (or perhaps she) *has* a heart—and also [draw] it out—leaving only the ‘hard & cold thing’ of which strong poems are made” (Leighton 40). Leighton’s reading speaks to the Barrett Browning’s examination of the gender and aesthetic politics present in Victorian poetics. In “A Musical Instrument,” Barrett Browning constructs her critique of a gendered aesthetic through the double image of the heart and the cold hard thing, which evokes the attributes commonly associated with female and male poets, respectively. Barrett Browning further complicates the gendered symbol of the reed when she transforms it from the victim of Pan’s violence into the conduit for Pan’s piercing sweet music. By describing the reviving force of Pan’s music as “Piercing sweet” (2: 85), Barrett Browning combines the saccharine sweetness traditionally ascribed to feminine

poetics with the piercingly violent, artistic, and intellectual vigour commonly associated with masculine poetics.<sup>47</sup> Her depiction of the reed as a gender hybrid in the poem effaces the traditional hierarchy between masculine and feminine poetics; they both fall under the influence of the bestial great god Pan.

The poem critiques Pan's creative act (be it masculine or feminine) by associating the great god's sweet song with his violent behaviour, hacking and hewing "as a great god can, / With his hard bleak steel at the patient reed" (2: 84). The image of Pan hollowing the reed, sitting on the bank of the river where he "notched the poor dry empty thing / In holes" (2: 84), anticipates and sullies the saccharine sweetness of Pan's piercing sweet song. Moreover, the "hard bleak steel" described by Barrett Browning suggests both the Victorian poet's pen as well as the steel type used in nineteenth-century printing practices (Chapman 279), implicating the poet in Pan's violent act of creation. After all, he uses an instrument similar to the poet's pen to destroy the reed and create a conduit for his art. Pan becomes symbolic of the creative act for which "The true gods sigh for the cost and pain" (2: 85). While Barrett Browning's meaning remains ambiguous, the lament of the "true gods" (2: 85) refers to the broader costs of poetic life. In effect, the poem allegorises and critiques the processes through which the poet figure as symbolized by the reed comes under the potentially damaging influence of culture's definition of the poetic ideal.

The publication context of the poem relocates the poem's commentary on poetic power and art from the ahistorical past to a modern literary market defined by literary

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<sup>47</sup> Interestingly, as Corinne Davis notes, Barrett Browning refers to Robert Browning as a "soul-piercing poet" in the courtship correspondence (565).

celebrity, middle-class expectations, and the relationship between editor and contributor. The letters Thackeray and Barrett Browning exchanged about her poetry provide evidence of the dynamics of the literary market and the power of a periodical's editor. In April 1860, Barrett Browning offered Thackeray a poem, presumably "A Musical Instrument," with the caveat that he could return her verse with no harm done if, as Robert Browning suggested, she "may not be welcome between the wind & your nobility at Cornhill" (Ray 4: 184-85). Her comment about the suitability of her poem stems from the recent reviews of her *Poems before Congress*, which condemned her as a fallen poetess, a "poetic aberration" (Aytoun 490). In light of such periodical reviews, her poetry, she feared, had become unsuitable for a middle-class family publication like the *Cornhill*. The correspondence between Barrett Browning and Thackeray on this issue reminds us that the poem is part of the periodical as a whole, and, as such, it must conform or at least appear to conform to the standards and expectations of the periodical's editor and his assumed audience. Thackeray and his imagined audience expected the poetry of Barrett Browning to conform to the era's idealisation of her combined literary and maternal identities. Barrett Browning's role as a cultural representative for Victorian motherhood is clear in Thackeray's subsequent rejection of "Lord Walter's Wife." In his letter rejecting the poem, Thackeray alludes to Barrett Browning's domestic identity as a wife and mother, marginalising her professional identity as a poet. He opens his letter by identifying Barrett Browning as "Browning's wife and Penny's mother" (Ray 2: 226). This assertion of Barrett Browning's domestic role allows Thackeray to turn her "pure doctrine and real modesty and pure ethics" (Ray 4: 226-27) against her, implicitly aligning her with his domestic middle-class readers,

who, he is sure, “would make an outcry” if exposed to Barrett Browning’s “account of an unlawful passion felt by a man for a woman” (Ray 4: 226-227).

For Linda Shires, Thackeray’s appeal “illustrates how individual female poetic identity had to be negotiated through a wide set of public discourses, including those of genre: the status of and topics for poetry, those of professions: the issue of literary vocation and labor, those of sex and gender: the nature and role of woman, and those of marketing: the politics of literary reputations” (327). Barrett Browning’s decision to publish political and popular poetry confronts the societal belief that you cannot sever a woman’s private identity from her public writing. For Barrett Browning, this meant separating her personal identity as wife and mother from her more public role as a poet. The figure of the poetess provides evidence of this. As mentioned in the introduction to my thesis, Barrett Browning’s poem “L. E. L.’s Last Question” criticises society’s refusal to separate Landon from her poetic persona L. E. L. The poem suggests that society’s desire to define Landon led her to believe in her public and poetic reputations, influencing her dreams and leading her into a doomed marriage. While Barrett Browning challenges this collapsing of the private and public throughout her career from “L. E. L.’s Last Question” to “Lord Walter’s Wife,” as Shires notes, Barrett Browning cannot evade it (327). In this way, Browning is like her reed. She becomes a hybrid figure known as mother, wife, and poet. However, within the *Cornhill*, her role as a mother and wife ultimately overwrites her appropriation of the masculine poetics seen in her more political poems, including “Lord Walter’s Wife.” Editorial figures such as Thackeray become Pan-like, influencing and controlling the poetic agency of the poet. The costs Barrett Browning associates with Pan’s actions and the creative process become linked to

the periodical culture of the era through the poem's original publication context. The poem thus appears within a system of editorial rules and expectations that perform the discourse of power critiqued by Barrett Browning. Reading "A Musical Instrument" in its original publication context emphasises this critique, demonstrating how Barrett Browning's poetry engaged with the politics of the periodical press and the expectations placed on the Victorian female poet. Furthermore, as part of the periodical, the poem interacts with the pastoral and agricultural imagery that surrounds the *Cornhill*; Thackeray, like Pan, acts as a harvester. He cultivates a specific type of literature and draws on Barrett Browning's personal identity as a mother to manipulate her into playing his song. More importantly, Barrett Browning's poem shows how popular periodical poetry responded to market conditions and cultural expectations while simultaneously critiquing and participating the politics of periodical culture. Such poems emphasise the importance of poetry to the periodical and the development of poetry as "living art, / Which thus presents, and thus records true life" (Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh* 5: 221–22) in the periodical press.

As a living art, the poetry of the periodical press often appeared illustrated, offering a visually rendered interpretive framework for the accompanying text. Appearing alongside "A Musical Instrument" in the *Cornhill*, Frederic Leighton's Pan (figure 6) dominates the visual space of the illustration and the letterpress, emphasising the discourses of power at play in the poem, between the image and text, and within periodical culture. The illustration looms over the poem. Its physical presence overpowers the letterpress even though the wide margins of the poem serve as a visual indicator of the text's genre and cultural status. Leighton's illustration acts like Barrett

Browning's great god, using the poem as a conduit to create a strong image that dominates and fixes the poem within the Hellenic landscape of the visual text.<sup>48</sup> After I gave a paper on the *Cornhill*'s publication of "A Musical Instrument" at the September 2010 conference of the Research Society of Victorian Periodicals, an audience member commented on the power of Leighton's Pan. She stated that having seen Leighton's visual interpretation of Pan, she would not be able to read Barrett Browning's poem without seeing his version of the goat god. The power of this particular illustration to dominate the visual space of the poem complements and complicates Barrett Browning's interest in poetic power. The illustration manipulates the way we read and see the poem, defining the presentation of the text. It realises the allegorical and mythical landscape of poem even as it reframes Barrett Browning's critique of poetic power. The illustration focuses the reader's attention on the "great god Pan" rather than the musical instrument of the title, ultimately distracting the reader from the poem's underlying critique of Pan-like literary figures and poetic power.

Seated in the foreground of Leighton's pastoral scene, Pan's physical body fills the frame, determining the way your eyes moves through the vertical plane of the illustration. Significantly, Leighton associates Pan's human upper body with the panpipe and his final sweet song while Pan's bestial legs guide the eye down towards the broken reeds in the river as one of Pan's hooves hovers over the remains of a reed. The visual composition of Pan's body in the landscape serves to link Pan's bestial nature to the destruction of the

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<sup>48</sup> The title of the illustration ("The Great God Pan") similarly locates the poem as part of Barrett Browning's sequence of Pan poems. The phrase is reminiscent of the refrain in her poem "The Dead Pan" (1844). While each stanza of "The Dead Pan" ends with the word *dead*, weighing down the verse and thus anticipating the full-stop of the poetic line, the way Barrett Browning presents her Pan changes over the course of the poem, and at one point the speaker states, "Great Pan is dead" (28). This intense focus on Pan confirms later critical readings of the poem, which tend to interpret the text according to its source myth. See Chapman, Morlier, and Merivale.

reeds. Yet, even as the illustration's focus on Pan's body displaces the reed, the composition of the illustration still manages to realise the dual nature of Barrett Browning's bestial poet god as well as the violence that underlies his sweet song. The dual nature of the illustration suggests that the tension between creativity and power is always at play in any creative act. It thus references the double vision of "A Musical Instrument" developed by Barrett Browning through her interrogation of poetic power and myths of creative genius. Angela Leighton describes the moment when Pan draws the pith from the reed as futilely forcing together "the literal and figurative sense. [. . .] The one involves cost, the other mere play" (40). She argues that "[t]he two are not easy either to separate or reconcile, but their double purpose is the theme and meaning and the poem" (40). Frederic Leighton's depiction of "the great god Pan" visualises the disparate elements of violence and sweetness that Barrett Browning associates with poetic creativity, consolidating them in the figure of Pan, who plays his panpipe above a stream filled with broken reeds.

However, these notions of consolidated meaning and double vision extend beyond the frame of Leighton's illustration to the implicit intertextual link between Pan's hyper-masculine act of artistic creation and the periodical's representations of masculine labour as a metaphor for creative literary production on the periodical's cover as well as in Thackeray's letter and the inaugural poem. The lightly sketched fields over Pan's left shoulder reinforce this association between Pan and the rustic labourer of the periodical's cover. In the background of the image, Leighton depicts a scene of commerce and the associated labour through a train of wagons driven by indistinct figures. The inclusion of this reference to work and commerce functions to locate Pan within the human world of

productivity. Pan's presence in a Hellenic landscape published in the *Cornhill* with its cover that depicts labourers working in the fields broadens the metaphorical potential of the poem beyond the boundaries of the poetic text. The georgic allusions that define the periodical's identity under Thackeray allegorise the creative process, transforming it into a natural process associated with the georgic cultivation of land. Published within this discourse of cultivation, the poem does not depict Pan as simply crushing the landscape; rather, he cultivates it, turning the natural reeds into a conduit for his creative power.

Pan's treatment of the reed is no longer a commentary on the difference between masculine and feminine poetics and the need for the poet to mediate morality. The act of cultivation suggests the creation of morality, realigning the creative power of Pan with the Romantic poet, who privileges the act of creation over nature. Leighton's illustration highlights Pan's particular form of cultivation as the crisp lines of the panpipe stand out against the shaded curves of Pan's body. The meaning of the poem's final few lines shifts placed as it is within the visual/metaphorical network of meaning created by the periodical's cover, Thackeray's letter, and the inaugural ode. The inaction of the "true gods" (2: 85), all they can do is lament, suggests that this progress (or cultivation of the land) is inescapable. The sharp lines of the panpipe suggest a sort of modernity linked to technological production; the panpipe is a tool of creative production similar to Pan's "hard bleak steel" (2: 84) and the poet's pen. The cover illustration designed by Sykes for the magazine also points to tools and modes of production through the scythe and plough. Such tools are necessary for the cultivation of land, and, by extension, the cultivation of literature. This does not leave room for Barrett Browning's new model of poetics, which,

as previously discussed, examines and rejects the violence and control implicit in poetic and cultural power through the figure of the reed.<sup>49</sup>

Although the sharp lines of the panpipe emphasise its presence in the illustration, the instrument remains framed by the masculine bulk of Pan's body with the bestial god's head and hands surrounding the panpipe. Moreover, the reeds and cattails of the poem exist only along the illustration's margins, framing Pan along the vertical plane. The focus on Pan and the finished product of the panpipe, whose sleek design completely removes it from the natural landscape, contrasts with Barrett Browning's interest in the reed. Leighton's illustration leaves the reader with the image of Pan's machismo while Barrett Browning's poem ends with the melancholy absence of the reed: the central figure in her discussion of Victorian poetics, power, and influence.

The relationship described between illustration, letterpress, and periodical in relation to Barrett Browning's poem represents an isolated case study, and it is not necessarily indicative of the whole. However, illustration plays an incredibly important role in the way we read the *Cornhill* and all other illustrated literary periodicals from the 1860s. Reading illustrated poetry reveals the problems with contemporary systems of literary classification and even the literary canon.<sup>50</sup> A poem is more than metre, rhyme, and metaphor. It is a complex genre that interacts with numerous other genres and media to produce a social and cultural text. In the *Cornhill*, visual and verbal networks

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<sup>49</sup> The notion that the ideological power of the periodical press, as represented by the various networks informing the meaning of Barrett Browning's poem in the *Cornhill*, can silence alternative poetic models becomes particularly important in the context of the periodical press and popular poetry, especially since the cultural power of critics rendered the poetry of the popular and often female Victorian poet invisible.

<sup>50</sup> For example, in her work on narratology, Mieke Bal discusses contemporary systems of literary classification, noting that the narrative characteristics present in poetry "are but of secondary importance" compared to those poetic qualities that make a poem a poem (10).

combined to define the popular literature and art of the era. For example, Smith and Elder's promotion of illustration as a valued art form through the *Cornhill* and its gallery supported the publication's identity as a high-end middle-class periodical that published the best of both literature and art. However, the verbal/visual codes of the periodical did more than establish its cultural value. Thackeray's narrative of a domestic dinner table and the cover's georgic imagery established the journal's dominant metaphor of a literary periodical designed for the professionalised middle-class reader raised on the values of early nineteenth-century England.<sup>51</sup> Overall, the collection of these various documents within the golden-orange cover of the monthly transformed the history of Victorian poetry. Through periodicals such as the *Cornhill*, poetry became part of the debates that circulated in the era's prose rather than an isolated text with a silent auditor/reader. The noise of modern print culture surrounded the nineteenth-century, and this print culture informed the development of popular poetry, poetic form, and the periodical itself in the 1860s.

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<sup>51</sup> I discuss this nostalgia in the next chapter.

## Chapter 2: The Modern Mode of *Once a Week's* Domestic Poetry

Boasting contributors such as George Meredith, Alfred Tennyson, and Christina Rossetti, *Once a Week* represents a significant repository of mid-Victorian popular poetry. With a new issue appearing each week, the periodical published 114 poems, averaging two poems per issue between 2 July 1859 and 22 December 1860. Of these 114 poems, 74% were illustrated by such prominent illustrators as Hablôt K. Browne, John Everett Millais, and John Leech.<sup>1</sup> The emphasis placed on illustration and illustrated poetry in the periodical makes it one of the most important illustrated publications of the period, even if the initial number of illustrations it published proved unsustainable.<sup>2</sup> In her recent essay “Inventing Poetry and Pictorialism in *Once a Week: A Magazine of Visual Effects*,” Linda K. Hughes outlines the important role played by *Once a Week* in the history of illustration and periodical poetry, arguing that *Once a Week* “seized the initiative in defining how original poems and illustrations might be conceptualized, presented, and read in relation to each other” (42). Namely, the periodical poetry of *Once a Week* emphasises how the periodical press placed poetry and illustration “amidst multiple competing texts and voices, so that text and image are in dialogue not only with each other but also with every other feature in the issue” (Hughes, “Inventing Poetry” 43). My

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<sup>1</sup> An essay published in *Good Words* for December 1893 (34: 552–58) emphasises the status of illustration in *Once a Week*. Commenting on the early years of the periodical, George Soames Layan writes, “[d]uring this time he [Samuel Lucas] gathered round him probably as brilliant array of black and white artists as has ever been associated in one and the same undertaking” (552).

<sup>2</sup> During its first six months of publication (July 1859 to December 1859), *Once a Week* enjoyed a total circulation of around 570,000 or 22,000 copies per issue. Its circulation numbers decreased to 150,000 over the next six months and continued declining by an average of 35,000 per year until the mid-1860s (Buckler 938–39). As both Buckler and Savory note, while *Once a Week* did have literary merit, it was a commercial failure. One of the reasons behind the decrease in illustration was the cost. The periodical did not have the circulation numbers to support the expense of illustration.

own case study of the illustrated poetry of *Once a Week* builds on Hughes's suggestion of the embedded nature of *Once a Week*'s illustrated poetry ("Inventing Poetry" 46) by examining the poetic, thematic, and visual patterns found in the periodical and linking them to the rise of the middle-class literary periodical and contemporary debates about the middle-class family.

This chapter argues that reading *Once a Week* in volume form highlights the aesthetic and thematic patterns of the periodical, revealing how both poetry and illustration contribute to a textual, visual, and thematic rhythm that, to borrow from Hughes and Lund in *The Victorian Serial*, tells "a continuing story over an extended period of time with enforced interruptions" (1).<sup>3</sup> For Hughes and Lund, the structure of the Victorian serial novel mimics the narrative patterns of modern Victorian life. The repeated publication of domestic poetry in *Once a Week* likewise affirms this sense of a continuing story, beginning with the periodical's inaugural poem, Shirley Brooks's "Once a Week" (2 July 1859; 1: 1–2). Brooks's poem explicitly defines the central elements of the periodical: its domestic middle-class mentality and its illustrations. Poems on the subject of middle-class domesticity represent at least half of the 51 poems published in the periodical's first volume. In light of this thematic pattern, this chapter contends that the poetry of *Once a Week* adds to the structural and thematic continuity of the periodical through its frequent representation of Victorian middle-class values and life. The textual and visual continuity offered by the periodical's poetry defines its brand as a middle-class periodical. It also acts as a counter to modernity, suggesting the existence of a continuous and stable middle-class identity despite the progressive nature

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<sup>3</sup> The fragility and relative rarity of *Once a Week*'s original weekly issues prevents an analysis of how poetry appeared to the periodical's weekly readers.

of Victorian society and the ephemerality of the periodical itself. Before I discuss the verbal and visual networks of *Once a Week*, however, I will consider the periodical's bibliographic history because the origin of *Once a Week* in the dissolution of *Household Words* informed many of the decisions that Bradbury and Evans, the periodical's publisher, made about illustrations, contributors, and even audience.<sup>4</sup>

### ***Once a Week, Household Words, and the Domestication of the Literary Weekly***

*Once a Week* was a periodical "born in controversy" (Savory 287), beginning with Dickens's sensational separation from his wife Catherine.<sup>5</sup> In June 1858, Dickens published a statement in *Household Words* intended to explain his domestic difficulties, presenting the separation as a mutual decision made by two people who had endured an unhappy marriage for years.<sup>6</sup> He then requested that his publishers, Bradbury and Evans, publish this statement in *Punch*, their other journal (Buckler 924). They refused. Dickens was furious and quickly moved to dissolve his partnership with the publishing firm. That December, Bradbury and Evans rejected Dickens's offer of £1,000 for their share of the journal's copyright, and the conflict over *Household Words* ended up in the Court of Chancery on 26 March 1859. The court's ruling required Dickens and Bradbury and Evans to sell *Household Words* at public auction later that year. Meanwhile, on 30 April

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<sup>4</sup> Hughes notes that the simultaneous dissolution of *Household Words* and Dickens's professional relationship with Bradbury and Evans occurred "at a crucial pivot point in the publishing history of poetry and periodicals" ("Inventing Poetry" 41).

<sup>5</sup> What follows is an abbreviated version of the scandal. William Buckler's foundational article on *Once a Week*, "*Once a Week* under Samuel Lucas, 1859-65," provides an excellent summary of the events leading to the dissolution of Dickens's personal and professional relationship with Bradbury and Evans. For additional information, see Dixon.

<sup>6</sup> Dickens's signed statement titled "Personal" opened the 12 June 1858 issue of *Household Words*.

1859, Dickens commissioned a special advertisement that announced the cessation of the periodical and upcoming launch of *All the Year Round*. The prospectus for *All the Year Round* appeared a month later on the first page of *Household Words* for 28 May 1859. The transition from *Household Words* to *All the Year Round* was seamless since Dickens had already put the staff and contributors of *Household Words* to work on his new periodical. That May, Dickens successfully bid on *Household Words*, winning its copyright and triumphing over Bradbury and Evans.

For their part, Bradbury and Evans issued a statement on 31 May 1859 insisting that Dickens had never asked them to publish his personal announcement in *Punch*. Inserted into that month's serial part of Thackeray's *The Virginians*, a portion of the statement reads: "it did not occur to Bradbury & Evans to exceed their legitimate functions as Proprietors and Publishers, and to require the insertion of a statement on a domestic and painful subject in the inappropriate columns of a comic miscellany" ("Statement of Messrs Bradbury & Evans"). The statement goes on to cast Dickens as an unreasonable and selfish figure, who "injured a valuable property, in which others besides himself were interested" ("Statement of Messrs Bradbury & Evans"). The public battle that Dickens and his former publisher waged in the periodicals and serial novels of that year deeply affected the content of *Once a Week* because popular authors took sides, publishing either with Dickens or Bradbury and Evans. For example, Harriett Martineau, Charles Knight, and Thomas Hughes gave their allegiance to Bradbury and Evans, viewing the publishers as the victims. Those who sided with Bradbury and Evans were conscious of the need to distance *Once a Week* from Dickens lest it appear they were copying the famous author's new venture, *All the Year Round*. In a letter addressed to the

periodical's editor Samuel Lucas, George Meredith (a frequent contributor to *Once a Week*) writes, "we must be careful not to seem to be copying the enemy" (1: 65).

The birth of *Once a Week* out of and in response to Dickens's weekly periodicals demonstrates how influential Dickens's publications were in the development of the middle-class literary periodical. As Lorna Hutt observes, Dickens's *Household Words* rehabilitated periodical fiction by presenting readers with good-quality serialized fiction published "under the aegis of a celebrated novelist known in part for his depiction of idealised domesticity" (136). In effect, Dickens shaped *Household Words* to fill a void in the literary market; he catered to and created a new middle-class audience. The publication of morally acceptable serial fiction in *Household Words*, as opposed to the sensational stories published in penny dreadfuls, transformed the weekly periodical into a legitimate outlet for literature aimed at the middle classes.<sup>7</sup> The format associated with Dickens's periodicals promised a particular reading experience. As a result, other publications, including *Once a Week*, adopted the publication model offered by the era's most popular and profitable weekly periodical.

This brief bibliographic history of *Once a Week* situates the periodical firmly within middle-class culture, and provides context for the periodical's investment in confirming and perpetuating the domestic ideology of its middle-class readers. The dissemination of middle-class values to the reading public, which included all members of the middle class from bank clerks to wealthy capitalists, was a central feature of the popular press. As Dennis Denisoff notes, "[t]he notion of 'popular culture' arose as a

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<sup>7</sup> Penny dreadfuls were a cheaper version of the serial novels popularised by Dickens in the early nineteenth century. Early penny dreadfuls were reprints or rewrites of gothic novels such as Matthew Gregory Lewis's *The Monk* (1796). Original titles include *The String of Pearls: A Romance* (1846–47), *The Mysteries of London* (begun in 1844), and *Varney the Vampire; or, the Feast of Blood* (1845–47).

realm of strategic contest through which the masses themselves were to be shaped in accord with middle-class interests and values” (15). While Denisoff identifies the working classes as the Victorian mass “to be shaped,” the popular poetry of *Once a Week* suggests that the middle-class periodical similarly functioned to shape the middle class. Indeed, according to Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, the “bourgeoisies were the first classes to achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis” (77). They came, he continues, “to visualize in a general way the existence of thousands and thousands like themselves through print-language” (77). In periodicals such as *Once a Week*, middle-class readers could find a model for their domestic values and become part of a literary community composed of like-minded individuals. Importantly, *Once a Week*’s interest in the Victorian family provided consumers with an affordable and respectable weekly publication that both affirmed and helped to create the values of their daily lives. In other words, the poetry of *Once a Week* represented “this live, throbbing age” (Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh* 5:202–03) and made poetry “an integral part of public discourse” (Hughes, “Inventing Poetry” 47). Through periodical publications such as *Once a Week*, poetry became a constant part of the Victorian reader’s literary experience.

### **The Verbal Networks of *Once a Week*’s Domestic Poetry**

In their groundbreaking work on the history of the nineteenth-century family, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall suggest that we should not separate domesticity from manliness, a stance shared by John Tosh in his important work on the Victorian family

and masculinity (44, 46).<sup>8</sup> Though advocates of separate-sphere ideology identified women's work with the private sphere of the home and men's work with the public sphere of business, Davidoff and Hall describe how early Victorian fathers acted "as companions and teachers to older children [. . .] taking children on holiday outings, going for walks with them, and teaching them skills, especially outdoor activities" (331).<sup>9</sup> Significantly, the domesticity privileged by the poems of *Once a Week* suggests nostalgia for the world described by Davidoff and Hall, providing an alternative to the modern world inhabited by the periodical's professional middle-class readers. As Claudia Nelson notes, at the time of *Once a Week*'s publication, the domestic world discussed by Davidoff and Hall "was about to come to an end" (3). Families during this period "were changing: men were increasingly identified with their occupations rather than with their households; women's symbolic value as moral influences was outstripping their practical value as [. . .] keepers of their husband's accounts" (Nelson 3). The scenes of domesticity offered by the poems of *Once a Week* counter this modernization of the middle-class family by reconfirming and sustaining the idea of a particular kind of middle-class life. Through its poetry and illustration, *Once a Week* consistently supports the structure of the Victorian family under the professional patriarch.

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<sup>8</sup> Rod Edmond provides an excellent summary of contemporary research on the Victorian family (19–31) as does Davidoff in *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960* (16–97). More recent essays on specific narratives of the Victorian father include Helena Gurfinkel's "'The Intercourse between the Squire and His Son': The Father-Son Marriage Plot and the Creation of the English Gentleman in Anthony Trollope's *Doctor Thorne*," which uses Freud's essay on the Wolf Man to read the marriage plot of Trollope's novel, and Melissa Shields Jenkins's "'Stamped on Hot Wax': George Meredith's Narratives of Inheritance," which explores Meredith's interest in how one generation of writers influences the next.

<sup>9</sup> Edmond discusses how, in the early-Victorian period, "[i]ncreased expectations of marriage as an institution created a new self-consciousness about its practices and values. From at least as early as the 1830s there was extensive public discussion of the marriage habits of the middle classes" (24). He continues: "In all this we can see the codification of middle-class norms and aspirations, and the production of that domestic ideology which had become dominant by mid-century" (25). *Once a Week* perpetuates and circulates these norms in the face of a changing society.

The topics addressed and avoided in *Once a Week* are very similar to those advocated by Thackeray in his letter to contributors of the *Cornhill*. Mauger discusses the absence of controversial topics such as politics, economics, and religion in *Once a Week*, noting that their absence “worked to privilege female readers” by creating and supporting a gendered space (“The Effects of Context” 36, 38). Yet, though the periodical avoided the perceived masculine realm of politics to focus on the feminine domain of the domestic, the frequent appearance of male speakers reflecting on their domestic lives suggests that for the editor of *Once a Week*, the domestic realm was not the sole domain of female authors and readers. Rather, the periodical’s domestic poetry advocates for the education of the Victorian man. It argues for the importance of familial bonds to the health of the middle-class family and encourages its professional readers to spend their leisure time with their wives and daughters, reading family-friendly publications such as *Once a Week*. Published on the first page of the periodical’s inaugural issue, Shirley Brooks’s poem “Once a Week” (2 July 1859; 1: 1–2) underscores this message.

Brooks’s proffered “lightest lines of rhyme, to speak / Our notion of the work we’ve undertaken” (1:1) establish the editorial agenda of the periodical and brand *Once a Week* as a family periodical perfect for leisure reading. Notably, this use of poetry to recite a periodical’s mission statement or define its brand appears often in the era’s literary periodicals, with inaugural poems similar in scope and tone to “Once a Week” published in the opening issues of the *Cornhill*, *Belgravia*, and the *Argosy*. Editors relied on these inaugural poems to establish their periodical’s brand and to speak for them with the same authority as Dickens’s conductor in *Household Words*. The speaker in “Once a Week” thus stands in for the periodical’s editor, outlining the editor’s aim to produce a

publication suitable for the middle-class family to read on the weekend.<sup>10</sup> The second half of the poem then focuses on a particular version of the modern middle-class family organized around a professional patriarch ranging from a doctor to a lawyer to a business man:

Come, Lawyer, why not leave your dusty smother,

Is there not wed to thee a bright-eyed wife?

Take holiday with her, our learned brother,

And lay up health for your autumnal life.

Her form may lose (by gain), the battle pending;

Your learned nose become more like a beak,

Meantime, you'll find some tale of struggle, ending

In clients, fees, Q.C., in ONCE A WEEK.

And you, our Doctor, must be sometimes wishing

For something else beside that yellow couch.

Send physic to the sick, and go a fishing,

And come back chubby, sound as any roach.

Don't take the "Lancet" with you on the water,

Or ponder how to smash your rival's clique;

But take your seldom-treated wife and daughter,

And bid them take three rods, and ONCE A WEEK.

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<sup>10</sup> Brooks incorporates the editorial staff into the poem through his use of the pronoun *our* in the opening lines.

This King was in his counting-house at morning,  
 Counting, discounting, where stocks fall and rise;  
 But now, at afternoon, his ledger scorning,  
 To his own vine and his own fig-tree flies.  
 Proud Princess Poll brings him the rich Havannah  
 To soothe his royal soul with pleasant reek.  
 Pet Princess Meg discrowns him. Princess Anna  
 Brings him iced drink, and straws, and ONCE A WEEK. (1: 1)

A third of the poem thus outlines how the periodical's readers should experience *Once a Week*. The directive contained in these stanzas includes implicit instructions for the middle-class father. The lawyer is to "leave [his] dusty smother" and "take holiday" with his "bright-eyed wife" (1:1) and his copy of *Once a Week*. The doctor must replace his copy of the *Lancet* with *Once a Week* and take his wife and daughter fishing. These instructions to the periodical's professional middle-class audience ultimately lead to an explicit statement of the periodical's didactic purpose. In the poem's final stanza, the speaker of the poem suggests that readers will find within the periodical's pages "teachings meek;— / [. . .] the morals of our ONCE A WEEK" (1: 1). These morals are far removed from the professional world with its "importunities that never cease" (1: 1). Instead, the poem focuses on the importance of domesticity, specifically, the reconnection of the paterfamilias with his family.

Drawn by John Leech, the poem's accompanying vignettes further emphasise the practice of familial leisure reading. They depict two families gathered around their respective copies of the periodical (figure 7). Each of Leech's vignettes mirror the

directive of the poem. In fact, if the second half of Brooks's poem offers advice for how and when to read *Once a Week* (namely, as a family on the weekend), then the first half of the poem emphasises the importance of illustrations to the experience of reading the journal.<sup>11</sup> The poem's fourth stanza draws the reader's attention to what Hughes calls the mutual embeddedness of image and text in *Once a Week* ("Inventing Poetry" 46). The speaker invites the reader to understand the text in light of the illustration located opposite the verbal text in the right-hand column of the page (figure 8).<sup>12</sup> This excerpt guides the reader's eye to the illustration, openly referring to the visual text:

Music, for instance. There's sweet Clara Horner,  
 Listening to Mario with her eyes and ears:  
 Observe her please, up in the left-hand corner:  
 Type of the dearest of our English dears. (1:1)

This excerpt provides a model for reading the poetry and layout of *Once a Week*. It encourages the periodical's readers to understand the visual-verbal elements of the page as a singular, cohesive text.<sup>13</sup> I will return to the importance of the visual-verbal relationships found in *Once a Week*'s poetry later in this chapter. For now, what matters

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<sup>11</sup> The poem as a whole thus draws attention to the central elements of the periodical: its illustrations and its domestic, middle-class mentality.

<sup>12</sup> As my earlier discussions of Barrett Browning's "L. E. L.'s Last Question" in the *Ladies' Pocket Magazine* and "A Musical Instrument" in the *Cornhill* suggest, the layout of a periodical affects the reader's experience of the poem. While the illustrations interrupting and accompanying Barrett Browning's poems exist alongside the verbal text as distinct artworks printed on a thicker paper stock, a layout that separates the visual from the verbal, in *Once a Week*, the visual becomes an integral part of the poem's presentation, changing the experience of the verbal poem.

<sup>13</sup> The layout reiterates this sense of cohesiveness as it aligns the description of "sweet Clara Horner" with the focal point of the illustration, Clara's upper body and face, according to the rule of thirds. The rule of thirds divides an image into nine equal parts with two vertical and two horizontal lines. Points of interest are then located along the intersections of these lines. If you divide Leech's illustration according to the rule of thirds, Clara Horner's body appears at a point of intersection.

is how Brooks's poem and Leech's illustrations provide the reader with a cohesive vision of the middle-class family on vacation, away from the city and its professional pressures.

The emphasis on the family in Brooks's poem lays bare the editorial agenda of the periodical: to support and perpetuate the ideology of the middle-class family for the journal's readership, which included members of the middle class as well as those who aspired to meet the moral requirements of the middle class. As a literary periodical aimed at an audience similar to that of Thackeray's *Cornhill* or Dickens's *All the Year Round*, *Once a Week* presents readers with an ideal middle-class experience, mediating, circulating, and affirming the era's dominant domestic ideologies. While this set of domestic ideologies often centres on the Victorian mother (as seen in Phegley's work on women readers), *Once a Week* emphasises the role of the modern professional father in providing for and perpetuating the domestic values of the middle-class. Indeed, the father is central to verbal-visual "lesson of this page" (1: 2) in Brooks's "Once a Week."<sup>14</sup>

The paterfamilias figure featured in Brooks's poem reappears throughout the periodical, with his presence most strongly felt in a series of poems published between September 1859 and October 1860: H.'s "Scarborough—1859" (17 September 1859; 1: 229–30), R. F. Sketchley's "First Love" (15 September 1860; 3: 322–23), and W. L. W.'s "A Score of Years Ago" (6 October 1860; 3: 416). All of these poems narrate the speaker's life experiences from youth to marriage to fatherhood, ending with the speaker's acknowledgement that he hopes to see the domestic pattern of his life continued in the next generation. The composition of the third poem is of particular

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<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the figure of the paterfamilias is crucial to the structure and ideology of at least two other periodicals from the period. For example, Thackeray explicitly positions himself as the *Cornhill*'s paterfamilias when rejecting Barrett Browning's "Lord Walter's Wife" and the devotional readings published in *Good Words* implicitly allude to the practice of a father leading family prayers.

interest. Framed by two engagements, one remembered (the speaker's) and one observed (his daughter's), "A Score of Years Ago" fulfils the fatherly wish articulated in the last stanza of "Scarborough—1859." The poem suggests that the younger generation observed in "A Score of Years Ago" will experience the same happy fate as their parents. Both the poem and illustration underscore this perpetuation of domestic values and marital bliss by overlaying the proposals, which occur decades apart, onto the same physical space.

This focus on the father is what makes *Once a Week* so fascinating. Its popular poetry challenges the critical narratives of periodical literature and gender found in Phegley's work on the woman reader and Maunder's work on Christina Rossetti and *Once a Week*, as well as what Nelson calls the doctrine of separate spheres (3). "Once a Week," "Scarborough—1859," "First Love," and "A Score of Years Ago" all reinforce the role of the father in the mid-Victorian family to a society increasingly concerned "about young middle-class men who possessed the means to marry but preferred to remain bachelors" (Tosh 97).<sup>15</sup> The concern noted by Tosh in his work on Victorian domesticity and manliness is palpable in the poetry of *Once Week*. The poems referenced above act as antidotes for the perceived increase in Victorian bachelors (Tosh 97) by providing a specific model for the development of the middle-class man. For example, in the poem "Black Monday" (29 October 1859; 1: 360), the speaker, a young barrister, first arrives at "this gem of the sea" with his "hard-reading cousin" (1: 360). Over time, he meets many pleasant people, including Laura with whom he picnics near the abbey before their "silent return 'neath the light of stars" (1: 360). The events depicted in

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<sup>15</sup> While Tosh locates the origins of this concern in the late 1860s, the poetry of *Once Week* suggests that such anxieties appeared earlier in the decade.

“Black Monday” echo the nostalgic musings of the speaker in “Scarborough—1859” as he remembers visiting Scarborough from Oxford to flirt and play billiards instead of reading for honours as “in letters home ’twas said” (1: 229). The youthful episode recounted in “Scarborough—1859” may belong in the past, but “Black Monday” implies that similar vacations and narratives still occur in the present. The speaker’s profession as a young barrister in “Black Monday” also creates an implicit link between the poem’s speaker and the lawyer figure addressed in “Once a Week,” suggesting that this young man enjoying his holiday will grow into a responsible paterfamilias.

The implicit connections between the events and characters in “Once a Week,” “Scarborough—1859,” and “Black Monday,” not to mention the similarities noted in “Scarborough—1859,” “First Love,” and “A Score of Years Ago,” suggest the existence of a particular pattern of experiences shared by the middle-class speakers and the periodical’s readers. Whether recounting past events, present experiences, or future possibilities, these are undoubtedly modern, of-the-moment poems. The date included in the title of “Scarborough—1859” stresses this and positions the events of the poem as happening just prior to or perhaps even concurrently with the poem’s publication. The repetition of similar events throughout *Once a Week* contributes to the textual and thematic rhythm of the poem, and the publication dates of all the poems in either September or October each year create a sense of ritual: these moments make up the “continuing story” (Hughes and Lund 1) of middle-class life. Turner argues that the pause introduced by serial publication “is where meaning resides” and that this pause “is when the interaction and communication occurs” since the “period of waiting and reading” creates a “link between the past and the future” (194). In the case of *Once a Week*’s

domestic poems, the serial pause between “Once a Week” (2 July 1859), “Scarborough—1859” (17 September 1859), “Black Monday” (29 October 1859), “First Love” (15 September 1860), and “A Score of Years Ago” (6 October 1860) links the past to the present moment and suggests a continuous model of middle-class domesticity sustained through successive generations and periodical issues. In this way, the serial structure of the periodical and its poems counters modern anxieties about the bachelor and the growing divide between the professional man and his family.

As these poems on middle-class life and domesticity demonstrate, the poetry in *Once a Week* participates in contemporary debates about the Victorian home. More importantly, recognizing poetry as part of these critical debates confirms the presence of a social agenda within even *Once a Week*’s “lightest lines of rhyme” (Brooks 1: 1). Despite its apparent frivolity, the periodical’s poetry functioned to shape the reader in particular ways. It responded to contemporary anxieties about the Victorian family and the moral condition of the middle class. I will talk more about how the periodical press disciplines its readers in the next chapter. For now, it is enough to recognise how periodical poetry and its readers contributed to the journal’s creation and affirmation of an ideology of home. In the *Cornhill*, the editorial presence of Thackeray ensures the middle-class respectability of the literary periodical. In *Once a Week*, the periodical’s poetry and illustrations confirm the publication’s adherence to contemporary middle-class ideals of domesticity and respectability. In their work on serial fiction, Hughes and Lund describe how “serial reading could extend, augment, and influence the perception of domestic themes” as “author, characters, and reader alike contributed their part toward creating a home” (Hughes and Lund 18). In *Once a Week*, the material contexts of its

poetry as well as the physical experience of reading that poetry foreground this link between literature and societal values.

### **Illustration as the primary Material Context for the Poetry of *Once a Week***

The illustrations that accompany “Scarborough—1859” (figure 9), “First Love” (figure 10), and “A Score of Years Ago” (figure 11) all focus on the happily married older generation. John Leech illustrated “Scarborough—1859” and “A Score of Years Ago,” while Frederick Walker illustrated “First Love.” The noticeable visual continuity seen in these illustrations suggests that Bradbury and Evans, together with Samuel Lucas, the periodical’s first editor, had a particular aesthetic in mind when commissioning illustrations. Indeed, Lucas thought and wrote a lot about illustration, commenting in an 1858 review of illustrated poetry books, “If our designers would but interpret for our poets as carefully as the Brothers Dalziel and others interpret for them their art would be quite as effective, while their authors might be illustrated throughout, which is more than we can say of any of them up to this point” (10).<sup>16</sup> For Lucas, the best literary illustrations remain faithful to the text. They complement the author’s text rather than subordinate the text to the visual. Lucas’s review no doubt responds to lavish illustrated texts such as the Moxon Tennyson, which foregrounded illustration at the expense of visual and interpretive consistency. The illustrations for “Scarborough—1859,” “First Love,” and “A Score of Years Ago” adhere to Lucas’s rules for effective illustrations. They accurately depict the scenario of each poem (a husband discussing marriage and

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<sup>16</sup> The style of illustration preferred by Lucas is similar to what Kooistra defines as quotation, which occurs when “[t]he artist produces a picture which is a visual double for the word” (*Artist as Critic* 16).

family with his wife) while taking no liberty with the subject matter. However, the illustrations for “Scarborough—1859,” “First Love,” and “A Score of Years Ago” suggest that Lucas’s mandate extended beyond the source text to include consideration of the periodical’s aesthetic as a whole. The fact that the illustrations of these poems echo those that accompany Brooks’s “Once a Week” (figure 7), which Leech illustrated as well, reinforces the aesthetic continuity of the periodical and shows how the poetry of *Once a Week* contributes to the textual, visual, and thematic rhythms of the periodical. The remainder of this chapter examines how the illustrations of Hablôt K. Browne (“Phiz”) and John Everett Millais, two of the most frequent illustrators of poetry in *Once a Week* between 2 July 1859 and 22 December 1860, helped build the domestic aesthetic of the periodical and shape the meaning of the its poetry.<sup>17</sup>

Browne’s notable and increasingly outmoded allegorical style accompanies thirteen poems in the first volume of the periodical, representing 40% of the periodical’s illustrated poetry.<sup>18</sup> The dominance of Browne’s visual aesthetic in the early issues of *Once a Week* structures the periodical and defines its brand as a product for the middle class. In her work on illustrated poetry, Hughes suggests that the appearance of illustration and text on the same page in *Once a Week* provides evidence of the periodical’s “classed status as an emphatically middle-class family magazine that takes reading, history, and art seriously” (“Inventing Poetry” 46). The appearance of the Browne’s identifiable visual aesthetic in *Once a Week* implicitly supports the periodical’s claim to be a middle-class family product. Browne’s illustrations remained connected to

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<sup>17</sup> Together, Browne and Millais illustrated 20% of the periodical’s poetry during this period. They each illustrated seventeen poems.

<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, John Leech, who worked with Bradbury and Evans on *Punch*, provided another 40%. Only 20% of the illustrations in the periodical’s first volume came from other artists.

the mid-Victorian domestic products of Dickens even as his reputation and allegorical style continued to fall out favour as the 1860s progressed. For instance, several of Browne's designs for *Once a Week*, including the image created for Dante Gabriel Rossetti's "A Border Song" (14 January 1860; 2: 66), echo the wrappers that he created for Dickens's serial novels, including *David Copperfield* (May 1859 to November 1850) and *Bleak House* (March 1852 to September 1853). Such wrappers acted as advertisements, providing readers with a visual allegory that "anticipated the tone and targets of the narrative to come" (Cohen 107) even though Browne completed the wrappers long before Dickens had finished the novels.<sup>19</sup> Browne's illustrations for *Once a Week*'s poetry function in a similar manner. They represent the events of the poem through allegorical designs that allude to the narrative movement of the letterpress. Like the orange cover of the *Cornhill*, the green wrappers associated with Dickens's serial novels and decorated with Browne's distinct allegorical illustrations act metonymically as cultural signifiers of the literary tastes and values of the Victorian middle class. Browne's contributions bring that meaning to *Once a Week* and its poetry, confirming the periodical's status as a product designed for the middle-class reader.

Ralph Benson's "Bought and Sold" (figures 12 and 13) offers the best example of Browne's designs. The visual text reiterates the verbal text, and neither relies on the other for meaning. The illustrations for this poem run parallel to the text along the pages' vertical margins, creating a proleptic narrative that tells the story of the poem through the images positioned in the margins. The succession of images that run down the vertical margins of the page create a kinetic and progressive narrative that tells a story through

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<sup>19</sup> For further information on Browne's wrapper designs, see Patten 93–99 and Cohen 100–18.

the visual text. Browne's narration begins in the chapter initial where he depicts a young man courting the girl seated on the curve of the 's.' Interestingly, the axe-wielding figure on the far left suggests that the innocent love depicted in the chapter initial will be severed, anticipating the conclusion of the poem. The first block of illustration ends with a t-shaped design, which divides the design into separate vignettes: a scene of women fawning over the privilege and wealth of Sir Vivian de Grey, and the ideal, pure love of Leslie and Phyllis. The second block of illustrations narrates the social events and pressures that lead to Phyllis's marriage to Sir Vivian de Grey. A number of cupid-like figures flit around all of these images. These *putti* interact with the poem's characters and contribute to the poem's status as a ballad recounting a modern legend. In the poem's final didactic stanza, Benson explicitly identifies the story of young love and courtship as a legend: "Secure but the mother, you're safe of the child. / So the legend on you will not be thrown away / That is told of young Leslie and Sir Vivian de Grey" (1: 493).<sup>20</sup> Browne's comically drawn *putti* link the visual text to iconic representations of love, contributing to the poem's self-presentation as a legend about the machinations of love in society and providing a careful reading of Benson's poem in terms of both form and theme.

Browne's illustrations for *Once a Week* consistently adopt the vertical layout and narrative format seen in Ralph Benson's "Bought and Sold." For instance, his illustrations for Memor's "The Sprig of Lavender" (12 November 1859; 1: 416) also run parallel to the text along the vertical margin of the page (figure 14). Here, the visual and

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<sup>20</sup> Like other poets from the period, including Amy Levy, who wrote "Ballade of an Omnibus" (1889) later in the century, Benson makes the ballad modern. He signals the ballad's modernity through his references to modern modes of transportation such as the hansom cabs and brougham carriages in stanzas six.

verbal narratives move down the page at the same pace; the illustrations appear next to their textual counterparts. For example, the layout of the poem centres the second stanza alongside its associated vignette, which Browne locates in the second curve of the vertical illustration. As in “Bought and Sold,” the illustrated narrative supplements the letterpress. While linear, Browne’s illustration for Alsager Hay Hill’s “Footsteps of the Day” (19 November 1859; 1: 426) has a different relationship to the letterpress. The poem begins with the speaker observing, “The maiden morn go forth, and her steps were soft and still” (1: 426). The poem then traces the unfolding of day through a series of highly figurative vignettes that allegorises through the figure of the young maiden specific times of day as well as the non-reversible sequence of human life. For instance, the second stanza captures the moment of noon and marriage in the speaker’s description of the maiden and her bridegroom who lay “Far in their noontide slumber, on his azure-banner’d bed” (1: 426). Similarly, the third stanza documents the coming dusk with language suggestive of an aging figure: “Quench’d was the sunlight in her eye, and the dew hung on her breast” (1: 426). The poem reshapes a rather commonplace narrative (the progression of a day and a life) through the speaker’s lyrical reflections. The poem ends with a domestic flourish that mixes this sense of a universal temporality with the small, domestic experiences of the individual: “And sadly soft on spirit wings, as the vision roll’d away, / Fell down the night’s dark curtain on the chambers of the day” (1: 426). The curtained chamber brings the poem back into the Victorian home. In fact, the poem’s progressive structure recalls Hughes and Lund’s recognition of the structural link between the sequential nature of Victorian serial publication and the irreversible progression of middle-class life. Hill’s poem recites this sequence of life through the

metaphor of an evolving day constructed through a series of strong visual images. Each stanza begins with the act of seeing as the speaker states “I saw.” This repeated act of seeing creates an individualistic and forward-moving refrain for the poem. The metre of the opening line of the first three stanzas deviates from the iambic heptameter used in the remaining lines of each stanza by deploying an anapaestic foot after the caesura, thus insulating this moment of seeing in the very structure of the poem. The lines that follow this act of sight build on the speaker’s initial vision until the image is complete.

Yet, though this particular descriptive lyric does convey the visual through language, the fact remains that such lyrics were part of a culture increasingly mediated through visual images. This tension between the descriptive lyric and the function of illustration plays out in “Footsteps of the Day.” Browne’s series of narrative illustrations transforms the figurative language of the poem into a set of concrete images (figure 15). Ultimately, Browne’s simplistic illustrations perform a reductive reading of the poem. The images focus on a young woman, who looks different in each vignette, ostensibly depicting moments from three of the four stanzas. In fact, the images do not match the moments described by the speaker; they lack the aesthetic power of Hill’s textual images. In his January 1833 essay from the *Monthly Repository* titled “What is Poetry,” John Stuart Mill describes the descriptive poem as one that “consists, no doubt, in description, but in description of things as they appear, not as they are; and it paints them not in their bare and natural lineaments, but arranged in the colours and seen through the medium of the imagination set in action by the feelings [of the poet/speaker]” (7: 63). Mill’s definition of descriptive poetry provides a way to understand the dissonance between Browne’s illustrations and Hill’s letterpress. Browne’s illustrations force a concrete

narrative onto the poem. He depicts things as they are, presenting the reader with a literal version of the maiden, rather than how they function as part of the poem's complex extended metaphor in which the figure of the maiden represents the progression of day and the progression of the day represents the stages of a young woman's life. This flattens a large portion of the metaphoric content in the text. Browne's illustrations re-present the referent of the figurative maiden. This literal re-presentation implicitly restricts the multiple meanings offered by Hill's descriptive lyric. The sense of progression of life and of the day's changing vistas vanishes as Browne focuses on the metaphorical maiden seen by the poem's speaker. Each image dilutes the layers suggested by Hill's use of descriptive language. In the letterpress, the speaker's description of the young girl lying by her bridegroom has multiple meanings, referencing both the height of the day at noon and a young woman's marriage at the height of her life. Browne's illustration strips away these potentially metaphorical meanings, leaving the viewer/reader with the concrete image of a pair of lovers seated under a tree. A rare misstep in Lucas's pairing of image and text, Browne's illustrations for "Footsteps of the Day" nonetheless speak to the periodical's interest in supplying its readers with identifiable narrative content. Browne's illustrations create a discrete narrative for the letterpress, providing readers with a linear interpretation of a nonlinear poem. The illustrations designed by Browne thus fulfil the purpose of literary illustrations as understood by Lucas. They supplement the content of the poem, and contribute to the reader's experience of the poetic text without overwhelming it.

Whether composed by Browne, Leech, or one of the many other illustrators associated with *Once a Week*, the periodical's illustrations defined its literary identity,

distancing it from Dickens's *All the Year Round* even as the Bradbury and Evans could not escape their connection to Dickens's network of collaborators. However, unlike Dickens's *All the Year Round*, which built its success on the back of *Household Words* and on the star power of Dickens's name, Bradbury and Evans took advantage of the resurgence of wood engravings in the 1850s and commissioned high-quality illustrations to build the reputation of *Once a Week*. The increasingly infrequent appearance of Browne's and Leech's comic and cartoonish designs after December 1859 speaks to *Once a Week*'s position on the cusp of a major shift in the visual aesthetic of illustrated periodicals as the black-and-white style associated with the Pre-Raphaelite circle became the expected standard. Leech's final illustration for a poem in *Once a Week* appears in the issue for 23 February 1861, and though Browne would go on to contribute eighteen more illustrations to *Once a Week* between 31 December 1859 and 16 December 1865, his work would never again dominate *Once a Week* the way it did during the periodical's first six months.

There are a number of potential reasons for this shift. One could be the gradual relaxation of Lucas's "original insistence [. . .] that an artist *illustrate* the text of the author" (Buckler 933). His evolving sense of the role of illustrations moved the periodical away from designs that required "the hand of the draftsman rather than the artist" (Buckler 933). Over time, and up to the launch of the periodical's new series in January 1866, which followed the departure of Samuel Lucas the preceding year, "the purely illustrative began to disappear, and a greater emphasis was laid on fewer drawings of high quality and more extensive proportions" (Buckler 933–34). In many ways, Browne's illustrations are that of the draftsman. They explicate the text, lacking the powerful

character drawing, anatomical realism and accuracy of the Pre-Raphaelite style. Unlike many of the artists associated with the Pre-Raphaelites, Browne and Leech were not Royal Academy trained; rather, they were students of Hogarth and early nineteenth-century caricature. By the 1860s, Browne “definitely belonged to an ‘old school’ of illustrators. Public tastes and artistic techniques changed, and Browne became increasingly alienated from his audience” (Cohen 62) as “earlier preferences for the grotesque, the picturesque, and the emblematic [. . .] yielded to ones for academic realism and narrative sentimentality” (Cohen 121). There was no longer a place for his illustrative style in the popular literary forms of the era, and with the appearance of illustrated periodicals such as the *Cornhill* and *Good Words* in the literary market, *Once a Week* had to match the visual standards of these publications, which featured images aligned with the black-and-white tradition of the Pre-Raphaelite school.

Those associated with the Pre-Raphaelite circle of artists viewed illustration as a legitimate art form comparable to painting and equal to that of the text they illustrated, inaugurating a new era of illustration through their emphasis on “illustration’s function as the imaginative interpretation of a text by an artist who was the writer’s equal partner in the production of meaning” (Kooistra, “Poetry and Illustration” 394). Consequently, they approached the art of illustration with “high seriousness” and rigour (Goldman 1). Kooistra describes how the Pre-Raphaelites encouraged “artists of the first rank” to participate “in the field of literary illustration for commercial books without loss of status” (“Poetry and Illustration” 394). As a result, their illustrations occasionally superseded the texts they accompanied, becoming art objects in their own right.<sup>21</sup> Such

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<sup>21</sup> See my discussion of *The Cornhill Gallery* in chapter one.

illustrations came to dominate the illustrated press of the period, supplanting those of Browne and the earlier generation of illustrators. Millais played a significant role in the evolving popularity of black-and-white illustrations, having established his reputation as a painter and producer of black-and-white wood engravings in the 1850s. By the 1860s, periodical editors considered Millais's illustrations as much of a draw as a poem written by the Poet Laureate Alfred Tennyson.<sup>22</sup> Lucas took advantage of Millais's saleable popularity, publishing 34 of his illustrations between July 1859 and December 1862.<sup>23</sup> Like those of Leech and Browne, Millais's illustrations helped to define the specific visual, verbal, and thematic patterns of *Once a Week*, including its domestic, middle-class sensibility. The contents of *Once a Week*, similar to that of the *Cornhill* and *Good Words*, suggest an investment in confirming and perpetuating the domestic ideology of its middle-class readers. Browne's contributions perpetuated this ideology through his long-standing association with Dickens, *the* arbiter of middle-class tastes, while Millais's illustrations contributed to the periodical's middle-class aesthetic through his consistent placement of women in domestic spaces and his association with the gift-book market of the 1850s.

Millais's first contribution to *Once a Week* accompanies Tom Taylor's "Magenta" (2 July 1859; 1:10). It depicts a young woman draped over a bed in a pose of mourning. The position of the illustration in the middle of the poem encourages its audience to read through the illustration and to see poem and illustration as one text (figure 16). In her

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<sup>22</sup> For a comprehensive study of Millais' designs for periodical poems, see Life. Life is dismissive of much of the poetry illustrated by Millais. He describes how "Millais was willing by the early sixties to accept any profitable and easy commission, and much of the verse he illustrated at this time is conspicuously bad" (51).

<sup>23</sup> This number only takes into account Millais's illustrations for poems during this period.

essay on *Once a Week*, Hughes argues that poem and illustration are cohesive at the level of form, representing a square within square: “if the square window of the mourner’s room is echoed in the square-shaped illustration, the text is also arranged in a square” (“Inventing Poetry” 51). To take this further, a square frames both the poem and the accompanying illustration, emphasising how the periodical’s layout presents poem and illustration as one text. A set of double lines make up the border of the page and the line that separates the poem from the preceding article. According to Hughes, the visual composition of the page positions word and image “as complementary media” (“Inventing Poetry” 51); they reference, support, and enrich each other.

The layout of the periodical renders the illustration proleptic; it anticipates Taylor’s representation of the domestic cost of war on those at home with the “loving heart its cares in labour smothers, / Till taught by arms of price, how far they strike—*how far!*” (1: 11, emphasis in the original). Taylor’s repetition and typographical emphasis of the phrase *how far* reiterates the poem’s overall message that deaths on the corn fields of Italy cause pain and grief within the homes and hearts of those left behind. From the destruction of the corn and rice fields, which emphasises the toll that war takes on rural and domestic life, to the speaker’s assertion that those dead “were all sons or sires; husbands or brothers; / Bread-winners, most of them, for homes afar” (1: 11), Taylor’s diction consistently returns to images of the war-torn family. The division of the poem between the bloody but peaceful fields of the first two stanzas and the visceral grief of the last two brings the domestic into focus. The poem does not memorialise those who fell on the battlefield, even if their deaths led to victory; rather, it pays attention to the devastation at home, juxtaposing the images of the dead, who “lie thick and still,” with

the final stanza's "poor soul," who must "hide the tears which might triumphs blur!" (1: 11). The public triumphs referred to in the poem occurred after Napoleon III's victory over the Austrians in the Battle of Magenta (4 July 1859), a key turning point in the Franco-Sardinian war, and Taylor's address to the bereaved soul critiques this celebration of war. The poem does not join in the triumph; it exposes the grief and pain that lies behind it.

Millais's illustration complements Taylor's interest in depicting the hidden costs of war. The use heavy shading underscores Taylor's use of the word *hide* to describe the young woman's behaviour in the final stanza of the poem. The darkness of the illustration makes the prone figure difficult to spot, and the juxtaposition of her darkened frame against the comparative light of the window supports Taylor's description of the dissonance between society's celebration and the personal grief of the families left behind. Furthermore, the woman's figure dominates the foreground of the image, overshadowing the celebration on the streets outside her window and drawing attention to the domestic grief of a woman affected by the consequences of war. It presents the same conclusion as the poem, which also ends with an image of a woman's hidden grief. Millais's depiction of "Magenta" thus transposes the battle and its casualties from the "trampled maize" outside Magenta, Italy to a darkened room in Paris (Taylor 1: 11). The layout of the page furthers this sense of movement into domesticity as Millais's illustration appears at the moment in which the poem shifts from the description of a battlefield scene to domestic world filled with bereaved families. Millais's illustration signals the point in the poem where the distinction between those casualties abroad and

those at home collapses. At this moment, Magenta becomes the name of both the battle and the grieving girl.

The verbal-visual relationship seen in “Magenta” reappears throughout the periodical and demonstrates how the layout adopted by *Once a Week*, and later used by other periodicals such as *Good Words*, makes the visual part of the verbal and vice versa. Though the illustrations literally interrupt the verbal text, they do not interrupt the narrative, thematic, or lyrical structure of the poems they accompany; rather, they become an integral part of that structure. Millais’s illustration facilitates the turn in Taylor’s poem from the fields of Italy to a room in Paris and supports the poem’s exposure of hidden grief. The layout of Christina Rossetti’s “Maude Clare” (6 November 1859; 1: 381–82), which Millais also illustrated, provides another example of the verbal-visual relationship that defines the poetry of *Once a Week*.<sup>24</sup> The placement of the illustration as part of the poem on the verso side of the page interrupts the page’s vertical columns of text (figure 17). For Hughes, this “extreme breaking of text [. . .] subordinates text to visual spectacle” (“Inventing Poetry” 47). One effect of this subordination is the emphasis of Maude over Nell even though Rossetti gives Nell the last words of the poem.<sup>25</sup> Hughes suggests that this erasure of Nell through the visual emulates possible reading practises “as some magazine consumers were doubtless content to look Millais’

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<sup>24</sup> Rossetti’s poem is one of the few poems published in *Once a Week* to receive scholarly attention (Hughes, “Inventing Poetry”; Maunder, “The Effects of Context”). However, while Hughes focuses on the meaning created by the visual page and Maunder addresses the poem’s link to contemporary prose, neither explore how the poetic networks of *Once a Week* influence the poem’s possible connotations.

<sup>25</sup> And, as Hughes notes, in subsequent printings of “Maude Clare” Rossetti removed the stanza that describes the crowd gazing at Maude and thus ignoring Nell and her groom. Hughes argues that “[t]his alteration may indicate a desire to elevate Nell, who in the revised version is no longer visually eclipsed by her rival [. . .]. Given the strong link between the excised stanza and Millais’ illustration, Rossetti’s textual revision suggests that she was reacting to the effects Millais’ image created when paired with her poem—a link she then deliberately expunged” (“Inventing Poetry” 64).

picture and skip Rossetti's poem, thereby remaining as unaware of Nell as the wedding bystanders" ("Inventing Poetry" 63). In other words, an illustration by Millais had the potential to transform the meaning of a poem, and it could even render the poetic text insignificant. Millais's illustrations often had this effect, especially when his designs accompanied a relatively unknown poet such as Christina Rossetti, who published in *Once a Week* before her first poetry volume, *Goblin Market and Other Poems*, was issued in 1862.

However, even though Millais's illustration dominates Rossetti's poem, it nevertheless supports the sense of mutual embeddedness that remains central to the verbal-visual reading experience of *Once a Week*. Millais's illustration is simultaneously analeptic, depicting Maude's arrival at church, which Rossetti describes in the poem's first stanza, and proleptic, anticipating the gaze of those attending Nell's wedding feast as described in the following stanza:<sup>26</sup>

No eyes were fix'd upon the bride,  
 Or on the bridegroom more,  
 All eyes were fix'd on grand Maude Clare,  
 While she look'd straight before. (1: 382)

The illustration's placement reintroduces Maude visually at a crucial point in the poem. Millais's representation of Maude acts as a bridge between her proud appearance at the church and her speech at her former lover's wedding feast, the only time she speaks in the poem. The focus on Maude by both poem and illustration makes Nell's final rebuke much more poignant. Nell repeats Maude's full name twice at the end of the final two

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<sup>26</sup> The layout suggests that the following stanza was to be read immediately after viewing Millais's illustration.

stanzas. She dismisses Maude and stresses the triumph of her marriage. Nell is the victor, though hers is a dubious victory given the fickle nature of her new husband, a fact emphasised by the dominant presence of Maude in both text and illustration. Both women maintain their proud stance, but they remain constrained by the social roles available to women: Nell argues for her marriage while Maude occupies the position of the scorned lover.

A number of the illustrated poems published in *Once a Week* comment on unequal marriages and abandoned or scorned women.<sup>27</sup> One of the most interesting poetic intertexts for “Maude Clare” is C. W. Goodhart’s “Fairy May” (12 November 1859; 1: 404). The publication of Goodhart’s poem one week after “Maude Clare” on 12 November 1859 amplifies and extends the defiance of Maude and Nell to include the image of a woman asserting her independence outside the bonds of traditional marriage. In “Fairy May,” the eponymous heroine resists her parents and dismisses her potential suitor with a simple “No thank you, sir, I’d rather not” (1: 404). As Hughes points out, the accompanying illustrations reinforce Fairy May’s resistance and independence (figure 18). For example, the chapter initial of the poem (a large “C”) guards a haughty Fairy May against her suitor. The confident and kinetic stance of Fairy May challenges the reader’s gaze. It resists the sense of voyeurism seen in Millais’s illustration for “Magenta,” which positions the viewer as an observer of a woman’s private grief. The energy of the illustration accompanying “Fairy May” comes from the style of the design.

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<sup>27</sup> This narrative is seen in poems such as “Fairy May” (12 November 1859; 1: 404) and “Bought and Sold” (10 December 1859; 1: 92–93). In contrast, A.F.’s “Florinda” (3 March 1860; 2: 220) retells Maude’s tale as the scorned lover in the form of a dramatic monologue in which the speaker laments the loss of her lover.

The style of Miss Coode, the poem's illustrator, echoes that of Browne and Leech.<sup>28</sup> It lacks the realism of the Pre-Raphaelite model, while allowing for a more fanciful cartoon-like interpretation of the poem.<sup>29</sup> The style of illustration complements the light-hearted tone of the poem as suggested by its content, including lines such as "You silly little goosie" (1: 404), its simple end rhymes, and its traditional balladic metre (alternating lines of iambic tetrametre and trimetre). However, the poem's somewhat comic effect belies what Hughes identifies as its openly feminist stance ("Inventing Poetry" 57). Fairy May demands the opportunity to make her own choices. The women of "Fairy May" and "Maude Clare" have agency. They stand up for their rights and assert themselves: Fairy May rejects the conventions of middle-class marriage, Maude confronts her fickle lover, and Nell commits to making her marriage work. The exploration of different kinds of middle-class womanhood through the characters of Fairy May, Maude, and Nell coincides with the growing interrogation of the traditional roles and rights available to women in Victorian society.<sup>30</sup> For instance, published just six years before this set of poems, Barbara Leigh Bodichon's *Brief Summary, in Plain Language, of the Most Important Laws Concerning Women; Together with a Few Observations Thereon* (1854) argues against coverture and advocates for women's legal equality in matters related to property and marriage. Thirty years later, Mona Caird's

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<sup>28</sup> Little information is available on Miss Coode. According to an article in the *Contemporary Review*, Miss Coode "was the first lady who drew for *Punch*, contributing eight drawings during 1860 and 1861" (63). Her association with *Punch* during this period provides one possible explanation for her comic style.

<sup>29</sup> Despite the obvious aesthetic differences between "Maude Clare" and "Fairy May," the two poems contribute to the visual and textual continuity of the periodical, further emphasising the role that illustration played in the branding of *Once a Week*. Furthermore, the publication of "Fairy May" a week after "Maude Clare" accentuates the power of Maude and the defiance captured in Millais's depiction of her.

<sup>30</sup> The Langham Place Group is key to the debates of the women's movement and will be discussed in further detail in chapter four.

“Marriage” (1888) fiercely rejects mercenary marriages as an option for women and suggests that Victorian attitudes about marriage and women are antiquated and based on social habits that deny women the opportunity for personal, social, political, and cultural growth. While “Fairy May” and “Maude Clare” do not deal with such issues directly, they do present an alternative model of womanhood and marriage, one that eschews traditional Victorian models.

The ways in which “Maude Clare” and “Fairy May” interact with the era’s debates about womanhood, marriage, and the family enriches and complicates the domestic focus seen in poems such as Brooks’s “Once a Week” and H. “Scarborough—1859.” The interconnected yet still miscellaneous representations of domesticity, marriage, and even gender in *Once a Week* demonstrate that the experiences of the Victorian middle class varied. In effect, the periodical’s poetry provides a rich historical and verbal-visual record of contemporary challenges to the middle-class domestic ideal and “the ways in which these challenges were neutralized, marginalized, incorporated, or [. . .] unable to be met” (Edmond 10). For instance, William Allingham’s “A Wife” (7 January 1860; 2: 32) describes a young woman’s grief over the loss of her young ideals. The poem contrasts her dreams of “Love that could serve, but never fail” (2: 32) with the reality of “her soul, full / Of deep dismay and turbulent strife” (2: 32). Allingham creates a direct link between the collapse of the wife’s dreams and the reality of her marriage in the poem’s first stanza:

The wife sat thoughtfully turning over

A book inscribed with the school-girl’s name;

A tear—one tear—fell hot on the cover

She quickly closed when her husband came. (2: 32)

The act of closing the book upon the appearance of her husband signifies the wife putting away “her own palace of noble fancies” (2: 32) upon her marriage.<sup>31</sup> The ideal marriages depicted in H.’s “Scarborough—1859,” R. F. Sketchley’s “First Love,” and W. L. W.’s “A Score of Years Ago” have no place in Allingham’s poem. Rather, “A Wife” implies that danger lurks in the idealistic portrayals of love and marriage believed by school girls. The poem thus implicitly complicates the representation of middle-class life seen in the domestic poems previously discussed. It critiques the blind middle-class belief in such representations of marriage and family, and the poem’s generic title, “A Wife,” suggests that the events depicted in the poem represent the fate of all wives who enter into marriage with dreams of romance. It makes the grief and disillusionment experienced by the wife in the poem part of the periodical’s representation of middle-class life. Millais’s illustration furthers the title’s sense of universality (figure 19).

Of the seven illustrations Millais created for poems in *Once a Week* between 2 July 1859 and 22 December 1860, six depict women dressed in voluminous skirts, located in domestic spaces, and seated in positions that often, though not always, connote grief or despair.<sup>32</sup> Significantly, as Hughes and Skilton point out, Millais’s depiction of the grieving young women creates a significant inter-pictorial network between his work for

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<sup>31</sup> Over twenty years earlier, Elizabeth Barrett Browning used similar language to describe Letitia Elizabeth Landon’s unhappy marriage in “L. E. L.’s Last Question.”

<sup>32</sup> These illustrations include Tom Taylor’s “Magenta” (9 July 1860; 1: 10), Tennyson’s “The Grandmother’s Apology” (16 July 1859; 1: 41–43), S. B.’s “La Fille Bien Gardée. (An Intercepted Letter)” (8 October 1859; 1: 305–306), R. A. B.’s “A Lost Love” (3 December 1859; 1: 482), William Allingham’s “A Wife” (7 January 1860: 30), and Shirley Brooks’s “Practising” (10 March 1860; 2: 212). Other illustrators to depict women in this manner include Hablôt K. Browne’s illustrations for “The Last Words of Juggling Jerry” (3 August 1859; 1: 189–90), “Mary. A Ballad” (1 October 1859; 1: 283–84), and “The Gloves” (28 April 1860; 2: 402) as well as M. J. Lawless’s illustrations for “Florinda” (3 March 1860; 2: 220) and “The Betrayed” (4 August 1860; 3: 154–55).

the periodical press and his contributions to the expensive gift books of the 1850s.<sup>33</sup> In particular, the composition of the female figure in Taylor's "Magenta" first appears the 1857 Moxon Tennyson and Millais's illustration for Tennyson's "Mariana" (figure 20).<sup>34</sup> For Hughes, "[b]y pictorially alluding in the inaugural issue to an illustrated book that paired illustrations of high artistic merit with distinguished poetry, Millais tacitly imports the symbolic capital accruing to the more expensive book to the cheap luxury of an illustrated magazine" ("Inventing Poetry" 51). The inter-pictorial network created by his illustrations also decontextualizes his designs. The visual continuity seen in Millais's depiction of women transforms each poem's description of grief into a universal and ahistorical emotion experienced by all women.

The image of the seated and often distressed woman surrounded by her voluminous skirts becomes an iconographic image in *Once a Week*. Such images participate in the development of the periodical's visual aesthetic, one based on the composition, subject matter, and cultural value associated with Millais and the Pre-Raphaelite circle as a whole.<sup>35</sup> The association of the periodical's illustrations with Millais complicates the categorisation of the periodical's poems. They are at once individual poems by individual authors and part of Millais's *oeuvre* of black-and-white illustrations, hence the critical tendency driven by art historians to focus on the periodical's illustrations rather than its poetry. As part of Millais's body of work, these illustrations create a coherent visual

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<sup>33</sup> Leighton and Surridge observe a similar relationship between Millais's periodical illustrations and his paintings ("Making History").

<sup>34</sup> The pose also appears in "Was it not a lie?," Millais's illustration for the June 1861 instalment of Anthony Trollope's *Framley Parsonage* in the *Cornhill* (1: 691).

<sup>35</sup> Later illustrators such as M. J. Lawless echo Millais's iconic images of women in reflective or mournful poses. For examples, see "Florinda" (3 March 1860; 2: 220) and "The Betrayed" (4 August 1860; 3: 154–55).

narrative within the periodical that identifies the weekly with the aesthetics of the preeminent black-and-white illustrators of the period and the era's popular gift-books, which featured illustrations by Millais and his contemporaries. But they are so much more than that. Such visual repetition complicates the relationship between text and image in the periodical and links the periodical's version of the illustrated poem to the cultural discourses that exist within and outside the periodical, including the status of the artist and the cultural value associated with the era's illustrated gift books.<sup>36</sup>

As the domestic poems and illustrations discussed throughout this chapter demonstrate, the poetry published in *Once a Week* participates in contemporary cultural debates about the Victorian home, gender, domesticity, and the family. The act of recognizing poetry as part of these critical debates confirms the presence of a social agenda even within *Once a Week*'s "lightest lines of rhyme" (Brooks 1: 1). In his work on the periodical press, Louis James suggests that "there are two ways to read a periodical: as a collection of individual parts, or as an entity, issue-by-issue, in which each element is modified by the whole" (349). In its original, rich print ecology, illustrated poetry participates in the very conceptual and material construction of *Once a Week*. It pulls the periodical's editorial agenda through each issue, creating a sense of cohesion among the miscellaneous content of the journal's pages. As Mark Turner suggests in his work on periodical time, the periodical as a product of modernity "represented anxieties about the shifting nature of time" and, as I suggest throughout this chapter, about the family, even as it "participated in creating those anxieties" (187). In

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<sup>36</sup> In a conference paper titled "Doubling Enticements to Buy: John Millais and Illustrated poetry in *Once a Week*" (VSAWC/VISAWUS 2009), Hughes discusses how the clustering of Millais's illustrations in the first volume of the periodical tacitly positions the illustrator as a value-added feature. Speaking of Millais's illustration for "On the Water" (22 July 1859), she argues that the insubstantial and anonymous nature of the poem suggests that the poem exists to support the illustration.

*Once a Week*, the periodical's reproduction of the domestic through poetry counters the modernity of middle-class life, providing stability and tradition in the face of progress. It mediates contemporary anxieties about time and the family by confirming middle-class values through the modern form of the periodical press.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> For further information, see Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (33–36, 77).

### Chapter Three: Devotional Reading and Popular Poetry in *Good Words*

“Good words are worth much but cost little”

—George Hebert, epigraph for *Good Words*<sup>1</sup>

*Good Words*, one of the most popular religious periodicals of the 1860s, is central to any understanding of poetry’s role in the era’s devotional culture and periodical market. Between 1860 and 1862, *Good Words* published 219 poems. By 1881, the number of poems published reached 1,158.<sup>2</sup> The sheer volume of poetry identifies *Good Words* as a significant repository of the era’s popular devotional literature, especially that written by popular women writers. For instance, Dora Greenwell published 53 poems in *Good Words* between 1860 and 1880, while Dinah Mulock Craik published 27 poems in the periodical between 1860 and 1880.<sup>3</sup> The poetry published in *Good Words* contributed to the formation of the periodical’s devotional community. As a popular literary periodical, *Good Words* built and sustained its particular model of devotional reading by pairing morally improving fiction and essays on contemporary issues written from a Christian perspective with didactic poetry. In this way, *Good Words* followed the model offered by John Keble’s *The Christian Year* (1827). The periodical merged devotional and domestic reading practices, presenting its contents as prompts for spiritual thought and integrating devotional reading practices into the leisure reading of the middle-class family. In an

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<sup>1</sup> The periodical’s title comes this epigraph, which originally appeared in George Herbert’s *Jacula Prudentum*, a collection of 1000 proverbs published in the seventeenth century. A devotional poet from the seventeenth century, Herbert is perhaps best known for his pattern poem “Easter Wings” (1633).

<sup>2</sup> As part of my research on *Good Words*, I have indexed the periodical’s entire run for the *Database of Victorian Poetry* on the *Victorian Poetry Network*, <http://web.uvic.ca/~vicpoet/database-of-victorian-periodical-poetry/poetry-search/>.

<sup>3</sup> *Good Words* also frequently published poems by Sarah Doudney (nine poems between 1875 and 1880), Menella Bute Smedley (28 poems between 1866 and 1879), Isa Craig (eleven poems between 1862 and 1878), Jean Ingelow (sixteen poems between 1863 and 1870), and Francis Ridley Havergal (fourteen poems between 1860 and 1877).

essay from 1872, Alexander Strahan claims that Macleod once called *Good Words* a “bold experiment revolutionizing to some extent the popular religious literature” of the era (qtd. in Strahan 295).

Published weekly in 1860 and then monthly from 1861–1906, *Good Words* appealed to readers of literary and religious periodicals. Under the guidance of publisher Alexander Strahan and editor Norman Macleod, *Good Words* capitalised on the popularity of the literary periodical as defined by Dickens’s *Household Words* and, later, Thackeray’s *Cornhill*, using the periodical press to promote Christian thought and practices through poetry, prose, and biblical readings. By positioning itself as a non-denominational religious literary periodical, *Good Words* strategically courted a broad Christian readership, setting itself apart from the era’s plethora of denomination-specific periodicals. Indeed, a reviewer in the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent Supplement* for 14 January 1862 confirms the important difference between *Good Words* and other contemporary religious periodicals, noting that *Good Words* “is remarkably free from the exclusiveness of some denominational periodicals, and may be read by Christians generally without coming into collision with nice theological points” (7). The periodical’s interest in promoting Christian modes of reading and life provides evidence of its hybridity as a periodical invested in popular literature and religious thought. *Good Words* participates in the construction and affirmation of a middle-class readership, while also capitalising on the era’s burgeoning religious print culture, which included the development of popular mass-produced periodicals such as *The Quiver* (1861–1926) and *The Sunday Magazine* (1864–1906).

Although some contemporary critics expressed disbelief at the non-denominational claims of a periodical run by two men with close ties to the Church of Scotland (Srebrnik 4), *Good Words* nevertheless brought religion and literature together in a strikingly new way. If, as Jennifer Phegley suggests in *Educating the Proper Woman Reader*, the illustrated family magazine of the 1860s was a “collaborative and corporate” form (11), then the corporate mandate of *Good Words* was to promote Christian thought through literature. After all, its title alludes to the Christian belief that the Bible is the Word of God, accentuating the importance of reading to contemporary Christian practices and beliefs.<sup>4</sup> The very structure of the periodical confirms this mandate as Macleod frames each issue between 1860 and 1862 with sermon-like essays and devotional readings such as Bible passages presented for domestic reading with brief sermons attached.<sup>5</sup> For instance, the first issue of the periodical opens with an editorial by Macleod that encourages the reader to spend “a short portion of time [. . .] each day this year in private prayer, in reading God’s Word, and, if possible, some devotional book” (1: 4). Significantly, each issue published in 1860 closes with the weekly feature “Good Words for Every Day of the Year,” suggesting that the periodical itself performs the role of the “devotional book” that Macleod sees as a daily necessity for readers; after all, “God’s Word” is homonymically and conceptually close to the title *Good Words*. The structure of the periodical thus implies that the potential for devotional thought exists within the very pages of the popular illustrated family magazine. *Good Words* built and sustained its

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<sup>4</sup> “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God” (Gen. 1: 1).

<sup>5</sup> The first three years of *Good Words* under Macleod define the periodical’s structure and legacy (much as Thackeray’s editorship of the *Cornhill* determined the later direction of that periodical). The periodical created its brand during this period through its literary contents and editorial framework, which presented the periodical as a Christian text designed for Sabbath reading.

particular model of devotional reading by pairing morally improving fiction and essays on contemporary issues written from a Christian perspective with didactic poetry. All of these texts supported the Christian edict of *Good Words* by emphasising how, for their readers, literature could act as a prompt for spiritual reflection. As this chapter will discuss, the poetry published in *Good Words* forms an integral part of the periodical's literary identity, contributing to and confirming its message that a literary work made of good words could and should act as a prompt for devotional thought and practices.

### **“The essentials of the Christian Faith”: Reading *Good Words***

Although it is impossible to reconstruct how the Victorians actually read and reacted to the literature of the era, it is possible to examine how the structure and rhetoric of the periodical press constructed its readership and, by extension, defined mid-Victorian reading practices.<sup>6</sup> *Good Words* represents a particularly valuable case study in this regard. The periodical's structure and contents promote specific reading practices through poetry. Specifically, the poetry of *Good Words* supports those reading practices associated with contemporary beliefs in the devotional potential of literature. In effect, the periodical purports to fill a void in the era's contemporary periodical market by positioning itself as the best choice for devotional reading on the Sabbath. *Good Words*

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<sup>6</sup> Letters and diaries can provide insight into Victorian reading practices and opinions, but such insights are limited to the records that survive, which only represent a small segment of the Victorian readership. That being said, some critics have attempted to reconstruct the Victorian reader, including Jonathan Rose in *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* and Catherine Robson in *Heart Beats: Everyday Life and the Memorized Poem*.

figures and models such reading practices through the formal features and thematic contents of the periodical's poetry and editorial frame.<sup>7</sup>

By the 1860s, the circulation of devotional thought through literature was well established in the book trade. John Keble's *The Christian Year* (1827), the bestseller of the Victorian period, went through 158 editions by 1873, and "religious books outsold all other categories from 1814 to 1846" (Hughes, *Cambridge Companion* 141). The religious press thus represents an important part of the era's literary market. In his seminal work on Victorian periodicals and readership, Richard Altick confirms the significant presence of religious, and especially evangelical, publications in Victorian Britain. In particular, he highlights three major religious agencies from the era: the Religious Tract Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (Altick 100). All three societies participated in the production of religious tracts, Bibles, and miscellaneous periodical literature. Alongside these organised groups, a large number of individual religious groups produced "as many as three thousand periodicals between 1760 and 1900" (Bowden vii). Such publications sought to steer the reading public away from the temptation of reading secular novels by promoting devotional reading practices. This trend in religious publications inspired Strahan to develop *Good Words* with Macleod in 1860, and the periodical under Macleod promoted and popularised Christian reading practices by making devotional literature accessible through the periodical press. Poetry played an important role in the development of *Good Words*' devotional content. The predictable rhymes and rhythms of poetry (Hughes, "What the *Wellesley Index* Left Out" 99) act like a refrain in *Good Words*, confirming the

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<sup>7</sup> For information on reading practices and ethics, see Brian Stock, "Reading Ethics, and the Literary Imagination."

religious nature of the periodical through the repetition of poems that highlight the devotional potential of good words. This message is particularly strong in the first three volumes of *Good Words* where the periodical's devotional poetry appears alongside Norman Macleod's editorial statements. Together, these texts define the periodical's market in terms of both its readership and its religious/literary purpose.

The tone and format of the devotional poetry in *Good Words* owes much to Keble's *The Christian Year*. With an estimated "one copy of *The Christian Year* for every sixty Britons" by mid-century (Hughes, *Cambridge Companion* 141), *The Christian Year* and its Tractarian poetics defined devotional poetry for nineteenth-century poets and readers, shaping the poems published in *Good Words*. This connection between Tractarian poetics and *Good Words* may seem inapplicable at first.<sup>8</sup> After all, *Good Words* was a self-described non-denominational periodical run by two men with deep ties to the Church of Scotland. However, as the critic G. B. Tennyson points out in his essay on the sacramental imagination, the poetic model offered by Keble in both *The Christian Year* and his *Lectures on Poetry* set "a rationale for much of the treatment of Nature by religious minds for the rest of the century" whether they were Tractarian or not (372).<sup>9</sup> The poetry of *Good Words* participated in this devotional literary culture established by

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<sup>8</sup> Tractarianism (also known as the Oxford Movement) was a religious movement in the Anglican church that calls for a closer following of the thirty-nine articles of faith and for an Anglo-Catholic style of worship such as using candles, vestments, daily Eucharist, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Amy King discussed the presence of devotional language in nineteenth-century natural histories in her keynote address "Seeing the Divine in the Commonplace: Seashore Nature History and Eliot's Early Realism" (VSAWC 2013). Though she never referred to the concept of reserve, the examples King provided drew on the concept of reserve and the poetic language of Keble (specifically, the ability to see the divine in nature), demonstrating the influence of Keble's poetics on all literary forms throughout the period.

Keble, sharing its language and poetics, especially those associated with the Tractarian doctrines of Reserve and Analogy.<sup>10</sup>

*The Christian Year* merged liturgical and domestic practices in an attempt to assert the devotional act of secular reading. As Joshua King argues, Keble did not trust the morality of early nineteenth-century publications. He believed that the rapid transmission of information in the early age of the periodical fostered “incredulity toward ancient church authority, worship of knowledge as a value in itself, and confidence in one’s own judgment as a reader at the expense of mediating ecclesiastical disciplines” (J. King 400). He wrote *The Christian Year* as a way to counteract the forces of the popular literary market. By connecting his poetry to traditional patterns of worship, Keble worked to re-emphasise the importance of devotional reading practices. To some extent, he succeeded. Private literary devotions became an important part of Christian practices in the nineteenth century. As Julie Melnyk notes, “[c]ertainly, the many devotion books on the market provided Scripture readings and daily meditations” (*Victorian Religion* 79). Indeed, most Victorian readers encountered contemporary theology through popular forms such as hymns, poetry, tracts, and fiction, and most denominations viewed poetry as the ideal way of expressing and interrogating one’s relationship with God (J. King 402; Knight and Mason 7, 25, 100).

The most common genre adopted by nineteenth-century poets such as Keble to express their relationship to God was nature poetry. Such poems linked Victorian devotional poetry to the poetics of Wordsworth and the Romantics (Hughes, *Cambridge*

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<sup>10</sup> A connection furthered by the periodical’s explicit reference to George Herbert through its motto. Herbert’s theology and poetics influenced the development of Tractarian poetics and religious thought.

*Companion* 142).<sup>11</sup> According to Stephen Prickett, Keble's *The Christian Year* shares with Wordsworth's poetry "the overwhelming sense of a universe that is essentially 'poetic' in Keble's special sense of the word: as not an inanimate order, but a living, active, organic whole charged with divine meaning inseparably binding man and Nature" (*Romanticism* 104). David Jasper contends that Wordsworth's appropriation of "the language of Christian devotion" functions to capture the meditative experiences described in his poems (31).<sup>12</sup> Wordsworth transformed the use of religious language by applying it to nature and moments of individual meditation.<sup>13</sup> This shift in the poetic language of the era enabled poets to construct complex metaphors that combined typology or Christian allegory with personal symbols that resisted overt universal meaning. Romantic poetics thus offered a new way to understand the relationship between the genre of poetry and religious thought, bringing the personal to bear on the devotional.<sup>14</sup> This new poetic model paved the way for Tractarian poetics, especially the doctrines of Reserve and Analogy. In brief, the concept of Reserve stressed that the "finite mortal minds" of humanity were "incapable of apprehending an infinite God directly" (Hughes, *Cambridge Companion* 142). Analogy offered a way around the inaccessible nature of the divine by allowing "the otherwise unsayable to be indirectly articulated" and actively interpreted by readers with a knowledge of theology and scripture (Hughes, *Cambridge Companion*

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<sup>11</sup> For further information on the language of nature, see Prickett (*Words and the Word* 123).

<sup>12</sup> Jasper's commentary focuses on Wordsworth's "Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey" (1798).

<sup>13</sup> It is important to note that amateur and provincial poets writing during the Romantic period "celebrated the flowers and the trees, the sounds of the birds, the passing of the seasons, the rhythm of the rural economy, and they linked their feelings to a sense of awe at the divine" (St Clair 215). Wordsworth's innovation, then, was replacing the experience of the divine with the experience of the individual, claiming the language of the commonplace for the poet of worthy purpose (see Wordsworth's "Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*"). Later devotional poetry is a mix of these two approaches.

<sup>14</sup> For examples of this type of poetry, see my discussion of Greenwell.

142).<sup>15</sup> In Keble's poetry, for example, nature acted as "the handmaiden of theology and at times the vehicle of a sacramental grace that brought man into contact with the divine" (Tennyson, "Sacramental Imagination" 371). For Tennyson, this subordination of nature to theology defines the devotional poetry Keble and the Victorian poets who followed him ("Sacramental Imagination" 372). A similar approach to nature is found in the poetry of *Good Words*.

Published in the first volume of the periodical, Dora Greenwell's "The Railway Station" (July 1860; 1: 438) relies on Reserve and Analogy to explain God's presence in urban London.<sup>16</sup> Greenwell fills the poem with nature imagery, bringing the divine into the modern, industrial world.<sup>17</sup> The nature imagery functions as a form of Analogy, and, as I discuss later in this chapter, the poetry published in *Good Words* consistently reiterates this link between the divine and nature throughout its forty-year run. Such imagery allows the speaker to articulate the presence of God in the city and to emphasise the continued presence of the divine amid the clamour of modernity.<sup>18</sup> Though modern progress defines the world described in the poem, a world where "We need not linger

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<sup>15</sup> King offers a similar definition of reserve, suggesting that Tractarian reserve "stresses that believers should only gradually be let into the mysteries of Christianity through a process of moral preparation in liturgical worship and pastoral discipleship" (400). For detailed information on Tractarianism, including the concept of Reserve, see G. B. Tennyson, *Victorian Devotional Poetry: The Tractarian Mode*.

<sup>16</sup> Greenwell signed this and a number of other poems in *Good Words* with her initials, D. G.

<sup>17</sup> Religious writers preceding Greenwell identified the railway as a uniquely modern impediment to faith and religious practices. Srebrnik writes: "Just two months prior to the Disruption [in Scotland], [Hugh] Miller published in the *Witness* a gloomy article entitled 'A Vision of the Railway'—a vision which foresaw the decay of distinctively Scottish religious traditions as the result of the new mode of travel, linking Scotland to the Erastian South" (21).

<sup>18</sup> Greenwell's specific religious allegiance is difficult to determine. She was raised as a Protestant, but, as the biographical entries on *Orlando* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* indicate, she may have converted to Catholicism later in life. Her biographers suggest that she was drawn to Catholicism because she felt that this particular branch of Christianity fostered stronger religious communities.

o'er the fading traces / Of lost Divinities" (1: 438), the poem still turns to nature in its description of the divine:

Not for the noise of axes or of hammers,  
 Will that sweet bird forsake her chosen nest;  
 Her warblings pierce through all those deafening clamours  
 But surer to their echoes in the breast. (1: 438)

The juxtaposition of axes and hammers with the sweet bird of the following line points to the urban reader's ability to hear the song of the divine and carry it within his or her breast despite "all the turmoil of the Age of Iron" (1: 438). The human ability to recognise the divine in "The Railway Station" demonstrates the concept of Reserve: the urban figures of the poem can only gain access to the divine if they open their ears to the sweet bird's song. Much of the poetry published in *Good Words* appeals to this ability to recognise the divine, ultimately subordinating nature to theology. The poems of *Good Words* become the nest in the urban landscape; they are Greenwell's moment of "sudden, sweet, unlooked-for revelations / Of a bright Presence we may chance to meet" (1: 438). The effectiveness of these poems, however, depends on the reader's adherence to the periodical's call for devotional reading practices, or, to put it another way, the reader's ability to understand Analogy and thus access the divine. Like the poems in *The Christian Year*, then, the poetry of *Good Words* binds the act of reading and interpretation to religious thought, a rhetorical move supported by the periodical.

The structure of *Good Words*, like the poetics found within the periodical, builds on the model offered by *The Christian Year*, which presented readers with a continuous cycle of devotional readings based on the liturgical calendar and *The Book of Common*

*Prayer. The Christian Year* exists within a community of religious discourse and practices that directly links literary texts such as *Good Words* and *The Christian Year* to liturgical texts. More importantly, the diurnal structure of Keble's work creates a new kind of devotional reading practice, one closely based on poetry and popular print. At once ephemeral, cyclical, communal, and domestic, the reading practices seen in Keble's *The Christian Year* are remediated through the poetry of *Good Words*. Though popularised for the periodical market and distanced from the obvious and immediate liturgical function of Keble's poetry, *Good Words* integrates Christian thought with middle-class reading practices and the genre of the literary periodical. In doing so, *Good Words* creates its own secular liturgy, which shapes what Dieleman has recently termed the "religious imaginary" (17) of its readers and has the potential to inform the way they read and behave beyond the pages of *Good Words*.<sup>19</sup> Melnyk's research into devotional reading practices supports this reading of *Good Words*, pointing out that such daily devotions, "though seldom discussed in public documents," nonetheless "deeply informed the experience of many Victorians and influenced the shape of their daily lives" (*Victorian Religion* 79). Building on this tradition of devotional habits, the structure of *Good Words* actively promotes a particular type of devotional reading practice that connects the reader to a pre-existing religious community and encourages the practice of devotional reading outside the periodical through its poetry. In other words, *Good Words* encourages its audience to take the lessons offered by the periodical's poetry and to apply them in their lives. The serial contents of *Good Words* make this agenda clear.

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<sup>19</sup> My understanding of liturgy and its influence comes from Karen Dieleman's definition of the term. She states that liturgy shapes "the religious imaginary" of those who regularly read it, "to the extent that their choice activities outside the liturgy [. . .] could yet come forward out of that experience" (17).

Each issue of the periodical concludes with a nod to Sabbath reading practices through the inclusion of weekly (1860) and then monthly (1861–1906) instalments of biblical verse and reflection, which act like homilies (the commentary that follows the reading of scripture). These serial homilies provided readers with religious and meditative material for each weekday and then each Sunday of the month. Through these features, the periodical positions itself as part of the reader's spiritual life; *Good Words* becomes integrated into the rhythm of the family's reading on the Sabbath while maintaining the literary periodical's role as an entertaining product designed for leisure reading during the week. The structure of the periodical thus presents literary content, including serial fiction and love poems, as compatible with Christian thought and devotional reading practices whether its readers accepted these practices or not. *Good Words* transforms the act of leisure reading on a Sunday into an intellectual, meditative, and moral practice.

The imposition of a specific ideology onto a periodical's contents is not unique to *Good Words*. Such practices appear in other contemporary periodicals such as *Once a Week*, the *Cornhill*, and the *Argosy*. As discussed in chapter two, *Once a Week* opens its inaugural issue (2 July 1859) with an eponymous poem that defines the periodical as perfect for family reading on the weekend. The poem and its accompanying illustrations present the periodical's imagined readers frolicking in the park and on the beach where they can bid the busy world to keep its distance and revel in moments of familial bonding through literature. Indeed, *Once a Week*'s poetry celebrates the family and the inherent moral goodness of domestic unions, both confirming and shaping the middle-class domestic ideology of its imagined readers. In this way, *Once a Week* confirms Lyn

Pykett's assertion that periodicals are not merely a "mirror of Victorian culture [. . .] but a central component of it" (102). *Once a Week* not only reflects the morals of Victorian culture, it helps to shape them by confirming the era's investment in domesticity through its poetry. The periodical suggests this domestic ideology through the consistent repetition of poetry on a particular theme: domesticity. *Good Words* promotes Christian reading practices in a similar manner. The structure and content of the periodical make its focus obvious through the frequent appearance of Macleod's editorial voice, the didactic nature of its poetry, and its frequent publication of hymns, which function as a symbol of mainstream Christianity in the Victorian era. All of these features create a specific reading experience modelled on the middle-class illustrated family magazine and designed to encourage Christian morality in non-denominational context.

### **The Sabbath Reading Question: *Good Words* in the (Religious) Literary Market**

Literary periodicals of the 1860s focused on the Victorian family, integrating their publications into the readers' lives.<sup>20</sup> The religious periodical was no exception. As Altholz notes, due to the rise of the family magazine in the mid to late 1850s, religious periodicals had to respond "to the growing habit of family reading and the need for suitable reading during the unoccupied hours of a British Sunday" (48). First published a year after the debut of *Good Words*, John Cassell's the *Quiver* provides a quick case study of this trend. Though the periodical maintained its strict religious focus for several years under the subtitle *Designed for the Defence of Biblical Truth and the Advancement*

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<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of family reading and the periodical, see Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader* and Turner, "Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century."

of *Religion in the Homes of the People*, in 1866, Cassell rebranded the *Quiver* as *An Illustrated Magazine for Sunday and General Reading*, suggesting a shift in the market of religious periodicals. In order to engage a popular readership, it had to become a non-denominational product designed for leisure reading on the Sabbath.<sup>21</sup> Alexander Strahan recognized this from the start. *Good Words* played an important part in the transformation of the religious periodical into a popular literary product.<sup>22</sup> As one of the bestselling periodicals from the period, it often outsold the *Cornhill* (Hughes, *Cambridge Companion* 141).

From the beginning, *Good Words* presented its content as appropriate for family reading on the Sabbath. In an 1872 essay discussing the periodical's origins, Strahan describes how, at 24, he "formed a project of starting a magazine to contain [. . .], not so much articles of a religious character, as articles of a general character written in a religious spirit" (292).<sup>23</sup> In 1859, he published *The Christian Guest: A Family Magazine for Leisure Hours and Sunday* with Macleod as the periodical's reviser, a role synonymous with that of editor (Srebrnik 37). *The Christian Guest* only lasted for one annual volume before Strahan launched *Good Words*. One of the main differences between the two periodicals was price. *The Christian Guest* cost 3d monthly while *Good Words* was 1½d per week or 6d per month in 1860. The cost of *Good Words* put it "just out of reach of many working-class readers who would have been able to afford *The Christian Guest*" (Srebrnik 38). The combination of this change in price with the

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<sup>21</sup> For further information, see Kubitschek, "The Quiver."

<sup>22</sup> Circulation numbers for the *Quiver* are unavailable in the Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals.

<sup>23</sup> Strahan was dedicated to publishing morally improving and religious literature. After the success of *Good Words*, he published several other periodicals, including *The Argosy* (1865–1901), *The Sunday Magazine* (1864–1906), and *The Contemporary Review* (1866–1988).

periodical's subsequent introduction of illustrations and a monthly publication schedule identified *Good Words* with secular literary publications such as *Once a Week* and the *Cornhill*, even as *Good Words* maintained a religious tone throughout its publication run. *Good Words* was a literary periodical with Christian content as opposed to a religious periodical interested in denomination-specific questions of theology. While religious periodicals represented a special genre of literature "directed to a particular class of readers rather than the public at large" (Altholz 8), *Good Words* was for everyone, as long as they were of the Christian middle class. However, despite the periodical's non-denominational stance, the religious tensions of nineteenth-century Scotland informed its reception.

Strahan's desire to enter the religious publishing market began in his childhood and grew out of the religious environment of his home and his family's connections to the Free Church movement. Raised in the Calvinist theology of the Free Church, Strahan began his publishing career in 1853, working at a religious publishing house that served the Free Church cause in Scotland (Srebrnik 3).<sup>24</sup> Despite his ties to the Free Church, Strahan became a congregant of the Church of Scotland in his early adulthood, though "the Free Church emphasis on social reform and on the political claims of 'the people' remained a part of Strahan's philosophy even after his religious beliefs became more moderate" (Srebrnik 3). This base in Scotland provided fodder for early criticisms of the periodical, which Strahan's relationship to Macleod furthered.<sup>25</sup> As Srebrnik points out, "even though Strahan went out of his way to make *Good Words* [. . .] acceptable to

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<sup>24</sup> The Free Church developed out a schism within the Church of Scotland, and had evangelical roots that were deeply invested in the tenets of Calvinism. The Free Church separated from the Church of Scotland during the Disruption of 1843 (Srebrnik 3).

<sup>25</sup> Macleod was Strahan's minister and a prominent member of the Church of Scotland.

English readers by including contributions from as many Anglican writers as possible, Anglican ministers fretted that *Good Words* was conducted, after all, by Presbyterians” (4).<sup>26</sup> There is some validity to this criticism. Several of the poems published in the first few issues of *Good Words* implicitly adopted some of the tenets associated with the Church of Scotland’s post-disruption theology, “which assumed that Christ had died for the salvation of all who believed in him, and not merely for the elect” (Srebrnik 29).<sup>27</sup>

Other groups responded negatively to the periodical’s combination of religious texts with popular literature, including novels written by Trollope and texts written by authors “from various schools of religious thought” (Srebrnik 35). Sally Mitchell describes how tract societies attempted to blacklist the periodical “because young people might be tempted to read the secular articles on Sunday” (146).<sup>28</sup> The most radical response to the periodical occurred in 1863 when the Free Church Presbytery of Strathbogie in the Scottish Highlands “gathered together all copies of *Good Words* to be found in the neighbourhood and them solemnly burned them in the marketplace” (Srebrnik 62).<sup>29</sup> Prior to the dramatic journal burning, which inadvertently served to

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<sup>26</sup> Reviewers were less concerned. A 14 January 1862 review published in *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* emphasised that, although *Good Words* was a Scottish publication, it was “not marked by any national peculiarities” (7).

<sup>27</sup> For examples of such poetry, see “The Last Conflict” (January 1860; 1: 46), J. E.’s “He’s Risen” (March 1860; 1: 136), F. R. H.’s “Faith’s Question” (March 1860; 1: 174–75), H. M. T.’s “A Song in the Night” (March 1861; 2: 167), William Buchanan’s “An Artisan’s Story” (April 1861; 2: 208–10), Dora Greenwell’s “A Song Which None but the Redeemed can Sing” (July 1861; 2: 410–11), and the unsigned “Some Verses Written by a Working Man” (July 1862; 3: 433–34).

<sup>28</sup> This reaction to secular literary texts was not uncommon. For example, tract societies and the Society for the Diffusion of Pure Literature “sought to elevate the reading tastes of the masses by promoting the sale of cheap family periodicals that met its strict evangelical requirements and by preventing the sale of those that did not” (Altick 125).

<sup>29</sup> For further information on the Strathbogie affair, see “The Free Presbytery of Strathbogie and ‘Good Words’” in the *Glasgow Herald* (7 November 1863), “The Free Presbytery of Strathbogie and Good Words” in *The Dundee Courier and Argus* (11 November 1863), “Are ‘Good Words’ Good Words?” in the *Caledonian Mercury* (11 November 1863), and “Strathbogie Testifying Against Good Words” in the *Daily News* (13 November 1863). All of these publications are from Scotland with the exception of the *Daily News*, which was published in London.

advertise the periodical in the area, the Presbytery of Strathbogie requested that the Scottish General Assembly ban *Good Words* among its followers because they believed that the “periodical was calculated to do much injury” (*The Caledonian Mercury*, 11 November 1863). The Scottish General Assembly acted as the highest court of the Church of Scotland and debated issues affecting the Church and society, such as the Sabbath question. In his speech supporting the motion, Reverend Archibald McGilvray of Keith argued that *Good Words* was “injurious to the mind” and omitted “full and clear doctrinal and practical teaching on the great truths contained in the Bible and embodied in our Catechisms and the Confessions of faith” (*The Caledonian Mercury*, 11 November 1863). He also worried that there are “many who will not limit their reading on that day simply to what are called religious articles, but will read other portions of this publication” (*The Caledonian Mercury*, 11 November 1863). Macleod, who was vilified by McGilvray, responded to his critics with a reassertion of his periodical’s religious framework. In a letter addressed to one of the periodical’s critics, he outlined his editorial policy as follows:

Our purpose was to combine as far as possible in “Good Words” all those elements which have made what are called “secular” periodicals attractive, whether in good fiction, wholesome general literature, or genuine science,—to have these subjects *treated in a right and therefore religious spirit*, and to add what are called “religious articles,” containing a full and uncompromising declaration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in every number.<sup>30</sup> (qtd. in Strahan 295)

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<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, there is no date available for this letter in Strahan’s article, which is the only available record. For another response by Macleod to the Sabbath reading question, see Macleod’s article “Sunday” (April 1862; 3: 193–97).

For Macleod, the periodical's mandate to publish texts "in harmony with the essentials of the Christian faith" (Macleod qtd. in Strahan 295) made the periodical suitable for Sunday reading. Even the seemingly non-religious elements of the periodical, such as its serial fiction, were subject to Macleod's moral censure. For example, in 1863, Strahan arranged for Anthony Trollope to write a serial novel for *Good Words* in an attempt to increase the periodical's sales. Macleod vetoed this decision. He rejected Trollope's *Rachel Ray*, deeming it "unfit for the reading public" (Srebrnik 60). As editor of the *Good Words*, Macleod did more than just censure the literary material published by the periodical, he also built the practice of Sabbath reading into the periodical's very structure through its aforementioned weekly and monthly homilies. The title of this feature in 1861, "Our Sunday Evenings," explicitly identifies Sunday as a time for reading and reflection while the possessive adjective *our* refers to the assumed community associated with the periodical: its contributors and readers alike. Such features demonstrate how the periodical aimed to become a part of its readers' domestic and spiritual lives. Through its weekly and monthly reflections on scripture, *Good Words* defined itself as integral to the rhythm of Sabbath practices.<sup>31</sup>

As a genre, the illustrated family magazine encouraged readers to engage in morally improving reading practices every day of the week. At the same time, the publication schedule of periodicals such as *Good Words*, the *Cornhill*, and *Once a Week* redefined the cultural meaning of Sunday. Thus, though Sunday remained sacred as the Sabbath, the publication of literary periodicals on Saturdays caused older traditions of religious observation to give way to newer traditions of leisure reading (Turner 191).

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<sup>31</sup> For further information on how serial publications fit into the rhythm of the Victorian reader's life, see Linda Hughes and Michael Lund.

*Good Words* exists in a space between these two conceptions of time. The periodical is a secular/sacred hybrid that creates a space for devotional thought even as it aims to entertain and entice the Victorian reader of popular literature. Macleod accomplishes this by emphasising the devotional practice of Sunday reading throughout the periodical. For instance, in his editorial “Sunday” (1862; 3: 193–97), he writes, “The day of rest is [. . .] an unspeakable blessing, as re-uniting the scattered members of the household” (194). For Macleod, Sundays become a moment when the Victorian family can gather and “cultivate the religion of domestic love” (194). Macleod’s statement seems to privilege the secular love associated with the Victorian family over conventional religious belief while it also supports community worship and devotion. Macleod pursues this vision of a domesticated faith in his editorial, stating that on the Sabbath people should “together confess their common faith, express their common joy in knowing God by the singing of psalms and hymns of praise, and pour out their prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings for themselves and for all men” (3: 195). The periodical’s poetry facilitates this singing or, more aptly, reading of hymns, providing the foundation for Macleod’s vision of Sunday reading and Strahan’s ambition to publish a popular Christian periodical. Christian precepts appear in every article, and the periodical’s poetry teaches readers how to read literature and the world through a Christian lens.

### **Lines of Devotion: Poetry in *Good Words***

The first issue of *Good Words* opens with a brief essay written by Macleod: “We Wish You a Good Year” (January 1860; 1: 1–4). In this essay, Macleod affirms the purpose of

the periodical, asking his readers to “unite with us in expressing the honest prayer before God, that ‘good words,’ and good words only, may be published from week to week in these pages” (1: 1). Macleod’s belief in the periodical’s ability to provide its readers with “words of truth and soberness, of wisdom and love, such as will help to make this year a good one to us all (1: 1), fits with the periodical’s motto, “good words are worth much and cost little.” *Good Words* fulfils the edict of its motto by providing moral literature at an affordable price, making it accessible to a broader spectrum of the Victorian middle class than more expensive shilling monthlies such as the *Cornhill*. The poetry published throughout volume one confirms the periodical’s defined agenda. For example, “Little Things,” the first poem published in the periodical, tackles the publication’s investment in the idea of good words. The fact that it appears unsigned allows the poem to carry the ideology of the journal.<sup>32</sup> There is no authorial reputation to intervene. This is evident in the language of the poem, which opens by reminding the reader that words and deeds have the potential to effect change in the world:

Scorn not the slightest word or deed,  
 Nor deem it void of power;  
 There’s fruit in each wind-wafted seed,  
 Waiting its natal hour.

A whisper’d word may touch the heart,  
 And call it back to life;  
 A look of love bid sin depart,

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<sup>32</sup> Of the 1, 219 poems published in the periodical, only 54 (or 4%) are unsigned.

And still unholy strife.

No act falls fruitless: none can tell

How vast its power may be,

Nor what results unfolded dwell

Within it silently.

Work, and despair not: give thy mite,

Nor care how small it be;

God is with all who serve the right,

The holy, true, and free. (1: 15)

The key to devotional reading practices, the poem suggests, is to understand words and thoughts in a Christian manner. This understanding will allow the reader to affect the world in a positive way. The poem never speaks of the potential for negative influence, but in its very absence that alternative is dismissed as outside the Christian beliefs and behaviours informing the periodical. Interestingly, the poem gives power to its readers. The allusion to the parable of the widow and her mites (Luke 21: 1–4 and Mark 12: 41–44) encourages the poem’s readers to see themselves as participants and potential actors in the world, arguing any act of devotion, no matter how little, strengthens and expresses their relationship with God, who “is with all who serve the right,” (1: 15).<sup>33</sup> Written in hymn common metre, “Little Things” explores how the good words of Christian poetry

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<sup>33</sup> After watching a poor widow place two mites (or coins) into the temple treasury, Jesus turned to his disciples and said, “this poor widow has put in more than all; for all these out of their abundance have put in offerings for God, but she out of her poverty put in all the livelihood that she had” (Luke 21: 3–4).

harness the power of language and devotional literary forms to inspire Christian thought.<sup>34</sup> As with Keble's *The Christian Year*, the poetry of *Good Words* emphasises the importance of Christian reading practices as a majority of the periodical's poems rely on the reader's knowledge of the Bible and recognition of Jesus's good words.

Poems that directly affirm the message touted by Macleod and the anonymous poet of "Little Things" make up approximately 10% of the first volume's poetry, and such poems reappear throughout the periodicals forty-year run.<sup>35</sup> For example, a poetic meditation on the power of language and good words opens the second volume of the journal. The poem "Good Words" by L. C. C. (January 1861; 2: 1–2) welcomes the New Year with a prayer:

That He who knows each spirit's wants,  
 (Beyond *my* love to read,)
   
  
 May mould your wishes to His will,  
  
 And crown them thus indeed. (2: 2)

The poem's interest in language and the power of words, specifically prayer and wishes, supports the project of the periodical, which is to publish good words that prompt Christian thought and action. The consistent layout suggests that Macleod and his publisher Strahan were invested in creating a cohesive package regardless of content. For

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<sup>34</sup> Victorian hymns generally conform to Hymn Common Metre (4–3 4–3), Short Metre (3–3 4–3), and Long Metre (4–4 4–4). Musical time signatures can be adjusted accordingly. Hymn common metre and the 4/3 time signature associated with most ballads is what makes it possible to sing "Amazing Grace" to the tune of the theme song for *Gilligan's Island* or "Good King Wenceslas," which was written in 1853.

<sup>35</sup> Poems on this theme from the first volume include B.'s "Prayer" (February 1860; 1: 80), Dora Greenwell's "Pencil Marks in a Book of Devotion" (March 1860; 1: 143), J. A.'s "The Boy and the Captive Bird" (August 1860; 1: 207), M.'s "Idle Words" (May 1860; 1: 277–78), and Dora Greenwell's "Gone" (May 1860; 1: 327) and "Sabbath Peace" (October 1860; 1: 632). When the number of poems that implicitly reinforce Macleod's editorial ideology are factored into the equation, this number increases exponentially.

example, the illustrated twigs and vines that make up the woodland font of the poem's title appear throughout the first three volumes of *Good Words* (from 1860 to 1862), while the third volume of the periodical reintroduces Macleod's editorial voice after his absence in volume two with an editorial for the New Year. The visual/verbal continuity of the periodical's first three volumes establishes the brand of *Good Words*. The periodical's seemingly stable format, especially the visual consistency of its title pages and opening fonts, works with the content of the poems and Macleod's editorials to create this cohesion even as the periodical changes over time.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, Macleod's monthly editorials, which begin in 1861, transform him into a paterfamilias figure similar to Thackeray in the *Cornhill*. Macleod guides the reader's experience of the periodical text just as a father would guide religious observations in the home. Through his editorial voice, Macleod frames the poetry of *Good Words* as a devotional space for readers intended to prompt a meditative reading experience.

The frequent appearance of poems on reading and devotion confirms that *Good Words* intended its readers to recognise the devotional potential of poetry. Greenwell's "Pencil Marks in a Book of Devotion" (March 1860; 1: 143), for example, explores the effects of good words on the reader. In Greenwell's poem, the speaker comes across several underlined passages found in a book of devotion and reflects on the comfort that the anonymous original reader took in those words. The first few stanzas of the poem appear in the periodical as follows:

"It happened one day, about noon, I was exceedingly  
surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the

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<sup>36</sup> For example, Macleod's editorials become less frequent and the number of illustrations decreases.

shore, which was very plain to be seen on the sand.”

STRONG words are these—“O Lord! I seek but Thee,

Not Thine! I ask not comfort, ask not rest;

Give what, and how, and when thou wilt to me,

I bless Thee—take all back—and be Thou blest.”

Sweet words are these—“O Lord! it is Thy love,

And not Thy gifts I seek; yet am as one

That loveth so, I prize the least above

All other worth or sweetness under sun.”

And all these words are underscored, and here

And there a tear hath been, and left a stain,

The only record, haply, of a tear

Long wiped from eyes no more to weep again.

And as I gaze, a solemn joy comes o’er me—

By these deep footprints I can surely guess

Some pilgrim, by the road that lies before me,

Hath cross’d, long time ago, the wilderness. (1: 143)

The poem teaches the audience of *Good Words* how to read a Christian text, whether *Robinson Crusoe*, which Greenwell quotes in the poem’s epigraph, the Bible, or a

devotional poem. The speaker proclaims that she too “meeting words of promise, meekly, gladly” (1: 143) will go on her way rejoicing. The poem effectively links the content of the devotional texts cited by the poem to the language of the speaker’s response. For instance, the first stanza of the marked text speaks of one “surprised with the print of a man’s naked foot on the shore” (1: 143). Finding the print anticipates the speaker’s discovery of the marked verse quoted in the first and subsequent stanzas. The second two stanzas of the poem refer to devotional texts that speak of finding one’s self in a place of true faith, a place where one does not ask for the Lord’s blessing and love but realises that such love and faith exists within the self, needing no external reward or gift. The speaker of the poem uses these texts as the impetus for spiritual reflection, ultimately appropriating the language of the devotional texts to represent a moment of revelation. The speaker states, “By these deep footprints I can surely guess / Some pilgrim, by the road that lies before me, / Hath cross’d, long time ago, the wilderness” (1: 143). The speaker’s allusion to the Temptation of Christ transforms the pencil marks left behind, strengthening their purpose as a model for devotional thought. The lines simultaneously trace the struggles of faith and provide hope for its affirmation.<sup>37</sup> In some sense, then, the poem becomes a response to the “little things” referenced by the anonymous poet discussed at the beginning of this section. The actions of the reader who underlined the passages found by Greenwell’s speaker come to influence the speaker’s spiritual growth in the same way that Macleod intends the periodical’s good words and Christian message to contribute to the devotional practices of its community of readers.

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<sup>37</sup> In the Temptation of Christ, Jesus wanders in the wilderness for forty days and forty nights, resisting Satan’s tempting offers and affirming his faith in God. The Temptation of Christ appears in Matthew 4: 1–11, Mark 1: 12–13, and Luke 4: 1–13.

The centrality of the Bible to the contents of *Good Words* emphasises the devotional nature of the periodical. The periodical's poems, like those of Keble, often include allusions to religious texts that assume a familiarity with both the Bible and the conventions of devotional forms such as the hymn. The assumption that the poem's reader possesses such knowledge suggests the presence of the Tractarian doctrines of Reserve and Analogy in the non-denominational *Good Words*. Greenwell's application of Analogy in "Pencil Marks in a Book of Devotion" and "The Railway Station" further supports the influence of Tractarian poetics on the poetry of *Good Words*. As does Greenwell's literary friendship and indebtedness to Christina Rossetti, who also deployed Analogy in her poetics. The devotional nature of the periodical's poems binds the act of reading and interpretation to religious tenets, a rhetorical move supported by the periodical's serialised feature of biblical reflections. The poetry creates this link through its appeal to the doctrines of Reserve and Analogy, which, as previously mentioned, permit "the otherwise unsayable to be indirectly articulated" (Hughes, *Cambridge Companion* 142) and actively interpreted by readers with a knowledge of theology and scripture. For example, L. C. C.'s translation of Victor Hugo's "The Toad" (January 1861; 2: 33–34) implores its readers to see "the life below" and exhibit compassion for those below them in society (2: 33).<sup>38</sup> The speaker reminds readers that "Perhaps this thing we curse felt himself blest, / Linked with the Infinite like all the rest" (2: 33). The lesson of the poem asks readers to see the divine in all things. The poem's didactic nature links it to the parables of Christ. These short biblical narratives contain a moral lesson, and such parables and exempla represent an important part of Christianity's history. Their

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<sup>38</sup> While the poem's subtitle identifies the poem as "altered from Victor Hugo" (2: 34), I have thus far been unable to locate the original source of the poem.

connection to the traditions of early Christians makes such tales, and the good words that make up the tales, a significant part of Victorian-era religious practices and the development of the religious community of *Good Words*.<sup>39</sup>

L. C. C.'s "The Toad" also provides an effective introduction to the role of illustration in *Good Words*. It shows how the periodical's illustrations complemented the journal's interest in promoting good words. An excellent example of a proleptic narrative illustration accompanies the poem (figure 21). J. D. Watson captures all of the characters in the poem, placing the toad in a vulnerable position near the hooves of an "Old, meagre, lame, worn-out" donkey guided by a threatening, masculine figure (2: 34). Meanwhile, the young boys look down at the amphibian with expressions of mischievous interest, anticipating their cruel action. Watson's juxtaposition of the man with the boys suggests a connection between their behaviours: each boy has the potential to grow into the cruel man. In the background, a gentlewoman and a priest walk away from the scene in blissful ignorance, unaware of the violence behind them. The illustration's composition thus captures the message of the poem by forcing viewers to confront societal obliviousness and violence. The poem fleshes out this narrative. Poem and illustration work together to relay a specific Christian lesson. Like Christ's parables, this illustrated poem teaches the reader about human nature and the tenets of the Christian faith, paying particular attention to society's tendency to ignore the downtrodden.

Macleod continues to remind readers of the importance of *Good Words* in the third volume of the periodical, which covers the twelve issues published for 1862. He introduces the third volume with his editorial "A Word in Season" (January 1862; 3: 1–

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<sup>39</sup> For further information on Victorian parables, see Susan Colón.

3), offering readers a Christian lesson for the New Year. Like the periodical's attempt to provide its readers with proper Sunday reading through features such as "Good Words for Everyday of the Year" (1860), "Our Sunday Evenings" (1861), and "At Home in the Scriptures" (1862), Macleod's introduction to the periodical's third volume creates a space for the reader to reflect on issues of faith and Christian life. These editorials continue throughout 1862, contributing to the complex interplay between the periodical's poetry and the prose pieces framing each issue: Macleod's editorials and the feature "At Home in the Scriptures." Even without Macleod's editorials, as is the case in volumes one and two, the periodical's literature remains a space for a spiritual meditation guided by Christian texts and beliefs, especially the good words of the Bible, and the periodical's poetry continues to implicitly reference this function of literature. For example, Greenwell's "Go and Come" (January 1862; 3: 31–32) examines the responsibilities of Christianity, including missionary work, charity, and war. The title has a connection to the Bible, appearing in Proverbs. The proverb in question (Prov. 3) deals with the nature of faith and the adherence to moral law. The proverb implores the listener to "Trust in the LORD with all thy heart" (Prov. 3: 5), a message repeated by both Macleod and Greenwell on the first few pages of the January 1862 issue of *Good Words*.<sup>40</sup> The proverb goes on to admonish the listener to do one's Christian duty:

Withhold not good from them whom it is due,

When it is in the power of the hand to do it.

Say not unto thy neighbour, 'Go,

And come again tomorrow and I will give.' (Prov. 3: 27–28)

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<sup>40</sup> Greenwell's poem and the proverb share a similar form. Both have an assumed listener and are delivered as a monologue.

Greenwell's poem opens with an awareness of this edict, and the imperative "Go" (3: 31) signifies God's order for the speaker to go and work for the Lord, gleaning for him "'mid wasted frames outworn / 'Mid souls uncheered, uncared for; hearts forlorn" (3: 31). The poem builds on the lesson of the proverb, speaking of a Christian's duty to live according to the word of God even as the speaker questions the consequences of faith.

For the speaker, the acts required create a distance between the faithful and God. Again, the title provides some insight into the tone of the poem. It is a reversal of the common phrase *come and go*, which means "[t]o be first present and then absent; to approach and recede; to appear and disappear alternately" (OED). This definition circulated in the nineteenth century, appearing in Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* (1864), and it is particularly apt for Greenwell's poem as the speaker dwells on the perceived absence and then presence of God. When God appears in the poem, the meaning of the verb *go* shifts. It no longer signifies a distancing from God, as it did before the speaker began his journey; rather, the imperative brings the speaker closer to God: "We follow Thee, yet still, in peace or war, / *Thou* leadest us" (Greenwell 3: 32). In going, the speaker comes to the Lord, resolving his feelings of God's absence. The poem closes with the verb *come*, marking the end of the speaker's spiritual journey through which he discovers the true nature of faith: a willingness to believe in and follow the path of God. This echoes the message of Macleod's introductory editorial, "A Word in Season" (January 1862; 3: 1–3). Writing on the subject of faith, Macleod argues that Christian behaviours should be a natural part of life: always present and always occurring. It is the same precept of Christian behaviour found in the proverb referenced above, which states that "sound wisdom and discretion" (Prov. 3: 21) will ensure that "thou shalt walk thy way safely, /

and thy foot shall not stumble” (Prov. 3: 23). The connection between the Bible, Greenwell’s poem, and Macleod’s editorial demonstrates how language and literature can express abstract ideas, and how phrases and good words can prompt devotional thought.

Isa Craig’s “The Christmas Child” (January 1862; 3: 55–56), illustrated by Thomas Morten, similarly alludes to a biblical text: the nativity (Luke 2: 1–20).<sup>41</sup> Craig’s poem relocates the nativity story, placing it in a contemporary environment that simultaneously complements and critiques the social ideals supported by Christian thought. The poem comments on the isolated and overlooked figure of the fallen woman/mother, a pitiable creature that nonetheless exists in the shadows outside domesticated consciousness. The illustration emphasises this point: the forsaken mother is barely visible in the upper-right-hand corner. Morten dedicates the white space of the illustration to the foundling and its new parents (figure 22). Perhaps ironically, the outcast mother performs an act of Christian charity, giving her infant to a couple still grieving for their long-dead child. The poem ends with an ambiguous whisper: “‘A Christmas gift,’ we’ll keep it, dear, / It was to-night the Saviour came” (3: 56). The identity of the speaker is unclear at this point, and the poem’s reference to the Saviour has two potential meanings: it references Christ’s birth and it implies that the child acts as the family’s personal saviour, saving them from grief and giving them the family they desire. In this way, the poem reworks the traditional nativity story, demonstrating once again how devotional poetry complements the religious impulse of the periodical. Such poetry reimagines existing religious

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<sup>41</sup> William Robertson’s “The Veiled Bride” (October 1862; 3: 592–93), illustrated by Simeon Solomon, is another poem that provides a poetic interpretation of a biblical event, specifically Isaac and Rebekah’s marriage (Gen. 24).

narratives for a popular readership, providing new ways for the periodical's Christian community to engage with the principles behind biblical narratives.

Periodical poetry acts as the ideal genre for the cultivation of such a community. Indeed, the creation of a religious community through devotional poetry was common practice in the nineteenth century. While such communities arose around Keble's *The Christian Year*, "one of the century's most powerful and popular means for imaging private devotional reading as participation in a national and imperial religious community of nameless individuals" (J. King 408–09), the hymn played a similar role as "another religious genre that elicited communal response through the voice of the individual" (Hughes, *Cambridge Companion* 145).<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the act of reading a hymn in *Good Words* is at once personal and communal.<sup>43</sup> If the *Cornhill*'s dinner table promises to bring together mothers, fathers, children, and infants each month for literary sustenance, then the hymns of *Good Words* provide an imagined gathering place for Christian readers, who want to read literature grounded in the tenets of the Christian faith and the good words of the Bible, a universal and communal text familiar to the era's literate population as well as those of the illiterate population who could attend religious services. The intended Christian audience of *Good Words*, though deliberately broad, also serves to pre-establish the periodical's community of middle-class Christian readers and writers, who are interested in the exploration of devotional thought through literature. The periodical develops this ethos of devotional reading through its serial structure,

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<sup>42</sup> The link between Keble's poetry volume and traditional liturgical practices helped foster this sense of community, connecting the poems to the communal religious practices of the Christian public.

<sup>43</sup> Mike Sanders discusses the role of the hymn in building and affirming the Chartist community in "'God is our guide! our cause is just!': The *National Chartist Hymn Book* and Victorian Hymnody."

which regulates devotional practises and makes them a part of daily community life as emphasised by the publication of weekly and monthly devotional readings.

### **The Visual Composition of Poetry in *Good Words***

The visual composition of *Good Words* reinforces Macleod's interest in presenting poetry as a vehicle for meditative or devotional reflection. The periodical's layout frames poems with thick white margins, allowing the reader to pick out poems among the densely printed prose. For example, the poem "Little Things" stands out because of the surrounding white space (figure 23). This layout appears time and again, linking the poetry of the annuals from the 1820s and 1830s to the literary periodicals of mid-Victorian Britain. However, while the layout of *Good Words* is not distinct from the standard layout seen in other periodicals, the devotional content of the periodical's poetry emphasises the symbolic weight of poetry in the periodical press. The white space surrounding periodical poetry gestures towards the assumed cultural value of the genre, and as both Hughes and Houston suggest in their respective studies of periodical poems, this offers readers a visual break from the densely printed typeface associated with the periodical's prose.<sup>44</sup> As Hughes notes, "[f]ar from serving as filler, poetry diversifies closely printed columns in dailies and weeklies and acts as a value-added visual and literary feature. A poem's surrounding white space literally lights up the page, the sacrifice of unprinted space simultaneously suggesting a shift from mundane to sacred or spiritual spaces in which contemplation can occur" ("What the *Wellesley* Left Out" 103).

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<sup>44</sup> Houston's most recent project, *The Visual Page*, focuses on the meaning embedded within the layout of volumes of Victorian poetry.

Hughes's use of the word "spiritual" is significant, suggesting that such decisions about a periodical's layout demonstrate an interest in cultural and religious value over more commercial interests. In *Good Words*, the periodical's layout links poetry to biblical verse through the visual: the white margins that conventionally frame periodical poetry also appear around the lines of biblical verse published as part of each issue's homily (see figure 23). Such visual cues act like the pencil marks encountered by Greenwell's speaker in "Pencil Marks in a Book of Devotion," prompting meditative and spiritual reading practices. The poem draws attention to the speaker's active engagement with the physical page, suggesting that readers can find spiritual inspiration from a variety of texts if they approach reading as a devotional activity. Natalie Houston offers a similar argument in her study of the poetry published in Victorian newspapers. She suggests that the visual break created by the white margins of poetry encouraged readers to slow down and "look more closely at the text" (236). For Houston, the pause offered by the poems published in Victorian newspapers demonstrates "poetry's capacity to offer emotional responses to current events in different language than that of the daily news" (239). While Houston does not discuss devotional literature, her assertion that the visual layout of poetry changes reading practices can also be applied to the layout of poetry in religious periodicals such as *Good Words*.

Dora Greenwell's "Love in Death" (March 1862; 3: 184–85) demonstrates this effect. An epigraph prefaces the poem, presenting the facts of the event described by the poem in a stark manner: "A woman perished in a snow-storm while passing over the Green Mountains in Vermont; she had an infant with her, who was found alive and well in the morning, carefully wrapped in the mother's clothing" (3: 184). The epigraph delays

its identification of the woman as a mother until its penultimate word. The poem, on the other hand, rewrites and replaces the plain language of the newspaper report, adding an emotional component to the bleak facts by imagining the mother's final thoughts as she lies dying in the snow, her body protecting that of her young child. It transforms the woman from a nameless figure into a mother who would sacrifice everything and die for her child. Greenwell's repetition of the word *mother* early in the poem reinforces the woman's maternity: "A *mother's* spirit in its parting clung / Unto *her child*—a *mother's* soul was stirred / Through all its depths—a *mother's* fondness hung" (3: 184, *emphasis mine*). The focus on the mother figure aligns the poem with contemporary discourses of motherhood, which argued that mothers were responsible for the mental, moral, and physical wellbeing of their children and, by extension, the nation.<sup>45</sup> It offers readers an alternative perspective of the event described in the news clip of the epigraph. The visual length of the poetic lines mimics the layout of the periodical's prose, taking up nearly all of the space in the columns. Yet, the poem's adherence to iambic pentameter limits the number of words that can appear in each line, creating white space within each column. The length of the poetic lines distinguishes the poetic text from the prose text of the preceding pages. The illustration contributes to the visual effect of the poetic text. It faces the poem, and the image of a woman hunched over from the cold walking through a stark landscape dominates the page (figure 24).<sup>46</sup> The poem and illustration create an alternative space for interpretation, mixing the factual with the imagined, and creating a

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<sup>45</sup> For examples of this kind of discourse, see Sarah Stickney Ellis, *The Women of England: Their Social Duties and Domestic Habits* (1839); John Ruskin, *Sesames and Lilies* (1865); and Henry Maudsley, "Sex and Mind in Education" (1874).

<sup>46</sup> Of the nineteen illustrated poems in the third volume, only seven appear with the illustration facing the poem in this way.

new narrative that invites an emotional response. The editorial placement of illustrations throughout *Good Words* often presents the illustration as a meditative space, one connected to the poem but ultimately responsible for prompting an emotional or devotional response that moves beyond the poetic and visual texts. This is especially true of the periodical's nature poetry to which I will turn in a moment.

First, the gradual appearance of black-and-white illustration in *Good Words* deserves attention. Of the 117 poems published in *Good Words* between 1860 and 1862, over half were illustrated; the percentage of illustrated poems per volume steadily increased from 27% in 1861 to 81% in 1862. This growth in the number of illustrated poems is not seen in the other periodicals mentioned in this study, and it represents Strahan's attempts to grow his publishing business through illustration.<sup>47</sup> The frequent presence of illustration elevates the status of poetry in the periodical. It becomes a feature of the publication, and, as I will discuss, the relationship between image and text in *Good Words* advocates a particular way of reading tied to the devotional contemplation of a scene. The temporary visual relief offered by poetry and illustration from the relentless press of information in periodicals such as *Good Words* explains poetry's centrality in Victorian new media. The periodical poem counters the modernity and futurity of the periodical by interrupting columns of information with metred lines that require readers to slow down and engage with language and form. Furthermore, the poetic forms found

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<sup>47</sup> Over the same period, the *Cornhill* provided illustrations for only 12% of its poetry, maintaining a relatively low percentage of illustrated poetry over the course of Thackeray's editorship. In the *Argosy*, the percentage of illustrated poetry (and illustration more broadly) steadily declines after November 1866. The last illustrated poem appears in December 1868. On the other hand, *Once a Week* maintained a relatively steady rate of illustrated poetry, ranging from 82% in the periodical's first volume (July 1859 to December 1859) to 69% in its fourth volume (December 1860 to June 1861), though the frequency of illustrated poetry did decrease in later years. The publication of twelve engravings from Millais's *Parables of the Lord* in 1864 emphasises the importance of illustration for the *Good Words*. The illustrations advertised Millais's new book and drew an audience interested in previewing Millais's forthcoming work.

in the periodical press, such as the ballad and the hymn, refer to traditional literary forms, imbuing the modern genre of the literary periodical with a sense of tradition and history. As Turner notes in his analysis of periodical time, the periodical press as a genre “both represented anxieties about the shifting nature of time and participated in creating those anxieties” (187).<sup>48</sup> The promotion of *Good Words* as fit for Sunday reading represents the evolution of weekend-based leisure time for the Victorian middle class and participates in this shift by providing popular literature fit for consumption on the Sabbath.

Macleod’s defence of *Good Words* and its presence in the middle-class home on Sundays tackles the social and cultural anxieties that surrounded the periodical press and other products of a secular modernity marked by the rise of science and empiricism. The ideological message found in the periodical’s poetry argues that religion still exists in modern society and offers an antidote for the modern anxieties faced by the readers of *Good Words*. Keble’s *The Christian Year* addresses this sense of religious loss in the face of modernity as early as 1827. King describes how Keble’s text “assures readers that the heightened sense of anonymity created by urban, industrializing society can actually be converted into a worthy discipline: the Reserve forcibly trained by routinely passing nameless faces [could] be voluntarily adopted rather than despondently endured” (408). In other words, the doctrine of Reserve offers a way for Christian readers to read, interpret, and understand the world, bringing them closer to God and religious tradition despite the progress of modernity. Reading and devotional thought contribute to the development of this worthy discipline, and while Keble’s *The Christian Year* emphasises

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<sup>48</sup> For Turner, the *Cornhill* is the obvious example of this process. He suggests that the thematic strands found in the *Cornhill*’s prose enact a “dislodging of time” and record how “the shifts in the meanings of time that were, by the 1860s already a generation old” (193). See my chapter on the *Cornhill* for further information.

the importance of devotional reading and interpretation in concert with liturgical practices, the poetry of *Good Words* provides a secondary respite. Its reflections on faith and the human condition break through the visually dense prose of the periodical. The visual pause created by poetry simultaneously represents and counters the anxieties noted by Turner. The spiritual focus of *Good Words* supports this understanding of poetry. Its formatting and content make explicit the meditative role of poetry in the periodical press and, more importantly, in the Victorian reader's literary and religious life.

The periodical's presentation of poetry as a devotional text allows for the merger of devotional and sentimental poetic conventions. For example, a spherical medallion stamped with the bust of Dante (figure 25) prefaces the first illustrated poem published in *Good Words*, "Love" by M. (March 1860; 1: 168). The speaker is a Dantean figure who wants to "weave a wreath [. . .] / Of all things rich and fair" for his beloved (1: 168). The poem ends with the speaker promising that his love is eternal, "ever fresh, and pure, and bright, / As on its natal day" (1: 168), and will last until the lovers meet again in heaven. The poem muses on the promise of love and the limits of human memorials and representations of love. Yet it also represents love as a sacramental experience that must be preserved.<sup>49</sup> Read as part of *Good Words*, the poem comments on the importance of human relationships, creating a link between the experience of mortal love and one's relationship with God. The layout of the periodical helps to facilitate the spiritual connotations of this particular poem. In effect, it combines established tradition of love poetry signified by Dante with the devotional as suggested by the poetry and layout of *Good Words*. The placement of the image, the page's wide margins, and the poem's

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<sup>49</sup> For further information on Victorian love poetry and the era's interest in Dante see, McSweeney, *Supreme Attachments*; Arseneau, "'May My Great Love Avail Me;'" and Harrison, *Swinburne's Medievalism*.

content all work together to prompt spiritual reflection, building on the poetic sensibilities established in the periodical's earlier poems.

Just as the context of *Good Words* framed illustrated poems on romantic love as catalysts for spiritual reflection, the illustrated nature poetry of the periodical emphasised the presence of God in the reader's world. A significant number of poems in the first two volumes of *Good Words*, 20% and 28% respectively, present readers with both the imagined and illustrated natural world as a prompt for spiritual devotion.<sup>50</sup> Of the sixty poems illustrated between 1860 and 1862, fifteen are nature poems. Such poems often allude to the current seasons. The seasonal pattern of the nature poetry in *Good Words* draws attention to the changing world outside, providing a prompt for spiritual reflection in the industrial world of the mid-Victorian reader. H. M. T.'s "Autumn" (September 1860; 1: 593), which opens the September 1860 issue of *Good Words*, is paradigmatic of this visual and textual trope. Between September 1860 and 1899, there are sixteen poems with the word *autumn* in the title.<sup>51</sup> Though the volume editions of the periodical do not provide enough information to date the exact month of each autumn poem, the placement of the poems in the periodical suggests that these seasonal texts appeared sometime between September and December. In the 1860 "Autumn," the illustration dwarfs the poem. It takes up the entire page with only a small space defined by thick white margins given to the poem's text (figure 26). The shape of the illustration matches that of an

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<sup>50</sup> Even more astonishing is the fact that of the 1052 poems published in the periodical between 1860 and 1885, 72 poems (or 7%) refer to a seasonal scene in their title.

<sup>51</sup> Many more poems implicitly reference the seasons, especially the coming of spring and harvest time. For example, the layout of John Hollingshed's "Summer Evening" (June 1862; 3: 376) is very similar to that of "Autumn," and Hollingshed's poem begins in much the same way with a viewer gazing upon a natural scene. While "Summer Evening" lacks the explicit Christian imagery of "Autumn," the pause suggested by the poem and its illustration create the conditions for devotional thought, especially when they are understood as part of the devotional narrative created by the literature of *Good Words*.

arched aperture, suggesting the presence of a doorway or large window through which one can imaginatively enter the natural landscape depicted in the image. The illustration's perspective, in particular the two parallel lines of the pathway, which run towards the horizon, give the illustration depth, drawing the eye along the path of trees to a tiny figure presumably meant to represent the speaker. The poem's language demonstrates how the view of such a scene can lead to spiritual contemplation:

The eye can longer rest on a scene like this,  
 Than that which tells of more unsullied bliss;  
 And as we gaze, it brings the thought how sin,  
 Ushered the morn of our existence in  
 With cheerless sky, till Christ our evening came. (1: 593)

Like Greenwell's "Lines in a Book of Devotion," H. M. T.'s "Autumn" teaches readers how to engage with nature as a devotional text. In this case, the speaker links the setting sun to Christ's crucifixion and his death for mankind's sins, alluding to Christ's death for our sins through his description of the sun, "Sinking his blessed beams beneath our shame" (1: 593). For the speaker, the sacrifice made by Christ brightens the darkness of the mortal world with a "golden flood / Of light" that is, nonetheless, tempered by the poem's image of "every cloud [. . .] tipp'd with blood" (1: 593). The natural vista reminds the speaker that humanity's experience of the world, particularly the bright elements, come from Christ and his sacrifice. The effect of nature on the poet and reader/observer in "Autumn" acts a form of Reserve similar to that seen in Keble's Tractarian poetics. As Tennyson notes in his study of the sacramental imagination, "part of Keble's purpose in *The Christian Year* was to show forth Nature as more than a

Wordsworthian moral teacher instructing by vernal impulse; it was to show Nature as the handmaiden of theology and at times the vehicle of a sacramental grace that brought man into contact with the divine” (371). In “Autumn,” the speaker transforms nature into a conduit for theology and devotional thought, and the illustration that accompanies and dominates the poem contributes to the text’s devotional lesson. The natural vista offered by the illustrator allows the periodical’s predominantly urban readers to draw spiritual inspiration from the natural world without leaving the comfort of their urban homes.

In the period under consideration in this chapter (January 1860 to December 1862), at least eighteen poems, including H. M. T.’s “Autumn,” present nature as a prompt for spiritual thought. One such poem is “The Coming of Spring” (April 1861; 2: 224) written by Dinah Mulock Craik and illustrated by J. W. McWhirter, a Scottish landscape painter who also illustrated “Autumn.” An allegorical poem, “The Coming of Spring” refers to the seasonal promise of spring after a harsh winter to speak of faith and the eternal hope it provides. The speaker describes how the flowers of the spring smile and, in smiling, state: “I die not—only sleep; / But, through all the Winter deep, / Wait the coming of the Spring” (2: 224). The personification of the flowers reminds the speaker about the conditions of his or her own faith: death is not final when we remember the promise of heaven. Significantly, children hold the flowers referenced by the speaker. This positions the speaker as gazing on the children. Indeed, both the reader and the speaker gaze into the landscape, which depicts two children picking flowers in the forest, even as the poem allegorises the scene and explains the meaning of the flowers (figure 27). The illustration faces the poem, providing the urban reader with the pastoral landscape necessary for the devotional thought described in Craik’s poem. It is an example of the ideal relationship

between image and text. Rather than capturing a particular narrative, the illustration complements the poem's more abstract ideas about faith, devotional thought, and humanity's relationship to God in the world.

However, while the majority of nature poems published in *Good Words* appropriate the language of nature to explore issues of faith and spiritual reflection, each poem nonetheless modifies and, on occasion, challenges the idealisation of nature as a spiritual tool. For example, the illustration provided for L. C. C.'s "The Two Streams" (December 1861; 2: 656-67) complicates the representation of nature as a devotional space seen throughout *Good Words*. The visual language established by H. M. T.'s "Autumn" and Craik's "The Coming of Spring" encourages the periodical's readers to understand the illustration, which is appended to the poem, as prompt for devotional thought (figure 28). However, the poem emphatically turns away from the natural world. Rather than framing an encounter with the natural world as an expression of faith, the poem uses natural imagery to warn against humanity's insatiable thirst for material goods and worldly fame. The speaker of L. C. C.'s poem does not view nature as an inherently spiritual space. Instead, the poet suggests that natural elements act as substitutes for earth-bound pursuits. The poem suggests that the thirsty need to look to heaven for "The streams that quench," which "have *not* their source below" (2: 657). The speaker implores the reader "to seek them, taught by want and pain, / And seeking find, and never thirst again" (2: 657). In effect, the poem highlights the dangers of materialism by dismissing the products and opportunities of modernity in order to argue that true fulfilment only comes from faith. It warns readers against the unthinking consumption of material goods, reminding them that

material gain does not guarantee spiritual satisfaction or salvation.<sup>52</sup> Conversely, Dora Greenwell's "Hugo.—1845" (December 1861; 2: 689–90) emphasises the ability of material objects to inspire spiritual reflection. The poem begins with a brief epigraph that identifies the inspiration for the poem: "In a Churchyard in Warwickshire is a monumental stone in the form of a cross, simply inscribed, 'Hugo.—1845'" (2: 689). The illustration follows this prefatory information, providing the reader with a representation of the scene that inspired the poet (figure 29). It introduces the poem and recreates the initial prompt for reflection. The poem ends with the speaker reflecting on the Christian promise of an afterlife in heaven. The speaker points out that "We too must hope, through HIM, restored, forgiven, / *To rest* within the smile that lights up heaven!" (2: 690). The poem returns to an object for inspiration, and this is the dominant message behind the periodical's poetry, nature poems or otherwise. Even L. C. C.'s "The Two Streams" indirectly supports this message. Though L. C. C.'s poem disrupts the periodical's narrative of nature as a prompt for devotional thought, the text of "The Two Streams" nonetheless acts as an object written to inspire Christian thought in its readers. The poem thus reiterates the periodical's main objective (as identified by Macleod and the anonymous poet of "Little Things"): to provide readers with good words that inspire and support Christian thought.

### **Hymn Culture and the Poetry of *Good Words***

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<sup>52</sup> See the parable of Jesus and the Tax Collector, Luke 19: 1-10.

The hymn was an increasingly important part of Victorian devotional culture. While the early Victorians associated the hymn with Evangelical movements, by the 1860s, mainstream Church of England culture had accepted the hymn as evidenced by the 1861 publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (J. R. Watson, “Hymn” 136).<sup>53</sup> The hymn played a huge role in the devotional and literary cultures of Victorian Britain. As Mike Sanders points out, “the British Library Catalogue lists 1,200 hymn books published between 1837 and 1901” (““God is our guide!”” 680). Like the devotional poetry of Keble’s *The Christian Year*, “the hymn was another religious genre that elicited communal response through the voice of an individual” (Hughes, *Cambridge Companion* 145). The hymn form encourages participation, and its communal nature suggests an imagined community of worshipers, singing, and worshipping in one choral voice. Ian Bradley discusses how this was particularly important in the nineteenth century, which came to view the hymn as “a cohesive and unifying force in a society which was in some danger of fragmentation and factionalism” (xi). The presence of the hymn in a popular, non-denominational periodical like *Good Words* confirms this reading of the genre. It mediates the forward momentum of time, progress, and the periodical. Though Hughes is talking about poetic form in general, the presence of the hymn in *Good Words* emphasises her assertion that poetry mediates modernity. The rising iambic metre of the periodical’s poems creates an aesthetic continuity that reinforces poetry’s role as mediator of the secular modernity represented, in part, by the periodical as a genre. Macleod’s editorial practices strive to replicate and model the devotional practices and behaviours of the modern, urbanised world of the 1860s. *Good Words* is a devotional text

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<sup>53</sup> For a full history of the English hymn, see Watson, *The English Hymn*.

designed for the Christian community at large, and it includes texts that allow all devout Christians to participate in devotional practices regardless of their knowledge of scripture, their familiarity with church services, and their literacy. After all, Victorian hymns rarely appeared scored in periodicals; rather, their metrical form allowed parishioners to apply familiar melodies with a 4/3 time signature to all hymns written in the 4-3 4-3 (iambic tetrameter and trimeter) pattern of hymn common metre.

The textual hymns included in *Good Words* evoke the participatory practice of the traditional liturgical hymn, which was written with communal song and worship in mind. As J. R. Watson notes, “[t]he discourse of a hymn is a shared speech, and a conversation with other hymns” (*English Hymn* 19). Singing a hymn is a participatory act, one that includes a community. In other words, the shared and public speech of the hymn acquires meaning through its religious contexts, which include the devotional community of its readership and the individual interpretation of the reader/singer. The act of expressing emotion and thought through hymn builds on Keble’s view of poetry as the ideal vehicle for religious experience. It was, after all, Keble and his understanding of the function of devotional poetry that made “hymnody respectable and popular” (Watson, *English Hymn* 327). The hymn became part of Keble’s poetic project, which aimed to make the religious experience poetic, communal, and domestic. Like *The Christian Year* with its link to events in the liturgical calendar, “Victorian hymns came directly into the home” where they “were bound up with family rituals, homecomings and departures, anniversaries and celebrations” (Bradley xiii). They were a part of the devotional life cycle of the Victorians. Through *Good Words*, they became part of the literary life of the Victorian middle-class family, separate from and yet connected to practices of communal worship

through the periodical's presence in the individual home, its connection to familial reading practices, and its creation of an imagined community of Christian readers.

The presence of hymns in *Good Words* contributes to the Christian tone of the periodical. Poems composed in the metrical patterns commonly associated with the hymn make up 32% of the poetry published in the periodical's first volume. While it is true that many of the hymns published in the periodical could be sung, the hymns of *Good Words* actually have more in common with literary hymns as opposed to liturgical hymns (those sung during church services). The literary hymn frequently demonstrates narrative coherence, possessing a beginning, middle, and end. According to *The New Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics*, the literary hymn “[t]ypically begins with an invocation and apostrophe. The main body will narrate an important story or describe some moral, philosophic, or scientific attribute. A prayer and farewell provide the conclusion” (544). Francis O’Gorman offers a similar definition of the Victorian hymn. For O’Gorman, the hymn should be “consistent in theme, but not repetitive; progressive in the development of ideas (and moving towards a climax)”; understandable, “with a clear meaning to each line,” and, “of course, absolutely metrical” (566). For my discussion of *Good Words*, I am defining the hymn as a poem that adopts or slightly modifies hymn common metre, conforms to O’Gorman’s definition of the hymn, and explores faith. Though the two genres share structural and metrical elements, the focus on God, prayer, and morality differentiates the hymns published in *Good Words* from the ballads published in other periodicals such as *Once a Week*. The frequent publication of hymns also defines *Good Words* as a religious periodical.

The presence of the hymn form in *Good Words* emphasises the periodical's editorial interest in promoting good words associated with the Christian faith. A number of the poems published in the first volume of *Good Words* came from well-known hymnists such as Frances Ridley Havergal, who published her first hymn, "Faith's Question," in a March 1860 issue of *Good Words*; Jean Ingelow, whom contemporary critics described as on the "level of our good Hymn writers" (*Pall Mall Gazette* qtd. Petticrew); and Dora Greenwell, whom Watson discusses in his study of English hymns.<sup>54</sup> Between 1860 and the 1880, these popular hymnists published a total of eighty-three poems (or 6%) of the poetry published in *Good Words* during that period.<sup>55</sup> A poem from Havergal, Ingelow, or Greenwell appears in almost every volume edition of *Good Words* during this period with the exception of 1868, 1871, and 1875. The frequent presence of hymns by these poets points to the centrality of the hymn to Victorian devotional and poetic culture. As O'Gorman notes in his introduction to the Victorian hymn, the genre represents one of the main ways through which Victorian readers experienced poetry: "For those countless Victorian churchgoers for whom published volumes of poetry by contemporary writers were unknown, the hymn was the most important form of poetic language available to them" (566). *Good Words* brought that poetic form into the periodical market, suggesting that, for its readers, poetry was not just filler or value-added literature conveying cultural value; rather, it contributed to the reader's spiritual life.

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<sup>54</sup> For further information on the hymn, the daily religious life of the Victorians, and female religious poets, see Clapp-Inyre, "Writing for, Yet Apart"; Melnyk, *Victorian Religion* (69–71); Mason, *Women Poets*; and Lysack, "Frances Ridley Havergal (1836–79)."

<sup>55</sup> Havergal published fourteen poems in *Good Words* between March 1860 and 1877, Ingelow published sixteen between November 1863 and December 1870, and Greenwell published 53 between March 1860 and 1880. None of the hymns mentioned in this chapter appear in the *Church of England Hymnbook*.

The structure of the hymn contributes to the genre's familiarity. As Watson notes, the metrical requirements of the hymn create "a recurring stability upon which the developing hymn can be built; the verse design determines the invariant features of the work, and sets limits to the variations" (*English Hymns* 27). Within this structure, the words initially follow a linear pattern, but their association with melody, which is circular, transforms the nature of the hymn (Watson, *English Hymns* 26). It is through this combination of the cyclical and the linear that the "direction of the hymn becomes clear, the structure unfolds, and then the last verse brings it to a conclusion" (Watson, *English Hymns* 26). Dora Greenwell's "When Night and Morning Meet" (March 1860; 1: 188) demonstrates how the structural continuity noted by Watson exists within the hymn even when there is no musical accompaniment. The poem is deftly structured, with the first and last stanzas providing a clear description of the beginning and end of a life:

In the dark and narrow street,

    Into a world of woe,

Where the tread of many feet

    Went trampling to and fro,

    A child was born, (speak low,)

When the night and morning meet.

.....

From the dark and narrow street,

    Into a world of love,

A child was born—speak low,

Speak reverent; for we know

Not how they speak above,

When the night and morning meet. (1: 188)<sup>56</sup>

In her description of death, Greenwood subtly alters the language of the opening and closing stanzas.<sup>57</sup> The switch from *in* to *from* in the first line of each stanza captures the moment of death.<sup>58</sup> The removal of parenthesis around the phrase “Speak low” (1: 188) further indicates a change in circumstance from the first stanza. Through a comma, Greenwell links the request to speak low with the idea of speaking reverently, which connotes a sense of veneration or respectful thought more realistic at the moment of death than the celebration that accompanies birth. Finally, the last sentence of each stanza remains the same, and the liminal nature of the moment described in the line “When the night and morning meet” (1: 188) cleverly refers to the structure of the poem as a whole: it hovers between the space of life and death. Greenwell connects these two moments through repetition. These first and last stanzas of the poem emphasise its deliberate structure, which moves from birth in the first stanza to death in the last. The poem is at once timeless and time bound. It lacks a specific historical context, and it is grounded in the biblical lifespan of a human: seventy years (Psalms 90: 10). These elements, combined with the poem’s interest in faith and heaven, locate the poem as part of literary hymnody. It adapts the traditional hymn form for periodical publication by retelling one of the conventional narratives associated with hymns (that of life and death), ending with a call for reverential silence/reflection, and embedding the hymn’s musicality in its text.

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<sup>56</sup> I have only excerpted the first and last stanzas here.

<sup>57</sup> Greenwell suggests the age of the dying figure in the second stanza when she refers to the birth of the first stanza as happening “Full seventy summers back” (1: 188).

<sup>58</sup> The replacement of *woe* with *love* similarly factors into this shift towards death but also heavenly love.

The link between the poetry published in *Good Words* and the hymn is an important part of Alexander Strahan's vision and Norman Macleod's editorial practice: the production of a popular non-denominational periodical that contributes to the devotional culture of mid-Victorian Britain. As part of this project, the poetry of *Good Words* mediates the secular modernity of the literary press, emphasising the importance of good words and spiritual reflection, even as the visual composition of its illustrated poetry makes space for reflection and meditation. Moreover, the periodical's poems participate in the era's devotional culture through genres such as the hymn. The poetics of *Good Words* ultimately function to establish a space for devotional thought within the modern form of the periodical press. The periodical, like Greenwell's "The Railway Station," reminds readers that "Not all the turmoil of the Age of Iron / Can scare that Spirit hence" (1: 438). The speaker claims that despite the era's rapid pursuit of modernity and technology, the melodies of faith hover "But soft, above the noontide heat and burden / Of the stern present" (1: 438). Unlike several other poems in the periodical, which retreat to nature for spiritual rejuvenation, Greenwell's poem brings faith into the city "Far remote from Nature's fair creations, / Within the busy mart and street" (1: 438). The poem concludes with the speaker's assertion that those who remember the traditions of faith displaced or compromised by modernity will be blessed in the afterlife. Greenwell presents a similar argument in her poem "The Blind School" (September 1861; 2: 505), which she published under the initials K. K. T. In this later poem, Greenwell reiterates the presence of God in modern society:

Surely He dwells among us as of yore,

His Spirit works with ours, when SCIENCE turns

From binding fast the elements, and o'er

Neglected childhood years. (2: 505)

The poem speaks of the dual presence of science and God. Secular modernity has not chased away faith; rather, the speaker still has faith in the constant presence of God on earth and the reader's role in ensuring that God's will be done under the "earthly sun" (2: 505). As a product of modernity, the periodical participates in the broader cultural shift noticed in these poems from faith and tradition to science and technology, including the rise of the railway. The poetry and the spiritual content of *Good Words* disrupt this trend, reintroducing society's "traditions of youth" (1: 438) through the modern product of the periodical.

While Greenwell's poems focus on faith in urban centres, the poetry included in the periodical frequently turns to rural and natural settings in its celebration of Christianity. As previously mentioned, nature poems such as "Autumn" and "The Coming of Spring" encourage readers to see and reflect on their faith and God's work in nature. The importance of nature to devotional thought also appears in the periodical's hymns. For example, John S. Blackie's hymn "How Wondrous are Thy Works, O God!" (September 1862; 3: 521–22) describes an active God who treads through his natural creations. The poem's opening stanzas present God as an active presence in the natural world depicted in W. P. Burton's illustration (figure 30). His breath is what shakes the treetops and releases the fragrance of the trees. The speaker describes the movement of the wind as follows:

Where the rich-tressèd birchen-bower

Shakes fragrance round in sunny hour,

Where the rock-rooted pine-trees nod,

Thy breath is there, thou mighty God! (1: 521).

Surrounding the natural landscape of the illustration with exclamatory stanzas that end with the exuberant exclamation “thou mighty God!” (3: 521), Blackie transforms the passive landscape of the image. The landscape becomes enlivened with the poet’s active God, a God whose influence is seen in nature. In many ways, the poem comments on the purpose of nature poetry in *Good Words*: to declare the wondrous presence of the divine. The repeated return to non-urban landscapes throughout the forty-year run of *Good Words* produces an implicit critique of the modern devotional practices associated with urban life. Illustrated nature poems, such as “Autumn,” “The Coming of the Spring,” and “How Wondrous are they Works, O God!,” encourage readers to see and reflect on their faith and God’s work in nature. Though the periodical’s poetry consistently reinforces this appeal to nature as a spiritual prompt, the most striking instance of the natural world acting as a sacred or meditative space is the publication of “August: An Autumn Picture” in 1882 (figure 31). There is no context provided for the image in the periodical, not even a page number. It exists only as a visual text imbued with the meaning of all the poems that came before it as the lessons about reading and devotion contained in over several decades *Good Words* determine the meaning of “August: An Autumn Picture”.

Both the illustrated and unillustrated poems of *Good Words* contribute to the presentation of literature, especially poetry, as a prompt for devotional thought. The poetry in *Good Words* encourages its readers to pause and think about life and faith. As Hughes suggests, “[t]o the degree that poetry generically signified intimations of the universal, the spiritual, and the permanent, poetry could mediate the miscellaneousness

and ephemerality of the periodical itself (“What the *Wellesley* Left Out” 99), and it does so by offering the reader a space for reflection, a break from the relentless information crammed into the columns of closely printed prose (“What the *Wellesley* Left Out” 99). All of the features associated with the periodical poetry of *Good Words*, such as the white margins and the way in which the metrical features of its poetry become part of the periodical’s serial rhythm, contribute to this sense of the universal and the spiritual. Such features are, of course, present in a number of the literary periodicals from the 1860s. What makes *Good Words* unique among the literary periodicals considered in this study is its deliberate promotion of poetry as a meditative space designed for spiritual contemplation. The emphasis on good words in the periodical, including its poems on the topic of interpretation and reading (such as “Little Things” and “Pencil Marks in a Book of Devotion”), presents text, and especially poetic text, as a prompt for spiritual contemplation. The periodical consistently confirms this understanding of literature through its poetry and editorial content. Other religious periodicals, such as *The Quiver* and the *Month*, published very little poetry, focusing on inspirational narratives of Christian behaviour and theological essays. While such theological texts were important vehicles for the circulation of religious ideals, the poetry of *Good Words* models the performance of devotional practices. It teaches its readers how to read literary texts from a Christian vantage point. In effect, the periodical’s consistent presentation of literature as a vehicle for devotional thought redefined the nature of Sabbath reading, arguing that the act of leisure reading could be a devotional act. This approach to the Sabbath question and contemporary practices of leisure reading allowed the periodical to effectively meet the requirements of the periodical markets for both religious and family-friendly

literature. *Good Words* published poems, serial novels, and articles that its readers could experience as either simple religious narratives or as prompts for further devotional thought, fulfilling the promise of the periodical's opening epigraph to provide "good words" that "mean much and cost little."

#### Chapter 4: The Poetics of Popular Poetry in the *Argosy*

In 1865, Alexander Strahan decided to enter the secular literary market with the *Argosy*, inviting the popular poet Isa Craig to edit the periodical. The literary mandate of the *Argosy* responded to the recent rise of sensation fiction, a decidedly *amoral* genre in contrast to the morality privileged in *Good Words*. The scanty amount of critical work available on the *Argosy* tends to focus on the periodical's role in the dissemination of sensation fiction, and such scholarship usually addresses either the scandal associated with Charles Reade's *Griffith Gaunt*, and the concurrent decline of Strahan's publishing empire, or Ellen Wood's subsequent editorship of the periodical.<sup>1</sup> This narrow focus ignores how the poets of the *Argosy* remade the genre of sentimental poetry through their reformulation and subversion of conventional poetic tropes. This chapter approaches the poetry of the *Argosy* through the lens of its poetics, examining how the form and content of the periodical's sentimental poetry challenge the critical dismissal of the genre by contemporary critics as simplistic, marginal, and trite. In her inaugural poem for the periodical, "On Board the *Argosy*" (December 1865; 1: 37–38), Isa Craig defines the

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<sup>1</sup> Reade's scandalous novel prompted scathing criticism. Contemporary reviewers writing for American periodicals condemned *Griffith Gaunt*, calling it an "insult to public morality" (qtd. in Srebrnik 90). When this reception came to England through the *London Review*, Reade responded to his critics via an essay penned for the *New York Times* in which he claimed that his novel did not promote the practice of bigamy; rather, it recorded the devastating consequences of such immoral practices (Srebrnik 90). He then threatened to sue both the *Round Table* and the *London Review* for slander. Reade's eventual lawsuit won the author six American cents. As a result of this scandal, Strahan broke off his professional relationship with Reade, whom he once paid £1,500 to launch the *Argosy* (Srebrnik 91). However, the scandal surrounding Reade was not the only reason for Strahan's lack of success with the *Argosy*. Strahan's publishing company experienced financial difficulties during the mid-sixties, and in July 1866, he was forced to sign an agreement with the firms Spalding and Hodge, and J. S. Virtue and Company for loans of £15,000 and £10,000 respectively. Srebrnik suggests that the deal may have gone even further, seeing Virtue "take over the *Argosy* in exchange for releasing Strahan from a certain portion of his debt" (89). Ultimately, Strahan was unable to cope with the increasing debts of his firm, and he was forced to sell the *Argosy* to Ellen Wood in October 1867. Wood published her popular sensation fiction in the *Argosy* until the end of her career.

periodical's poetics. Craig's poem celebrates the pleasure that imaginative literature can offer its readers. Significantly, the poem's contents suggest that Craig did not believe that such pleasure negated the moral and social role of literature. In "On Board the *Argosy*," the emotions and stories that appear in the popular poetry and prose of the periodical press supplement and support the role of popular literature in developing "the virtues of good neighbourhood" and "daily charities" (1: 37).<sup>2</sup>

Craig's association with the Langham Place Group (hereafter LPG), the Victoria Press, and the LPG's Portfolio Society, put her in contact with successful poets such as Christina Rossetti and Jean Ingelow, who both contributed to the *Argosy*. Women poets such as Rossetti and Ingelow contributed a significant number of poems to the periodicals of the 1860s. For instance, during its first four years on the market (December 1865 to December 1869), the known gender of the *Argosy*'s poets splits evenly between male and female authors, with a total of 36 poems contributed by each. The authorship of 39 poems currently remains undetermined.<sup>3</sup> Strahan's other popular periodical *Good Words* boasts similar numbers, publishing 47 poems by women during this same period (around 48% of the total poems published), while under Thackeray's editorship, the *Cornhill* published eleven poems by female poets (around 25% of the total poems published).<sup>4</sup> What makes

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<sup>2</sup> As argued throughout my thesis, editors of the literary periodicals of the 1860s consistently represented their publications as providing readers with wholesome literature that reflected and perpetuated the domestic, and in the case of *Good Words*, Christian, values of the Victorian middle class.

<sup>3</sup> As with many periodicals, authorial attribution is tricky in the *Argosy* due to the number of poems either unsigned or signed with a set of initials. In my quantitative analysis of gender in the *Argosy*, I only consider a poet male or female once I have confirmed the poet's identity. Nonetheless, the numbers quoted above remain significant, especially when compared to those of competing periodicals such as the *Once a Week* in which only 10% of the poetry appears written by female poets between 2 July 1859 to 30 December 1865.

<sup>4</sup> Significantly, Adelaide Anne Proctor and Elizabeth Barrett Browning account for seven of these poems (four and three, respectively), while Mary Howitt and the deceased Emily and Charlotte Brontë account for the remaining four. The selection of poets in the *Cornhill* suggests that Thackeray was not as invested in promoting amateur women poets as *Good Words* and the *Argosy*.

the *Argosy's* publication of poetry by female poets so important in this relatively female-friendly publishing context is the subject matter and style of this poetry. The women poets of the *Argosy* subverted the traditional tropes associated with feminine poetics in their poetry, modifying, adapting, and challenging the generic labels applied by critics to popular poetry published in the pages of the literary periodical.<sup>5</sup>

My analysis of the *Argosy* unpacks what Caroline Levine calls “the relations between culture and power” (“Scaled Up” 104), arguing that the formal features of the periodical’s poetry, specifically its sentimental subject matter and imagery, subvert the cultural binaries that came to define popular poetry from the era.<sup>6</sup> I am particularly interested in those binaries that position feminine poetics against contemporary definitions of masculine poetry and the cultural against the popular. This critical focus on the formal elements of the periodical’s poetry provides a way to discuss sentimental poetry and women poets without falling back on the defensive language found in much of the critical work published so far on women’s popular poetry. For instance, while Kathryn Ledbetter challenges the critical dismissal of women’s poetry in *British Victorian Women’s Periodicals*, the only book-length study on women’s periodical poetry, at times her work seems uneasy with its object of study due to its emphasis on the ideology of women’s periodicals rather than their poetics. My chapter argues against this critical view of sentimental poetry as either simplistic or valuable only for its thematic

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<sup>5</sup> Such tropes include the heart, the abandoned lover, and the sentimental narrative of the shipwreck.

<sup>6</sup> These cultural binaries are themselves a product of the relationship between culture and power. One way to understand this is through Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital in which the producers and consumers of individual poetry volumes (products of restricted production) claimed cultural superiority over the periodical and the gift book (products of large-scale cultural production). Over time, this belief in the superiority of the products of restricted production became the dominant critical narrative, informing the cultural reception of popular literature. For further information about the application of Bourdieu’s theory to the Victorian publishing industry, see Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing*.

elements, examining how the editorial work of Isa Craig and the poetry of Christina Rossetti and Sarah Williams simultaneously adopt and subvert the connotations commonly associated with the sentimental forms found in the periodical press. My interpretation adopts Isobel Armstrong's concept of the double poem to contend that the seemingly sentimental utterances of these poems become in themselves objects of inquiry.

Craig's representation of literature in "On Board the Argosy" implicitly challenges the cultural assumptions that already informed contemporary Victorian readings of periodical poetry, especially those poems directed to a domestic, largely feminine audience. The poem's second stanza ends with a confirmation of the cultural value of popular poetry. The speaker articulates the periodical's interest in popular literature, privileging light, entertaining texts and the imagination, while also defending the importance of the literary to everyday life:

This little coasting trade let none despise,  
None may dispense with it, and so it should  
Teach us the virtues of good neighbourhood,  
And fetch and carry daily charities. (1: 37)

Though the phrase "little coasting trade" (1: 37) may seem to trivialise periodical literature, Craig's discussion of how literature's "wonder-working words" (1: 38) can teach the reader about virtue and charity affirms the cultural value and power of the literary imagination. Craig's poem thus positions the periodical as carrying and distributing the social and cultural importance of literature, especially through its poetry. Indeed, the poem ends by referring to "these new orphics yet to raise" (1: 38), explicitly

drawing attention to the genre of poetry through the allusion to Orpheus, a poet, musician, and prophet from Greek legend. For Craig, the periodical is indispensable to the development of a virtuous and socially-engaged society, and the central metaphor of both the poem and the periodical, the *Argosy* as ship, emphasises the role of popular literary publications in Victorian culture. Both poem and periodical act as an object of entertainment and a participant in the circulation of cultural values. Craig's repetition of words associated with trade and the movement of goods (*dispense, fetch, and carry*) supports the poem's initial nautical metaphors, linking the periodical as a mass-produced literary product to trade and the dissemination of British culture. For example, at one point, the poem promotes the power of literature to define Britain's national identity and its empire: "Such commerce one great nation makes of men, / The world their city, each a citizen" (1: 37). The periodical, Craig's poem suggests, mimics such patterns of circulation, making it the ideal vessel for containing and transmitting contemporary literature and social ideas.

Craig's allusions to the distribution networks of the periodical, the weight and importance of language, and the commercial aspects of the publishing trade provide evidence of her astute understanding of the literary periodical as a genre. It circulates knowledge, its words define and reaffirm specific social ideologies, and it acts as a repository of the era's literature.<sup>7</sup> For Craig, the "wonder-working words" (1: 38) of literature have power. The alliteration in Craig's discussion of words emphasises the power of language, drawing attention to the very form and sound of the poetic line. These words are "Blown by a breath, and with their fit words freighted, / All up and down the

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<sup>7</sup> For further information about how a literary periodical can script or reaffirm social beliefs and/or positions, see Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader*.

world” (1: 37). Similar to her use of words like *dispense*, *fetch*, and *carry*, Craig’s choice of the word *freighted* to open “On Board the Argosy” acknowledges the poem’s dominant metaphor: the words themselves are contained and circulated through vessels like the *Argosy* and its poetry. But these words are also laden with meaning. The contents of the periodical become both a “wonder-land of dreams” (1: 37) designed to fill moments of leisure and, as previously mentioned, a social tool. The poem’s overt discussion of popular poetry and its cultural and social relevance serves as a reminder that words can, as Craig states, “Still wound, and heal, and make alive, and kill” (1: 38).

“On Board the Argosy” thus positions the ephemeral and popular works of the periodical press as important contributors to the literary culture and social consciousness of mid-Victorian Britain. The publication of Craig’s commentary on popular literature in a literary periodical such as the *Argosy* positions the poem as an implicit response to contemporary debates about women readers, the didactic function of the literary periodical, and the cultural value of art. As I will argue later in this chapter, Rossetti, Ingelow, and Williams similarly respond to contemporary narratives of high and low art and feminine and masculine aesthetics, which are themselves bound up in the commercial forms of the periodical and the gift book and the processes of mechanical production. Their poems implicitly interrogate the conventions of sentimental poetry by testing and subverting the poetic forms associated with the feminine aesthetic of popular poetics. On the surface, their poems seem to overflow with emotion and address sentimental topics such as unrequited love, shipwrecks, and doomed romances. Upon closer examination, however, each poet uses these tropes to tackle very different issues, including religion and the role of the poet. Similar to Barrett Browning’s critique of the poetess tradition in

“L. E. L.’s Last Question,” the poetry of these women deploys the language and forms of sentimental poetry to open a new poetic space for feminine poetics, one that widens the domain of women’s poetry beyond the identity of the poetess.

The periodical context of the *Argosy* complicates how we read these poems. On the one hand, the association of the *Argosy* with sensation literature and women writers encourages the identification of these poems with the sentimental poetics associated with popular culture. This context emphasises the sentimental elements of the periodical’s poetry and encourages the type of dismissive reading practices that led critics to ignore the poetic value of such poetry until recently. However, my thesis argues that when understood as the product of a market that demanded a certain form of poetry from women poets, the poems of the *Argosy* represent Craig’s “fit words freighted” (1: 37). They match the sentimental, sensational, and “feminine” style of poetry privileged by the periodical press while simultaneously putting pressure on the very tropes that defined such poetry. This tension between the expectations of the periodical market and the poet’s personal poetics affected women poets in particular. The literary periodicals of the 1860s represented one of the main outlets for their poetry, and many women poets became associated with the popular press to the detriment of their critical reputations, as I discuss later in this chapter. Craig’s editorial voice and the poetry she solicited for the *Argosy* ultimately argue for the recognition of popular women’s poetry in a market that viewed popular literature as lacking cultural value. The *Argosy* under Isa Craig and, later, Ellen Wood celebrated popular literature and suggested that traditionally feminine forms

of poetry, including sentimental love poems, possessed social, cultural, and political value.<sup>8</sup>

### **Popular Poetry and Sentimental Literature**

The founding of the *Argosy* as a literary periodical that specialised in sensation fiction reflects the changes that occurred in the production and distribution of popular serial fiction and poetry during the nineteenth century. While the development of the serial novel and its shift to the literary periodicals of the 1860s is well documented, the publication history of popular poetry remains understudied, with critics often looking at either the annual, the gift book, or the periodical.<sup>9</sup> However, the critical reception of the popular poetry published in these venues creates a crucial link between these three forms, suggesting that the critical response to the poetry of the annuals influenced and informed the reception of popular periodical poetry twenty years later. In her work on popular poetry, Lorraine Janzen Kooistra uses Arthur Henry Hallam's review of Tennyson's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* (1831) to trace the critical origins of this response to popular illustrated poetry. She argues that the first sentence of Hallam's review, which sneers at the prolonged success of "Mr. Montgomery's *Oxford*, by the help of some pretty illustrations" (Hallam 616), is "critical to his argument and instructive to our understanding of poetry's place in nineteenth-century visual culture" (*Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 34). Kooistra contends that Hallam's response to the illustrated

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<sup>8</sup> The literary focus of the *Argosy* sets the periodical apart from its competitors, whose poetry often refers to the specific cultural and social narratives privileged by each individual publication such as religion in *Good Words* or the middle-class family in *Once a Week*.

<sup>9</sup> This is beginning to change. Kooistra's *Poetry, Pictures, and Publishing* links the periodical press to the gift book in a number of ways from the periodical's role in establishing the popular appeal of the gift book through reviews to the gift book's insistence that poetry and pictures belong together, a trend that filtered into the illustrated periodicals of the period.

poetry of Montgomery “frames his subsequent argument for modern poetry” and signals Hallam’s preference for “verbal over visual culture, high over popular art” (*Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 34, 35). Hallam expresses his preference through the binary he establishes between “poetry with pictures and picturesque poetry” (*Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 35). The former encourages a passive reading experience “where the point of view is realized for the reader by means of steel-engraved views” (Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 35), while the latter emphasises the poetic skill of the author and encourages the intellectual engagement of the reader. In Hallam’s mind, the rise of visual culture and illustrated poetry in particular threatened the rhetorical power of picturesque poetry, and Kooistra links Hallam’s disdain for popular illustrated works such as that of Montgomery to Tennyson’s unease with the illustration of his work at mid-century.

Hallam’s article on Tennyson’s poetry constructs a binary between those poets who “seek for images to illustrate their conceptions,” reflecting on the scene before them be it a natural landscape or an illustration, and those who have “no need to seek” because they live “in a world of images” (617). However, Hallam’s critique of popular literature does not rest solely on the visual culture of the period. Rather, it relies on an understanding of culture that privileges active reading and poetic experimentation:

Since [. . .] this demand on the reader for activity, when he wants to peruse his author in a luxurious passiveness, is the very thing that moves his bile, it is obvious that those writers will always be the most popular who require the least degree of exertion. Hence what is mixed up with art, and appears under its semblance, is always more favorably regarded than art free and unalloyed. Hence half the

fashionable poems in the world are mere rhetoric, and half the remainder are, perhaps, not liked by the generality for their substantial merits. (619)

For Hallam, then, the lack of experimentation and variation seen in popular poems defines the difference he identifies between popular poetry and that which possesses cultural value. This reliance on conventional forms and rhetoric, Hallam suggests, leads to a passive reading experience.<sup>10</sup> Literary and cultural critics reinterpreted and rearticulated the aesthetic promoted by Hallam's argument throughout the century (Armstrong, *Victorian Poetry* 38). For instance, such discussions about art and the need for close, careful reading reappear in texts as disparate as John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* (1851–53), Matthew Arnold's "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" (November 1864), Emily Davies's *The Higher Education of Women* (1866), and essays on English at the universities by William Morris, John Addington Symonds, Walter Pater, Matthew Arnold, and J. A. Froude (1886–87). As these examples suggest, Hallam's judgement of popular poetry stuck, and the commercial reality of the literary market continued to support his argument into the 1860s.<sup>11</sup> Illustrated annuals, gift books, and literary periodicals dominated the early to mid-Victorian poetry markets, and the processes of mass production associated with these publications affected the cultural value of the poetry they published. As Kooistra notes, the poetry published in these texts became associated with middlebrow culture (*Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing*

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<sup>10</sup> For a discussion about nineteenth-century definitions of culture and how Hallam and John Stuart Mill contributed to contemporary debates about culture, politics, and the role of the intellectual, see part one "Conservative and Benthamite Aesthetics of the Avant-Garde" in Armstrong, *Victorian Poetry*.

<sup>11</sup> Carol T. Christ discusses the influence of Hallam and John Stuart Mill in depth in "Introduction: Victorian Poetics."

53) as a product designed for the generic middle-class reader.<sup>12</sup> Such texts represent the “luxurious passiveness” that Hallam disdained (619). The gift book was meant to act as a coffee-table book, and both it and the literary periodical of the 1860s were meant to be read at times of leisure. Yet, the complexity of the poetic forms found in the periodical press, especially their interaction with other cultural forms, belies the passivity suggested by Hallam’s reading of popular poetry. The same is true of the popular poetry written by women poets.<sup>13</sup>

Only recently have critics begun to evaluate popular poetry on its own merits, often focusing on the preeminent poetesses of the early nineteenth century: Felicia Hemans and Letitia Elizabeth Landon (L. E. L.).<sup>14</sup> Hemans and Landon inaugurated a feminine tradition of poetry based on the sentimental and didactic poetry they produced for their domestic audiences. For the remainder of the century, women poets responded to and frequently revised the poetic tradition established by Hemans and Landon, often writing elegies to their perceived foremothers. As Armstrong notes, “[e]ven when there seems no direct link between these earlier and later writers, it does seem as if they worked within a recognisable tradition understood by them to belong to women” (*Victorian Poetry* 323). The literary genealogy begun with Hemans and Landon defined women’s poetry in light of the poetess model. The shadow of their critical reputation as poetesses and purveyors of sentimental, popular second-rate poetry best suited for women writers and readers

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<sup>12</sup> Tennyson was not immune, and in 1857, Edward Moxon published an illustrated edition of Tennyson’s poems intending to capitalise on the Christmas market, essentially aligning Tennyson’s *Poems* with the marketing strategy of Montgomery’s *Oxford* and the literary annuals of the 1830s. Though the project was a failure, it is a reminder that a popular market existed alongside the more restricted market for unadorned poetry volumes.

<sup>13</sup> As Armstrong notes, “[i]t is harder to see what is going on among women poets because they do not work within male traditions” (*Victorian Poetry* 39).

<sup>14</sup> For further information, see Lawford, Leighton, and Vincent.

hung over subsequent women poets. It defined the market for their poetry, implicitly reinforcing cultural binaries of high and low art, masculine and feminine literature.<sup>15</sup>

The definition of women's poetry as sentimental, and thus perfectly suited to the periodical press, served to group women's poetry into a single, easily dismissed category positioned against the more culturally-valued masculine poetics, which was seen to focus on philosophy, politics, and theological questions. For critics such as Armstrong and Ledbetter, the assimilation of a distinctly feminine aesthetic by female poets contributes to a genre of women's writing that subverts gendered forms of poetry from within, creating a version of the double poem, one defined by women's voices.<sup>16</sup> Armstrong suggests that "[t]he simpler the surface of the poem, the more likely it is that a second and more difficult poem will exist beneath it" (*Victorian Poetry* 324). This is especially true of periodical poetry, which has historically been dismissed as superficial and trite.<sup>17</sup> The patterns found in such poetry gesture towards the types of complex gendered discourses suggested by Armstrong and Ledbetter. A closer examination of the popular poetry published in the *Argosy* proves false the critical binaries that defined Victorian poetry for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries such as the binary of feminine and masculine poetics noted above. Contrary to these previously accepted histories of Victorian poetry, women's poetry, including that of Isa Craig, Christina Rossetti, and Sarah Williams, is part of the era's poetics rather than an inferior subgenre. Significantly, though work on the literary annuals of the 1820s and 1830s confirms that women poets

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<sup>15</sup> For women poets, succeeding in the gift book and periodical market "elevated [their] poetic stature" (Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 177), identifying them as the preeminent poets for a particular genre of poetry: the sentimental and commercial. For poets like Tennyson "it had the opposite effect" (Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing* 177).

<sup>16</sup> See Armstrong, *Victorian Poetry* and Ledbetter, *British Victorian Women's Periodical*.

<sup>17</sup> See Hughes, "What the *Wellesley* Left Out."

used the periodical press and popular poetry to engage in contemporary debates about cultural value, gender, and identity, no one has looked at how the popular poetry of the mid-century produced a contemporary feminine poetics defined both through and against conventional representations of the Victorian poetess and her sentimental poems. The next section of this chapter examines how the periodical poetry of the *Argosy* participates in this reformulation of sentimental poetics and the mid-Victorian poetess.

### **“This little coasting trade”: Isa Craig, Christina Rossetti, and Feminine Poetics**

The juxtaposition of the critical reception of Craig’s work against her acceptance both within the LPG network and among the readers of the era’s popular literary periodicals emphasises the cultural binaries at play in mid-century constructions of femininity and authorship. Such binaries influenced the cultural definition of the woman poet and women’s poetry as a genre. Isa Craig was one of the most prolific female poets in the Victorian era, publishing her poetry in a variety of periodicals such as the *Scotsman*, the *Waverley*, the *English Woman’s Journal*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy*.<sup>18</sup> Yet, despite the fact that she was popular in the periodical press and an influential member of the LPG, her work and biography remain largely neglected by critics today. Nineteenth-century reviews of Craig’s poetry provide a potential reason for this lack of a critical response to her poetic output. Her reviewers consistently define her work as popular poetry with no literary substance, damning her poetry with a faint praise that isolates her from the poets and poetesses of the period. A review in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* makes this

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<sup>18</sup> She published three poems in the *Argosy*: “On Board the Argosy” (December 1865; 1: 37–38), “Fair Play” (February 1866; 1: 241), and “The Vision of Sheik Hamil” (May 1866; 1: 500–03).

attitude apparent. It describes her award-winning ode to Burns, which composed for a poetry competition celebrating his centenary, as

good, [though it] has none of that impulsive, illicit outburst which betrays the inspiration of the moment. It is both too good and too bad for an impromptu. It has the heroic look of armour that has been polished, and none of the homeliness of those deep but death-strokes which are made with homely weapons.

The review is unable to define her. Although the author deploys terms and phrases traditionally used to describe the poetry of the poetess such as *impulsive*, *illicit outburst*, *inspiration of the moment*, and *impromptu*, he or she ultimately decide that Craig's poetry does not fit the criteria assigned to the poetess. Instead, the poem has what the author calls a "heroic look of armour," suggesting a link between Craig's ode and the masculine poetics of the period. The reviewer is obviously uncomfortable with this reading of Craig's poem, viewing the poem as an aberration of sorts: a poem written by a woman that does not entirely follow the conventions of feminine poetry. By the end of the review, Craig is neither poetess nor poet, neither good nor bad, just popular.<sup>19</sup>

Nonetheless, while her critics dismissed her, Craig did play an important role in the growth and circulation of popular poetry written by female authors. For example, as part of the LPG, Craig participated in the Portfolio Society, which established a literary connection between herself and figures such as Adelaide Anne Procter (another prolific periodical poet, mostly active in the 1850s), Jean Ingelow, and Christina Rossetti. Of the sixty poems published under Craig's editorship at the *Argosy*, at least sixteen percent

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<sup>19</sup> Gerald Massey's 1865 review of Craig's *Duchess Agnes* for the *Athenaeum* anticipates Craig's lack of poetic stature. He writes, "Miss Craig now presents us with a book of verse which will certainly give her a place among the sisterhood of living singers, whether or not she may win and wear a wreath." As history shows, Craig never wins the wreath.

were written by poets associated with the LPG, including Parkes, Ingelow, and Rossetti.<sup>20</sup> Craig's personal and professional networks thus defined the poetry of the *Argosy* and contributed to the periodical's reformulation of feminine poetics as her editorship brought together a number of women poets interested in exploring and expanding the boundaries traditionally assigned to their work.

Christina Rossetti's "Twilight Night" (January 1868; 5: 103) is ideally suited to a discussion of feminine poetics in the periodical press, and the complexity of Rossetti's images, particularly her use of Reserve in a periodical context far removed from devotional poetics, supports the contention made throughout my thesis that periodical poetry participated in the broader world of Victorian poetics.<sup>21</sup> As discussed in my previous chapter on *Good Words*, the Tractarian poetics of Reserve and Analogy called for active reading and interpretation as well as an awareness of Christian symbols, theology, and scripture. In effect, the concepts of Reserve and Analogy create a version of Armstrong's double poem, reinforcing my argument that the popular poetry of the *Argosy* contains a more difficult poem underneath its surface sentimentality. Rossetti's poem thus demonstrates how periodical poetry is both intratextual, engaging with texts within the periodical itself, and intertextual, engaging with texts and traditions outside the periodical. Rossetti's poem was published as part of the first issue printed under Ellen Wood's name, acting as a bridge between Ellen Wood's *Argosy* and that of Isa Craig, who solicited Rossetti's contributions. The two-part poem takes up a full page. Rossetti

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<sup>20</sup> There is evidence to suggest that Craig was in contact with Dante Gabriel Rossetti about Christina Rossetti's contributions to the *Argosy* (Chapman and Meacock 151), and Christina did write to Craig about a potential contribution for Craig's poetry volume in response to the Lancashire Distress on 13 November 1862.

<sup>21</sup> While I am only discussing "Twilight Night" at any length in this chapter, Rossetti published two more poems in the *Argosy*: "Who Shall Deliver Me?" (March 1866; 1: 288) and "If" (March 1866; 1: 336).

initially composed part one on 26 August 1864 and part two on 25 June 1863, but the two poems were combined as one for publication in the *Argosy*.<sup>22</sup> The separation of the poem into two distinct parts draws attention to the ways in which Rossetti puts pressure on a variety of poetic tropes. For instance, the first section of the poem puts pressure on the image of clasped hands as a symbol of connection:

We met, hand to hand,  
 We clasped hands close and fast,  
 As close as oak and ivy stand;  
 But it is past:  
 Come day, come night, day comes at last.

We loosed hand from hand,  
 We parted face from face;  
 Each went his way to his own land  
 At his own pace,  
 Each went to fill his separate place.

If we should meet one day,  
 If both should not forget,  
 We shall clasp hands the accustomed way,  
 As when we met  
 So long ago, as I remember yet. (5: 103)

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<sup>22</sup> The first part of the poem “originally comprised lines 71–85 of the notebook version of ‘Songs in a Cornfield’” (Crump 3: 306).

The image of clasped hands appears throughout the poem. The parallel structure of the first two lines of the first two stanzas emphasises both the image and the action. The first stanza does not end with the joining of two figures; it begins with this act, which the second stanza then rends asunder. The repetition of words such as *each*, *own*, *his*, and *separate* in the second stanza stresses the moment of separation as does the speaker's description of the act, which documents each moment of the parting. The singular pronoun in the second stanza's final line, "Each went to fill *his* separate place" (5: 103, emphasis mine), serves to support the stanza's sense of separation. It also functions to destabilise the image of the clasped hands. The repetition of the masculine pronoun *his* suggests that the moment described could be something other than a meeting between lovers.

The conditional *ifs* of the final stanza further disrupt the connection forged at the beginning of the poem's first section, continuing its problematisation of the clasped hands. The repeated *ifs* in "Twilight Night" are reminiscent of the conditional tense that defines Rossetti's "If" (March 1866; 1: 336), which appeared in the *Argosy* alongside an illustration by Frederick Sandys.<sup>23</sup> On a thematic level, both "Twilight Night" and "If" capture a speaker waiting for the return of a loved one. This is especially true in the second half of "Twilight Night," which opens, "Where my heart is (wherever that may be) / Might I but follow" (5: 103). The speakers of both poems suggest a pose of waiting and longing. Though I will return to "Twilight Night" in a moment, I first want to pause over the poetics of waiting in Rossetti's "If," which initially depicts this pose as

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<sup>23</sup> The majority of Sandys's best illustrations appeared in mid-Victorian periodicals, reinforcing the artistic status of black-and-white illustration in the 1860s. He was considered an accomplished member of the Pre-Raphaelite's outer circle.

containing a measure of hope. The repetition and metre of the poem's opening lines, especially the emphatic rising iambs of "to-day, to-day, to-day, / O, what a day to-day would be!" (1: 336), begin the poem with a sense of hopeful anticipation; the iambs keep the reader moving forward, punctuated with an exclamation mark. This sense of forward momentum continues in the second stanza, which begins, "O, little bird, flying, flying, flying, / To your nest in the warm west" (1: 336). The structural similarity between these two lines suggests that the remainder of the poem will follow this seemingly established pattern. However, Rossetti immediately counters this uplifting metre. Though the following stanzas continue to modify the traditional ballad metre, Rossetti disrupts the pattern of repetition in the third stanza, reintroducing it in the fourth only to emphasise the coldness of death, a definite departure from the tone suggested by the poem's opening lines. Sandys cannot capture the poem's formal complexities, particularly the way its metre and rhyme are at odds with its concluding image of death. Rather, the illustration for "If" relies on the poem's initial depiction of the waiting woman (figure 33). The strong and sensual figure of Sandys's illustrated woman dominates and defines the landscape as she gazes out to sea, just as the illustration dominates and defines the poem as a Pre-Raphaelite text. In particular, Sandys's illustration links Rossetti's poem to a specific visual trope associated with Pre-Raphaelite art: women's hair.<sup>24</sup> Sandys takes this trope one step further in "If." He emphasises the sensuality of women's hair by depicting the waiting woman of Rossetti's poem as sucking on her tresses. Sandys repeats

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<sup>24</sup> Illustrations that include the Pre-Raphaelite trope of hair include Dante Gabriel Rossetti's "The Maids of Elfin-Mere," "The Place of Art," and his illustrations for *Goblin Market* (see Goldman 14–17). Arthur Hughes also composed some images featuring this trope (see Goldman 81).

this sensual imagery in his illustration for “Helen and Cassandra” (figure 34), published one month after Rossetti’s poem in *Once a Week*.<sup>25</sup>

In my chapter on *Once a Week*, I discussed how Millais’s illustrations impose a specific narrative of femininity onto their accompanying poems. Sandys’s depiction of the iconic Pre-Raphaelite woman similarly overlays the verbal text with the visual. His illustration captures the main narrative action of the poem, the speaker gazing out to sea, at the expense of the poem’s formal and thematic complexity. The image overwrites the poem in that same way that the perceptions of sentimental literature overwrite the aesthetic form of such poetry. The pose of the contemplative, lovelorn figure (in this case a woman) waiting to reunite with her lover becomes the pose of the speaker, and this pose, which appears on the title page of the periodical’s midsummer volume, becomes representative of the sentimental speakers that appear throughout the *Argosy* (figure 35). The verbal echo of *if* in Rossetti’s “Twilight Night” extends this connection beyond the *Argosy*’s first issues. The periodical context links the two poems, associating the female speaker of the latter poem with traditional sentimental narratives. However, the form of “Twilight Night” rejects such assumptions because the first section of the poem contradicts the cliché of a passive woman waiting for her beloved. The speaker’s assertion that “Each went to fill his separate place” (5: 103) implies action on the part of both the speaker and his or her companion, disrupting the conventional depiction of a

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<sup>25</sup> The poem documents Cassandra’s invective against Helen at the fall of Troy, and it includes a reference to Helen chewing on her hair: “Ay, gnaw well that tress, it hath coiled round the heart / Of the brave and good—it hath strangled the bold” (1: 455). For Cassandra, the speaker at this moment, Helen’s seductive beauty, symbolised by her golden hair, brought destruction and death to Troy. Richards anticipates this connection between Helen’s golden hair and destruction in the opening lines of the poem, which compare the flames of the burning city to a lion’s mane: “The rush and the roar and the leap and the curl / Of flames, like the manes of great lions adrift, / Their fierce trisling terror and volleying whirl!” (1: 454).

woman waiting for and/or betrayed by her lover. *Each* figure sets out to find his/her own place, equally and separately.

The second section of “Twilight Night,” which presents readers with a speaker similar to that found in “If,” also resists a conventional reading of the poem as sentimental. Here, Rossetti relies on the numerous metaphorical connotations of the word *heart* to undermine any superficial reading of her poem. The second section opens with the following stanza:

Where my heart is (wherever that may be)  
 Might I but follow!  
 If you fly thither over heath and lea,  
 O honey-seeking bee,  
 O careless swallow,  
 Bid some for whom I watch keep watch for me. (5: 103)

On the surface, Rossetti’s use of the word *heart* locates the poem in the sentimental tradition. It acts as a symbol of love and the beloved amplified by the speaker’s plea to the poetic tropes of the swallow and the bee. The speaker bids these tokens of love to inspire a similar yearning in her beloved; the bee and the swallow bear the burden of love and emotion in the poem, which then quickly moves on to describe the speaker’s perpetual waiting.<sup>26</sup> However, the poetic trope of the heart has two potential registers of meaning: the sentimental and the devotional. This is especially true for Victorian women writers such as Christina Rossetti. Critics and readers expected female poets to write from the heart and produce affective and frequently devotional poetry. In her work on

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<sup>26</sup> I am identifying the speaker of the poem as a woman based on the tradition that reads women’s lyric poetry as representing women’s voices.

Victorian poetics of the heart, Kirstie Blair argues that Christina Rossetti's poetry requires this kind of bifocal understanding of the poetic heart (159).<sup>27</sup> "Twilight Night" is at once a sentimental poem and devotional text, shaped by Rossetti's faith and her participation in the practices of the Oxford Movement.

The Oxford Movement understood the heart as essential to the experience of faith but only insofar as the heart was "shaped and disciplined by God and Church rather than dictating faith itself" (Blair 154).<sup>28</sup> As discussed in chapter three, one of the chief tenants of this movement was the principle of Reserve, which Mark Knight and Emma Mason describe as "encoding religious knowledge in poetry" (101). According to Tractarian doctrine, "God's scriptural laws should remain hidden to all but the faithful. Devotional writing and biblical exegesis alike [. . .] present religious truth using metaphor, figure, and allegory in a manner only the initiated believer could understand" (Knight and Mason 101). In "Twilight Night," the potential religious connotations of Rossetti's images and metaphors are only available to those who understand the language of Christian typology. What makes Rossetti's application of Reserve and Analogy so interesting is that it appears in a decidedly secular periodical as opposed to a religious publication such as *Good Words*. The context of the *Argosy* imposes a sense of affective or sentimental poetics onto the poem; however, the heart, the bee, and the swallow have religious connotations. In Christian symbolism, the heart represents the centre of spiritual

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<sup>27</sup> Citing Diane D'Amico's work on Rossetti and Keble, Blair describes how Rossetti "chose to underline many of Keble's references to the heart and its sufferings, suggesting that she felt these had some personal relevance to her, as a High Church advocate, a poet, and perhaps particularly as a female poet" (159). Blair is referring to D'Amico's 1987 essay in *Victorian Newsletter*, "Christina Rossetti's *Christian Year*: Comfort for the 'Weary Heart.'"

<sup>28</sup> Blair notes that the increasing lack of trust in the heart and the reliability of feeling were mirrored in Victorian crises of faith and religious doubt (1).

activity, the place where salvation occurs; the bee represents Christian diligence and eloquence; and the swallow represents the Incarnation of Jesus and the resurrection through its migration patterns (the birds reappear each spring like the Christian celebration of Easter) (Ferguson 12; 25–26). Once these Christian connotations are applied, the poem becomes bifocal in nature. It is a poem both about two lovers and about faith and the speaker's desire to reunite with Christ in heaven, a theme that frequently appears in devotional poetry. The potential religious connotations of the poem create what Armstrong would characterise as a second and more difficult poem, emphasising the tension that exists between the sentimental aesthetic associated with periodical literature and the poetic theories associated with the Oxford Movement.

Rossetti fills her poem with the “fit words freighted” (1: 37) referenced by Craig in her inaugural poem “On Board the Argosy.” These words allow “Twilight Night” to resist the conventions of sentimental poetry, demonstrating how poets such as Rossetti could work within a tradition but also subvert it from within through form and language. Another example of such subversion is the poetry of Jean Ingelow, whom Rossetti admired.<sup>29</sup> Ingelow's “The Coming in of the ‘Mermaiden,’” published in the June 1866 issue of the *Argosy*, rewrites the heroic or folkloric narrative of the ballad form, turning the supernatural and the legendary into the commonplace. Ingelow accomplishes this transformation by delaying the celebration of *The Mermaiden*'s homecoming until the final line of the penultimate stanza, while the speaker's description of the scene, which includes words such as *sea-ghost* and *fancied*, raises questions about the possibly supernatural nature of what he or she witnessed that night. Until the sun rises, the ship

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<sup>29</sup> See letters 204, 225, 236 in *The Letters of Christina Rossetti* edited by Antony H. Harrison.

floats between “dusk and dawn” (2: 52), implying that it is suspended between the living and the dead. Finally, the concluding note of tempered optimism closing the poem inverts the sentimental narrative of the doomed shipwreck. It does not allow for a narrative of loss and sorrow, since “For once, the best is come, that hope / Promised them ‘tomorrow’” (2: 52). Ingelow’s poem thus suggests that there are alternatives to the traditional sentimental stereotypes even as her poem plays with sentimental ideas of loss and shipwreck.

These poems by Rossetti and Ingelow subvert the conventions of sentimental poetry to produce a new poetics, one defined both through and against conventional representations of the Victorian poetess and her sentimental poems. In the Victorian periodical, women poets adopted the established conventions of women’s poetry to develop what Armstrong calls “a ‘music’ of their own” (*Victorian Poetry* 323). Armstrong suggests that readers can access this music by listening for the dissonances in women’s poetry. These discordant moments come from an interrogation of the feminine conventions that contemporary critics imposed on women poets such as the poetess tradition. For Armstrong, this examination of poetic traditions occurs even when women poets are working within the feminine modality associated with nineteenth-century women’s poetry. Reading the poetry of Rossetti and Ingelow within the sentimental context of the *Argosy* highlights these discordant moments, revealing how such poets manipulated the language and conventions of sentimental poetry in order to challenge critical perceptions of women’s poetry. Moreover, the periodical print context of established poets such as Rossetti highlights the slippery boundaries between popular and established poets as it places canonical alongside now-forgotten poets. The *Argosy*

provides a new context for reading the poetry of the canonical poets it published, ultimately highlighting how popular literature worked within the same literary traditions and structures as the “poetic” in the mid-Victorian era.

### **“Wonder-working words”: The Popular Poetry of Sarah Williams**

Of all the poetry published in the *Argosy* between December 1865 and December 1869, the contributions of Sarah Williams most exemplify the experimental and complex nature of the periodical’s poems. A young female poet from a solidly middle-class family, Williams met Alexander Strahan in the 1860s. Strahan added her to his stable of periodical contributors shortly thereafter, and her work appeared in several of his popular periodicals, including *Good Words*, *Sunday Magazine*, and the *Argosy*. All of Williams’s periodical poems appear under the pseudonym S. A. D. I. or Sadie. Strahan also published her only poetry volume, *Twilight Hours: A Legacy in Verse*, in April 1868. Its biographical preface, titled “Memoir” and composed by her mentor, E. H. Plumptre, represents the whole of Williams’s literary legacy, providing the most authoritative narrative of Williams’s life, albeit one cobbled together from her poetry, Plumptre’s memories, and her correspondence.<sup>30</sup> In effect, this book defines Williams’s poetic persona. For example, in his entry on Williams for Alfred Miles’s late nineteenth-century encyclopaedia, *The Poets and Poetry of the Century*, Alex H. Japp defines *Twilight Hours* as a book “from a woman’s heart” (7: 582), linking the volume to Williams’s body and the cultural pose of the poetess, a figure understood to produce simple, spontaneous,

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<sup>30</sup> These excerpts represent the only published record of her correspondence.

and sentimental poetry from the heart. Japp thus inserts Williams into the poetess tradition, isolating her from the era's male poets and the realm of high art. The structure of Miles's work supports this division. He removes women poets from the encyclopedia's general chronology, which begins with George Crabbe and ends with an entry on William Morris, and creates a specific chronology of women poets. He also creates separate volumes for those poets who write humorous poetry, parodies, occasional poems, and sacred or religious poetry. The separation of male poets from women poets and poets of humorous or religious verse aligns the encyclopedia with contemporary conceptions of cultural value, demonstrating, once again, how the critical discourses of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries constructed binaries between high/low and masculine/feminine art. However, even as her biographers defined Williams as a poetess, their descriptions of the poet also served to unsettle any attempt to limit Williams's poetic identity.<sup>31</sup> Her main biographer and mentor, Plumtre, identified something deeper in Williams, "a soul working its way through the problems of life as they present themselves to all thinkers, bearing bravely also some special burden of its own" (xiii). The inclusion of Williams among "all thinkers" positions her as part of the broader cultural world, including the iconic poetess, while the reference to her "special burden" alludes to the originality of her poetic voice.

One way to understand the paradoxical position occupied by Williams in such criticism is through her Welsh heritage.<sup>32</sup> The popular and sensational poems she wrote

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<sup>31</sup> For example, Plumtre's description of Williams emphasises the "naturalness" and "spontaneity" of her poems, likening them to "the utterance of one who sang 'as the birds do,' because the song was in her" (viii).

<sup>32</sup> The narrative of Williams as a Welsh poet is supported both by her biography (Williams was born into a Welsh family living in London) and an essay written about Williams for *Good Words* after her death. Describing one of her 'Welsh' poems ("O Fy Hen Gynraeg!"), the anonymous author writes: "Sadie, too,

for the *Argosy* include numerous references to her Welsh ancestry, and through these references, Williams simultaneously comments on the restrictions placed on the periodical poet and pushes the boundaries of popular poetic forms. Though Williams spent her life in London, she spoke Welsh, and she frequently visited Wales with her Welsh-born parents on family vacations. Both Catherine Brennan and Elisabeth Jay agree that Williams valued her Welsh ancestry, “retain[ing] profound emotional links with the country” (Brennan 5) and “attribut[ing] her poetic talent” to her Welsh background.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, in the only modern critical examination of Williams’s poetry, Brennan reads Williams as a Welsh poet, using the poet’s biography and her emphasis on language and exile in “O Fy Hen Gymraeg” (“O [for a word of] mine own old Welsh”) to read “The Doom of the Prynnes” as a Welsh text. The publication of both texts in the poetry volume *Twilight Hours* supports Brennan’s reading of the thematic similarities between both texts; the context provides the connection. However, as I will discuss, “The Doom of the Prynnes” first appeared in the *Argosy*, and this original publication context complicates Brennan’s argument. Nonetheless, Brennan’s identification of Williams’s poems as responses to and reiterations of the broader cultural narrative of the exiled Welsh person provide an important reading of Williams’s poem. Her reading opens up a discussion of national identity, poetic forms, and what Matthew Campbell calls the *poetry of the four nations*: England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. For Campbell, the geographical boundaries that define the four nations are mirrored by “the generic borders of romance

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with her keen sense and her warm Welsh temperament, could throw a halo round the patriotic sentiment” (9: 382).

<sup>33</sup> There is no evidence of Williams publishing her poetry in the Welsh press. Her entire poetic career appears to have been linked to her business relationship with Alexander Strahan and his London-based periodicals. For further information, see Jay.

and epic, lyric and ballad, [which . . .] contribute to the great synthetic genres of the Romantic and Victorian recreation of all things Arthurian in poetry, fiction and art, through John Keats, Walter Scott, Tennyson, Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning, the Pre-Raphaelites, Algernon Swinburne and William Morris” (446). Campbell’s observation about the synthetic nature of Arthurian literature in the nineteenth century can be applied to Victorian poetry as a whole and to Williams’s poetry in particular. As I will show, the serial poems that Williams’s published in the *Argosy* are hybrid texts that merge genres and challenge poetic conventions.

“The Doom of the Prynnes,” published in three parts from March to May 1867, and “A Poet’s Moods,” published in two parts from September to October 1867, both appeared in the *Argosy* as serial poems, a formal feature lost when one reads “The Doom of the Prynnes” in *Twilight Hours*. Their publication as serial texts participates in the rise of serially published poems in the 1860s, though narrative serial poems are rare in the literary periodicals I examined for my thesis.<sup>34</sup> By adopting serial publication, poets were able to align their work with the popular literature of the period through the familiar formal features of the serial, and unlike the short lyrics privileged by many periodicals, serial poems could not be misunderstood as filler. More importantly, the collision of genres and styles in serial poems defies the notion of a pure poetic genre. In his study of novel poetry, Dino Felluga posits that “ultimately [. . .] there is no such thing as a pure poetry, no such thing as a poetry that does not engage the historical, cultural, and

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<sup>34</sup> Coventry Patmore published the final three parts of his famous serial poem *The Angel of the House* under the title “The Victories of Love” in *Macmillan’s Magazine* in 1861 (Hughes and Lund 17), William Allingham serialized his poem *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* from November 1862 to November 1863 in *Fraser’s Magazine* (Hughes and Lund 89), and between October 1867 and 1872, *Good Words* published five serial poems, including a series of verse dramas by Ellen (Mrs. Henry) Wood (*Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*).

technological changes of its time” (494). The serial poems of the 1860s are inextricably bound up in the cultural and technological changes of the era, changes that led to the production of serial literature and the increasing popularity of the periodical press. Williams’s “The Doom of the Prynnes” demonstrates how Victorian poets used popular narrative forms to market their poetry, to align their texts with the familiar tropes of popular literature, and to challenge basic cultural assumptions, including contemporary and modern conceptions of history and the conventions of poetic form.<sup>35</sup> Through “The Doom of the Prynnes,” Williams explores the formal and cultural problems facing the poet, namely the critical perception of popular poetry as inferior to and derivative of that composed by poets who do not write for the periodical press.

In brief, “The Doom of the Prynnes” is a narrative poem told from the perspective of a young girl named Elin. Williams begins the poem (March 1867; 3: 295–99) with a description of the Prynne family’s decaying home. This initial description of the family home foreshadows both the narrative structure and the intertextual complexities of the poem. From this description of the Prynne household unfolds a melodramatic narrative centred on Elin’s two cousins, Agnes and Mark. From this point on, the poem lays the burden of the declining Prynnes on the shoulders of Agnes and Mark, who represent a sense of salvation and despair, respectively. The second part of the poem (April 1867; 3: 339–42) opens with Mark lamenting that he must write what his publishers want, even if this goes against his conscience. Immediately after the realism of this moment, the mad

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<sup>35</sup> Arguably the most famous serial poem of this period is Robert Browning’s *The Ring and The Book*, which was published in four instalments between 1868 and 1869. For further information about *The Ring and the Book* as a serial text, see Hughes and Lund, *The Victorian Serial* (chapter three: “Living in History”).

figure of Mark's mother enters the room, casting a pall over the poem as she utters a Gothic curse:

A Prynne can only love a Prynne:

Doom one.

A Prynne who weds a Prynne, weds Death:

Doom two.

A Prynne who weds not Death goes mad, like me:

Doom three. (2: 340)

The remainder of this section finds the three cousins, Elin, Agnes, and Mark, recovering from this pronouncement. The poem's final section (May 1867; 3: 435–38) opens with a direct reference to the second serial part as the curse begins to take hold of Mark. It ends with Mark's and Agnes's simultaneous declarations of love as the home's ancestral tree falls, shaking the foundations of the house and causing a beam to fall on the couple. The end of the poem thus fulfils two conditions of the curse: Agnes and Mark love only each other, and though they do not marry, their love at the end of the poem weds them to each other and death.

The serialisation of the poem forges a significant structural connection between the poem and the era's popular literature even as the poem rejects the homogeneity suggested by the poem's linear narrative structure. The poem melds genres (serial/periodical publication, blank verse, ballad forms, and Gothic tropes), expressing the hybridity of Williams's London and Welsh identities through form. As previously mentioned, Williams occupies a liminal space. She participates in the London literary market and is the product of a London education, but she also views her poetic talent as the legacy of

her Welsh heritage. Her poem is similarly a hybrid, combining Welsh names and narratives of exile and Gothic tropes with references to modern publishing practices. The hybridity of the text complicates the poem's themes of Welsh exile, marginalisation, and nationhood, confirming and expanding Brennan's reading of the poem. Williams consolidates a number of competing contemporary narratives in "The Doom of the Prynnes," constructing a complex text that alludes to narratives of British and Welsh nationalism while also commenting on the challenges and realities of modernity and literary culture. In effect, the poem is a curious tissue of quotations, containing numerous intertextual allusions to British and, as I shall discuss in a bit later, American literary texts and traditions. This intertextuality ultimately destabilises the poem, allowing it to resist any attempt to easily classify its genre, form, and theme.

This is particularly evident in the second part of the poem (published in April 1867), which opens with a realistic depiction of the financial concerns of the mid-Victorian poet. Mark, the speaker's cousin and Agnes's love interest, complains about writing against his conscience as an artist to serve the press and make money. The poem's narrator, Elin, tells the reader that "Mark wrote too much and hated what he wrote" (2: 339). He resents the assignments given to him by the editors of the periodical press. These require him to write saleable news in which he must "Sneer at the Emperor [. . .] / Declare that Gladstone is too eloquent, / And that the peril of the land demands / A jocund premier" (2: 339). The passage in question is very similar to Aurora's description of her literary life in the third book of Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh*. Aurora laments: "being but poor, I was constrained, for life, / To work with one hand for the booksellers / While working with the other for myself" (3: 302–04). The echo of *Aurora Leigh* in

Mark's situation brings with it a number of associations. The first references the hybridity of poetic form. *Aurora Leigh* is a verse novel that follows the narrative structure of the bildungsroman, merging the novel form with poetry just as the serial publication of Williams's "The Doom of the Prynnes" links the poem to the serial form.<sup>36</sup> The second association is historical. The narrative of the poet needing to write popular works for survival represents the reality for many writers from the period, and this was particularly true for women writers and the poetess.<sup>37</sup> The fact that the complaint is made by a man, however, complicates such accepted narratives of periodical publication. It acknowledges that both men and women had to turn to the periodical for success. This undermines the accepted critical narrative that understands the need to publish in periodicals as a necessarily feminine concern. Participating in the periodical press became an important part of the Victorian poet's literary career, and as Hughes points out, this participation could "eventually lead to a book" ("Poetry Matters" 93). The very appearance of Williams's poem in the *Argosy* acts as an example of this trend. Her work for Alexander Strahan's periodicals gave her access to the publishing world, and after her death, Strahan & Co. published a volume edition of her poetry. However, evidence from the *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry* on the *Victorian Poetry Network* suggests that this was rarely the case.<sup>38</sup>

Significantly, the conclusion of the poem cuts short Mark's career. He dies before he can write solely for his conscience, suggesting the impossibility of meeting such literary ideals in the modern market. As Williams's own career demonstrates, periodical

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<sup>36</sup> Williams also interweaves the dramatic monologue with the lyric throughout the poem.

<sup>37</sup> For further information, see Pulham, Leighton (*Victorian Woman Poets*), and Vincent.

<sup>38</sup> For instance, of the 111 poets published in the *Argosy*, 39 remain unidentified, and the problem of their identification suggests that they did not publish separate poetry volumes.

publication was an unavoidable necessity for many poets in mid-Victorian England; however, this does not mean that such poets did not experiment with poetic form. For instance, the poem quickly dismisses Mark's periodical receipts, interrupting Mark's complaints, which he utters in blank verse, with a lyric sung by Agnes, thus demonstrating how periodical poems could play with form while still adhering to the conventions of the periodical press. These songs make up almost 25% of the poem's text. They define the structure of the poem and respond to specific moments of anxiety in the narrative such as Mark's commentary on his writing. Like the songs scattered throughout Alfred Tennyson's *The Princess* (first published in 1847, though the songs were added in subsequent editions), Williams's songs respond to narrative events, affirm specific themes, and perhaps most importantly, disorient the reader, increasing the melodramatic pace of the poem. For instance, Agnes responds to Mark's agitation over periodical literature with the following "simple village lay" (3: 340):

Down the mountain came the stream,  
Leaping in the glowing beam  
Of the daylight's brightening gleam,  
On the sunny morning.

Crimson foxglove, tall and high;  
Bowed as though a king went by,  
Heather stood up, proud and shy,  
On, the sunny morning.

By the streamlet sat we two,  
 Throned among wild heartsease blue,  
 While he said "Dear, I love you."  
 Oh, the sunny morning! (3: 340)

Agnes's song counters the modern references strewn throughout Mark's speech, which refers to Gladstone and debates about the plight of the working classes (3: 339). The singsong rhythm, regular rhyme scheme, and visual appearance of the lyric (namely the shorted lines of tetrameter) counter the unrelenting progression of the plot and provide a moment of peace in a poem otherwise dominated by Gothic portents of doom. Indeed, the comfort offered by Agnes's song is short-lived.<sup>39</sup> Williams immediately counters Agnes's bright song with the entrance of Mark's mother, who brings with her "a sudden chillness" (3: 340). She appears to Elin and her cousins as "A figure worse than horrid hideousness, / For this was horrid beauty" (3: 340). The juxtaposition of the lyric's sunny morning with the sudden arrival of a strange and chilling figure disorients the reader. It introduces a suggestion of the supernatural, though the reader later finds out that the figure is Mark's mother, and emphasises the instability of the poetic text. Williams's poem refuses to separate the dramatic tensions of the poem from these lyrical interludes.<sup>40</sup> Instead, Williams uses the lyrics embedded in "The Doom of the Prynnes" to enact and emphasise moments of tension. Williams, like Mark, appears interested in creating a text that exists outside of the conventions of popular literature, and she accomplishes this task by using intertextual allusions to play with the expectations of poetic form and genre.

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<sup>39</sup> This is true of all of Agnes's songs throughout the poem.

<sup>40</sup> In his biography of the poet, Japp describes Williams's poetry as "really dramatic, though she loved to abide by the lyric form" (180).

The poem's literary allusions display a poetic self-consciousness similar to that of Armstrong's double poem in which the speaker's utterance both drives the narrative movement of the poem and becomes the object of critical inquiry. Though Armstrong associates the idea of the double poem with the era's dramatic monologues, it serves as a useful critical paradigm for reading Williams's poetry. When applied to "The Doom of the Prynnes," Armstrong's conception of the double poem provides a theoretical model for understanding the effect of the poem's sometimes overwhelming intertextuality. Within this model, the poem becomes Williams's self-conscious assertion of her own unique poetic discourse demonstrates an interest in the complexities of language and artistic experimentation. Her collage of poetic and literary genres challenges the conception of popular poetry as inferior and derivative. The instances of quotation and paraphrase in the poem construct a new text, one that echoes the miscellaneous yet unified nature of the periodical itself. The poem dissolves categorical boundaries, creating a mixed text that demands a critical reading even as the reader engages with the Elin's tale of the Prynnes' fall.<sup>41</sup>

The initial serial context of the poem in the *Argosy* encourages a close examination of the poem's form as the gaps between each part draw attention to its tripartite structure. As a genre, periodicals are hybrid texts. They are miscellanies filled with fiction, essays, illustrations, and poetry on a variety of topics composed by a number of authors. These contributions can be complementary, but they can also seem like random elements only connected by proximity. Williams's poem mirrors the miscellaneous structure of the periodical text by bringing together multiple forms and genres into one narrative poem. It

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<sup>41</sup> As in Armstrong's double poem, in "The Doom of the Prynnes," "the permanent and the universal categories of the 'type' dissolve" (16).

is a composite text, mimicking the serial structure of the era's popular novels, adapting Gothic tropes (especially the image of the doomed house), and alluding to both the ballad tradition and hymn culture through Agnes's songs. The poem brings these different forms and genres together to produce a cohesive yet still disparate whole. While the overarching narrative of the poem binds each element together, the interruption created by Agnes's lyrics recalls the ways in which periodical poetry occupies the spaces between prose pieces, both visually and textually.

The songs that Williams embeds throughout "The Doom of the Prynnes" emphasise the fractured nature of the text as they consistently interrupt the poem's narrative just as the serial structure of the *Argosy* physically separates the poem's three parts. Williams presents the lyrics as songs, gesturing towards the origins of the printed nineteenth-century lyric, which came to mediate the oral culture of preceding generations (Rowlinson 59). This application of the lyric form locates the poem and poetry in an ahistorical past. It transforms the poem from a contemporary narrative into an almost folkloric tale that exists alongside the modern world its characters reject. Upon looking at cells through her father's microscope, a modern technology, Elin states: "I do not like our world at all. / It is so ghastly ugly underneath" (3: 296). Similarly, Agnes and Mark cannot accept the ghastliness of the modern world (for example, having to write for the periodical press instead of solely for one's conscience). The gothic (or folkloric) worldview of the Prynne cousins cannot be sustained in the face of modernity, and the failure of the Prynnes to adapt to the modern world is their doom; it makes death of the cousins and the probable madness of Elin the only possible outcome. The conditions of modernity are inescapable. The poem's structure mirrors the Prynne's liminal position

between the past and the present.<sup>42</sup> It is a piecemeal poem, drawing on a number of literary traditions to create a contemporary poem that implicitly acknowledges the intertextual nature of Victorian literature and poetry. The form of the poem resists definition and classification at every level. For instance, if we understand the serial form as progressive and moving towards a defined end often linked to major life events, especially marriage or death, then the poem's conclusion, which suggests a continuous present, tests the boundaries of the serial form.<sup>43</sup> The poem thus destabilises the idea of fixed genre and form through its repetition and reworking of lyric tropes and Gothic themes. In doing so, it demonstrates how women poets simultaneously adhered to the aesthetic standards of the periodical press and subverted popular poetic forms, creating complex commentaries on contemporary poetics and the periodical market.

Williams's movement between the lyrical songs of Agnes and the blank verse of the poem's narrative action provide one obvious example of the poem's unstable form. For instance, the ballad sung by Agnes in part two of the poem appears jarring because the sunny landscape Agnes describes is at odds with the decaying Gothic structures of the poem. Such dissonances in both form and content capture the speaker's overall sense of unease as well as her potential mental instability, at which Williams hints in the poem's final stanza. It also emphasises the Gothic atmosphere of the poem's main narrative, which opens with a description of the family's "strange old house, / That like the fortunes of our family, / Had shrunk and withered to pathetic age" (3: 295). At a glance, the

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<sup>42</sup> Ironically, Williams identifies the younger generation with the past and the older generation with the present: Elin, Mark, and Agnes cling to tradition and the fading influence of their Welsh ancestry while Elin's father acts as an advocate for modernity through the interest he shows in new technologies

<sup>43</sup> This is very different from the serial ending of a novel like Reade's *Griffith Gaunt*, which brings the events of the novel to a neat conclusion, even outlining the future success of Mrs. Neville's descendants.

Gothic attributes of the house and the poem are themselves products of repetition and, perhaps, mimicry. A decidedly Gothic setting, the Prynne's ancestral home is similar to the crumbling homes and households represented in Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1848), and Charles Dickens's *Bleak House* (March 1852 to September 1853).<sup>44</sup> The conclusion of the poem particularly resembles that of Edgar Allan Poe's 1839 short story "The Fall of the House of Usher." The complex intertextuality of Williams's poem provides evidence of periodical poetry's engagement with contemporary literary forms. In other words, women poets writing for the periodical did not write in isolation.

Like Williams's poem, Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher" documents the decline of an ancient family whose doom bears a striking resemblance to the Prynne family curse. The consequences of each family's ancestry, namely the Prynnes' historical Welshness and the patrimony of the House of Usher, results in the death of its last descendant as the climax of each text records the destruction of both family and home.<sup>45</sup> The echo between the final sections of each text is significant. Both texts feature a storm that appears to centre on the ancestral homes of Prynne and Usher, and the final destruction of each home features similar sensational effects. Though Poe died long before Williams began writing her poetry, Poe tied his career to the poetesses of his era. As Eliza Richards points out, Poe was intrigued by "the mimic powers of the poetess [. . .], and he was not above imitating them" (1). The connection that Richards documents

<sup>44</sup> For example, when the speaker of Williams's poem mentions that "[. . .] men said we should someday be crushed, / A nest of eagles 'neath a crumbling rock" (3: 295), one cannot help but think of the famous casque episode in Walpole's *Otranto*, which begins the fall of Prince Manfred's house.

<sup>45</sup> In "The Doom of the Prynnes," the ambiguity of the conclusion complicates this somewhat simplified reading of the poem, but as I suggested earlier in this chapter, the irresolution of the poem suggests that the last part of the curse is still to come. In that case, the only Prynne left is the speaker, and her potential madness may eventually fulfil the curse.

between Poe and a specific group of American poetesses challenges contemporary understandings of genre, gender, and the poetry of the poetess. This legacy continued after his death. Richards argues that “poetesses—in connection with Poe and other male poets—*constituted* a lyric public sphere [. . .] in which gendered poetic convention is distinct from the author’s gender” (6). However, while “all [. . .] writers engage the mimic functions of lyric: echo, quotation, paraphrase, repetition” (Richards 25), when women poets included these features in their poems, their work became derisively associated with the poetess tradition. As Richards points out, “[u]sing evaluative criteria that the poets actively reject, critics have consistently dismissed women’s poetry of the period as overly derivative, echoic, and secondary” (25). While Richards focuses on American poets, her argument also applies to British women poets writing in the early Victorian era. Rather than focusing on popular poetry, critics tend to focus on the exceptions, occluding the importance of popular poetry to the development of poetic forms and cultural narratives.

The issue, then, is not whether Williams read or deliberately mimicked Poe, but how Williams participated in what Richards calls “the process of cultural transmission” (1): the circulation of poetic forms, cultural narratives, and popular literary tropes. Such elements define the literature of the period. The connection between Williams’s poem and the sensation culture of the 1860s makes this circulation of literary forms and tropes even more evident. Williams’s poem repeats the tropes and structures of sensational literature on multiple levels. For example, it adopts several elements commonly associated with sensational narratives, including familial curses, questionable heritage, and madness. The concluding stanzas are paradigmatic of the era’s interest in sensational

literary moments. As the climactic storm descends, it pulls the home's ancestral tree from its roots and flings it onto the house, killing Agnes and Mark in the impact. They die in each other's arms, "a sleeping king and queen, at rest" (3: 438). The scene is intensely visual as the building shifts and smoke obscures the speaker's vision. The climactic scene of Williams's poem sees a conflation of Poe's supernatural ending with sensational literary tropes from a variety of popular texts, including Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* (1856), Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1859), Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations* (published in *All the Year Round* between 1 December 1860 to 3 August 1861), and Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862). The miscellany of poetic forms and cultural references found in "The Doom of the Prynnes" is reminiscent of the "polymorphous and polygenetic" (Daly 28) form of sensation literature, which itself recalls the hybrid nature of the dramatic monologue.

The connections and formal similarities between these genres support Richards's contention that "men's and women's literary traditions are overlapping and interdependent, though not identical; that the gendering of poetic practices is far more fluid and complex than has been previously portrayed; and that the poetics of creation are inseparable from the poetics of reception" (1). In the *Argosy*, readers encounter sentimental, seemingly feminine poems written by male and female poets. Furthermore, the frequent anonymity of poets in the *Argosy* highlights the fact that poetic traditions are not bound by gender binaries. Nonetheless, the participation of women poets in the popular annuals and periodicals of the Victorian era contributed to their contemporary reception as second-rate poets who produced second-rate poetry. In turn, this reception

created a specific market and set of readerly expectations for women poets that came to define women's poetry for the poet, the reader, and the critic. It is within this matrix of cultural and critical voices that Williams, Rossetti, and Craig composed their poetry, working within the available modes but also moving beyond them. The fluid and complex nature of poetic forms such as the lyric, which "under[stood] itself variously as preserving, succeeding, incorporating, or remarking earlier lyric forms with other modes of circulation and reception" (Rowlinson 59), allowed this kind of experimentation and modification. The lyric form thus counters the myth of poetic innovation and singular genius. The echoes and repetitions found in women's lyric poetry are therefore not derivative but a central part of both the lyric genre and poetic history as a whole.

Williams's second significant contribution to the *Argosy*, "A Poet's Moods" (September 1867; 4: 261–63 and October 1867; 4: 361–63), demonstrates this flexibility in the lyric form even as it resists some of the traditional tropes associated with women's lyric poetry. A series of short lyric poems make up each part of "A Poet's Moods," and each of these lyrics addresses topics traditionally associated with sentimental poetry, specifically love, loss, and death, playing with the conventions of the genre. Williams adopts the feminine aesthetic of the domestic, sickly, lovelorn woman poet only to subvert this characterisation of the feminine lyric voice. The poems fit Armstrong's understanding of women's poetry as its own genre, one that used the era's assumptions about women's poetry and its reductive approach to women poets "to explore the way a female subject comes into being" (*Victorian Poetry* 324). The title of the cycle is particularly representative of this project. The identification of the poems as representing a poet's moods simultaneously defines the poet of the title as part of an indefinite class of

poets, eschewing the gender restrictions associated with the term *poetess*, and links the poems to Williams's individualised poetic persona through her signature, S.A.D. I. (or Sadie). In her work on the poet, Brennan notes that “[f]or Williams, an understanding of the compulsion to write involves a fusion between persona and poetic identity. Separation occurs at the level of the identity over which she has no control, the imposed identity which is seen by the world at large, and which allows for no independent ‘voice’ to emerge” (130-31).<sup>46</sup> “A Poet’s Moods” provides evidence of this fusion. The poetry represents the poet’s skill and her many moods or modes of expression. Williams alludes to the plural nature of her identity as a women poet through her signature, Sadie. For Williams, this self-given childhood name signified “her true identity” (Brennan 130).<sup>47</sup> Williams viewed “the self-chosen ‘Sadie’ [as] represent[ing] what Barrett Browning terms the ‘better self,’ the identity which must be read, written and acknowledged” (Brennan 130). Though Brennan argues that Williams’s attempt to unite the personal and poetic “is not fully borne out by an examination of the poems” (133), such unity does appear in “A Poet’s Moods,” which suggests a poet’s exploration of her poetic self. In this series of lyrics, Williams manipulates the conventions and readerly expectations of the lyric form to create a serial text that demonstrates the scope of her poetic skill and the ability of her better self to write unfettered by the expectations and narratives imposed on her by her gender and her critics.

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<sup>46</sup> The imposed identity referenced here refers to what the era expected of its women poets or poetesses.

<sup>47</sup> For Williams, the name Sadie and its variant spellings was central to her identity in a way that her other names, such as those given to her by her parents, were not: “the given name of Sarah is described as uncomfortable and imposed; the inherited name, Miss Williams, is seen as applied to her by default in the absence of another candidate” (Brennan130).

The lyrics published as part of “A Poet’s Moods” address issues and themes commonly associated with women’s poetry and sentimental literature. Their participation in a lyric cycle makes the poems unique. It underlines the thematic connections between the poems and highlights how each poem challenges the clichés of sentimental literature and popular poetry. For instance, the first lyric included in “A Poet’s Moods” subverts the hymn form from within. Williams adopts the metrical form of iambic tetrameter, a metre traditionally associated with the hymn and, by extension, with women poets. Form and content work together in “This world is all too sad for tears” (4: 261), amplifying the hymn-like aesthetic of the poem. The lyric presents life as something to bear until one’s burden is relieved by God or death, and Williams’s diction makes the speaker’s sense of life as a burden a palpable feature of the text as it cancels out the musicality of the poem’s phrasing. The repeated long vowel sounds in the first line of the third stanza, “Not so, not so; no load of woe” (4: 261), create an aural sense of despair within the text as the repetition of Williams’s weary phrases (“not so, not so” and “we bear it, we can bear”) compound the resigned tone of the poem. Williams’s diction and the poem’s metre bring a sense of tension to the poem. The poem’s diction weighs the poem down even as the hymn form offers a lyrical mode for reflection and redemption. The poem even manages to dismiss the solace of nature so celebrated in Alexander Strahan’s other periodical, *Good Words*. Though the little flowers viewed by the speaker lead her to recognise that she, like the flowers, can bear life, the poem’s concluding lines retain a gloomy sensibility.

The next lyric in the cycle emphasises the poetic conventions used by Williams as it rephrases the claim made by the first lyric, “This world is all too sad for tears” (4: 261),

turning into a question: “Is the world so very sad a place?” (4: 261), introducing an element of doubt to the previous assertion. The poem then goes on to challenge the claims made in the first lyric, discussing how nature acts as a balm for the trials of life. The juxtaposition of these two lyrics and their different approaches to the same topic provide evidence of the cycle’s engagement with contemporary poetics. The cycle comes to demonstrate how a poet can skilfully manipulate and expose the conventions associated with a specific genre of poetry. The first two lyrics of the cycle provide evidence of Williams’s understanding of a particular genre, in this case the hymn and the associated themes of religious or devotional poetry, and her ability to consciously isolate a genre’s features to create poems that express literary skill and a keen poetic mind.<sup>48</sup> “A Poet’s Moods” implicitly demonstrates this very act of self-conscious poetry. It is a double poem in the sense that the expectations brought to the poem and its form become the objects of inquiry alongside its lyrical narrative.

The presence of this lyric cycle in the *Argosy* emphasises how the cycle’s manipulation of sentimental forms undermines critical assumptions made about sentimental poetry and women writers. The sentimental poem was generally viewed as a feminine form that dealt with topics related to loss, whether of love, innocence, or hope. The critics and readers of such lyric poetry identified it with women poets and the literary annuals of the 1830s. The lyric has a long history in the Victorian popular press, and Christina Rossetti and Sarah Williams participate in this tradition with their lyric poems. At first, the appearance of their poetry in the *Argosy* seems to confirm the traditional

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<sup>48</sup> Williams published five poems in *Good Words*: “The Old Astronomer” (1867; 8: 58), “Omar and the Persian” (1867; 8: 105), “Faithful” (1867; 8: 471), “Hop-Gathering” (1868; 9: 424), and “Finette” (1868; 9: 641).

association of women's sentimental poetry with popular and thus low art. However, as Armstrong suggests, the work of such poets revolutionises these forms from within, producing a new genre of women's poetry, one that exists outside of the conventional definitions of the sentimental lyric.<sup>49</sup> If the poems themselves defy the rules and gendered expectations of sentimental poetry, then their appearance in the *Argosy* actually counters the critical assumption that the popular poetry of the periodical press is merely sentimental. Take, for instance, the third lyric in "A Poet's Moods," "Eyes that once looked into mine." In this particular poem, the speaker reflects on her emotional survival rather than describing the dissolution of the relationship, rewriting the sentimental narrative of the betrayed woman found in a number of other periodical poems such as Sarah T. Bolton's "The Betrayed" (*Once a Week*, 4 August 1860) and Dante Gabriel Rossetti's "Down Stream" (*The Dark Blue*, October 1871). Yet, even as Williams's lyric addresses a narrative common to the *Argosy*'s poetry (and sentimental poetry in general), it rewrites the tropes of that narrative. Williams's poem does not muse on ground "Where my lover once hath trod" (4: 262). Rather, the speaker turns her story of jilted love into a cautionary tale "for men of feeble mould" and "maids whose hearts are cold" (4: 262).

Similar transformations and connections are threaded throughout "A Poet's Moods" as each lyric represents the poet's exploration of various stories, poetic conventions, and moods. Each lyric connects to the broader themes of sentimental poetry found throughout the periodical and to the other lyrics in the cycle. For instance, on the surface, the third

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<sup>49</sup> McGann offers a similar defence of sentimental poetry in *Poetics of Sensibility*. Discussing the poetics of sensibility during the Romantic period, McGann observes that "[t]he discourse of sensibility typically develops through an ethics of loss and suffering, and that can just as easily obscure the specifically aesthetic character of the poetries' sensibility" (46). The same can be said about the effects of the strong thematic patterns associated with sentimental poetry. For McGann, while the emotions of loss and suffering may dominate a poem of sensibility, it is nonetheless important to examine how the sentimental poet constructs his/her particular discourse of sensibility.

lyric of the cycle seems to break away from the narratives of life, hope, and death represented in the first two lyrics; it appears to be a seemingly simple love poem. However, upon closer inspection, the poems are not as disparate as they initially seem. Williams forges this sense of connection between the lyrics through her use of the word *we* in all three poems, suggesting both the universal nature of the poems' content and the specific mood/experience of the speaker. The final four lines of the second lyric, "Is this world so very sad a place?," provide evidence of this effect:

So *we* breathe away these hours of balm,  
 Rise with strengthened hearts within *our* breasts,  
 Go, *dear*, but remember, through all weather,  
*We* are friends, *we* were in heaven together. (4: 261, emphasis mine)

In this passage, Williams's use of the indefinite pronouns *we* and *our* implicitly references the broader sense of humanity invoked by her use of *we* in the last lines of the previous poem. However, the pairing of these pronouns with the endearment *dear* suggests that poem documents the speaker's individual experience with his or her audience. The poem thus simultaneously represents the series of collective human experiences described throughout the lyric cycle.<sup>50</sup> Read within this context, the pronouns used in the third lyric (the plural *we* and singular *I*) respond to those used in the first two lyrics, while the proximity of the poems suggests a continuation of the speaker's individual experience. Though the lyric cycle lacks a linear narrative, such implied connections reinforce my reading of the cycle's title. It is at once a representation of the endless possibilities open to all poets and a product of the individual poet Sadie.

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<sup>50</sup> In "The world is all too sad for tears," the speaker shifts from the first person *I* to the third person *we* over the course of the poem, invoking this sense of a collective experience.

Williams's series of short lyrics demonstrates how one poet manipulated and transformed the lyric to explore the possibilities of poetic expression beyond the limits established by critics and the cultural expectations placed on both women writers and the literary periodical as a genre. In many ways, the *Argosy* appears as "A Poet's Moods" writ large. As I argue throughout this chapter, the *Argosy's* poetry shows how women writers negotiated their public roles as professional poetesses with their own need to produce relevant and challenging literary works. Although the *Argosy's* editors filled the periodical with sentimental love poems, sensational narratives, and bitter musings on past loves, a careful reading of the journal's poems exposes the formal and thematic skill of the periodical's poets. The recognition of this skill suggests that as with the majority of women's poetry, a second, more-difficult poem exists beneath the commercial veneer of the often dismissed periodical poem. These popular double poems form the foundation of Victorian poetry. Richards's work on Poe and the American poetess supports this view. She writes: "[i]ndeed, the practices of poetesses became so wholly identified with the genre of poetry that their influence lives on anonymously, not as canonical poetry's opposite, but as its generic underpinning" (3). The same can be said for the British poetesses and those poets who wrote popular periodical poetry. Popular poetry was built from the same traditions that inform the era's canonical poetry, defining the genre for thousands of readers. The popular poetry of the period connected writers, created a place for women writers, and contributed to the binary relationship between high and low art. An examination of popular poetry in the periodical press destabilises this binary, demonstrating how both popular and canonical poems participated in the development of Victorian poetics. Neither the popular nor the canonical poet existed in isolation. They

worked with the same forms and were preoccupied with the same questions. The dismissal of popular poetry as trite is thus a product of Victorian conceptions of gender and a poetry market that viewed mass-produced texts as commercial rather than cultural products. Beginning with the annuals, Victorian critics and poets perceived popular poetry as feminine and sentimental: the ideal outlet and product for women poets and women readers. This reception of the era's popular poetry came to define what Richards calls "the terms of poetic production" (3). Readers and critics alike expected popular poetry, and the work of women poets in particular, to fill a specific niche. The acceptance of this narrative resulted in the critical dismissal of such poetry long into the twentieth century. A study of form, however, reveals that such assumptions are false. The poems published in the *Argosy* are thus indispensable to the history of Victorian poetics and poetry.

## Conclusion

As purveyors of 1860s literary culture, the *Cornhill*, *Once a Week*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy* published literature for the Victorian middle-class reader, ranging from serial novels, which defined the format and saleability of the literary periodical, to poetry written by both professional and amateur authors. The rise of the literary periodical in the 1860s occurred because of a distinct shift in the production of fiction, poetry, and illustration even as it helped to produce this change. Serial fiction began to appear in the literary periodical, moving away from the part-issue format popularised by Dickens. With the demise of the literary annual in 1856, the production of popular poetry relied on the growing market for the illustrated gift book and the literary periodical to reach an audience. At the same time, the Pre-Raphaelite school of artists changed the nature of illustration in the 1850s and 1860s. They approached black-and-white illustration as a legitimate art form, and this new understanding of illustration as an important art form comparable to painting redefined the relationship between image and text in the literary periodical.

Each chapter of my thesis explores the implications of this shift in the literary market for Victorian poetry and poetics. I argue that the poetry of the periodical press is the poetry of the Victorian period: it appeared alongside the definitive genre of the era, serial fiction, and, like serial fiction, periodical poetry defined its genre. In other words, periodical poetry contributed to the development of Victorian poets, poetry, and poetics. Periodical poetry does not sit apart from the canon of Victorian poetry; rather, it represents an important part of the history of nineteenth-century poetry. My thesis

emphasises the connection between the Victorian poetry of modern anthologies and that published in the periodical press. For example, the *Broadview Anthology of Poetry and Poetics* (one of the standard teaching anthologies for Victorian poetry and poetics in Canada) includes a number of poets and poems that first appeared in the periodical press.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the anthology does not give information about the original publication contexts of these poems and poets, a glaring omission when you consider that the poetic theory included at the back of the anthology always includes information about the original periodical contexts of the essays.<sup>2</sup> The list of periodical poems in my works cited section offers a starting point for an anthology of mid-Victorian poetry. A record of all the poems referenced in my thesis, this list contains poems from a variety of genres (including the lyric, the ballad, the hymn, comic verse, and occasional poems), and many of the authors represented overlap with the poets commonly found in modern anthologies of Victorian poetry (including Matthew Arnold, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Isa Craig, Jean Ingelow, George Meredith, Arthur Munby, Adelaide Anne Procter, Christina Rossetti, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and Alfred Tennyson).<sup>3</sup> As my thesis has shown, all of

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<sup>1</sup> Periodical poems published in Broadview's anthology include Barrett Browning's "The Romaunt of the Page" (first published in *Finden's Tableaux* for 1839), Thomas Hood's "The Song of the Shirt" (first published in the 16 December 1843 issue of *Punch*), Tennyson's "Tithonus" (first published in the February 1860 issue of the *Cornhill*), Robert Browning's "Porphyria's Lover" and "Johannes Agricola in Meditation" (first published in the *Monthly Repository* for January 1826), and Dora Greenwell's "Railway Station" (first published in the July 1860 issue of *Good Words*). The anthology also includes frequent contributors to the periodical press such as Felicia Hemans, Letitia Elizabeth Landon, Arthur Munby, and Jean Ingelow, among others.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa SurrIDGE's *Broadview Anthology of Victorian Prose, 1832–1901* offers a model for an anthology that recognises and emphasises the original publication contexts of Victorian literature.

<sup>3</sup> I looked at a number of anthologies over the course of my research, including *Nineteenth-Century Women Poets: An Oxford Anthology* edited by Isobel Armstrong and Joseph Bristow with Cath Sharrock, *Victorian Poetry* edited by Valentine Cunningham and Duncan Wu, *Victorian Poetry: An Annotated Anthology* edited by Francis O'Gorman, and *Winged Words: An Anthology of Victorian Women's Poetry and Verse* edited by Catherine Reilly.

these poems (those currently anthologised and those not) are in conversation with each other as well as the poetics of the Victorian era, which they helped to define.

### **The 1860s and beyond**

As I have shown throughout my thesis, the literary periodicals of the 1860s published and circulated the literature of the period. Publications such as the *Cornhill* and *Good Words* brought popular and yet still respectable literature into the Victorian reader's home. Significantly, the reach and influence of the era's literary periodicals extended far beyond the London streets described by George Smith in his memory of the *Cornhill*'s first issue. Regional newspapers frequently reviewed the content of the literary periodicals, and on occasion, these regional publications reprinted select poems originally published in the literary periodicals so popular in London (see chapter two for details). Interestingly, while the literary periodical defined the literature of the 1860s, my research suggests that poetry similarly helped to define the literary periodical. Periodicals addressed to every kind of reader imaginable privileged poetry and highlighted its presence in the periodical. Furthermore, the amount and frequency of poetry published during the inaugural years of all the periodicals mentioned in my thesis suggest that poetry along with serial fiction contributed to the success of the literary periodical. Even though critics dismissed periodical poetry, it still possessed a portion of the cultural value associated with the genre, making it a feature of the periodical for the popular reader if not for the discerning critic. The publication of poetry in the periodical press allowed middle-class readers to purchase original poetry, and indeed, poetry often defined the periodical for its readers,

whether it did so directly (as in the inaugural poems of the *Cornhill*, *Once a Week*, and the *Argosy*) or indirectly (as in *Good Words*).

The centrality of poetry to the definition of the literary periodical and the literary periodical to the definition of mid-Victorian literature informed my decision to focus on a carefully defined but deep data set that indexes the poetry published during the inaugural years of the *Cornhill*, *Once a Week*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy*. The first few volumes of the *Cornhill*, *Once a Week*, and *Good Words* are particularly important because the initial success of these periodicals on the literary market inspired copy-cat publications and contributed to Alexander Strahan's decision to develop the *Argosy*. For example, John Sutherland describes the *Broadway: A Monthly Magazine* (1868–73) as “[a]n unsuccessful attempt by Routledge to emulate Smith, Elder's *Cornhill*” (84). This emulation even included the periodical's name, which was “derived from its publisher's London address” just like the title of the *Cornhill* (Sutherland 84). Similarly, an editorial comment in the *Day of Rest* (1865–67) explains the periodical's switch from a weekly to a monthly publication schedule through a reference to *Good Words*, which, the editors note, similarly ceased publishing weekly issues “with excellent results” (“Day of Rest, The”). In the end, the monthly publication schedule of the *Cornhill* and *Good Words* won out with only a handful of literary periodicals, including *Once a Week* and *All the Year Round*, continuing to produce weekly issues.<sup>4</sup>

A cursory search of the *Waterloo Database of Victorian Periodicals* indicates that over 9,000 periodicals of every genre from newspapers and quarterlies to literary

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<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the market moved away from the quarterly publication schedule popularised by the quarterly reviews of the early nineteenth century. The failure of quarterly publications like *Bentley's Quarterly Review*, which lasted only four issues (1859–60) despite its association with the monthly *Bentley's Miscellany* (1837–68), provides evidence of the market's transition from quarterlies to monthlies (“Bentley's Quarterly Review,” *Waterloo Directory*).

monthlies circulated in the 1860s. In this list, there are numerous literary periodicals, some lasting for decades such as the *Cornhill* and *Good Words*, and some lasting no more than a year. The *Shilling Magazine*, for example, only published a total of thirteen numbers between May 1865 and 1866 (“Shilling Magazine, The”). The increased production of literary periodicals in an already saturated literary market led Elizabeth Barrett Browning to comment in January 1861 that “[t]here’s a rage for new periodicals, and because the ‘Cornhill’ answers, other speculations crowd the market, overcrowd it: there will be failures presently” (2: 423). Barrett Browning’s diction in this letter emphasises the economics of the periodical press. She presents the development of a new literary periodical as a form of gambling, a literary game that, nonetheless, has real economic consequences. Alexander Strahan, for example, took a gamble with the *Argosy* and Charles Reade’s *Griffith Gaunt*, only to sell the periodical at a loss to Ellen Wood two years later because his publication company could no longer meet the debts it incurred from Strahan’s speculation on the periodical market. Indeed, many of the literary periodicals published in the sixties had short publication runs. The *Day of Rest*, for instance, lasted only three years, despite its attempts to match the success of *Good Words*, while *Saint Pauls’ Magazine*, edited by Trollope between October 1867 and June 1870, lasted only a little bit longer from 1867 to 1874. Like the *Day of Rest*, *Saint Pauls’ Magazine* represents “yet another of the imitative shilling monthlies launched in the wake of the *Cornhill*’s success” (Dawson 134). However, unlike the *Cornhill*, *Saint Pauls’ Magazine* never made its publisher any money, and it struggled to reach a circulation of 10,000, leading to its demise.

While a detailed analysis of the rise and decline of the Victorian literary periodical in the 1860s and 1870s is beyond the scope of my thesis, the numbers cited above suggest the importance of such journals to the literary culture of the 1860s. Furthermore, the distinct lifespan of the literary periodicals' commercial dominance (roughly 1860 to 1870) offers a solution to *the* methodological problem that faces scholars of periodical poetry: where to start and where to stop. For my project, it made the most sense to focus on the poetry of a particular genre of the periodical press, the literary periodical, at the height of the genre's literary and commercial dominance. Such focus was necessary since, as recent scholarship on poetry and the periodical press indicates, poetry appeared in a variety of periodical venues from regional newspapers (Hobbs) to working-class periodicals (Boos, Timney, Saunders) to colonial publications (Gibson). The scope of the *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry* provides further evidence of the range of periodicals that published poetry in the nineteenth century. It includes poems from working-class periodicals, such as the *Chartist Circular*, to literary periodicals, such as *Once a Week* and *Good Words*, and fin-de-siècle publications, such as Oscar Wilde's *Women's World*. Tools such as the *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry* provide access to a wealth of periodical poetry, raising a number of significant methodological questions about scope and appropriate datasets. I addressed this in my thesis with the decision to focus on literary periodicals held in the archives at the University of Victoria. However, the growth of digital humanities projects related to Victorian poetry made it possible for me to include quantitative data as support for my argument.

## The Digital Humanities and Victorian Poetry

The turn towards the Digital Humanities in Victorian studies has been crucial to the development of the emerging field of periodical poetry studies. My thesis made extensive use of the digital resources available, including *Google Books*, which lists over 1.6 million books published in nineteenth-century Britain; *British Periodicals* (ProQuest), which offers 6.1 million pages of British periodicals from the seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries; *The Nineteenth Century* database (ProQuest), which contains over 30,000 works; and *The British Newspaper Archive* with its seven million pages (more are added every day). Such resources allowed me to access digital versions of various periodicals when physical copies were unattainable. The search functions offered by all of these databases enriched my research, allowing me to locate the republication of *Once a Week*'s poems in regional newspapers and access the news reports documenting the Presbyterian opposition to *Good Words*. In addition, since this thesis began, the study of periodical poetry has inspired the development of digital humanities projects designed to support scholarship in the field of periodical studies and poetry. For example, Natalie Houston, Lindsay Lawrence, and April Patrick developed the *Periodical Poetry Index* (<http://www.periodicalpoetry.org/index.htm>), which currently indexes the *Cornhill* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, while as part of my research, I acted as the lead Research Assistant for the *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, which currently indexes sixteen periodicals and over 6,807 poems.

My work on the *Database* encouraged me to think beyond my thesis and to consider how researchers and students interested in periodical poetry might use such

tools. As James Mussell puts it in *The Nineteenth-Century Press and the Digital Age*, I had to “engage critically with both the newspapers and periodicals [. . .] and the digital resources in which they are found” (1). Each entry raised new questions about the presentation of the digitised page, the information included in the index, and what information, if any, could be left out. In turn, each of these questions shaped the way I discuss periodical poetry throughout my thesis. The availability of nineteenth-century periodicals through these digital projects encourages new debates about the nature of Victorian poetry and its poetic value, popularity, authorship, and readership. The resources represented by the databases cited above allow students and researchers to read poetry as part of the periodical press and, more importantly, to recognise the various cultural and artistic networks that defined the poetry of the era.

The development of such digital resources has recently led to forums on the role of digitisation in the teaching and scholarship of Victorian literature in both *Victorian Periodicals Review* (“Forum: Teaching and Learning in the Digital Humanities Classroom”) and *Victorian Studies* (“Forum: On Evidence and Interpretation in the Digital Age”). Natalie Houston has discussed the use of digital tools for the study of Victorian poetry in several conference papers, including “Digitally Reading Poetry within Victorian Media Culture” (VSAWC 2012).<sup>5</sup> More recently, Joanna Swafford launched her *Songs of the Victorians* (<http://www.songsofthevictorians.com/>), which facilitates the study of Victorian parlour music by digitally publishing Victorian lyrics with their musical scores. Though different from the digital projects and forums described above, Swafford’s project nonetheless contributes to the development of resources on popular

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<sup>5</sup> A version of Houston’s conference paper appears on her website *Digital Victorian: Digital Reading and Victorian Poetry* (<http://digitalvictorian.org/>).

poetry. In particular, *Songs of the Victorians* acts as a model for potential scholarship on the relationship between music and the printed hymns of *Good Words*. *Songs of the Victorians* considers the musical arrangements of Victorian poems as “readings of the poems they use as lyrics” (*Songs of the Victorians*). If, as Kooistra argues, “[i]llustration offers the student of Victorian literature a material trace of contemporary readers’ responses to a poem” (“Poetry and Illustration” 401), it follows that musical interpretations of Victorian poems and hymns could offer similar material traces for the student of periodical poetry. Indeed, the complex relationship between poem, illustration, and hymn discussed in chapter three suggests the importance of musical forms to the popular poetry of the era.

Other digital projects related to Victorian periodicals and poetry include the *Yellow Nineties Online* (<http://www.1890s.ca/>), which offers digital facsimiles of the *Yellow Book* along with relevant paratextual information; *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* (<http://www.ncse.ac.uk/index.html>), which provides access to full-run digital facsimiles of periodicals such as the *Northern Star* and the *English Woman’s Journal*; the exhibit on periodicals in the *Rossetti Archive* (<http://www.rossettiarchive.org/racs/periodicals.rac.html>); and the *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals*, which indexes 50,000 publications. While these projects focus on the collection, distribution, and contextualisation of Victorian poetry, Natalie Houston’s *Visual Page* proposes to analyse the visual as opposed to linguistic components of digitised poetry. The digital tool outlined in Houston’s description of the project represents the next stage for digital humanities work on Victorian poetry: the

development of tools designed to use and interrogate the data sets offered by the digital archive in light of the poetic forms and material features of Victorian poetry.

While the development of digital humanities tools such as the *Visual Page* will allow for a deeper analysis of poetry's material presence and its evolution in print, the growth of digital archives such as the *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry* raises a number of interesting questions about the canon and the processes and politics of recovering poetry by neglected women writers, including Isa Craig, Jean Ingelow, and Dora Greenwell. For example, evidence of Craig's contemporary celebrity and prolific poetic output is difficult to find in teaching anthologies of Victorian poetry.<sup>6</sup> Yet, an author search of the *Database* tells a different story. An examination of Craig's periodical contributions links her to a number of mid-century publishing communities, specifically those that grew around the Langham Place Group and the periodical empire of Alexander Strahan, ultimately suggesting the presence of a poetic network centred on Craig. The recognition of this network contributes to a new feminist reading of the mid-Victorian periodical press, building on the important work of Hilary Fraser and Stephanie Green in *Gender and the Periodical Press*. Indeed, my future research will take a feminist and archival approach to questions about print culture in 1860s London. Building on the archival research and digital projects completed while writing my thesis, I will interrogate mid-century constructions of femininity and authorship, especially the cultural definition of the woman poet and women's poetry as a genre. As part of my research, I will consider the role of the digital humanities in this reevaluation of women's popular

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<sup>6</sup> Only two anthologies contain poems by Craig: *Nineteenth-Century Women Poets: An Oxford Anthology* and *Winged Words: An Anthology of Victorian Women's Poetry and Verse*. Each anthology publishes only one poem by Craig, "The Building of the City" (a devotional poem from Craig's 1874 collection *Songs of Consolation*) and "The Root of Love" (published as part of *Duchess Agnes, etc.* in 1864), respectively.

poetry and Victorian poetics. This portion of the project will take advantage of the theoretical and pedagogical frameworks offered by Jacque Wernimont and Elizabeth Losh in their 2014 course on feminism and the digital humanities at the Digital Humanities Summer Institute. The digital projects described in this section make such research possible, and the continuing interrogation of the digital archive, which asks what the archive replicates, the kind of data it produces, and how that data is mediated, contributes to a richer understanding of the teaching canon and periodical poetry as a genre.

### **“One Word More” on Periodical Poetry**

This thesis was inspired by Linda K. Hughes’s call for the study of periodical poetry in “What the *Wellesley Index* Left Out: Why Poetry Matters to Periodical Studies.” It began as an examination of why poetry matters to periodical studies only to turn into an exploration of why periodicals matter to poetry studies. Each chapter addresses how poetry contributed to the aesthetic and rhetorical ideologies of the *Cornhill*, *Once a Week*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy* as a way into the discussion of periodical poetry’s role in the development of Victorian poetics. In *Print in Transition*, Laurel Brake describes how a periodical’s contributor had to write within two distinct “codes of discourse” (18). These discourses include “the kind of piece they [were] writing—news, features, short story, novel—and [. . .] the particular journal they [were] writing for” (Brake 18). This is also true of poetry, though Brake does not mention the genre.

As I have argued throughout my thesis, periodical poets responded to both the poetics of the era and the ideology of the particular periodical for which they wrote. Thackeray's rejection of Barrett Browning's "Lord Walter's Wife" discussed in chapter one exemplifies the editorial pressures faced by periodical poets. Thackeray rejected the poem because he thought it would be too scandalous for his readers; thus Barrett Browning had failed to write within both the discourse of the periodical and her persona as a mother-poet, which the *Cornhill*, as a family periodical, privileged. Ironically, Barrett Browning confronts the gender politics associated with the production of poetry in her first contribution to the *Cornhill*, "A Musical Instrument." In that poem, Barrett Browning addresses the power dynamics inherent in the division of poetry into masculine and feminine poetics through the figures of Pan and his reed.

Building on the examination of periodical and poetic structures begun in chapter one, the subsequent chapters of my thesis continue this exploration of popular and traditional literary structures through the lenses of visual culture, devotional practices, and gender in *Once a Week*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy*. My second chapter focusses on how the poetry of *Once a Week* conforms to the literary agenda outlined in Shirley Brooks's inaugural poem, "Once a Week," arguing that this periodical's illustrated poetry both entertains and reaffirms the values of the middle-class family through two codes of discourse: the visual aesthetic of the age and the agenda of the periodical. The visual-verbal relationships that define the literary periodical of the sixties and its poetry reappear in *Good Words*, which began publication six months after *Once a Week*. In Alexander Strahan's popular religious periodical, the frequent appearance of an accompanying illustration with poetry identifies the reading of poetry as a devotional practice, locating

the periodical within the religious literary culture of the period. This link between *Good Words* and mid-Victorian devotional practice provides an alternative way to understand the relationship between popular poetry and traditional poetic forms, since the popular poetry of *Good Words* cannot be read in terms of the aesthetic features commonly associated with canonical poetry. Rather, the publication's poems must be evaluated according to its adoption of already popular poetic forms such as the hymn. Therefore, contributors to this popular religious periodical had to respond to both the discourse of devotional poetics established by Keble and the guiding principles of Strahan and editor Norman Macleod. Strahan's subsequent periodicals adopted the successful model provided by *Good Words* to varying degrees of success. While the *Argosy*, for example, may have failed financially under Strahan, its poetry presents a challenge to readers of the periodical because it simultaneously responds to and rejects the nineteenth-century codes of discourse associated with women's poetry and sentimental literature. As chapter four argues, the poetry of the *Argosy* demonstrates the depth and complexity present in the sentimental poetry of the periodical press. Reading the work of Rossetti, Ingelow, and Williams within the print context of the *Argosy* emphasises the complexity of their poetry by locating their work within the very sentimental discourses their poems subvert and reject. As with my introductory case study of Barrett Browning's "L. E. L.'s Last Question" in the *Ladies' Pocket Magazine*, all of the poets, poems, and periodicals referenced here and throughout my dissertation prove how integral periodical contexts are to the study of Victorian poetry and poetics.

The recognition by scholars such as Florence Boos, Andrew Hobbs, Linda K. Hughes, Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, and Kathryn Ledbetter that popular periodical poetry

plays an important part in the history of Victorian poetry has irrevocably altered the field of Victorian studies. Periodical poetry is essential to the composition of a historically accurate account of Victorian poetry. For example, Dora Greenwell's devotional poems contribute to the contemporary discussions about faith and doubt seen in poems such as Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach" and Gerard Manley Hopkins's "The Windhover." That Greenwell's poems do so as part of the devotional poetics seen in *Good Words* does not diminish the importance of her poetry. The women poets of *Once a Week*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy* deserve attention alongside Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Barrett Browning for what their careers can tell us about the importance of the periodical press to the development of mid-Victorian women's poetry. Aurora Leigh dismisses her periodical poems as "writing with one hand for the booksellers" (3: 302); nonetheless, these saleable texts represent the popular culture of the period, and such periodical poetry provides the foundation for Victorian poetry and poetics.

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## Appendix A: Figures

All images appear courtesy of Special Collections, University of Victoria Libraries unless otherwise noted.

90 L. E. L.'S LAST QUESTION.

Hears in his dream some elfin turbulence—  
Even so, suggestive to her inward sense,  
All sounds of life assumed one tune of love.

And when the glory of her dream withdrew,  
When knightly gestes and courtly pageantries  
Were broken in her visionary eyes  
By tears the solemn seas attested true—  
Forgetting that sweet lute beside her hand,  
She asked not, "Do you praise me, O my land,"  
But, "Think ye of me, friends, as I of you?"

True heart to love, that poured many a year  
Love's oracles for England, smooth and well,—  
Would God, thou hadst an inward oracle  
In that lone moment, to confirm thee dear!  
For when thy questioned friends in agony  
Made passionate response, "We think of thee,"  
Thy place was in the dust—too deep to hear!

Could she not wait to catch the answering breath?—  
Was she content with that drear ocean's sound,  
Dashing his mocking infinite around  
The craver of a little love?—beneath  
Those stars, content—where last her song had gone?  
They, mute and cold in radiant life, as soon  
Their singer was to be, in darksome death?

Bring your vain answers—cry, "We think of thee!"  
How think ye of her?—in the long ago  
Delights!—or crowned by new bays?—not so—  
None smile, and none are crowned where lyeth she—  
With all her visions unfulfilled, save one,  
Her childhood's, of the palm-trees in the sun—  
And to!—their shadow on her sepulchre!



91 L. E. L.'S LAST QUESTION.

Do you think of me as I think of you?—  
O friends, O kindred, O dear brotherhood  
Of the whole world—what are we that we should  
For covenants of long affection sue?—  
Why press so near each other, when the touch  
Is barred by graves? Not much, and yet too much,  
This, "Think upon me as I think of you."

But, while on mortal lips I shape anew  
A sigh to mortal issues, verily  
Above th' unshaken stars that see us die,  
A vocal pathos rolls—and us who drew  
All life from dust, and for all, tasted death,  
By death, and life, and love appealing, saith,  
DO YOU THINK OF ME AS I THINK OF YOU?

## LONDON FASHIONS AND NOVELTIES.

**LONDON DINNER DRESS.**—Blue satin robe; the *corsage* is draped à la *Servigné*, and in very full folds; it is cut low, and deeply pointed at bottom: the sleeve, short and full, is trimmed with lace in the ruffle style, and looped extremely high by a fancy jewellery ornament; a corresponding one decorates the drapery. The skirt is trimmed with a *flounce* of silver blond lace to correspond with the ruffle. The head-dress bears some resemblance to a turban, but is of more novel form; it is composed of a mixture of *grosgrain* velvet, and silver blond lace.

**LONDON EVENING DRESS.**—Pale lemon-coloured satin robe, the border trimmed with a *flounce* of the same material; the *corsage* is made low and tight to the shape, with a short tight sleeve. A drapery, composed of folds of black net, ornaments the *corsage*, and is terminated by a deep fall of lace, forming a *pelerine* of a very novel description. Breast knot formed of *coques* and ends of lemon-coloured ribbon. *Ceinture* to correspond. The hair is parted on the forehead, and disposed in a club formed of platted braids behind. Black lace gloves.

**Figure 1:** Layout of Barrett Browning's "L.E.L.'s Last Question" in the *Ladies' Pocket Magazine* (1839): 89–91. (The illustrations were printed on the verso side of tipped-in pages. The recto of each is blank).

L. E. L.'S LAST QUESTION.

BY MISS MARY ANNE BAKER.

"Do you think of me as I think of you?  
 If death, or death?" She said it from the sea,  
 The English vessel in her narrow bay—  
 While pale as paper she was set, she knew,  
 Her heart grew dark, and gazed at the White,  
 To reach, across the waves, friends left behind—  
 "Do you think of me as I think of you?"

It seemed not much to ask—yet I of you—  
 We all do ask the same—no words are over—  
 Within the reach of eyes that gaze on over—  
 And like it in the world the living do,  
 But all (among the ready) will leave for  
 The ends of their own love concerns—  
 Do you think of me as I think of you?"

Reverend, she had sung of only love—  
 And she had sung of only love—  
 Begged on the fair—she had her love—  
 Where her husband's love had been—  
 There in his dream some other husband—  
 Even as, responsive to her inward sense,  
 All kinds of his inward sense of love.

And when the glory of her dream withdrew,  
 She sought for joy and trusty consolation  
 Wee looked in her visionary eyes  
 To find the others were selected men—  
 Expecting that sweet late husband's hand,  
 No other not "Do you think of me, O my love?"  
 No, "Think you of me, friends, as I of you?"

You heart to love, that passed many a year  
 Love's smile for English, French and well—  
 Would find that heart on inward smile  
 In that lone moment, to confirm the dear!  
 For when the question friends is asked  
 Make prompt response, "We think of thee,"  
 Thy name was in the dust—how long to hear!

Couldst not walk to earth the answering breath—  
 Was he content with that dear secret's sound,  
 Finding his husband's smile around  
 The name of a little love—  
 Those eyes, which—where late her song had gone?  
 They made and still in inward life, as soon  
 They sing was to be, in darkness dark!

Bring your own answers—err, "We think of thee?"  
 How think of thee—in the long eye  
 Delights—our answers by new love—  
 You make, and more are content those look also—  
 With all her vision unfulfill, more one,  
 Her childhood, of the pain—  
 And let—our studies on her paper?

Do you think of me as I think of you?  
 O death, O death, O dear brotherhood  
 Of the whole world—what answer that we should  
 For answers of long affection now?  
 Why press we near each other, when the touch  
 Is hard by graves? Not much, and yet too much,  
 This, "Think upon me as I think of you."

But, while on mental lips I shape anew  
 A light to mortal eyes, rarely  
 Aye of resolution that see to die,  
 A real pain falls—and all who die  
 All life from dust, and for all, buried death,  
 In death, and life, and love appealing, with,  
 In far—  
 In far—

FORBES CORRESPONDENCE.

Paris, 18th January.

As intended an interest was excited here by the paper read by M. Arago, before the Académie des Sciences, at their session of the 15th of January, that I told you M. Daguerre, in possession of, as far as was possible, of the facts of his very remarkable discovery, and to add to it a report of what had been said on the subject, a few details of what I had seen.

The long manuscript made by M. Daguerre, to present the wonderful effects of light and shadow which he exhibits in his diagrams, have added in his pro-

sent introduction. Daguerre explains that it enables him to combine with the camera obscura an engraving process. But he, by an apparatus, at once receives a collection of the same without, as I told you, the same and their solidity on metal by chemical means—the rays of the sun standing in the stead of being an ordinary source of light. But the engraving process is not a simple affair, and is not a simple affair. The invention is not a simple affair. In Daguerre's process, as M. Arago stated in his report, "It is impossible not to observe here many chemical products undergoing remarkable modifications under the influence of light. There is even a possibility of reasoning for our in darkness, without giving any sensible idea of its process, but which explains immediately on the approach of a single ray of light. Other bodies, again, undergo modifications of colour." It has been done, study and combination of these phenomena, Daguerre, that M. Daguerre has drawn the principle which enables him to work out results so surprising and so important to the world of artists as well as of scientific men. Of course, I can not yet give you so precise details, as M. Daguerre himself would like to impart them to you, still he has permitted some delicate notes from the Government, with whom he is in treaty for the sale of his secret—the value fixed upon it, I believe, being three hundred thousand francs. I should add, that the invention is acknowledged just the power of Daguerre, by the testimony of such men as Sir John Herschel, and the reporter (M. Arago) whom I have quoted.

It is necessary to see the works prepared by the inventor, to appreciate the nature of the invention. M. Daguerre, who has had every pains in activity and labor, as far as was possible, mentioned the years which it had not him to perfect the invention. The earlier sketches (in rather imperfect) which he made some four years since, have a slight resemblance to the present, being hazy and indistinct, and in some instances, and a sketch prepared in the evening light, which required twenty minutes for its completion. As might be expected, the invention, comparatively speaking, has whole scenes, objects are concerned. "The Edifice of France," engraved to quote M. Arago, "has its several large towers or low heights by the air, is often but imperfectly reproduced. In one of the scenes a house is thickly shrouded, and the house, which he never missed, as in a distance, all but the arms, which were never seen." But that there are exceptions, I can testify. In one scene of the Boulevard du Temple, taken from M. Daguerre's own residence, a coach and horse are introduced with the most detail and local exactness. The subjects which struck me most were, a View on one of the Quays, a View of the Louvre, and those of Notre Dame. The invention, it is obvious, will be closely applicable to still life—but it is, undoubtedly, subject to. The reporter to the Académie, however, after relating out the immense advantage of such a process to the artist, and the number of pictures which could be produced in a few minutes, he states, as a disadvantage of any desired scene or monument of antiquity—objects in the invention, that there is still wanting to its results something to be given by the hand and eye of the artist, and that the mechanical exactness of M. Daguerre's views may become monotonous. Of course this must admit; but the fault lies not with the machine, but with those who expect from it that which human form and action alone can accomplish. M. Daguerre describes the process very simply, and completely attainable by any person of common judgment, and with few possible costs. The machine, too, is so little expensive, that he says he has stood upon the bridge to see it, and been hardly noticed by the police. He desires to submit the public to see his sketches in the course of a fortnight—what, perhaps, I may have something more actual of an occasional interesting a discovery.

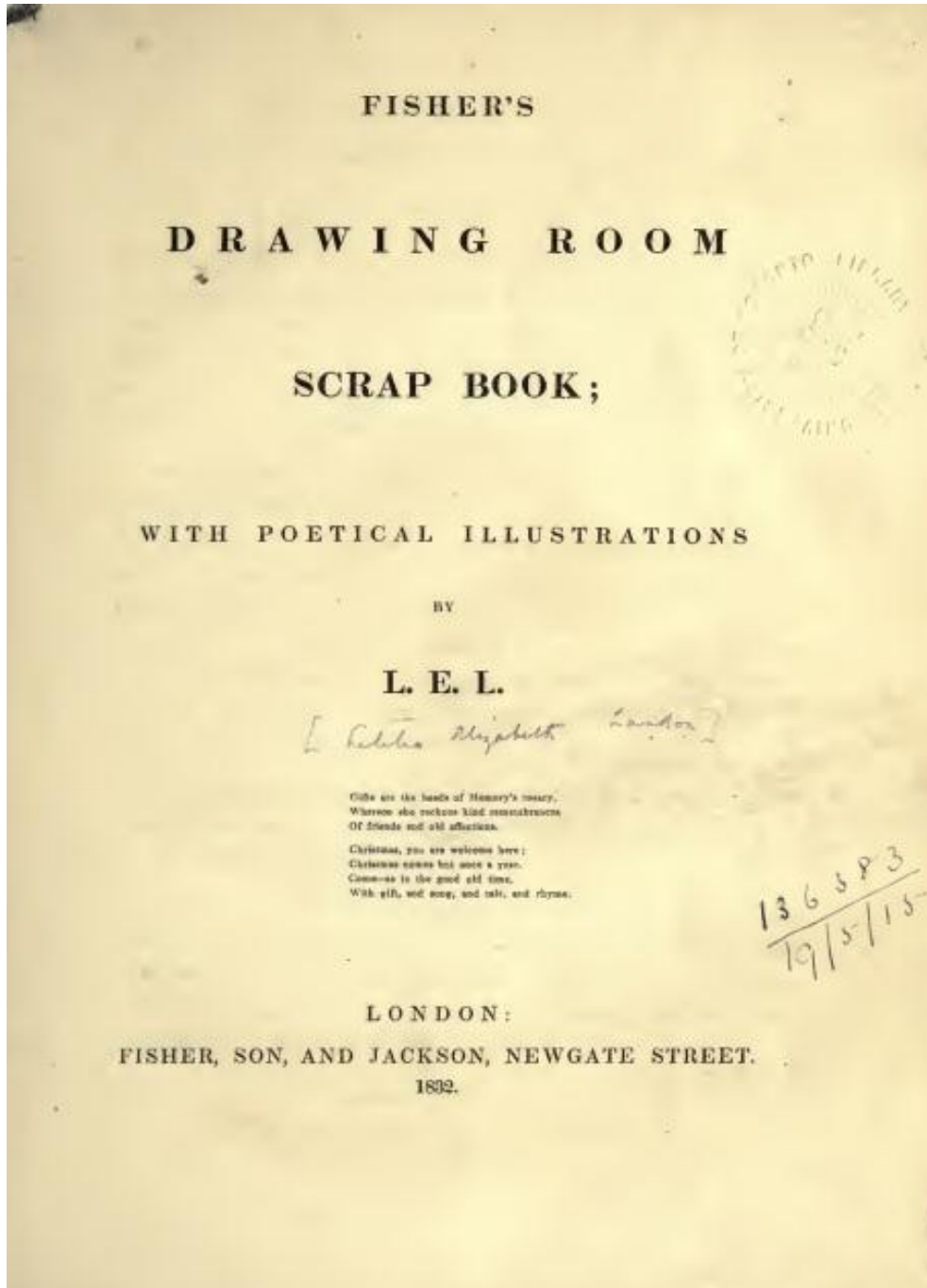
OUR WEEKLY GOSPEL.

As several years of new works come forth gradually, and new works themselves are not to be had either for love or money. Thus personally, the spirit of the one book London work, and the consequent freedom of all else, are rather welcome than otherwise. Arranged as we are to find facts—both for historical and critical interest, we have often more important sources to consult than mere polemical literature, though the importance of the latter will neither be I perceive nor I believe, and we are glad to find ourselves able to do so, and bring such works as we can, to the notice, and, under the consideration of our readers. We are not to report Mr. Murray's last five volumes, but the promise is not great of the coming harvest—among the most interesting, "Gibbon's Theory of Culture," translated from the German, by Charles Lamb, Esquire, B.A., &c.; "Domestic Stories in Russia, in a Series of Letters," described in your Household in this Country, edited by the Rev. H. K. Williams, M.A.; "The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Extinction of Paganism," by James Keble, and "The Life of Gibbon, with Selections from his Miscellaneous Works," both by the Rev. H. H. Milnes.

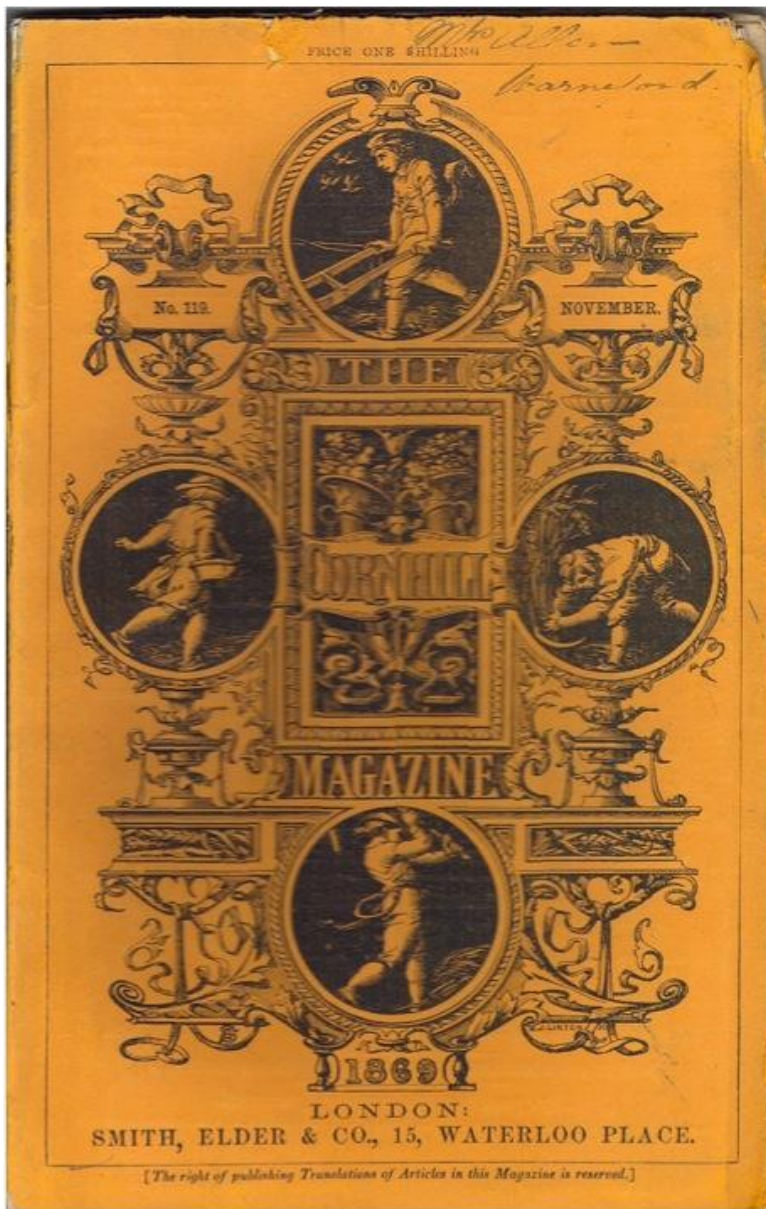
The British and Foreign Quarterly for January is rather a good, and a strong number. It contains some useful articles, conveying information of a description which the public may be supposed to require; but it has none, that stand out from the rest remarkable for superior intelligence, or brilliant execution. We would instance, in illustration, the papers on the Russian Commercial Treaty, and on the Relations of the East India Company with the Native Princes. That on the Irish Railway Commissioners' Report, would merit the same praise, if the subject were not somewhat threadbare. The list of this Report affords a valuable example to those timid persons who shrink from the rough handling of historical or party criticism. The work is not so "heavily led by the nose" as critics would rather themselves; and in the end, it really helps to acknowledge what is valuable in it, however much it may have been obscured by evil and calumny. It is not, indeed, every day that merit is needed of so high an order, or of so tangible a nature, as that of the Report; but then, on the other hand, it is not every day that the manuscript is so important, or so pressing. The editorial notices may depend upon it, but even party journalists know when they are slow, and do not waste their powder and shot on small game; so that a violent attack from a political party is a real enemy of merit; and the public are not to be misled. We are not among those who believe that critics ever liberally kill authors, but it is no less true that criticism executed in a robust spirit, may inflict serious upon the mortality and the nation, that is, on those who generally the least merit it, even at the hands of an enemy; but we hope and believe that a growing sense of the liability of error, will induce the cautious for applying our text more and more care. The light and amusing articles in the British and Foreign, are the "show up" of Lord Lovelock's and Tait's books on Russia, and the paper on Mr. Jackson's "Winter Studies." The one ordinary production of a party literary character, is Thackeray's Language and Literature of the Marston.

The greatest stir recently made in foreign literature has been caused by the production of La Gironde, at St. Petersburg—a book, which, in the splendour of its paper, ornaments which amongst the additions to the Franklin list, making the never-to-be-forgotten "Academy," the payment of which report, merely catalogued, occupies a chiefly printed page of standard history. Trained was the history, and the great as however, that his preference was needed to look at the contents of the Open House—the same history is shortly to be produced at Paris. While talking of Russia, we may add, that Thackeray has in his pocket. We have been told several of the promises of La Gironde as a companion, that the announcement of an open by him, to be founded on Mr. E. L. Hall's "Last Days of Pompeii," has given (except) all his instrumental words, however, which we have heard, has disappointed us. The recent very curious production of Paganini to Berlin, which

Figure 2: Layout of Barrett Browning's "L.E.L.'s Last Question" in the Athenaeum (26 January 1839): 69.



**Figure 3:** *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook* (1836), *Internet Archive*, University of Toronto Libraries, 17 March 2010, Web, 21 June 2013.



**Figure 4:** Monthly Issue Cover of the *Cornhill* for November 1869. Image courtesy Lisa Surridge.



MANOLI.

**Figure 5:** W. M. W. Call, “Manoli,” Illus. Frederick Sandys, *Cornhill* 6 (September 1862): 346–50.



**Figure 6:** Elizabeth Barrett Browning, "A Musical Instrument," Illus. Frederick Leighton, *Cornhill 2* (July 1860): 84–85.



*ONCE A WEEK*

←—→



That we incline to take that branch of duty  
Which he seems most addicted to neglect ;  
And while the finest head of hair he's bleaching,  
And stealing roses from the freshest cheek,  
We would cheat Time himself by simply preaching  
How many pleasant things come ONCE A WEEK.

IV.

Music, for instance. There's sweet Clara Horner,  
Listening to Mario with her eyes and ears :  
Observe her, please, up in the left-hand corner :  
Type of the dearest of our English dears.  
Our hint may help her to admire or quiz it,  
To love Mozart, and laugh at Verdi's shriek,  
And add another pleasure to her visit  
(She shouldn't go much oftener) ONCE A WEEK.

V.

Come, Lawyer, why not leave your dusty smother,  
Is there not wed to thee a bright-eyed wife ?  
Take holiday with her, our learned brother,  
And lay up health for your autumnal life.  
Her form may lose (by gain), the battle pending ;  
Your learned nose become more like a beak,  
Meantime, you'll find some tale of struggle, ending  
In clients, fees. Q. C., in ONCE A WEEK.

VI.

And you, our Doctor, must be sometimes wishing  
For something else beside that yellow coach.  
Send physic to the sick, and go a fishing,  
And come back chubby, sound as any roach.  
Don't take the "Lancet" with you on the water,  
Or ponder how to smash your rival's clique ;  
But take your seldom-treated wife and daughter,  
And bid them take three rods, and ONCE A WEEK.

VII.

Young Wife, on yonder shore there blow sea-breezes,  
Eager your cheek to kiss, your curls to fan,  
Your husband—come, you know whatever pleases  
Your charming self delights that handsome man.  
And you've a child, and mother's faith undoubting  
That he's perfection and a thing unique,  
Still, he'd be all the better for an Outing—  
There rolls the wave, and here is ONCE A WEEK.

I.

*ADSUMUS.* With no pregnant words, that tremble  
With awful Purpose, take we leave to come :  
Yet, when one enters where one's friends assemble,  
'Tis not good manners to be wholly dumb.  
So, the bow made, and hands in kindness shaken,  
Accept some lightest lines of rhyme, to speak  
Our notion of the work we've undertaken,  
Our new hebdomadal—our ONCE A WEEK.

II.

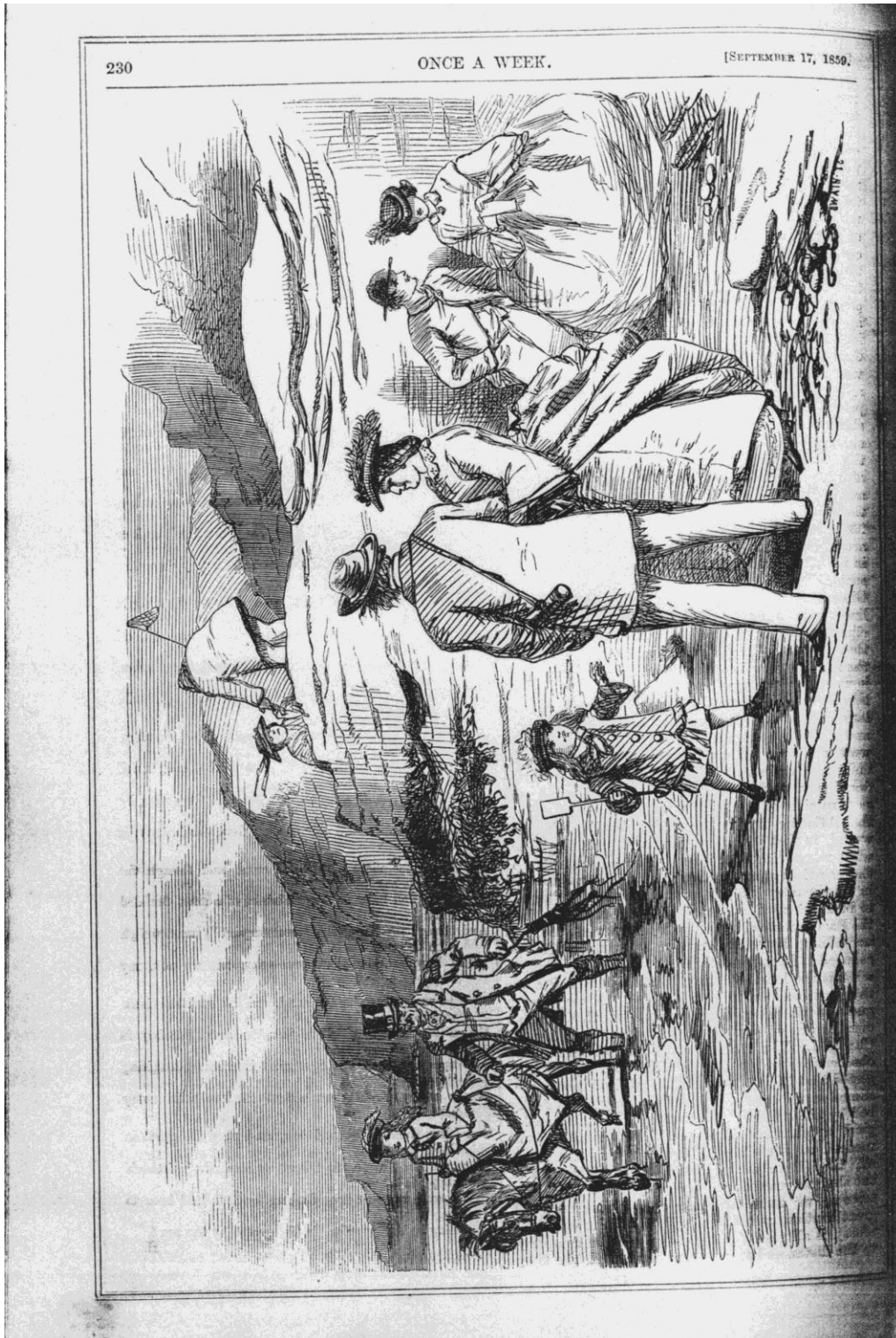
Of two wise men, each with his saw or saying,  
Thus sprouts the wisdom those who like may reap :  
"This world's an Eden, let us all go Maying."  
"This world's a Wilderness, let's sit and weep."  
*Medio tutissimi*—extremes are madness—  
In Hebrew pages for discretion seek :  
"There is a time for mirth, a time for sadness."  
We would "be like the time" in ONCE A WEEK.

III.

Yet, watching Time at work on youth and beauty,  
We would observe, with infinite respect,

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**Figure 8:** Shirley Brooks, "Once a Week," illus. John Leech, *Once a Week* 1 (2 July 1859): 1.



**Figure 9:** H., "Scarborough—1859," Illus. John Leech, *Once a Week* 1 (17 September 1859): 30.

scope of value was in the observatory of a Jesuit convent, in Tuscany, where no woman was allowed to cross the threshold. This indignation in England looks like evidence that the world has advanced in its intellectual and moral liberties.

Whatever the Tuscan Jesuits might think of her case, I believe that Mrs. Somerville and all her many friends would say, if asked, that they never heard of a disrespectful word being spoken of her,

in connection with her powers and her pursuits. Her work is over, for she is almost seventy years of age; and it is not a case in which death is required to silence levity or sarcasm; for there is none of either to put to shame. Under such circumstances, we may reasonably hope that these female mathematicians may be, indeed, Representative Women,—leaders of an honoured and increasing class. INGLEBY SCOTT.

#### FIRST LOVE.



SHE was the first, the only star  
That shone upon my life,  
The summer of my days had set  
Before I called her wife;  
The leaves have fallen twenty times  
Beneath our trysting tree,  
Since the ringers shook the rafters  
In the belfry by the sea.

The pulses of my heart beat slow,  
With calm, unflutter'd stroke,  
Till with a party from the Grange  
I pic-nic'd at the Oak;  
A stranger to our Forest ways,  
She came with Alan's bride,  
One glance—I knew my love was come—  
The old indifference died.

The park, a summer's walk across,  
Was famous in the shire;  
The porter at the crested gates  
Grew rich and blessed the Squire;  
I show'd the glade where ballads say  
The King met Robin Hood,  
I took her where, as boys, we cropp'd  
Wild strawberries in the wood.

The gardens and the orange-trees,  
The swans upon the lake,  
The gazing stags among the fern,  
The pheasants in the brake:  
These sumptuous signs of wealthy state  
She saw with sweet surprise,  
And I—new light was on them all,  
Seen with a lover's eyes.

Figure 10: R. F. Sketchley, "First Love," Illus. F. Walker, *Once a Week* 3 (15 September 1860): 322.

## A SCORE OF YEARS AGO.

Down by the breaking waves we stood,  
 Upon the rocky shore ;  
 The brave waves whisper'd courage,  
 And hid with friendly roar  
 The falt'ring words that told the tale  
 I dared not tell before.

I ask'd, if with the priceless gift,  
 Her love, my life she'd bless ?  
 Was it her voice, or some fair wave,—

For, sooth, I scarce may guess,—  
 Some murmuring wave, or her sweet voice,  
 That lisp'd so sweetly "Yes."

And then, in happy silence, too,  
 I clasp'd her fair wee hand ;  
 And long we stood there, carelessly,  
 While o'er the darkening land  
 The sun set, and the fishing-boats  
 Were sailing from the strand.



It seems not many days ago—  
 Like yesterday,—no more,  
 Since thus we stood, my love and I,  
 Upon the rocky shore ;  
 But I was four-and-twenty *then*,  
 And *now* I'm forty-four.

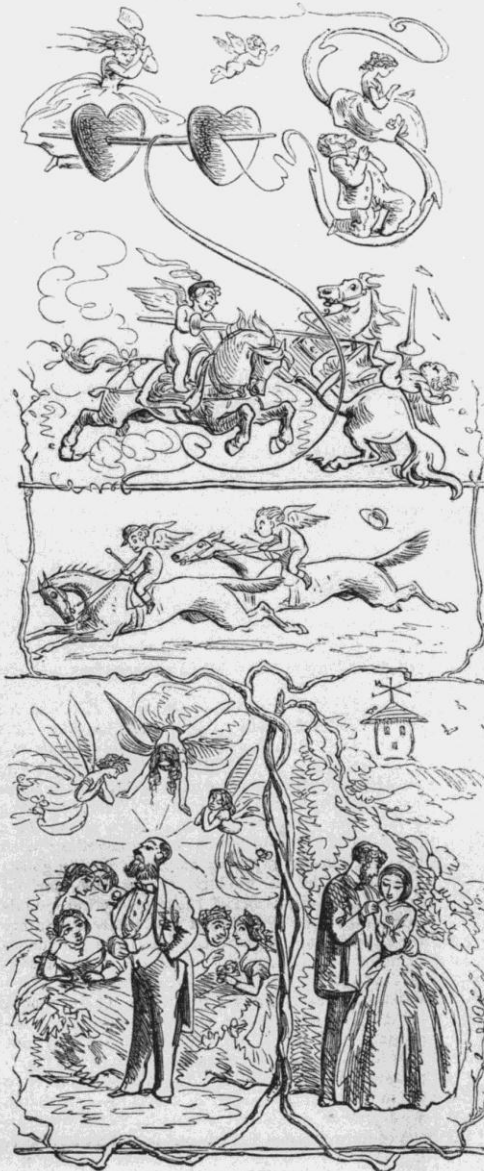
The lily hand is thinner now,  
 And in her sunny hair  
 I see some silvery lines, and on  
 Her brow some lines of care ;  
 But, wrinkled brow, or silver locks,  
 She's not one whit less fair.

The fishing-boats a score of years  
 Go sailing from the strand ;  
 The crimson sun a score of years  
 Sets o'er the darkening land ;  
 And here to-night upon the cliff  
 We're standing hand-in-hand.

"My darling, there's our eldest girl,  
 Down on the rocks below ;  
 What's Stanley doing by her side ?"  
 My wife says, "You should know :  
 He's telling her what you told me  
 A score of years ago." W. L. W.

Figure 11: W. L. W., "A Score of Years Ago," Illus. John Leech, *Once a Week* 3 (6 October 1860): 416.

## BOUGHT AND SOLD.



IMPLE souls, who've implicitly ever believed  
 In man the deceiver and maid the deceived ;  
 That, if hearts once united again become two,  
 The broadcloth was false and the muslin was true;  
 Be known to the heroes that breathe in my lay,  
 Harry Leslie, Esquire, and Sir Vivian de Grey.

I'll tell you the story as told me in town  
 Of this tourney in love where the best knight  
 went down,  
 This race where the distanced competitor won,  
 And the first past the post was remorselessly  
 done ;  
 This main where a bride was the stake of the  
 play, [Grey,  
 And the players young Leslie and Vivian de

Sir Vivian de Grey was a county M.P.,  
 Plain, awkward and cold, but a faultless *parti*,  
 And like bees to the bloom soft ambitions will  
 throng [long ;  
 Where acres are broad and where rent-rolls are  
 So the pets of the season were vying, they say,  
 To affect the affections of Vivian de Grey.

Only one of the fairest seem'd loth to be sold  
 For the Member's position, the Baronet's gold ;  
 Only one little Phyllis seem'd firm to decline  
 To kneel with the rest at that Corydon's shrine ;  
 For the thing called a heart she had given away,  
 Or promised—but not to Sir Vivian de Grey.

If I could I would tell by what spells and what  
 art  
 Young Leslie had gain'd this debateable heart.  
 If I could I would guess at the soft whisper'd  
 words [birds,  
 That make little souls flutter like poor prison'd  
 And arm all the feelings in hostile array  
 E'en to prestiged invaders like Vivian de Grey.

But my tale hurries on to a critical night ;—  
 In Belgravia was revel, and music, and light ;  
 There chariot and Hansom, and clarence and  
 brougham,  
 Contributed crush to hall, staircase, and room ;  
 And obsequious linkmen obtruding their ray  
 Illumed the arrival of Vivian de Grey.

The reporters have scann'd him, he skips up  
 the stair,  
 O, death and distraction ! the rival is there :  
 To his arm the adored one confidently clings,  
 And a glance of defiance at Vivian he flings,  
 As who should insinuate, "Dogs have their day,  
 But this is not yours, my bold Vivian de Grey !"

Yet forget not, fond swain, that there's many a  
 slip  
 'Twi't the rosiest cup and the hairiest lip ;  
 Presume not on bridal before you are match'd,  
 And count not your chickens before they are  
 hatch'd !  
 If the winner be here, and I thought you could  
 pay, [Grey,  
 I'd take very short odds, and name Vivian de

Now in old dreary times of the grave minuet  
 You might not claim one partner for every set ;  
 Still less in these charming affectionate days,  
 When the dances put lovers so much *à leur aise* ;  
 So the life of your life you must bear as you may  
 To see clasp'd by the biceps of Vivian de Grey.

See the woo'd and the wooer whirl on face to face,  
 Till his pectoral powers are tried by the pace.  
 Now he looks at his boot and he toys with his glove,  
 Is he weary with dancing or breathless with love ?  
 Ah, those faltering accents, too plainly they say,  
 "Would you gladden the halls of Sir Vivian de Grey ?"

Figure 12: Ralph A. Benson, "Bought and Sold," Illus. Hablot K. Browne, *Once a Week* 1 (10 December 1859): 492.

DECEMBER 10, 1859.] BOUGHT AND SOLD. 493

Yet start not, accepted, whose look ne'er has left  
Those eyes of whose light for this valse you're bereft;  
Though the long lashes droop, yet the lip may be bold,  
And your rival's expression betrays he is sold.  
Forced, forced is his smile as he leads her away,  
And cold is the parting with Vivian de Grey.

Is it over? Not so. Though the fortress be strong,  
And repel the besieger for ever so long,  
Still some traitor captain the gates may unbar,  
Still the heart of a maid be betrayed by mama.  
You have one other card, 'tis a strong one, to play:  
Go straight at her mother, Sir Vivian de Grey!

Shortly told is the sequel. A matron all thunder,  
At which ignorant stare and initiates wonder,  
From the ball-room the light of the festival slips,  
And the hearts of admirers are hush'd in eclipse;  
And, as panels of blazonry whisk her away,  
They curse thy diplomacy, Vivian de Grey!

Deluded young Leslie! O, light be thy sleep!  
Did'st thou know the night long how the darling will weep,  
And the poor little bosom be tortured with sighs,  
Not sweet were the slumbers that rest on thine  
Not light the anathema breathed on the day  
That usher'd to being Sir Vivian de Grey.

There's a moral French adage we all recollect,  
Which I think might be parodied here with effect.  
It ought to be woven in festoons of roses,  
"The man may propose, but the mother [obey  
disposes;"  
And the child that rebels must be school'd to  
Like the child that is sold to Sir Vivian de Grey.

Well! 'tis well that a time comes when broken hearts mend,  
And the lover of old becomes simply a friend;  
Then she'll kiss you the tip of her little *maure* glove,  
And forget, my poor Leslie, the young dream of  
Or turn the dear face from your soft words away,  
With the sweetest of smiles, to Sir Vivian de Grey.

Yet bear yourself boldly; secure in your pride,  
Unbraved in the ball-room, unmatched in the Ride;  
And when in the future, as seasons roll on,  
By some other bright eyes and soft smile you are won,  
If hand be surrender'd, forget not to pray  
To be surer of heart than Sir Vivian de Grey.

And you who seek hand without heart, gentles all,  
First bag the old birds, and the young ones [must fall.  
By purse or by title, though coveys be wild,  
Secure but the mother, you're safe of the child.  
So the legend on you will be not thrown away  
That is told of young Leslie and Vivian de Grey.

RALPH A. BENSON.

Figure 13: Ralph A. Benson, "Bought and Sold," Illus. Hablot K. Browne, *Once a Week* 1 (10 December 1859): 492-93.

I was vexed.

I said, suddenly: "Perhaps because I have never seen a woman I could love."

"Yes, you have!" she answered quickly.

And if the spirit of mischief ever dwelt in woman, and looked out of woman's eyes, it looked out of those that now most unscrupulously sought my somewhat agitated face, "Yes, you have!" She rose, opened a door that led into another room, and said, "Ethel!"

There came forth a lady, younger, taller, darker-haired, and as beautiful as Terese.

"Ethel Barrington. Mr. Deane, my husband's sister. She is younger than I am—(don't stare at me, Ethel)—but very like—very like my beautiful mother, and your picture of her; is she not? Of course we thought you knew everything. But Ethel had come to us, the night of the fire, from Sir Frederick Worth's. She and the servants

had all time to be helped out somehow. I could not leave Leslie. He went to a room to secure papers; there you found him, and you know the rest. Ethel was fetched again the next morning by Lady Worth. It was Ethel who told you that Leslie could tread that terrible plank. She only returned to us yesterday. Do you understand it now?"

I did understand it. I understood, too, the bright exulting glance that *would* follow me and find me out, and tell me again and again, without the trouble of words, till I was shame-faced and cowardly, and struck with tremor and chicken-heartedness, that I had—yes, *I had*, and that *I knew I had* seen the woman I could marry, and that Ethel Barrington was she. And so I became a hero!—a hero? Do you doubt it; question it? Fair doubter, cease. I am Ethel Barrington's hero. I am hers.

### THE SPRIG OF LAVENDER.



I.

is a faded sprig of Lavender, in nowise worth the keeping,

Yet I prize it above other things, though valueless it be;

For she's far off that gave it me, where clouds are calmly sleeping

All summer through, above the hills so very dear to me.

II.

The little hand that gave it, with the tiny fairy fingers,

With touches imperceptible has stolen all my heart;

Oh! frankly does she offer it, and oftentimes it lingers

Right lovingly within my own, where'er we meet or part.

III.

Yes, she is fair and gentle, and her voice is low and tender

As the whisper of a summer wind, or distant streams at play;

And may good angels guard her well, and sunniest moments send her,

Will ever be my prayer for her, when I am far away.

IV.

And thoughts of her bring thoughts of home, and all I've left behind me;

And then my thoughts go wandering in the mansions of the Past,

And little is the Lavender then needed to remind me  
How happy hours, like summer flowers, must fade and perish fast.

V.

And yet I keep the Lavender, and when again I meet her,

I'll show her how I've kept it, and she'll turn away her head;

And blushing, say I'm foolish; but can anything be sweeter

Than to see the blushes rising o'er her cheek so rosy-red?

MEMOR.


Figure 14: Memor., "The Sprig of Lavender," Illus. Hablôt K Browne, *Once a Week* 1 (12 November 1859): 416.

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ONCE A WEEK.

[NOVEMBER 19, 1859.]


FOOTSTEPS OF DAY.



I. I saw the maiden morn go forth, and her steps were soft and still, To load her golden pitcher at the sun-fount on the hill; And as she bow'd her meekly down, the bridegroom of the day Stole by, and with his fiery breath kiss'd Night's dew-tears away.



II. I saw the maiden yet again, but her looks were proud and high, And scarce earth's bossy shield could bear the fire-darts of the sky; And the bridegroom lay beside her, his giant limbs outspread, Far in their noontide slumber, on his azure-banner'd bed.



III. I saw the maiden yet again, but her feet were hurrying on, As 'twere some hooded pilgrim, ere yet his journey's done; Quench'd was the sunlight of her eye, and the dews hung on her breast, While evening flung her purple scarf athwart the shadow'd west.

IV. I saw the maiden once again, and as she pass'd in flight, The moon with many a sister star came dancing into sight; And sadly soft on spirit wings, as the vision roll'd away, Fell down the night's dark curtain on the chambers of the day!

ALSAGER HAY HILL.

**Figure 15:** Alsager Hay Hill, "Footsteps of the Day," Illus. Hablôt K. Browne, *Once a Week* 1 (19 November 1859): 416.

owing to our superior physical organisation, just as our heavy cavalry rode down the French cuirassiers at Waterloo. There is little doubt that a regiment of our grenadiers going into battle armed only with cricket bats would effectually bruise their antagonists, just as they would beat French small swords at "quarter-staff," the wooden representative of our ancient two-handed sword. While we regard a gun more as a pike than a projector, we shall not get the best result. In a charge of pikes or bayonets it is quite obvious that if one side can wield a pike three feet longer than the other, that side must destroy its opponents; and precisely in this way should English arms be brought into play, guided by English muscles. The bayonet derives its origin from the musqueteers

forming pikes of their guns by sticking their daggers into the muzzles; but a bayonet on a rifle deflects the ball in spite of all care, and a thin barrel loses its true form very commonly after being converted into a pike. It is quite clear that long range is henceforth to play a great part in our battles, and that long range is incompatible with a pike weapon. Then to solve this problem is the great question of the day, and so to solve it that our physical strength shall maintain its natural advantage; that we shall not merely make an improvement that may instantly be imitated by our neighbours, but such an improvement as we may ourselves use to the greatest advantage. As our space is limited, we shall return to the question in a future Number. W. BRIDGES ADAMS.

## MAGENTA.

I.

Under the willows; in the trampled maize;  
Midst up-torn vines, and shatter'd mulberry rows;  
In rice-fields, corn-fields, dykes by dusty ways,  
And cottage-crofts, where the gold gourd-flower  
blows,—  
Swathes of Death's scythe, wielded for two long days—  
The dead lie thick and still: foes all at peace with foes.

II.

So many nameless dead! no meed of glory  
For all this blood, so freely pour'd, is theirs;  
Yet each life here link'd many in its story  
Of hopes and loves and hates, of joys and cares.  
Of these unhonour'd sleepers, grim and gory,  
Who knows, out of the world how much each with him  
bears?



III.

These were all sons or sires; husbands or brothers;  
Bread-winners, most of them, for homes afar.  
*This* a sick father's stay; *that* a blind mother's;  
For *him* in Paris, 'neath the evening star,  
A loving heart its care in labour smothers,  
Till taught by arms of price, how far they strike—  
*how far!*

IV.

Cry! let the poor soul wrestle with the woe  
Of that bereavement. Who takes thought of her?  
Through the illumined streets the triumphs go;  
Under her window waving banners stir,  
And shouting crowds to Notre Dame that flow.  
Hide, mourner, hide the tears which might such  
triumphs blur!  
TOM TAYLOR.

Figure 16: Tom Taylor, "Magenta," Illus. John Everett Millais, *Once a Week* 1 (2 July 1859): 10.

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ONCE A WEEK.


[NOVEMBER 5, 1859.]

The minstrels made loud marriage din ;  
Each guest sat in his place,  
To eat and drink, and wish good luck,  
To do the wedding grace ;

To eat and drink, and wish good luck,  
To sing, and laugh, and jest :  
One only neither ate nor drank,  
Nor clapp'd her hands, nor bless'd.

"Son Thomas," his lady mother said,  
With smiles, almost with tears,  
"May Nell and you but live as true  
As we have done for years ;

"Your father, thirty years ago,  
Had just your tale to tell ;  
But he was not so pale as you,  
Nor I so pale as Nell."



My lord was pale with inward strife,  
And Nell was pale with pride ;  
My lord gazed long on pale Maude Clare  
Or ever he kiss'd the bride.

No eyes were fix'd upon the bride,  
Or on the bridegroom more,  
All eyes were fix'd on grand Maude Clare,  
While she look'd straight before.

"Lo, I have brought my gift, my lord,  
Have brought my gift," she said—  
To bless the hearth, to bless the board,  
To bless the marriage-bed.

"Here's my half of the golden chain  
You wore about your neck,  
That day we waded ankle-deep  
For lilies in the beck :

"Here's my half of the faded leaves  
We pluck'd from budding bough,  
With feet amongst the lily-leaves,—  
The lilies are budding now."

He strove to match her scorn with scorn,  
He falter'd in his place :  
"Lady," he said,— "Maude Clare," he said,  
"Maude Clare,"—and hid his face.

She turn'd to Nell : "My Lady Nell,  
I have a gift for you,  
Tho', were it fruit, the bloom were gone,  
Or, were it flowers, the dew.

"Take my share of a fickle heart,  
Mine of a paltry love :  
Take it, or leave it, as you will,  
I wash my hands thereof."

"And what you leave," said Nell, "I'll take,  
And what you spurn I'll wear,  
For he's my lord for better and worse,  
And him I love, Maude Clare.

"Yes, though you're taller by the head,  
More wise, and much more fair ;  
I'll love him till he loves me best—  
Me best of all, Maude Clare !"

CHRISTINA G. ROSSETTI.

**Figure 17:** Christina Rossetti, "Maude Clare," Illus. John Everett Millais, *Once a Week* 1 (6 November 1859): 382.

that case, the dress is less elaborate, and there is more freedom and simplicity in the practice.

It is a remarkable sight when the master is followed by ten or twenty pupils, his pole reminding one of the magnet which brings swans or fishes to the bread in a basin of water, in the old-fashioned toy which astonishes children. The second pupil has a hand on the shoulder of the first, and swims with the other three limbs; the third on the shoulder of the second; and so on—looking like a shoal of mermaids. When so thoroughly at ease as to amuse themselves for a long time in the water, the ladies sometimes grow hungry; and then is seen another remarkable sight—not quite so pretty. They rush from the bath to a confectioner's shop which opens upon it, and may be seen presently swimming with one hand, and

with the other eating their lunch, completely at ease.

After learning the art in fresh water, it is mighty easy to swim in the sea, from the density of the water, and scarcely possible to sink. A woman who knows how to float is safe for many hours in the sea, as far as keeping on the surface is concerned. Among breakers or sharks, or in extreme cold, the peril is not of drowning simply. The simple peril of drowning might be reduced to something very small, if everybody could swim.

These particulars of the Paris school may afford some guidance as to how to set about getting women and children taught what they all ought to know; and in the hope that something may arise out of them, I offer them to the readers of *ONCE A WEEK*. V.



### FAIRY MAY.

I.

COME hither, little Fairy May,  
My bride if you will be,  
I'll give you silks and satins bright  
Most beautiful to see;  
I'll bring you to my castle hall,  
'Mid lords and ladies gay:"  
"No thank you, sir, I'd rather not,"  
Quoth little Fairy May!

II.

Says mother, "He's a proper youth;  
Say yes, girl, there's a dearie:"  
"Say no, Miss Pride?" her father cried,  
"I'd only like to hear ye!"  
But still, for all that they could do,  
And all that they could say,  
"No thank you, sir; I'd rather not,"  
Quoth little Fairy May!

III.

"Come Fairy May, your words unsay,  
You silly little goosie!  
You know within your heart of hearts,  
You wouldn't like to lose me:  
You'll never see me here again,  
If once I go away:"  
"Well, sir! and much I care for that!"  
Quoth little Fairy May.

IV.

"Lose such a prize!" her father cries,  
"Say yes—or else I'll make ye!"  
Her mother scolds—"A wilful chit!  
I've half a mind to shake ye!"  
But still for all that they could do,  
And all that they could say,  
"No thank you, sir, I'd rather not,"  
Quoth little Fairy May. C. W. GOODHART.



Figure 18: C. W. Goodhart, "Fairy May," Illus. Miss Coode, *Once a Week* 1 (12 November 1859): 404.

[JANUARY 7, 1860.]

mechanical genius, the imperial jaw dropped, which movement being a little too strong for me, I left.

All the while a continual fusillade was being maintained by the rifle-galleries and nut-hawkers. Of the former, there were no less than nine in full work. The process was safe and simple: at the end of a tube a foot in diameter and thirty-five feet long, was the brilliantly-illuminated bull's-eye, which, on being struck, rung a bell; the bell kept going all the evening, so I should advise the Emperor to keep civil. In front of each gallery there was a pictorial screen. The proprietor must have had very decided Whig tendencies, inasmuch as his pictures illustrated the life of Dutch William; and one drawing particularly struck me—"William the Third consigning the Duke of Gloucester to the care of Bishop Burnet." I cannot say that the spectators took much advantage by this effort at inculcating history, inasmuch as I overheard a costermonger asking a "pal" if it didn't represent the Prince of Wales talking to Cardinal Wiseman! By far the most familiar representation, however, referred to Indian massacres,—Sepoys throwing babies up in the air and catching them on the points of their bayonets, as

calmly as though they were playing cup and ball. The Cawnpore Massacre again figured largely, proving the interest the people take in contemporary events. In revenge, Nana Sahib, as the bull's-eye, suffered indescribable agony the whole night, and yielded in return abundant nuts and—nightmares.

I must not omit to mention the canvas avenue of toys and gingerbread nuts—that fairy land of our boyhood some quarter of a century ago. There was the same eager inquiry, in shrill falsetto, "Will you take a nut, sir?" that leads one back to the days of George IV., when fairs were fairs, and society recognised amusements on a level with the tastes of the working-classes, instead of destroying them all for the sake of third-rate Athenaeums, with which the bulk of the people have nothing to do. During the hours I spent in our fair, I must candidly confess that I saw no impropriety or ill-behaviour whatever,—a statement which much surprised our churchwarden, who called upon me next morning with a memorial to enable the parish to get rid of what he was pleased to term "the scum of the earth," and that sink of iniquity—our Fair. CUREO.

## A WIFE.



The wife sat thoughtfully turning over  
A book inscribed with the school-girl's name;  
A tear—one tear—fell hot on the cover  
She quickly closed when her husband came.

He came, and he went away—it was nothing—  
With cold calm words upon either side;  
But, just at the sound of the room-door shutting,  
A dreadful door in her soul stood wide.

Love, she had read of in sweet romances,—  
Love that could sorrow, but never fail,

Built her own palace of noble fancies,  
All the wide world a fairy tale.

Bleak and bitter, and utterly doleful,  
Spreads to this woman her map of life;  
Hour after hour she looks in her soul, full  
Of deep dismay and turbulent strife.

Face in both hands, she knelt on the carpet;  
The black cloud loosen'd, the storm-rain fell:  
Oh! life has so much to wilder and warp it,—  
One poor heart's day what poet could tell? A.

**Figure 19:** William Allingham, "A Wife," Illus. John Everett Millais, *Once a Week* 2 (7 January 1860): 32.

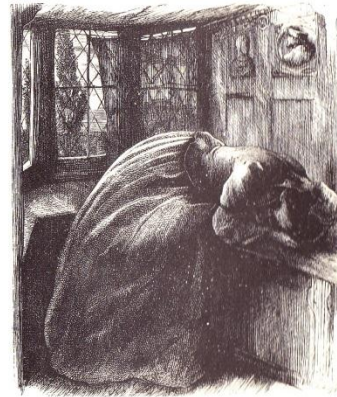
6

ISABEL.

To read those laws; an accent very low  
 In blandishment, but a most silver flow  
 Of subtle-paced counsel in distress,  
 Right to the heart and brain, tho' undescried,  
 Winning its way with extreme gentleness  
 Thro' all the outworks of suspicious pride;  
 A courage to endure and to obey;  
 A hate of gossip parlance, and of sway,  
 Crown'd Isabel, thro' all her placid life,  
 The queen of marriage, a most perfect wife.

III.

The mellow'd reflex of a winter moon;  
 A clear stream flowing with a muddy one,  
 Till in its onward current it absorbs  
 With swifter movement and in purer light  
 The vexed eddies of its wayward brother:  
 A leaning and upbearing parasite,  
 Clothing the stem, which else had fallen quite,  
 With cluster'd flower-bells and ambrosial orbs  
 Of rich fruit-bunches leaning on each other—  
 Shadow forth thee:—the world hath not another  
 (Tho' all her fairest forms are types of thee,  
 And thou of God in thy great charity)  
 Of such a finish'd chasten'd purity.



MARIANA.

"Mariana in the moated grange." *Measure for Measure.*

E.

WITH blackest moss the flower-plots  
 Were thickly crusted, one and all;  
 The rusted nails fell from the knots  
 That held the peach to the garden-wall.

**Figure 20:** Alfred Tennyson; "Mariana;" Illus. John Everett Millais; *Poems*; 1857; London: Scholar Press, 1976; 7–10.



**Figure 21:** L. C. C., "The Toad," Illus. J. D. Watson, *Good Words* 2 (January 1861) 33.

And there it lay, a tiny thing  
 All meanly clad and weeping sore ;  
 Such tears no elvish trick could wring,  
 No less than mortal grief could pour.

Soon as the baby-form was prest  
 In woman's arms, it hushed its cries ;  
 And turned toward the mother's breast  
 With quivering lips and drowning eyes.



They bring it to the light, nor mark  
 Without—the wreck of woe and sin—  
 A form that crouches in the dark,  
 A wild, white face that peers within.

Praying the woman-soul to save  
 Her babe : and to that peaceful hearth  
 She saw the kiss that welcome gave,  
 And fled an outcast of the earth.

The cautious dame had questioned still  
 The bounds of charity and right,  
 Although her inmost soul would thrill  
 Above the babe that blessed night.

But for a whisper in her ear,  
 That boundless love that hour had claim.  
 “ A Christmas gift,” we'll keep it, dear,  
 It was to-night the Saviour came.

ISA CRAIG.

**Figure 22:** Isa Craig, “The Christmas Child,” Illus. Thomas Morten, *Good Words* 3 (January 1862): 56.



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tion is being already practically effected. The most energetic part of the white population is at the west; of their families whom they left behind, most of the wealthiest have fled into the interior; those who remain, awed by the proximity, or the rumoured approach, of the men of the North, are utterly powerless to coerce the coloured population. Not near Beaufort alone, but throughout a large portion of South Carolina, I am assured that the slaves are actually in possession of their master's houses and plantations; and the reason why they do not rise, is simply that they have nothing to gain by rising. They have no reason for particular sympathy with the North as yet, since it can only talk of transporting them as a reward for their assistance; whilst North and South are cutting each other's throats, "their strength is to sit still." They are not idle; 3000 of them, as we have heard lately, are employed at wages by one contractor, gathering cotton in the sea-islands.

Whether the North desire it or no, Emancipation will work itself out, through a bloody struggle that may take place between the Federals and Confederates. The sooner it is completed, the better will it be for all parties. It has been hinted already that the Confederates have offered, in exchange for recognition, the emancipation of all slaves within four years after a given date. I do not believe that they were authorized to make such an offer. I do not believe, considering the character of the negotiation of the very principle of national unity, that the offer, if made, could be trusted. But the rumour itself shows what is in the bottom of men's minds—the secret instinct which tells them that a revolution, accomplished for the very purpose of extending slavery, must end in the emancipation of the slave.

LOVE IN DEATH.

[A woman perished in a snow-storm while passing over the Green Mountains in Vermont; she had an infant with her, who was found alive and well in the morning, carefully wrapped in the mother's clothing.]

Ox the death-darkened air,  
Through the wild storm, amid the drifting snows,  
A voice of murmured soothing bleat with prayer,  
Solemn in trustful tenderness, arose.

A mother's spirit in its parting pang  
Unto her child—a mother's soul stirred  
Through all its depths—a mother's fondness hung,  
And trembled on each faint and faltering word  
Of blessing and farewell; and, as the bird  
Plucks the soft plumage from its downy breast  
To shield its young, and covers with quivering wing  
More closely o'er them, to her side she prest  
Her babe, and strove, with warmth and sheltering  
To frame within her clasping arms a nest:  
"Sleep! oh, my baby, sleep! the night draws on,  
Sleep once again on thy poor mother's breast;  
Ere yet the morning dawns I shall be gone,  
And thou no more wilt know such place of rest;  
Colder and yet more cold,  
Dark with the storm the wild winds round us sweep,  
Yet still above thy slumber, as of old,  
Thy mother watches. Sleep, thou dear one, sleep!  
Closer and closer still  
Nestle unto me, darling, safe from harm;  
Cold, cold, is all without, and deathly chill,  
Only the heart—thy mother's heart—is warm.

"Yet there it will be cold,—  
Yes, even there, my child! and, oh, how soon.  
The snow drifts thickly round us—fold by fold  
Around the sinking form, the weary feet  
That may no longer bear us o'er the wild,  
Silent and swift, a wreathed winding-sheet  
Is closely drawn; but not for thee, my child!  
No, not for thee! my parting soul hath striven  
With Him, the merciful—unto this hour,  
Unto its love, its anguish, hath been given  
A spirit of prevailing and of power—  
And I have borne it from thee! To his breast  
Death folds me close as I fold thee to mine;  
Cold kisses are upon my cheek—to rest,

To sleep they woo me, soft and deep as thine:  
A heavy mist steels on—I feel my mouth  
Drawn slowly from me; yet my love shall keep  
Its watch above thee still, and thou shalt sleep,  
Sleep safely, sweetly, in the arms of DEATH,  
And wake to life once more! Kind eyes shall weep  
And kindly hearts be troubled, when they see  
The sweet unconscious smiling of thy face;  
For thou wilt smile, and bear no thought of me.  
Too young art thou for grief,  
Too young for Love, my child, for Memory!  
Yet not less fond the last, the lingering kiss,  
Yet not less fervent from the heart the prayer,  
Because I know thou wilt not, darling, miss  
Thy mother in her fondness, in her care!

"But he will think of me—  
Thy Father. Thou wilt grow up by his side,  
And ever bring the thought of her that died  
Lonely, but loving, blessing him and thee.  
The flower, the flower may fall  
When it hath shielded in its folded breast  
The bud of promise, loveliest,  
Most dear of all,  
And he will not be lone  
In sorrow or in joy. Thy voice shall fill  
The silence of his soul with many a tone  
That once was mine, and whisper to him still  
Of things long past, and I shall look at him  
Through thy sweet eyes—young, loving eyes, that  
shine  
In light and tenderness when these are dim,  
Shall answer his with smiles that once were mine.  
Sleep, dearest! in the night  
Of death thy mother's arms around thee twist  
More closely, that her spirit in its flight,  
May send a message of its love on thine.

"The snows will melt away,  
And green leaves rustle light o'er hill and glade  
Through the sweet scent of hidden waters stirred,  
And the clear shining after summer rains,

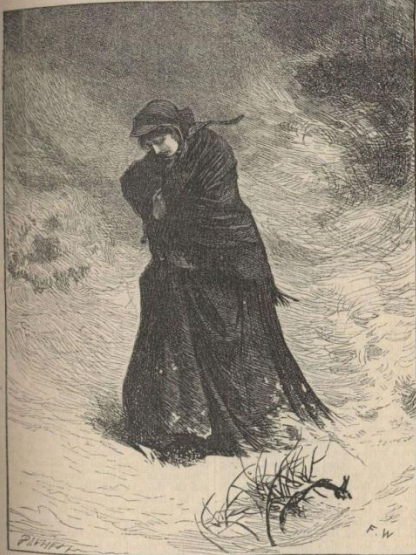
Thou shalt see, and leave where they have been no trace,  
May I arise, O Saviour! earth and heaven  
Shall pass, but Thou endurest. Unto Thee  
I yield my spirit; Father, bless thou me!  
Thine will Thy love the child that Thou hast  
given!

I shall have passed, returning not again:  
These ancient Hills shall wake  
Like giants from their slumber at the breath  
Of Spring, and from their lofty summits shake  
The icy chains of stillness and of death;  
But not till they shall hear  
A sound, and move in trembling from their place,  
Not till the mountains and the rocks in fear

LOVE IN DEATH.

Frederick Walker, D.D.]

The hills will spring; then on strong wing the  
bird  
Will rise to the blue heaven, ascending slow;  
The snow will go forth upon the lake,  
The hunter to the forest with his bow;  
But far beyond the flight  
Of Indian arrow, far beyond the ken  
Of mountain eagle in his soaring night,



And in that prayer her fervent spirit pass'd.  
The deep night fell, the keen and hurrying blast  
Sang her wild dirge; the straining clasp grew cold,  
Yet pressed the little one with rigid hold  
Still to her heart; when morning came the child  
Woke peaceful in its mother's arms and smiled.

DORA GREENWELL.

Figure 24: Dora Greenwell, "Love in Death," Illus. Fredrick Walker, *Good Words* 3 (March 1862): 184–85.

"the chief among ten thousand, and altogether lovely!" O my soul! lovest thou Him? art thou, too, "sick of love?" Be stirred up from thy mysterious depths to bless His holy name, "who redeemeth thy life from destruction, who crowneth thee with loving-kindnesses and tender mercies."

VII. JESUS AMONG THE PROPHETS.

"We have found Him of whom Moses, in the law and the prophets, did write—Jesus," said Philip to Nathanael. "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy," was the voice that came out of the throne to John in Patmos. It is pleasant to search for Jesus anywhere, but specially in the prophecies. He assuredly is to be found among the prophets of the house of Israel. When the divine afflatus fell upon them,

"They saw a form that others could not see,  
And heard a voice that others could not hear."

They all knew Jesus, and loved Him, and spake of Him. Some of these have been called *major* and others of them *minor* prophets, but they are all alike in this—they point to Jesus—they all anticipate the Baptist, and cry aloud, "Behold the Lamb of God!" It is ever upon the major key they sing when it is Messiah they extol; the low and minor strain is only adopted when they solemnly chant His griefs and bewail His sorrows. Heaven

and earth pay tribute to their genius when they celebrate His glory. They gather from all nature the sublime imagery whence to represent His majesty; and, as on angels' wings, they ransack the pure and bright regions of thought, to bring to His feet the treasures of universal adoration. But after all, they owed their inspiration to Himself. It was His Spirit that moved forward their minds into the true and evangelistic meaning of their beautiful metaphors. Job saw Him as His living Redeemer. Jacob spake of Him as the Shiloh. He was Isaiah's Lamb, Jeremiah's Branch of Righteousness, Ezekiel's Plant of Renown, Daniel's Ancient of Days, Micah's Young Ruler, Haggai's Desire of all Nations, and Malachi's Sun of Righteousness. With what deep and awful tones do these Hebrew seers roll down through their generations the psalm of the first advent! They never stammer in their repetitions, they never contradict themselves, they never change their music, and they never weary either in or of their song. Only around the cross did they seem to make one short pause—not from any distrust of Him who was dying amid the darkness of that hour, but just to draw one long breathing before all their harmonies were blended into one loud and final testimony—the testimony of Jesus, "It is finished;" and now "the vision and the prophecies are sealed up."

LOVE.




COME, love, I'll weave a wreath for thee  
Of all things rich and fair,  
A starry crown of costly gems—  
There's nought for thee too rare;  
And underneath my coronet  
Shall lurk no haunting care.  
But gems, though bright, are cold and hard,  
Thy head is weary now;  
Here rest it on my breast, and fling  
Those baubles from thy brow.  
I'll twine thy wreath of flowers, love,  
They're fair and soft, I trow.  
Yet flowers die—the sweetest first—  
No fading wreath I'll weave  
For thee, my brightest, noblest, best,  
On this glad Christmas eve:  
When all around is mirth and joy,  
I would not have thee grieve.

My poet's brow would well become  
The deathless wreath of song,  
And well his stately form be seen  
Fame's proudest sons among;  
But lonely oft, and sad, and chill,  
The hearts amid that throng.  
In vain I seek a crown for thee  
Among earth's choicest things:  
Her gems are bright, but, oh! how cold—  
Her purest joys have wings.  
I'll bind no chaplet on thy brow,  
My own belov'd, that stings.  
In heaven a fair flower sweetly blooms,  
Which never knows decay;  
'Tis ever fresh, and pure, and bright,  
As on its natal day.  
I'll twine thy wreath of that sweet flower—  
Love passeth not away. M.

Figure 25: M., "Love," Illus. Unidentified, *Good Words* 1 (March 1860): 168.

William Macleod, D.D.] GOOD WORDS. 593

AUTUMN.

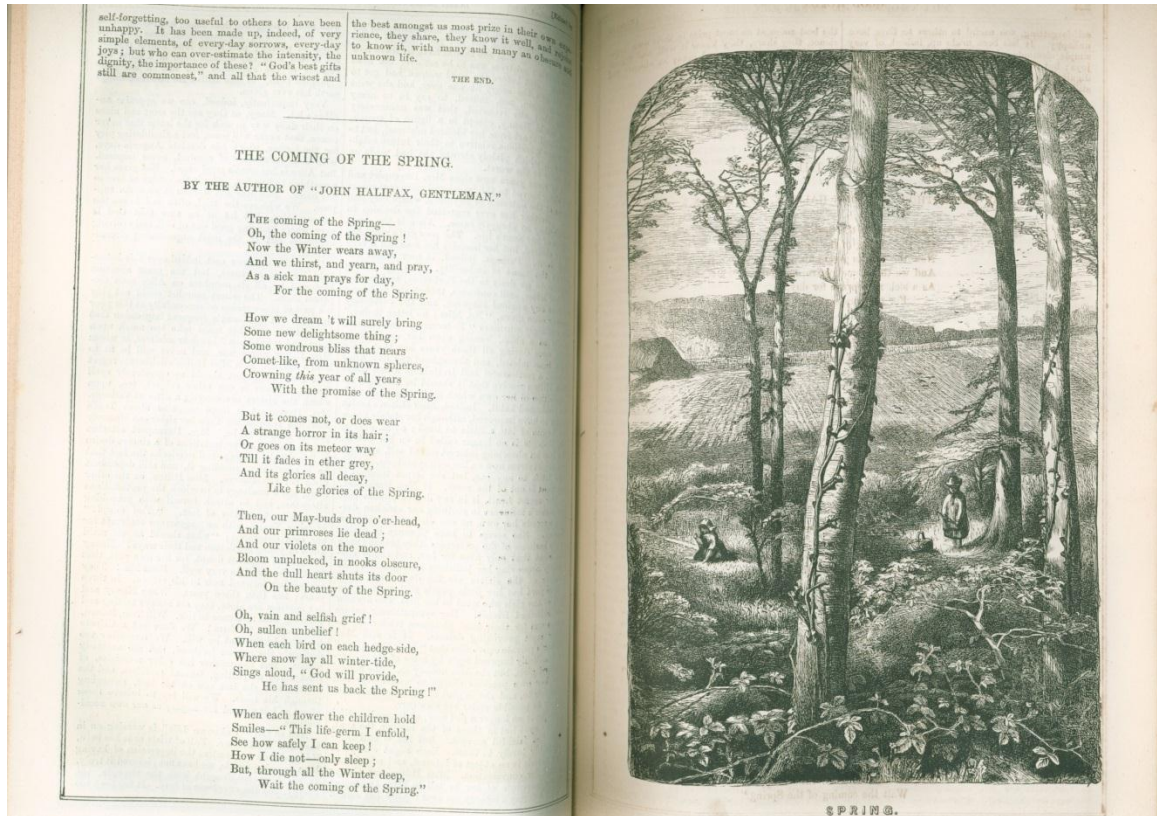


I LOVE the season when the first rude breeze  
Of Autumn shakes the foliage from the trees,  
And mists that rise at morning damp and cold,  
Float in light clouds at even fringed with gold.  
The eye can longer rest on scene like this,  
Than that which tells of more unsullied bliss;<sup>1</sup>  
And as we gaze, it brings the thought how sin,<sup>2</sup>  
Ushered the morn of our existence in  
With cheerless sky, till Christ at evening came,  
Sinking his blessed beams beneath our shame,  
Then on our darkness broke a golden flood,<sup>3</sup>  
Of light, and every cloud was tipp'd with blood.

H. M. T.

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**Figure 26:** H. M. T., "Autumn," Illus. J. W. McWhirter, *Good Words* 1 (September 1860): 593.



**Figure 27:** Dinah Mulock Craik, "The Coming of Spring," Illus. J. W. McWhirter, *Good Words* 2 (April 1861): 224.

Stoop, then, and quaff the swift, delusive wave,  
Of earthly pleasure, honour, love, once more ;  
It gives the transient ease before it gave,  
It leaves the quenchless want it left before ;  
The truth is proved, so often heard in vain—  
" Who of these waters drinks shall thirst again."

Oh, aching hearts ! so restless in your woe,  
As draught on draught from wave on wave is tried ;  
The streams that quench have *not* their source below,  
Each is not mirrored in their healing tide ;  
Will ye not seek them, taught by want and pain,  
And seeking find, and never thirst again !

L. C. C.



## OF PAST SUFFERINGS.

BY ARCHBISHOP WHATELY.

It seems at first sight pretty obvious, that to grieve for past sufferings (so far as past), is to torment one's-self most absurdly. And, indeed, I don't think men are very apt to do so in respect of their *own* ; but it is very often done in the case of the sufferings of one's friends. Past evils, indeed, do very often afford a reasonable ground of affliction ; but then it is from their liability to *recur*, or to lead to some *other* evil. A past fit of the gout may be regarded as a present evil, since it indicates a gouty constitution. But it is remarkable that there are no past evils whatever that people are so apt to grieve about as those which are the most utterly past, viz., the sufferings of the *deceased*. One of the most anxious inquiries respecting a departed friend is, " whether he died easily ;" nothing is so consolatory to the survivors as to learn that he suffered little ; and if he died in

great agony, it excites their sympathy more than the case of one who is *living* in agony. And yet all this is pure imagination, and all our affliction in such a case is the result of confusion of thought. To be sure I wish to die easily, because I wish to live easily, of which that is a part ; but if there be any amount of suffering from disease reserved for me, I care not whether it takes place in the disease of which I die, or in any other. Of the two, indeed, perhaps the former would be rather preferable ; because in the other case, I might be annoyed by the memory of that particular suffering whose *recurrence* I might fear. And I feel just the same towards my friends as towards myself ; I wish them an easy life, and of course an easy death, as a part of it : but it is idle to grieve in their case or my own, for any past suffering, which cannot recur, or have left any ill effects behind it ;

**Figure 28:** L. C. C., "The Two Streams," Illus. H. Boyd, *Good Words* 2 (December 1861): 657.

Norman Macleod, D.D.] "HUGO.—1845." 689

"HUGO.—1845."

In a church-yard in Warwickshire is a monumental stone in the form of a cross, simply inscribed,  
"HUGO.—1845."

*J. Borders*

A QUIET scene ! here 'mid the stillness deep  
The Living with the dead awhile might sleep ;  
Here, while the brooding day-light dimly falls  
Through flow'ring limes and verdurous beechen  
walls,  
And faint upon the perfume-laden breeze,  
Rise dream-like murmurings of summer bees,  
And all that stirs above us and around,  
Breathes of the smiling charm of Southern ground:  
We leave afar the turmoil and the strife—  
The restless energy of common life,  
And, soothed in heart, with chastened spirit yield  
To the calm influence of God's quiet field.  
For here all worldly care and troubles cease !  
No vexing mem'ry haunts the Court of Peace,

And gazing round upon its records fair  
Of *all* the social virtues garnered there,  
We pause awhile, and gravely smile to see  
Stern Truth yield gentle place to charity !  
All breathes of Home, and its familiar ties,  
Its voice of love, and kindest sympathies ;  
All proves, that e'en in death Affection still  
Would shield the much-loved name from thought  
of ill ! . . . . .  
But see, upon the Cross erected high,  
A stranger name arrests the wandering eye ;  
Hugo, a stranger name, no date, nor age  
To trace the period of his pilgrimage ;  
Far from the mother-land that gave him birth,  
His dust re-mingled with its kindred earth ;


11-48

**Figure 29:** Dora Greenwell, "Hugo.—1845," Illus. W. Linney, *Good Words* 2 (December 1861): 689.

Norman Macleod, D.D.]      **HOW WONDROUS ARE THY WORKS, O GOD!**      521

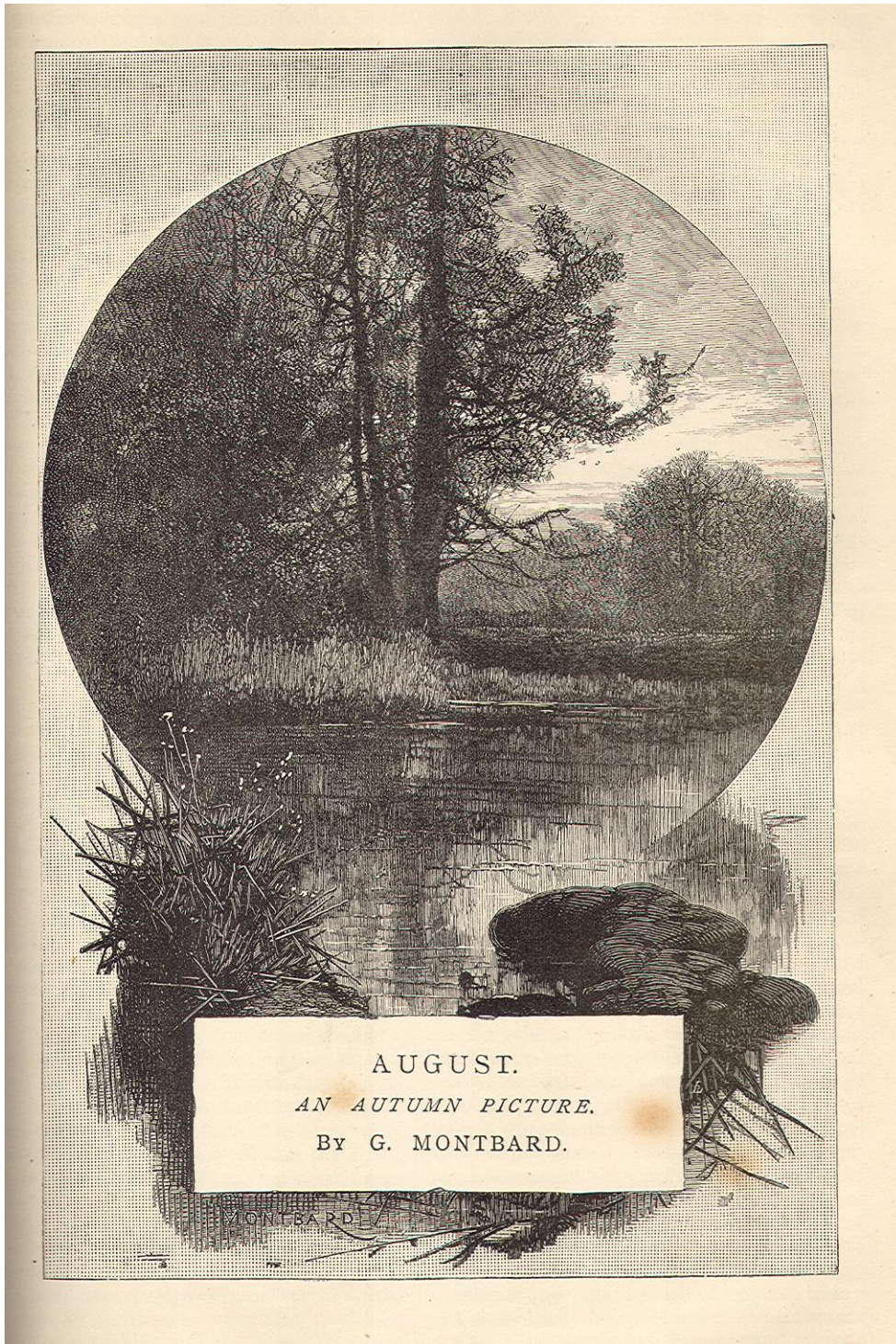
**HOW WONDROUS ARE THY WORKS, O GOD!**  
A HYMN.

<p>How wondrous are thy works, O God, In radiant freedom shower'd abroad! Thy wondrous works still fresh and fair, O God, let every tongue declare!</p>	<p>The mighty mountains, rocky-breasted, With various grandeur leafy-vested, By the deep central fire up-reared, O Lord, at thy command appeared.</p>
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<p>The deep roar of the voiceful ocean, The changeful billows' sleepless motion, Even there thy sounding foot hath trod, There goes thy march, thou mighty God!</p>	<p>Where the rich-tress'd birchen-bower Shakes fragrance round in sunny hour, Where the rock-rooted pine-trees nod, Thy breath is there, thou mighty God!</p>
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**Figure 30:** John S. Blackie, "How Wondrous are Thy Works, O God!" Illus. W. P. Burton, *Good Words* 3 (September 1862): 521.



**Figure 31:** G. Montbard, "August: An Autumn Picture," *Good Words* 23 (1882): n. pag.

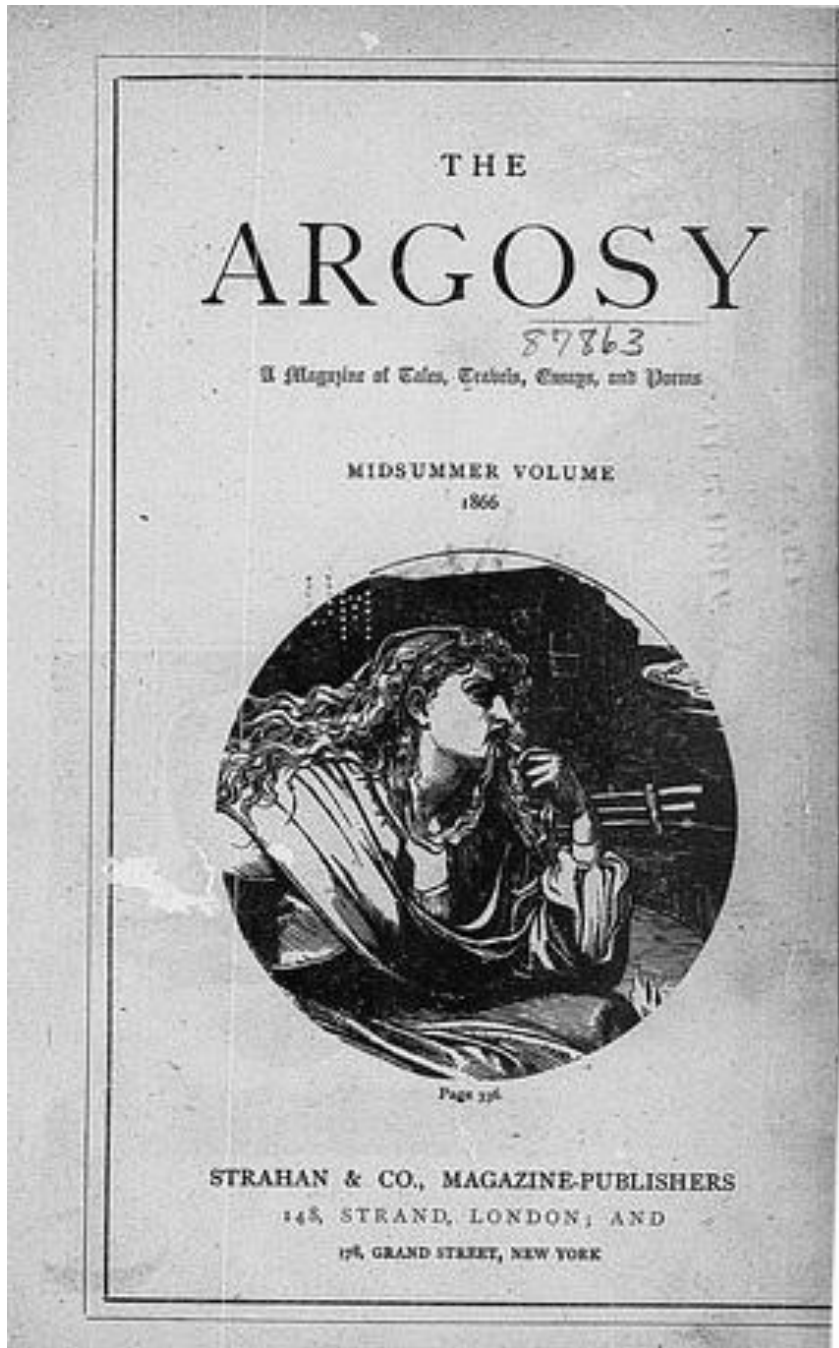


**Figure 32:** Christina Rossetti, "If," Illus. Frederick Sandys, *Argosy* 1 (March 1866): 336.



HELEN AND CASSANDRA.—BY F. SANDYS. [See p. 454.]

**Figure 33:** Alfred B. Richards, "Helen and Cassandra," Illus. Frederick Sandys, *Once a Week* ser.2 1 (28 April 1866): 454.



**Figure 34:** Cover, *Argosy*, Midsummer Volume (1866): n.p., *Proquest*, Web, 11 June 2013.

**Appendix B: Biographies of identified contributors, illustrators, and publishers of  
*Once a Week, the Cornhill, Good Words, and the Argosy***

Biographical notes are based on a synthesis of the information available in reference works such as the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, supplemented by my own observations about the periodical contributions of each figure.

**Arnold, Matthew (1822–1888)** Arnold wrote the majority of his poetry by the age of thirty. His first success as a poet occurred while he was still a student at Rugby. While at the school, he won the prize for English verse in 1840. Nine years later, Arnold published his first volume of poetry, *The Strayed Reveller and Other Poems*, under the pseudonym A. “Empedocles in Etna” (considered by scholars to be his most accomplished long poem) followed in 1852. Best known for his periodical pieces on culture, Arnold rarely appeared in the periodical press as a poet. Arnold only appears once in the periodicals considered in this thesis, and he does not appear in the *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, which covers a much broader spectrum of periodicals. (Collini, Miles)

**Allingham, William (1824–1889)** Born and raised in Ireland, Allingham was particularly interested in English and Scots ballads, and Irish folk-songs written in English. Prior to 1849, he printed his own ballads on broadsheets in Dublin and Belfast. He visited London throughout his life, meeting Thomas Carlyle, Coventry Patmore, Alfred Tennyson, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti through his association with Leigh Hunt. His friendship with Rossetti introduced Allingham to the Pre-Raphaelite school of painters and writers whose medievalism and realism complemented Allingham’s poetic style. Pre-Raphaelite artists would later contribute to

Allingham's *The Music Master* (1855), which ushered in the wood-engraving revival, implicitly leading to the publication of the Moxon Tennyson in 1857 and the illustrated literary periodicals of the 1860s. In 1863, he published a twelve-part serial verse novel, *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland*, in *Fraser's Magazine*. His professional association with *Fraser's Magazine* continued throughout his career, and he was editor of the periodical from 1874 to 1879. (Kooistra, "Poetry and Illustration"; Welch)

**Barrett Browning, Elizabeth (1806–1861)** Barrett Browning published a number of poems in the periodical press throughout her career from the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1821 to the *Cornhill* in 1860. In the 1830s, Mary Russell Mitford encouraged Barrett Browning to contribute to the literary annuals of the era, and it was through Mitford that Barrett Browning met John Kenyon, who would become her most regular correspondent and close friend. In 1846, Barrett Browning married Robert Browning, and the couple relocated to Italy where Barrett Browning died in 1861. Barrett Browning is perhaps best known for her *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (1850), her verse-novel *Aurora Leigh* (1856), and her Italian poems, which include *Casa Guidi Windows* (1851) and the poetry volume *Poems before Congress* (1860). The latter prompted scathing criticisms from the press. For a discussion of Barrett Browning's contributions to the *Cornhill*, see chapter one. Other periodical poems by Barrett Browning include "The Cry of the Children" (published in the August 1843 issue of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*) and "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point" (published in the *Liberty Bell*, an American abolitionist gift book, for 1848). (Orlando, Stone)

**Blackie, John Stuart (1809–1895)** Born in Scotland, Blackie was well-known as scholar of German and Greek. He held several positions within the Scottish university system throughout the 1850s, including the Greek chair at the University of Edinburgh. He was an advocate for education, participating in the movement to abolish the Test Act, which prevented those outside the Church of Scotland from holding chairs in Scottish universities, and he supported women’s higher education. Walter Whyte argues that Blackie’s popularity comes from his taste for “short lyrics, [. . . and] light, rollicking lays” (in Miles 4: 215), and these lays are the type of poetry Blackie published in *Good Words*. He also published a volume of religious poetry in 1876 titled *Songs of Religion and Life*. (Borthwick, Miles)

**Bradbury and Evans (1830–1865)** By the 1840s, Bradbury and Evans were known as the foremost publishers of Victorian fiction, counting Dickens and Thackeray among the authors they worked with. During this period, the publishing firm also took control of *Punch*, one of the most well-known periodicals of the nineteenth century. As *Punch*’s publishers, Bradbury and Evans established a tradition of weekly dinners, drawing many of the major authors and illustrators of the day into the periodical’s circle. This literary and visual network would influence the material published in subsequent projects. In the 1850s, Bradbury and Evans worked with Charles Dickens to produce the extraordinarily successful *Household Words*. Under Dickens’s editorship, *Household Words* changed the periodical market, opening the door for the middle-class literary periodicals of the 1860s. Dickens’s fallout with Bradbury and Evans, which led to the end of *Household Words* and the subsequent publication of *Once a Week*, is discussed in chapter two.

In 1867, the founding partners of Bradbury and Evans retired, and the firm became Bradbury, Evans, and Company. By the 1870s, the firm ceased to publish books under its own imprint with the exception of *Punch* and a few other titles, returning to its original role as a printer. The firm's role in the publication and printing of *Once a Week* also ended in the 1870s. (Dixon, *Waterloo Directory of Periodicals*)

**Brooks, Shirley (1816–1874)** Brooks was a successful dramatist, novelist, and periodical contributor. During his life, he was professionally associated with the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Illustrated London News*, the *Literary Gazette*, and the *Home News*, among numerous other periodicals. However, he is perhaps best known for his association with *Punch* and his comic writing. He began contributing to the comic periodical in 1851 and became the periodical's editor in 1870 after the death of Mark Lemon. Through *Punch*, Brooks strengthened his relationship with Bradbury and Evans (the publisher of both *Punch* and *Once a Week*), and he was part of the team that Bradbury and Evans brought over to *Once a Week* for the initial launch of the periodical. (Boase, Miles)

**Browne, Hablôt K. (1815–1882)** Browne is best known for his professional relationship with Charles Dickens, which began in 1836 when Browne took over the illustrations for *Pickwick Papers*. It was during this period that he adopted the pseudonym Phiz, which he felt sounded better with Dickens's early use of the name Boz. Over the course of his career, Browne would produce 740 original illustrations for Dickens, working with the author for ten of Dickens's novels. Although Browne is often referenced in relation to Dickens's fiction, he also contributed illustrations to a number of periodicals, including *Ainsworth's Magazine*, the *Illuminated*

*Magazine, Life, Once a Week, the Illustrated Gazette, St James's Magazine, Judy,* and *Punch*. Dickens ceased his collaboration with Browne after the publication of *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859). Browne would never again illustrate a Dickens novel. The reason behind the breakdown of their professional relationship is unknown though the perceived ineffectiveness of Browne's illustrations for *A Tale of Two Cities* may have played a part (Cohen 120). With the rise of the Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic in the late-1850s and 1860s, Browne's illustrations, which he modelled on the verbal and visual satire of the Hogarthian tradition, fell out of style. (Cohen, Patten and Lester)

**Buchanan, Robert (1841–1901)** Best known for his attack on Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Poems* in his essay "The Fleshly School of Poetry," Buchanan began his literary career in 1860s London where his literary circle included G. H. Lewes, George Eliot, Robert Browning, and Charles Dickens. The latter invited Buchanan to contribute to *All the Year Round*. The success of Buchanan's second poetry volume *Idyls and Legends of Inverburn* (1865) brought Buchanan to the attention of Alexander Strahan, and the two men became good friends with Buchanan contributing to several of Strahan's periodicals, including the *Argosy*, the *Contemporary Review*, and *Good Words*. (Phelan)

**Call, Wathen Mark Wilks (1817–1890)** Call began a career in the Church after receiving his BA (1842) and MA (1846) from Cambridge. He resigned in 1856 on conscientious grounds. The following decades of his life were devoted to philosophy and literature. He published his literary work in several periodicals, including the *Leader* (under G. H. Lewes), the *Westminster*, the *Theological*

*Review*, and the *Fortnightly*. He also published two poetry volumes. Alex Japp suggests that Call's lack of popularity was due to the religious and political treatises included in these volumes (in Miles 4: 525). Japp notes that "the beautiful poem of 'Manoli'" (in Miles 4: 525), which Call published in the *Cornhill*, depicts the social and political conditions against which Call advocated. (Marsh)

**Craig, Isa (1831–1903)** Craig began her publishing career in Scotland in periodicals such as the *Scotsman*, which established her public identity as the poet Isa, and *Waverley*, which introduced her to Bessie Rayner Parkes. By 1857, Craig's popular, poetic reputation was well established through her periodical contributions and her first poetry volume, *Poems by Isa*. In 1859, Craig's reputation grew when her poem on Robert Burns won a poetry competition celebrating the Scottish poet's centenary. Her biographers (both now and in the nineteenth century) consider this her greatest accolade, and it informed her popular reputation into the 1860s. Craig was also a central figure in a number of important literary and social networks from the established periodical culture of Scotland to the Langham Place Group to Alexander Strahan's stable of authors, editors, and periodicals. She relied on her evolving network of literary friends, including figures like Christina Rossetti, Mary Howitt, R. Monckton Milnes, Bessie Rayner Parkes, and Emily Davies, to both publish her poetry and contribute to her editorial endeavours. As a periodical poet, Craig was prolific. Between 1858 and 1868, Craig published twenty-three poems in the *English Woman's Journal*, *Good Words*, and the *Argosy*, averaging about 2.5 periodical poems per year. Note that this total does not include her numerous contributions to the *Scotsman*, where she was regularly employed from 1853 to

1857, and the *Waverly*. Few female poets published more. (Bayne, *Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, Wilson)

**Craik, Dinah Mulock (1826–1887)** Craik is best known for her novel *John Halifax, Gentleman* (1856), which was one of the period's best sellers. The novel became closely associated with Craik's literary identity, a fact emphasised by the frequent appearance of the signature "By the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*" before her periodical poems. Craik's writing is defined by her commitment to Victorian middle-class Christian values such as self-sacrifice. These values were informed by her Baptist background (Craik's father was a fundamentalist Baptist preacher). During the early stages of her career, she published poems in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, and pieces of short fiction in publications such as *Bentley's Miscellany* and *Fraser's Magazine*. In the 1860s, Craik was a frequent contributor to *Good Words*, publishing 29 poems in the periodical between 1860 and 1875. She also published three serial novels in the periodical: *Mistress and Maid* (1862), *The Woman's Kingdom* (1868), and *Young Mrs. Jardine* (1879). Though Craik's work largely supported middle-class values, her last three novels take up women's issues, including the Married Women's Property Act and a woman's right to marital separation. (*Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, Mitchell, Orlando)

**Greenwell, Dora (1821–1882)** A deeply spiritual person, Greenwell was raised as a Protestant though she later converted to Catholicism. Her biographers all note her interest in the mystical elements of religion. In many ways, her biography is that of the poetess: her aptitude for languages, philosophy, and poetry developed at an early age, she was largely self-taught though she had a Scottish governess, and she

was an invalid. Moreover, according to her biographers, her poetry contains “a passionate throb or thrill of devotion, of spiritual elevation and expectancy” (Japp in Miles 7: 344). Greenwell’s writings tend to address religious themes, but she also wrote in favour of women’s issues, including women’s employment and education. In the 1850s, Greenwell developed close relationships with Jean Ingelow and Christina Rossetti. As a periodical poet, Greenwell was prolific, publishing sixty poems in the periodicals indexed by the *Database of Periodical Poetry* between 1850 and 1880. (*Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, Miles, Mullin, Orlando)

**Herschel, John Frederick William (1792–1871)** Herschel was one of the chief scientific thinkers of the early nineteenth century. By 1813, he was elected as a member of the Royal Society based on his work in mathematics. Several years later, Herschel helped to found the Astronomical Society (later known as the Royal Astronomical Society), and, from 1833–38, he set up an observatory five miles from Cape Town where he studied the patterns of southern nebulae and the location of stars in the southern hemisphere. Upon his return to England, Herschel was named a baronet. In the later years of his life, Herschel produced a number of written treatises on his scientific views, including a compilation of essays originally published in periodical publications such as the *Cornhill* and *Good Words*. He published his full translation of Homer’s *Iliad* in 1866. (Crowe)

**Hill, Alsager Hay (1836–1906)** Hill was a social reformer interested in poor-law and labour questions. His journalism and prose of the 1860s and 70s focused on these issues, and in 1871, he founded the Employment Inquiry Office and Labour Registry, which gave advice to those applying for jobs. That same year, he founded

and edited the *Labour News*, which connected employers and potential employees throughout England. He continued to work with labour organisations and advocate for the unemployed throughout his life. Hill published his first book of poetry, *Footprints of Life*, in 1857. He published three more poetry volumes before his death: *Rhymes with Good Reason* (1870–71), *A Scholar's Day Dream* (1870), and *A Household Queen* (1881). (Owen)

**Ingelow, Jean (1820–1897)** Though rarely found in modern anthologies of Victorian poetry, Ingelow was popular among mid-Victorian readers who considered her on par with Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Christina Rossetti. She maintained a professional rivalry with Rossetti despite their friendship. In the 1850s, Ingelow published two anonymous works: her first volume of poems, *A Rhyming Chronicle of Incidents and Feelings* (1850), and her first novel, *Allerton and Dreux* (1851). She also published a series of didactic children's stories under the pseudonym Orris in the *Youth Magazine*, an evangelical monthly periodical that Ingelow briefly edited. Ingelow's poetic career is defined by her second poetry volume, *Poems* (1863), which drew attention to her as a poet and established her reputation. It went through thirty editions over the course of her lifetime. Ingelow belonged to the Portfolio Society, which put her in contact with Adelaide Procter, Dora Greenwell, Isa Craig, and Christina Rossetti. She was also close friends with Tennyson and Millais, who was her neighbour and illustrated her collected *Tales of Orris* in 1860. Ingelow was a fairly frequent contributor to the periodical press. Aside from the *Argosy*, she contributed sixteen poems to *Good Words* between 1863 and 1870, and

one poem to *Atalanta* in 1890. (*Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, Hickok, Miles, *Orlando*)

**Langham Place Group (active 1857–1866)** The Langham Place Group (hereafter LPG) was a group of middle-class women, who advocated for women’s employment and education. Founded by Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and Bessie Rayner Parkes, the LPG included some of the most important and popular women writers, editors, composers, essayists, and novelists of the era. The LPG with Emily Faithfull and the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women started the Victoria Press as a place where women could learn typesetting and thus gain employable skills. The Victoria Press also published the *English Woman’s Journal*, which printed articles on feminist issues such as women’s employment, education, legal reform, and the social responsibilities of middle-class women towards working-class women. An important part of the LPG was the Portfolio Society, which was intended to promote a sisterhood of the arts. Jean Ingelow, Isa Craig, Adelaide Anne Procter, and Christina Rossetti all participated in this literary group. If the mandate of the LPG was to advance the education and employment of women, “claim[ing] that industry and domesticity *could* coexist” (Lacey 12, emphasis in orig.), then the work of the Portfolio Society implicitly functioned to support the industry of female authorship. Significantly, the Portfolio Society not only encouraged women to produce and circulate their work, but it also established a literary network that later influenced the editorial decisions of Isa Craig. (Lacey, Marsh, Randell, *Orlando, Waterloo Directory of Periodicals*)

**Leech, John (1817–1864)** Leech was a humourist artist and illustrator of the same school as Hablôt K. Browne. The most important moment in Leech’s career occurred in 1840 when he became associated with the comic periodical *Punch*. Leech contributed regularly to *Punch* for the next twenty years, becoming an important member of Bradbury and Evans’s stable of illustrators. This relationship led to Leech’s contributions to *Once a Week*. He also composed illustrations for the *Illustrated London News*. Leech, like many other Victorian illustrators, worked with Dickens, illustrating all of Dickens’s Christmas books. (Houfe)

**Leighton, Frederic (1830–1896)** Leighton contributed illustrations to only one periodical: the *Cornhill*. His work for the *Cornhill* is considered his most important as an illustrator, and it includes his illustrations for George Eliot’s *Romola* and his rendering of the great god Pan for Barrett Browning’s “A Musical Instrument.” As a painter, Leighton had success in the 1850s. His painting *Cimabue’s Madonna Carried in Procession through the Streets of Florence* (displayed at the Royal Academy’s exhibition for 1855) was purchased by Queen Victoria. Despite this early success, he remained an outsider in the British art world. He rejected the academy’s interest in narrative paintings. Instead, his art drew on the principles of early aestheticism, privileging ambiguity and indeterminate subjects. He later became interested in exploring “the classical impulse in British painting” (Newall). Leighton finally became a member of the Royal Academy of Art in 1868. (Goldman, Newall)

**Lucas, Samuel (1818–1868)** Prior to his appointment as editor for *Once a Week*, Lucas edited a Tory weekly backed by Disraeli and other leading conservatives called *The*

*Press*. In 1855, he began writing reviews for *The Times*. Over the course of several reviews—“Illustrated Books” (*The Times* 24 December 1858: 10), “Mr. Tennial’s *Lallah Rookh*” (*The Times* 31 October 1860: 9), “Modern English Caricature” (*The Times* 2 January 1863: 8), and “More Gift Books” (*The Times* 2 January 1865: 12)—Lucas outlined his theories of illustration, establishing him as an authority on the subject. He brought this reputation with him to *Once a Week*. When his editorship at *Once a Week* ended in 1865, Lucas founded and edited *The Shilling Magazine*, which is remembered today for publishing an illustrated version of Christina Rossetti’s “Amor Mundi” (1865). Lucas died in 1868. (Buckler, Coohill, *Waterloo Directory of Periodicals*, Sullivan)

**Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer- (1831–1891)** Lytton was the only son of the early Victorian novelist Bulwer-Lytton. He published his first volume of poetry under the pseudonym Owen Meredith in 1855. Contemporary reviewers commented that his poetry seemed influenced by that of Robert Browning. During this period, Lytton cultivated friendships with Charles Dickens and John Forster (Dickens’s close friend). In 1860, Lytton published the first of several experimental poetic works, a verse novel titled *Lucille*. Lytton continued writing poetry until his death.

(Washbrook)

**MacWhirter [McWhirter], J.W. (1837–1911)** MacWhirter was a Scottish landscape painter born in Edinburgh. In 1851, he became a student at the Trustees’ Academy in Edinburgh. His classmates included William McTaggart, W. Q. Orchardson, and John Pettie. All four would later contribute illustrations to *Good Words*.

(MacWhirter)

**Macleod, Norman (1812–1872)** Macleod studied divinity in Edinburgh, becoming a minister of the Church of Scotland in 1838. Twenty years later, the University of Glasgow awarded Macleod a doctorate of divinity (D.D.). By this time, Macleod was known “as one of the most eloquent preachers in Scotland” (Hamilton). Macleod balanced his ministerial life with his writing and editing career. It was through his ministerial role that he met Alexander Strahan, initiating the relationship that would lead to Macleod’s editorship of *Good Words* from 1860 to his death in 1872. Prior to his editorship of *Good Words*, Macleod was the editor of the *Edinburgh Christian Review* from 1849 to 1860. For further information on Macleod and his relationship with the publisher Alexander Strahan, see chapter three. (Hamilton, *Waterloo Directory of Periodicals*)

**Mahony, Francis Sylvester (1804–1866)** Mahony was both a satirist and a journalist. In his youth, he studied philosophy at the Jesuits’ College in Rome after spending two years as a noviciate in a seminary in Paris. By 1830, Mahoney was working as the prefect for studies at the Jesuits’ College. However, after a night of drinking, Mahoney’s employment with the college and his association with the Jesuit order came to an end. He now turned his attention to literary pursuits, sending his first article as Father Prout to *Fraser’s Magazine* in April 1834. He based this pseudonym on a clergyman from his childhood, and over time, Father Prout became a fully realized character developed in the pages of the periodical press. From *Fraser’s Magazine*, Mahoney went on to write for *Bentley’s Miscellany* in the 1840s. He contributed to *The Globe*, the *Cornhill*, and the *Athenaeum* in the 1860s. (Lee)

**Meredith, George (1828–1909)** Meredith had an extensive literary career as both a novelist and a poet. As a poet, he is probably best known for the sonnet sequence *Modern Love* (1862), though contemporary critics (see Miles 5: 362) offer more praise for a poem first published in *Once a Week*: “The Last Words of Juggling Jerry” (3 September 1859; 1: 189–90). Meredith’s letters from the 1860s reveal that he was very invested in the success of *Once a Week*, and he often offered the periodical’s editor, Samuel Lucas, advice on how best to structure the periodical so that it could compete with Dickens’s *All the Year Round*. Between 9 July 1859 and 8 February 1862, Meredith published thirteen poems in *Once a Week*. He also published his serial novel *Evan Harrington* in the periodical from February to October 1860. Shortly after Lucas’s resignation, Meredith wrote Frederick Evans, offering to become the editor of *Once a Week*. (*Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, Harris, Meredith, Miles)

**Millais, John Everett (1829–1896)** Millais had a long and successful career as a painter. While a student at the Royal Academy, Millais became friends with William Holman Hunt. The pair’s rejection of the Royal Academy’s position on British art led them to found the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The Brotherhood would change the nature of British art. Though he continued to paint until the end of his career, Millais was also a prolific illustrator, contributing illustrations to at least ten periodicals in the 1860s. He played a crucial role in the rise of the wood engraving as an art form, and his illustrations are found in many of the most significant illustrated texts of the Victorian period, including Allingham’s *The Music Master* and the Moxon Tennyson. In 1864, Millais published *The Parables of Our Lord*.

This particular publication subordinated image to text, emphasising Millais fame as an illustrator in mid-Victorian England. Separate compilations of his illustrations followed in 1866 (*Collected Illustrations*) and 1867 (*Twenty-Nine Illustrations by John Everett Millais*). (Goldman, Warner)

**Munby, Arthur (1828–1910)** Like most of the periodical poets mentioned in this study, Munby's poetry (he published six poetry volumes) was celebrated during the Victorian period and then faded into obscurity. In the 1850s, he participated in the Working Men's College, and he taught there until the 1880s. It was through the college that he met several important literary figures from the period, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Thomas Hughes, and Charles Kingsley. Today, Munby is mainly considered important for his diary, which covers the period from 1859 to 1898 and documents the social changes that define the Victorian period. Munby published twenty poems in *Once a Week* between 31 March 1860 and 28 October 1865. (*Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, Stanley)

**Procter, Adelaide Anne (1825–1864)** Procter grew up in a literary household that entertained William Hazlitt, Wordsworth, Tennyson, the Rossettis, the Thackerays, and the Dickenses. One family friend, Fanny Kemble, states that Procter looked like a poet seated among all these famous writers (*Orlando*). Procter published her first poem at the age of eighteen in *Heath's Book of Beauty*. Procter's biography, like that of Greenwell's, fits the narrative of the poetess: the gifted young poet, who naturally and spontaneously produces verse and demonstrates her genius—poetic and otherwise—at an early age. However, Procter truly began her publishing career in *Household Words*, sending her poems to Dickens (a family friend) under the

pseudonym Mary Berwick. She would eventually publish 74 poems in *Household Words* and another seven in the periodical's successor *All the Year Round*, making her the most published poet in Dickens's periodical. She also published poems in the *Cornhill*, *Good Words*, and the *English Woman's Journal*. At the height of her career, the public demand for her poetry exceeded that of Tennyson. Many of Procter's poems could be classified as devotional and "were widely sung as hymns in the latter half of the nineteenth century" (Gregory in *ODNB*). In her personal life, Procter was involved with the Langham Place Group. (*Database of Victorian Periodical Poetry*, Gregory, Miles, Orlando)

**Rossetti, Christina G. (1830–1894)** Rossetti had a successful career as a poet in the nineteenth century though she was less popular than her contemporaries and acquaintances Dora Greenwell, Jean Ingelow, and Adelaide Anne Procter. Rossetti became involved in the periodical market early in her career, contributing poems under the pseudonym Ellen Alleyn to the short-lived Pre-Raphaelite journal the *Germ* in the early 1850s. She also published her poetry in the *Athenaeum*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, *Once a Week*, and later, in response to a request from Isa Craig, the *Argosy*. Rossetti came to know Craig through her involvement with the Portfolio Society, which was organised by the Langham Place Group. (Duguid, Orlando)

**Sandys, Frederick (1829–1904)** Sandys only produced thirty black-and-white illustrations over the course of his career, a relatively small number when considered against the output of his contemporaries. His best work appeared in the periodicals of the era with the greatest number of illustrations appearing in *Once a*

*Week*. Like many other illustrators at this time, Sandys was also a painter, and he exhibited his paintings every two years at the Royal Academy from 1851 to 1886. Sandys's art was influenced by German artists, especially that of Alfred Rethel (1816–59), and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. In particular, Sandys adopted Rossetti's poetic-erotic mode of representing women. (Elzea, Goldman)

**Smith, George (1824–1901)** Smith's father established the publishing firm Smith and Elder in 1816. As an apprentice publisher in the 1830s, Smith formed a dining club that included G. H. Lewes and Father Prout (Frances Mahony). By the 1840s, the publishing firm had cultivated a reputation for finely produced books. Smith took over the publishing firm after the death of his father in 1846, and one of the first books he published was William Thackeray's *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (1846). Smith published a number of important literary works in subsequent years, including Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) and Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851–53). In 1882, Smith commissioned the *Dictionary of National Biography*, seeing the publication through sixty-three volumes between 1885 and 1900. For information on Smith and the origins of the *Cornhill*, see chapter one. (Schmidt)

**Sykes, Godfrey (1824–1866)** Sykes was a student of the Sheffield School of Design (a provincial school designed by the government to teach craftsmen their trade). Sykes received training in metalworking, and his designs were often influenced by trends in neo-classical art. (Graves)

**Taylor, Tom (unconfirmed)** I was unable to confirm this poet's identity. There are two Tom Taylors on record. The first appears only through a link on *Google Books* to

an 1865 volume titled *Ballads and Songs of Brittany*, translated by Tom Taylor and published by Macmillan and Co. The ballads translated by Taylor in *Once a Week* (seven in total from 16 August 1859 to 11 April 1863) appear in this volume, confirming that the author of *Ballads and Songs of Brittany* is the poet in *Once a Week*. The tags included in the *Google Books* entry identify the Tom Taylor associated with *Ballads and Songs of Brittany* with the playwright of such works as *The Overland Route* and *The King's Rival*. This link combined with the fact that Tom Taylor the playwright had close ties to *Punch*, a publication known to share contributors with *Once a Week* suggests a probable identification. However, the link between the Taylor of the translated ballads and the Taylor of the stage is tenuous. While the *ODNB* entry on Taylor lists these plays, it makes no reference to any translation work on Breton ballads. (Howes, Taylor)

**Watson, J. D. (1832–1892)** Watson is primarily known as a narrative figure painter. In 1860, he illustrated a Dalziel brothers' edition of *Pilgrim's Progress*, which made his reputation as an illustrator. He contributed illustrations to a number of different periodicals, including *Good Words* (to which he was a regular contributor), *The Graphic*, *London Society*, and working-class periodicals such as the *British Workman* and the *Servants' Magazine*. (Goldman, Reynolds)

**Williams, Sarah (1837/8–1868)** Williams was born in London to Welsh parents. Though Williams lived and received her education in London, attending Queen's College, Harley Street, she attributed her poetic abilities to her Welsh roots. Her introduction to the prominent publisher Alexander Strahan secured her a place in several of his popular literary periodicals, including *Good Words*, *Sunday Magazine*, and *The*

*Argosy*. All of Williams's periodical poetry appeared under the pseudonym Sadie. Shortly after the death of her father in January 1868, Williams underwent a surgical procedure intended to treat her cancer. The surgery was not successful, and Williams died that April. Strahan facilitated the posthumous publication of Williams's only poetry volume, *Twilight Hours: A Legacy of Verse*, later that year. Williams published five poems in *Good Words* and four poems in the *Argosy*.  
(Brennan, Jay)

### Appendix C: Periodical Poetry Index

This index only covers the period discussed in my dissertation. For further information about the years and volumes covered, see “Introduction.” Indexes of the first run of *Once a Week* (1859–1862) and the complete run of *Good Words* are available through *The Database of Periodical Poetry on the Victorian Poetry Network*.

**Table 1:** Index of poetry published in the *Cornhill Magazine* Volumes 1–8 (January 1860 to December 1863)

Date	Vol. / Issue	Page	Author	Title	Illustrator
January 1860	1.1	75–76	[Mahony, Francis]	Father Prout’s Inaugurative Ode	
		122–23	V.	The First Morning of 1860	
February 1860	1.2	149	Hood, Thomas	To Goldenhair (from Horace)	
		175–76	Tennyson, Alfred	Tithonus	
		194–97	Milnes, R. Monckton	Unspoken Dialogue	Millais, John Everett
March 1860	1.3	282	S. R. H.	Mabel	
		329	A. A. P. [Procter, Adelaide Anne ]	A Changeling	
April 1860	1.4	411	Hood, Thomas	Spring	
		448	Milnes, R. Monckton	Strangers Yet	
		483	Unsigned	Dante	
May 1860	1.5	560	A. A. P. [Procter, Adelaide Anne ]	The Carver’s Lesson	
		582	Irving, Washington	Written in Deepdene Album	

		616	Brontë, Emily	The Outcast Mother	
June 1860	1.6	669	C. U. D.	The Maiden's Lover	
		742–44	Duthie, William	Sir Self and Womankind	
July 1860	2.7	33	Arnold, Matthew	Men of Genius	
		59–60	Thackeray, W. M.	Vanitas Vanitatum	
		84–85	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	A Musical Instrument	Leighton, Frederic
September 1860	2.9	287–88	A. A. P. [Procter, Adelaide Anne]	Fate and a Heart	
October 1860	2.10	419–20	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	A Forced Recruit at Solferino	
November 1860	2.11	513–17	Meredith, Owen	Last Words	Millais, John Everett
		597–98	A. A. P. [Procter, Adelaide Anne]	Sent to Heaven	
December 1860	2.12	674–76	Unsigned	Ariadne at Naxos	Leighton, Frederic
		708	Unsigned	A Passage in Life	
		718	Locker- Lampson, Frederick	A Human Skull	
		741	Brontë, Charlotte	Watching and Wishing	
February 1861	3.14	190–91	R. K. A. E.	Hæc olim meminisse juvabit	
March 1861	3.15	294–98	W. F.	The River	
		341	E. H. O.	Drowned at Sea	
		374	G. B.	In Memoriam	
April 1861	3.16	500–03	Meredith, Owen	Elisabetta Sirani	

May 1861	3.17	533	Arnold, Edwin	Spring	
		553–55	Patterson, James	Sold	
June 1861	3.18	736–37	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	Little Mattie	
July 1861	4.19	102–05	A. R. W.	A Cumberland Mare's Nest	
August 1861	4.20	178–79	Brontë, Charlotte	When thou Sleepest	
September 1861	4.21	319–20	F. L.	My Neighbour Rose	
		360–61	MacDonald, George	Legend of the Corrievrechan Whirlpool	
October 1861	4.22	482–87	Howitt, Mary	Barbara Steming's Fidelity	
November 1861	4.23	599– 600	M. and A.	A No	
December 1861	4.24	725–26	J. N.	Mare Mediterraneum	
April 1862	5.28	478–80	R. M.	Irené	Millais, John Everett
May 1862	5.29	594– 609	Herschel, J. F. W.	Iliad.--Book I	
July 1862	6.31	100–02	M.	The Bishop and the Knight	Millais, John Everett
August 1862	6.32	270	J. W. K.	The Battle with Time	
September 1862	6.33	346–50	Call, W. M. W.	Manoli	Sandys, Frederick
October 1862	6.34	513	G. B.	Dreaming in Italy	
		535–36	H. E. B. H.	Youth in Exile	
December 1862	6.36	812–13	E. B. P.	The Prisoner of Spezzia	
January 1863	7.37	103	MacDonald, George	A Christmas Carol for 1862	
		131	Greenwood, Frederick	Good Night!	
February 1863	7.38	259	Smith, William	Brotherless	
March 1863	7.39	390	Koumanin, Alexander	A Moral Man	

April 1863	7.40	530	Smith, W. Frank	The Cilician Pirates	Du Maurier, George
May 1863	7.41	601	Letherbrow, E.	Homesick	
		621	Smith, William	Maladetta	
July 1863	8.43	99–100	Smith, William	The Night Before Morrow	Du Maurier, George
		112	Greenwell, Dora	Imitated from the Troubadour Sordel	
September 1863	8.45	357	Greenwell, Dora	Home	
December 1863	8.48	707–09	Tennyson, Alfred	Attempts at Classic Meters in Quantity	

**Table 2:** Index of poetry published in *Once a Week* Volumes 1–3 (2 July 1859 to 22 December 1860)

Date	Vol. / Issue	Page	Author	Title	Illustrator
2 July 1859	1.1	1–2	Brooks, Shirley	Once a Week	Leech, John
		10	Taylor, Tom	Magenta	Millais, John Everett
9 July 1859	1.2	30	Meredith, George	The Song of Courtesy	Tenniel, John
			Benson, R.	Night and Morning	Leech, John
16 July 1859	1.3	41–43	Tennyson, Alfred	The Grandmother's Apology	Millais, John Everett
		50	S. B.	Sketching the Castle	Leech, John
22 July 1859	1.4	70	Memor.	On the Water	Millais, John Everett
30 July 1859	1.5	89–90	Martin, Theodore	Eckart the Trusty (from Goethe)	Tenniel, John
		96	Meredith, George	The Three Maidens	Browne, Hablôt K.
6 August 1859	1.6	109–10	Taylor, Tom	Baron Jauïoz (from the Breton)	Browne, Hablôt K.
		120	J. F. F.	A Penny for your Thoughts	Leech, John
13 August 1859	1.7	129–30	William, C. P.	Retrospective	Leech, John
		140	Rossetti, Caroline [Christina]	The Round Tower at Jhansi.—June 8, 1857	
20 August 1859	1.8	149–50	Benson, Ralph A.	The Belle of the Season	Leech, John
		160	Meredith, George	Over the Hills	Browne, Hablôt K.
27 August 1859	1.9	170	Aikin, B.	Lament for Eros	Tenniel, John
		178–79	J. S.	Ned Stoke's Carol on Cottages	

3 September 1859	1.10	189–90	Meredith, George	The Last Words of Juggling Jerry	Browne, Hablôt K.
10 September 1859	1.11	206	Linwood, Jas. Smart	Withered	
		210	Brotherton, Mary	The Fortune Teller. A Seaport Ditty	Skill, F. J.
17 September 1859	1.12	229–30	H.	Scarborough—1859	Leech, John
		235	Benson, Ralph A.	Two Partings	
24 September 1859	1.13	247–48	Truman, Joseph	Effie Campbell	
		250	Martin, Theodore	The King of Thule (from Goethe)	Tenniel, John
1 October 1859	1.14	263–64	H. L. T.	Hern Castle	Leech, John
		272	Boger, Edmund	The Peitho, 1859	Leech, John
		283–84	Pember, E. H.	Mary. A Ballad	Browne, Hablôt K.
8 October 1859	1.15	294	E. D. F.	Round the Hop-Bin	Browne, Hablôt K.
		305–06	S. B.	La Fille Bien Gardée (An Intercepted Letter)	Millais, John Everett
15 October 1859	1.16	311–12	Boger, Edmund	Reliques of the Lost	
		316	Taylor, Tom	The Plague of Elliant (from the Breton)	Millais, John Everett
		328	Cayley, C. J.	Shoreward	Browne, Hablôt K.
22 October 1859	1.17	329–31	Stewart, Louisa	Bradmere Pool	Browne, Hablôt K.
		359	C.	The Song of the Survivor	Bennett, Charles Henry
29 October 1859	1.18	360	A. F.	Black Monday	Leech, John
		372	Taylor, G. R.	In Memoriam	
6 November 1859	1.19	381–82	Rossetti, Christina	Maude Clare	Millais, John Everett
		394	Roy, J.	Six of the one and half-a dozen of the other	Browne, Hablôt K.
12 November 1859	1.20	404	Goodhart, C. W.	Fairy May	Miss Coode

		416	Memor.	The Sprig of Lavender	Browne, Hablot K.
19 November 1859	1.21	426	Hill, Alsager Hay	Footsteps of the Day	Browne, Hablot K.
		437–38	Benson, Ralph A.	Young Nimrod's First Love	Leech, John
26 November 1859	1.22	447–48	Taylor, Tom	The Lord of Nann and the Fairy (from the Breton)	Corbould, E. H.
		460–61	Leigh, Cholmeley	Tamise Ripe	Skelton, Percival
3 December 1859	1.23	464	Meredith, George	Autumn Even-Song	
		469–70	Berni.	The Palimpsest	Miss Lane
		482	R. A. B.	A Lost Love	Millais, John Everett
10 December 1859	1.24	492–93	Benson, Ralph A.	Bought and Sold	Browne, Hablot K.
		504	Berni.	Sad Words	Thompson, A.
17 December 1859	1.25	514	H. E. E. M.	St. Bartholomew	Millais, John Everett
		526	J. S.	The Shadow Kiss	Browne, Hablot K.
24 December 1859	1.26	531	M. E.	The Mistletoe Bough; or, the Romance of the Rose	
31 December 1859	2.27	10	Meredith, George	The Crown of Love	Millais, John Everett
		22	H. H.	Sonnet	Macquoid, T. R.
7 January 1860	2.28	32	A. [Allingham, William]	A Wife	Millais, John Everett
		44	Berni	Fair Drinking	Browne, Hablot K.
14 January 1860	2.29	54	A. M.	The Return of the Fire-Fly	Keene, C.
		66	D. G. R. [Rossetti, Dante Gabriel]	A Border Song	Browne, Hablot K.
21 January 1860	2.30	88	Lover, Samuel	The Bridal of Galtrim	Lawless, M. J.

28 January 1860	2.31	97	J. S.	Little Rogue!	Miss Coode
4 February 1860	2.32	131–32	Meredith, George	The Head of Bran (from “The Mabinogion”)	Millais, John Everett
11 February 1860	2.33	142–44	Johnson, James W.	The Mistake (An old gem reset)	Leech, John
18 February 1860	2.34	164	S.	“The Lay of the Lady and the Hound”	Lawless, M.J.
		175–76	Lover, Samuel	I’ll never forget that ma’am	Leech, John
25 February 1860	2.35	198	Hole, S. Reynolds	God Help our Men at Sea	Walker, F.
3 March 1860	2.36	204	Benson, Ralph A.	An Evening Voice	
		220	A. F.	Florinda	Lawless, M. J.
10 March 1860	2.37	212	Brooks, Shirley	Practising	Millais, John Everett
31 March 1860	2.40	308	Munby, Arthur J.	Anamnh <i>Σ</i> i <i>Σ</i>	
7 April 1860	2.41	329–30	Munby, Arthur J.	Après	Walker, F.
14 April 1860	2.42	351–52	Benson, Ralph A.	Only for Something to Say	Lawless, M. J.
28 April 1860	2.44	402	Langford, J. A.	The Gloves	Browne, Hablôt K.
5 May 1860	2.45	428–30	Bell, Robert	The secret that can’t be kept	Lawless, M. J.
12 May 1860	2.46	443–45	Taylor, Tom	Nomenoe	Could not be identified
10 May 1860	2.47	486	Brooks, Shirley	The Private View	Could not be identified
2 June 1860	2.49	518–19	Temple, Harry Leroy	Not Mourn for Thee	
9 June 1860	2.50	550	Benson, Ralph A.	Her Bridal	
16 June 1860	2.51	598	E. M. B.	Musa	Millais, John Everett
23 June 1860	2.52	605	W. W. M.	What one Year Brought	

		622	Berni.	The 'Poste Restante.'—A Reverie	
30 June 1860	3.53	7	Unsigned	A Pouring Wet Day. June 17 <sup>th</sup> 1860	
		23–26	Cook, Eliza	Once Upon a Time	Walker, F.
7 July 1860	3.54	56	William, C. P.	She and I	
14 July 1860	3.55	63–64	L. B.	Master Olaf (from the German)	Millais, John Everett
		84	J. F. F.	Contrasts	Luard, J. E.
21 July 1860	3.56	102	Unsigned	At Night	Hunt, W. Holman
28 July 1860	3.57	118	Cook, Eliza	The Game of Life	
		139–40	Munby, Arthur J.	Violet	Millais, John Everett
4 August 1860	3.58	154–55	Bolton, Sarah T.	The Betrayed	Lawless, M. J.
11 August 1860	3.59	190	Rankin, Jessica	I've Lost my Heart	
25 August 1860	3.61	238–39	Montgomery, B. S.	Dark Gordon's Bride	Millais, John Everett
1 September 1860	3.62	267	S.	Jolly Anglers	
		276	G. M. [Meredith, George]	The Meeting	Millais, John Everett
15 September 1860	3.63	303–04	T.	Elfie Meadows	Lawless, M. J.
15 September 1860	3.64	322–33	Sketchly, R. F.	First Love	Walker, F.
		332	Arnold, Edwin	September	
22 September 1860	3.65	351–52	Unsigned	The Minstrel's Curse (from the German of Uhland)	Lawless, M. J.
29 September 1860	3.66	377–80	Bowring, E. A.	Faristan and Fatima. An Oriental Legend	Du Maurier, G.

6 October 1860	3.67	416	W. L. W.	A Score of Years Ago	Keene, C.
13 October 1860	3.68	437	Hagedon, Anna	Aimless	
		441	Richardson, Paul	Jeannie	
27 October 1860	3.69	458–59	Benson, Ralph A.	Amata	
27 October 1860	3.70	500	Arnold, Edwin	The Knight's Grave	Skeleton, P. J.
3 November 1860	3.71	528	Hagedon, Anna	Now and Then	
17 November 1860	3.73	575	Berni.	Non Satis	Du Maurier, G.
24 November 1860	3.74	612	A. F.	Won!	Green, C.
1 December 1860	3.75	629–31	HP [Prinsep, Henry Thoby]	Temujin	Hunt, W. Holman
		640	Lemon, Mark	Two Hands	
8 December 1860	3.76	668	Berni.	“His hand upon the latch”: A Young Wife's Song	Walker, F.
15 December 1860	3.77	691	W.	Sonnet from Petrarch. “Se lamentar angello o Verdi frond.”	
22 December 1860	3.78	710	Montgomery, B. S.	Fair and False	Browne, Hablôt K.
		722	Baldwin, Astley	The Legend of the Redbreast	

**Table 3:** Index of poetry published in *Good Words* Volumes 1–3 (January 1860 to December 1862)

Date	Vol. / Issue	Page	Author	Title	Illustrator
January 1860	1.1	15	Unsigned	Little Things	
January 1860	1.2	30–31	Unsigned	The New Year	
January 1860	1.3	46	Unsigned	The Last Conflict	
February 1860	1.5	75	H.	Mary's Birthday	
February 1860	1.5	80	B.	Prayer	
February 1860	1.6	92	B.	Sonnet Written at Sanquhar	
February 1860	1.6	96	Unsigned	Praise the Lord	
February 1860	1.7	104–05	H.	One Question, Many Answers	
February 1860	1.7	112	H.	"I did this for thee! What hast thou done for me!"	
February 1860	1.8	128	J.	Home Verses	
March 1860	1.9	136	J.E.	He's Risen	
March 1860	1.9	143	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	Pencil Marks in a Book of Devotion	
March 1860	1.10	152	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	"Faint Yet Pursuing." A Song of the Church Militant	
March 1860	1.11	168	M.	Love	Unidentified
March 1860	1.11	174–75	F. R. H. [Havergal, Francis Ridley]	Faith's Question	
March 1860	1.12	188	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	When the Night and Morning Meet	
April 1860	1.13	199–200	Unsigned	A Cloister Legend	
April 1860	1.13	207	J. A.	The Boy and the Captive Bird	

April 1860	1.14	215	F. R. H. [Havergal, Francis Ridley]	Early Faith	
April 1860	1.15	232	J. A.	Sorrowing, yet Rejoicing	
April 1860	1.16	247	J. E.	Ministering to Christ	
April 1860	1.17	257– 60	F. R. H. [Havergal, Francis Ridley]	Constance De V-.	Brown, J. D.
May 1860	1.18	277– 78	M.	Idle Words	
May 1860	1.18	287	C. M.	Charlie's Grave	
May 1860	1.19	296	F. R. H. [Havergal, Francis Ridley]	Faith and Reason	
May 1860	1.21	327	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	Gone	
May 1860	1.21	328	F. R. H. [Havergal, Francis Ridley]	Thanksgiving	
June 1860	1.22	351	F. R. H. [Havergal, Francis Ridley]	Isaiah XXXIII.17	
June 1860	1.23	360	F. R. H. [Havergal, Francis Ridley]	Coming Summer	
June 1860	1.24	376	L. C. C.	Clouds	
June 1860	1.25	391	M. H. A.	The Grave. From the German of Salis	
June 1860	1.25	392– 93	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	Seeking	Halswelle, Keeley
July 1860	1.26	406	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	Without and Within	

July 1860	1.27	417–18	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Deformed Child	Stanton, Clark
July 1860	1.27	431	M. H. A.	Consolation. From the German of Baron de la Motte Fouque	
July 1860	1.28	438	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Railway Station	
August 1860	1.31	492–93	C. S. F.	Life and Death	
August 1860	1.32	500	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Soul's Parting	
August 1860	1.32	504	Unsigned	Song	
August 1860	1.32	505–06	H. M. T.	The Lone One	Orchardson, Wm. Q.
August 1860	1.33	520	H. M. T.	Fashionable. The Tale of a Snowdrop	
September 1860	1.35	553–54	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Little Girl's Lament	Orchardson, Wm. Q.
September 1860	1.36	569–71	D***. [Greenwell, Dora]	A Story of Olden Time	Steell, Gourlay
September 1860	1.36	574	H. M. T.	Lay of Peace and Sickness	
September 1860	1.37	584	H. M. T.	Thorns in the Pillow	
September 1860	1.38	593	H. M. T.	Autumn	McWhirter, J. W.
October 1860	1.39	621–22	H. M. T.	Memories of a Brother	
October 1860	1.40	632	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	Sabbath Peace	
October 1860	1.41	648–49	H. M. T.	One in Every Circle	Orchardson, Wm. Q.
October 1860	1.42	663–64	Unsigned	Autumn Flowers	McWhirter, J.
October 1860	1.42	665	Massey, Gerald	Garibaldi	
October 1860	1.42	666–67	J. A.	In Memorium. November 1859	

November 1860	1.43	680–83	D***. [Greenwell, Dora]	Isabel	Stanton, Clark
November 1860	1.44	697–98	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	A Vision of Green Leaves	McWhirter, J.
November 1860	1.44	702	D*** [Greenwell, Dora]	Ascending	
November 1860	1.45	712–15	D***. [Greenwell, Dora]	God's Singer	Steell, Gourlay
November 1860	1.46	728–29	D***. [Greenwell, Dora]	The White Crusade	
December 1860	1.47	745–46	[Greenwell, Dora]	Winter	McWhirter, J.
December 1860	1.48	760	L. C. C.	The Cry of the Lonely	
December 1860	1.49	777–78	[Craik, Dinah Mulock]	An Autumn Psalm for 1860	Dobell, C.
December 1860	1.50	789–90	D***. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Christmas Tree	Doyle, C. A.
January 1861	2	1–2	L. C. C.	Good Words	
January 1861	2	20	T., Mary H.	Night Cry to God	
January 1861	2	33–34	L. C. C.	The Toad	Watson, J. D.
January 1861	2	52–53	[Greenwell, Dora]	The Joys of Earth	
February 1861	2	79–81	D***. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Bells of Lorloches	Orchardson
February 1861	2	120–21	[Greenwell, Dora]	The Babes in the Wood	Watson, J. D.
March 1861	2	160–61	Macleod, Norman	Oh, it's Hard to Die Frae Home	
March 1861	2	167	H. M. T.	A Song in the Night	
March 1861	2	184–85	DUTHUS	The Lay of Mighty Men	
April 1861	2	208–10	Buchanan, William	An Artisan's Story	Watson, J. D.
April 1861	2	224	[Craik, Dinah Mulock]	The Coming of Spring	McWhirter, J.

April 1861	2	236	Greenwell, Dora	A National Song	
May 1861	2	273	T., Mary H.	Crowned Heads	McTaggart, W.
May 1861	2	298– 99	Holland, Henry W.	The Early Lark	Watson, J. D.
June 1861	2	343	D***. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Cleft in America	
June 1861	2	354	Hugo, Victor (trans.)	After the Battle	Watson, J. D.
July 1861	2	392– 93	[Craik, Dinah Mulock]	The First Look- Out on the World.	Dobell, Clarence
July 1861	2	410– 11	Greenwell, Dora	A Song Which None but the Redeemed can Sing	Armstead, H. H.
August 1861	2	447– 49	[Greenwell, Dora]	The Emigrant's Daughter	Graham, Thomas
September 1861	2	493	Unsigned	Alone	
September 1861	2	505	K. K. T. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Blind School	Walker, F.
September 1861	2	522	F. G.	Shades	Bennett, G. H.
October 1861	2	536– 37	[Craik, Dinah Mulock]	Coming Home	Dobell, Clarence
October 1861	2	567	Serk, A. L.	The Young Mother	Graham, Thomas
October 1861	2	578– 79	C. K.	A Time to Dance	du Maurier, George
November 1861	2	592	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Vigil of Rizpah	McTaggart, W.
November 1861	2	609– 10	Hollingshead, John	Only a Sweep: A Common Ballad	Walker, F.
November 1861	2	635	Unsigned	Schola Crucis, Schola Lucis	
December 1861	2	656– 57	L. C. C.	The Two Streams	Boyd, H.
December 1861	2	680– 81	Stirling, A.	He Never Told his Love	Graham, Thomas

December 1861	2	689–90	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	Hugo.—1845	Linney, W.
January 1862	3	31–32	D***. [Greenwell, Dora]	Go and Come	Holman Hunt
January 1862	3	55–56	Craig, Isa	The Christmas Child	Morten
January 1862	3	64	Latchmore, W. H.	Our Widowed Queen	
February 1862	3	88–89	The Author of “Kelavane” [Forsyth, William]	The Battle of Gilboa	Tenniel, John
February 1862	3	120–21	Greenwell, Dora	The Carrier Pigeon	Morten
March 1862	3	153–54	Moule, Horace	Rung Into Heaven	Lawless, M. J.
March 1862	3	184–85	Greenwell, Dora	Love in Death	Walker
April 1862	3	199–200	Massey, Gerald	Pictures in the Fire	Morten
April 1862	3	247–49	By the author of “The Martyrdom of Kelavane” [Forsyth, William]	King Sigurd, the Crusader	Jones, E. B.
May 1862	3	272–73	Smith, Alexander	Wardie-Spring-Time	Burton
May 1862	3	312	By the author of “John Halifax, Gentleman” [Craik, Dinah Mulock]	Until her Death	Sandys, F.
May/June 1862 <sup>1</sup>	3	328	Craig, Isa	May-Day, 1862. An Ode	
June 1862	3	367–68	Forsyth, William	The Summer Woods	Walker

<sup>1</sup> The exact date of this poem is difficult to determine. It appears after the monthly feature “At Home with the Scriptures” for May but before Macleod’s monthly editorial for June. The poem is paired with a prose piece by Craik titled “Five Shillings Worth of the Great World’s Fair” suggesting that it may be part of supplementary material published on the occasion of the fair. It is impossible to determine whether the material appeared after the May issue or before the June issue without access to the original weekly part.

June 1862	3	376	Hollingshead, John	Summer Evening	Burton, W. P.
July 1862	3	389– 94	Unsigned	Highland Flora	Millais, John Everett
July 1862	3	433– 34	Unsigned	Some Verses by a Working Man	Watson, J. D.
August 1862	3	479– 80	Massey, Gerald	Albert's Tomb	
August 1862	3	503– 04	R. M.	My Treasure	Houghton, A. P.
September 1862	3	521– 22	Blackie, John S.	How Wondrous are Thy Works, O God! A Hymn	Burton, W. P.
September 1862	3	567– 68	Unsigned	Seaweeds	Armstead, H. H.
October 1862	3	592– 93	Robertson, William	The Veiled Bride	Solomon, S.
October 1862	3	625	Massey, Gerald	Garibaldi	
October 1862	3	631– 32	D. G. [Greenwell, Dora]	The Bands of Love	Lawless, M. J.
November 1862	3	657– 69	W. S. F. [A Police Constable]	Out Among the Wild Flowers	Walker, F.
November 1862	3	689– 90	Smith, Alexander	Autumn	McWhirter, J. M.
November 1862	3	695– 96	Greenwell, Dora	A Dialogue	
December 1862	3	721– 22	Procter, Adelaide	True or False?	Houghton

**Table 4:** Index of poetry published in the *Argosy* Volumes 1–8 (December 1865 to December 1869)

Date	Vol. / Issue	Page	Author	Title	Illustrator
December 1865	1	20–21	Ingelow, Jean	Sand-Martins	
December 1865	1	37–38	Craig, Isa	On Board the Argosy	
December 1865	1	47–49	R. B.	Hermioné	Hughes, Edward
January 1866	1	133	Allingham, William	Civitas Dei	
January 1866	1	145–48	Unsigned	The Earl O'Quarterdeck. A New Old Ballad	Lawson, J.
January 1866	1	186–90	Buchanan, Robert	Artist and Model. A London Poem	
February 1866	1	214–15	M. B. S.	The Future	
February 1866	1	241	Craig, Isa	Fair Play	Could not be identified
February 1866	1	288	Rossetti, Christina G.	Who Shall Deliver Me?	
February 1866	1	312–14	Harwood, William Henry	The Ladder of Fame. An Allegory	
March 1866	1	336	Rossetti, Christina G.	If	Sandys, Frederick
March 1866	1	368	Dobell, Sydney	John Bohun Martin. Captain of "The London"	
April 1866	1	389	Ingelow, Jean	Too Late	
April 1866	1	408–09	Allingham, William	Cape Ushant. A Ballad	Pinwell, George
April 1866	1	451–52	Buchanan, Robert	In London, March 1866	
May 1866	1	485–87	Smith, Alexander	A Spring Chason	
May 1866	1	500–03	Craig, Isa	The Vision of Sheik Hamil	Houghton, Arthur Boyd
May 1866	1	530	Buchanan, Robert	Bachelor Dreams	
June 1866	2	23	Allingham, William	To Plutus	

June 1866	2	52	Ingelow, Jean	The Coming in of the "Mermaiden."	
June 1866	2	64	MacDonald, George	The Sighing of the Shell	Millais, John Everett
July 1866	2	129–30	Bankes, John	Cuckoo Song	Edwards, M. E.
July 1866	2	168	Jerrold, W. Blanchard	The Round of Play	
August 1866	2	195–96	Power, Marguerite A.	The Mortal Immortal	
August 1866	2	217–18	D. W.	Autumn Tourists	Mahoney, James
August 1866	2	236	Betham-Edwards, M.	A Recollection	
September 1866	2	268	W. A.	Song	
September 1866	2	287–92	Buchanan, Robert	A London Lyric	Mahoney, James
October 1866	2	346–48	Unsigned	Up in an Attic	
October 1866	2	378	Betham-Edwards, M.	The Poet at His Wife's Grave	
October 1866	2	398	Smedley, M. B.	The Love of Years	Mahoney, James
November 1866	2	456	Buchanan, Robert	The Lead Melting	Gray, Paul
November 1866	2	433–36	R. B.	Agnes (After Oehlenschläger)	
November 1866	2	486–88	Hutcheson, Walter	Convent-Robbing	
December 1866	3	30–31	Leslie, James	The Knight Errant of Arden	Houghton, Arthur Boyd
December 1866	3	45	Smedley, M. B.	A Meeting	
December 1866	3	80	Parkes, Bessie Rayner	On the Bridge at Poissy	
January 1867	3	115	Brown, Margaret	My Love	
January 1867	3	140	Freeland, W.	Winter Sonnets	
February 1867	3	188	S. A. D. I. [Williams, Sarah]	Youth and Maidenhood	
February 1867	3	214–17	J. G. S.	Just Half a Million	
March 1867	3	295–99	S. A. D. I. [Williams, Sarah]	The Doom of the Prynnes. Part I.	
March 1867	3	308–09	Smedley, M. B.	Ampola	
April 1867	3	339–42	S. A. D. I. [Williams, Sarah]	The Doom of the Prynnes. Part II.	

April 1867	3	372–73	Unsigned	Strangers	
May 1867	3	435–38	S. A. D. I. [Williams, Sarah]	The Doom of the Prynnes. Part III.	
May 1867	3	465–67	Moultrie, Gerard	The Defence of the “Alexander,” of St. Vincent in 1794	
June 1867	4	32	S.	A Pastoral	
June 1867	4	79	S. A. D. I. [Williams, Sarah]	Flowers in the East Wind	
June 1867	4	80	Gurdy, Hurdy	Hints for Young Ladies. For 1867.	
July 1867	4	108–09	Unsigned	Three Times in a Hope’s Life	
July 1867	4	142–43	Maccal, W[illiam]	The Forest Bride. From the Swedish of Geijer	
July 1867	4	152	S. A. D. I. [Williams, Sarah]	Andromache	
August 1867	4	229	Unsigned	My Love and I	
September 1867	4	261–63	S. A. D. I. [Williams, Sarah]	A Poet’s Moods	
September 1867	4	278	Calverley, C. S.	Evening	
October 1867	4	361–63	S. A. D. I. [Williams, Sarah]	A Poet’s Moods	
October 1867	4	383–84	Ashe, T.	After Long Years	
November 1867	4	421	S. A. D. I. [Williams, Sarah]	A Lost Friend	
November 1867	4	441–45	J. J. M.	After the Fall ( <i>Adam loquitur</i> )	
December 1867	5	63	T.	My Love	
January 1868	5	103	Rossetti, Christina	Twilight Night	
February 1868	5	181	Dean of Canterbury	Room for His Lordship. A Charade.	
February 1868	5	236	Broderip, Francis Feeling	The Hungry Sea	
March 1868	5	262	Greenwell, Dora	A Parting Song	
March 1868	5	281	Unsigned	Margaret	Crane, Walter
March 1868	5	316	Unsigned	Flowers	
April 1868	5	355	Unsigned	Another Chance	

May 1868	5	425	Mackay, Charles (L.L.D.)	The World and the Song	
May 1868	5	430	Unsigned	Too Late	
June 1868	6	25	Broderip, Francis Feeling	Parted Once	
June 1868	6	55	J. T.	Mary	
June 1868	6	74	Unsigned	Red Clover Blossoms	
July 1868	6	104	Unsigned	A Welcome to Summer	
August 1868	6	184	Unsigned	Long Ago	
August 1868	6	194	Unsigned	Nineteen	
August 1868	6	209	Baldwin, Astley H.	Wind!	
August 1868	6	235	Unsigned	Judge Not	
September 1868	6	266	Unsigned	A Recollection	
September 1868	6	273	Leigh, Stone	Sonnet. A Lover to his Mistress's Jewels	
September 1868	6	288	Unsigned	Coming Home	
September 1868	6	320	Unsigned	Days of Childhood	
October 1868	6	368	Duthie, William	To-Morrow	
November 1868	6	427	Duthie, William	Long Ago	
November 1868	6	445	Leigh, Stone	A Lover to his Lady	
November 1868	6	465	Thompson, W. B.	Dolce Far Niente	
December 1868	6	507	Unsigned	Life	
December 1868	6	521	Duthie, William	Forfeits	
December 1868	6	535	E. L. L.	Dying	
December 1868	6	536	Unsigned	Olden Times	Could not be identified
January 1869	7	30– 31	Broderip, Francis Feeling	Auguries	
February 1869	7	108	Banks, G. Linnaeus (Mrs.)	The Bird in the Linden	
February 1869	7	122	Thompson, W. B.	'I know not which is sweeter, no, not I'	
March 1869	7	214	Duthie, William	Clariora	
April 1869	7	289	Leigh, H. Stone	A Presentiment	
April 1869	7	309	D. L.	Almost Over	
April 1869	7	320	Doudney, Sarah	Hard Lines	
June 1869	7	476	Marzials, Theo.	Out in the Street	

June 1869	7	458	King, Alice	Song of the Bird in the Garden of Armida. Translated from Tasso.	
July 1869	8	58	Unsigned	To My Friend	
July 1869	8	71	Doudney, Sarah	Looking Back	
July 1869	8	80	Duthie, William	Æoliæ	
August 1869	8	160	Unsigned	Memory's Idyl	
September 1869	8	221	Unsigned	Beyond the Tide	
September 1869	8	240	J. T. L.	The days that are no more	
October 1869	8	273	Unsigned	At Night	
December 1869	8	443	Unsigned	Christmas Carols	
December 1869	8	494	Doudney, Sarah	The Knight's Tomb	
December 1869	8	516	Duthie, William	Fairy Faces	