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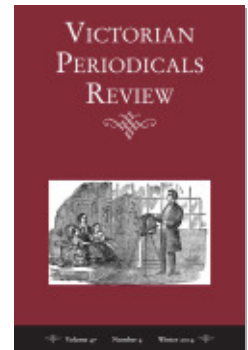
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The Politicization of Everyday Life in *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette* (1834–36)

EDWARD JACOBS

With circulation as high as 40,000, *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette*, published 1834–36, was one of the first and most popular unstamped newspapers to mix political news with coverage of non-political events like sensational crimes, strange occurrences, and excerpts from popular fiction. Scholars have differed widely in their interpretations of the fact that the paper's mixture of radical politics and "entertainment" outsold unstamped papers that offered undiluted political news, such as Hetherington's *Poor Man's Guardian* (1831–35), whose circulation peaked at around 16,000.¹ Some, like Louis James and Virginia Berridge, argue that *Cleave's* helped to co-opt legitimate working-class political discourse by cultivating a taste for sensational Sunday papers and melodramatic fiction.² Others, like Ian Haywood and Iain McCalman, argue that the paper's mixture of what Haywood calls the "genres" of "popular pleasure and radical politics" empowered radicalism, by articulating its "new" political discourse onto popular traditions of festivity and sensationalism.³ And while both Joel Wiener and Patricia Hollis recognize the difference between purely political papers and "mixed-genre" ones like *Cleave's* in their histories of the unstamped press, they interpret that difference only minimally, focusing instead (and quite reasonably) on the unstamped press as a politically homogenous radical movement.⁴

Oddly, in making these arguments, few critics have analyzed in any detail exactly how political and other news were organized and related within *Cleave's*. By contrast, this essay focuses on how the paper spatially organized the various genres it contained. My conclusion is that the layout of *Cleave's* incited its audience to read politics into all items, however putatively non-political. Yet I also argue that this

politicization of non-political items by the paper had ambivalent effects on working-class culture, on the one hand extending the purview of political discourse, but on the other cultivating “creative” political interpretation as a potentially co-opting substitute for political action.

Generalizing about the “standard layout” of periodicals is an inevitably contingent project. However, doing so about *Cleave’s* is much aided by the eleven numbers of the paper held by Glasgow University Library (GUL), which are evidently unique copies of these numbers, and which are not included among the extant numbers listed in Wiener’s *Finding List of Unstamped Newspapers* or in John North’s *Waterloo Directory*.⁵ Wiener and North may have overlooked these eleven numbers because they bear, and are catalogued under, the title *Weekly Police Gazette*, which they reveal to have been the name of the paper for two-thirds of its life, with *Cleave’s* name being added to the title only sometime between the 1 August and 5 September 1835 numbers.⁶ I will therefore refer to it hereafter as “WPG,” citing articles by page and column number. Because the eleven numbers at Glasgow date from between 12 April 1834 (the paper’s fifteenth weekly number) and 5 September 1835, whereas all but two of the seventeen other extant full issues date from 1836, the Glasgow holdings significantly broaden our knowledge about the paper over its three-year run between January 1834 and its final unstamped number of 3 September 1836. Among other revelations,⁷ the Glasgow holdings indicate that with the 14 March 1835 number, WPG significantly changed both its content and layout in ways that enhanced the encouragements it gave readers to politically interpret non-political news.

One major change to WPG’s content in this number was a marked increase in the amount and institutional level of its political discourse. After 14 March 1835, WPG regularly includes between two and five columns of news from Parliament, and between two and three columns of the “Weekly Police Gazette,” an editorial commentary focused on actions in Parliament and other relatively “high-level” government institutions. By contrast, in the two numbers from 1834 (12 April and 5 July) at Glasgow, the only coverage of Parliament is a jokey note in the 12 April number that “In the House of Commons, on Wednesday night se’nnight, the Highways’ Bill, the Hemp and Flax Bounties Bill, and the Felons’ Property bill, were severally read a second time,” which ends with a bracketed comment that wryly shifts attention from Parliament back to the “street level” of criminal courts: “These are *Ketching* titles for legislative Acts, it must be considered” (2.2). These two 1834 numbers contain only three free-standing editorials, totalling just over three columns, and all three focus on “political” issues raised by “street-level” governmental institutions and working-class activities,

rather than by the law-making levels of government. Thus, "ONE LAW FOR THE RICH, AND ANOTHER FOR THE POOR," from the 12 April 1834 number, contrasts the Dorchester Labourer's sentence of transportation with the light sentences given two factory overseers for the murder of child workers (2.3), the trials of whom are recounted elsewhere in the number with little (2.3) or no (2.6) editorializing. "TRADES UNIONS" from the same number quotes and "corrects" the *Times*' distortion of the purpose of unions (3.5), while "AN ADDRESS FROM THE BROTHERS OF THE GRAND LODGE OF MISCELLANEOUS OPERATIVES" in the 5 July 1834 number argues for the need for a universal union and solicits delegates from standing unions to a meeting to be held in London in August (3.3-4). These numbers do contain political discourse, but aside from the above items, it is embedded in quotations from proceedings in the magistrates' courts and other judicial bodies, which in keeping with their venue tend to focus on issues raised by relatively "street-level" institutions and events. For example, in the 12 April 1834 number (2.1), condemnation of police brutality is quoted directly from the magistrate at Worship Street, who dismisses charges brought against two women by a police officer, whom the magistrate then lectures and recommends for reprimand by the police commissioners, concluding that "He expected they would notice his conduct, and if they did not, he should feel it his duty to interfere in another way. What the two men said was in keeping with the assertion of the girls. As far as a magistrate could uphold the police he would, but he would never countenance brutality. If a policeman used the authority intrusted to him with tyranny, he was unfit for his office. There did seem to be a degree of harshness and unnecessary violence about the policeman which was quite unjustifiable. He was to do his duty, but to do it with mildness."⁸

This increase in the amount and institutional level of political discourse in WPG after 14 March 1835 coincided with an increase in topical focus, as the paper consolidated its political voice and position as an advocate for legal, constitutional change of the stamp laws and other barriers to working-class liberty. The most graphic example of this consolidation of WPG's political position are the changes made then to the presentation of its title. The two issues at Glasgow from 1834 (12 April and 5 July) bear the title "WEEKLY POLICE GAZETTE" with no mottos or decorative devices, except for a woodcut illustration under the title. Beginning with the next extant issue of 14 March 1835, however, the title is surrounded by political devices and mottos (fig. 1).⁹ Hereafter, the title appears on a banner held on the left by a classically robed female figure on a pedestal labelled "TRUTH," and on the right by what an artisan, wearing a hat



Figure 1: *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette*, 30 April 1836.
 Courtesy British Library microfilms.

and standing on a pedestal labelled “JUSTICE.” Beneath the center of the banner an eagle appears inside a circular banner which is inscribed “FOR A FREE PRESS & EQUAL LAWS.” This device is flanked on the left (toward the female figure of TRUTH) by a British Lion and on the right (toward the artisan figure of JUSTICE) by a hand printing press. Centered beneath these figures is the motto “KNOWLEDGE IS POWER.” At the same level, to the left of “TRUTH,” is the quotation “*Liberty with danger is to be preferred to Slavery with Security.—SALLUST.*” In the 14 March 1835 number and the next two extant ones (18 and 25 April 1835), to the right of the figure of “JUSTICE” is the unattributed motto “*Labour is the source of Wealth.*” However, beginning with the next extant number (16 May 1835) and continuing thereafter, the right-hand motto (associated with the hand press and artisan figure of JUSTICE) changes to “*A well-instructed people alone can be a free people.—MADISON.*” Associating the principles of justice, truth, and equality with an artisan figure and a printing press, these titular devices clearly prioritize repeal of the stamp laws among radical issues. This priority was strengthened by the substitution beginning with the 16 May 1835 number of “*Labour is the source of Wealth*”—a motto redolent of what Hollis¹⁰ calls “the Old Analysis” based in the

fight against “Old Corruption”—for Madison’s axiom that “*A well-instructed people alone can be a free people.*”¹¹

The major change to WPG’s layout with the 14 March 1835 number was the localization of its major genres—crime reports, political reportage and editorials, extracts from correspondence and other periodicals, and advertisements—into relatively regular, spatially distinct “departments” within its pages.

From this number, almost all crime reports are gathered on page one. In the two 1834 numbers at Glasgow, by contrast, these crime reports dominate not only page one, but also pages two and three, and even spill over onto page four. Most of the reports gathered on page one are from the police magistrates courts, although columns five and six are often filled out by reports from other courts (occasionally including foreign ones), and by relatively brief notices of remarkable events like fires and floods, which are typically presented as reports from coroner’s and other inquests.

From 14 March 1835, page two of numbers published during Parliamentary sessions invariably begins with several columns of news from Parliament. From this number until the 5 March 1836 one, page two covers Parliament only until mid-week, with the first columns of page four reporting on doings later in the week. Beginning with the latter number, however, all Parliamentary news is gathered together at the start of page two, under the heading “IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.” Parliamentary news on page two is followed by the “WEEKLY POLICE GAZETTE,” several columns of editorial commentary, almost always focusing on Parliamentary action. After the 4 July 1835 number, “Notices to Correspondents” always closely precedes this “WEEKLY POLICE GAZETTE” editorial, except in the three numbers (5 July 1834; 5 September 1835; 20 May 1836) containing no such “Notices.”¹² The rest of page two and the first five or so columns of page three are devoted mainly to excerpts from other publications or from correspondents, most all which report on working-class political meetings and related activities (as opposed to government activities). Space around these items is filled out with short notices of “remarkable” events much like those at the end of page one, such as fires, shipwrecks, or the young Irish woman who had four dressing pins erupt from her breasts after evidently swallowing them while dressing (4 June 1836: 2.2). Sometimes a satirical list of bloated State Pensions appears on these pages, although this list also frequently appears on page four. Page three ends with between one and two columns of advertisements, mainly for commercial goods and medicines. As noted above, from 14 March 1835 until 5 March 1836, page four begins with reports on Parliament’s actions after mid-week. However, both during

and after the period when late-week Parliamentary news begins page four, at least half of the page is devoted to more extracts from other publications and from correspondents. These tend to be more editorial in style than the ones on pages two and three, which tend to give “objective” reportage of working-class meetings and other activities. There also seems to be an increasing tendency for discussions of “cultural” topics like the dangers of drink to be placed among the page-four extracts and correspondence, although this placement is far from rigorous. As on pages two and three, these major “departments” are interspersed with a few usually short notices of “remarkable” events. Aside from the occasional appearance of the Pension Lists, page four then includes news about stocks and markets, and ends with between two and three columns of advertisements for publications and notices of upcoming meetings of working-class associations, followed by the imprint.

Ironically, it was this layout’s spatial localization of WPG’s major “departments” that, in various ways, and to differing degrees, encouraged readers to interpret all news in context of the political discourse in the paper. Some of the ways this “departmentalizing” layout did so were manifestly orchestrated by the paper, while others seem at least partially accidental, but all the same this way of organizing the paper encouraged political interpretation of non-political news in several interrelated ways.

The various ways the crime reports on page one are politicized illustrate how the paper exploited “accidental” links that its layout forged between overtly political discourse and its other genres. The fact that, between the 14 March 1835 and 5 March 1836 numbers, WPG placed news from Parliament until mid-week on page two, but later Parliamentary news on page four, suggests that the paper typically typeset its inner forme (pages two and three) around mid-week, and set the outer forme (pages one and four) sometime on Friday, the day before its Saturday publication.¹³ WPG probably adopted this layout mainly in order to “hide” the patently illegal political news and editorializing on the inner pages. Nonetheless, one effect of this layout was to place the crime reports under the political title devices and illustrations on page one, inevitably encouraging readers to see those crime reports in context of the political themes advanced in the titular devices and illustrations. Because most crime reports in WPG come from the magistrates’ courts, where cases under the stamp laws and the New Poor Law were heard, many of them have innate links to radical political issues. Yet quite often, WPG selects and places crime reports so as to highlight their resonances with the specific themes forwarded by the title devices and illustrations above them. For example, in the

26 December 1835 number, the account of an absurdly-punitive case brought by the Duke of Cumberland's "Equerry and Secretary" against a toll-booth boy, who demanded a "three half-pence" bridge toll of the King's Horses on the grounds that they were pulling a cartload of cabbages rather than the toll-exempt royal carriages, is placed right beside two cartoons ridiculing upper-class aggression and greed. One shows a brawl among "Whigs [who] sometimes can hit outright" under the punning title "Boxing Day," while the other shows clerics making a gigantic pudding above verses saying "From this pudding turn your looks, / Ye paupers, 'tis for the parsons fat."

Like most crime reports in WPG, this account, entitled "THE KING'S HORSES," adheres to a professionally objective style of reportage. Yet like the report discussed above from the 12 April 1834 number and like many reports in later numbers, this one nonetheless contains political discourse in the embedded, naturalized form of quotations from people in the court. Most pointedly, quoted speech exposes the prejudice of the magistrate for Sir George Quintin, the Duke's Equerry, who insists that "his Majesty's horses were exempt from the toll while engaged in drawing any of the royal carriages." When the "Secretary to the Hammersmith Bridge Committee" argues on behalf of the "lad" that the horses were drawing a cart-load of cabbages, the magistrate "Sir F. Roe said he would not suffer the Secretary to adopt that line of defense," asking "What on earth have the King's cabbages to do with the question?" The bridge Secretary objects "that he spoke under some disadvantage, as he was not allowed the same favour as" the plaintiff. Roe responds that "such an observation could only arise from ignorance" because the plaintiff "was a gentleman and an esquire by Act of Parliament, and was therefore entitled to any mark of courtesy which he could show," while the bridge secretary "was in the same place as that which solicitors generally occupied who attended the office on public business." The bridge secretary "said that although he was charged with ignorance, he was not so ignorant as not to see a disposition against him on the part of the Magistrate," whereupon Roe says, "I will not hear you any further. The defendant is fined 40s. and costs." When the lad says he cannot pay, "Roe said that the law must take its course; and as the defendant could not pay the fine, he must go to prison." The secretary observes, "I think you have not power under our Act to commit him to prison," but withdraws after threats from Roe, and then pays "the fine and costs, amounting to 2l. 7s. 6d." with the result that "the defendant was liberated."

As in this case (and in the item from the 12 April 1734 number summarized above), crime reports are often politicized mainly by selecting and placing them so that the "naturalized" political opinions

quoted from courtroom scene resonate with the title illustration and/or the political news and commentary in the inner pages. Another recurrent way in which crime reports are politicized under the veil of objective reportage is to plonk potted bits of WPG's own editorial voice into the mouths of participants in the courtroom scene. More often than not, these interpolated rants are so rhetorically organized and polemically consistent with the political priorities advanced in WPG's overtly political articles—such as “THE WEEKLY POLICE GAZETTE” on page two—that one must suspect some degree of fictionalization, however much the articles affect objective reportage. “UNSTAMPED NEWSPAPERS,” which appears shortly after the above “KING'S HORSES” article in the 26 December 1835 number (1.3–4), offers a particularly rich example of such potentially “cooked” reportage, recounting as it does a quasi-carnavalesque reversal whereby the magistrate at Worship-Street expresses WPG's own critique of injustice with an irony that seems a bit too unwitting, topically ripe, and self-referential to be pure reportage. The article opens by reporting that “Noah Flood and Fredrick Thomas were charged with carrying about for sale unstamped newspapers” by one Hadley, who “stated that he saw the defendant [Flood] near Shoreditch church put a paper under a door” and that when “he stopped him” he “found ‘Cleave's Gazette,’ and five ‘Twopenny Dispatches’ in his possession.” After the magistrate, “Mr. Broughton,” asks “Did he say whether he was selling them or not?,” the defendant, “a clerk in a respectable house,” says “that he only sold the papers to those who could not afford to pay for stamped newspapers” and that “he was sorry for having transgressed the Act; but he had not sufficient [money] to support himself with.” Following these (relatively muted) hints at the panoptical subterfuge and economic rapacity of Stamp Law enforcement, the account shifts into a satire on the law's dim-witted absurdity, beginning when the “solicitor for the defendant said that a single paper could not sustain the charge of its being a newspaper. Consecutive numbers should be produced.” The magistrate's response is absurdly over-general and legally-ignorant: “Mr. Broughton observed that the definition of a newspaper appeared in its discussing public events,” not in its periodicity. More hilariously yet, Broughton then “took up ‘Cleave's Gazette,’” and during an extempore bit of ekphrasis also unwittingly ‘takes up’ WPG's voice:¹⁴

“Here,” he remarked, referring to the picture, “is a white slave starving amidst Christians, in a land of plenty and splendour, and in another part is a black, or West Indian slave, drinking a pot of porter.” That is discussing public events, and constitutes a newspaper, and it was not such by being continuous.

That after thus speaking for WPG, “Mr. Broughton said that as the Stamp-office did not press for a conviction, he would discharge the defendant” only heightens the ways—perhaps partly fictionalized—in which this account, like so many crime reports in WPG—embeds and naturalizes as courtroom transcripts the satirical, animadversional political commentary typical of WPG, especially in the “WEEKLY POLICE GAZETTE” editorial on page two.

Sometimes, such presumably fictionalized insertions of WPG’s own editorial voice into the mouths of people in the courtroom are topically unified within a particular number. A good instance is the watershed 14 March 1835 number that introduced the format and content changes summarized above. Here, figures from two separate crime reports decry (in suspiciously-similar terms) the ways the current legal system prevents magistrates from acting upon their natural feelings of sympathy for the working classes. First, the opening report from the Mansion House court (1.1) recounts the case of a seventy-year old hairdresser now too old to work, who applies to Alderman Pirie for “interference with the overseers of St. Mary Monthronre” so as to get him admitted to the workhouse, from which he has been rigorously excluded, despite his former client, Deputy Whitby, having “interested himself very much about the poor man.” Alderman Pirie and Mr. Hobler have a discussion that seems too polemic not to be a little cooked, with Pirie for example saying, “This sort of conduct to the poor and aged cannot be borne” and Hobler arguing that such neglect “is the consequence of taking out of the hands of the magistrates a power, which, if they did not at all times exercise it judiciously, seldom exercised it otherwise than humanely, and placing it in the hands of those who are interested in denying assistance to the poor.” Nearly identical rhetoric recurs in a case heard at the Town Hall court (1.5), about an “elderly woman who was almost double from age,” and who applies to Alderman Ansley with written statement that 3s. relief given her and eighty-seven-year-old bedridden husband “had of late been taken off.” Her applications to Mr. Barrett, the overseer, “elected as a relieving officer and [who] had for such service a salary of 150l. a-year” have been refused, even after Mr. Kinsey, “an officer of this establishment” writes on her behalf to Mr. Barrett, who “threw the note in the fire.” Ansley, echoing the critique of the administration of the New Poor Law from the above Mansion House case, then remonstrates: “What am I to do? I have no legal power. I hope this case will go before the charitable, and the Legislature will take it up. I am constantly assailed in the public streets as a magistrate by the famishing poor for orders on the parish officers; the act of Parliament is so ambiguous and contrary that one clause gives power, and the next

destroys.” The account then says that the “act was referred to” and quotes “sec 15, 22, 27, 55,” closing with Ansley reiterating that he is “constantly receiving letters upon the subject of the new Poor Law Bill.”¹⁵

Occasionally, WPG politicizes crime reports and other items of reportage more brashly, by appending bracketed commentary to them. However, after a flurry of such bracketed editorializing between the 14 March and 4 July 1835 numbers, which was presumably intended to help consolidate the paper’s newly fashioned political voice, WPG largely abandons this practice.¹⁶ Probably it did so mainly in a bid for professional journalistic respectability. Indeed, as Hollis notes,¹⁷ WPG had since its first number aspired to such respectability, simply by adopting the broadsheet format used by stamped papers like the *Times*, at a time when most unstamped papers still used the more pamphlet-like quarto format traditional since the 1820s fallout from Peterloo.

Yet however much WPG’s aspirations to respectability motivated its climb down from the flurry of bracketed editorializing on items of reportage between the 14 March and 4 July 1835 numbers, reducing such intrusive editorializing on news also implied and projected WPG’s growing confidence that its readers were able to recognize the bearing of news items on the broader issues prioritized by the paper’s new titular devices and editorials. This confidence in the politically interpretive abilities of its readers is also manifest by the fact that during this same period (between the 14 March and 4 July 1835 numbers), WPG placed unusually prescriptive “Notices to Correspondents” at the beginning of page one, but thereafter (as noted above) invariably placed “Notices” (generally less stipulative) shortly before the “Weekly Police Gazette” editorial on page two. Placing these notices at the very beginning of page one during the 14 March to 4 July 1835 period obviously suggests a desire to organize and direct correspondence, and this aim is made explicit in several “Notices” that overtly solicit correspondence on particular issues. For example, in the 18 April 1835 number, one item in the “Notices” declares, “We shall be obliged to any Correspondent for local papers containing cases showing the working of the new Poor Law Bill.” Moving “Notices to Correspondents” after 4 July 1835 to just before the “Weekly Police Gazette” editorial in its own way encourages correspondence in keeping with the editorial views expressed in those columns. Yet this encouragement is far more implicit and muted than in the topically solicitative “Notices” placed on page one between 14 March and 4 July 1835, manifesting and projecting confidence in the ability of

its readers to focus their correspondence on the issues most concerning WPG at any given time.

As noted above, WPG probably placed the bulk of its most overtly political discourse on the inner pages in order to hide it. Yet because WPG filled in space around the political departments dominating these inner pages (and a good bit of page four) with short notices of usually non-political “remarkable events,” the paper quite literally embedded those “remarkable events” within its political discourse. And significantly, quite often the short notices on these pages are manifestly selected and placed so as to highlight their topical and semantic resonances with surrounding political items. A good example is the way both placement and the terminology of improvement establish “intertextual” links between an extract from Sharon Turner’s *Sacred History of the World* (1832) in the 5 March 1836 number and two preceding reports from public meetings protesting the stamp laws. The page begins with a report on a “PUBLIC MEETING IN BEHALF OF THE UNSTAMPED AT WANDSWORTH,” at which it was “Resolved, That . . . all taxes that are imposed on the public press, are intended to retard the progress of knowledge . . . and to prevent that great moral development of the mind of man, which fits him for the possession of that moral and political power, which ought to be associated with self-government.” There follows a similar report from a “PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT . . . LEICESTER, FEB. 29,” quoting the text of its petition to the House of Commons, which pleads “That your petitioners are most ardently desirous of obtaining knowledge, conceiving thereby they shall elevate themselves in the scale of creation.” Only lines after this allusion to the natural “scale of creation,” the extract from Turner, entitled “PRODUCTIVENESS OF VEGETABLES,” begins. First citing examples of plants “growing and fructifying when grafted onto each other,” it declares that “Such facts prove the absolute similarity in nature of the different classes of the vegetable kingdom” as well as the fact that “Plants have been manifestly designed and framed on the principle of improvability.” It then enumerates instances of the “[v]ery agreeable, but surprising, transformations that have arisen from this property,” such as the development of roses from “the common wild briar.” After noting that “[t]he human capacity for progression is not more clearly visible than that of which so many vegetables have been found susceptible, that it may not unreasonably be inferred to be a law of their constitution,” towards the end of the article, Turner argues that “the latent and indefinite productibility of vegetable nature . . . make that dread that any increase of human population will cause famine, a fanciful chimera,”

but warns that despite this “gigantic possibility of productive power,” “it will always be necessary for wise laws and individual equity and benevolence . . . to cause her bounty to be shared by all its inhabitants” in order to avoid the Malthusian scenario to which he alludes. Because Turner, whose *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799–1804) was an influential argument for Britain’s “ancient constitution” of liberty,¹⁸ uses language so consonant with WPG’s own political discourse, there is little call for editorial intervention to point out the political bearing of this extract, and WPG offers none.

This implicit treatment is typical of the ways WPG politicizes non-political items, and especially the non-crime report ones scattered on its inner pages. Aside from the brief spell of bracketed editorializing between the 11 March and 4 July 1835 numbers, WPG almost always “politicizes” non-political extracts not by commenting on them in an editorial voice, but instead by selecting and placing them so as to highlight the “intertextual” links of their own topics and rhetoric to surrounding items of political discourse. Sometimes non-political items are linked to nearby political ones by theme or rhetorical style rather than by shared phrasing. A good example occurs on page two of the 5 June 1836 number, where the final item on the page, a short extract about chlorine bleach from David Boswell Reid’s 1836 *Rudiments of Chemistry: with Illustrations of the Chemical Phenomena of Daily Life* (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers), coyly naturalizes the power of the satirical rhetoric used by the main political items on the page. The most satirical political item on the page is the “WEEKLY POLICE GAZETTE” editorial, which opens with the observation that “THERE be men who will build walls to knock their heads against; and there be men, of course, who will laugh at them for their pains” and proceeds to ridicule the organization of Tory gangs to disrupt public meetings held by the Irish Radical Daniel O’Connell as a “series of O’Connell dramas” or “follies” by which “the Conservative company . . . have written themselves down most egregious asses.” Thereafter the editorial reveals the Tories to have quite literally written themselves down as Shakespearean clowns, quoting and ridiculing what was said in the “public meetings” to organize the gangs, as reported by the stamped press. The report from the “IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT” that begins the page also quotes hegemonic discourse in order to ridicule it, although, being an item of reportage, it uses irony rather than overt ridicule to accomplish this animadversion. After noting that “In the Lords nothing worth naming was done,” it reports the Commons’ inaction on working-class petitions against the stamp duties and the use of police spies, and then the defeat, “upon a point of form,” of Daniel O’Connell’s movement to discuss charges of election bribery against Tory members for Ireland recently elected. This inaction before serious matters of justice is then

ironically juxtaposed with entry into a Committee of Supply, which is dominated by a bickering debate about whether giving the British Museum funds to stay open on Sundays would endanger “the moral feelings of the great body of the people,” but which also votes enormous sums “for the salaries of the Commissioners of the Insolvent Debtors’ Court, and their clerks” and “the salaries and expenses of the Commissioners of the Poor Laws in England and Wales.” On a more cultural level, another ironic item just below the “IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT” quotes the *Liverpool Mercury* on a lecture by Mr. Simpson recommending “warm and cold baths” as a key part of “the moral, intellectual, and physical education of the working classes.” After so much satire on hegemonic discourse, the “IMPORTANT DISCOVERY” at the end of the page that bleach is “at open war with all colours derived from the animal or vegetable kingdom,” being “(when it meets with them) an indiscriminate and universal leveller” forwards bleach as a chemical analog for this page’s war against hegemony’s rhetorical “colours” and pretensions. This self-reflexive comment on the page’s rhetoric is enhanced by a coy in-joke at the very end of the article, which alludes to John Cleave’s former career as a sailor, noting that, “most wonderful of all, this corrosive, extraordinary, and powerful agent, is extracted from that mild and harmless substance, common salt.” That this extract specifically links chemical science to the rhetoric of animadversion, the quoting of opposing discourse in order to discredit it, is significant, because animadversion is a very common tactic in the “WEEKLY POLICE GAZETTE” and other political editorializing. Unsurprisingly, given the centrality of this rhetoric to WPG, there are other instances of non-political items that implicitly legitimate it. For instance, at the end of page two of the 26 December 1835 number, a short item entitled “ITALIAN NIGHTINGALES” quotes “*Willis’s Pencillings by the Way*” on the fact that “Lombardy is full of nightingales. They sing by day, however (as not specified in poetry). They are up quite early as the lark, and the green hedges are alive with their gurgling and changeful music till twilight.” This seemingly trivial correction of poetic discourse gains political overtones by being placed on a page full of political animadversions, such as the “WEEKLY POLICE GAZETTE,” which quotes and ridicules the Postmaster’s justification of his policy of deducting from the salary of postmen any “bell-fees” patrons offered them for extending quarterly credit for after-hour deliveries, concluding “So much for the Whig advice, touching the wisdom of becoming ‘capitalists.’”

As Hollis and Wiener painstakingly demonstrate, the overtly political news in WPG (like that in other unstamped papers) to an unprecedented degree politically informed working-class readers and helped to organize them for political action, and did both in ways that

directly articulated with the emergence of Chartism.¹⁹ The above analysis of WPG's layout indicates that the paper moreover cultivated its readers' capacities for independent, creative applications of radical political principles. For as I have argued, in ways that were by and large consciously orchestrated rather than accidental, WPG's organization of the genres it included enabled and incited its readers to find political implications in news about spheres of life ostensibly unrelated to politics. This evidence that WPG thus encouraged its readers to politicize non-political news belies the charge made by critics like James and Berridge that the paper's inclusion of news about crimes, fires, and bloody accidents distracted readers from politics and ultimately helped to create a taste for the "sensational" working-class papers and penny fiction that, in the view of those critics, had by mid-century fatally co-opted working-class radicalism.²⁰ On the contrary, the evidence above adds detail to Ian Haywood's schematic discussion of WPG during his argument that, far from co-opting radical discourse (as James and Berridge claim), the "sensational entertainment" included in working-class publications cooperated with radical discourse from the 1790s until well past mid-century, as Haywood most convincingly demonstrates to be the case in Edward Lloyd's various newspapers and in the serial fiction and newspapers of G. W. M. Reynolds.²¹ Specifically, the broader view of WPG offered by the eleven early issues of the paper at Glasgow suggests that WPG was an early cultivator of the practice of politically "re-accenting" texts and events that many scholars identify as a distinctive aspect of mid-nineteenth-century working-class culture, and instances of which have been famously recorded by Henry Mayhew, James Grant, and other contemporary observers of Victorian Britain's urban underclass.²² For, especially after the flurry of bracketed editorializing between March and July of 1835, WPG as a rule only *implies* the political import of non-political items. Its inclusion (and organization) of non-political items among political ones hence encourages readers themselves to be active, creative participants in political interpretation, rather than passive recipients of editorial discourse.

It is nonetheless possible to argue that precisely by encouraging readers to re-accent things like vegetable grafting as "radical," WPG and other mixed-genre publications to some extent ironically undermined effective, corporate political action such as union-building. In the first place, by inciting its readers to extend the purview of radicalism to things like hybrid plants, nightingales, and bleach, WPG's layout potentially blurred the focus of its readers on the historically-urgent issues (like municipal reform or repeal of the stamp laws) that the paper's own political items prioritized. In the second place, insofar as

WPG's layout made readers feel that they were participating in radicalism simply by interpreting hybrid roses as evidence of radical principles, it may also have let them substitute the pleasure of transgressive textual appropriation for a more complex, and risky, commitment to material praxis. However, the first of these interpretations overlooks key details about the history of working-class political culture, while the second assumes that working-class cultural activity necessarily happened at the expense of political praxis.

In the first place, to conclude that the predominant effect of the ways WPG incited readers to politicize non-political news was to distract readers from radicalism's policy priorities assumes that nineteenth-century working-class people experienced "radicalism" purely or mainly as something like a present-day political "party" or organization. Yet such a politics that worked through established governmental and legal institutions by advocating "policies" to citizens who could express their views by voting or otherwise enacting their opinion was a relatively novel practice among people who had long lived without political franchise, and under laws and policies that denied them the right to self-fashion and practice their own culture, especially insofar as their culture bore on hegemonic institutions and values. On the contrary, within the modern working-class culture that had evolved since the seventeenth-century, the main "political" traditions were practices that assumed and departed from the fact of disenfranchisement. Among the most prevalent and traditional of these practices were the evasion of hegemonic institutions via disguises, "escapes, flights, desertions, migrations and refusals" that Peter Linebaugh calls "excarceration";²³ riots, lynchings, and other "extra-political" disruptions of established institutions;²⁴ and a rich array of carnivalesque/festive satires on the hegemonic status quo as depraved, ridiculous, or self-defeating.²⁵ To put this point more theoretically, before the formation of a Radical "party" and of Chartism as reform movements, the political culture of the British working-class largely focused on sub-cultural escape from hegemonic disciplines and on counter-cultural disruptions and challenges to established political institutions, rather than on action within them.

Given this history, insofar as WPG's layout incited its audience to read specifically radical principles and issues into events like vagrancy, agricultural cross-breeding, or bleach, that layout naturalized and popularized radical principles, and the emergent practice of policy-based engagement with established political institutions, as part of working-class political culture, more than it distracted readers from those principles and that still-emergent way of doing politics. And the above evidence indicates that WPG consistently urged its readers to

find radical principles in news about “non-political” events far more than it encouraged readers to re-accent that news toward the more traditional working-class political culture of sub-cultural excarceration, counter-cultural sabotage, and festive animadversion. Thus, as I stressed above (15–16), the extract from Turner on “PRODUCTIVENESS OF VEGETABLES” is placed so as to make its vegetative naturalization of the “principle of improvability,” the “absolute similarity in different classes” and the “capacity for progression” resonate with the language of petitions from working-class meetings that ask precisely for the working-class to be included in the institution of “self-government.” The extract further advocates the radical program of legal, institutional reform (rather than excarceration or disruption) by concluding with discourse about “the capacity for progression” being “a law of their [vegetables’] constitution” and the necessity of “wise laws and individual equity.” The extract from Reid about the “IMPORTANT DISCOVERY” of bleach (16–17) more subtly balances the radical ideal of a rational, civil working-class with a disruptive or carnivalesque one. For although the extract starts with a threatening, counter-cultural language of “open war” by an “indiscriminate and universal leveller” that echoes the animadversions on hegemonic institutions dominating the number (as well as the revolutionary language of the Civil Wars), the extract ends by stressing that “this corrosive, extraordinary, and powerful agent” of war and universal levelling is only one way of using “that mild and harmless substance, common salt.” The crime reports in WPG also advocate radical principles and the reformist strategy of engagement with established institutions more than they endorse the excarceral, disruptive, or purely festive politics of disenfranchisement. Thus, although the crime report about “UNSTAMPED NEWSPAPERS” that I above characterized (10–11) as performing a “quasi-carnivalesque reversal” of the courtroom scene certainly involves festive satire on the magistrate, amidst that comedy it also makes the accurate (and tactically crucial) “legal” case that periodicals must be defined by their seriality, not by their content. In a related vein, among the many crime reports noted above (12–13 and n. 15) that criticize the New Poor Law and the workhouse system, most include political speech from the courtroom scene that calls for specific reforms of specific provisions of the New Poor Law, for example condemning the act for “taking out of the hands of the magistrates a power...and placing it in the hands of those who are interested in denying assistance to the poor” and specifying “sec 15, 22, 27, 55” as abusive. And strikingly, all of these cases focus on the sufferings of deserving people who cannot get *into* the workhouse or are otherwise cast off by the New Poor Law system, rather than on the inmates whose sufferings

imply the need for “excarceration” from or disruption of the system. Indeed, the extant issues of WPG include remarkably few accounts either of escapes from prison and workhouses, or of riots, mobs, and other extra-legal insurgence against hegemonic institutions. Evidence thus indicates that, instead of distracting readers from radicalism’s priorities, WPG’s politicization of “everyday” events prioritized radical principles and radicalism’s strategy of engagement as the future of working-class political culture.

In the second place, like the argument that WPG’s politicization of bleach and hybrid vegetables distracted readers from radical policies, the argument that such politicization of everyday events co-opted readers’ commitment to praxis assumes that nineteenth-century working-class people were historically accustomed to a politics of engagement with established institutions, rather than to a politics based in the fact of disenfranchisement. It further assumes a zero-sum dichotomy between their “real” (i.e., corporate and physical) praxis and their mental (i.e., individual and abstract) activity, as if thinking, reading, and other “superstructural” activities inevitably alienated working-class readers from material praxis. However, in context of the history of working-class political culture summarized above, the ways that WPG’s layout invited and incited readers to find radical principles in apolitical events not only familiarized those readers with radical policies. It also familiarized them with the basic practice of independently and creatively applying those principles to “cases.” Certainly, as I have stressed, WPG’s layout implicitly, and perhaps manipulatively, pushed readers towards a political casuistry of everyday events that validated radical principles. But because this layout did encourage readers themselves to close the loop between apolitical items and radical principles, it gave readers the experience of independent political action and discovery. And by giving readers that experience, I would argue, WPG’s politicization of everyday events accustomed and recruited readers to a cultural “structure of feeling”²⁶ in which they were “free,” creative political agents, more often than it turned them into “armchair radicals.”

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NOTES

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Many thanks also to the staff of the Rare Book Room at Glasgow University Library for their help during my visit there.

1. Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957): 393. Cf. Alvar Ellegår, *The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain*. *Göteborg Universitets Årsskrift* 63, 3 (1957).
2. Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man 1830–1850* (London: Oxford UP, 1963; rev. ed. Penguin, 1973): esp. 22, 112–13, 165–70; Virginia Berridge, “Popular Sunday Papers and Mid-Victorian Society,” in George Boyce, James Curran, and Pauline Wingate, ed., *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Constable, 1978): 247–64.
3. Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 131; Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993). See also Kevin Gilmartin, *Print Politics: the Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge UP, 1996).
4. Joel Wiener, *The War of the Unstamped* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1969); Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1970).
5. Joel Wiener, *A Descriptive Finding List of Unstamped British Periodicals 1830–1836* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1970); John S. North, ed., *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals 1800–1900*, <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com>. The eleven issues at GUL, included in Spec Coll Mu60-a.27, from the collection of David Murray (1842–1928) are: 1.15 (12 April 1834); 1.27 (5 July 1834); 2.11 (14 March 1835); 2.16 (18 April 1835); 2.17 (25 April 1835); 2.20 (16 May 1835); 2.27 (4 July 1835); 2.28 (11 July 1835); 2.29 (18 July 1835); 2.31 (1 August 1835); 2.36 (5 September 1835). The last of these is the first extant number to add Cleave’s name to the title. The imprints of these eleven issues are as follows. 1.15, 1.27: Printed and published by J. CLEAVE, no. 1, Shoe lane (one door from Fleet-street). 2.11, 2.16, 2.17, 2.20, 2.27, 2.28, 2.29, 2.31: Printed and published by JOHN CLEAVE (late of No. 1, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street) at No.1, Pearl row (facing the Magdalen), in Black-friars-road, where all Cheap Publications are constantly on sale. 2.36: J. CLEAVE, 1, Peal Lane, Blackfriars road (late of 1, Shoe-lane, Fleet street,) and all Booksellers and Newsmen.
6. Both Wiener and North note that the paper appears to have been originally titled the *Weekly Police Gazette*, and it is most often referred to under that title by the contemporary sources (e.g., Frances Place’s collection of newspaper specimens) so broadly quoted by both Wiener and Hollis.

7. One of the most intriguing facts about the GUL holdings is handwriting on 2.16 (18 April 1835) corroborating the statement of Edward Bulwer-Lytton before Parliament that its circulation reached to between 30,000 and 40,000 (*Hansard*, House of Commons (18 August 1834) 3.30.624, cited in Malcolm Chase's entry on Cleave in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004], hereafter cited as *ODNB*). Above the title banner on page one of this number (starting just above the word "Police" and running to near the right margin), two lines of ink handwriting read thus: "NB Cleave the publisher of this paper was prosecuted [presented?] before the Lord Mayor and this increased the sale to about 20.000. He was prosecuted in the Exchequer is now in the Kings Bench under sentence and the sale ascends [?] upwards of 36.000." Although David Murray frequently annotated his collection, comparison of this annotation with his hand make it highly unlikely that he made it. By contrast, the annotation is virtually identical to the hand of Francis Place (1771–1854), "the radical tailor," who, according to Hollis, was "prepared to help Cleave bring out his *Weekly Police Gazette* from prison" (*Pauper Press*, pp. 77, 324). Whoever made the annotation, the statement in it that Cleave "is now in the Kings Bench under sentence" is a bit puzzling, if one assumes that the annotation was made close to the date of the 18 April 1835 number on which it appears, because there is no evidence of Cleave's being imprisoned in April of 1835. I hope shortly to publish a separate essay attributing this annotation to Place and attempting to explain the seemingly counterfactual time-references in it, and would be most grateful for any comments toward those ends.
8. Another example of such naturalized political commentary in the 1834 numbers at GUL occurs in the 5 July issue, in an article entitled "LAW, AND THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT" (2.1–2). It recounts the case of James Large, arrested for freeing his horse from the field where his neighbour, Mr. Perkins, "Lord of Manor of Hamsworth," had impounded it for trespass. Large testifies that, "hearing that some cows had been goring his horse; and, to prevent further injury to the animal, he rescued it, more from a feeling of humanity than any wish to break the law." The counsel for the defense does "not deny right of prosecutor to impound the horse" in "the due course of law," but "he could not too strongly put it to the court, or censure the conduct of the constable, who most unwarrantable hand-cuffed and imprisoned him for 2 1/2 hours, a fellow subject, in a dungeon,—and most especially after the defendant had offered to pay any reasonable costs for the impoundment." On hearing the evidence, "The Chairman said, that no doubt an offence had been committed in the eye of the law; but the hand-cuffing and imprisonment of the defendant was not only unjustifiable, but abominable, and could not be

- too severely reprehended.” Large nonetheless is found guilty and fined one shilling.
9. In order to get the best possible image of these devices, my example here comes from the 30 April 1836 number, rather than from the GUL holdings, which are too fragile for reproduction.
 10. *Pauper Press*, pp. 203–19.
 11. Interestingly, the inauguration of these title devices prioritizing repeal of the stamp laws in the 14 March 1835 number is accompanied by a change in the composition of the woodcuts underneath the title, from the single panel in the two 1834 numbers at GUL, to what is thereafter typically either two or three separate panels, each satirizing a distinct act of injustice or oppression. This topical partition of the visual satire may seem at odds with the political focus articulated by the new title devices. However, because the three panels are typically related by a broad theme, such as upper-class greed and gluttony in the 16 December 1835 number discussed below, this introduction of multiple panels tends instead to highlight boarder “political issues” linking the particular scenes of outrage portrayed.
 12. In the 12 April 1834 number, “Notices to Correspondents” ends page four. Between the 14 March and 4 July 1835 numbers, unusually extensive and directive “Notices” begin page one. See below, p. 14 for discussion of the significance of the changed placement of “Notices to Correspondents” after 4 July 1835.
 13. It is possible that the gathering of all Parliamentary news at the start of page two beginning with the 5 March 1836 number marks a change to this production schedule. However, it is more likely that WPG from this point gathered all Parliamentary news under the heading “IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT” at the beginning of page two in order to topically and spatially unify that “department,” especially since reports under the “IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT” heading are often more selective in what they report than before the 5 March 1836 number. The supposition that the outer forme continued to be set after the inner one is strengthened by the fact that, after the 5 March 1836 consolidation of the “IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT” department on page two, WPG still continued its previous practices of beginning page one with an italicized notice of some late-breaking event or publication, and of including notices of upcoming meetings of working-class associations among the advertisements for publications in the final columns of page four. Such staggered schedules for setting of the two formes had been a common practice since the eighteenth-century, and readers gradually became accustomed to such consequences of that schedule as a story on the pages of one forme being retracted, continued, or altered on the pages of the other forme, as noted by Christine Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1997): 139–44, esp. 140.

14. The irony of the magistrate's ekphratic ineptness here gains satirical force in context of the fact that working-class readers, who were often illiterate or semi-literate, were especially adept at and disposed to allegorical, polemic readings of the illustrations in cheap periodicals and fiction. The currency of this practice is by its nature difficult to quantify and document, but for suggestive evidence and theorization of it as a common practice, see Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790-1860* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991): esp. esp. 5-7, 12-13; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1963): 736-7; Martin Meisel, *Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial, and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983); Matthew Buckley, "Sensations of Celebrity: *Jack Sheppard* and the Mass Audience," *Victorian Studies* 44 (2002): 423-63, esp. 432-37; Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America* (London: Verso, 1987), esp. 65-84; and Simon Joyce, "Resisting Arrest/Arresting Resistance: Crime Fiction, Cultural Studies, and the 'Turn to History,'" *Criticism* 37 (1995): 309-35, esp. 309-13, 317-8. See also n. 20 on working-class "re-accenting" of texts.
15. Significantly, "naturalized" bits of the same rhetoric (and theme) as in these two cases from the 14 March 1835 numbers also recur in other numbers. One example is "DESTITUTION" from the 26 December 1835 number (1.2), in which "An old and infirm man named Case, was brought up" at Union Hall, "having been found lying on the step of a door in Kent-street on the preceding night." Case "said that he was very bad indeed (his looks bespoke it), that he used to get a living by collecting bottles and selling them to wine-merchants, that he was now unable to follow that calling, and that as he could not pay for his lodging, they turned him into the street" and "that it would be a real charity to send him to the workhouse." After ordering that "he might be provided with a trifle of money to relieve his present necessities," the "magistrate said that he had no power to order his admission, and that he must apply to the parochial authorities." When Case returns that "he had applied, but that no attention was paid to his application," the "magistrate said that he could not help it" and the "poor old fellow then limped out of the office."

It is worth noting that this report occurs in column two, three items after the "THE KING'S CABBAGES" (1.1) case discussed above as an instance of politicization via articulation with title illustrations, and two items before "UNSTAMPED NEWSPAPERS" (1.3-4), discussed above as an instance of politicization via fictionalized dialogue from the courtroom scene. These three columns hence epitomize not only WPG's policy of politicizing crime reports, but also the variety of modes by which it sought to make that politicization seem like objective reportage from what I have called the "street-level" institution of the magistrates' courts.

16. There are a total of ten such bracketed commentaries in the five extant issues from this time span, and as editorial “intrusions” into news reports, they quite directly promote and display the political “voice” behind WPG. Five of these commentaries are appended to reports from the courts (14 March 1835: 1.1–2; 18 April 1835: 1.2, 2.2; 16 May 1835: 1.3; 4 July 1835: 1.6), while three offer either approving or critical comments on actions at working-class meetings (25 April 1835: 4.3 (x2); 16 May 1835: 4.1, and two comment on government actions (18 April 1835: 3.1; 25 April 1835: 2.5), with the latter of these simply explaining the reprinting from the last number of Lord Russell’s address on the formation of his new ministry. They are made in voices marked three different ways: eight are signed “ED. W. P. GAZ.” (18 April 1835: 2.2, 3.1; 25 April 1835: 2.5, 4.3 (x2); 16 May 1835: 1.3, 4.1; 4 July 1835: 1.6), one is made without overt attribution to the “Editor” or anyone else (18 April 1835: 1.1–2), and one is a quotation from another radical paper, the *True Sun* (18 April 1835: 1.2). In the two extant issues from 1834 at Glasgow, there are three such bracketed editorializings: one comment on (American) working-class newspapers by “ED. W. P. GAZ.” (2 July 1834: 1.2), one unattributed comment on a crime report (12 April 1834: 2.3), and one comment on a crime report quoted from the *Morning Herald* (12 April 1834: 1.2–3). Because there are so few extant issues from 1834, it may well be that such bracketed editorializing on news items was as common before the 14 March to 4 July 1835 time span as during it, and the ratio of bracketed commentary to extant issues in the two time spans differs only minimally, at 2:1 between 14 March and 4 July 1835, versus 1.5:1 before. However, after mid-summer of 1835 WPG became significantly more hesitant to append political commentary to items of reportage, because there are only two such bracketed commentaries on news items in the five extant issues between 11 July and 26 December 1835, one in the voice of “we” (4 June 1835: 1.6), and one in an unattributed voice (26 December 1835: 2.2). This means that in the four-month period between 14 March and 4 July the ratio of bracketed commentary to five extant issues was 2:1, while in the six-month period between 11 July and 26 December 1835 the ratio of bracketed commentary to five extant issues was .3:1, a more than six-fold decrease over relatively equivalent time spans and numbers of extant issues.
17. *Pauper Press*, 105–6.
18. *ODNB*.
19. Hollis, *Pauper Press*, 203–306; Wiener, *War of the Unstamped*, 210–78.
20. See n. 2, above.
21. *Revolution in Popular Literature*, 162–91.
22. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols., (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Co., 1861; rpt. New York: Dover, 1968): 1.24–5 recounts costermongers commenting on a public reading of

- G. W. M. Reynolds's *Mysteries of the Court of London* (1849–56). James Grant, *Sketches in London* (London: W. S. Orr & Co., 1838): 176–8 describes similar re-accenting by and during a penny gaff production of *Othello*. See Edward Jacobs, "Bloods in the Street: London Street Culture, 'Industrial Literacy,' and the Emergence of Mass Culture in Victorian England," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 18 (1995): 321–47, esp. 330–34 for discussion of both with respect to this practice of re-accenting. On the theory of working-class "re-accenting," see Denning, *Mechanic Accents*, 65–84 and Simon Joyce, "Resisting Arrest/Arresting Resistance," esp. 309–13, 317–8. Largely implicit theories of re-accenting as a working-class practice inform discussion of penny "plagiarisms" of Dickens's novels in P. R. Hoggart, "Edward Lloyd: 'The Father of the Cheap Press,'" *The Dickensian* 80 (1984): 33–8 and Louis James, "The View from Brick Lane: Contrasting Perspectives in Working-Class and Middle-Class Fiction of the Early Victorian Period," *Yearbook of English Studies* 11 (1981): 87–101. See also n.9, above, on re-accenting of graphic images.
23. On the theory of excarceral politics and its history in the long eighteenth century, see Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged* (London: Penguin, 1991): 7–41, cit. 23. Simon Joyce, "Resisting Arrest/Arresting Resistance" applies this theory to nineteenth-century "Newgate Novels" and Chartism. See also Clive Behagg, "Secrecy, Ritual and Folk Violence: the Opacity of the Workplace in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth-Century England*, ed. Robert Storch (London: Croom Helm, 1982): 154–79. For a contemporary description of an excarceral practice, see Mayhew's account of costermonger slang (1.23–4);
 24. For classic discussions of the tradition of extra-legal disruption of established institutions, see Edward P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 50 (1971): 76–136; and Douglas Reid, "The Decline of St. Monday 1766–1876," *Past and Present* 71 (1976): 77–101.
 25. See Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978, esp. 178–205; John Brewer, "Theatre and Counter-Theatre in Georgian Politics: the Mock Elections at Garrat," *Radical History Review* 22 (1979–80): 7–40; and Celina Fox, "Political Caricature and the Freedom of the Press in Early Nineteenth-Century England," in Boyce, Curran, and Wingate, ed., *Newspaper History*, 226–46. For a much-discussed contemporary account of festive re-accenting, see Mayhew's description of costermongers listening to a reading of G. W. M. Reynolds's *Mysteries of the Court of London* (1.24–5).
 26. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977): 128–35.