How did the Victorians have fun?

Key Stage 4 Programme

Pupil Name	
Handbook Designed by	Dr Massie

Timetable and Assignment Submission

Timetable – Tutorials

Tutorial	Date	Time	Location
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6 (Feedback)			
7 (Feedback)			

Timetable – Homework Assignments

Homework Assignment	Description	Due Date
Tutorial 1		
Tutorial 2		
Tutorial 3		
Tutorial 4		
Tutorial 5		

Assignment Submission – Lateness and Plagiarism

Lateness	
Submission after midnight on 9th August	10 marks deducted
Plagiarism	
Some plagiarism	10 marks deducted
Moderate plagiarism	20 marks deducted
Extreme plagiarism	Automatic fail

Uni Pathways – Pupil Feedback Report

Grade	Marks	Guidance
1st	70+	
2:1	60-69	
2:2	50-59	
3rd	40-49	
Working towards a pass	0-39	
Did not submit	DNS	No assignment received by The Brilliant Club

Lateness	
Any lateness	10 marks deducted
Plagiarism	
Some plagiarism	10 marks deducted
Moderate plagiarism	20 marks deducted
Extreme plagiarism	Automatic fail

Name of PhD Tutor	Dr Massie		
Title of Assignment			
Name of Pupil			
Name of School	St Ignatius College		
ORIGINAL MARK / 100		FINAL MARK / 100	
DEDUCTED MARKS		FINAL GRADE	

If marks have been deducted (e.g. late submission, plagiarism) the PhD tutor should give an explanation in this section:

Learning Feedback Comment 1 - ***Subject Knowledge***	
What you did in relation to this Key Learning Priority *Enter feedback here*	How you could improve in the future *Enter feedback here*
Learning Feedback Comment 2 – *Critical Thinking*	
What you did in relation to this Key Learning Priority *Enter feedback here*	How you could improve in the future *Enter feedback here*
Learning Feedback Comment 3 – *Writing Skills*	
What you did in relation to this Key Learning Priority *Enter feedback here*	How you could improve in the future *Enter feedback here*
Resilience Comment	
How you showed learning resilience during the course *Enter feedback here*	How you could build learning resilience in the future *Enter feedback here*

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Activities in green let us practise how students learn at university!

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Course Rationale

In this module you will explore Victorian working class entertainment, focussing on London's East End. You will discover types of Victorian popular culture that have influenced much of the entertainment that you might encounter every day on television or online, from football to *Britain's Got Talent*. In particular, you will consider how Victorians viewed the idea of "fun", and how that compares to our understandings of leisure in Britain today.

By taking part in debates about the relationship between popular culture and politics (i.e. how power gets shared between people), you will consider questions such as:

- Was popular culture a place for working class people to fight against inequality?
- Did women get to take part equally in entertainment in Victorian Britain?
- Is popular culture a place where people are controlled by those in power? Or is it somewhere that people can create resistance?

As well as learning about the nineteenth century, during the module you will develop key skills:

- Taking notes during mini-lectures.
- Debating ideas and presenting an argument.
- Conducting independent historical research.
- Analysing primary sources relating to a historical event (such as posters, photographs, or prints from the time period).
- Reading secondary sources and considering different historian's arguments about the nineteenth century.

In the final assignment (see p. 39) you will use the skills and knowledge you have developed throughout the course to write a university-style essay on music hall and one other form of popular entertainment of your choice. Emphasis is placed on how you evaluate information given to you throughout the module and how you do independent research to gather new evidence.

Mark Scheme

	Skills	1st (70-100)	2:1 (60-69)	2:2 (50-59)
Subject knowledge	Knowledge and Understanding	• All materials used are relevant to the general topic and to the specific question/title • Good understanding of all the relevant topics • Clear justification on how the material used is related to the specific issues that are the focus of the essay	• Most of the materials used are relevant to the general topic and to the specific question/title • Good understanding of most the relevant topics • Adequate justification on how the material used is related to the specific issues that are the focus of the essay	• Some of the materials used are relevant to the general topic and to the specific question/title • Good understanding on some of the relevant topics but occasional confusion on others • Some justification on how the material used is related to the specific issues that are the focus of the essay
Critical thinking	Research and Evidence	• Inclusion of rich sources of research findings, data, quotations or other sourced material as evidence for the claims/ ideas • Use evidence to support claims/assertions/ideas, consistently clearly and convincingly • Evidence of further reading beyond materials provided which were used in an appropriate context	• Inclusion of adequate sources of research findings, data, quotations or other sourced material as evidence for the claims/ ideas • Use evidence to support claims/assertions/ideas, mostly clearly and convincingly • Evidence of further reading beyond materials provided but not necessarily used in the right context	• Inclusion of some sources of research findings, data, quotations or other sourced material as evidence for the claims/ ideas • Use evidence to support claims/assertions/ideas, at times clearly and convincingly • Limited evidence of further reading beyond materials provided
	Developing an Argument	• A point of view or position in relation to the title or question is consistently clear • Argument exceptionally well-developed and well-justified • A position is clearly established in relation to the question, and is developed effectively and consistently throughout the essay • Makes links effectively between subjects that have not previously been associated. • Uses concepts from the tutorials in an unfamiliar context, and does so accurately and confidently • Material is analysed effectively to support the argument	• A point of view or position in relation to the title or question is adequately clear • Argument clear and well-developed and position justified • A position is established in relation to the question, and is well-developed in most of the essay • Some evidence of linking subjects that have not previously been associated • Use some concepts from the tutorials in an unfamiliar context, and but not always accurate • Analysis of material to support the argument	• A point of view or position in relation to the title or question is somewhat clear • Argument clear but not well-developed • A position is established in relation to the question, and is well-developed in parts of the essay • Limited evidence of linking subjects that have not previously been associated • Limited use of concepts from the tutorials in other contexts • Some analysis of material to support the argument

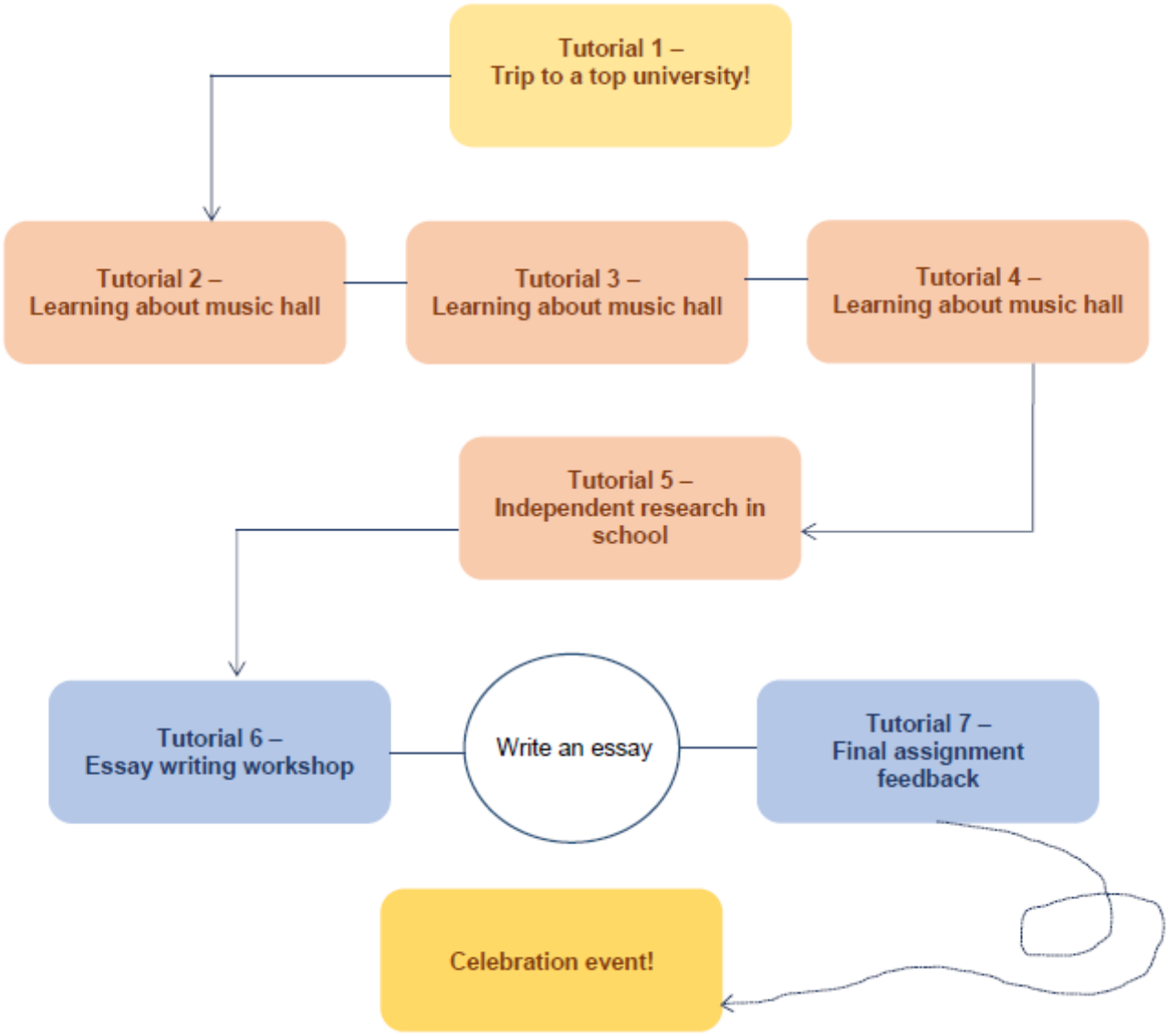
Critical thinking	Critical Evaluation	• Moved beyond description to an assessment of the value or significance of what is described • Evaluative points are consistently explicit/systematic/ reasoned/justified • Effective critiques on the reliability of sources provided	• Mostly description but some assessment of the value or significance of what is described • Evaluative points are mostly explicit/systematic/reasoned/justified • Some evidence of critiques on the reliability of sources provided	• Only description with minimal assessment of the value or significance of what is described • Evaluative points are at times explicit/systematic/reasoned/justified • Limited evidence of critiques on the reliability of sources provided
Writing skills	Structure and Presentation	• Ideas are presented in paragraphs and arranged as a logical sequence of ideas • The introduction clearly outlines how the essay will deal with the issues • The conclusion summarises all the main points clearly and concisely • All sources are referenced correctly in the agreed format	• Ideas are presented in paragraphs with some structure • The introduction adequately describes how the essay will deal with the issues • The conclusion summarises most of the main points clearly • Most of the sources are referenced correctly in the agreed format •	• Ideas are presented in paragraphs and are loosely structured • The introduction mentions how the essay will deal with the issues • The conclusion summarises some of the main points clearly • Some sources are referenced correctly in the agreed format with occasional errors
	Language and Style	• No spelling, grammar or punctuation errors • Writing style consistently clear, tone appropriate and easy to follow • Accurate and consistent use of technical language and vocabulary	• Minimal spelling, grammar or punctuation errors • Writing style mostly clear, tone appropriate and easy to follow • Some attempts of using technical language and vocab alary, but not always accurate	• Some spelling, grammar or punctuation errors • Writing style moderately clear, tone appropriate and easy to follow • Use of simple language and vocabulary effectively but struggles to use technical language

Subject Vocabulary

Word	Definition	In a sentence
Bias	An inclination or prejudice towards a particular view, opinion, or belief.	"This primary source is biased towards presenting working-class women in a negative light."
Culture	The distinctive ideas, customs, social behaviour, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period. Can also relate specifically to the expression of this in the arts and education.	"In the Victorian era it was culturally acceptable for women to be referred to as 'the weaker sex'." "Music hall is a form of popular culture."
Capitalism	An economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state.	"McDonalds is an example of a company that has profited from capitalism." "Sweatshops are a direct result of capitalism."
Containment	The action of keeping something thought to be harmful under control or within limits.	"Wash your hands before eating to help with the containment of infectious illnesses."
Cultural Studies	Cultural studies is an interdisciplinary field of studies, which means that it draws from many different subject areas, including sociology, anthropology, political science, and history. Cultural studies is the study of the ways in which culture (including popular culture) is constructed and organized and the ways in which it evolves and changes over time.	"At university, I am going to do a BA degree in Cultural Studies." "Stuart Hall was one of the most important theorists in the field of cultural studies."
Gender	The state of being male or female as expressed by social or cultural distinctions and differences, rather than biological ones; the collective attributes or traits associated with a particular sex, or determined as a result of one's sex.	"Vesta Tilley challenged mainstream understandings of gender in the Victorian era through cross-dressing on stage."
Knowingness	Revealing knowledge of secret or private information.	"'Do you have the secret password?' She nodded her head with knowingness."
Music Hall	A form of stage entertainment developed in the nineteenth century featuring a series of separate acts, rather than a single narrative, and which often included interaction with the audience.	"In the music hall, audiences might see singers and comedians."

Primary source	An artefact, document, or other source of information that was created at the time under study, providing a first-hand account.	i.e. the prints and photograph included in this course book
Politics	The distribution of power between groups of people. Also, the activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.	"The Houses of Parliament are where lots of political debates happen." "I am interested in grassroots politics organised by ordinary people."
Popular	Liked or admired by many people, or the general public. Can also mean to represent certain interests relating to ordinary people or the people as a whole; generated by the general public; democratic.	"Susan Boyle was the most popular contestant on *Britain's Got Talent*." "It is a popularly held belief."
Representation	The action of standing for, or in the place of, a person, group, or thing. In art this can mean that one thing symbolises another thing. The term can also imply that someone has the authority to speak on behalf of another person.	"I think that *EastEnders* is an accurate representation of life in Walthamstow." "I voted for him because I felt he represented my interests."
Resistance	The refusal to accept or comply with something.	"The plan to remove plastic bags from shops was met with some resistance by members of the public."
Secondary source	A document produced after an event has occurred, providing second-hand accounts of that event, person, or topic. Secondary sources can offer different perspectives, analysis, and conclusions about an event.	i.e. Peter Bailey's writing on music hall
Voice of the People	Comes from the Latin phrase *vox populi*, meaning to represent the opinion of the general public.	"During elections Twitter is an interesting way to gage the voice of the people."
Working Class	In the nineteenth century, this term grouped together people who were employed for wages, especially in unskilled or semi-skilled manual or industrial work. Often in this period working class people would earn little money and would be paid only for the hours or days that they worked. This was different to people who owned things like shops or factories – and who employed other people – because these people's properties and businesses could make money, even when they themselves weren't at work.	"My grandparents were working-class, as they worked as servants for a wealthy family."

Module Plan


Tutorial 1 –
Trip to a top university!
Tutorial 2 –
Learning about music hall
Tutorial 3 –
Learning about music hall
Tutorial 4 –
Learning about music hall
Tutorial 5 –
Independent research in school
Tutorial 6 –
Essay writing workshop
Write an essay
Tutorial 7 –
Final assignment feedback
Celebration event!

Nineteenth-century popular culture

Changes to working-class rights:	Changes to women's right:	Key theorists:
1847 – Factory Act, or Ten Hours Act	1837 – Victoria becomes Queen at age of 17.	1. Peter Bailey: "knowingness" in the music hall
1851 – The census shows that the urban population is larger than the rural population.	1852 – Women's Suffrage Petition is presented to the House of Lords but rejected.	2. Stuart Hall: "containment" and "resistance" in popular culture
1866 – Parliamentary Select Committee on music halls	1857 – Matrimonial Causes Act allows divorce through law courts instead of a Private Act of Parliament.	3. Tracy C. Davis: representation of women in the music hall
1878 – Factory Act. Prohibited children from working before the age of 10.	1867 – Representation of the People Act extends the vote to most men over 21. The first debate on women's Suffrage takes place in Parliament.	1918 – Voting Act extends voting privileges to British women over 30.
1880 – Education Act. All children required to attend school until the age of 10.	1893 – Third Married Women's Property Act givs women ownership over all their property after marriage	1928 – British women win equal voting rights to men.

Social and Historical Context

- **Social class** – Society was strictly layered : not only into rich and poor, or even upper, middle and lower class, but hundreds of 'grades'. People were expected to 'know their place', and the Church taught them to be content in their 'station'.
- **Social problems** – At the time, many people were becoming aware of the need to improve the condition in which the poor found themselves. Britain had narrowly escaped revolution unlike it's European counterparts
- **Church and religion** – Britain was overwhelmingly Christian. The Church dominated religion and the morals of the time.
- **Family** – People had large, extended families.
- **Women** – The question of what women could (or should) do attracted a lot of debate in the century. Women were starting to become more well-educated leading to a rise in female writers and poets. At first women used pseudonyms to ensure their work was published
- **Science and technology** – There were many technological developments in this century, as the **Industrial Revolution** continued in Britain. People were both excited and frightened by the new advances in technology.
- **Superstition** – In spite of the changes in science, people were still interested in supernatural phenomena, shown in part by the success of **gothic** fiction in this period.
- **Colonialism** – Much of Britain's wealth came from the resources of other countries, which Britain had occupied and claimed as part of the **British Empire.** Slavery only ended in the British Empire in 1833, and Britain profited from goods produced in colonies in the Caribbean, including cotton, tobacco, and sugar.

What came before and after the 19th century?

Before: 'The Age of Enlightenment' 1700-1830

- Rational thinking also known as the 'age of reason'. Scholars, artists and science sought to rid the world of superstition.
- Democracy and egalitarianism ideals are favoured
- Poets wrote about the inferiority of humans compared to nature
- Figures from The Age of Enlightenment (C18-19) believed that scientific progress was the only way to advance society,

After: 'Modernity' 1900-1960

- Modernity was marked by the push for better rights for every man and woman (suffragettes, trade unionists and civil rights campaigners fought tirelessly for equality)
- WW1 &WW2 and the end of the British Empire (decolonisation) and America emerges as a superpower. Consumer culture begins.

Notable fiction (☆) and non-fiction texts

Pride and Prejudice – Jane Austen, 1813 ☆	*Frankenstein* – Mary Shelley, 1818 ☆	*A Christmas Carol* - Charles Dickens, 1843 ☆	*The Communist Manifesto* – Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, 1848	*London Labour and the London Poor* – Henry Mayhew, 1851	*Self-Help* – Samuel Smiles, 1859	*On the Origin of Species* – Charles Darwin, 1859	*The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* – R.L. Stevenson, 1887 ☆	*Dracula* – Bram Stoker, 1897 ☆

Tutorial 1 – Inventing Weekends

What is the Purpose of Tutorial 1?

- To know the aims of the module.
- To understand the term “working class”.
- To be able to identify the similarities and differences between weekends now, and weekends in the nineteenth century.

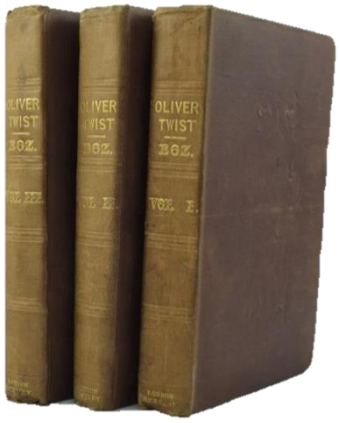
Activity One – What was the nineteenth-century like?

Draw or write down all the things that come into your mind when we talk about the “nineteenth century”.

Activity Two – Weekends in 1890

Which of the activities below do you think you could have done if you were a schoolteacher living in Enfield in 1890?

A) Get the train into the city to visit the V&A museum.



B) Read a novel at home in the evening.

C) Go to the cinema to watch a film.

D) Play football in the park with friends.

Context – Urban Growth

London in 1800

London in 1880

What is it like being in central London? Write down some of the sounds you might hear.

This is what the Scottish writer Jane Carlyle heard on a trip to London in 1843:

'Is it not strange that I should have an everlasting sound in my ears, of men, women, children, omnibuses, carriages, glass coaches, street coaches, wagons, carts, dog-carts, steeple bells, door-bells, gentlemen-raps, two-penny post-raps, footmen-showers-of-raps, of the whole devil to pay'.

[Quoted in Peter Ackroyd, *London: A Biography* (London: Vintage, 2001) p. 77.]

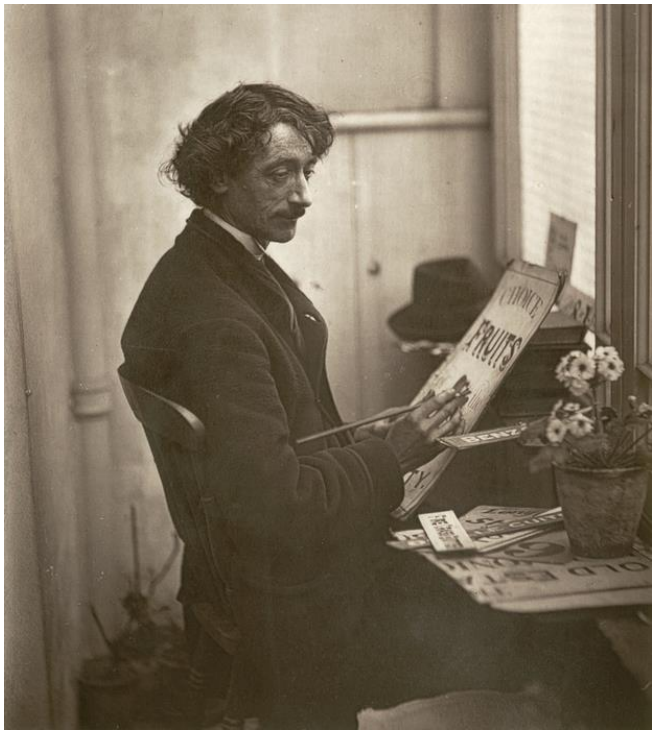
Activity Three – Working-Class Londoners

What does the term "working class" mean to you?

Working class

What jobs do you think these Londoners are doing?

1



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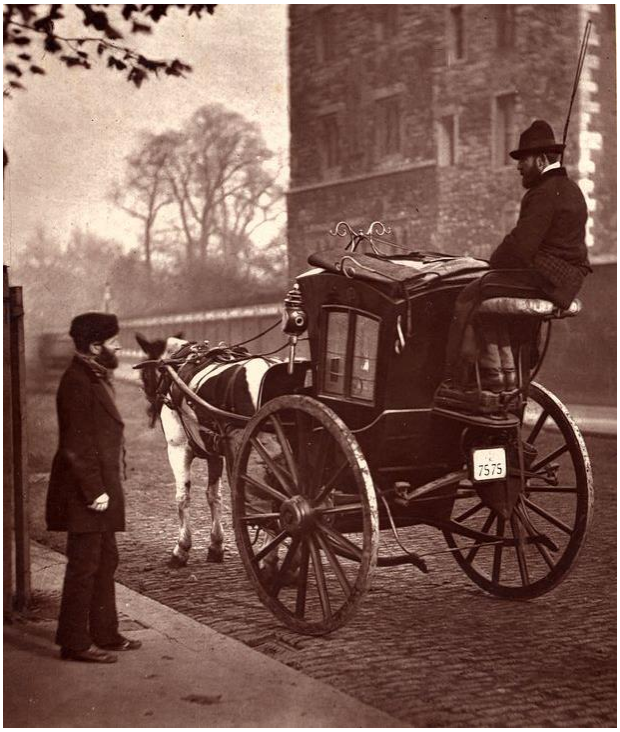


3

4

[All images from 'Street Life in London', 1877, by John Thomson and Adolphe Smith, digital.library.lse.ac.uk]

Homework – Baseline Assignment

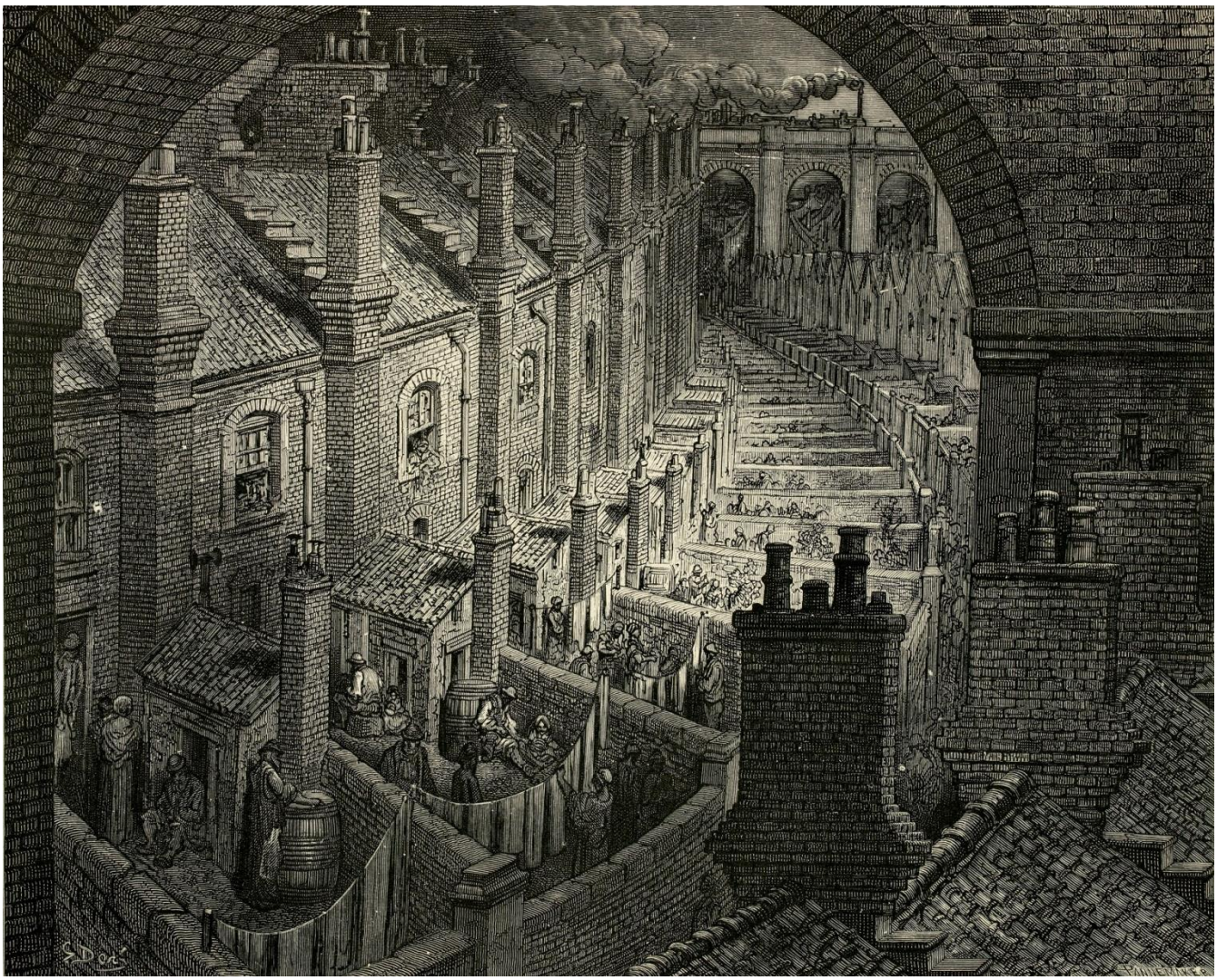
Essay: 500 words

Look at the two pictures below. What impression do they give of what life was like for working class people in East London in the nineteenth century?

Your answer should include:

- A description of each of the pictures.
- A comparison of the similarities and differences between the two pictures.
- A consideration of why the artists have presented London in this way.

Fig. 1 - Illustration by Gustave Doré from *London: A Pilgrimage* (1897), by William Blanchard Jerrold.



This image by artist Gustav Doré is an example of **slumming**, an activity where middle class people would visit working class slums, often as a form of tourism. In 1869 the journalist Blanchard Jerrold joined forces with Doré to produce an illustrated record of the "shadows and sunlight" of London. As Jerrold later recalled, they spent many days and nights exploring the capital, often protected by plain-clothes policemen.

Fig. 2 – Gus Elen, sheet music cover (1894), Victoria and Albert Museum, S.3463-2013.

Gus Elen was an actor who grew up in the East End of London. He became famous playing cockney characters (i.e. characters who are from the East End).

He was known for delivering his act in the style of a fruitseller on a market, who at the time were known as 'costermongers' and so Elen became known as a **'coster comedian'**. His songs often referenced the poverty experienced by people living in the East End of London.

The verse of this song goes:
"Oh it really is a werry pretty garden
And Chingford to the Eastward could be seen
Wiv a ladder and some glasses
You could see the 'Ackney Marshes
If it wasn't for the 'ouses in between."

Tutorial 2 – Visiting the music hall

What is the Purpose of Tutorial 2?

- To know what it was like to visit a music hall in the nineteenth century.
- To understand some debates about “fun” in the Victorian period.
- To be able to practice note-taking in a mini-lecture

Activity One – What is “popular culture”?

What makes these forms of entertainment popular?

Activity Two – Spot the difference

Find **five** differences between the two pictures below.

Fig. 1 – The Green Gate Tavern (1854), print, Victoria and Albert Museum.

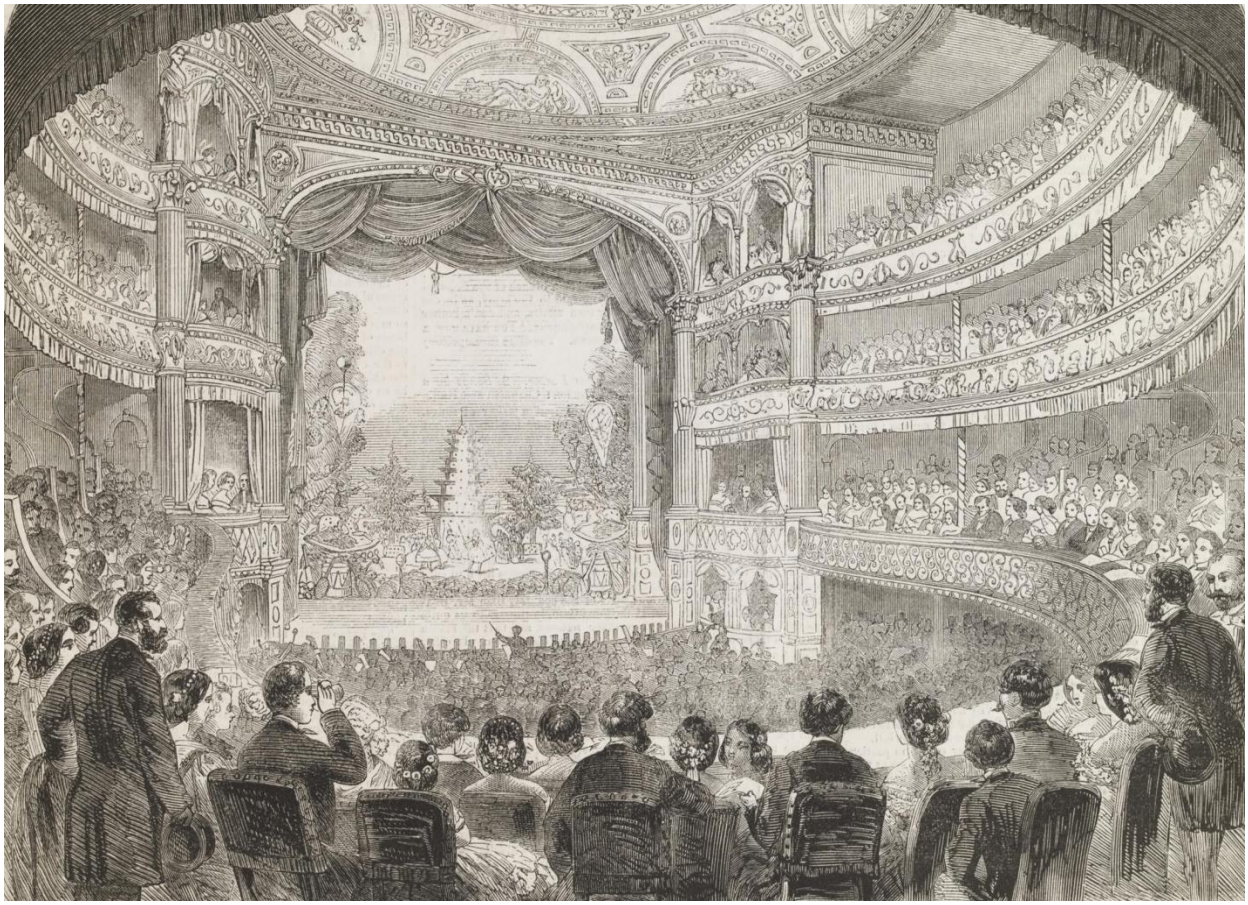


Fig. 2 – Adelphi Theatre (1859), newspaper cutting, Victoria and Albert Museum, S.6138-2009.

Activity Three – Mini-lecture: What were music halls?

1. **From pubs to music halls**

1825 – The Eagle Tavern pub in Shoreditch is rebuilt as a music hall. Famous music hall singer Marie Lloyd had her debut performance here in 1885.

2. "**Mixed-bills" in the music hall**

'Music Halls—.... Ballet, gymnastics, and so-called comic singing, form the staple of the bill of fare, but nothing comes foreign to the music-hall proprietor. Performing animals, winners of walking. matches, successful scullers, shipwrecked sailors, swimmers of the Channel, conjurers, ventriloquists, tight-rope dancers, campanologists, clog-dancers, sword-swallowers, velocipedists, champion skaters, imitators, marionettes, […] kings of the wire, "vital sparks," Mexican boneless wonders," white-eyed musical Kaffirs,' strong-jawed ladies, cannon-ball performers, […] all have had their turn on the music-hall stage.

[Charles Dickens, Jr., Dickens's Dictionary of London (1879), p. 151.]

3. **The 1843 Theatre Act**

3. From the East End to the West End

1854 – The Alhambra music hall built in Leicester Square, in the West End.

4. Fear of the unkown

The new idea of leisure created an ‘endemic status of anxiety […] for leisure represented a new and relatively unstructured area in the life-space where social distinctions were particularly vulnerable’

[Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (1998), p. 17.]

5. “Rational recreation” v. music halls

Middle class reformers believed that "leisure activities should be controlled, ordered, and improving"
[Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure and the Industrial Revolution* (1980), p. 90]

‘The basic conflict surrounding the halls can thus be described as being between a hedonistic and somewhat unbridled working-class culture and middle-class social reformers organised in temperance and purity movements: industrialists, executives, the clergy, academics and Sunday School teachers. […] Their idea of leisure had nothing to do with rest and relaxation. “Rational recreation” was the very opposite of the leisure propagated in the halls: the enjoyment of […] food and drink, the right to idleness and pure entertainment.’
[Dagmar Kift, *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class and conflict* (1996), p. 182]

6. A new kind of music hall

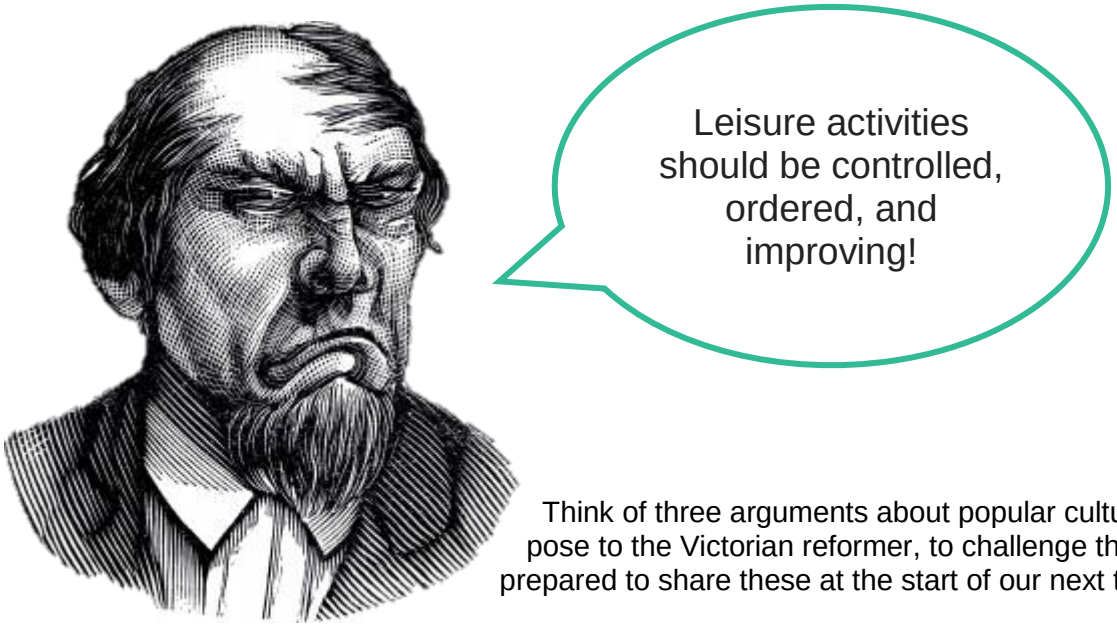
1880s – Music Hall stars begin to feature in family-friendly pantomimes, and so the music hall begins to appeal to a more middle-class audience.

This is a programme for a pantomime version of "Jack and the Beanstalk" in 1899.

Activity Four – Quiz: Music Halls v. Theatres

1. Music Hall		**2. Theatre**	
a) In the early years may have been attached to a pub	b) eating is banned	c) go to see a play	d) can drink alcohol
e) auditorium is in the dark	f) variety of acts	g) interaction with the audience	h) from the 1890s was considered suitable for a family audience
i) material to be performed must be sent to Lord Chamberlain for censorship	j) eating is banned	i) lost popularity in 1950s	k) people might talk during the performances
l) in the early years eggs were thrown at unentertaining performers	m) considered to predominantly attract middle-class audiences	n) considered to predominantly attract working-class audiences	o) numbers of these increased after 1843, when there was a change in the licensing law

Home Challenge! – Debating the idea of “rational recreation”



Think of three arguments about popular culture that you might pose to the Victorian reformer, to challenge their claims. Be prepared to share these at the start of our next tutorial.

1.

2.

3.

Tutorial 3 – Did women get to have fun in the music hall?

Vesta Tilley (c. 1890), photograph, Victoria and Albert Museum, S.146:593-2007.

What is the Purpose of Tutorial 3?

- To know what role women had in the music hall in the nineteenth century.
- To understand how performers used “knowingness” in their songs.
- To be able to write our own music hall songs.

Activity One – True or false?

Tick which of these statements about women’s lives in the nineteenth century you think are true.

Women could vote in general elections.

Women could run businesses.

Women could watch music hall shows.

Women could play football.

Women could own property.

Women could live alone.

Women could get a university degree.

Women could ride bicycles.

Women could work as scientists.

Mini-lecture – Women on stage

Marie Lloyd, c. 1900, photograph, New York Public Library.

Marie Lloyd (1870-1922) had a career spanning 40 years. She first appeared at the Eagle Tavern in London aged 15.

Later, she was a huge success in the large West End music halls.

She lived for much of her life at 55 Graham Road, in Hackney.

Her songs were full of **jokes** and **double meaning**. She alsc helped develop some popular **catchphrases** in the period, such as 'Twiggy-Voo' from her 1892 song of the same name, which meant "do you understand", or "do you twig on".

Her last performance was in **Enfield**, at Edmonton's Empire Music Hall. She fell over on stage and the audience laughed, thinking it was part of her comic routine, but she was actually seriously ill and died three days later.

Now and then: Empire Music Hall in Enfield

Activity Two – Knowingness

What makes memes funny?

Peter Bailey on the 'knowingness' of the music hall (Appendix 6, p. 19):

'It was through knowingness that the skilled performer mobilized the latent collective identity of an audience. The basic appeal of music hall is said to lie in its affirmation of a newly urbanized people settling into a common way of life, yet awareness of this shared experience had to be activated anew at every performance among the so many and various aggregations that were the specific audiences within this extensive public.'

Does this song work like a meme?

Marie Lloyd, 'Oh Mr Porter' (1892)

Oh! Mr Porter, what shall I do?
I want to go to Birmingham
And they're taking me on to Crewe,
Take me back to London, as quickly as you can,
Oh! Mr Porter, what a silly girl I am.

Activity Three – Writing a modern-day music hall song

Imagine that you are going to perform a song in assembly at St Ignatius. Write **one verse** of a song about school which uses "knowingness" as a device to engage your audience.

- What experiences of school might other people in the audience share?
- Do have a point to make about your school? Something that you want to argue for or against?

Extra! Extra!

Find an example of "knowingness" in popular culture today. For instance, you might find an image, a video, an advertisement, or a GIF.

- Who is the intended audience for your example?
- Is there person who created this example trying to communicate a message to that audience?
- Do they want to challenge something, or make an argument for or against an important issue?

Tutorial 4 – Containment or resistance?

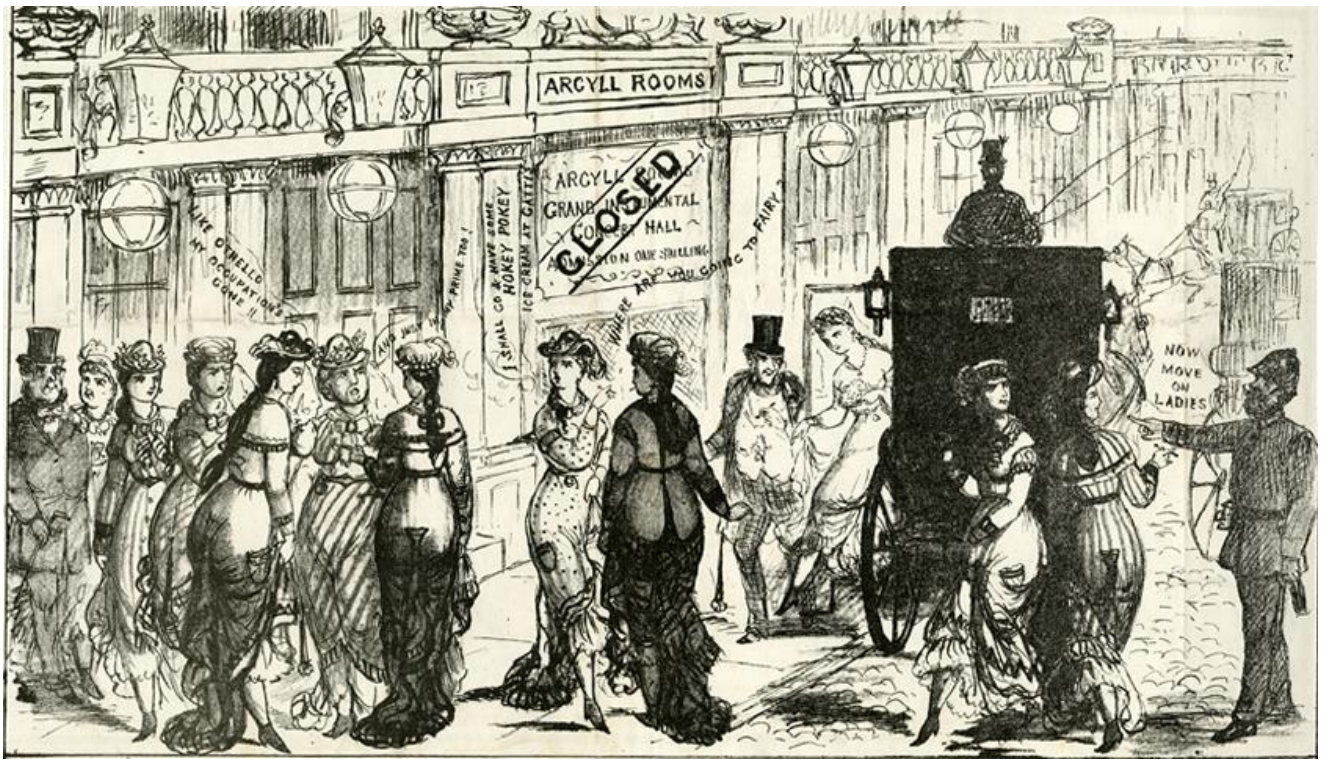
- To know the difference between a primary and a secondary source.
- To understand Stuart Hall's arguments about popular culture.
- To be able to debate our ideas as a group.

Activity One – Worries about women

Look at the two sources below. Source 1 is a **primary source.** Source 2 is a **secondary source.**

Using these sources, what concerns do you think some people had about women attending or performing in music halls? Why do you think they had these concerns?

Source 1



'Lament of the Virgins', 1878, London: E. Smith, newspaper clipping, Michael Sadleir Collection, John Hopkins University. The Argyll Rooms lost their license in 1878 because of reports that prostitutes were attending the music hall in the audience.

Source 2

Historian Tracey C. Davis describes how actresses were seen as similar to prostitutes in Victorian society:

'the actress could not supersede the fact that she lived a public life and consented to be "hired" for amusement by all who could command the price. For a large section of society, the similarities between the actress's life and the prostitute's […] were unforgettable and overruled all other evidence about respectability'

[From *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (1991), p. 69.]

Even a performer as successful as Marie Lloyd faced such prejudice. For example in 1912, Marie Lloyd was left out of the Royal Variety Performance over fears that her use of rude jokes would offend the royal family.

Activity Two – Should leisure be controlled?

In 1866 the government formed a **Parliamentary Select Committee** to look into concerns about morality in theatres and music halls. They questioned a variety of experts in the field to decide whether more regulation should be brought in.

Debate:

Think about the age ratings on films that we have today. Do you think that access to forms of popular culture like this should be controlled by the government?

FOR	AGAINST

Activity Three – Stuart Hall's theory of popular culture

What is Hall saying? How does it connect to what we have looked at so far?

'In the study of popular culture, we should always start here: with the double stake in popular culture, **the double movement of containment and resistance**, which is always inevitably inside it.'

Home Challenge! – Testing Hall's theory

Stuart Hall claims that popular culture always has a "double movement of containment and resistance". To what extent do you believe that Hall's statement applies to nineteenth-century music hall?

Write <u>one PEEL paragraph</u> answering this question.

Success Criteria:

1. Explain what Hall means by a "double movement of containment and resistance".
2. Use the information we covered in Tutorials 2 – 4 to find evidence for your argument.
3. Check your spelling and grammar.
4. Type your answer as a Word Document and upload it to Show My Homework.

You can use this space below to make a plan for your paragraph:

Tutorial 5 – Doing independent research

What is the Purpose of Tutorial 5?

- To know how to write the final assignment.
- To understand how to present ideas to our peers.
- To be able to do independent research on Victorian popular culture.

Activity One – Understanding the Final Assignment

Final Assignment

Stuart Hall claims that popular culture always has a “double movement of containment and resistance”. To what extent do you believe that Hall’s statement applies to nineteenth-century popular culture in east London?

Write a 2000 word essay answering this question.

Success criteria:

1. In your answer, explain what Hall means by the “double movement of containment and resistance”.
2. Compare **two** examples of popular culture from the period. One of these should be music hall.
3. Include independent research on popular culture in London in the nineteenth century.
4. Have an introduction and conclusion in which you make a clear argument.
5. Write using PEEL paragraphs, subject specific vocabulary, and correct spelling and grammar.
6. Give references for your sources in footnotes.

Activity Two – Doing independent research

Part of what you will be assessed on in your final essay is your ability to do **independent research.** This is a skill that is important at university, as well as in school.

Using the internet, we are going to research articles written by **academics** who study literature and history in order to explore three other forms of **popular culture** from the Victorian period.

You will then present **five key points** from your findings to the rest of the tutorial group.

1. Reading penny dreadfuls

https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/

Keywords: “penny dreadfuls”, “victorian readers”

Starter questions:

- What were penny dreadfuls?
- Who read them?
- Were there concerns about reading in Victorian Britain?

2. Going to museums

Keywords: “Great Exhibition” , “V&A”

https://www.bl.uk/victorian-britain/

https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/

Starter questions:

- What was the Great Exhibition?
- Why was it held?
- How did it influence the museums we have today?

3. Playing football

Keywords: “Industrial Revolution”, “Football Association”

http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/victorians/

Starter questions:

- How did football emerge as a game?
- How did it change during the nineteenth century?
- How did working class Victorians get involved in football?

Research Notes

Activity Three: Presenting your Research

Note below your three key findings you want to share with the class,

1.

2.

3.

Home challenge!

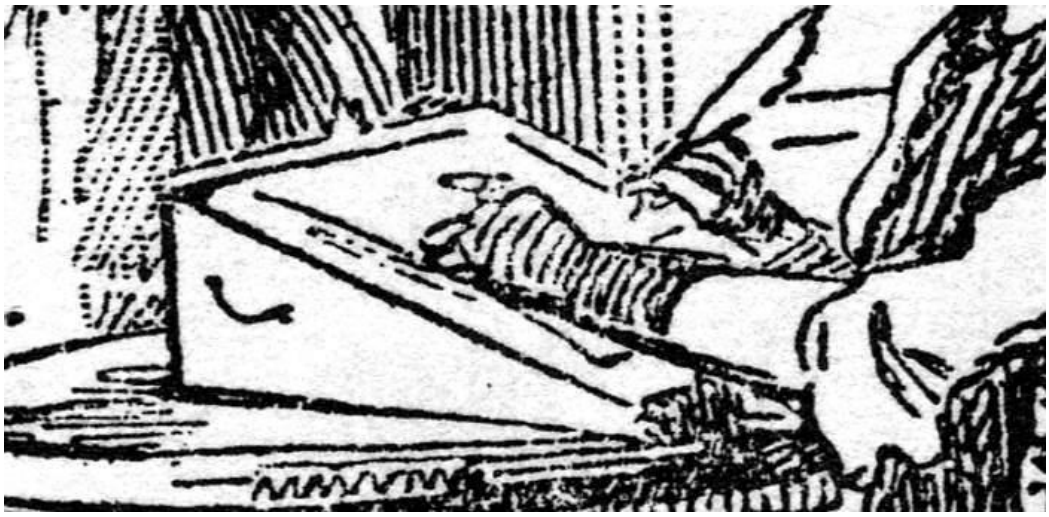
Write a **1000-word** draft of your final assignment, and submit it via Show My Homework.

Final Assignment Draft – 1000 words

Stuart Hall claims that popular culture always has a “double movement of containment and resistance”. To what extent do you believe that Hall’s statement applies to nineteenth-century popular culture in east London?

Success criteria:
1. In your answer, explain what Hall means by the “double movement of containment and resistance”.
2. Compare two examples of popular culture from the period. One of these should be music hall.
3. Include independent research on popular culture in London in the nineteenth century.
4. Have an introduction and conclusion in which you make a clear argument.
5. Write using PEEL paragraphs, subject specific vocabulary, and correct spelling and grammar.
6. Give references for your sources and quotations. See Appendix One for advice on how to do this.

Tutorial 6 – Planning your Final Draft



What is the Purpose of Tutorial 6?

- To know what we need to do for the final assignment.
- To understand how to respond to feedback from our first drafts.
- To be able to practice essay planning techniques.

Activity One – Responding to Feedback

Read the mark scheme on **pages 6 and 7.** Looking back at your first draft, note where you have met the mark scheme, and what changes you need to make in your final draft.

WWW	**EBI**

Activity Two – The “8 paragraph” rule

Paragraph 1 (Introduction) 200 words	**Main overall claim of essay:**	
Paragraph 2 250 words	**Main point (this will also be your first sentence):**	**Evidence:**
Paragraph 3 250 words	**Main point (this will also be your first sentence):**	**Evidence:**
Paragraph 4 250 words	**Main point (this will also be your first sentence):**	**Evidence:**
Paragraph 5 250 words	**Main point (this will also be your first sentence):**	**Evidence:**
Paragraph 6 250 words	**Main point (this will also be your first sentence):**	**Evidence:**
Paragraph 7 250 words	**Main point (this will also be your first sentence):**	**Evidence:**
Paragraph 8 (Conclusion) 200 words	**Return to or revise main overall claim:**	

Homework – Complete the final assignment

Final Assignment

Stuart Hall claims that popular culture always has a “double movement of containment and resistance”. To what extent do you believe that Hall’s statement applies to nineteenth-century popular culture in east London?

Write a 2000 word essay answering this question.

Success criteria:

1. In your answer, explain what Hall means by the “double movement of containment and resistance”.
2. Compare **two** examples of popular culture from the period. One of these should be music hall.
3. Include independent research on popular culture in London in the nineteenth century.
4. Have an introduction and conclusion in which you make a clear argument.
5. Write using PEEL paragraphs, subject specific vocabulary, and correct spelling and grammar.
6. Give references for your sources and quotations. See Appendix One for advice on how to do this.

Tutorial 7 – Feedback tutorial

What is the Purpose of Tutorial 7?

- To receive feedback on final assignments.
- To share examples of best practice with the other pupils in your group.
- To write targets for improvement in school lessons.
- To reflect on the programme including what was enjoyed and what was challenging.

Final assignment feedback

What I did well…	What I could have improved on…
•	•
•	•
•	•

My target for future work is…

Reflecting on Uni Pathways

What did you most enjoy about Uni Pathways?
•   •   •

What did you find challenging about the programme?	How did you overcome these challenges?
• • •	• • •

Appendix 1 – Referencing correctly

When you get to university, you will need to include references in the assignments that you write, so we would like you to start getting into the habit of referencing in your Brilliant Club assignment. This is really important, because it will help you to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is when you take someone else's work or ideas and pass them off as your own. Whether plagiarism is deliberate or accidental, the consequences can be severe. In order to avoid losing marks in your final assignment, or even failing, you must be careful to reference your sources correctly.

What is a reference?

A reference is just a note in your assignment which says if you have referred to or been influenced by another source such as book, website or article. For example, if you use the internet to research a particular subject, and you want to include a specific piece of information from this website, you will need to reference it.

Why should I reference?

Referencing is important in your work for the following reasons:

- It gives credit to the authors of any sources you have referred to or been influenced by.
- It supports the arguments you make in your assignments.
- It demonstrates the variety of sources you have used.
- It helps to prevent you losing marks, or failing, due to plagiarism.

When should I use a reference?

You should use a reference when you:

- Quote directly from another source.
- Summarise or rephrase another piece of work.
- Include a specific statistic or fact from a source.

How do I reference?

There are a number of different ways of referencing, and these often vary depending on what subject you are studying. The most important to thing is to be consistent. This means that you need to stick to the same system throughout your whole assignment. Here is a basic system of referencing that you can use, which consists of the following two parts:

1. **A marker in your assignment**: After you have used a reference in your assignment (you have read something and included it in your work as a quote, or re-written it your own words) you should mark this is in your text with a number, e.g. [1]. The next time you use a reference you should use the next number, e.g. [2].
2. **Bibliography**: This is just a list of the references you have used in your assignment. In the bibliography, you list your references by the numbers you have used, and include as much information as you have about the reference. The list below gives what should be included for different sources.

    a. **Websites** – Author (if possible), title of the web page, website address, [date you accessed it, in square brackets].

    E.g. Dan Snow, 'How did so many soldiers survive the trenches?', http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides/z3kgjxs#zg2dtfr [11 July 2014].

    b. **Books** – Author, date published, title of book (in italics), pages where the information came from.

    E.g. S. Dubner and S. Levitt, (2006) *Freakonomics*, 7-9.

    c. **Articles** – Author, 'title of the article' (with quotation marks), *where the article comes from* (newspaper, journal etc.), date of the article.

    E.g. Maev Kennedy, 'The lights to go out across the UK to mark First World War's centenary', Guardian, 10 July 2014.

Appendix 2 – Wider Reading: Peter Bailey

Keywords: music hall; knowingness.

Peter Bailey, 'Conspiracies of meaning: music-hall and the knowingness of popular culture', in *Popular Music: Music and Society*, ed. by Simon Frith (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 15-42.

Knowingness might be defined as what everybody knows, but some know better than others. At once complicit and discriminatory, this popular mode of expression was frequently noted by middle-class commentators as a distinctive – and objectionable – feature of comic performance in nineteenth-century British music-halls. This essay argues that a more specific and articulated account of the phenomenon can contribute to a more satisfactory explanation of how music-hall engaged with its public. Treating knowingness as discourse *and* practice enables us to get inside the dynamics of this influential modern cultural form. It suggests too how spoken (and unspoken) language functioned as a prime resource in the "mobile infinity of tactics" that constituted everyday life.[1]

I

British music-hall or variety emerged in the 1830s and 1840s and grew rapidly to dominate the commercialized popular culture of the late nineteenth century. From the 1890s its primacy was challenged by other musical and dramatic forms and by the successive rise of the phonograph, film, radio and, more terminally, television. Even so its influence continued to be considerable. The music-hall industry was killed off (though not till the 1950s), but as a style of comic entertainment it made a successful piecemeal transition to the new media, and found continuing expression in something close to its original setting in the working-men's club circuit, as also in the more contrived revivalism of "Olde Tyme" music-hall. The term itself is still

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standard in cultural commentary, and together with suet puddings and red pillar-boxes might be added to Orwell's list of the definitive components of the English national culture.[2]

As such, music-hall has generated a huge literature in its celebration, and only recently has this been supplemented by more critical accounts.[3] Since popular culture has found its way on to the scholarly agenda, social historians have been concerned to assess the role of the halls in the cultural formation of class and the politics of modern leisure, and scholars in music history, literature, theatre and cultural studies are subjecting music-hall to closer scrutiny as genre and text. Though newer work has begun to look at the wider range of its operation as industry and cultural form, scholarship continues to concentrate primarily on music-hall's most distinctive idiom, that of the comic song and its singer.

Here, a major exercise has been the more precise inventory of content – "What they sang about", as the subtitle of one of the first retrospective surveys of the territory put it.[4] The identification of principal motifs – booze, romantic adventure, marriage and mothers-in-law, dear old pals and seaside holidays, and so on – demonstrates a recurrent emphasis on the domestic and the everyday that supports the most broadly agreed reading of music-hall song as a naturalistic mode that both documents and confirms a common way of life. The great popularity of the songs is said to come from the audience's recognition and identification with the routine yet piquant exploits of a comic realism that validates the shared experience of a typically urbanized, class-bound world seen from below.[5]

Discussion of music-hall song is inseparable from that of its singers, for the distinctive style of the genre crystallized around individual performers and their acts. Given the apparent verisimilitude of music-hall's representations of common life, the appeal of the great stars has often been interpreted in terms of their ability to convey this to their audience in a singularly direct and authentic manner. Thus T. S. Eliot explained Marie Lloyd's success by her "capacity for expressing the soul of the people".[6] Today's scholars resist such idealization, but are still prone to the temptations of "essentialism" or the acid test of a putative authenticity, preferring, for example, Gus Elen over Albert Chevalier, the sardonic over the sentimental, in the two performers' depictions of the costermonger in the 1890s. In more radical fashion, the Tyneside favourite, Joe Wilson, has been stripped of credentials as an authentic popular hero, for his songs and life-history are said to disclose a self-seeking moralizer distanced from the real working class by his bourgeois ideology.[7]

The demythologizing of Joe Wilson is part of the larger preoccupation with music-hall's role in advancing or retarding the collective interests of its public as a subordinate class in a capitalist society. Is this culture "of " or "for" the people? Is music-hall song generated from within or supplied from

without, and with what consequences? The general verdict is pessimistic. G. W. Ross's *Sam Hall*, a revamped traditional ballad sung in the 1840s as the defiant valediction of a chimney-sweep about to hang, is taken as exemplifying a combative prelapsarian class politics (though we may doubt that he really sang "Fuck you all").[8] Thereafter, commercialized production in the hands of mostly *petit bourgeois* hacks, writing for professional performers increasingly bent on *embourgeoisement*, feeds the music-hall audience with songs drained of any radical or oppositional content. In their highly selective realism, the conflict lines of class were elided and the site of its most direct struggles, the workplace, ignored. In the most influential account of this dilution of class consciousness, Gareth Stedman Jones identifies a new flight into escapism in the celebration of the small pleasures of plebeian life – "A little bit of what you fancy does you good", as Marie Lloyd sang. Thus from the 1880s music-hall songs come to denote what he labels a "culture of consolation" that compensates for political and social impotence, a chronic disability wryly acknowledged in the Chaplinesque "little man" routines of the other great contemporary star of music-hall's "golden age", Dan Leno.[9]

In this first flush of scholarly attention there is much that is helpful, but the "culture of consolation" tag has achieved the finality of an epitaph, summing up a prevailing note of political disappointment that not only obituarizes a whole culture but abruptly foreshortens further critical enquiry. The growing understanding of the complexity of popular cultural forms suggests the likelihood of other explanations for the capture of one of the world's first mass-entertainment audiences besides those of market dominance and the play-back of consoling representations of a common way of life. The test of authenticity is a dubious one where its criteria are formally political, exclusively class-specific and framed from outside, rather than in terms of the specific determinants of situation and experience that typify this particular milieu.[10] Music-hall was both more and less than a class mode of expression and has yet to be fully understood in terms of its participants' measures of significance and what its meaning was for them. For this we need to reanimate those features of music-hall still hobbled in cliché – its "live" form, the "sheer talent" of its performers, and their "magnetic hold" on audiences. Work on style and performance has advanced markedly, but the text has still too rarely been made to leave the page, and the actual dynamics of engagement in the stage form remain understudied.[11]

II

The solo singer in the pub concert-rooms and cheap theatres that were the proto-music-halls of the 1830s to the 1850s necessarily adopted a robust vocal and physical style.[12] The performer had to capture the attention of a large and increasingly anonymous crowd otherwise engaged in the rival attractions of eating, drinking, conversing, gazing, posing, lounging, flirting and promenading. The most effective technique was a cross between singing and shouting accompanied by various forms of stage business and a high degree of physicality, from "winks and gesticulations", to "the jerk (of the body) at the beginning of each line, in true street style".[13] Extravagant or eccentric stage dress often completed the boldness of effect needed to commandeer audience attention in this milieu. Performance was thus heavily accented or presentational, in the sense that it was projected right out at the audience. Though this was in contrast with a more stolid traditional or "folk" style where the song was left to tell its own story, yet it had its own lengthy historical antecedents. As the contemporary comment suggests, pub-based performances from this era drew on the well-practised techniques of the street ballad singer, whose craft of some centuries persisted among the hawkers or chaunters still contesting the hubbub of the modern street in their assertive appeals to a less than captive audience.[14]

Relatively new to popular song performance and one of the more distinctive marks of the emerging music-hall mode was the growing practice of appearing "in character". By this convention, the singer impersonated the (increasingly first person) subject of the song more fully by assuming his or her typical dress and manner. Though the concern for the broad effect was still there, this was realism of a more convincing materiality than that offered in the "true to life" claims of the street ballad singer, while marking a further departure from traditional folk style. There is a considerable correspondence here with the closely observed comic naturalism pioneered on the theatrical stage in the first half of the century. To a degree, the music-hall followed the theatre, whose writings and stagings became yet more markedly naturalistic from the middle years of the century with the domesticated settings of the box set.[15] But music-hall naturalism rarely extended to the stage set and was almost exclusively vested in the individual performer. There was, moreover, a distinct divergence from the legitimate stage in the practice of direct address with which it was twinned.

Whatever the increasing degree of artifice, professional room-singers insistently broke through the fictions of their impersonations with an ad lib gagging commentary between verses known as "patter" or the "spoken". Mostly extemporized, this direct address of the audience (also practised in the crossover routines of the low comedian in the theatre) represented a further assimilation of English street style and the typical exchanges of life in the street, those of the "cad" or horse omnibus conductor touting for

custom, of the butcher or mountebank shouting his wares, or the ritual contests of abuse known as "flytings" that still survived in the North. An ancient feature of popular culture, the direct address of the early music-hall is a more complex and engaging operation than yet generally allowed.[16] In breaking role, the performer becomes most obviously accessible to the audience as himself or herself. Yet far from destroying the song character to whom the performer returns, the characterization may be strengthened through the revelation of the self that is invested in the role. This is a more privileged implication in the act of performance than that of the theatre, where the audience is privy to the performance as auditor/spectator who overhears the action or looks through the "fourth wall" of the conventional stage set. In the music-hall, the shifts in and out of role and self, artifice and autobiography, allowed the audience to see, as it were, the joins in the performance. In the hands of the inept this was no doubt disastrous, but properly executed it secured a distinctive relationship with the audience by initiating them into the mysteries of the performer's craft and giving them a consequent sense of select inclusion. The content of a song or act was of course also important, but its resonance with an audience was inseparable from the manner of its performance, whose language, in the broadest sense, signalled a common yet inside knowledge of what was really going on. It was this particular province of language use and meaning that we comprehend as discourse, that contemporary commentators termed "knowing".[17]

It was through knowingness that the skilled performer mobilized the latent collective identity of an audience. The basic appeal of music-hall is said to lie in its affirmation of a newly urbanized people settling into a common way of life, yet awareness of this shared experience had to be activated anew at every performance among the so many and various aggregations that were the specific audiences within this extensive public. Indeed, to use the term "audience" in this context begs the question, for it presupposes a degree of focused attention that could rarely have been the case in a large city hall whose volatile assembly might be better designated as a crowd, out of which the performer had to construct an audience. Even in those halls with a particularly stable and socially homogeneous attendance, the acknowledgment of a common ground had to be summoned up or signified beyond the obvious givens of place, occasion, appearance and a core constituency of *habitués*. Althusser's concept of "interpellation" is suggestive here as the form of ideological address or hailing that recruits individuals into a particular subject-role or identity.[18] In some such way, the performer's knowingness activates the corporate subjectivity of the crowd, and calls an audience into place. In music-hall this was a rapidly shifting exercise that cast its audience variously or sectionally as men, women, husbands, lodgers, costers, swells, citizens, working men, Britons, and so on, but arguably the underlying subject position that informed them all was that of those "in the know".[19]

At the same time, this interpellation is not just the calling into position of a particular subjectivity, but is more in the nature of a transaction or co-production.[20] Where a performance takes, the crowd/audience registers recognition and identification, certainly, but it also asserts its own collective authorship/authority in the performance. This response is obviously not just conjured out of nowhere. As with any audience, there may be a considerable predisposition to give attention, according to previous acquaintance with the performer, word-of-mouth endorsement or the bait of publicity, yet these predispositions still have to be exploited. In this, however, the music-hall performer could count on the active engagement of an audience well practised not only in being hailed but in hailing back, for the language of the street and market-place that informed the exchanges with the audience was very much one of give as well as take. Consumers were used to answering back, for more generally the negotiations of buyer and seller were still relatively unconstrained by the fixed practice of modern retailing; indeed, in one of the more typical transactions of working-class life, that of the pawnshop, it was the customers who made most of the patter.[21]

Yet the language of such exchanges was likely to be more compact and elliptical as the pattern of encounter in a period of accelerated urbanization grew more fleeting and discontinuous. Symptomatic of this was the rise of the catch-phrase, pronounced by one commentator in 1841 as a typical manifestation of the "popular follies of great cities" and "the madness of crowds": "every street corner", he declared, "was noisy with it, every wall was chalked with it".[22] Catch-phrases were generated by the songs and dialogue of the popular theatre, and the pub concert-room or singing saloon was soon caught up in their circulation. Thus a song from the late 1830s which tells of a concert-room romance, *Don't Tell My Mother, She Don't Know I'm Out!* (see Plate),[23] would have played off or may have directly inspired the contemporary shouted enquiry "Does your mother know you're out?" Unlike the folk proverb, the catch-phrase often floats free from more obvious referents and depends for its meaning on an extra-textual knowledge.[24] As such, it was prime material for the more allusive and abbreviated social dialect from which the comic song was constructed. Also significant for this new formation was a marked shift in structure from the narrative to the situational. The more leisurely story-line of the ballad gives way to an episodic emphasis which exploits some social predicament in a quick succession of scenes or actions whose common import is punched home in a tag-line or chorus. The new mode of comic song works therefore less as a story than as an accumulation of short jokes with a reiterated punch-line, which in turn might be recycled as a catch-phrase. Like the catch-phrase, the music-hall dealt in a new form of vocal shorthand, whose language operated like a cue or flash charge that needed the knowledge that was knowingness to complete its circuitry. When the circuit worked, as contemporary accounts show, the song went off like a rocket.[25]

[...]

For all its often brashly confident tone, knowingness spoke to the need for a new wariness in the more uncertain negotiations of everyday urban living. Songs from the late 1830s alert the audience to the petty corruptions of the police and tradespeople, the tricks of con men and prostitutes and the increasing difficulty of reading strangers in the flux of big-city life. Alertness to the unknown other had no doubt always been part of the urban sensibility (Elizabethan literature on cozening is one example) but in the second quarter of the nineteenth century there were more people who had to learn this, and there was more of it to be learned. In locating the formation of a new urban popular culture in these years, Louis James finds its most articulate expression in a mass of cheap literature which set out to comprehend this new life of the towns, to understand how it *all* worked, "claiming omniscience" from a stance of "knowing intimacy".[33] But if urban worldliness now aspired to the encyclopaedic it had at the same time to be much more finely tuned, exercised not only as a matter of an extensive literary curiosity, but as a matter of more compacted, anonymous and fleeting everyday negotiations. To a critical degree, the world that had to be known had both expanded *and* contracted. Getting by in this milieu required a new set of responses, recorded here in Hazlitt's contemptuous but revealing picture of the cockney: "He sees everything near, superficial, little, in hasty succession. The world turns round, and his head with it, like a roundabout at a fair . . . His senses keep him alive; and he knows, inquires and cares for nothing further".[34]

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[...]

Yet while knowingness was undoubtedly effective in the collective interpellation of its audience, its broader functional value is questionable, for in the nature of its address its lessons are never spelled out. Like the joke with its similarly complicit engagement, its particular expressive bloom withers with explanation. What exactly is there to be known in knowingness? Its properties are at once self-evident and arcane. More than with the joke, a better analogy might lie with the confidence trick (against which music-hall song offered so many warnings). Through a confident and confiding manner, the performer repeats its flattery of privileged implication, his or her credentials too winning to scrutinize further. But if, by this analogy, the audience are the knowing victims of the performer's benign manipulations, who or what – apart from mother – completes the classic triad of the confidence trick, as the ultimate victim whom the other two parties conspire to defraud?[40] Parents, spouses and the law are, as many songs suggest, there to be outwitted. In a broader sense, however, knowingness as popular discourse works to destabilize the various offical knowledges that sought to order common life through their languages of improvement and respectability and the intensifying grid of regulative social disciplines that marked the period. These official languages are represented in various allusions in the songs and their performance, but are also acknowledged in more overt form in the mock sermons and lectures that were juxtaposed with the other comic acts.[41] Knowingness then is not a direct refutation of these languages, to which it remains inescapably subordinate in the larger systems of society; it is rather a countervailing dialogue that sets experience against prescription,

and lays claim to an independent competence in the business and enjoyment of living. There is a strong element of self-deception at work here that may

Appendix 3 – Wider Reading: Stuart Hall

Keywords: popular culture; containment; resistance.

Stuart Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing "the Popular"', in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, ed. by John Storey (New York: Pearson, 1998), pp. 442-453.

- ***In this article, extracts from which are below, Hall outlines how he sees an opposition between 'containment' and 'resistance' as being crucial to understandings of popular culture: whether that culture is there to contain 'the people', by whom Hall means working-class people, or whether it can offer these people a form of resistance to such control. Hall implies that he thinks popular culture often ends up doing both, and can never purely be one or the other.***

'Throughout the long transition into agrarian capitalism and then in the formation and development of industrial capitalism, there is a more or less continuous struggle over the culture of working people, the labouring classes and the poor. This fact must be the starting point for any study, both of the basis for, and of the transformations of, popular culture. The changing balance and relations of social forces throughout that history reveal themselves, time and again, in struggles over the forms of culture, traditions and ways of life of the popular classes.' (p. 442)

'In the study of popular culture, we should always start here: with the double stake in popular culture, the double movement of containment and resistance, which is always inevitably inside it.' (p. 443)

- ***Hall explains how representations in popular culture can affect the way people think about themselves:***

'Since ordinary people are not cultural dopes, they are perfectly capable of recognising the way the realities of working-class life are reorganised, reconstructed and reshaped by the way they are represented (i.e. re-presented) in, say, *Coronation Street.* The cultural industries do have the power constantly to rework and reshape what they represent; and, by repetition and selection, to impose and implant such definitions of ourselves as fit more easily the descriptions of the dominant or preferred culture. That is what the concentration of cultural power […] actually means. These definitions don't have the power to occupy our minds, they don't function on us as if we are blank screens. But they do occupy and rework the interior contradictions of feeling and perception in the dominated classes; they *do* find or clear a space of recognition in those who respond to them. Cultural domination has real effects – even if these are neither all-powerful nor all-inclusive.' (p. 447)

- ***Hall then goes on to outline two possible definitions of the term 'popular' and two problems he has with each definition:***

Definition One: 'The most common-sense meaning: the things which are said to be "popular" because masses of people listen to them, buy them, read the, consume them, and seem to enjoy them to the full. This the "market" or commercial definition of the term: the one which brings socialists out in spots.' (p. 446)

Problem: 'if the forms and relationships on which participation in this sort of commercially provided "culture" depend are purely manipulative and debased, then the people who consume and enjoy them must either be themselves debased by these activities or else living in a permanent state of "false

consciousness". […] Ultimately, the notion of the people as a purely *passive*, outline force is a deeply unsocialist perspective.' (p. 446)
Problem: 'there is no whole, authentic, autonomous "popular culture" which lies outside the field of force of the relations of cultural power and domination. […] The cultural industries do have the power constantly to rework and reshape what they represent; and, by repetition and selection, to impose and implant such definitions of ourselves as fit more easily the descriptions of the dominant or preferred culture.' (p. 447)

Definition Two: 'Popular culture is all those things that "the people" do or have done. This is close to an "anthropological" definition of the term: the culture, mores, customs and folkways of "the people".' (p. 448)

Problem: 'Virtually *anything* which "the people" have ever done can fall into the list. Pigeon-fancying and stamp-collecting, flying ducks on the wall and garden gnomes. The problem is how to distinguish this infinite list, in any but a descriptive way, from what popular culture is *not*.' (p. 448)
Problem: 'We can't simply collect into one category all the things which "the people" do, without observing that the real analytic distinction arises, not from the list itself – an inert category of things and activities – but from the key opposition: the people/ not of the people. That is to say, the structuring principle of "the popular" in this sense is the tensions and oppositions between what belongs to the central domain of elite or dominant culture, and the culture of the "periphery". It is this opposition which constantly structures the domain of culture into the "popular" and the "non-popular".' (p. 448)

Appendix 4 – Fact Sheet: Football

Football and Working-Class Identity

Soccer, or association football, was the biggest sport in terms of working class involvement from the 1890s onwards. Equipment was cheap, the rules were easy to learn, and it could be played on sloping and uneven surfaces in almost all weathers, so access to land or large playing grounds wasn't crucial. Pre-1914 cup finals regularly drew over 100,000 spectators.

The roots of the game, however, were middle class and were developed in private schools which re-organised and regulated many team sports in the nineteenth century. The advent of widespread professionalism turned it into a game for the worker, played by the worker. In terms of spectator appeal, there was a wide social mix even a hundred years ago, and it was certainly not uncommon for women to attend. From the turn of the century, the game became almost fully professional, and the vast majority of players were of humble, working-class origins.

Rational Recreation

The middle-classes were worried about the potential for political extremism or unrest among an increasing urban working-class population. Football and sport were seen as a way that the energy of working class people could be controlled in their leisure time. The historian Richard Holt (1989) calls this 'play discipline':

> 'The very idea of a play discipline would have seemed absurd, yet this is what a growing band of bourgeois idealists advocated during the second half of the century. Sports were to play a major part alongside the provision of parks, museums, libraries and baths in the creation of a healthy, moral workforce.... Fear of urban radicalism, above all, was what galvanised the rich into thinking about the poor and gave weight to the wider programme of moral reform and education that was proposed by a vigorous minority of evangelicals and idealistic political economists.'

One of the outcomes of the rational recreation movement was the establishment of sports and social club.s Many of these were attached to local churches. Aston Villa and Everton football clubs are famous examples, but there were also work-based clubs, such as those at the railway towns of Swindon and Crewe, which provided an environment for recreation and, of course, drinking after working hours. [...] Out of these social clubs grew many of the great names in twentieth-century professional sport including the football clubs of Liverpool, Manchester United, Bolton Wanderers and Sheffield United.

[Richard Holt, *Sport and the British* (Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 136.]

Saturday play

Owing to the regulation of working hours, Saturday came to be accepted as a half day for workers in almost all professions. The Christian organisation, the Lord's Day Observance Society [LDOS], ensured that Sunday play was kept to a minimum, and there was certainly no professional sport on the Sabbath, so Saturday became, almost by default, 'match day'.

For middle-class gentlemen with time at their disposal, attending or participating in cricket matches which lasted several days was feasible, and a day's golf was certainly no hardship. The choice for the athletic working man, however, was limited to sports which could be fitted into the time-frame of a Saturday afternoon and which would not make too much of a hole in the weekly wage-packet. It was from this need to keep the family income steady that the issue of broken time came about. Broken-time payments, for cricketers, footballers and rugby players, were small payments by way of compensation for those who missed work in order to compete. Clubs made these payments in order to secure the services of the best players.

Case Study #1: West Ham football club

West Ham football club was one of the most important clubs in East London. It was originally known as Thames Ironworks F.C. and was established by the owner of the Thames Ironworks factory for his workers in 1895. As the owner, he controlled who played and used the club as a way of getting support from his workers.

KEY QUESTION: Do you think the football club was an example of resistance for working class men (i.e. evidence of improved working conditions), or of the way workers were controlled by their employers?

Case study #2: Arthur Wharton

Wharton was one of the first black British professional footballers. Wharton was born in 1865 to a middle class family of mixed Ghanaian and Scottish heritage. He spent his childhood in the Ghanaian capital of Accra, then under British colonial rule. Following his father's death in 1873 Wharton concluded his education in England. Wharton commenced as an amateur athlete before joining both Darlington Cricket and Football Club and Preston North End as a goalkeeper. In 1889 he signed for Rotherham Town as a professional footballer before going on to play for Sheffield United, Rotherham Town, Stalybridge Rovers, Ashton North End and Stockport County before retiring in 1902. Wharton's endeavours challenged racist beliefs at the time and, although he was mostly treated with respect from fellow players, sometimes he faced prejudice. In 1888 it was reported that two of Wharton's competitors were overheard questioning "Who's he that we should be frightened of [...] him beating us?"

Appendix 5 – Wider Reading: Football

Charles P. Korr, 'West Ham United Football Club and the Beginnings of Professional Football in East London, 1895-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13, 2 (1978), pp. 211-232.

Ian Taylor's provocative article, 'Football Mad' sought to explain the rise of football hooliganism by contrasting the present relationship between supporters and players with a situation that he claims existed before the second world war when the football clubs and their players were an integral part of the local working-class community.[4] The most startling assertion made by Taylor is that present day clubs grew out of 'the concern of working-class men to develop their primary-group relationships in what leisure time they had. Most of these clubs grew directly out of autonomous occupational groups.' One of his examples is the West Ham United Football Club, in East London 'which was started by a group of workers at the Thames Iron Works.'

The 'East End' of London is an amorphous term that has been used by generations of historians, sociologists and welfare workers to describe the vast area that lies east of the Aldgate Pump and stretches out into rural sections of Essex. The area has held a fascination for outsiders, who have used it as a virtual laboratory for their social theories and research. There has been a strange combination of revulsion at the poverty and degradation that was rife in the East End and attraction to the social structure that allowed people to develop a sense of community and shared enterprise that is almost unique in London. For decades an omnipresent feature of East London has been the attraction football has held for its residents. From George Sims' description in 1906 of thousands of 'urchins kicking paper balls in the back alleys' to the present day, football has been a staple part of local culture.[5] For more than seventy years the most important football club in East London has been West Ham United.

The West Ham United Football Club Limited was registered as a company on 5 July 1900. In its memorandum and articles of association the first objective of the company was 'to acquire and take over, or succeed to the concern and undertakings of the unregistered Association or Club known as the Thames Ironworks Football Club.'[6] The Thames Ironworks was located in Canning Town, West Ham. It was the last major ship building firm in London, but by 1900 it was fighting a losing battle with yards on the Clyde and in the north of England. In 1860 the Works employed 6,000 men and by 1900 that figure was down to 3,100.[7]

The importance of the Thames and the docks as a source of work set the tone for life in the part of Essex that was usually characterized as the 'East End'.[8] Dock work was casual labour and it was essential for the dockers to live close to their work. The Canning Town, Tidal Basin, and Custom House areas of West Ham saw the building of a great deal of cheap housing near the Victoria and Albert Docks which were the biggest single source of employment for men in West Ham. More than 7,000 men worked there in 1904 but factory work provided employment to three times as many persons in West Ham as did the docks. Some of these factories, such as the Thames Iron Works, were associated with the docks, but it must be stressed that West Ham was not made up primarily of either casual labourers or men whose employment was the docks. The largest employers of skilled labour were the repair yards of the Great Eastern Railroad and the machine shops that grew up around it. By 1904 there were more than 11,000 men working in the metal and machine trades in West Ham as opposed to approximately 3,200 men employed at the Thames Iron Works.[9]

West Ham was, in governmental terms, not in London. It was an Essex suburb. It was not, however, a suburb in the modern sense of the word. It was even unique for turn of the century Essex. It was a manufacturing centre, containing factories that had moved from London. Most of these were offensive industries, i.e., those producing dirt, fumes and chemical residues.[10] It was also the only local government area in the region where a majority of the work force resided within the borough.

The rise in population of West Ham in the last two decades of the nineteenth century had led to a very marked housing shortage. There was an average of 6.46 persons per house in West Ham and the average for Wales and England was 5.21. Studies about social problems of the borough pointed out that this figure contained important anomalies within it. The borough was far from uniform in occupations, status or housing. Overcrowding was worst in Canning Town, Custom House and Silvertown, bordering the docks and containing the highest percentage of casual labourers. At the other end of the borough, in Upton Park and Forest Gate, housing was comfortable and was occupied by professional and business families. The northern part of West Ham was described as 'a bedroom dormitory for London' and this pattern increased as one went into the surrounding areas of East Ham, Barking and Ilford.[11]

Another distinctive feature of most of West Ham was the lack of open space and public recreation grounds. The majority of children or men who played football did so on vacant unenclosed spaces that separated factories and industrial areas. A detailed survey of the social problems in West Ham pointedly compared its lack of open space with principles set down in the 'planned towns' like Bournville where it was thought desirable to have open areas within a five minute walk. It was virtually impossible to achieve this in an already developed area but the point was made that a lack of open space 'is conducive neither to health nor to morals.' The report concluded that it 'was not surprising to have bands of young hooligans whose energies are expended in petty larcenies in the streets.'[12] These sentiments about the value of sports as a builder of good character were a significant feature of the late Victorian ideal of hard play and hard work. It was the gospel of 'Muscular Christianity' that was developed at the public schools and universities and found a new expression in the settlement houses and parishes in poor areas of the cities. The vicars 'to the poor' brought the gospel of sport to their flock with the same fervour that their fellow missionaries brought the light of Christ to Africa and Asia.

It is difficult to imagine a more complete product of inherited money, position and the ideals of Victorian upper class education than Arnold F. Hills, owner of the Thames Ironworks and the force behind the creation of the Thames Ironworks Football Club, predecessor of West Ham United.

The football club was formed within the Works in the summer of 1895 and its origins showed little difference from other local amateur and industrial teams. The *Gazette* had a short notice about the formation of a football club and asked interested workers to contact the secretary, who was a senior clerk at the Works.[16] The team used a nearby football ground for their practices and matches. The financing of the club came from the members' subscriptions and a contribution from the Works. The activity was in line with the policy that Hills had enunciated in the *Gazette*: 'The importance of cooperation between workers and management'. He was anxious to wipe away the bitterness left by a recent strike. 'But thank God this midsummer madness is past and gone; inequities and anomalies have been done away with and now, under the Good Fellowship system and the Profit Sharing Scheme, every worker knows that his individual and social rights are absolutely secured'.[17]

Hills set up a Central Council to coordinate the efforts of the clubs, but insisted that the Council did not restrict the development of the clubs as separate entities. He wanted every club to 'rally loyally around the Central Council . . . and thus united . . . the social movement which has already done so much will go from success to success . . . It will set the seal upon the business prosperity of the firm and crown the labours of the Works with the laurels of the road, the river, the racing track, the field, and the public hall.'[18]

The first season of the football club was hectic and successful. Its committee (all of whom were members of the clerical staff, foremen or supervisors of the works) set up fixtures and entered the club in cup tournaments. More than fifty men had joined the club which necessitated finding enough matches for two teams. In the committee's own words, it had been 'somewhat presumptuous' and had entered the premier competition in England, the English Cup. They had no thought of winning the Cup, but there were two important reasons for entering: the competition would test the ability of the club at the same time as advertising the new club and, if they were 'lucky enough' to be drawn against a good professional club, it would add considerably to the funds of the club.[19] During the season there was a move 'initiated by the players' to have the governing committee composed of non-players. As a result, 'a number of gentlemen were asked to fulfil this important function with the result that it has proved most beneficial to the club.'[20]

At its first meeting in May each year, the Board made decisions on the salaries to be offered for the next season. There were provisions made to increase the offer if important players balked at the amount. The Board also offered to meet with individual players who were dissatisfied with their prospective salaries.[60] Few players chose to appear before the Board. The club had the ultimate sanction it could use against a player who thought he was not being paid enough; it could refuse to raise its offer and refuse to transfer him. The player had no way to protest about this situation and if he did (as did one West Ham player in 1910) the club responded by informing the Football Association that he was ineligible to play for any other club.[61]

The Board certainly saw itself as the employer of football players in the same way as the Directors employed workers in their business. Salary negotiations were handled by the Secretary, the paid administrator, and the Directors retained control over him and the finances of the club. There was also a strong strain of paternalism amongst the Directors. Players were fined for missing matches due to a reaction from a smallpox vaccination because the vaccinations had been obtained '*without prior permission* from the Directors' [my italics].[62] 'Players, incapacitated from playing by injuries or sickness, must be indoors by 8 p.m. every evening. The penalty for the first offence was a 5s fine, any subsequent offence to be deal with by the Directors'.[63] Curfews were enforced on players, wages were held in trust for players who had drinking problems and doctor's certificates were required for any failure to play or train.[64] In many ways, the term 'club' might appear to be a misnomer to describe the business of running a football team, an organization with places firmly established for the employer and the worker.

In the case of West Ham United, the 'working classes' did not 'claim the game as their own' if this means their exclusive domination of the club. In a 'football mad' working-class distict the club struggled for survival because there was no reason to watch other men play unless their game was markedly different from local matches. West Ham United needed something more than players and love of football to succeed, it needed money and management. A combination of an 'amateur's' generosity and local businessmen's sense of community pride and a desire to gain recognition developed the foundation of a first-class professional club. A shared interest surrounded the club, its players and its supporters and also what might be called its 'role'. In this (the formation of the football club), as in so many other areas of English life, working-class participation was limited to work, either as players or supporters. But at least in this case, work had an emotional element that provided a sense of individual and communal pride lacking in most other occupations.

William J. Baker, 'The Making of a Working-Class Football Culture in Victorian England', *Journal of Social History*, 13, 2 (1979), pp. 241-251.

The peasant origins of football, its periodic repression by authorities, and its near-demise in the eighteenth century have been thoroughly documented.[7] Taken over by the "public" (private) schools, the old kicking, carrying, tackling, tripping, gouging, punching game became stylized according to each school's facilities and traditions. By 1850, the many different versions of the game fell into two distinct types: the handling and tackling game (with some kicking) played at the newer public schools such as Rugby, Marlborough, and Cheltenham, and the kicking game (with handling and tackling forbidden) promoted by older establishments such as Eton, Shrewsbury, Westminster, and Charterhouse. In the '50s and early '60s several attempts were made to arrive at a uniform code, all to no avail. The two games were simply irreconcilable, and the breach was formally recognized by the formation of the Football Association (soccer) in 1863 and the Rugby Football Union in 1871.

While the game was being transformed in the country's elite educational institutions, several factors were taking shape which were ultimately destined to facilitate a popular football culture. The growth of cities was basic. Whereas in 1800 there was not a single city other than London with a population of 100,000 or more, by 1891 no less than 72 per cent of all English citizens lived in cities, and the number of urban centers (especially in the industrial Midlands) surpassing the figure of 100,000 had leaped to 23. Like no other country in the world, late-Victorian Englishmen were tightly congregated and in need not only of new housing, sanitation facilities and the like, but also of new diversions, amusements vastly different from the traditional village fare. Parks and open fields were at a premium in the working-class sections of most industrial towns, creating a demand for adequate, cheap means of transportation. As Britain's fast-growing railway systems made inter-city football competition possible, a boom in intra-city transport vehicles such as passenger cabs, omnibuses, coaches, and trams linked the most remote working-class areas to fields of play.

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, industrial laborers had neither time nor energy to pursue recreational activities. Not until several mid-century Factory Acts limited the hours of women and children in textile factories did the traditional six-day work week for adult males begin to be shortened. By 1870 a half-day Saturday was realized in most factories, mines, and workshops, providing leisure time for the bulk of the laboring population. In the same year Parliament passed an Education Act, ordaining that a school should be placed within the reach of every English child. As English schoolboys learned their three R's, they also learned to play organized games. In providing reading and writing skills for the children of industrial laborers, the Education

Act of 1870 created a mass reading audience for the sports press which burgeoned in the last two decades of the century, and inadvertently placed a football in the hands or at the feet of every English schoolboy.[8]

While the laboring classes won their half-day Saturdays, informally played one or both versions of football, and turned out in increasingly large numbers to watch local clubs, gentlemen of leisure dominated both the Football Association and the Rugby Football Union. The two leading officers of the F.A. governing committee were C.W. Alcock (1842-1907), an Harrovian, and A.F. Kinnaird (1867-1923), an Etonian and Cambridge graduate who became a Scottish baron in 1887. The composition of the early teams reflected this upper-class leadership. In 1872 the first F.A. Cup was won by the Wanderers, a combined team of former public school and university students. Between 1872 and 1882 the Wanderers claimed five cups and the Old Etonians two. Similarly, Rugby and Marlborough men filled the rosters of the early international Rugby teams as well as the prestigious University matches between Oxford and Cambridge, begun in 1872.

On the northern horizon, however, new clubs sprung up daily. Churches, the YMCA, numerous philanthropic and temperance societies designed to undertake a "civilizing mission" to the poor, and public school and university graduates fired with the ideals of "muscular Christianity" zealously introduced Rugby and soccer to the masses outside the pale of southern refinement. Soccer, especially, appealed to working-class men and boys in the north. Unlike Rugby, it could be played by anyone regardless of size or strength. Unlike cricket, the traditionally popular village game, a football contest could be played to completion within a brief span of time. Soccer football was a "democratic game"; "within easy reach of absolutely everyone." According to one journalist, already by 1867 soccer was exerting an appeal of "gigantic dimensions" in working-class communities.[9]

Many of the major clubs still competing in the Football Association trace their roots to the 1870s and '80s. Some originated out of Sunday schools or Nonconformist chapels. The Aston Villa team began in 1874, with members of the Villa Cross Wesleyan Chapel; in the same year the Bolton Wanderers started out of a local Sunday school. Between 1875 and 1880 Birmingham City, Everton, Burnley, and Wolverhampton soccer teams formed out of similar religious organizations. All the while older grammar schools and new state schools were producing their football teams — such as the Blackburn Rovers, Leicester City, and Sunderland. Nor were trade unions asleep to the new craze: Stoke City, Manchester United, Arsenal, and West Ham United all originated with workmen and labor organizers eager to play.[10]

The death-knell of aristocratic and upper-middle class dominance of Association football sounded in 1883, when the Cup Final pitted the Blackburn Olympics against the Old Etonians. The social background of the Old Etonians was impeccably privileged. Among the Blackburn squad, on the other hand, were three weavers, a spinner, a dental assistant, a textile factory hand, and an iron-foundry worker; their captain was a master-plumber. They beat the Old Etonians in overtime, and returned home by train to the adulation of a huge crowd led by what Old Etonians no doubt viewed as the epitome of that

northern, Nonconformist, low-cultured working class life: a brass band. The populace had successfully stormed the ramparts of the barbarians and philistines. From 1883 to 1914, northern working-class teams won every F.A. Cup except one. Even the one exception, the Tottenham Hotspurs who won the Cup in 1901, was a team comprised of three northerners, five Scotsmen, two Welshmen, and an Irishman.[11]

In the ascendancy of those northern clubs lay the origins of professional football. Working-class footballers were simply unable to take time off for practice, travel, and the game itself unless their expenses were paid. Enterprising Scots quickly seized the opportunity to come south and sell their athletic as well as their industrial skills. Gentlemen founders of the game put their collective finger in the dike and sternly forbade play for pay, but the payments merely went under the table. Entrepreneurs, rich with their industrial profits, had no qualms about paying players as they paid their factory operatives. Seeing professional football as an excellent investment, they pumped the game's expanding profits into new stadiums, equipment, uniforms, and salaries. Nor were such investments merely good business sense. A winning football team became a badge of honor in Lancashire and Yorkshire towns; civic pride and entrepreneurial savvy went hand in hand.[12]

In the *Football Annual* of 1880 C.W. Alcock lamented that there was "no use to disguise the speedy approach of time when the subject of professional players will require the earnest attention of those on whom devolves the management of Association football."[13] Four years later the crisis came to a head when the sponsor of a Cup finalist, Preston, admitted forthrightly that he paid not only his players' expenses but also small salaries. Under fire from the officials of the Football Association, he convened a meeting of Lancashire clubs and threatened to form a breakaway organization. Reluctantly the F.A. officials, led by Alcock, backed down. To the aristocratic alarmists who insisted that it was "degrading for respectable men to play with professionals," Alcock pierced to the heart of the class issue. He rejected the assumption that industrial workers were "the utter outcasts some people represent them to be," and added that it was hardly "immoral to work for a living."[14] After a long and acrimonious debate, in 1885 the soccer element in English football reached an agreement whereby separate amateur and professional leagues would operate within the same organization.

Appendix 6 – Primary Sources: Penny dreadfuls

1. **Front page of The Illustrated Police News, 22 September 1888. It features a story about the "Whitechapel murders", a series of killings by an unidentified murder, who became known as "Jack the Ripper".**

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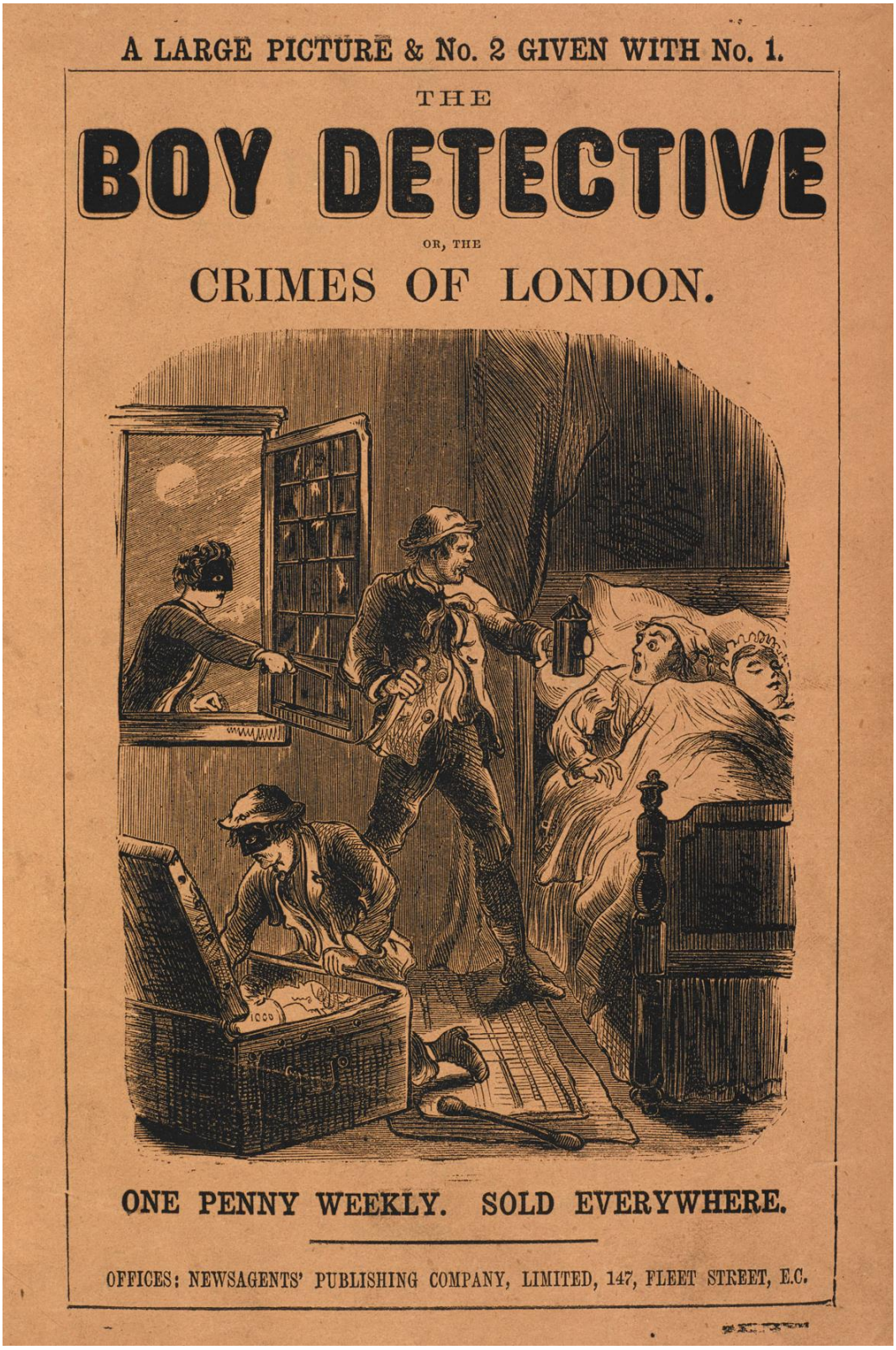
2. ***The Boy Detective; or, the crimes of London*** **(1866).**

This is an example of the short novels that were sold for a penny, featuring working-class heroes and heroines. Published as a 72-part serial, *The Boy Detective* was part of a trend for cheaply produced mystery novels set in the kinds of urban environments with which its readers themselves were likely to be familiar. However, where previous mystery serials had tended to focus on criminals, *The Boy Detective* focussed on the people who solved them – in this case a young runaway called Ernest Keen, who happens to work for a police inspector.



THE

BOY DETECTIVE;

OR,

THE CRIMES OF LONDON.

"HEAVY HANDS FELL WITH A TIGHT GRASP UPON HIS SHOULDER."

BOOK THE FIRST.

THE MURDER AT LONEDALE MANSE—A CASE OF CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE AFFECTING THE HERO.

CHAPTER I.

OUR HERO SPEAKS FOR HIMSELF—THE OUTCAST—A PITILESS STORM—THE DARK BRIDGE

MY story is a strange record of crimes and mysteries, of the joys and sorrows of the envied rich, and the trials and triumphs of the struggling poor; its darkest and most harrowing pages are brightened and relieved by traits of benevolence, devotion, honesty and fortitude. I have been employed in cases of Murder, Forgery, Larceny and Profligacy; have hunted down criminals of every class, yet, in the vilest I have ever found some latent germ of good, in the worthiest some defect. My characters

No. 1.

THE RIGHT OF DRAMATISING IS RESERVED.

are photographs from life taken in the camera of my wide experience; the incidents, extraordinary as they may appear, are but parallels of facts within my knowledge.

ERNEST KEEN, the Boy Detective.

* * * * *

Alone in the World of London!

Shrinking in his fluttering rags, his bare feet swollen and mud-stained, the rain-sheets dashing in his pale, wan face, his rich, black hair strewing out from the rents in his rain-sodden cap, his thin arms clutched athwart his shivering breast, his wild, black eyes aglare with hunger and misery, a wretched lad is limping along wearily, as much unheeded and uncared for as a stray cur, still through the pitiless storm.

Rain, rain, rain; drenching and pouring and pattering on the countless roofs of the kingdom-city.

Rain, flooding the dreary, miry streets, bubbling and leaping in dirty channels, sweeping in stinging scuds round gusty corners, and darting arrowy into the fogged and turgid breast of the wide-flooding Thames.

It is night. The clock of St. Paul's has tolled eleven.

The city is almost deserted as regards foot-passengers, yet still through the mazes of the intersecting streets dash and roll heavy and light vehicles.

As the young outcast turned the corner of Farringdon Street a carriage rattled past.

The men upon the box were snugly wrapped in their grey, silver-buttoned livery coats, their legs covered with the leathern apron; the footman held in his hand a large umbrella, to shield himself and the coachman from the wet.

Within, against the soft padding, a stout, cosy-looking gentleman was indolently reclining.

The poor boy's blood-shot eye wandered after the stately equipage, his knees tottered, his fingers tightly clutched, and, from the core of his frozen heart he breathed forth in hoarse accents of intensest bitterness, these dreadful words,

"Cursed be the hour that brought me into this pitiless world! Oh, why—why—why do I live?"

He drew from his breast a packet of letters and shook them viciously.

"And these," he sneered, "are my testimonials of service and good character; what are they worth to me? I st-tarve! I—I die! None will give me employment; I can't beg, the words would strangle me; and—and," he bitterly sobbed, "I am such a fool that I won't steal!"

He thrust the letters fiercely back into his breast.

He staggered against the wall of a house whose bright windows were glowing with interior warmth and comfort.

A flood of lashing rain deluged the spot where he stood.

"Mother, *my* mother!" he murmured, tenderly, his voice still broken by bitter sobbing, "soon we shall meet again, or be parted for ever and ever."

He moved on through the hurtling shower.

He reached the dark bridge.

He paused and leaned over the wet, cold parapet.

Far below lapped along the black and sluggish tide.

The boy looked upon the gloomy waters.

He drew back with a dreadful shudder.

"I dare not pray!" he muttered, trembling violently with hunger, cold and excitement. "The tide is strong, and I am too weak to swim; it will soon be over!"

He feebly dragged himself on to the balustrade, and sat in the gloom and the rain, bitterly weeping.

"Mother, dear; I come to you, for Heaven's mercy will reach me, though I am about to end quickly my life which must finish in lingering misery."

He drew forth a tress of soft hair and kissed it passionately.

He replaced it, and once more fixed a yearning look upon the dark and awful tide.

He leaped upon the slippery parapet.

"I would live if I could!" he cried, wildly wringing his hands. "It is very cruel that I should die so young, but I stand on the brink of rest and I will not draw back my foot; if I lived I should turn desperately wicked, my heart is so mad against all the world; better one bad act than a life of crimes!"

The young suicide murmured a few solemn words he had learned long ago in the bright fresh dawn of his now clouded morning of wintry life.

As his glance trembled down the dark side of the bridge he qualmed at the rugged buttresses threatening to dash him to pieces.

So he crouched for a strong, bold spring.

An instant and all would have been ended.

Heavy hands fell with a tight grasp upon his shoulder.

He struggled to release himself, for he was maddened by despair.

In vain; his deliverer was too powerful for him.

He was dragged back to the pavement.

He seemed dizzy with weakness, and staggering fell against the side of the parapet.

The wind shrieked past, and the rain dashed savagely in his face as if his evil angel were sweeping by in the gust, howling with fury at the loss of his victim.

So violent was the rain storm that it was some moments before the man could get a fair view of the boy he had saved from the last dread act of unhallowed despair.

When at last he caught a glance of the boy's wan features, he stepped back and exclaimed, in great surprise,

"Ernest Keen!"

"I wish you had not saved me, Joe," said our hero, bitterly, "I should be at peace now."

The man to whom he spoke with such small show of gratitude stared at him for a moment with a puzzled expression.

He gave a low whistle.

"Vell, blow me, you're a sight for a seiro-comic wocalist, with a heye to natur', you are. Why, Ernest, you don't mean to go for to say that you'd go for to do sich a hawful, stupid wickedness. Phew! why the devil's been nibbling at yer, depend upon it; he's pretty well got his fangs in you, too, my little covey, not as I'm the least-ways partickler; but come, I say! O, blow it all! Vell, I never did and really couldn't. A young boy, as is a perfect disinherited gentleman, a reg'lar nobleman, in difficulties, to go for to—— It don't bear thinking on! Well, I didn't s'pose you could be sich a houtrageous little willain!"

"It is wrong."

"Wrong? It's perfect hawful! Why, where do you suppose you'd go to?"

"To the bottom of the quiet waters," cried the little outcast, in a tone of piercing sadness, "to sleep for ever, without feeling or thinking or hoping. Oh, to die! Why do they paint death so ugly I cannot tell. What does it matter?—what is there to live for? Who would lose by my absence from a world where every one shows me that I'm not wanted? I'm sorry you saved me, Joe Whiffins, though that sounds ungrateful!"

The boy's tears dripped faster than the cruel rain still plashing down so fast and pitiless.

"Well, this yere is drefful! Why, you little sinner, shouldn't *I* lose by your absence?—and wouldn't that 'tater man that's clinking along with his bright can yonder, as if the rain would make his wegetables grow; wouldn't he lose by you? Blow me, if you don't look as if you could eat the canfull, and then devour the pepper-box; but, come on, get close up to him, for if he catches sight on your hungry eyes, he'll cut and run like Crusoe from the cannibals; and, I say, Master Ernest, please don't call me 'Joe,' my name's been changed, I'm now 'Wincent,' yours faithfully."

The boy faintly smiled.

His friend hailed the potato-seller.

The two men looked on with quiet, almost sullen sympathy; they knew what hunger meant, as the poor little fellow devoured his "mealies."

When he had regaled himself Mr. Vincent paid the man, and took his little companion into the first public-house they came to.

At that moment no Elysium could be brighter, more blissful than that warm, well-lighted room, with its fierce glowing, cheery fire.

It was but an ordinary tap-room, with the usual sanded floor, plain tables and chairs; the pots and pipes, and pictures, of the last "set to," between pugilistic celebrities; but what a haven of rest and comfort to the drenched, way-worn, starved, and heart-broken wanderer.

CHAPTER II.

OUR HERO TELLS HIS STORY TO A SYMPATHISING FRIEND.

OUR hero sat close by the leaping blaze, and listened wistfully to the storm without.

"Hey! you young ruffian; this is better than the top of the Thames Tunnel, ain't it now?" cried Whiffins, as he threw a bundle down by the table and pulled the bell. "And you needn't be listening to that accompiniment outside, for you won't have to breast the shower any more this blessed night, for this is my drum."

The pot-boy entered.

"Jem, supper as usual; plates for two, and a pot of porter."

"And you have got a place, Joe?—I'm so glad," said our hero, heartily.

"A hengagement, Ernest; I'm serio-comic wocalist at the Harmonic Cripples, hup the Walworth Road. Ain't that permotion?"

"Well, you have a fine voice; I don't think I ever heard any one sing such full and deep and clear notes; and are you in as good a tune as ever?"

"Improves, bless you; steaks and porter is the making of a Primer Donner. Hark ye! Do, re, mi, fa, sol; sol! Now I'll take a pull at the porter; re, sol, fa; fa! Much better, ain't it? but take a pull yourself; if you're so fly for drowning, drown your sorrows in the bowl! Here comes the supper."

The boy, whose hunger was not yet satiate, did ample justice to the steak and onions, which he learned were strengthening to the vocal powers. He took a good draught at the porter, and was not a little surprised at the efficacy of the *remède*, and almost started when he spoke at the body and loudness of his own voice, before so faint and hoarse.

"And soon you will get quite famous, and sing at grand concerts," said the poor boy, looking at his companion with brightening eyes, the rigid lines on his stiffened cheek softening and giving place to a pleasant smile.

"Yes; but there's two hobstacles," returned the singer, in a serious tone.

"What are they, Vincent?" asked Ernest, laughing.

"Oh, there you goes. You, says Vincent; but I says, Wincent; you see I'm troubled with h's and we's.'"

"Oh, I'll cure you of that, Vincent."

"Werry hobliged; but I'm hever so much himproved within the last veek or two, and it's a good job, for I've got to sing a werry devil of a new song,

'Villiam vill you valk with me,
Vandering neath the villow tree?'

It's pretty only for the we's; but talk about yourself, poor little chap. I always liked you, Ernest, from the fust night, when you came from sea and gave half your money to your poor landlady that vos bullied by the hexecution chaps. Was'nt I jest hard up then?—and didn't you treat me like a true S'maritan?—and do you think as I'm a chap to forget sich kindness now I'm hup in the vorld? No! that's not me; and now I gets a quid every veek, and finds my own properties; but that reminds me—get behind that screen and put on these clothes, you young scamp, you vill catch the hawfullest cold as never vos."

Whiffins hereupon untied his bundle, and produced a white hat, a pair of trousers, shaped as balloons, and adorned with stars and stripes like the American flag, a coat of many colours with buttons as large and as bright as saucepan lids—item, a "west," as Whiffins called it, of faded white satin, and rusty gilt brocade, which we all (who attend music-halls) know to be the walking costume of a man about town.

"Jest get yourself hup, young chap," said the singer, tossing to him the garments, "and then ve'll have a quiet duet about future prospex."

The boy laughed, and, pleased with the joke, dressed himself in the "gorgeous array," and returned to his seat by the fire.

He presented a comical spectacle; he had been forced to roll up the unmentionables under his knees, and the sleeves of the coat to his elbows.

Both the man and the boy himself laughed merrily at the droll appearance the latter presented in his grotesque attire.

"Vell, you are the perfect cure now, and no mistake," cried Whiffins; "but, come young shaver, tell us vot you've been down to since I saw you last, and vot you means to do for a living?"

The boy turned his glance upon the fire.

"I have tried to get work, Joe," he said, "everywhere, and in every sort of employment that could or could not suit my age and acquirements; but all in vain. I have fallen too low; there is a mark below which, if a fellow sinks, it is no use his striving to come to the surface again, he can never do it unless some one lends him a hand, or throws him a stay to hold by. How could I present myself as a page, an office-boy, or an errand-boy to any one in these clothes?"

When Ernest said this he forgot the change that had been effected in his personal appearance, and laughed as his eye fell on his coat and vest of such divers colours and curious cut.

"A page for a harchbishop!" cried Whiffins. "Why I've performed the 'Ratcatcher's Daughter,' and the 'East End Gent,' in that 'get up,' for forty consketive nights!"

Wherewith the serio-comic vocalist burst out in the strain of "I'm Afloat,"

"I'm a gent, I'm a gent,
Of the first vater too,
My trousers is pegtops, my 'at is bran new;
I am known at the clubs as the cweam of all svells,
The henvy of beaux, and the charmer of belles."

"That's my hown original wersi on——"

"Version, Joe."

"Vell, I thought I said 'wersion,' and do call me 'Wincent'—but 'to return to the subjec',' as the stump horator says. I vant to ax you a question—"

"What is it, Vincent?"

"Wincent it is—ha!" the comic singer fidgetted on his chair, and poised the poker in his fingers, twiddling it swiftly round as the stage Irishman is bound to whirl his enormous shillelagh. "I say, young chap, my hintentions is delicate. I know's your name's Ernest Keen; but I should like to know 'who gave you that name,' and all that. People is mostly in the habit of having fathers and mothers. Did you hever have parients?"

"My father is alive," said the boy.

"Phew! and vy don't he look arter ye, then?"

"Because——" the boy paused, frowned, and turned towards the fire.

"O-ho! I twig—lagged!"

"No, no, no; he's a rich man—a retired banker," returned our hero.

Mr. Whiffins leaped up, and threw himself into a dramatic posture expressive of boundless astonishment.

Appendix 7 – Wider Reading: Penny dreadfuls

Lewis C. Roberts, 'Disciplining and Disinfecting Working-Class Readers in the Victorian Public Library', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 26, 1 (1998), pp. 105-132.

IN AN UNCHARACTERISTIC BURST of rhetoric and emotion, the 1849 Select Committee on Public Libraries implored:

> Shall we therefore abandon the people to the influence of a low, enfeebling, and often pestilential literature, instead of enabling them to breathe a more pure, elevated, and congenial atmosphere? (viii)

The means of bringing about such a literate atmosphere was the funding of a system of public libraries, institutions freely open to all, but especially aimed at working-class readers.[1] These institutions would provide access to books unavailable to the working-class reading public. In providing such access, the libraries were also to ensure that books would be free of the "pestilential" influences of the "low" kinds of texts commonly available to the working class. The public library was thus to purify, elevate, and disinfect working-class reading.

In 1891, Thomas Greenwood, a leading advocate for public libraries, offered a method for disinfecting books, not just from bad plots or morals, but from actual germs:

> At Sheffield they tried a system of heating the books in an oven to the temperature of boiling water, and . . . at the same time . . . exposed [them] to the vapour of carbolic acid. By using boiling water or open steam as the source of heat a constant moderate temperature would be insured, and this with impregnation by the vapour of carbolic acid should secure the books being thoroughly disinfected. It is claimed that this plan does not injure the binding or cause the books to smell of carbolic acid for very long afterwards. (371)

Such connections of disease with reading, both metaphorical and literal, indicate the complexity of the role the Public (or "Free") Libraries Movement[2] played in institutionalizing and disciplining working-class reading. In their attempts to render the reading process safe and healthy, libraries were positioned both as institutions of access to texts, and as mechanisms of restriction, control, and disinfection. They were thus ranked alongside other such public institutions of discipline:

> Around what institutions could local life better gather than Museums and Public Libraries? . . . The State has not done everything for the people when it has provided a gaol, a workhouse, a lunatic asylum, a policeman, and a share in the common hangman. (Greenwood 8)

In the discourses of the Free Libraries Movement, reading functioned as a complex pedagogy of containment.[3] Through various forms of social, generic, and spatial exclusion, the libraries tried to contain the relations between texts and readers by defining and inculcating hierarchies of value. Public libraries functioned as institutions of education, and as teachers of reading, not in terms of grammatical skills, but rather of taste, literary value, intellectual and moral improvement, and social behavior. The library advocates' rhetorical appeals to a variety of hierarchies (of readers, texts, genres, classes) was an attempt to simplify the messiness of the potential interconnections among readers, texts, and institutions. Only a few, proscribed subject positions in these hierarchies would be defined as valuable in relation to working-class reading.

John Speinghall, '"A Life Story for the People"? Edwin J. Brett and the London "Low-Life" Penny Dreadfuls of the 1860s', *Victorian Studies,* 33, 2 (1990), pp. 223-246.

One issue scholars have not yet addressed is how far post-1850 cheap serialized fiction genuinely reproduced the "mechanic accents" of nineteenth-century English working-class life or, perhaps less romantically, served only to reinforce the dominant middle-class culture. Happily, the London "low-life" penny dreadfuls produced by the Newsagents' Publishing Company (NPC) in the 1860s — under Edwin J. Brett's shrewd management — provide us with a privileged insight into what can be for the historian of popular culture, a perplexing and difficult question of intentionality.

" 'I wish I know'd as much as you, Dick. How did you manage to pick it up?' " one of the eponymous Wild Boys of London asks the well-mannered young hero of a renowned NPC low-life serial. " 'Mother taught me most, and I read all the books I can get,' " he replies. " 'So do I; sich rattling tales, too,' " interjects the street waif. " '*The Black Phantom; or the White Spectre of the Pink Rock*. It's fine, it is; somebody's killed every week, and it's only a penny.' 'That is not the sort of book I mean,' " says the snooty hero. " 'Mother does not like me to read them.' 'Why?' 'She says they have a bad influence.' 'Who's he?' " asks the puzzled Wild Boy.[4] This dialogue, taken from *The Wild Boys of London; or, The Children of Night. A Story of the Present Day* (1864–66), not only suggests an element of beguiling self-parody but also indicates the arrival of a new commercial popular culture of "rattling tales," aimed from mid-century onwards at working-class youth in London and the expanding industrial cities. Yet the serial's average reader was probably closer to the well-spoken protagonist than to the Wild Boys themselves; this average reader perhaps vicariously enjoyed the adventures of the latter for that very reason. Whether in the school, the office, the warehouse, or the workshop, youngsters could participate in the criminal yet exciting escapades of homeless orphans without having their own life-styles radically altered in the process. Penny dreadfuls thus provided a romantic escape from the uneventfulness of their readers' everyday lives. Assisted by steam-driven printing presses, cheap paper, improved transport, and rising literacy, commercial entrepreneurs set out to supply the popular imagination with what it craved: Gothic horror stories, tales of struggle and warfare, domestic romances, stories of highwaymen and the underworld. Young wage slaves "had no intention of spending their scanty leisure reading about wage slaves" (Turner,

p. 52). Popular entertainment also sometimes overlapped with, or directly influenced, more respectable forms of literature, as in the case of the "Newgate novels" of the 1830s or the "sensation fiction" of the 1860s.[5] For the large majority of English middle-class readers and critics, however, popular or penny dreadful fiction remained part of an unmapped, extensive, and rather threatening terrain; it has not been properly investigated even to this day.

Assessment of the output of a commercial syndicate like the NPC runs into an intractable antinomy. Are products of the mass culture industry instruments of mass deception and manipulation, signs of cultural degeneration, or are they a genuine people's culture, opposing and resisting the dominant elite culture — the basis for cultural renaissance? In other words, does commercial entertainment present us with socially conservative fables, thus acting as an agency of social control by the dominant culture, or do penny dreadfuls represent "a symbolic form of class conflict," subverting authority and challenging middle-class norms? In his penetrating analysis of dime novels, the nineteenth-century American equivalent to penny dreadfuls, Michael Denning poses these questions and argues that popular stories are best seen as "a contested terrain, a field of cultural conflict where signs with wide appeal and resonance take on contradictory disguises and are spoken in contrary accents." The American dime novel, therefore, becomes caught up in the ideological class struggle between middle-class moralism and the "mechanic accents" of popular sensationalism. According to this interpretation, the narrative formulas of American cheap fiction "gain their resonance largely from their closeness to working-class ideologies, from the mechanic accents of the producer culture to which its readers, writers, and earliest publishers belonged."[6]

On the basis of the sample of London low-life serials I will examine, English penny dreadfuls do not reproduce the same supposedly "mechanic accents" of the American dime novel. On the contrary, the narrative formulas of penny dreadfuls reinforce rather than subvert existing social and political structures. This reinforcement includes frequent recourse to the antiquated figure of the corrupt and dissolute aristocrat. Cheap sensation fiction in England operated within primarily middle-class ideological constraints. The majority of mid-Victorian penny serials were aimed at working-class juveniles, but they were put out by déclassé publishers whose origins were not infrequently upper-middle class — remote except in youthful radical sympathies

from the "producer culture." They were written anonymously by down-at-heel penny-a-liners who generally came from provincial middle-class families. As in Edwin Brett's case, the proprietors responsible for the stories clearly hoped to achieve status and recognition within the existing social order. Consequently, the principals of low-life dreadfuls are not themselves wage slaves but temporarily impoverished yet "respectable" young men or women, denied their rightful patrimony through the machinations of sinister upper-class figures, with reader identification commonly achieved by the device of placing the hero or heroine unrecognised in an ordinary working-class family. Thus Poor Jack (of *Poor Jack, the London Street Boy*, c. 1880), discovering he has been adopted, leaves home to find his genuine parents among the nobility and embarks on an exemplary career as a crossing-sweeper. " 'There has been many a bright man raised from the gutter, and if I should be one of the fortunate boys who become great I shall have no one to thank but myself,' " Poor Jack says, congratulating himself in advance of his metamorphosis.[7] Smilesian self-help virtues are also positively endorsed in George Emmett's *Charity Joe: or, From Street Boy to Lord Mayor* (c. 1875), as well as in John Bennett's *Life and Career of a London Errand Boy* (c. 1865), in which poor but honest Tom Brown is sent to work for a firm of venal rag merchants in Smithfield.[8] Hence, decent, faintly priggish central characters in low-life serials are invariably compelled by the vagaries of melodramatic plotting to associate themselves with colourful characters in the lower and criminal reaches of London society. Perhaps this reflects the careers of their downwardly mobile "hack" creators, who all too often finished up in cheap lodgings dying of excessive alcohol consumption.

Appendix 8 – Fact sheet: The Great Exhibition

What was the Great Exhibition?

The Great Exhibition in 1851 was the first international exhibition of manufactured products. It was organised by Henry Cole and Prince Albert, and held in a purpose-built Crystal Palace in Hyde Park.

The Exhibition was very popular and had as many as 50,000 visitors per day. It also made a huge profit of £186,000, which was used to buy land to build the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A), the Science and Natural History Museum, and Royal Albert Hall. Many of the objects in the Exhibition were used as the first collection for the South Kensington Museum which opened in 1857, and later became the V&A.

Attitudes towards working-class visitors

The architect who designed the Crystal Palace, Joseph Paxton, wanted admission to be free so that everyone could access the Exhibition for education. Wealthy Lord Granville, however, disagreed with Paxton as he worried that free admission would mean too many "undesirable" people might attend. In the end, admission had to be paid.

Two views of the Great Exhibition

The top image is a painting called 'The Opening of the Great Exhibition by Queen Victoria on 1 May 1851', by Henry Selous (1852). The painting shows the Royal family surrounded by dignitaries, as the Archbishop of Canterbury blesses the Exhibition.

The bottom is a picture from *The Illustrated London News* of working class people arriving on One Shilling Day.

KEY QUESTION: What different experiences of the Great Exhibition do these images show?

One Shilling Day

The Great Exhibition was open to people of all classes, and there were cheap tickets offered at off peak times, for between one and five shillings. The quotation below describes the way in which people of different social classes came to the exhibition:

> "The day of the great folks, and the day of the little folks — the day of the shiny boots, and the day of the ankle jacks with hob-nails — the day of the newest paletot*, and the day of the most primitive smock-frock — the day of vanilla, ices, and wafers, and the day of hunches of crust and lumps of meat and liquid refreshments in small bottles — the day of languid lounging and chatting, and the day of resolute examining and frank amazement — the day of the West-End of London, and the day of all the other ends of the earth." [*The Five Shilling Day at the Exhibition* from *The Illustrated London News* (19 July 1851): 101.]
> * paletot = a smart coat, designed in France

One shilling was still too expensive for some working class people to afford. For instance, the glaziers who fitted the Crystal Palace's 900,000 square feet of glass earnt only four shillings a day. Some working-class people even pawned items, like watches, in order to afford to take the day off work to attend the Exhibition, while a few industrial employers helped pay for the cost of the trip for their employees as a way of promoting their businesses.

The Dignity of Labour

Bishop Samuel Wilberforce wanted the Great Exhibition to promote the "dignity of labour" and thought that the inventions displayed at the exhibition would eventually improve the lives of working class people. His phrase "dignity of labour" was often repeated and became synonymous with efforts to show greater respect to the working class. Wilberforce found an ally in Prince Albert who was President of the Society to Improve the Condition of the Working Classes. This organization built a "Model Dwelling House" **(right)** for working class families and displayed it at the Great Exhibition, to show how they thought working class people should be housed.

Appendix 9 – Wider Reading: The Great Exhibition

Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), Chapter 5, pp. 128-151

Integration and Segregation

JOHN TALLIS, author of one of the many popular guides to the Great Exhibition, claimed that at the Crystal Palace 'all social distinctions were for the moment merged in the general feeling of pride and admiration at the wondrous result of science and labour exhibited in the Palace of Glass. Never before in England had there been so free and general a mixture of classes as under that roof.'[1] Yet Tallis also described how industrialists and factory workers scrutinized the latest machinery, women examined the cloths and handicrafts, and fashionable society virtually ignored the exhibits altogether, preferring instead to remain in the transept of the Crystal Palace 'to see and be seen.'[2] Tallis' comments, which were echoed by many of his contemporaries, encapsulate some of the ways in which the Great Exhibition and the Crystal Palace served both to integrate and to segregate Victorian society along social, regional, occupational, and gender lines. The organizers of the Great Exhibition sought to bring together all sectors of British society under one roof. Yet, at the same time, the arrangement of exhibits, admission prices, patterns of attendance, and latent fears of the working classes reflected and reinforced hierarchies and divisions within Victorian society.

THE COMMISSION AND THE WORKING CLASSES

During the first few days of the exhibition, the Crystal Palace was, according to *The Times*, 'in the hands of the wealthy and the gently and nobly born.'[3] The Royal Commissioners had insured that this would be the case by elaborately structuring the price of admission, which for the first three weeks never fell below five shillings. In mid-May *The Times* reported that whereas the nave was often filled, though not inconveniently so, the 'more remote parts' were not being visited in large numbers, with some areas remaining almost empty throughout the day. All of this changed when the Crystal Palace was thrown open to the shilling visitors on 26 May.

Most people expected the worst. *The Times* cautioned that 'when the masses take possession of the interior it will be well nigh impossible to see anything,' and suggested that those readers with a spare five shillings who wished to see the interior should attend before 'King Mob enters.'[4] The paper expected the five-shilling visitors to stay away after 26 May when 'the aristocratic element retires from the scene' and 'an entirely new class of visitors' appeared, 'a fresh order of spectators.'[5] John Tallis described how 'many an old lady and timorous gentleman anticipated nothing but riot and disorder.'[6] Writers raised the specter of Chartism, revolution, and even famine. The *Economist* was one of the few journals that tried to lessen such fears,

reassuring its readers that visitors would come 'for the enlightened purpose of gaining and imparting instruction and improvement,' and would be, 'as the rule, orderly, well-conducted men, given to run about and see everything that is to be seen, and not given to low debauchery.'[7]

The years that preceded the exhibition were a time of tremendous fear among the middle and upper classes of the working classes. Between the French Revolutions of 1789 and 1848, the tension in Britain between Disraeli's 'Two Nations' was, as one historian has put it, 'almost constantly at the breaking point,' and fear of social crisis or revolution was never absent from the official mind of government.[8] Even liberals such as Thomas Babington Macaulay, who supported Reform in 1832, regarded universal suffrage with 'dread and aversion' because it was 'incompatible with property, and . . . consequently incompatible with civilization.'[9] Moreover, despite the disorganized and divided nature of the Chartist movement, and its political as opposed to social or class orientation, the Charter – essentially a declaration of rights – read like a declaration of revolution.[10] On the heels of the Irish Chartist Feargus O'Connor's election to Parliament in 1847, the commercial crisis following the bad wheat and potato harvests of 1846–7, and the Paris Revolution in February 1848, the propertied classes feared for their state in April 1848. Although the government, remembering the Peterloo massacre of 1819 and the negative consequences of creating martyrs, exercised great restraint in dealing with the Chartist gathering on Kennington Common, the mob in April 1848 – estimated at around 25,000 – produced virtual middle-class hysteria.[11] This fear of the working-class mob was not without its justifications, coming as it did on the heels of more than a century of public disturbances in London and these anxieties led to ambivalent attitudes on the part of the organizers and promoters of the exhibition toward the working classes during the preparations for the Great Exhibition.[12]

Throughout the planning of the exhibition, the Royal Commission also experienced pressures from competing constituencies on the issue of how and to what extent to involve the working classes. In October 1850, soon after construction of the exhibition building began, Charles Dickens expressed to Henry Cole his belief that the commission should not wait three weeks after the opening of the exhibition before allowing the shilling visitors into the Crystal Palace, as was rumored to be the plan. At the same time, however, Granville, who had just returned from the continent, reported to Cole that 'the upper classes abroad thought we should have a revolution in '51.'[13]

The more progressive planners envisioned the exhibition as an opportunity to publicize not only the material progress of the industrial age, but the contributions of industrial workers to these advances. From the outset, Prince Albert, who for years had expressed an interest in the condition of the working classes, and who in 1844 had become President of the Society to Improve the Condition of the Working Classes, acknowledged that their involvement was critical to the success of the exhibition.[14] At his suggestion, Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford, delivered an important address at the first meeting of the Westminster local committee, 'On the Dignity of Labour.' Wilberforce asserted that the exhibition 'sets forth in its true light the dignity of the working classes – and it tends to make other people feel the dignity which attaches to the producers of these things.' He was confident that the many recent mechanical and industrial inventions would help 'ameliorate the condition of the lower classes of the people, and to bring within their reach advantages which had

previously been restricted to the richer grades of society.'[15] Wilberforce used the exhibition to preach what has been called 'the gospel of work.'[16]

A few days after the Westminster meeting, Wilberforce received a letter from Colonel Phipps, Prince Albert's secretary, thanking him for his speech, which Albert considered '*by far the best* that was delivered upon that occasion.' Phipps wrote that Albert intended to have the speech printed for circulation among the working classes, and that he expected 'the dignity of labour' to become 'a proud and valuable watchword,' as indeed it did. Charles Knight employed Wilberforce's phrase in an article in Dickens' *Household Words*, Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley adopted his sentiments in her popular poem 'Honour to Labour,' and the Earl of Carlisle reinforced the overall theme at the third Mansion House dinner, when he proposed his after-dinner toast to 'the working men of the United Kingdom,' who were expected to produce many of the goods on display and who would form a considerable portion of those in attendance at the exhibition.[17]

Albert also decided that a committee, which would include some working men, should be formed to promote the interests of the working classes at the exhibition and to interest them in it. Cole became the secretary of the committee, which Wilberforce agreed to join at Phipps' invitation.[18] Other prominent members of the Central Working Classes Committee (CWCC) included Charles Dickens, Arnold Thackeray, Dr Southwood Smith, Robert Chambers, and John Forster, editor of the *Daily News*. There were several Protestant clergymen, four Members of Parliament, and three former Chartists – Henry Vincent, Francis Place, and William Lovett – as well as the controversial Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, known for his many letters to *The Times* under the initials 'S.G.O.'[19] Among those who declined to serve were John Bright, allegedly because of too many engagements, and Thomas Carlyle, who, while believing that the exhibition would offer 'something useful for the working people,' preferred not to serve on committees.[20] Given the elite composition of the Royal Commission, the CWCC must have appeared quite radical.

[… The Royal Commission, however, ultimately refuse to collaborate with the CWCC…]

the organizers of the exhibition sought to inculcate in the working classes certain values, and included them in the planning only within certain official structures.

The Royal Commission's disavowal of the CWCC also left it without a means of incorporating workers in the preparations. Charles Grey emphasized that the organizers needed to find 'some new machinery' to involve the working classes in the exhibition, as they 'must not be allowed to think . . . that there is any indifference on the part of H.R.H. to their interests.' He added that there was 'no aspect of the exhibition in which Albert took a greater interest.'[40] Robert Peel, who thought that Lord Stanley had been right in refusing to sanction the committee and that it would be imprudent for the commission to retrace its steps, urged that the Royal Commission itself 'should through the local committees take the necessary steps for the protection of the working classes.'[41] This course of action was endorsed by J. A. Lloyd, who had traveled throughout the provinces and had tried to organize working-class support for the exhibition. He warned:

> So long as the co-operation of the working classes is under perfectly manageable control and thoroughly and entirely subordinate to the mayors and local committees, much *kindly* feeling will only result and nothing but good will come of it. But, a very little oversight and a very little mismanagement may cause great mischief and erect into sudden importance a vast power, which may not be reducible again to its proper limits after the exhibition shall have passed away.
>
> Hitherto I have been successful in bringing this impatience for independent action into a proper channel and subordinate to the *apparent* wishes of the mayor and authorities, and consequently within proper bounds. How long such success might last with me, is extremely problematical.[42]

To a considerable degree, this was the course that the commission and the executive committee pursued. They approached the working classes through the medium of the local committees, by sending publicity material to mechanics' institutes, by specifically targeting the workers in their descriptions of the likely benefits of the exhibition and by openly seeking their donations.

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But again it should be emphasized that the royal commissioners were reaching out primarily, in Lloyd's words, to 'the most intelligent and *trustworthy* of the better class of operatives or manufacturers.'[43] They focused not on the 'ragged classes,' but on respectable, articulate, working artisans, what historians have sometimes called the

labor aristocracy, or the artisan elite.[44] The placards they put up in mechanics' institutes, for example, which mentioned the contributions of the exhibition to world peace but dwelled to a far greater extent on its educational aspects – that it would provide workers 'with an unlimited supply of new ideas . . . in the most compressed, compendious, distinct, model-defined and ocular form' – were clearly oriented towards skilled artisans, inventors, entrepreneurs, and manufacturers with small workshops.[45] And in Southampton, when the first subscription list was made public, it listed separately a number of donations – from clerks, draftsmen, workmen, and servants – to illustrate the 'co-operation of [the] working classes.'[46] Obviously these occupations reflect only one segment of those who would have been considered workers.

Nevertheless, some of the local committees went to great lengths to involve workers in their preparations. At a meeting in Aberdeen, those present resolved that a committee of twelve, to be named by the workers in attendance, would be added to the local committee. In Bolton, the local committee created a separate subscription fund called 'The Operative Fund,' to assist artisans in perfecting items for display at the exhibition. And in Leeds the local committee issued an address to the foremen of the mills, requesting that they do their utmost to interest their workers. One result was that John Gott's employees subscribed more than £78, one of many instances in which workers contributed to the Great Exhibition fund.[47] It would be inaccurate, however, to suggest that workers supported the exhibition only because the executive committee and the many local committees convinced them to do so. Sections of the working classes were encouraged to support and attend the exhibition in spite of the organizers' fears, but many others did so of their own accord.[48] The workmen of the Carriage and Harness Manufactory in Derby, for example, 'without solicitation,' reported *The Times* glowingly, subscribed slightly more than £5 to the Derby exhibition fund.[49]

The Industrial Revolution was a gradual process that was by no means complete by 1851, and had produced neither a self-conscious working class nor a homogeneous bourgeoisie by that time.[50] The dominance of handicrafts in the British economy until at least the late nineteenth century was certainly apparent at the Great Exhibition. The very panes of glass used for the Crystal Palace, all 300,000 of them, were blown by hand, and most of the goods on display were the products not of machines, but of craftsmen.[51] Because of the prevalence of artisanal as opposed to large mechanized factory production at the time of the exhibition, it was not uncommon to find a 'community of interest of masters and workers,' as each invested skills – labor, working capital, organizational ability – in a shared enterprise that on many occasions linked them together against aristocrats, merchant capitalists, and financiers. It is important not to view workers' and employers' interests as inherently and inevitably antithetical and oppositional, because they were frequently cooperative and coterminous.[52]

For employers and workers alike, the Great Exhibition offered the promise of a more democratic society as well as the knowledge by which to improve and expand production.

Certain arrangements concerning the working classes, however, were not devolved to the local committees. While the Royal Commission and the executive committee seemed comfortable ceding to the local committees responsibility for generating support (both financial and otherwise), this was not the case with preparing for the influx of workers from the North into London during the exhibition. It made perfect

sense, of course, not to have the provincial local committees making decisions that would affect the metropolis, but this would be too superficial an explanation for why the executive committee retained responsibility for certain aspects of the preparations and not for others. The fact remains that, with memories of Chartism and the Revolutions of 1848 still very much on people's minds, security was a serious and touchy issue. The Royal Commission asked Alexander Redgrave of the Home Office to join Colonel William Reid, chairman of the executive committee, in examining issues relating to the conveyance of the working classes to London, as well as problems that might arise from the influx of working-class visitors from the provinces into London.

Redgrave looked into three issues regarding working-class attendance at the exhibition: inexpensive and convenient transportation to London; 'respectable and reasonable' lodgings while in London; and access to public sights. According to the memorandum he submitted at the end of July, his objective was 'that such arrangements should in themselves conduce to the maintenance of good order and regularity *without the appearance of any ostensible precautions*, and that they should offer such facilities as will induce the working classes to follow, for their own advantage, the course pointed out.'[53] Redgrave was hardly alone in expressing such sentiments. Richard Askrill, author of *The Yorkshire Visitors' Guide to the Great Exhibition* (1851), a twopenny publication directed at the working classes, warned that 'While in London the working classes should not fritter away their time and money in seeing panoramas and shows, and paltry theatres.'[54] Just as certain liberal, reformist, anti-establishment Whigs whose genuine idealism concealed more paternalistic purposes believed, for example, that the British Museum and Westminster Abbey were 'valuable cultural resources' which the government should manage with a view towards social and moral improvement of the working classes, Redgrave and many on the commission saw the exhibition in a similar manner.[55]

Redgrave's report, which he submitted in December 1850, suggested that the Royal Commission should sanction activities for the working classes, provide them with ample means of participating in 'intellectual amusements,' and assist them in 'putting their holiday to good account.' Redgrave anticipated that, while it was the exhibition which would draw working people to London, it would not be the only attraction they would see there. It was in the commission's best interest, then, to offer artisans facilities for gratifying their 'curiosities' that would lessen the likelihood of them being 'led into some of the hundred amusements which will tempt the stranger in London, calculated to excite rather than improve, to debase instead of elevate.' Toward this end, Redgrave recommended that the Royal Commission approach the directors of the British Museum, the National Gallery, the East India Company, Sir John Soane's Museum, Kew Gardens, and the Board of Ordinance for the Tower of London, about opening hours and whether admission fees might be reduced upon

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EXCURSION TRAVEL

One of the most remarkable features of the Great Exhibition was the number of people who attended. There were more than six million paid entrances to the Crystal Palace during the exhibition which, allowing for foreign and repeat visits, may have represented as much as one-fifth of the population of Britain.[58] Almost all of those who did not live in London traveled there via the railways, and this massive movement of people marked the beginning of a revolution in leisure. That so many Britons journeyed to London, and that so many found lodgings while they were there, is a tribute to the organizational efforts of the executive and local committees. But it would be wrong to suggest that their goal was simply to bring as many people as possible to London to see the exhibition. The organizers permitted and emphasized localism and individual initiative, but always within certain general confines. The exhibition's success depended in large part on the number of people who went, but a wariness of workers and crowds and foreigners was always present in the organizers' decisions. Nor were they alone in their fears: The railway directors and the owners of lodging houses were just as skittish about the potential unrest of working-class mobs.

The process of getting to London, at least for many of the working and middle classes who lived outside of the metropolitan area, began with local subscription clubs. These were usually created by the local committees, though private companies and civic organizations also participated. Those wishing to attend the exhibition would join the subscription club nearest to where they lived, and subscribe a small, fixed amount per week, sometimes for up to a year, in order to save enough to make the journey. The money was most commonly invested by the club officers in a local savings bank, together with any donations that wealthier members of the community might have offered. In Liverpool, for example, subscriptions of at least one shilling had to be paid weekly, for a minimum of three months, at either the Savings Bank or one of five District Provident Societies, beginning in January 1851. The club needed a minimum of 250 people, to whom the organizers promised a fare of not more than

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Prominent among those arranging excursions to the Great Exhibition were working men's associations and mechanics' institutes. The membership of these sorts of organizations suggests that those who took advantage of the subscription associations created for the exhibition were predominantly respectable, regularly employed workers and skilled artisans. Through savings banks and friendly societies, many of them had already acquired the idea of regular saving on a small scale.[60] Although there is a seemingly endless debate among historians over how the Industrial Revolution affected living standards, it is clear that by 1851 many skilled workers were able to afford the excursion to London, especially as fares during the summer fell to as low as 5s–10s from the northern manufacturing towns.[61]

The local subscription clubs were of critical importance in helping to ensure the success of the Great Exhibition. Although many working men and women were familiar with, even if not yet accustomed to, day-excursions by rail in 1851, this was emphatically not the case with lengthy journeys across the country, sometimes lasting two full days. Such a prospect must have been more than a little forbidding. John Tod, a Lasswade engineer, traveled by train for almost twenty-four hours with his family to see the exhibition. He wrote, as they approached the Scotland/England border around midnight: 'We are driving like a swallow, over real English soil and breathing pure English air, but thought, where is that noisy steam friend taking me. I am shot through the air with something like the speed of a cannon bullet into a country of which I had seen nothing and knew almost as little, and it is in the dead of night.'[62] The subscription clubs helped overcome these fears by providing information about the journey, lodgings, and meals, and by making many of the necessary arrangements.

For those who did not join subscription clubs there were railway agents, who arranged special package deals for would-be excursionists. Thomas Cook was the most famous of these, and he and his son traveled indefatigably through the towns of Yorkshire and the Midlands, publicizing his excursions in conjunction with the Midland Railway. One of his most successful tactics was to engage bands to play outside mills and factories on Saturday nights to attract the attention of recently paid workers, to whom Cook would then sell tickets. He also arranged lodgings.[63] In all likelihood Cook was inspired not only by a desire to make money, but also by Albert's idealism. He told his prospective excursionists that they should regard the exhibition 'not as a show or a place of amusement, but [as] a great school of science, of art, of industry, of peace and universal brotherhood.'[64] The exhibition may also have appealed to Cook, a former Baptist preacher who believed fervently in temperance, at least in part because all intoxicating liquors were banned from the Crystal Palace.[65] By the time the exhibition closed, he had been responsible for sending 165,000 people to London on the Midland Railway, or some 3 percent of the total who went to the exhibition.[66]

ADMISSION PRICES

Fears of the working classes were especially obvious in the deliberations over how to structure the price of tickets for admission to the Great Exhibition. As John Tallis succinctly put it at the time, no doubt with considerable understatement, admission prices were fixed with 'a good deal of discussion.'[98] The Royal Commission again faced pressure from many different quarters, and was itself probably divided. Both Dickens and Macaulay favored letting in the shilling visitors as soon as possible, even on the opening day, but Francis Fuller reported to Granville a 'growing feeling in the minds of the gentry, bankers, merchants and first class tradesmen that without some security in the shape of high prices of admission on certain days the crowds will be so tremendous as to render the discomfort – if not the danger – extremely great. The ladies also are unanimous on this point.'[99] Most of those consulted by the commission or the executive committee proposed a multi-tiered structuring of admission fees starting at one shilling.

Joseph Paxton threw the discussion over admission prices into disarray when, on 23 January 1851, timed perfectly to coincide with the commission's meeting on this very subject, he proposed in an open letter to Lord John Russell in *The Times* that there be free admission. He argued that it would be more 'practicable . . . and more in harmony with the enlarged and enlightened purpose of the exhibition,' and suggested that admission be charged for the first two weeks, and that one day a week after that (Wednesdays) 'be reserved for the higher classes . . . who may prefer to pay for the exclusive privilege of admission, rather than encounter the inconvenience of a crowd.' He advocated making up the deficit with a Parliamentary grant, which he thought would be a small price to pay given that, in his estimation, the exhibition would produce some £2 million in revenue for the nation.[100]

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The editor of *The Times*, however, no doubt knowing that a suggestion such as this from a folk hero like Paxton would greatly embarrass the Royal Commissioners, informed the commission of Paxton's letter before publishing it. Granville retorted to Gray, 'Paxton's head has been turned by the events of the last six months, and it is not surprising that they should have had that effect upon a self-educated man.' If ever proof was needed of the limits of social mobility in mid-Victorian England, Granville's deprecating comment should provide it. With time of the essence, Granville and the editor of *The Times* arranged matters so that the edition containing Paxton's letter also included an editorial calling it impractical, and potentially too dangerous, to provide free admission.[101]

This was a debate, then, between two very different visions of the exhibition, the nation, and the nature and purpose of government. Paxton, eager to include the working-classes, saw the admission fee as a tax on knowledge, affecting those who wished to partake of the 'beneficial influence' of the exhibition. To charge people

THE POUND AND THE SHILLING.

"Whoever Thought of Meeting You Here?"

Although there had been some mingling of the classes at various festivals prior to 1851, in a society characterized for centuries by social segregation the Great Exhibition became one of the few occasions and places – and a form of social space – where all classes could coexist. The *Economist* referred to 'all classes meeting and sharing a common enjoyment.'[155] Everyone could exhibit, from the Queen to the poorest quilt-maker. Moreover, the classes began to see themselves as related and interdependent. Farmers and merchants might be at odds over national economic policy, but popular songs such as 'Trade and Spade' recognized their mutual dependence.[156] The factory owner and the consumer alike were beginning to recognize the value of skilled labor in producing the wealth of the nation.

Not that observers had any trouble categorizing those in attendance by either manners or appearance. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which published a book on *The Industry of Nations, as exemplified in the Great Exhibition of 1851*, observed that the various classes and groups of people could be 'recognized without difficulty,' the Londoners distinguishable by their fine clothes and pale skin, the visitors from the country by their 'ruggy health' and expressions of amazement at the wonders of the world.[157] *The Times* referred to those with 'humble dress and faces brown with exposure to the sun, and hands blackened by toil.'[158] And the American Benjamin Silliman was able to pick out the working classes, not only by their appearance, which he wrote was tidy and plain, but by their manners, which he thought were less deferential than they had been at other times.[159] By bringing the classes into closer proximity, the Crystal Palace also reinforced and made more apparent class differences.

Not surprisingly, people differed in their perceptions of the differences between the classes. Most observers were amazed at how well behaved the lower classes were, and how little crime there was at the exhibition, sharing the view of *The Times*, which described the masses as 'well dressed, orderly and sedate, earnestly engaged in examining all that interests them, not quarrelsome or obstinate, but playing with manifest propriety and good temperament the important part assigned to them at this gathering.'[160] On the other hand, Gideon Mantell, a crotchety old surgeon and geologist, was extremely deprecating of the lower orders after attending the exhibition on 8 October:

> Went again to the exhibition; the crowd tremendous; at the time I entered 97,000 [*sic*] persons were in the building: in the course of the day nearly 110,000 – one hundred and ten thousand! Vulgar, ignorant, country people: many dirty women with their infants were sitting on the seats giving suck with their breasts uncovered, beneath the lovely female figures of the sculptor. Oh! how I wished I had the power to petrify the living, and animate the marble.[161]

During the last week of the exhibition when there was an enormous last-minute rush to attend, the working classes invaded the nave, previously the refuge of respectable society, and sat at the edge of Osler's crystal fountain to eat their picnic lunches and nurse their babies.[162] *Punch* mocked this affront to bourgeois sensibilities with the line, 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin!' in its cartoon, 'Dinner-Time in the Crystal Palace' (fig. 47).[163] There were separate spaces for different classes, but the Great Exhibition also forced the classes into unprecedented degrees of proximity to one another. Nevertheless, even together, the classes were still different, and prejudices were deeply rooted.

John Tallis even perceived a difference in the way the classes looked at exhibits, between the five-shilling visitors who were leisured, almost uninterested, and the shilling visitors, rushing about and attentive.[164] The classes may have mingled and mixed, but in a fundamental way they remained separate. He speculated that for the great number of people in the nave, as opposed to the galleries, the aesthetics of the place were the chief attraction: 'To these it was first and foremost a lounge and a panorama.' These people supposedly cared little for the details which occurred beyond the reach of the eye, and which did not form a striking part of the 'spectacle' – his word. But the visitors from the country, from the workshops and the farms, seemed to have a different object, or purpose, in mind. Appearing to Tallis to be less sensitive to the grace and beauty of the building and the statues in the nave, they set themselves more resolutely to study the particular exhibits which for them had practical interest.[165] One consequence of the influx of shilling visitors was that the more remote areas of the Crystal Palace received attention, not so much because the nave was crowded, *The Times* speculated, but because the working classes were more interested in exhibits of machinery and manufactures than the finery in the nave.[166] As *Punch* derisively commented:

> The 'superior classes' must begin to look about them, if they would retain the epithet assigned to them; for there is no doubt which class has shown itself to be the superior, in the view taken of the Great Exhibition.
>
> The high-paying portion of the public go to look at each other, and to be looked at, while the shilling visitors go to gain instruction from what they see; and the result is, they are far better behaved than the well-dressed promenaders who push each other about, and stare each other out of countenance on the days of the high price of admission.[167]

Punch should not always be taken entirely at face value, but the picture that emerges is that in the Crystal Palace the classes kept to themselves and behaved differently from one another, despite the fact that they were all mixing under one roof.

At any museum or exhibition, people always look at what interests them most. The fact that a Victorian industrial worker concentrated on different exhibits than a well-to-do London banker revealed class differences as well as differences in personal preferences, occupation, religion, or location of residence. Each class, and every group, found its own space within the Crystal Palace. The Devonshire farmer, perhaps impatient with the Medieval Court or the marble statues, was seen diligently studying the latest hints and improvements in ploughs and spades. The Lancashire mechanic was observed looking intently at the new inventions exhibited by London machinists. And, of course, the upper classes congregated in the nave to see and be seen, surrounded by the statues and the Koh-i-noor Diamond and the fine arts, as far away from industry and the masses as they could be.[168] Space within the Crystal Palace was also divided along gender lines, with areas apparently of more interest for men such as the agricultural machinery, and others seemingly more attractive for women, such as the bolts of cloth (figs 48 and 49).[169]

What all of this suggests is that the Great Exhibition contained something for everyone, but not the same thing. Different classes went to the Great Exhibition for different reasons, to see different things, and, as a consequence, carved out different spaces for themselves within the building. Most people at the time were amazed that

Notes

How did the Victorians have fun?

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