Off the Rails: The Influence of the British Railway on Nineteenth-Century Publishing

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Abstract

This paper examines two copies of *The Fortunes of Nigel* by Sir Walter Scott, exploring the novel's transformation from a three-volume book published by Archibald Constable & Co. in Edinburgh in 1822 to a cheap yellowback published by James Campbell & Son in Toronto in 1866. By investigating the history of the spaces in which such three-volume novels and yellowbacks would have been purchased and read, while simultaneously considering the material qualities of these formats, it is possible to make clear connections between Victorian railway culture and the contemporary literary world. These books stand as material evidence of the far-reaching impact of the railway on nineteenth-century book publishing.

Keywords: Yellowback, Sir Walter Scott, Book History, Publishing, Railway, Victorian

We begin in Edinburgh, 1822, where Archibald Constable & Co. have just published *The Fortunes of Nigel*,¹ a novel written in three volumes by the same anonymous author of two other extremely popular works of fiction, *Waverley* and *Kenilworth*. Constable is a publisher and bookseller with a solid reputation, being a renowned dealer of rare books and the sole publisher of Sir Walter Scott. Scott's histories and romances are prominently advertised at the end of *The Fortunes of Nigel*, alongside many other anonymous works of fiction, like *Waverley*, which would eventually also come to be identified as his work.² Constable's books are of the highest literary and physical quality, and, similarly, his bookshop is a space where the highest quality of men—those of means and leisure—are eager to spend their time. Those who buy from Constable are of “an enlightened and superior order,” according to a contemporary writing in William and Robert Chambers' journal, *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* (Chambers, 1874, p. 194). Constable himself is described as a man “of gentlemanly aspect,” and he has the distinction of being considered “the leading publisher in Scotland” (Chambers, 1874, p. 193).

Now, let us move to Toronto. Forty-four years after the first publication of *The Fortunes of Nigel*, a cheap, single-volume copy of *The Fortunes of Nigel* is published by James Campbell & Son as part of a series of books by Sir Walter Scott,³ now long-recognized as the author of the *Waverley* novels. Campbell is the largest wholesale bookdealer and publisher in Toronto, and he is known for the high-quality books that he sells (Gundy, 1967, p. 183). This book, though, while a literary classic, is in its physical form a cheap yellowback novel. It is printed on thin paper in a small typeface and wrapped in brightly coloured paper covers, prominently featuring a printed portrait of Scott. It is fragile and distinct, a style of book that developed with the spread of industrialization, rising literacy rates, and the growth of railway culture in Britain. It is a cheap book, designed primarily for sale at railway bookstalls.

So now, we must ask: how did such a book, by such a venerated author, come to change its physical form so drastically? Why would such a cheap format be promoted by a respected publisher? Furthermore, we must ask why such a book, designed for British railway travel, was produced and sold in Canada. At the time of its publication in 1866, the peak of Canadian railway culture and the beginning of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was still

1 Scott, W. (1822). *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co. The copy referenced in this paper was accessed at the Fisher Library, University of Toronto: Walter Scott.S42 F72 1822.

2 These anonymous fictions, alongside *The Fortunes of Nigel*, would be identified as the work of Sir Walter Scott five years later. Because fiction was not a particularly respected literary artform at the time, Scott did not want to associate his name with his novels when they were first written. Ironically, they contributed significantly to his celebration as a classic author by Victorian society later in the century, and they were republished under his name as “Author's Editions” of the works. For more on this subject, see Vega, C. (January 9, 2011). Anonymous Scott. Retrieved from <https://www.themorgan.org/blog/anonymous-scott>.

3 Scott, W. (1866). *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Toronto: James Campbell & Son. The copy referenced in this paper was accessed at the Robertson Davies Library, Massey College, University of Toronto: McLean Y 0061.

fifteen years away; railway culture in Toronto was in its infancy.⁴ The demand for this particular cheap, portable, and disposable book format, let alone its intensely British paratextual elements, including advertisements from London retailers, did not exist in Canada.

The transformation of *The Fortunes of Nigel*, from its initial form as a three-volume novel published by Archibald Constable & Co. in Edinburgh to a cheap yellowback published by James Campbell & Son in Toronto, stands as material evidence of the far-reaching impact of the railway on nineteenth-century book publishing. The technological and socioeconomic changes that began in Britain and grew in the liminal and transformative spaces of the railway station and the railway bookstall were reflected in the rise of the yellowback novel. It was a format that appealed to all classes and all readers and once established, became, as American editor Charles Norton predicted in 1852, a “decidedly definite branch of the book trade” (as cited in Kilton, 1982, p. 39) appearing all over the English-speaking world. By investigating the history of the spaces in which such three-volume novels and yellowbacks would have been purchased and read, while simultaneously considering the material qualities of these formats, it is possible to trace a clear trajectory of Victorian railway culture and note its lasting impact on the literary world. It was in the same shared space of railway bookstalls that the high and low literary works published in fine and cheap formats were brought together for all classes of readers. Publishers and booksellers pursued the production and sale of lucrative, one-volume books in these spaces, capitalizing on the new reading demands of travellers and commuters from all walks of life. As a result, the British railway came to shape book production on such a scale that, ultimately, the yellowbacks that were initially produced for railway consumption came to appear in places that had yet to develop a strong railway culture. This is how a British novel like *The Fortunes of Nigel* came to be printed as a yellowback—a British book form—in Toronto. The yellowback format was copied and quite literally carried overseas as the very same pages used by British publishers were shared by those in Canada. The yellowback edition of *The Fortunes of Nigel* is thus a liminal object, simultaneously embodying the fluid literary form of the British railway novel and the weightier form of a classic novel produced for Canadian readers. It represents the transformative and ever-shifting influence of the railway on nineteenth-century publishing.

In the early years of the 1800s, the three-volume novel reigned supreme. Such books were not cheap: they were only accessible to those with a disposable income or, by the midpoint of the century, to those with the means to buy a membership to a subscription library, like Mudie’s Select Library, which offered a subscription rate of one guinea per annum (Colclough, 2016, p. 31). Publishers and booksellers who dealt in these books, like Archibald Constable, were men of high repute. As an apprentice in the bookselling industry remarked about a visit to Constable’s bookshop, “I could not but feel the importance of ‘doing business’ at this marvellous emporium.

4 See more in Toronto Railway Historical Association, retrieved from <https://www.trha.ca/history.html>.

[...] I had again and again been reminded that I could do no better than follow the example of Archibald Constable” (Chambers, 1874, p. 193). Much of this reputation was built on Constable’s publishing of Sir Walter Scott’s works and the Waverley novels, in which *The Fortunes of Nigel* is included. This apprentice remarked that Constable’s shop “became peculiarly impressive on the issue of Waverley, in three volumes, when time after time I was despatched to procure fresh quantities to meet an insatiable public demand” (Chambers, 1874, p. 193).

Constable’s own reputation was matched by those of his patrons. Those who visited Constable’s bookshop regularly, booksellers aside, were of a wealthy social standing, with time and leisure to spare. As this same apprentice notes,

Booksellers’ shops about the cross were places of daily lounge for all who aspired to literary tastes, and had some leisure to spare on gossip about things in general. These shops answered the purpose of clubs. A lounge with little to do, would probably spend an hour or so [there. ...] A pleasant way of spending existence was that lounging about book-shops, to which the keepers of these establishments had no objection; for in these days things were taken very easily. [...] The hangers-on at Constable’s were usually of an enlightened superior order, such as wealthy country lairds on the scent for curious old books, town clergymen, professors in the university, lawyers in high practice, antiquaries, and artists. (Chambers, 1874, p. 194)

These well-to-do and professional men, too distinguished to handle cash, often made their purchases with bills, promising to honour their transactions with funds at a later date.

“Edinburgh booksellers seldom settled accounts with actual coin,” reflected the apprentice (Chambers, 1874, p. 196) many years later, and as a result, Constable and other affiliated publishers and booksellers would suffer financially by the mid-1820s when unpaid debts had accumulated into large sums. This decline was in part responsible for the later republishing of the Waverley novels, to which Scott finally attached his name as author; they were an attempt to generate greater funds for the author, printer, and publisher.⁵

Mid-century publishers consequently sought new ways to turn profits in an effort to avoid similar financial crashes, and they looked for new markets. Opportunities developed as literacy rates rose with the growing middle classes at the height of the industrial era; reading became a pastime for all social classes, and materials that appealed to all levels of society at all price points were suddenly in demand. Contemporaneous was the rise of railway travel. As railways connected Britain and spurred on industrialization and urbanization, travel for work and leisure became a part of British culture. Upper, middle, and working classes all travelled by train, and railway stations became new social spaces with undefined rules of etiquette and malleable

5 More about these complex publishing relationships can be found in Millgate, J. (1994). Making it new: Scott, Constable, Ballantyne, and the publication of Ivanhoe. *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 34(4), 795-811. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/450871>

modes of social navigation, at least for a time. As Orvar Löfgren (2008) writes in his historical ethnographic study of European train travellers,

[T]he first generations of rail travellers had to develop new skills for keeping distances, marking territories or making contact that today are taken for granted. We know how to create our own private space in a crowded bus or on an overbooked flight or how to approach a stranger, making polite conversation. [...] In the pioneer period of British railway travel there were many complaints from people who were drawn into confrontations with “unsuitable” fellow passengers. (pp. 342-343)

One solution to this problem, highlighted by Löfgren (2008), comes from *The Rail Traveller's Handy Book* from 1862, which suggested that reading while travelling was an “excellent weapon of defence against bores” (p. 343). Indeed, as train travel became increasingly normalized, even women, who, according to Yan (2017) were regularly discouraged from acts of unsupervised reading, were encouraged to have reading material with them while travelling in order to deter unwanted male attention (Rooney, 2018). Publishers and booksellers consequently had a new market waiting for them: travellers of all classes found themselves in need of reading material when travelling by train.

These new readers had very specific needs regarding their reading material: the books that they purchased for railway travel needed to be portable, affordable and fairly disposable (in the event that the book might be lost in transit), and entertaining. While reading conditions on trains varied among social classes in different compartments, what remained true for all was that serious reading could be hard to manage in a jostling train environment. As Stephen Colclough (2004) notes, “In the 1850s and 1860s reading on the train was uncomfortable: rugs and wrappers were essential in winter as heating was often not provided; lighting was supplied only in first- and second-class carriages, usually by a single oil lamp” (p. 43). Railway readers were engaging with their texts under much different conditions than readers did in more traditional reading spaces, like the library or study within the home. They did not have the opportunity to comfortably lounge with their books as those who frequented Constable's book shop might have had with their three-volume sets.

Booksellers quickly took advantage of what they realized was a new retail space with new demands for reading material. Railway bookstalls were established in Britain as early as 1848, as noted in Glasgow's (2002) history of circulating libraries, with the set-up of the first W. H. Smith & Son's bookstall selling cheap reprints and single-volume yellowback novels to travellers. As Colclough (2004) notes, “Smith's preference for the single-volume novel, which was easier to transport and more suited to reading on the move than the tripledecker, encouraged publishers to move into the production of ‘yellowbacks’” (p. 27). Publishers like Simms & McIntyre and, soon after, Routledge, were encouraged by Smith's sales of these books, and they produced many

cheaply made books of this more portable, one-volume format through the 1850s (Rooney, 2018). These books, called yellowbacks for their frequent use of yellow-tinted cover papers (so-coloured because they would not dirty in transit as easily as white paper), were initially often reprints of popular novels, featuring bright and eye-catching illustrations wrapped around cardboard covers.

Such books were designed to stand out, as they were often crowded together in the space of the bookstall and competing with other necessary items for travel. Not only were such books being sold alongside other books, newspapers, and periodicals, but as Colclough (2004) points out, they were also situated next to “playing-cards, stationery, and travelling rugs and wrappers” (p. 43) on tables crowded with advertisements. These items ranged in price to suit all manner of traveller. As described in the *Saturday Review* in January of 1857, the stock of W. H. Smith’s bookstalls was divisible into “two great classes of dear and cheap,” divided on the point of “two shillings or half-a-crown [2s 6d],” with the majority of the books sold at the bookstall falling into the cheaper class (as cited in Colclough, 2004, p. 43).

As the yellowback grew in popularity, publishers continued to capitalize on the railway reading market by producing new material in even cheaper formats that were exclusively intended for entertainment and consisted largely of escapist reading. This led to the rise of the sixpenny paperback and the “shilling shocker,” with sensation fiction of an often formulaic (and frequently unsavory) nature dominating the market. As Rooney (2018) writes of such fiction series sold at railway bookstalls, their formulaic qualities in both plot (following a particular structure with sensational, page-turning qualities) and in physical format (displaying similar, brightly coloured covers that promised a story of intrigue) made it easy for travelling readers to find material that suited their needs for entertainment. Furthermore, “the convenience and promise of reliability that a familiar and well-known collection offered coupled with judicious use of discernible visual and verbal paratextual cues previewing the books’ promised reading experience were key parts of this cultural consumption” (Rooney, 2018, p. 144).

Despite its popularity, the moral impact of such reading material was questioned by members of the upper-class Victorian society, who were concerned by the effects that cheap literature might have on the working classes and “weaker-minded” members of society like women and children. In order for publishers to preserve their reputations and sustain loyal readerships, many continued to produce reprints of established and classic novelists alongside lighter, more sensational fare. Routledge, for instance, promoted reprints of authors like Jane Austen, Charles Dickens, and Thackeray alongside the more sensational books produced in its Detective Series (Rooney, 2018). It also maintained a catalogue that drew attention to a particular series of books by Sir Walter Scott, which, Rooney (2018) notes, “would further affirm the venture’s credentials as a repository of some major names in nineteenth-century writing” (p.

97). By the mid-nineteenth century, the motivations for publishing such authors were not only profit-searching, but reputation-saving.

With this history in mind, it is clear that a book such as *The Fortunes of Nigel*, sold in Archibald Constable's bookshop in 1822 as an anonymously authored three-volume novel, would have been marketed to a very different sort of reader and designed for a very different sort of reading environment than that same book published in a yellowback format. The two books carry a very different cultural cachet. This is obvious when one examines the physical qualities of these two books. Immediately, the bright paper cover of the yellowback distinguishes it from the more subdued and often luxurious custom binding that would have bound the three-volume novel (see Appendix, Figure 1). Furthermore, while the three-volume novel is printed in a comfortable twelve-point typeface, the yellowback, containing the same amount of text condensed into one volume, is printed in a much smaller typeface, gathered into columns, like newsprint (Figure 2)—a format that was typical of many similar yellowbacks produced at this time (Figure 3).

As if in response to anticipated comments regarding the yellowback's cheapness of production, Campbell goes to great lengths to declare on the inside of the front cover that this book is "Very handsomely printed from New Type—remarkably clear and readable—on good Paper, made specially for 'Campbell's Edition,' and bound in Illustrated Cover" (as cited in Scott, 1866). The prominent listing of Sir Walter Scott as the novel's author further seems to declare its quality, in line with other publishers' contemporary series of classic nineteenth century authors. No such declarations or claims of authorship are made in the three-volume novel printed by Constable. In the case of his three-volume novel, its material and literary quality is intended to be self-evident.

Apart from the yellowback's cheapness of production, its more portable size and use of lightweight materials also speak to the range of environments in which it might have been read. It resembles a present-day paperback, and it could have been slipped into a bag or a traveller's coat pocket far more easily than even a single volume from Constable's weighty, hard-covered three-volume set. Furthermore, while Constable's three-volume novel advertises other notable books in his catalogue at the end of volume three, Campbell's yellowback contains advertisements for the two other books in the published series and a variety of other products. These end-page advertisements include, among others, entries selling patterns for brooches and other jewellery, metallic pens, furniture, cherry toothpaste, and hair dye (Figures 4-6). This indicates that the yellowback was being sold in a very different market—one in which various commodities, of which books are only just one, were sold side by side. Its physical make-up speaks to the new hybrid environment in which it existed, suggesting the liminal spaces in which it was bought, sold, and read.

This transformation of *The Fortunes of Nigel* from a three-volume novel to a yellowback already speaks to the importance of the British railway on the publishing industry, but this investigation is incomplete until one considers the full identity of this book. While it takes the form of a British yellowback, as described above, it is important to remember that this particular book was published by Campbell & Son, a Canadian publisher. In this context, the odd assortment of goods listed in its end pages becomes odder still upon closer analysis: all of the businesses selling their wares in the end pages of Campbell's *The Fortunes of Nigel* are from London, even though the book itself is from Toronto. Perhaps strangest and most jarring is the advertisement for the Covent Garden Theatre's "New Comic Christmas Pantomime" on December 26, 1866 (Figure 7)—an event that Canadians would not be able to attend unless they already had extended and expensive plans to sail across the ocean to Britain for the holiday season.

A closer look at the title page reveals that this book was simultaneously published in both Toronto and in London. The Canadian publisher was James Campbell, and the British publisher was John Camden Hotten—both names being listed together on the inside of the cover, attached to their respective locations (Figure 8). John Camden Hotten was a mid-century publisher whose publishing house was later acquired by Chatto & Windus; they themselves were known for producing many yellowbacks sold at railway stalls like those run by W. H. Smith & Son (Rooney, 2018). James Campbell and Son, in comparison, was the largest book wholesaler and publisher in Toronto through the 1860s and 1870s. As described by H. Pearson Gundy (1967) in the *Literary History of Canada*, Campbell had a contract with the Department of Education as a supplier of Canadian schoolbooks; he also published a number of religious books, travel books, and, occasionally, poetry. He had a reputation for publishing high-quality material, and his books "were neat, well-printed volumes, superior in format and presswork to the average book published in Canada at the time" (Gundy, 1967, p. 183).

A British yellowback novel seems out of place in the list of a Canadian publisher known for producing material that was "superior" to that produced by other contemporary publishing houses, until one considers the fact that James Campbell considered himself to be more of a bookseller than a book publisher, according to Corman (1975). He was the Canadian agent for many British publishers, noted in the 1860 edition of the Annual Report of the Board of Trade as selling books on behalf of "Nelson & Sons, [...] Darton, Ward & Lock, Dean's, with many others" (Corman, 1975, p. 23). Many of these publishers, particularly Ward & Lock, were the same British publishers that were producing yellowback novels of the sort being sold at British railway bookstalls (Colclough, 2004; Rooney, 2018). In fact, books by Ward & Lock formed the bulk of materials sold by W. H. Smith & Son's alongside those produced by Chatto & Windus—many of which, earlier, would have been published by John Camden Hotten (Rooney, 2018).

By 1866, when this yellowback copy of *The Fortunes of Nigel* was published, it is feasible that it was published through Campbell's acting as the Canadian agent for Hotten. Likely, the sheets for *The Fortunes of Nigel* were printed in Britain by Hotten, and then shipped to Canada, where they were bound and sold under Campbell's name. Apart from the title page, which is the only part of the book bearing Campbell's name alone, the books were likely identical, explaining the indiscriminate inclusion of British advertisements in a Canadian book: these were the same ads that would have appeared in the end pages of Hotten's copies of the novel in London.

By 1866, the format of the single-volume yellowback novel was thus already so well-established in the British marketplace that it travelled overseas to Canada, despite Canada's not having a similarly established railway culture in which these books could be sold and read. This trend was visible in America at the time, too, where "railroad literature" of a cheap, single-volume format was increasingly popular and quickly becoming a "decidedly definite branch of the book trade" (Kilton, 1982, p. 39). Regardless of geographical circumstance, the yellowback book was being produced and sold across the English-speaking world; the format designed for British railway travellers had become a standard format in book publishing.

Campbell's *The Fortunes of Nigel* thus speaks to the pervasiveness of the British yellowback form, literally being shipped overseas to Canada, advertisements and all, to a city only just beginning to develop a railway culture. There was no reason for such a book to exist in Toronto at the time; it was only the influence of the British railway on the publishing industry that led to the proliferation of the yellowback format in all markets, and the proliferation of this particular book in Toronto. This book thus has a liminal identity all its own: it is both a British and a Canadian publication, cheap yet respectable, designed for travel yet sold in a city that was only just beginning to establish itself as a railway hub.

Consequently, it is clear that the British railway and the railway bookstall had a far-reaching impact on nineteenth century publishing trends. The cheap and eye-catching physical format designed to satisfy the needs of British railway travellers of all classes became so useful and generated profits that were so significant that the yellowback format transcended the space of the British railway to appear in other markets. By the end of the nineteenth century, the three-volume novel had so declined in popularity that new literary works were often first published in such single-volume formats (Rooney, 2018). These were the precursors to the Penguin paperbacks in the twentieth century.

While, in one sense, the three-volume edition of *The Fortunes of Nigel* printed by Archibald Constable in 1822 and the single-volume yellowback published by James Campbell in 1866 are the same book, insofar as they contain the same story,⁶ they are consequently also two

6 They contain the same main narrative, but it is interesting to note that Campbell's yellowback does not contain the "Introductory Epistle" that prefaces Constable's three-volume novel. This "Introductory Epistle" is a fictionalized letter from "Captain Clutterbuck" to the "Rev. Dr Dryasdust," describing the former's conversation with the anonymous Author of Waverley. The epistle was likely removed from the yellowback because its meaning depended upon the author's anonymous identity; by 1866, it was well

very different books. They embody the shift in nineteenth century publishing that accompanied the rise of the railway, and their physical differences highlight the shifting desires of nineteenth century readers for cheap, portable, and entertaining literature. Reading fiction, and fiction by Sir Walter Scott no less, was no longer the domain of only the “superior sort” of gentleman who frequented intellectual and elitist bookshops like Constable’s, paying only with credit. By the mid-1800s, anyone with a small bit of money to spare could read this work, or another like it, and they would often choose to do so by selecting it from among many others in a crowded and noisy railway station. Railway bookstalls encouraged the rapid and unending consumption of books for readers of all classes in search of literature of all varieties. The profits from such single-volume yellowbacks in these mixed literary environments encouraged the production of similar books across Britain, and, evidently, across the Atlantic in both Canada and America. The railway shaped not only the physical landscape, but also the publishing landscape of the nineteenth century. Its effects linger today in the form of cheap paperback novels of both thrilling and classic varieties that can often be found for sale at train station and airport gift shops. The travelling and commuting culture established in the nineteenth century continues on, and the influence of the yellowback and its travelling readership carries forward into the lives of daily travellers who now find themselves always with a book, ebook, or audiobook at hand.

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Appendix A

Figure 1: The front cover of Campbell's yellowback edition of *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Accessed at the Robertson Davies Library, Massey College, University of Toronto: McLean Y 0061.

Figure 2: The two-column interior formatting of the interior of Campbell's yellowback edition of *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Figure 3: Two-column interior formatting in George Routledge & Sons' yellowback edition of Sir Walter Scott's *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, circa 1877-1880. Accessed at the Robertson Davies Library, Massey College, University of Toronto: McLean Y 0062.

Figure 4: Advertisements from the Florence Sewing Machine Company and Dewdney, Manufacturing Goldsmith and Jeweller, in the end pages of Campbell's *The Fortunes of Nigel*.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

*Gravity is the soul of wit. The venerable feed's a decided hit :
Old tools at any price are dear, When new and improved ones appear*

N.B. If you think this a pun!

Also daily illustrations from

FLORENCE PUZZLES.

The answer to first contains 12 words; second, 13 words. They are designed to forcibly illustrate the great mechanical and scientific improvements of the age.
If you cannot solve them (after you have tried),
Call for the keys at 97, Cheapside.

Where the Public are cordially invited to examine the FLORENCE, the Company feeling confident that no Sewing Machine so perfect has hitherto appeared as a candidate for public favour. It will Hem, Fell, Tuck, Bind, Braid, Cord, Quilt; gather a Frill and sew it on Band at same time; and execute in a superior manner all kinds of Sewing ever required in a Family. Makes four different Stitches, has patent reversible-feed motion, fastens off its seam without stopping. No other Machine has these late Improvements, for which a Gold Medal was awarded by the Committee on Sewing Machines, at the late Exhibition of the American Institute (in competition with every well-known Machine), held at New York, 1865.

Copy of the Committee's Report and Prospectus, with Sample of Work, post free. Agents Wanted. Address:

Florence Sewing Machine Company,
97, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON,
AND AT
19 & 21, BLACKFRIARS STREET,
MANCHESTER.

Before you have your Likeness taken, send for
DEWDNEY'S PATTERNS
OF
BROOCHES, LOCKETS, BRACELETS, &c.,
WHICH ARE SENT POST FREE.
REGISTERED REVOLVING BROOCHES
In Solid Gold, to show either Likeness or Hair, at pleasure of Wearer, from 25s.
each. Lockets from 10s.

DEWDNEY, Manufacturing Goldsmith and Jeweller,
172, FENCHURCH STREET, LONDON.

Figure 5: Advertisement from the “metallic penmaker to the Queen,” Joseph Gillott, in the end pages of Campbell’s *The Fortunes of Nigel*.

BY ROYAL COMMAND.

METALLIC PENMAKER TO THE QUEEN.

VICTORIA WORKS, BIRMINGHAM.

JOSEPH GILLOTT

Respectfully directs the attention of the Commercial Public, and of all who use Steel Pens, to the incomparable excellence of his productions, which, for **QUALITY OF MATERIAL, EASY ACTION, and GREAT DURABILITY**, will ensure universal preference.

Every Packet bears the Facsimile of his Signature—

They can be obtained, Retail, of every Dealer in the World.

WHOLESALE:

AT THE WORKS, GRAHAM STREET, BIRMINGHAM;
AND AT THE BRANCH ESTABLISHMENTS:

91, JOHN STREET, NEW YORK;
AND
37, GRACECHURCH STREET, LONDON, E.C.

Figure 6: Advertisements for J. Maple & Co.’s First Class Furniture and John Gosnell & Co.’s cherry toothpaste and Agua Amarella hair dye in the end pages of Campbell’s *The Fortunes of Nigel*.

INIMITABLE FUNI
600 pages, cloth elegant, 2s. 6d.
BY ROYAL **ROLLERIES:**
the best American Barometers.
In Introduction by
METALLIC PENMAKER, JUSTUS SALA.
PATER-NOSTER ROW.

VICTORIA WORKS, BIRMINGHAM.

JOSEPH GILLOTT
Respectfully directs the attention of all who use Steel Pens, to the incomparable excellence of his productions, which, for **QUALITY OF MATERIAL, EASY ACTION, and GREAT DURABILITY**, will ensure universal preference.

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Figure 7: Advertisement for the Covent Garden Theatre's Christmas pantomime in the end pages of Campbell's *The Fortunes of Nigel*.

Figure 8: The inside of the cover and the title page of Campbell's yellowback edition of *The Fortunes of Nigel*.