

IMPERIAL DECADENCE: THE MAKING OF THE MYTHS IN EDWARD BULWER-LYTTON'S *THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII*

By William St Clair and Annika Bautz

There is no Past, so long as Books shall live!
A disinterr'd Pompeii wakes again . . .
—Edward Bulwer-Lytton, “The Souls of Books” (1893)

I. The Last Days in its Cultural Contexts

EVER SINCE THE DISCOVERY IN 1749 of the remains of Pompeii, destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE, the excavations have yielded rich materials for understanding the daily life of the Roman Empire. They also featured as themes in contemporary European design, art, and music, including opera. In the nineteenth century, previously diverse elements were unified into a romantic mythic narrative, fixed in material form, disseminated, consolidated, imported to Pompeii, naturalised, and then re-exported. This process is evident in the publication history of Edward Bulwer-Lytton's novel, *The Last Days of Pompei* (1834). Taking in the spin-offs and feedbacks of theatre, songs, opera, pantomime, the circus, high and popular art, and book illustrations, we use quantified information about readerships and viewerships from archival and other primary sources to show how, within the economic and technological governing structures of the Victorian age, cultural consumers cooperated with producers to invent myths and clichés still vigorous today.

The Last Days of Pompeii begins with a scene of wealthy Pompeians sauntering through the streets of Pompeii where they encounter Nydia, a blind slave girl selling flowers. This casual meeting between her and the rich Greek Glaucus introduces the storyline. Nydia, who soon loves Glaucus across the insuperable social divide, is purchased by him and presented as a gift to the beautiful and virtuous Greek heiress, Ione, who is the ward of Arbaces, an Egyptian priest of the religion of Isis. A plot by Arbaces to gain her (and her money) is thwarted by Nydia, but when Ione's brother discovers the plot, Arbaces murders him and sets up Glaucus to take the blame. However when Glaucus is made to fight a lion in the gladiatorial arena, the ferocious beast turns away, much to the disappointment of the baying crowds, and insists on returning to its cage. Suddenly the volcano erupts and buildings shake and fall to the ground as the city is torn open by earthquakes. Arbaces, who

tries to persuade the people that the volcano portends the vengeance of his gods against his enemies, is killed by a falling imperial statue. In the darkness and confusion of the last day only the blind Nydia can find her way through the rubble-strewn streets, and she leads Glaucus and Ione to the port. On the voyage to Athens, however, Nydia throws herself into the sea, suicide being allowed by ancient ethics. Her heroic sacrifice earns her a marble shrine, but also relieves the narrator of having to invent a later life. Her death makes way for the socially matched, newly converted, Christian couple to live together happily ever after.

When Bulwer wrote and published *The Last Days of Pompeii*, he was inserting himself into a tradition some of whose themes went back to the ancient Jews, Greeks, and Romans, others to the European Renaissance, and some that were more recent. He was able to draw on and adapt a wealth of cultural production relating to Pompeii and its destruction as offered to different types of cultural consumers in a variety of media across Europe. And in some cases it can be shown from the biographical record that he had direct knowledge of his predecessors, both ancient and recent. Among recent predecessors were paintings, volcanic spectacles, literature and travel writing, and opera, yet none of these, either individually or together, came close to being as influential as his novel was to become.

The main focus of this essay is on the materialities of the production and diffusion of the ideas in the *Last Days*, asking questions such as how did the text come to be written in the form that it was, who had access to the book, when, in what numbers, in which versions, and with what consequences? The essay also explores the materiality of the adaptations and spin-offs – theatre, songs, opera, pantomime, the circus, high and popular art, and book illustrations – that both influenced the text of the novel by being anticipated, and then helped to shape readerly and viewerly responses and interpretations. In exploring how Bulwer and other agents were able both to exploit the tradition and to carry it forward in new ways to immense new readerships and viewerships within the technical-economic as well as the cultural constraints and opportunities of the Victorian age, we are fortunate in being able to draw on a body of scholarly books and articles, including some very recent, in which some of the cultural contexts have been explored, mainly within the conventions of criticism of the works as texts.¹

It may be useful first to offer a brief summary of some of Bulwer's immediate predecessors who helped to set cultural contexts into which *The Last Days of Pompeii* was to prove so decisive an intervention. Most, including theatrical productions, were visual. As Nicholas Daly notes in "The Volcanic Disaster Narrative," in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, erupting volcanoes provided a popular subject for artists, with Vesuvius increasingly dominating (262–63). Among the paintings were Jacques Volaire's *The Eruption of Vesuvius* (1771) and *The Eruption of Mount Vesuvius* (1777), Jacob More's *Mount Vesuvius in Eruption: The Last Days of Pompeii* (1780), J. M. W. Turner's *Vesuvius in Eruption* (1817), and John Martin's *The Destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum* (1822). Many readers in England could be confidently expected to know this painting by Martin, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1822, more widely circulated as a mezzotint (indeed painted with mezzotint in mind²), and turned into a diorama at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly in 1822 (Daly 263). Almost all initial readers would have recognised Bulwer's Arbaces as much the same as the Arbaces of Byron's play *Sardanapalus* (1821), and some may have seen engravings of Delacroix's apocalyptic painting, *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827).

Adrian Staehli observes that Bulwer's immediate inspiration for writing the novel was Karl Briullov's painting, *The Last Day of Pompeii* (1833), that he saw in Milan ("Katastrophenszenarien" 3). In contrast to most previous paintings of Vesuvius, Briullov focused on the Pompeians and the "panopticon of human despair and fear of death," rather than the power of nature (Staehli 7, trans. ours). In all these ways, Bulwer's *The Last Days of Pompeii*, although a work of literature that at first did not include illustrations, thus both drew on and helped to disseminate the artistic conventions of the apocalyptic sublime in which human beings are shown as tiny, terrified, and helpless victims of overwhelming forces of nature or of the vengeful wrath of the Judaeo-Christian god as told in biblical stories such as Noah's flood or the description of the end of the world in the *Book of Revelation*.

Bulwer also drew on traditions from plays. By the 1800s volcano spectacles could regularly be seen in the London theatres (Daly 260–61), and Mary Beard notes that re-enactments were put on in Pompeii itself throughout the nineteenth century ("Taste and the Antique"). Bulwer's narrative includes a visit to a witch in a cave taken from a play, "The Witch of the Volcano," which had enjoyed a long run in London in the early 1830s, so bringing in a stock scene of the old woman and her curse and providing an occasion for another old favourite, a switch of love potions.³ Gladiators too were already established on stage.⁴ In the *Last Days*, Bulwer's descriptions of Pompeian life before the eruption emphasise the brutality, corruption, luxury, and immorality of the Roman rulers. Slaves are treated casually and cruelly, with topical allusions to the debates about the "property rights" of slave owners (bk. 1, ch. 3), while the effeminate and pampered lords go from banquet to banquet, and from one trivial entertainment to another.⁵ The Roman men spend much time in unmanly washing – some bathing as often as seven times a day – and fall into an 'enervate and speechless lassitude . . . dreading the fatigue of conversation' (bk. 1, ch. 7). The women are vain (Figure 1). Occasional passages hint at unspeakable orgies (Figure 2).

The assertion that the Romans of the Empire were morally decadent compared with their Republican ancestors went back to writings of the Romans themselves. There are similarities in the *Last Days* to descriptions of luxury in Petronius's *Satyrica*, written in the late first century (Harrison 84–88). And the novel reinforces wider contemporary themes in the Victorians' emerging view of themselves as an intellectual and artistic people. That it was a country's literature and art that made it great, Bulwer himself was to promote in the preface to his historical work *Athens: Its Rise and Fall* (1837), in which he declared that it was the literature of Athens "more than the arms or the institutions of Athens, which have rendered her illustrious" (vii). As Simon Goldhill remarks, the *Last Days* joined attempts "to keep Greece as pure as possible, by denigrating Rome" (196). When Glaucus and Ione are in Athens, they see how hollow Roman civilization is compared with Greek. Like Victorian travellers to Athens and visitors to the Elgin Room at the British Museum, they "behold the hand of Pheidias and the soul of Pericles" (Chapter the Last).

The *Last Days* was admiringly dedicated to archaeologist Sir William Gell, the greatest expert on Pompeii, whose grand and lavishly illustrated *Pompeiana* (second ed., 1832) was the source of much of the scholarly apparatus in the footnotes. In the final words, reprising the preface, the narrator of the *Last Days* repeats that, since he wrote the work on the spot, he can claim archaeological accuracy in spite of being "from that remote and barbarian Isle [Britain] which the imperial Roman shivered when he named" (Chapter the Last). These claims to authenticity were renewed in a second preface in 1850 in which he calls in as further witnesses "the profound scholarship of German criticism."



DRESSING ROOM OF A POMPEIAN BEAUTY.

Figure 1. After Franz Kirchbach, "Dressing Room of a Pompeian Beauty." Engraved illustration from Edward Bulwer Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London and New York: Routledge, c1900). Private collection.



Figure 2. J. J. Waddington, after E. F. Sherie, “‘Drink, feast, love, my pupil!’ said he; ‘blush not that thou art passionate and young.’” Etching. *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London: G. J. Howell, c 1900). Private collection.

Inserting Christians

IN ONE LARGE RESPECT, HOWEVER, for all its learned scholarly apparatus, the *Last Days* was unfair to the archaeological record. Although no unequivocal evidence had been found to suggest that there were Christians in Pompeii, nor indeed has any been found subsequently, the *Last Days* is given a strong Christian thread. Glaucus's father, readers are told, had played host to Paul when he gave his famous speech on the Areopagus in Athens recorded by the author of the *Acts of the Apostles*. However, young Glaucus, in a serious misremembering of what his father had told him about what Paul said, attributes his own rescue to "the hand of the unknown God!" Nydia and the lion were instruments of a divinely guided destiny that saved him from the general destruction. But the *Last Days* also cautioned its readers against copying the early Christians. Glaucus is tolerant: "I shudder not at the creed of others" (Chapter the Last). His "lukewarmness" he claims as a virtue. The Christianity of Glaucus is that of a nineteenth-century Anglican.

In the end, however, the *Last Days* is less about nineteenth-century English bourgeois Christianity than about providentialism, a more ancient, enduring, and resilient idea. The destruction of Pompeii, according to the *Last Days*, was the working out of the plans of divine Providence, another idea that Bulwer did not invent but picked up and ran with. Many said that Pompeii was "fated." A few years earlier, for example, an opera, *L'ultimo giorno di Pompeii*, had played in London which included the line "oh Pompeii, thy last day is registered in heaven."⁶ Similarly, Lincoln Fairfield's long narrative poem of 1832, *The Last Night of Pompeii*, combines the volcano with a Christian moral schema. As Nicholas Daly notes, several plot elements of Bulwer's *Last Days* are reminiscent of Fairfield's poem: a virgin is about to be raped by a priest of Isis but is rescued by the eruption, the hero is almost devoured by the lion in the arena but the eruption causes it to kneel instead, Pompeii is destroyed but the Christians escape and found a new Christian community (268).

A few years before Bulwer was writing the *Last Days*, William Rae Wilson, a fierce Christian with a deep antipathy to Roman Catholicism, had visited the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, which he saw as "strikingly monumental of the tremendous wrath of God," and confirmatory of the truth of the Bible (168). At Pompeii, he was delighted to see a similar scene of destruction: "how beneficial, too, even in its temporal effects, has been that Divine and Heaven-revealed Religion, to which, among its other blessings, we are indebted for the extirpation of enormities that make us shudder" (*Records* 228). However, before the *Last Days*, the idea that the Pompeians had brought their destruction on themselves was not wide-spread.⁷ In Bulwer's novel, Pompeii was unequivocally added to the list of cities, including Sodom, Gomorrah, Babylon, Tyre, and Nineveh that the Judaeo-Christian god had righteously punished.⁸ The Pompeians had it coming (Figure 3).

The Historical Novel

SO WERE THERE ANY NEW INGREDIENTS? The preface acknowledged the author's debt to Walter Scott and the immensely popular Waverley novels, and to the theory of historical romance that both Scott and Bulwer theorised as well as practised.⁹ Putting fictional characters into real historical situations, they argued, offered a more truthful view of the



Figure 3. After Franz Kirchbach, "The Hour is Come!" Engraved illustration from *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London and New York: Routledge, c1900). Private collection.

past than either fiction or history. Romance was universal. Bulwer made an explicit claim that he was filling a gap – the paucity of romances that had survived from the ancient world.

The novel skilfully employs linguistic and framing devices that allow the narrator to move the story, and its lessons, through time. The characters speak in an invented archaic diction (“howbeit,” “didst thou,” “darksome,” “Nazarene”) that disguises that they are English men and women of 1834, starting a tradition that still flourishes in sword and sandals epics. Assertions of racial continuity (“a population that still preserve a strong family likeness to their classic forefathers”¹⁰) bridge the time gaps – the people of Pompeii are explicitly presented as just like the people known to readers,¹¹ and their social position and their characters can be read from their costumes and faces. Occasionally the narrator points directly to the read-across, warning that the British had better look out. The London boxing ring is a modern example of effeminacy as well as brutality, as dangerous to masculinity as the fashionable vapour baths:

So we have seen at this day the beardless flutterers of the saloons of London thronging round the heroes of the Fives Courts . . . male prostitutes who sell their strength as women their beauty; beasts in act, but baser than beasts in motive, for the last, at least do not mangle themselves for money. (bk. 2, ch. 3)

A boastful passage in that preface in which Bulwer claimed to have succeeded “where all hitherto have failed” was later quietly dropped.¹² But in one of the author’s main aims, the claim was a valid one. The *Last Days* did put individuals into the ruins and thereby reanimated them. A modern visitor to Athens could imagine walking where Pericles had walked. In Rome too the ruins were populated by memories of the famous dead. But before the *Last Days*, Pompeii had been mainly art and archaeology, with only Pliny providing some human interest. Some visitors, for example John Moore in 1781 and Chateaubriand in 1827, advocated the reconstruction of Pompeii to aid the imagination.¹³ Ruins were, according to ancient wisdom, standing reminders of the transitoriness of human pretensions. Ruins instantiated a philosophy of history, made famous across Europe by *The Ruins* by Count Volney, his meditations on the ruins of empires, first published in 1788. As Volney declared in the preface: “I will dwell in solitude amidst the ruins of cities: I will inquire of the monuments of antiquity what was the wisdom of former ages.”¹⁴ However Pompeii did not moulder under ancient briars or creeping ivy like ancient ruins in the vicinity.¹⁵ On the contrary, it looked new.¹⁶ Nor were there local people with folk traditions. The reverend John Chedwode Eustace’s *A Classical Tour through Italy An. MDCCCII*, the standard travel guide in use before the *Last Days*, spoke of visitors to Pompeii feeling like intruders, imagining that they might suddenly meet the master of the house into which they were trespassing. The general impression was of silence, solitude, and repose (vol. 3, 69).¹⁷ Until the *Last Days*, Pompeii was a “City of the Dead.”¹⁸

Bulwer’s novel was the product of its cultural context. What was new, and what was to capture the imagination and admiration of millions of Victorians, was using this material as backdrop to an array of individual characters in a romance that unfolds in time, that is, Bulwer’s skill as a novelist. Like Scott, Bulwer combined pre-existing material into a story with a moral purpose. As he had pointed out in *England and the English*: “Facts, like stones, are nothing in themselves; their value consists in the manner they are put together, and the purpose to which they are applied” (1: 126).

II. The Material Book

WHEN BULWER DRAFTED *THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII*, HE was already a famous and financially successful author. He understood the political economy of cultural production of his day, and was leader of a political campaign for copyright to be extended to dramatic writing. *The Last Days of Pompeii* can help us to retrieve Victorian attitudes to Pompeii. However, without an understanding of the governing structures of consumption as well as of production that enabled the novel to be brought into being in the material form that it was, we risk prolonging the romantic fallacy of the author as “creator,” or of treating the printed literary text as an emanation of the *zeitgeist*.

For a new work of fiction to be published in the British market of 1834, the almost unshakeable convention required the book to be initially published in three volumes. The commercial circulating libraries, the main initial customers, could then have each of the volumes hired out to different subscribers in succession to be read serially over a number of weeks within families that had ample leisure. The printed text of the *Last Days* is not much more than 150,000 words, a length that could be comfortably fitted into one volume, and even that figure was the result of an artificial lengthening insisted upon by the publisher (Gettman 235). This episode, which only a few insiders could have known about, resulted in an insider joke in the passage about the baths:

The number of these smegmata [lotions] used by the wealthy would fill a modern volume – especially if the volume were printed by a fashionable publisher; Amoracinum, Megalium, Nardum – omne quod exit in um. (bk. 1, ch. 7; schoolboy Latin for “everything that ends in um”)

Already before it was published the *Last Days* was inviting readers to be knowingly co-opted into a shared fiction. Did any reader from the highest income groups of England ever seriously think that the Romans took seven baths a day between meals?

Bulwer's name did not appear anywhere in the book. The novel was presented as “By the Author of ‘Pelham,’ ‘Eugene Aram,’ ‘England and the English’ &c. &c. In Three Volumes.” By this device, potential buyers and readers were alerted to what to expect. *Pelham*, especially, the novel on which Bulwer had made his name, was an exploration of the emerging construct, the “English gentleman” with a classical education. *The Last Days of Pompeii* presented itself as a book written by a real gentleman for real gentlemen and their ladies, guaranteed before it was even ordered to contain nothing to bring a blush to an Ionian cheek.

As Bulwer and his first publisher Bentley knew, the commercial success of any newly published novel depended upon the orders from the circulating libraries. The more that is excavated from the archives of Victorian authors and publishers, the more determinative the role of the buyers of the circulating libraries turns out to have been. If the buyers decided not to take the risk for whatever reason, a novel had no future. And their judgment was much influenced by what they thought might be the reactions of the guardians of public morals, a self-selecting group who used their social position or ecclesiastical office to patrol the textual limits of what was suitable for an English Ione to read. In practice complaints were few, but the whole production system of fiction writing, agents, authors, internal editors, publishers, designers, and others was aimed at forestalling potential objections from these “imagined interventionists.”¹⁹

Publication of *The Last Days of Pompeii* was not free of risk, however. There were many among the rich and leisured users of circulating libraries who might have seen references to their *ennuyé* selves, to use a favourite word of the day, and Bulwer may have exaggerated and ironised the excesses of the ancient Romans in order to forestall that reaction. Indeed a providentialist might be inclined to say that the last minute printing delays were part of a grand scheme to promote the book and its Christian message. On 27 August 1834, after a few years of rumblings, minor earthquakes, and intermittent eruptions, Vesuvius erupted again as was reported in the British press, giving the book an immediate topicality such as publishers dream of.

The Last Days of Pompeii appeared on the market in late September 1834. On 13 October, Lady Blessington was able to tell Bulwer:

[I]t is in everybody's hands. Hookham [owner of the fashionable circulating library in London] told me that "he knows of no work that has been so much called for" (I quote his words) and the other circulating libraries give the same report. The classical scholars have pronounced their opinion that the book is too scholarly to be popular with the common herd of readers – but the common herd, determined not to deserve this opinion, declare themselves its passionate admirers, so that it is read and praised by all classes alike. (Lytton, *Life* 1: 443)

The use of "common herd" by the doyenne of the "silver fork" school needs to be contextualized. The retail price of the *Last Days*, thirty-one shillings and six pence before binding was equivalent to about three week's wages of a clerical worker. A subscription to a circulating library was also expensive – Mudie's charged one guinea a year – and membership never widened beyond the aristocratic and professional classes.²⁰ Compared with the size of the reading nation, the numbers of copies produced was tiny. During its first sixteen years as a material book, the total number sold in Britain did not exceed six or seven thousand.

Most of the reviews were highly favourable, praising the work's "great power, originality, beauty," "finely contrasted characters," and "animated dialogues," regarding it as "one of the most admirable works of fiction in the English language," with "vigour and freshness of genius" and so on.²¹ Bulwer was commended in the *Examiner* for having revived the ruins: "In Glaucus, he has brought to life the owner of that fairy mansion which is termed the House of the Tragic poet. This is a striking part of the reality of the novel" (23 October 1834). However, one remark in the *Morning Post* that the *Last Days* had greatly exaggerated the scale of some of the buildings appears to have stung Bulwer personally (13 November 1834), perhaps because it undermined his claim to be the successor to Scott, who was always scrupulous in his historical detail.²² In an "Advertisement to the Second Edition," that was included in the 1839 edition but never reprinted, Bulwer claimed poetic licence, but also an expectation that he would be vindicated by future excavations.²³ For all his learned footnotes Bulwer had been convicted of being unfair both to his model Scott and to the archaeology. The *Last Days* had mythologized a provincial town into a great city comparable with Rome itself.

The production history of the *Last Days* in Britain can be summarized in the following table (Table 1), drawn from incomplete archives.

Although incomplete, the record matches the general pattern of Victorian fiction, namely a small very expensive initial edition aimed at, and self censored for, the richest one or two percentiles of society, followed by a move down the demand curve during the period of

Date	Edition	Price (<i>in shillings</i>)	production (<i>in thousands</i>)
1834	3 vols.	31.5	1 ^a
1839	1 vol.	5	5 ^b
1850	Chapman and Hall, 1 vol.	3.5	not available
1853	—	Bulwer accepts £20,000 from Routledge for the right to publish nineteen of his novels for ten years in the Railway Library series at prices of 2 shillings and lower, an arrangement that was renewed. ^c Routledge reworked the plates, i.e., the manufacturing plant, over many decades.	
1853–83	—	2 or less	500 ^d equivalent to annual sales of 25
1873–79	Different editions	Various prices	37
1879	First paperback	0.5	60 ^e
1880	Title goes out of copyright; many competing editions at different prices of which Routledge alone:		
1885–97	—	3.5	9
1885–97	—	2	11
1885–97	—	0.5	46
ca. 1900	Penny Novels, abridged	0.05	200–300? ^f

TABLE 1. Production History of the *Last Days* in Britain

^a Our estimate is taken from the discussion by Gettman (see note 17) of the evidence of the Bentley Archives at the University of Illinois and compared with other archives, including other contracts made by Bulwer-Lytton that are in the British Library. Shortly after the book was first published in the United States, a story circulated that 10,000 copies had been sold in London on the first day of publication (“Fictitious Writing,” *Atkinson’s Casket* [April 1837], p. 186) and that story has entered the secondary literature; see Meilee D. Bridges, “Objects of Affection: Necromantic Pathos in Bulwer-Lytton’s *City of the Dead*,” in Hales and Paul 2011, pp. 90–104. However, the claim is not only disproved by the archival record but is at variance with what is known about fiction publication at the time.

^b Bentley Records, British Library, add 46,674 (December 1838: first impression 4,042, October 1839; reprinted 1,000).

^c Frank Arthur Mumby, *The House of Routledge 1834–1934* (London, 1936), including a transcript of the contract, p. 57.

^d Routledge archives, microfilm reel 4, p. 381. We have not yet been able fully to understand the complex entry but Routledge estimated for fifty editions, or rather impressions, of 10,000 each. Only a few copies have survived.

^e Routledge archives, microfilm reel 5, p. 711.

^f Estimate taken from the discussion on Penny Poets and Penny Novels in Sir Frederick Whyte’s *Life of W. T. Stead* (London, 1925), 2:228–31.

copyright as each tranche of the market is taken and readerships widen, to be followed by a flood of extremely cheap sixpenny paper covered editions (as well as continuing more expensive editions) the moment the text came out of copyright. These patterns can be directly related to the technical-economic governing structures, limitations, and opportunities unique to that age, including especially the technology of stereotype plates and the intellectual property regime.

III. Readership and Influence

IN TERMS OF LITERARY HISTORY SEEN AS A PARADE of authors and first publications, the *Last Days* is a work of 1834. In terms of readership and influence, by contrast, its glory days are the late-Victorian and pre-1914 generation. The *Last Days* made its way into the guides to the best books intended for readers and librarians that flourished in late Victorian times, including A. H. D. Acland's *A Guide to the Choice of Books for Students and General Readers* (London: Stanford, 1891) and E. B. Sargant and Bernhard Winshaw's *A Guide Book to Books* (London: Frowde, 1891). And it made the cut in Sir John Lubbock's famous and much reprinted *Hundred Best Books* (1896), where it joined the Bible, Homer, Aeschylus, Plato, Shakespeare, Goethe's *Faust*, the Koran, the Maha Bharata, and other books of literature, history, exploration, and science in his attempt at a world canon.

The progressivist literary paternalism that the novel embodied was however soon to be defeated by the critique of modernism and the experience of the First World War. Soon the *Last Days* was being presented as a book for young people. In the post war years it became common to sneer at the book and the Victorian attitudes it appeared to represent, although many households had on their shelves copies which continued to be read.³¹ In these respects Bulwer follows the trajectory of the rise and fall of Scott and the respect given to his works as moral teachers almost exactly.³²

Immediately on its publication in 1834, the *Last Days* changed ways of looking at Pompeii. As Isaac Disraeli, father of Benjamin, who had recently been there, wrote: "you have done more than all the erudite delvers have done" (14 November 1834, Lytton, *Life* 1: 443). Another friend, John Auldjo, wrote on 26 July 1836:

Will it not gratify you to know that people begin to ask for Ione's house, and that there are disputes about which was Julia's room in Diomed's villa? Pompeii was truly a city of the dead; there were no fancied spirits hovering o'er its remains, but now you have made poetical its very air, you have created a new feeling in its visitors (Lytton, *Life* 1: 445)

William Gell had been wary of the successful young novelist, whose talk had been of the economics of publishing, but when his copy arrived in Naples he was delighted:

I own I consider the Tragic Poets house since I read the novel, as that of Glaucus & have peopled the other places with Bulwers inhabitants in my own mind which is a proof that his Tale is judiciously applied to the locality. (*Sir William Gell* 154)

The archaeologist had not quite surrendered science to myth but he had made an accommodation with a sorcerer casting magic spells.³³ In 1834, too, in the absence of international copyright, publishers outside Britain could legally reprint, translate, or adapt as they chose. It was from one of these "piracies" that Auldjo arranged a translation into Italian in Milan, from which an even cheaper version, sold in parts, was produced in Naples. By 1836 the *Last Days* was being read in Italian in Pompeii (Lytton, *Life* 1: 445).

The colonizing myths and fictions soon established themselves as permanent settlers on the site. Throughout the nineteenth century and later, local guides, showing visitors round the remains of the amphitheatre, told elaborated stories of the lions that refused to fight the "Nazarenes" and of Pompeii destroyed as God's punishment for its wickedness.³⁴ Since

pre-*Last Days* travellers make no reference to these stories, it seems certain the myths were imported, locally naturalized, and then re-exported. Mary Shelley had visited Pompeii in 1818 with Shelley, whose interest had been primarily archaeological and artistic; she too noted the change that Bulwer's romance had brought about when she made a second visit in 1843. As she wrote in her published journal:

A greater extent of the city has been dug out and laid open since I was there before, so that it has now much more the appearance of a town of the dead . . . Bulwer, too, has peopled its silence. I have been reading his book, and I have felt on visiting the place much more as if *really* it had been once full of stirring life, now that he has attributed names and possessors to its houses, passengers to its streets. Such is the power of the imagination. It can not only give "a local habitation and a name" to the airy creations of the fancy and the abstract ideas of the mind, but it can put a soul into stones, and hang the vivid interest of our passions and our hopes upon objects otherwise vacant of name or sympathy. (*Rambles 2: 279*)³⁵

As far as the United States was concerned, in 1834 American publishers were also free of legal copyright restrictions. However, the New York publisher Harper Brothers reprinted the book in two volumes almost as soon as it was published in London (Seville 63). The exact circumstances are not fully known, but we know that Harpers paid for an advance set of proofs, so giving the firm a valuable lead over other publishers.³⁶ Harpers also had another advantage, being one of the first companies who exploited the recently perfected technology of stereotype plates which meant that they could keep a title in print as long as there was demand, reducing marginal cost and therefore price.

The widespread adoption of stereotyping enabled publishers across the English-speaking world to share manufacturing plant. And soon they did so for illustrations as well as texts. The *Last Days* was one of the first novels to benefit from this transformation of publishing into a globalised business, with many American editions being identical with the English apart from their title pages.³⁷ Its huge success was due not just to its appeal, but also to a precise conjuncture of technical-economic factors.

IV. *The Last Days Live on Stage*

THE TEXT OF THE NOVEL IS AUTHOR-LED, AND no readers apart from the initial anticipated "imagined interventionists" participate in any feedback loop. Readers may pick and choose, make their own interpretations, and read against the grain, but until the work came out of copyright, they could not alter what had been textually decided in the summer of 1834. Very different from this form of production was that of the parallel medium that coexisted with the novel from the beginning, adaptation on the live stage. Within three months of its publication as a novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii* could be seen on the London and New York stage, continuing for exceptionally long runs.³⁸

That adaptations for the stage would certainly happen, willy nilly, had evidently been fully anticipated by Bulwer. Although, at his own urging, dramatic copyright had recently been introduced, it did not yet prevent adaptations into other media appearing under the name of another "author."³⁹ Adaptation with or without the approval or involvement of the novel's author or publisher was normal with any novel that had some success. Indeed, the *Last Days*, with its detailed descriptions of costumes and localities and short chapters, appears to have



Figure 4. Nydia throwing herself into the sea. Engraved illustration from Oxenford's *The Last Days of Pompeii*. *Illustrated London News*, 27 Jan. 1872. Private collection.

been deliberately drafted with transfer to performance media in mind. Reviewers at the time noticed the novel's "peculiar aptitude for scenic representation which every page presents" (rev. in the *Morning Post*, 16 December 1834). The *Last Days* also included many songs and ballads that not only helped to bulk up the text but could, and did, take on a life of their own, another feature in which Bulwer followed the successful example of the *Waverley* novels. In those respects too, the *Last Days* was socially produced within the technical-economic, including intellectual property, structures operating in 1834.

Stage versions appeared throughout the nineteenth century, notably John Oxenford's five-act drama *The Last Days of Pompeii* at the Queen's, that made a feature of Nydia's throwing herself into the sea (Figure 4). But most performances were not plays in the modern sense. Until 1843, only Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and in the summer, the Haymarket, were "Theatres Royal" with the exclusive right to produce "spoken drama." All others were so-called "illegitimate" or "minor" theatres without this license. The way that theatres like the Pavilion, or the Garrick, where versions of the *Last Days* were performed, got around this restriction was to intersperse dialogue with song and dance numbers, and with spectacle, to create burletta, the only legitimate generic form they could stage.

Compared with the readerships of the novel, large though they eventually became, the theatre audiences were enormous. A growing number of theatres in the early nineteenth

Estimated viewerships, 000s, nightly maximum

1834 – 1835	
Adelphi (Buckstone's <i>LDP</i>)	1.5
Pavilion (Farrell's <i>LDP</i>)	3.5
Garrick (Raymond's <i>LDP</i>)	0.5
Victoria (Fitzball's <i>LDP</i>)	4.0
1872	
Queen's (Oxenford's <i>LDP</i>)	4.0
Vaudeville (Reece's <i>VLDP</i>)	1 ⁴³
1886	
Alexandra Palace (Pain's <i>LDP</i>)	10–30 ⁴⁴

TABLE 2. Theatrical Adaptations and Spectacles

century had capacities of several thousand: Covent Garden and Drury Lane held some 2,500 and 3,600 people respectively (Worrall 227, and Flanders 295), the Coburg (which became the Victoria in 1833) nearly 4,000 (Flanders 330), even travelling shows at fairgrounds could at times accommodate about 1,000 people in very large tents (Worall 227), and several semi-permanent circus buildings could hold as many as 3,000 people (Russell 373). Capacities tended to increase throughout the century. By the 1870s, the Britannia was able to pack in 3,923, Astley's 3,780, the Pavilion 3,500, Drury Lane 3,800 (Donohue, "The Theatre" 255). And the range of prices was wide, as can be seen from the playbills. However, even the most expensive was much lower than the price of the book. The Adelphi, illegitimate but more fashionable, charged 1s for the gallery, 2s for the pit and 4s for a box. Prices for the patent theatres in 1834 ranged between 1s for the Upper Gallery and 7s for the Stalls.⁴⁰ The Pavilion, a house mainly frequented by a working-class audience, charged admission prices for the *Last Days* of between 6d and 1s6d (Figure 5). The Pavilion refers to Scott almost as part of the title: just as Bulwer associates himself with Scott, theatre managers, too, use Scott's name to evoke connotations of high quality as well as immensely popular historical stories.

Most of the spectators at the East End playhouses came from the immediate neighbourhood: journeymen, mechanics, shopkeepers, clerks, sailors, and women and children.⁴¹ However, new bridges as well as improved transport made the East End houses more easily accessible to more affluent audiences from elsewhere in London. In the early 1820s, Queen Caroline herself famously visited Astley's, the Surrey and the Coburg.⁴² The Adelphi, where Buckstone's highly successful version of the *Last Days* ran for 64 nights in the 1834–35 season, was one of London's most popular theatres, with "peers and apprentices, dukes and dustmen" among its audience (Moody 39).

Information about the capacities of the various venues is sketchy, partly because managers tended to think in net revenues from a range of prices, rather than numbers of viewers as such. The runs varied, and of course not every performance was sold out, and the length of the run is not always documented. However an indication of the comparative viewerships that can be compared with the indications of comparative readerships in Table 1 is offered at Table 2.

Even a conservative total estimate indicates of a minimum of 50,000 to 100,000 viewers for the 1834–35 season. This can be compared to the 1000 initial copies of the printed

Pavilion Theatre.

Stage Manager, Mr DIBDIN FITT.

On **MONDAY, January 19th, 1835, and DURING THE WEEK,**
The Performances will commence with an entirely new Historical Spectacle and Romance, entitled

THE LAST DAYS OF

P O M P E I I,

OR THE CITY OF THE DEAD!

As Designated by the Immortal Sir Walter Scott.

The extensive Scenery by Messrs. Gordon, Dearlove, Gordon, Jun., and Brunning. The Machinery by Mr Hagley and Assistants
Properties by Mr Blamire and Assistants. Dresses by Mrs Conaston and Assistants. The Music, entirely New, by Mr E. Woolf.
The Archa by Mr. Dibdin Pitt.

The whole written and adapted to the Stage by Mr FABRELLI, and produced under the immediate Direction of Mr DIBDIN FITT.

Glaucus, (a young Athenian) Mr F E E R. of the *Yearning* Arbaces, (an Egyptian Magician) Mr C O B H A M.
Sallust, (an Epicure) Mr GARTHWAITE. Calenus, (a Priest of Isis) Mr FORDE. Lepidus, Mr COURTNEY, of the *Barbarian*
Apeidus, (a young Priest) Miss HAINSMAN. Clodius, (a Gamester) Mr JOHNSON. Vespino, Mr FRANKS.
Barbo, (a Wine Seller) Mr SAKER. Lydon, (a Gladiator) Mr CHAPMAN. Medon, (his Father) Mr LEWIS.
Niger, (a Gladiator) Mr MILLER. Tertraides, (a Gladiator) Mr SHOARD. Pansa, Mr GRAHAM, Diomed, Mr RIGOLD.
Aereus, Mr CHIPINO. Sporius, Mr DEARLOVE. The Witch of Vesuvius, Mr DIBDIN FITT.
Darvius, Mr JONES. Calius, Mr SMITH. Principal Gladiators, by THE BUFFO BROTHERS.
Nydia, (a blind Thessalian Flower Girl) Miss COOPER. Ione, (Sister to Apeidus) Miss J. GRANT. Fulvia, Miss GASKELL.
Julia, (Diomed's Daughter) Mrs W I N G R O V E. Coranna, Miss SAKER. Celestus, Miss RAYNER.
Mysis, Miss MELSOM. Stratonicus, (Wife to Barbo) Mr MOULTON.

PROGRAMME OF THE NEW SCENERY.

HOUSE OF GLAUCUS.
The Beach, with distant View of Vesuvius, and part of Pompeii.
INTERIOR OF A POMPEIAN VILLA.
APARTMENT IN THE HOUSE OF IONE.
FLASH HOUSE IN POMPEII, THE CLASSIC RING IN ITS ZENITH.
PORTICO OF THE MAGICIAN ARBACE'S PALACE.
Spacious Hall of Mystery, Colossal Head of the Goddess Isis. Enchanted Vision.
Grand Ballet produced under the Direction of Mr. E. YARNOLD.
SHOCK OF AN EARTHQUAKE!
View of Pompeii, Harbour and surrounding Country.
MANSION OF DIOMED.
EGYPTIAN PALACE.
NECROMANTIC ABODE OF THE WITCH OF THE MOUNTAIN.
Ruins of the TEMPLE OF CYBELLE, and Sacred Grove, by Moonlight.
MANSION OF THE MAGICIAN.
THE OSCAN ARCHES BENEATH THE MANSION OF ARBACES.
STREET LEADING TO HERCULANEUM, THE

Arena and Amphitheatre

OF POMPEII.
FIGHT OF THE GLADIATORS—GLAUCUS IS DOOMED TO THE TIGER.
ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS!!
SEA OF LAVA, SHOWER OF FIRE AND PUMICE STONES.
And TOTAL DESTRUCTION of the CITY OF POMPEII.

On WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, the Interlude of a
Medley of Lovers.
Sir Archy McSarcam, Mr DIBDIN FITT.
Sir Callaghan O'Brallaghan, Masters-FORDE.
Bean Mordecai, Mr LEWIS. Servant, Mr CHIPINO.
Squire Groom, Mr-FREER.
Miss Charlotte Goodchild, Miss HAINSMAN.

On FRIDAY and SATURDAY, the admired Ballets of The
Irishman in London.
Mr. Frost, Mr SAKER. Captain Seymour, Mr CHAPMAN.
Edward, Mr-FORDE. Murloch Delaney, MASTERS-FORDE
Colloney, Mr. COURTNEY. Simon, Mr. GARTHWAITE
Caroline, Miss HAINSMAN. Louisa, Miss I. COOPER
Cabbie, Miss SAKER.

To conclude with an entire NEW COMIC PANTOMIME, written expressly for this Theatre, and produced, with new Scenery, Dresses, Properties, Mechanical Changes, Dances, Choruses, Tricks, Tableaux, Laughable Incidents, Comic Situations, Dramatic Effects, and all the Paraphernalia appertaining to the production of a Splendid Pantomime, called

Hot Boil'd Beans & Very Good Butter,
Or Harlequin and the Elf's Supper.

Giles Gillyflower, (a youthful Farmer, in love with Silvina) Mr RIGOLD, afterwards Harlequin, 1st. Buffo Brother.
Lawyer Leech, (a Gentleman that sticks to his client) Mr CHAPMAN. Squallum O-Yes, (Parish Beadle and Bellman) Mr MILLER.
Gaffer Grizly Greystalk, (an avareicious Farmer, and Pro- } Mr LEWIS, afterwards Pantaloon, 2nd. Buffo Brother.
} prior of the Bean Fields }
Simon Spindleshank, (a Gawkly protégé of Gaffer } Mr GRAHAM, afterwards Clown, 3rd. Buffo Brother.
} Greystalk, a rival of Giles }
Amen Grub, (a Clerk of the Victualling Office, as well as the Parish) Mr GARTHWAITE.
Marrowbones and Cleavers, Messrs. Cow-leg, Ox-fist, Bump-hard, and Thump-hard.
Silvina, (Ward of Gaffer Greystalk) afterwards Columbine, Miss RAYNER, from the Theatre Royal, Brighton.
Becky Buttermeg, (Servant to Gaffer Greystalk) Miss HAINSMAN.
Supernaturals—The Fairy Dewlight, (protecting Geni of the Young Lovers) Miss ISAACS.
Saddlight, (the Sybil of the Gloom) Mr SHOARD. (Rest as before.

BOXES 1s 6d.—Half-price 1s. PIT 1s.—Half-price 6d. GALLERY 6d.—no Half-price.
Half-price Commences at Half-past Eight.
Pages for the Boxes may be taken of Mr. TRAVLOR, on application at the Box Office from 11 to 2. Family or Select Boxes to be had nightly.
Doors Opened at Six o'Clock, and Performance to commence at Half past Six o'Clock precisely.

Figure 5. Pavilion Theatre's Playbill for *The Last Days of Pompeii, or the City of the Dead! As Designated by the Immortal Sir Walter Scott*. 1835. Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre and Performance Archives.

book, perhaps leading to a readership of 5,000 to 10,000. Furthermore, the estimates for the Adelphi, the Pavilion, and the Garrick, are based on capacity records from the 1850s, but the houses would have been larger than in the 1830s. Even taking this into account, the data suggests a minimum of 50,000 to 100,000 initial viewers. When the Adelphi or the Pavilion put it on, more people saw a version of the story in a single night than read it in a year. And many of these viewers did not have access to the book. Far more people learned about the destruction of Pompeii from seeing the adaptations than ever did from reading the book.

V. What the Consumer Wanted

WITH A PRINTED BOOK, BECAUSE IT IS A DURABLE capital asset that can be passed from hand to hand and read limitless times, the political economy structures, when supported by the monopoly of copyright, encourage the producers to start at the top of the demand curve and move down as slowly as possible. This structure encourages texts aimed at economic elites, artificially high prices, access spreading slowly over time, and feedback anticipated not actual. With theatrical performance, by contrast, because the fiction is simultaneously consumed as it is produced, and empty seats cannot be carried forward, the structures of political economy encouraged arrangements aimed at satisfying the whole market simultaneously, by for example, building ever larger theatres, advertising heavily, and differentiating and discounting prices across a wide range. The novel is top down, producer led, the theatre is bottom up, consumer led, and there is a large overlap between the individuals who participate at the higher price levels.

These structures of the theatre also bring about instantaneous feedback, immediate knowledge of what works on the night and an ability to change the product as a result. And we can see how soon the unstable stage versions diverged from the version fixed in print. Much of what was thought to please the “imagined interventionists” of the circulating libraries was stripped out. There is almost nothing of what Angus Easson calls the Biedermeier “harmless Christianity” and “uxorious domesticity” that modern readers find so cloying in the novel (113). Indeed there is almost no Christianity, discussion of religion being discouraged by the censors, but this lack is also an example of the risks of equating Victorian mentalities with the ideologies of the printed text of the Victorian novel.

The playbills give further indications of what the producers thought the consumers wanted. The three lines printed in the biggest font on the Pavilion Theatre's playbill for *The Last Days of Pompeii* are “Shock of an earthquake!” “Arena and Amphitheatre,” and “Eruption of Vesuvius!!” The Garrick Theatre's bill emphasises “A flash house in Pompeii!!” “Colossal head of Isis,” “Effects of an Earthquake,” “Abode of the Witch!!” “Fight of the Gladiators,” “Eruption of Vesuvius,” and “Destruction of the City of Pompeii!” The bills designate the plays as spectacles, while at the same time telling a moral story of Roman decadence and depravity duly punished by the destruction of the city.

The reluctant lion was a firm favourite, sometimes played with live lions and other dangerous animals – and often for laughs. The story was a gift to lion tamers, providing them with a familiar storyline, with costumes, into which to insert their performance. *The Brute Tamer of Pompeii*, first performed as early as 1838, became a popular feature in the huge Astley's theatre and arena. The famous American animal performer and circus owner, Isaac van Amburgh, also performed the role, and seems usually to have worn Roman costume.

Two popular prints, one from London, the other from the United States, show the Roman costume and the Pompeian stage setting (Figures 6 and 7).

Reviews of the plays at the end of 1834 focus on spectacle and scenery, as well as comment on the play's popularity, which will, *The Satirist* suspects, "benefit the treasury more than any other piece of the season" (rev. of Adelphi's 21 December performance). Journals admire "the whole general array and splendour and fitting up of the stage, with the triumphant catastrophe at the close" (*Examiner* rev. of same). Reviewers comment on the Amphitheatre and gladiators, as well as the "vivid and grand exhibition" of the eruption (*Morning Chronicle* rev. of the Victoria's 27 December performance), which "conveyed to the spectator a good idea of the terrors of that awful natural phenomenon" (*Bell's Life* rev. of the Adelphi's 21 December performance). Of the characters, the blind, selfless, and pure Nydia, who in Buckstone's version makes her appearances only to sing and to rescue others, is by far the most discussed. Played at the Adelphi by Mrs Keeley, Nydia receives "unqualified approbation [and] admiration" from reviewers (*Morning Post* rev. of the Adelphi's 16 December performance). They admire "the truth and pathos" of the representation of Nydia as well as her songs (*The Satirist*). Other characters are barely mentioned, nor is the plot explained or discussed.

Another highly popular version was Robert Reece's burlesque *The Very Last Days of Pompeii*, staged in 1872 at the Vaudeville, a house with a capacity of 1,000. Tickets could be had from 6d in the Gallery to 7s in the Stalls, and the play ran for at least 250 nights.⁴⁵ The play was reprinted cheaply for amateur and school performance all over Britain. It is full of topical and self reflexive jokes, and favourite hate figures like the witch, at whom the audience might be expected to hiss, but these jokes only work if most of the audience is familiar with a straight version.

Enter the Lion, [. . .] he is a large but mild-looking animal— he sits down, and washes his face like a cat.

Arbaces: Call that a Lion!

Sallust: The brute, how I could lash ye!

Apæcides: I've seen a better made of papier maché.

In addition to the novel and the theatre, the myths of Pompeii were constructed, selected, disseminated, and reinforced in the form of pictures. And again this was not a derivative or ancillary medium but a parallel stream of cultural production and consumption that both took from and fed into the others. The numerous nineteenth-century paintings that share themes with the *Last Days* have been covered elsewhere⁴⁶ and only a few points need be added in this essay. What is striking, as with many British Victorian paintings, is the extent to which viewers are expected to know the story, probably assumed to be the version in the novel. Some of these paintings themselves became as well known as the story. James Pain's 1880s huge outdoor spectacle version, for example, with a spectatorship of 10,000 per performance in London in the summer months of 1888 (Mayer 90), expected audiences to be familiar both with the plot and with famous paintings. It had had a similarly successful run in America (Figure 8).

"Nydia" carried a host of associations, not all derived from the *Last Days*, just by being named. The statue by Randolph Rogers, named as *Nydia, the Blind Flower Girl of Pompeii* (1853–54) gave some help in its title and may have invited comparison with Hiram Powers's

TALES OF THE DRAMA.

THE BRUTE-TAMER OF POMPEII.

As performed with unparalleled success at Astley's Theatre.



MALERIUS CAST INTO A DEN OF WILD BEASTS.

Pompeii, as our readers are aware, was at one period ranked amongst the most magnificent cities in Italy. Its palaces were scarcely inferior to those of Rome itself, splendid temples were everywhere presented to the eye, and in fact all that could add grandeur or excite admiration was to be found in this far-famed place. but a period arrived when the futility of mans labour was to be made manifest ; a

dreadful irruption of Mount Vesuvius took place, and the city which had been so wondrous an object of admiration at the close of one day, was buried ere the dawn of the next, beneath a heap of cinders which had been cast forth from the labouring mountain ! So sudden, indeed, was this awful visitation that few—very few escaped its devastating, effects ; those who slept woke only to perceive the horror of thei

No. 29.

Figure 6. *The Brute Tamer of Pompeii; or, the living lions of the jungle*. Performed at Astley's Royal Amphitheatre, London, Aug 1838. Narrativized play: *Tales of the Drama*. London: E. Lloyd. Hamilton College, New York. Courtesy of Christian Goodwillie.



Figure 7. (Color online) Juvenile drama, portrait of the American-animal trainer Isaac van Amburgh, as the Brute-Tamer of Pompeii. c 1838. Cut out, hand colored, and mounted on blue linen. Private collection.

naked *Slave Girl*, who has a Christian image on her leg. These works of “high” art were often purchased to be displayed in provincial galleries as part of an agenda with educational aims. The painting of Nydia by Cuno Baron von Bodenhausen, that was used as an illustration in books, was reproduced around 1890 in the form of a beautifully coloured porcelain plaque that could be hung on a wall as part of a series that included similar plaques of the Virgin Mary and other female Christian saints.⁴⁷ Anonymised Nydia became actual not just metaphorical Biedermeier.

But the pictures that were most often seen were illustrations in books. They reached far more viewers over longer time-scales than the paintings or prints. The period when



Figure 8. *The Last Days of Pompeii* performed at Manhattan Beach. Pyro-drama by James Pain. From *Harper's Weekly*, 1885. British Library by permission.

the *Last Days* was most read, or at any rate most sold as a book, the second half of the nineteenth century, coincides exactly with a golden age of artistic illustrations. And again this phenomenon, from which the *Last Days* benefited immensely, is only fully understandable when put within the material technical-economic opportunities and conjunctures of its time. For just as the word text of the *Last Days* as a novel to be read was able to ride on the huge technological productivity improvements in the manufacturing of printed books that occurred during Victorian times, so too it rode on a parallel productivity revolution in the manufacture of visual images that occurred over the same period and that took the story to widening and eventually immense viewerships. Just as *the Last Days* cannot be adequately understood if it is regarded solely as an autonomous work of literature, without taking account of the two-way feedbacks with theatre, so too the illustrations both helped to determine how the novel was read and interpreted, and they responded to what the producers anticipated that readers would welcome. Although many editions were printed without illustrations, for innumerable others the travelling personal art gallery that accompanied the words was an intrinsic part of the paratext of the books, that both helped to pre-set the expectations of readers before they began to read and influenced their subsequent responses.

Before the *Last Days*, illustrations in novels were rare. The main medium, engraving on copper, was laborious and costly to manufacture. Most copper plates produced a maximum of 750 -1,000 impressions before they became worn, and even with re-engraving and refurbishment, new plates had to be manufactured after about 1,500. In the 1830s, however, with the perfection of the technology of engraving on steel or on coating copper plates with steel, the number of impressions that could be taken was almost unlimited. We see both a sudden huge increase in the quantities of visual images and the beginning of a long run reduction in the price of access. By the mid 1830s the ladies' annuals were producing so

many illustrations engraved on steel in impressions of 5,000 and more that T. H. Fielding, a contemporary author of technical manuals, thought that the public were “weary of seeing in every shop and on every table the beautiful engravings which steel plates had showered upon the land” (30). The earliest, and for a long period the only, two illustrations of the *Last Days* were steel engravings. The frontispiece to Bentley’s 1839 edition offers a scene of domesticity little different from that of a contemporary English drawing room (Figure 9), and the vignette picks out the episode of the reluctant lion (Figure 10). With the ending of the Bentley series, these images ceased to be reproduced, though the Christian-friendly lion appeared in many subsequent editions to the extent that there is scarcely an illustrated book that does not show that episode.

The second early illustration, also an immediate expectation-setting frontispiece, first appeared in the 1850 edition and was composed by Hablot K. Browne, famous as illustrator to Dickens. Strongly neo-classical, it took expectations in another direction, to Greece. This illustration, like Bulwer’s word, humanises the archaeological artefacts shown in Gell’s *Pompeiana*. It is a vision of the elegance of ancient Hellas – Pompeii as Elgin Marbles (Figure 11). This image, that appears from its innumerable thin and tiny lines to be an etching on steel, benefitted from, or was perhaps designed for, another contemporary productivity improvement that was even more revolutionary in its impact than steel engraving, the invention of electrotyping. This technology enabled accurate copies of the metal plates to be made without limit. As Fielding notes, the duplicates were “perfect . . . the faintest lines and even blemish in the polish of the original plate is preserved” (94–96). The plates from which this illustration was made were duplicated and shared between publishing houses, even across the Atlantic, just as publishers also shared stereotype plates for the word text. Innumerable impressions were made from the plates or electrotype copies in London, first by Chapman and Hall and then by Routledge over decades. In the United States it continued to be included in the American Lippincott edition of 1867, and the Collier edition of 1896, and perhaps later.

The advent of photography enabled the *Last Days* to be illustrated with photographs of the ruins of Vesuvius and of items in the museums, but in general the medium matched the message. Photography, a cold modern technology, was reserved for archaeology – a science that demanded accuracy. For interpretation, publishers and readers preferred artistic invention which was then reproduced by photographic processes such as photogravure, which reproduced some of the textures of painting, into metal plates or wood blocks from which multiple copies could be taken. Photogravure meant that illustrations, notably those by Franz Kirchbach, could be imported from Germany where the technology was at its most advanced. Until the very end of the century no image copying technology could economically use colour in mainstream books.

Among the artists who illustrated the *Last Days* in its various nineteenth- and early twentieth-century English-language editions were Cuno Baron von Bodenhausen, Hablot K. Browne, Kurt Craemer, Gene Christman, Bertha Cuson Day, A. A. Dixon, Edmund H. Garrett, Joseph M. Gleeson, Frederick Gilbert, Franz Kirchbach, J. M., George Morrow, Miss M. Phillips, E. F. Sherie, Lancelot Speed, C. H. White, W. Wright, F. C. Yohn, and anonymous. As with all book illustrations, other agents were often at least as determinative of the nature of the images that were produced, in particular those who commissioned them, as well as the engravers, lithographers, and others concerned with the reproduction processes. The illustrations to the translations into French, German, and Italian, mainly done



Figure 9. W. Greatbatch after a painting by W. Wright, "Turning, he beheld Nydia kneeling before him, holding up to him a handful of flowers." Engraved frontispiece from *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London: Bentley 1839). Private collection.

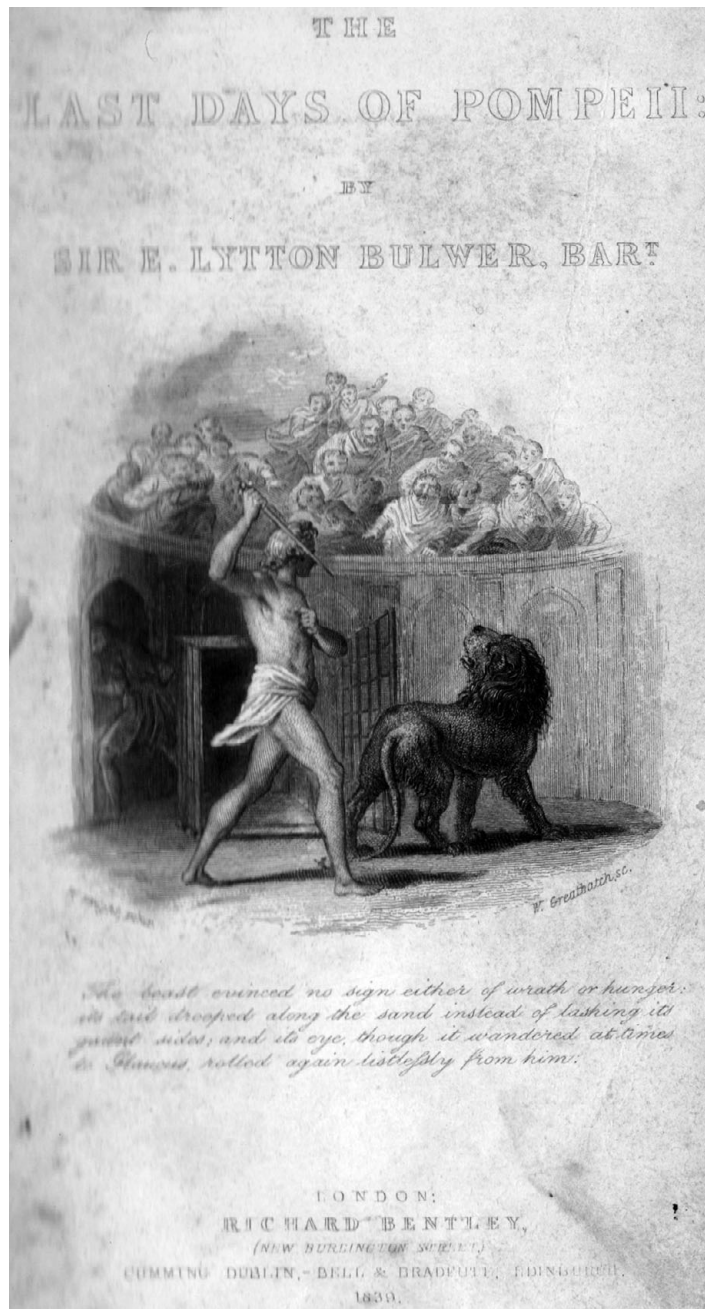


Figure 10. W. Greatbatch after a painting by W. Wright, “The beast evinced no sign either of wrath or hunger; its tail drooped along the sand instead of lashing its gaunt sides; and its eye, though it wandered at times to Glaucus, rolled again listlessly from him.” Title page vignette from *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London: Bentley 1839). Private collection.



Figure 11. After Hablot K. Browne. Engraved frontispiece from *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850). Private collection.

by local artists in their national styles, offer many of the same episodes as the British and American editions: the luxury, the witch, the lion, the catastrophe (Figure 12), and the death of Nydia.

The illustrations should not be dismissed or disregarded as mere optional extras prepared by others to decorate the authored literary work. On the contrary, once we disengage ourselves from romantic notions of autonomous immaterial literary texts, we can explore how illustrations in books had their own rhetorical tendencies and effects. Roland Barthes, in his writings on the rhetorics of cinema whose essence is movement, noted the central importance of the still photographs used, for example in advertising or in displays outside the cinema, in throwing off the constraint of time and making what he called a third meaning.⁴⁸ We suggest that the illustrations performed the same role for novels that also follow a logical-temporal order, appearing to demand to be read from the beginning to the end. Indeed it is striking how rapidly once the technical-economic constraints eased, the choice of episodes to be illustrated in the *Last Days* settled into a consistent pattern. It would be an exaggeration to say that a Victorian man, woman, or child glancing through an illustrated edition would learn the whole story, but like the audiences for burlesques, they could quickly pick up and follow the gist.

Soon the illustrations in the books merged with the conventions of the paintings. As a first-time reader of the *Last Days* in 1926 wrote:

Everyone knows them. The artist has clumped together a few girls in tunics, a fountain, a dove, a Nubian slave, a leopard skin, and a marble column and called the resultant hotchpotch “The Glory that was Rome.”⁴⁹

The subject of Sir Edward John Poynter’s painting *Faithful unto Death* (1865) was taken up and repeated later by the book illustrator Lancelot Speed, whose etching appeared in editions by more than one publisher in the 1890s.⁵⁰ Speed’s version (Figure 13) took its caption from the words of the novel. *Faithful unto Death* has usually been taken to illustrate selfless devotion to duty, maybe even Christian sacrifice.⁵¹ However Speed’s version, seen by many more people than Poynter’s, is more true both to the spirit and the text in the *Last Days* which reads: “He remained erect and motionless at his post. That hour had not animated the machine of the ruthless majesty of Rome into the reasoning and self-acting man. There he stood, amidst the crashing elements; he had not received the permission to desert his station.” In the background to Speed’s version can be seen women and children in danger and distress, but, as Bulwer had explained, in a modern phrase, Roman society has not yet socially evolved enough to make him go and help them.

If the soldier is “faithful,” he is displaying the traditional military virtue of obedience, as celebrated in Tennyson’s “Charge of The Light Brigade” (1854): “Theirs not to reason why.” He is like Casabianca, who, in Mrs. Hemans’s poem of that name (1826), a Victorian favourite, “stood on the burning deck / Whence all but he had fled.” But if the soldier is as incapable as a machine of thinking for himself, that only shows yet again that the Roman Empire did not deserve its imperial responsibility. Both versions are reassuring for Victorian readers and viewers. The Roman sentry is another of the many examples of Bulwer reminding the reader that his novel is based on archaeological observation. The footnote to the text of the novel reads: “The skeletons of more than one sentry were found at their posts.”⁵² As Simon Goldhill notes, Bulwer identified “each of his characters’ skeletons in the contemporary



NYDIA LEADING GLAUCUS AND IONE.

Figure 12. After Franz Kirchbach, "Nydia leading Glaucus and Ione," Engraved illustration from *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London and New York: Routledge, c1900). Private collection.



Figure 13. After Lancelot Speed, "Amidst the crashing elements: he had not received the permission to desert his station." Engraved illustration from *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London: Nisbet, c 1900). Private collection.

excavation” and had two skulls from Pompeii in his home: those of Arbaces and Calenus (201).

For viewers and readers outside the high bourgeoisie, a different *Last Days* was presented. When the copyrights expired the innovative publisher John Dicks commissioned a set of images for his sixpenny edition. They are highly dramatic, almost as if they were taken from stage versions, with violence and horror, but also a respect for ordinary Pompeians (Figure 14). The contradictions between the religious traditions were brought out starkly, if inadvertently, in an illustration in a French edition of the *Last Days* by the Armenian artist Charles Atamian, reproduced as Figure 15. The stones and burning lava from Vesuvius spill into the text in a bold *trompe l'oeil*, encouraging readers who are immersed in the story to see themselves as trying in vain to flee the destruction. The passage from the novel is however from the later scene when Glaucus and Ione wake up on their boat and find that order has been restored. In the English version: “They looked at each other and smiled – they took heart – they felt once more that there was a world around and a God above them.” Even in the original English, readers may have thought that, when all their family, friends, and neighbours had died a horrible death the day before, such sentiments were scarcely a satisfactory closure. In the French translation, the disjunction is exacerbated by a small change to the wording and the juxtaposition of image and text. As the French text reads, translated into English: “the world was still standing and was directed by a powerful and *merciful* God” (emphasis added, Figure 15). No wonder many Victorians were inclined to say “if this is Christianity, I prefer the pagans.”

The 1890s represent the high-water mark for the *Last Days*, when finally it reached mass readerships in addition to the mass viewerships it had long since achieved in some cities. By then it had been joined by a spate of what were known at the time as “toga novels” and “toga plays,” notably *Ben Hur* and *Quo Vadis*, but also others since forgotten, such as *The Sign of the Cross* or *The Barbarian Ingomar* which adopted the conventions of decadent Romans, virtuous Christians, and lions in the arena and were disseminated by the same range of media.⁵³

Throughout the century, the *Last Days* acted as a guidebook to Pompeii visitors, aiding their imagination as they contemplated the ruins.⁵⁴ Indeed by the turn of the nineteenth century, the art historians and archaeologists were becoming impatient at the extent to which the myths of the *Last Days* were overwhelming their attempts to understand the site. For example, the authors of *Pompeii, Painted by Alberto Pisa, Described by W. M. Mackenzie*, one of the first books to provide colour images, remark despairingly about the archaeological remains of the kitchens in the “house of Pansa”: “One wonders whence Bulwer-Lytton conjured up the gorgeous feasts that strew the pages of *The Last Days of Pompeii*” (47).

The “they had it coming” theme that rode on an archaeology that was almost as mythical, continued to exercise its power, as was made explicit by an American Christian bishop who visited with his family in 1895, calling it

this ruined city which was overwhelmed by the wrath of God in a single night: its polluted streets and houses, which even now indicate depths of depravity that have seldom been witnessed in the history of the world, ruined and utterly destroyed as habitations for the living. Surely the moralist will be excused for drawing his lesson from the destruction of this comparatively modern Sodom and Gomorrah. (Clark and Clark 572)⁵⁵

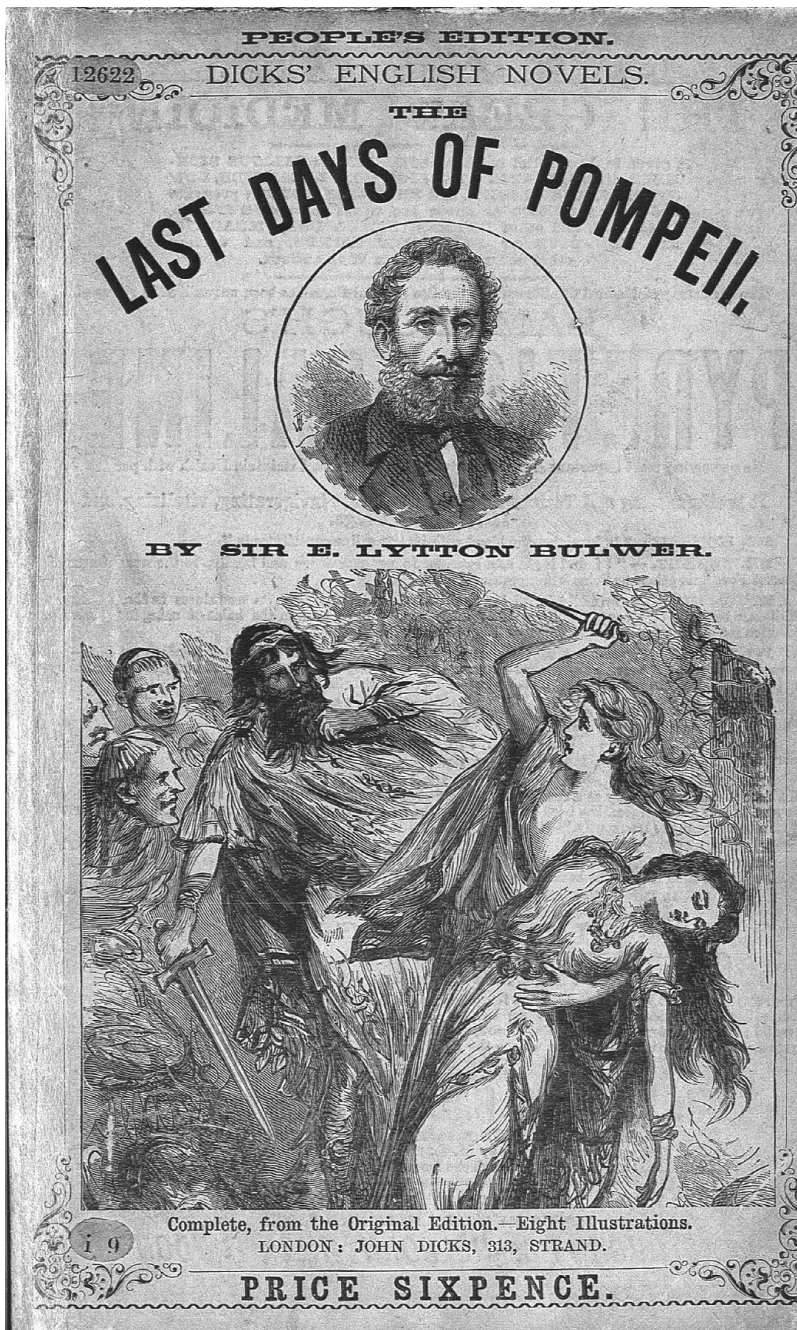


Figure 14. After Frederick Gilbert, “Athenian, resist me, and thy blood be on thine own head.” Engraved title page from *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London: Dicks, 1883). Courtesy of the British Library. A number of the Gilbert illustrations were also used in editions published by Ward & Lock.

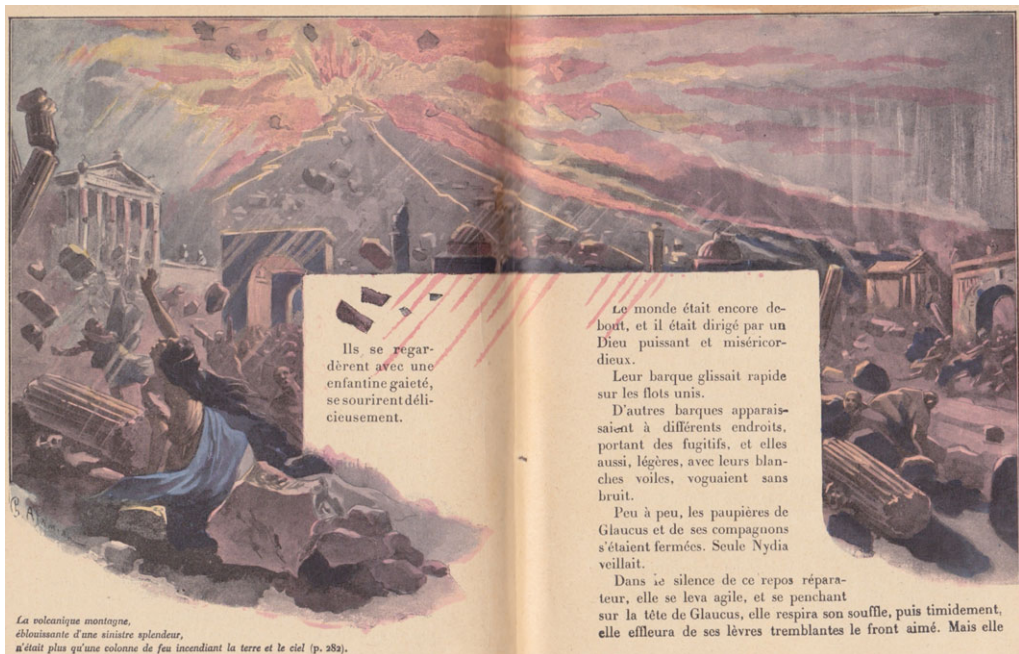


Figure 15. (Color online) After Charles Atamian, “The volcanic mountain, dazzling with a sinister splendour, was no more than a column of fire burning the earth and the heavens.” Illustration from *Les Derniers Jours de Pompéi, Adaptation inédite, ornée de 40 aquarelles de Ch. Atamian* (Paris: Linsson, early 20th century). Private collection.

This tradition as it stood at around 1900 slipped easily across into the new technology of radio, film, television, and other media where it has continued to thrive, renewed every few years for a new generation. The conventions and clichés that Hollywood adopted from the *Last Days*, and its theatrical and visual companions, are still as they were formalised in 1834 and earlier, including the archaic speech, the brutality, the beasts, the banquets, the baths, the lace-up sandals, the insertion of imaginary Christians, the misreading – and misrepresentation – of the scale and implications of the ruins, the portentous attempts to awe young people and adults into Anglo-American middle-class conformity, and the burlesques which undermined them.

For the modern visitor to the streets of Pompeii, Nydia no longer sells her flowers, Arbaces no longer spins his dark oriental spells, nor does Ione smile sweetly. But for the tens of millions elsewhere who are dependent on contemporary popular cultural production, only the names have changed. Even today it is necessary for any factual presentation of discoveries at Pompeii to begin by disowning the myths of the movies.⁵⁶ In the continuing competition between scientific archaeology and moralising myths, *The Last Days of Pompeii* has not been defeated.⁵⁷

School of Advanced study, University of London
University of Plymouth

NOTES

We should like to record our thanks to the following libraries, galleries, and particular individuals for their help: British Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, East London Theatre Archive, University College London Special Collections Library, Hamilton College Special Collections, London Library, Library of the Institute of Classical Studies London, Warburg Institute, the J Paul Getty Museum, and private collection. We would also like to thank Mary Beard, Abigail Bloom, Matthew Furber, Simon Goldhill, Christian Goodwillie, Peter Hinds, Ken Lapatin, Morna O'Neill, Robert Patten, the authors who kindly sent us copies of forthcoming books and articles, and the editors and reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.

1. Among recent studies are: Beard, "Taste and the Antique: Visiting Pompeii in the Nineteenth-century"; Daly; Goldhill; Hales and Paul; and Staehli.
2. Reproduced in Feaver, 57; see also Shell, 23–24. Another mezzotint of the destruction of Pompeii, by J. G. S. Lucas, one of Martin's imitators, published in Paris in 1835, can be regarded as the first artistic response to the *Last Days*. It includes a dedication to Bulwer.
3. *The Witch of the Volcano*, Pavilion Theatre, Playbills dated 26 December 1831 and Monday, 2 January 1832 (<http://www.elta-project.org/home.html>, accessed May 2011).
4. See, for example, a playbill for *The Siege of Troy or the Giant Horse of Sinon* (1833) at the Victoria and Albert Museum's Theatre Collection.
5. The Slavery Abolition Act, 1833, had voted financial compensation to British slave owners for the loss of their "property" brought about by the abolition of slavery.
6. *L'ultimo giorno di Pompeii or, The Last Day of Pompeii, A Serious Opera, in two acts. The music by Giovanni Pacini as represented at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, March 17 1831. The Scenery and Decorations by Messrs Gieve*. Printed and Sold at the King's Theatre [and other publishers, 1831]. Price, two shillings.
7. There is no mention of it in, for example, Ascione; Blessington, *Lady Blessington at Naples*; Fitzon; Gell, *Pompeiana*; Grell; Moormann; Parslow; *Pompeii as Source and Inspiration* (which usefully collects remarks made by famous visitors to the site); or Sez nec. Conversely, by the 1850s, the divine vengeance myth was common. The anonymous author of *Ruins of Sacred and Historic Lands*, an educational book for children, was teaching the myths of *Last Days*: "While the internal fires are preparing to overwhelm the guilty city, luxury, gross sensuality, and fraudulent scepticism are pictured as openly indulged in. Gambling and its attendant knavery are carried to their utmost excess, and pleasure alone is aimed at by the sensuous Pompeians. Much of this has been amply confirmed by the singular discoveries brought to light in excavating among the ruins" (338).
8. The argument ran that since the numerous ancient cities damned by the Judaeo-Christian god no longer existed, the truth of the prophetic books was vindicated, and any modern country that overindulged in luxury could expect the same collective punishment. See, for example Reverends Newton and Clark.
9. See the dedicatory epistle to Scott's *Ivanhoe*, his first novel set in medieval times.
10. In Bulwer's preface to the edition of 1850, that was normally later printed not as a replacement but as an addition to the preface of 1834.
11. Bridges discusses how Bulwer's novel "reunites the past and present" through "the pathos of human drama" (99–100).
12. First edition, i, xvi. More than one reviewer made the criticism that Bulwer had not taken account of John Gibson Lockhart's *Valerius, A Roman Story* (1821), an earlier attempt to apply Scott's approach to ancient Rome, although for a later time when Christians were actually present in the historic record, and without the fake archaic diction. (On Lockhart's novel, see Walker.) In a footnote also dropped, Bulwer poured scorn on his predecessor, the Abbé Barthélemy, whose *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece* (1788) originally written in French but translated into all the main European languages, had been amongst the most frequently encountered books about ancient Greece in Europe

- for two previous generations, partly because, although learned, it required no knowledge of the ancient languages and was therefore accessible to women and young people.
13. See Beard's essay on visiting Pompeii in the nineteenth-century.
 14. Quoted on Volney's title page from a passage in chapter 4.
 15. See, for example the lithographs illustrating the crumbling ruins of the Naples area in Bourke. The contrast is less stark for the modern visitor.
 16. A point made explicitly by one visitor, Joseph M. Sherer: "Pompeii is not *a ruin*, that is a monument of crumbling and mouldering decay, it is only a forsaken city" (295).
 17. Samuel Rogers too, who visited in 1814, reports his sense of being an intruder, hearing footsteps, someone laughing, and whispered conversations in what he twice calls "the City of the Dead" (195).
 18. Walter Scott had famously called Pompeii "The City of the Dead" when he visited shortly before his death in 1832 (Lockhart 7: 345–57).
 19. For the direct evidence of the role of the "imagined interventionists" from the archives of Frederick Warne and other publishers, see St Clair, "Following up *The Reading Nation*."
 20. For the relationship between book price and income, see St Clair, *The Reading Nation*, chapters 11 and 13.
 21. *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 Nov. 1834; *Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée*, 1 Nov. 1834; *Examiner*, 23 Oct. 1834; *Morning Chronicle*, 23 Oct. 1834.
 22. Visitors to Pompeii before the *Last Days*, such as Bourke (214) and Blessington (*At Naples* 63), had been surprised by how small the houses were.
 23. "Half of Pompeii is undiscovered – I have therefore every right to suppose that the undiscovered part may contain a mansion as large as that ascribed to the Egyptian." Bulwer-Lytton, Advertisement to the second edition, *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1839).
 24. Our estimate is made from the discussion by Gettman (139) of the evidence of the Bentley archives at the University of Illinois, compared with other archives, including other contracts made by Bulwer in the British Library. Shortly after the book was first published in the United States, a story was circulated that 10,000 copies of *The Last Days* had been sold on day 1 in London ("Fictitious Writing," 186), and that story has entered the secondary literature (see for example Bridges 91). However the claim is not only disproved by the archival record but is at variance with what is known about fiction publication at the time.
 25. Bentley records, British Library Additional Manuscripts 46,674, December 1838: First impression 4042, October 1839: Reprinted 1,000.
 26. Mumby, including a transcript of the contract (57).
 27. Routledge archives, microfilm reel 4 page 381. Routledge estimated for fifty editions, or rather impressions, of 10,000 each. Only a few copies have survived.
 28. Routledge archives, microfilm reel 5 page 711.
 29. Routledge archives, UCL Special Collections.
 30. Estimate from the discussion on the "Penny Poets" and "Penny Novels" in Whyte's *Life of W. T. Stead* (2: 228–31).
 31. See for example Q. D. Leavis (163).
 32. See Bautz, *The Reception of Jane Austen and Walter Scott*.
 33. The "disburied house of the Athenian Glaucus" is illustrated in an 1891 American edition of the *Last Days* published by Stokes and Grosset (1891), opposite p. 19. Morton notes that the local Italian guidebook referred to the *Last Days*: "One wonders how many English visitors still pay a sentimental visit to it" (292).
 34. Discussed by Moormann, though relying heavily on Lamothe and without making the connection with the *Last Days*.
 35. The phrase Mary Shelley cites is from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name."

36. Although no direct record has been found for the *Last Days*, the Bentley archives note the receipt of £50 for proof sheets for America, for *Paul Clifford*, another successful Bulwer title (no date, early 1830s). British Library, Microfilm of Bentley Archives 1829–1898, first reel.
37. The Routledge archives have examples of the manufacture of editions in England to be exported and sold as American editions in the United States.
38. For nineteenth-century stage adaptations, see list above. Buckstone's play at the Adelphi for example ran for 64 nights (Daly 275), Medina's play (actually Buckstone's) for a record 29 initial performances at the Bowery Theatre, New York (Bigsby and Wilmeth 1: 75).
39. Until the 1860s, neither legislation nor case law protected novels from being dramatised. See Stephens 97–102.
40. See, for example, advertisements in the *Morning Chronicle* for 2 Oct. 1834.
41. See Moody 165–73, and Worrall 227–32.
42. See Moody 171–73, and Worrall 196–217. Jane Austen's Mr. John Knightley takes his wife and children to Astley's where they are all "extremely amused" (*Emma* 386).
43. Theatre capacities are taken from Donohue, "The Theatre"; Howard; Hartnoll and Found; and Holder.
44. See Mayer, "Romans in Britain" 42.
45. Programme for the 250th night of *The Very Last Days of Pompeii* (private collection). It is "a decided hit" (*Bell's Life*, 24 Feb. 1872); and months after the first night, the burlesque is still "as popular as ever" (*English Women's Domestic Magazine*, 1 July 1872).
46. See for example *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860–1990*, an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, 2 April – 17 July 2011. See also Swanson, and Jenkyns.
47. The porcelain plaques were made by the Prussian Royal Porcelain factory, Königliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Berlin, that still exists.
48. See especially 65–68 in Barthes.
49. Magdalen King-Hall, *Daily Express* 1 Oct. 1926, from the "much discussed" series in which famous modern novelists were invited to review Victorian classics.
50. For example, editions of the *Last Days* by published by Nisbet (1900), and by Service & Paton (1897).
51. "This work illustrated the epitome of devotion to duty for Victorian morals" (Liverpool gallery website, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/walker/collections/19c/poynter.aspx>; accessed May 2011).
52. N. Parker Willis, who visited in 1833, immediately before the *Last Days*, and who gives a full description of what he was taken to see by the local guides, makes no mention of local stories at that time. Looking at skeletons thought to be of soldiers, however, he offers an altogether different explanation, which may have been current: they were soldiers "who, in the severity of Roman discipline, dared not fly and perished at their post" (1: 72).
53. For the use of the phrase "toga novel," see Frost; for toga plays, see Mayer, *Playing Out*, including the introduction to the volume by Katherine Preston. Goldhill points out that there was a "remarkable profusion of Victorian novels set in the Greek and Roman world [c. 200 between 1820 and 1914], and especially in the Roman Empire of early Christianity" (156).
54. One of many examples is N. Scotti's *Three hours in Pompeii: A real and practical guide book compiled in harmony with the description given by Bulwer Lytton in his work entitled The Last Days of Pompeii* (Naples, 1907). Hales and Paul also note that "nineteenth century visitors were quite prepared to believe that Bulwer-Lytton's Glaucus was the actual inhabitant of the House of the Tragic Poet" (9).
55. The story goes back at least to the second century Christian apologist Tertullian, who mentions Pompeii along with Sodom and Gomorrah and other ruined places in *De pallio* 2.4. In Pompeii itself a large graffito "sodoma gomora" was reportedly found scrawled 1.8 m above the floor on a wall in House IX.1.26 (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum IV, 4976).
56. For example, *Life and Death in a Roman Town*, with presenter Mary Beard, written and directed by Paul Elston (BBC, 2010).
57. A shorter version of this article will appear in the catalogue of the exhibition, "The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse and Resurrection."

Other Archives and Libraries and Resources

The Lord Chamberlain's Plays, and correspondence, British Library

Special Collections, University College London Library

(<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/library/special-coll/>)

Nineteenth-Century British Library Newspapers (<http://newspapers.bl.uk/blcs/>) accessed May 2011.

East London Theatre Archive (<http://www.elta-project.org/home.html>) accessed May 2011.

Nineteenth-century stage adaptations

UK 1834–35

Buckstone, J. B. *The Last Days of Pompeii, or, Seventeen Hundred Years Ago*. Adelphi from 15 December 1834.

Farrell, John. *The Last Days of Pompeii, or the city of the dead!* Pavilion from 19 January 1835.

Fitzball, Edward. *The Last Days of Pompeii, or, The Blind Girl of Thessaly*. Victoria from 27 December 1834.

Raymond, Mr. *Last Days of Pompeii, or, the Witch of Vesuvius!!* Garrick from 26 January 1835.

USA 1835

Barnes, Charlotte. *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Caldwell, New Orleans, 1835.

Medina, Louisa. *The Last Days of Pompei*. Bowery Theatre, New York, 1835 [a verbatim copy of Buckstone].

UK 1872/1889

Oxenford, John. *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Queen's, 1872.

Pain, James. *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Alexandra Palace, 1889.

Reece, Robert. *The Very Last Days of Pompeii*. Vaudeville, 1872.

Other Printed Books and Articles

Alexander, Isabella. "Neither Bolt nor Chain, Iron Safe nor Private Watchman, Can Prevent the Theft of Words': The Birth of the Performing Right in Britain." *Privilege and Property: Essays on the History of Copyright*. Ed. R. Deazley, M. Kretschmer, L. Bently. Cambridge: Open Book, 2010. 321–46.

Altick, Richard. *The English Common Reader, A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1957.

———. *The Shows of London*. Cambridge: Belknap, 1978.

Bank, Rosemarie. "Theatre and Narrative Fiction in the Work of the Nineteenth-Century American Playwright Louisa Medina." *Theatre History Studies* 3 (1983): 55–67.

Booth, M., et al., eds. *The Revels History of Drama in English: Vol. 6, 1750–1880*. London: Methuen, 1975.

[Burford, Robert.] *Description of a view of the ruins of the city of Pompeii, representing the forum, with the adjoining edifice and surrounding country, now exhibiting in the panorama, Strand*. Painted from drawings taken on the spot by Mr. Burford. London: J. and C. Adlard Printers, 1824.

Burford, Robert. *Description of a view of the ruins of the city of Pompeii and the surrounding country, now exhibiting at the Panorama, Leicester Square*. Painted by the proprietor, Robert Burford, assisted by H. C. Selous. London: Geo. Nichols, 1849.

Calé, Luisa. *Fuseli's Milton's Gallery: "Turning Readers into Spectators"*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.

Davis, Tracy. *The Economics of the British Stage 1800–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.

Dicks, Guy. *The John Dicks Press*. London: lulu.com, 2006.

- Groth, Helen. "Cosmopolitan Sympathies: Edward Bulwer-Lytton's Sensational Tale of Pompeii." *Literature and Sensation*. Ed. Anthony Uhlmann. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009. 12–23.
- Malamud, Margaret. *Ancient Rome and Modern America*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Maxwell, Richard. *The Victorian Illustrated Book*. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2002.
- Mitchell, Leslie. *Bulwer Lytton: The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters*. London: Hambledon Continuum, 2003.
- Simmons, James. "Bulwer and Vesuvius: The topicality of The Last Days of Pompeii." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 24 (June 1969): 103–05.
- Tanitch, Robert. *London Stage in the Nineteenth Century*. Lancaster: Carnegie, 2010.

WORKS CITED

- Acland, A. H. D. *A Guide to the Choice of Books for Students and General Readers*. London: Stanford, 1891.
- Ascione, Gina Carla. "Il 'souvenir di Pompei.' Dalle immagini neoclassiche alla diffusione dell'epoca della riproducibilità tecnica." *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 12/13 (2001–02): 35–51.
- Austen, Jane. *Emma*. 1816. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996.
- Barthes, Roland. *Image, Music Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath. London: Fontana, 1977.
- Bautz, Annika. *The Reception of Jane Austen and Walter Scott*. London: Continuum, 2007.
- Beard, Mary. *Pompeii: The Life of a Roman Town*. London: Profile, 2008.
- . "Taste and the Antique: Visiting Pompeii in the Nineteenth-century." Forthcoming: *Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples*. Ed. Carol Mattusch and Thomas Willette. Web. 7 Sept. 2011.
- Bigsby, C., and D. Wilmet, eds. *The Cambridge History of American Theatre, Vol 1: Beginnings to 1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008.
- Blessington, Marguerite, Countess of. *Lady Blessington at Naples*. Ed. Edith Clay. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979.
- . *The Idler in Italy*. Paris: Baudry, 1839.
- Bourke, Edmond de. *Notice sur les Ruines les plus Remarquable de Naples et de ses Environs, Rédigée par sa Veuve*. Paris: privately printed, 1823.
- Bridges, Meilee. "Objects of Affection: Necromantic Pathos in Bulwer-Lytton's City of the Dead." Hales and Paul. 90–104.
- Bulwer Lytton, Edward. *Athens: Its Rise and Fall*. London: Saunders and Otley, 1837.
- . *England and the English*. London: Bentley, 1833.
- . *Rienzi, Last of the Roman Tribunes*. London: Routledge, 1840.
- Bulwer Lytton, Rosina. *Cheveley: A Man of Honour*. 1839. Ed. Marie Mulvey-Roberts. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005.
- Calloway, Stephen, and Lynn F. Orr, eds. *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860–1900*. Exhibition catalogue. London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2011.
- Clark, Rev. Francis E., and Harriet E. Clark. *Our Journey around the World*. Hartford, 1895.
- Daly, Nicholas. "The Volcanic Disaster Narrative: From Pleasure Garden to Canvas, Page, and Stage." *Victorian Studies* 53.2 (Winter 2011): 255–85.
- Donohue, Joseph, ed. *The Cambridge History of British Theatre, Vol.2, 1660–1895*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.
- Donohue, Joseph. "The Theatre from 1800–1895." Donohue 219–71.
- Easson, Angus. "'At Home' with the Romans: Domestic Archaeology in *The Last Days of Pompeii*." *The Subverting Vision of Bulwer Lytton*. Ed. Allan Christensen. Newark: U of Delaware P, 2004. 100–15.

- Eustace, Rev. John Chedwode. *A Classical Tour through Italy An. MDCCCII, Fourth edition, revised and enlarged*. Leghorn: Glaucus Masi, 1817.
- Feaver, William. *The Art of John Martin*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1975.
- "Fictitious Writing." *Atkinson's Casket*. April 1837: 186.
- Fielding, T. H. *The Art of Engraving: With the Various Modes of Operation, under the Following Different Divisions: Etching, Soft-ground Etching, Line Engraving, Chalk and Stipple, Aquatint, Mezzotint, Lithography, Wood Engraving, Medallic Engraving, Electrography, and Photography*. London: M. A. Nattali, 1844.
- Fitzon, Thorsten. *Reisen in das befremdliche Pompeji, Antiklassizistische Antikenwahrnehmung deutscher Italienreisender 1750–1870*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004.
- Flanders, Judith. *Consuming Passions: Leisure and Pleasure in Victorian Britain*. London: Harper, 2006.
- Frost, Simon. "A Toga Tale of Ingomar the Barbarian." *Publishing History* 66 (2009): 7–30.
- Gell, William. *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices and Ornaments*. 2nd ed. London: Jennings and Chaplin, 1832.
- . *Reminiscences of Sir Walter Scott's Residence in Italy*. 1832. London: Thomas Nelson, 1957.
- . *Sir William Gell in Italy: Letters to the Society of Dilettanti*. Ed. E. Clay. London: Hamilton, 1976.
- Gettman, Royal. *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1960.
- Goldhill, Simon. *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2011.
- Grell, Chantal. *Herculaneum et Pompei dans les Récits des Voyageurs Français du XVIIIe Siècle*. Naples: Institut français de Naples, 1982.
- Hales, Shelley, and Joanna Paul, eds. *Pompeii in the Public Imagination from its Rediscovery to Today*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012 (forthcoming).
- Hartnoll, Phyllis, and Peter Found. *The Concise Oxford Companion to the Theatre*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993.
- Holder, Heidi. "The East-End Theatre." *Cambridge Companion to Victorian and Edwardian Theatre*. Ed. Kerry Powell. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.
- Howard, Diana. *London Theatres and Music Halls, 1850–1950*. London: The Library Association, 1970.
- Jenkyns, Richard. *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1980.
- Lamothe, Alex. de. *Le Fou de Vésuve*. 5th ed. Paris: Blériot Frères, 1879.
- Leavis, Q. D. *Fiction and the Rise of the Reading Public*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1932.
- Lockhart, John Gibson. *Life of Sir Walter Scott*. Edinburgh: Cadell, London: Murray, 1838.
- Lubbock, Sir John. *The Choice of Books*. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1896.
- Lytton, V., Earl of [Bulwer-Lytton's grandson]. *The Life of Edward Bulwer, First Lord Lytton*. London: Macmillan, 1913.
- Mayer, David, ed. *Playing out the Empire: Ben-Hur and Other Toga Plays and Films, 1883–1908. A Critical Anthology*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1994.
- Mayer, David. "Romans in Britain 1886–1910: Pain's 'The Last Days of Pompeii.'" *Theatrephile* 2.5 (Winter 1984–85): 41–50.
- Moody, Jane. *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.
- Moormann, E. M. "Guides in the Vesuvius Area Eternalised in Travelogues and Fiction." *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 14 (2003): 31–48.
- Morton, H. V. *A Traveller in Southern Italy*. London: Methuen, 1969.
- Mumby, Frank Arthur. *The House of Routledge 1834–1934*. London: Routledge, 1936.
- Newton, Rev. Thomas. *Dissertations on the Prophecies*. London: 1769.
- Parslow, Christopher. "Camillo Paderni's *Monumenti Antichi* and Archaeology in Pompeii in the 1760s." *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 18 (2007): 7–22.
- Pisa, Alberto, and W. M. Mackenzie. *Pompeii, Painted by Alberto Pisa, Described by W. M. Mackenzie*. Edinburgh: A & C Black, 1910.

- Pompeii as Source and Inspiration: Reflections in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Art, An Exhibition.* Ann Arbor: The Museum, 1977.
- Rogers, Samuel. *Italy, a Poem.* 1822–28. London, 1835.
- Ruins of Sacred and Historic Lands.* Edinburgh: Nelson, 1850.
- Russell, Dave. “Popular Entertainment 1776–1895.” Donohue, 369–87.
- Sargant, E. B., and Bernhard Wishaw. *A Guide Book to Books.* London: Frowde, 1891.
- Scott, Walter. Dedicatory epistle. *Ivanhoe.* 1819. Ed. Graham Tulloch. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000. 5–14.
- Seville, Catherine. “Edward Bulwer-Lytton dreams of copyright.” *Victorian Literature and Finance.* Ed. F. O’Gorman. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007. 55–72.
- Seznec, Jean. “Pompeii and Herculaneum in Eighteenth century French Literature.” *Archaeology* (1949): 150–58.
- Shell, Alison. “Publishing Pompeii: A Study in Cultural Censorships.” *Biblion* 4:2 (1995–96): 17–34.
- Shelley, Mary. *Rambles in Germany and Italy.* London, 1844.
- [Sherer, Joseph M.]. *Scenes and Impressions of Egypt and Italy, By the author of “Sketches in India.”* London: Longman, 1825.
- Stahli, Adrian. “Katastrophenszenarien: Der Untergang von Pompeji in Bildern.” Ed. Felicia S. Meynersen and Carola Reinsberg. *Jenseits von Pompeji. Faszination und Rezeption.* Mainz, 2011. 1–40.
- St Clair, William. “Following up *The Reading Nation*.” *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 6, 1830–1914.* Ed. David McKitterick. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. 704–34.
- . *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.
- Stephens, John. *The Profession of the Playwright: British Theatre 1800–1900.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.
- Swanson, Vern. *Alma-Tadema: The Painter of the Victorian Vision of the Ancient World.* London: Ash & Grant, 1977.
- Volney, Count Constantin F. de. *The Ruins or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires.* Trans. from the French. London: J. Johnson, 1792.
- Walker, Stanwood. “A False Start for the Classical-Historical Novel: Lockhart’s *Valerius* and the Limits of Scott’s Historicism.” *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 57.2 (2002): 179–209.
- Whyte, Sir Frederick. *Life of W. T. Stead.* London, 1925.
- Willis, N. P. *Pencillings by the Way.* 2nd ed. London: Macrone, 1836.
- Wilson, William Rae. *Records of a Route through France and Italy.* London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1835.
- . *Travels in the Holy Land, Egypt, Etc.* London: Longmans, 1831.
- Worrall, David. *Theatric Revolution: Drama, Censorship, and Romantic Period Subcultures 1773–1832.* Oxford: Oxford UP 2006.