Author/s:
Vranken, Thomas

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The magazine effect: reading Huckleberry Finn, Dorian Gray and The Return of Sherlock Holmes in the periodicals in which they first appeared

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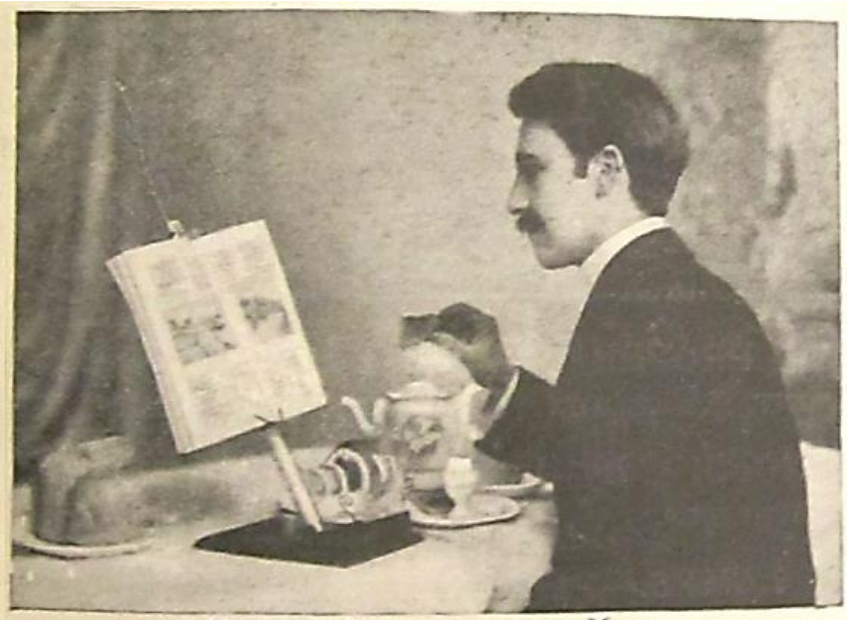
The Magazine Effect

Reading *Huckleberry Finn*, *Dorian Gray* and *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* in the Periodicals in which They First Appeared



MAGAZINE READING WHEN AT MEALS.

Thomas Vranken

Cover Image: Detail from ‘The “Simplex” Reading Stand and Magazine Holder’ [advertisement], p. lxxi, *The Strand Magazine* 27.159 (March 1904).

Abstract

As the nineteenth century transitioned into the twentieth, the dominant literary technology on both sides of the Atlantic was not the stand-alone novel but the periodical magazine. Building on Walter Dill Scott's contemporaneous idea of 'fusion', this thesis seeks to resurrect the total experience of reading three now canonical works – *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884-5), *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), and *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1903-5) – in the periodicals in which they first appeared. Ultimately, I argue, reading these otherwise familiar works alongside the ephemeral magazine material that accompanied them allows us to see the works in a new light.

In Part One, the thesis focuses on those issues of *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* in which *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* appeared, arguing that these issues envelop Mark Twain's novel in a key obsession of late nineteenth-century America: property. Here, particular attention is paid to the ways in which the issues valorise money (the focus of Chapter One), land (Chapter Two), and intellectual property (Chapter Three).

In Part Two, the thesis examines the issue of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* in which *The Picture of Dorian Gray* appeared, suggesting that the issue's championing of pseudoscience (another key obsession of the era) spills over into Oscar Wilde's novel. It is contended that the novel and the pseudoscientific pieces it appeared alongside share preoccupations of both content (Chapter Four) and form (Chapter Five); moreover, it is argued, Wilde's novel even manages to mirror both of the two slightly different portrayals of pseudoscience put forward by the separate British and American editions of the magazine (Chapter Six).

In taking this approach, Chapter Six becomes a significant structural turning point of the thesis – this is where the thesis bifurcates into transatlantic comparativism. In Part Three, this transatlantic national distinction is maintained with the suggestion that Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* stories read differently in Britain's *The Strand Magazine* and America's *Collier's Weekly*. While *The Strand Magazine* fostered intimacy, *Collier's Weekly* fostered order. In particular, this difference in emphasis is noticeable in the diegetic illustrations Doyle drew for the two magazines (Chapter Seven), in the magazines' representations of criminality (Chapter Eight), and in the magazines'

representations of public figures (Chapter Nine). The thesis ends with a brief discussion of the literary-cultural decline of mass magazines and the concomitant rise of modernism.

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I am grateful to my thesis supervisors, Clara Tuite and Stephen Knight, for their good humour, generosity, and advice. Further thanks go to my thesis examiners for their constructive comments. I here also thank the following research librarians for their generous assistance in providing me with digital reproductions of advertisements and historical correspondence: Margaret Tufts Tenney, Head of the Reading Room at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; Josh Caster, Archives Associate, University of Nebraska-Lincoln; Deborah Hodder, of Newnham College, University of Cambridge; Morgan Swan, Special Collections Education and Outreach Librarian, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College; Timothy J. Johnson Curator, and Cheryll Fong, Curatorial Assistant, Special Collections & Rare Books, University of Minnesota; Neda Salem, Mark Twain Papers Assistant, University of California Berkeley; Sara A. Borden, Digital Services Librarian, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and Peggy Perdue, Arthur Conan Doyle Collection, Toronto Public Library.

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There is a constraint about writing for the Century, somehow … what would read quite fairly elsewhere, loses force & grace in the company of so much derned good writing.

– Mark Twain, Letter to the Century

Now sir, I ask you this: what would anybody say would be the effect of 'Phrases and Philosophies' like that appearing in conjunction with such an article as 'The Priest and the Acolyte'?

– The Real Trial of Oscar Wilde

The odds are enormous against its being coincidence … No, my dear Watson, the two events are connected – must *be connected. It is for us to find the connection.*

– 'The Adventure of the Second Stain'

Introduction

Today, when we think of literature and its history, we think almost automatically in terms of books. Yet, as the nineteenth century transitioned into the twentieth, the dominant literary technology, in both the United States and the United Kingdom, was not the stand-alone novel but the periodical magazine. In fact, almost everything from this period still read today – from *Madame Bovary* (1856) to *The Bostonians* (1885-6) to *The Innocence of Father Brown* (1910-1) – first entered the public sphere bound together with a great variety of other, now largely forgotten, material: with miscellaneous articles, editorials, advertisements, poems, letters to the editor, and long-discarded prose. In this thesis I seek to resurrect this material, both for its own inherent socio-historical value and because of what the material has to say about the now-canonical works that it appeared alongside. Ultimately, I argue, in so doing, we are able to see such works in a new light. More specifically, I seek to re-embed three familiar *fin de siècle* texts in the material, social, historical, and biographical contexts of the magazines in which they first appeared: Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884-5), Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), and Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1903-5).

Aside from their continuing popularity, these particular texts have been chosen for a variety of reasons. For one thing, the very fact that they were all magazine texts hints at the diversity of the magazine genre – a genre capable of eclecticism when it came to both what individual magazines chose to publish and how they chose to publish it.[1] Furthermore, despite their diversity, these texts relate to one another in a number of unexpected ways; indeed, together, they form a kind of subterranean network that will be explored further as this thesis develops. Moreover, the authors of these texts were themselves both aware of one another and linked to one another through a series of fleeting and mostly-unplanned

[1] Even when magazine publication is considered, it tends to be considered in a fairly narrow way, as synonymous with serial publication *à la* Dickens – consecutive instalments of a novel appearing in consecutive issues of a periodical, each instalment ending in a dramatic climax so as to ensure a continued readership. However, as will become clear, despite being magazine-texts, the texts that I have chosen to focus on were published in a variety of formats, none of which involved serialisation: only selected excerpts from *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* appeared in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*; *The Picture of Dorian Gray* appeared in the British and American editions of a single issue of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*; and *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* appeared simultaneously in Britain's *The Strand Magazine* and America's *Collier's Weekly* as a run of discrete but interrelated short stories.

physical encounters.[2] Finally, to focus on these particular texts is to focus on two key decades in the history of the great mass-market magazine: in many ways, this was when 'many of the modern features of mass literary media fully established themselves', and when the cultural and economic power of the genre was at its peak.[3]

By this stage, the genre had itself been around for some time. The emergence of the 'magazine' can be dated with surprising specificity. Newspapers and periodicals existed in Britain as early as the seventeenth century.[4] For many years, though, the word 'magazine' (a French term, itself derived from the Arabic) referred to something entirely distinct from such phenomena: to an enclosed space in which to store assorted goods and provisions. In the first half of the eighteenth century, however, the word's signification began to change. A remarkable, near-contemporaneous, record of this linguistic evolution can be found in Samuel Johnson's mid-eighteenth century masterwork *A Dictionary of the English Language*. Here, while Johnson still defines 'magazine' as, primarily, 'A storehouse, commonly an arsenal or armoury, or repository of provisions', in the second half of Johnson's bi-partite definition we are told that 'Of late this word has signified a miscellaneous pamphlet, from a periodical miscellany named the *Gentleman's Magazine*'.[5]

The Gentleman's Magazine, the world's first 'magazine', was founded in London, in 1731, by 'several gentlemen' who had come together 'to treasure up, as in a Magazine, the most remarkable pieces' then appearing in England's many rapidly multiplying

[2] Each member of this authorial triad met the other two members of the triad on at least one recorded occasion. In 1889, Wilde and Doyle dined together at London's salubrious Langham Hotel: Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Memories and Adventures [Chapters VI-VII]', pp. 557-66, *The Strand Magazine* 66.396 (December 1923), p. 565; in 1892 Wilde and Twain stumbled into each other at a remote German spa: Clara Clemens, *My Father: Mark Twain* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1931), p. 113; and, in 1907, Doyle was one of a number of illustrious guests invited to a dinner attended by Twain at the London residence of the American Ambassador to Britain: Harriet Elinor Smith *et al.* eds., *The Autobiography of Mark Twain: The Complete and Authoritative Edition (Vol. 3)* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015), p. 74. For more on the German meeting of Twain and Wilde, see my article: 'Transatlantic Relations: The Convergence of Oscar Wilde and Mark Twain', pp. 113-20, *The Wildean* 45 (July 2014).

[3] Christopher Wilson, *The Labor of Words: Literary Professionalism in the Progressive Era* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1985), p. 2. Wilson lists, as examples of these 'modern features', 'headlines, by-lines, literary agents, [and] organized promotional campaigns': ibid.

[4] James Sutherland has suggested that the creation of *The Oxford Gazette* (later *The London Gazette*), in 1665, 'marks the break from the old newsbook format to that of the modern newspaper': James Sutherland, 'The Periodical', pp. 233-244, *English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). As with seventeenth century newspapers, most seventeenth century periodicals were relatively short-lived: examples include *Poor Robin's Intelligence* (1676-7), *The Weekly Packet, Or Advice From Rome* (1678-83), and *The Gentleman's Journal* (1692-4).

[5] Samuel Johnson, 'Magazine', *A Dictionary of the English Language: In Which the Words Are Deduced From Their Originals…* (London: W. Strahan *et al*, 1755).

newspapers.[6] The publication quickly became a Tory institution to which various influential writers (amongst them Johnson himself) contributed – an acquired status that helps to explain, no doubt, the fact that the periodical would go on to survive for nearly two centuries.[7] Today, though, the periodical is perhaps most notable for its impact on both the English language and the history of publishing. Before it was even a year old, *The Gentleman's Magazine* had another magazine, *The London Magazine*, for a rival; and, by the end of 1738, *The Gentleman's Magazine* was able to complain that its 'success' had spawned 'almost twenty imitators', each of which featured the word 'magazine' in its title,[8] amongst them *The Universal Magazine*, *The Literary Magazine*, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Monthly Oracle*, *The Country Magazine*, *The General Magazine*, *The Oxford Magazine*, *The Distiller's Magazine*, *The Manchester Magazine*, *The Leeds Magazine*, *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Lady's Magazine*, and *The Weekly Magazine.* In 1741, Benjamin Franklin (an avid reader of *The Gentleman's Magazine*) even began *The General Magazine, and Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations in America*.[9]

While *The Gentleman's Magazine* was already boasting of its circulation rate in the 1730s ('ten thousand monthly for [our] labours call', crows the editor through 'Bardus' in 1736),[10] in the nineteenth century a number of factors combined to provide periodicals like those discussed in this thesis with much larger markets. For one thing, the era's enthusiasm for education led to the passing of a series of bills by which school attendance became mandatory.[11] As a result, literacy rates continued to climb until, by the end of the century,

[6] 'Introduction', [i], *The Gentleman's Magazine* 1.1 (January 1731).

[7] Over time, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and magazines more generally, turned increasingly towards publishing original material. However, even at the turn of the twentieth century, magazines regularly reprinted material first published elsewhere (copyright laws being somewhat ambiguous about such matters).

[8] 'To the Reader', [i-ii], *The Gentleman's Magazine* (December 1738), [i].

[9] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Volume I (1741-1850)*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 73. As Michel Warner notes of Franklin (who also ran a number of newspapers), 'no one understood better than he the connection between public discourse and representative polity': Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 76. Strictly speaking, however, *The General Magazine* was not the first magazine printed in America – the first issue of *The American Magazine* had pre-empted Franklin's publication by some three days: Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Volume 1*, p. 71.

[10] 'Bardus', 'To the Candid Readers of This Work, Now (Decem. 31, 1736) Arriv'd to Six Volumes', [i-ii], *The Gentleman's Magazine* (December 1736), [i].

[11] A number of education Acts were passed in Victorian Britain. The most significant of these was The Elementary Education Act (or 'Foster's Act') of 1870, by which, as Andrew Wright notes, 'primary education was made mandatory for all': Andrew Wright, *Religious Education and Critical Realism: Knowledge, Reality and Religious Literacy* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), p. 176. In the United States, reform was more piecemeal,

producers of written material in both England and America were able to conceive of almost every member of their nation as a potential customer for their wares.[12] At the same time, technological developments (such as stereotyping) increased the speed at which material could be printed, just as paper costs declined.[13] In Britain, other financial impediments dissolved when what were known as the 'taxes on knowledge' were abolished – the century old levy on advertising being repealed in 1853 and that on paper in 1861.[14] In the United States, the completion of the transcontinental railway in 1869 and (ten years later) the introduction of highly-preferential postage rates for periodicals allowed publishers to distribute magazines 'to millions more readers than had been possible previously'.[15]

Developments of this kind ensured that, while the book-publishing industry did expand in Britain and America during the nineteenth century, it was the periodical press that made the greatest strides. At the same time, the press became increasingly receptive to publishing fiction during this period: as Laurel Brake argues, 'the inclusion of fiction in commodity forms of journalism (magazines, reviews, and eventually newspapers) is similar

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as it was individual States that passed mandatory school attendance legislation rather than the federal government. Still, by 1890, note John Folger and Charles Nun in their monograph for the American Bureau of the Census, most of the North had passed legislation requiring children to attend school, meaning that 'enrolment in American schools grew rapidly during the period from 1840 to 1900', from about 37.5 percent in 1840 (when the American Census first began collecting such information) to about 64 percent in 1890: John Folger and Charles Nam, *Education of the American Population: A 1960 Census Monograph* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 3, 25.

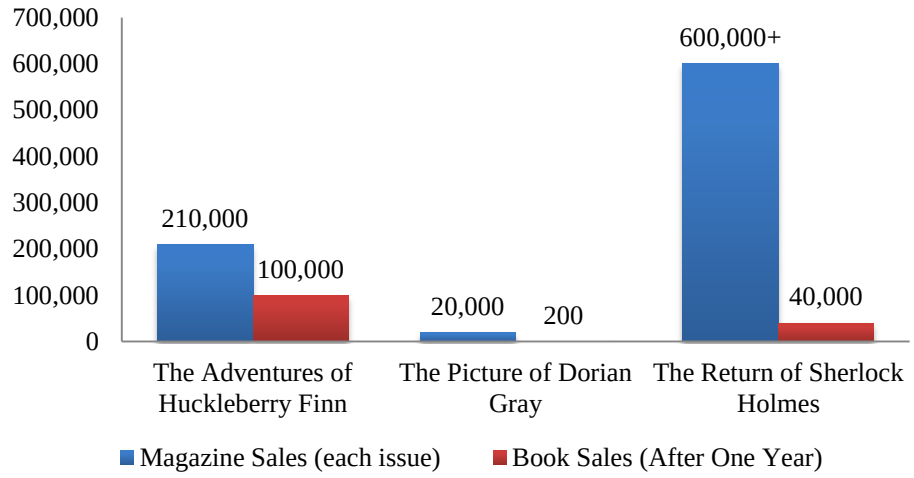
[12] Working with Census data once again, Folger and Nun have noted that, whereas 'the true literacy rate in 1840' was between 70 to 75 percent in America, by 1900 that number had risen to around 90: *ibid.*, pp. 113-4. As the British census did not record English literacy rates in the nineteenth century, one can only work with the (less reliable) statistics implied by the signing of the marriage register, which, as Raymond Williams suggests, indicates an increase in English literacy from around 58 percent in 1839 to around 95 percent in 1893: Raymond Williams, 'The Press and Popular Culture: An Historical Perspective', pp. 41-50, George Boyce, James Curran, and Pauline Wingate eds., *Newspaper History: From the 17th Century to the Present Day* (London: Constable, 1978), p. 42.

[13] Hazel Dicken-Garcia records that, 'with the adoption of a more efficient paper-making machine', paper costs (long a significant factor in the economics of printing) decreased in America 'from $416 a ton in 1863 to $60 a ton by 1892': Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), p. 61.

[14] P. G. Hall, 'The Older Industries: Printing', pp. 96-112, *Industries of London Since 1861* (Oxford: Routledge, 1962), p. 105.

[15] Charles Johanningsmeier, 'The Industrialization and Nationalization of American Periodical Publishing', pp. 311-38, Scott E. Casper, Joanne D. Chaison, and Jeffrey D. Groves eds., *Perspective on American Book History: Artefacts and Commentary* (Amherst and Boston: The University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 329-32. Johanningsmeier notes that, while 'first-class postage cost three cents per half ounce', under the Postal Act of 1879, 'second class matter, including all periodicals, could be mailed for only two cents *per pound*' (Johanninsmeier's emphasis, *ibid.*)

to other strategies in the industry to expand readership';[16] and, by 1893, William Dean Howells was observing that 'most of the best literature now sees the light in the magazines'.[17] Inevitably, then, texts such as those with which this thesis is concerned existed, for the vast majority of their early readers, as magazine-stories rather than as separate volumes (see graph 1).



Graph 1: Magazine Sales for Each Issue *vs* Book Sales after One Year (Partly Estimates)

Indeed, whereas *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* immediately entered between 190,000 and 225,000 homes when it was published in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*,[18] five weeks after the stand-alone novel was released in America only 43,500 copies had been sold, after which time (Hamlin Hill notes) sales 'dropped sharply'.[19] Moreover, even though the circulation of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* was significantly

[16] Laurel Brake, 'The Advantage of Fiction: The Novel and the "Success" of the Victorian Periodical', pp. 9-21, Beth Palmer and Adelene Buckland eds., *A Return to the Common Reader: Print Culture and the Novel, 1850-1900* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2013) p. 12

[17] William Dean Howells, 'The Man of Letters as a Man of Business', pp. 429-45, *Scribner's Magazine* 14.4 (October 1893), p. 432.

[18] For this, see the figures cited for the December 1884, January 1885 and February 1885 issues in a notice published in a subsequent issue of *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*: 'The Civil War Papers in The Century Magazine', [1], *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 29.6 (April 1885). See also Arthur John, *The Best Years of the Century: Richard Watson Gilder,* Scribner's Monthly, *and* Century Magazine, *1870-1909* (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1981), p. 129.

[19] Hamlin Hill ed., *Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers, 1867-1894* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 187. As such, in the subsequent six weeks, only an additional 7,500 copies were sold: Harriet Elinor Smith *et al.* eds., *The Autobiography of Mark Twain: The Complete and Authoritative Edition (Vol. 1)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), p. 597.

smaller than that of *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*,[20] when *The Picture of Dorian Gray* appeared in the magazine it is still likely to have been disseminated far more widely than it was when it was released as a separate book a few months later. (It took almost five years for this separate book to sell through its first edition of 1000 copies.)[21] Finally, while *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* stories appeared in magazines with circulations of between 300,000 and 600,000 (*The Strand Magazine* in Britain and *Collier's Weekly* in the United States),[22] when the stories were brought together as a stand-alone collection, it seems that, a year after being published, combined British and American sales had still only reached around 40,000.[23]

* * *

If the medium really is the message (or, at least, part of the message),[24] then such statistics, however reductive, recommend some sort of exploration of the magazine as a reading experience. That reading experience can, of course, be approached in a variety of ways: one could seek to interrogate these magazines as a purely twenty-first century reader, or as a kind of dislocated and universalised 'ideal' reader, or as a reader living in the period in which the magazines were first produced. To a certain extent, this thesis will inevitably slip between these modes. On the whole, however, the thesis seeks to explicate how these

[20] At the time, the publishers of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* refused to release specific circulation numbers. As such, it is hard to say exactly how many copies of each issue the magazine sold. Letters sent from the editor to the owner of the magazine do, however, indicate that, in the months before it published *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 5000 copies of the periodical were being sold in Britain: see Nicholas Frankel ed., *The Picture of Dorian Gray: An Annotated, Uncensored Edition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 59. As a long-established American magazine (the British edition only began appearing in January 1890), the number of copies sold in the United States (itself a far larger market) would, presumably, have been significantly higher than this, placing the total transatlantic circulation of the magazine in at least the low tens of thousands.

[21] Stuart Mason ed., *Art and Morality: A Record of the Discussion Which Followed the Publication of 'Dorian Gray'* (London: F. Palmer, 1912), p. 22.

[22] See Reginald Pound, *The Strand Magazine: 1891-1950* (London: Heinemann, 1966), p. 32; see also the memoirs of the then-editor of *Collier's Weekly*: Norman Hapgood, *The Changing Years* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1930), p. 172.

[23] More than a year after it appeared in Britain, fewer than 12,000 copies of the book appear to have been sold: for this, compare the figures relating to the number of copies in the first edition (15,000), with the number of copies subsequently reissued 'with a new title page' one year later (3,356), noted in Richard Lanclyn Green and John Michael Gibson, *A Bibliography of A. Conan Doyle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 136. Green and Gibson also note that an extant royalty statement records the sale of 28,643 copies of the book in the United States (although, frustratingly, they do not give a date for when exactly this royalty statement was produced): *ibid.*, p. 137.

[24] See Marshall McLuhan, 'The Medium is the Message', pp. 7-23, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London: Routledge, 1964; 2001).

magazines might have been read by their initial audiences. Making generalised claims about specific acts of reading (especially when that reading took place many years ago) is necessarily an enterprise somewhat fraught. Yet when it comes to turn of the century magazines, there is at least one historically-contemporaneous school of thought that provides the literary historian with a fairly sophisticated conceptual framework on which to build. One of the fundamental developments in magazine publishing during the nineteenth century was the shift that occurred from a financial model based on subscription fees to a financial model based on advertising – a shift symptomatic of the historical advent of advertising more generally.[25] Attendant on the rise of advertising was the rise of an equally intriguing field, advertising psychology.

One of the leaders in this new field was Walter Dill Scott, a professor in applied psychology at Northwestern University with a particular interest in marketing. In Scott's 1903 book, *The Theory of Advertising* (part conceptual disquisition, part how-to manual), the author sets out his central philosophy: the workings of the human mind might appear random and chaotic, but certain cognitive laws can be distinguished nonetheless.[26] One such law is that of 'fusion' (a concept directly and indirectly returned to throughout this thesis). 'We are not able to look at things impartially and abstractly', Scott announces, 'but we judge of everything in light of its environment – [everything] fuses with its environment and becomes a part of it'.[27] This psycho-interpretive reality,[28] Scott concludes, holds not only opportunities but risks for the ad-man or woman. By way of example, Scott recounts how, '[i]n a Chicago daily for June 22, 1902, there appeared three partial columns giving announcements of deaths and burials inserted into which was a middle column comprising

[25] Johanningsmeier, 'Industrialization and Nationalization', p. 332.
[26] Walter Dill Scott, *The Theory of Advertising: A Simple Exposition of the Principles of Psychology in Their Relation to Successful Advertising* (Boston: The Fort Hill Press, 1903), pp. 34-5. Scott's book had itself initially appeared as a series of articles in *Mahin's Magazine*. Scott's work is still seen as ground-breaking today. Roland Marchland dates academic psychology's 'stressing [of] the efficiency of the emotional appeal in advertising' back to *The Theory of Advertising*, while Jackson Lears identifies Scott's later study *The Psychology of Advertising* (1908) as particularly 'influential': Roland Marchland, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 69; Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994),p. 208
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[28] Today, potentially comparable ideas are espoused by proponents of 'extended mind theory' (a subfield of cognition theory), for whom, to quote two of the field's founders, 'the mind extends into the world', 'the human organism' being 'linked with ... external entit[ies] in a two-way interaction': Andy Clarke and David Chambers, 'The Extended Mind', pp. 7-19, *Analysis* 58.1 (January 1998), pp. 12, 8.

an advertisement for "Dr. Sleight's fat-reducing tablets"' (Scott provides a facsimile of the advertisement and its surrounds, which is reproduced below: see fig. 1).


DEATHS.

Don't try to reduce your weight by taking drugs that are injurious to your health.

Dr. Sleight's Fat Reducing Tablets

Fig. 1: An example of 'fusion' in Walter Dill Scott's *The Theory of Advertising* (p. 106)

'It might be said that this advertisement would attract attention because of its position', Scott continues, 'but the effect of the atmosphere of death and burials upon the fat-reducing tablets is too apparent to need comment'.[29] For, Scott warns, 'the medium gives a tone of its own to all the advertisements in it':

> Your advertisement will, to a lesser or greater extent, fuse with the publication in which it appears, and the product will not be your own advertisement as it was prepared by you, but as it comes out of the mould into which you inserted it. The statement that a man is known by the company he keeps is not often challenged, and yet the statement would have been equally true if asserted of an advertisement.[30]

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 106. Scott's observation can also be seen as prefiguring Tara Penry's claim that nineteenth-century magazines blur the 'boundaries of inherited cultural divisions' (in this case, boundaries separating advertisements and obituaries): Tara Penry, 'When Students Write Literary History: Regionalism, Populism, and Literary Value in a Gold Rush Magazine', 176-13, Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy 24.1 (2013), p. 176.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

Or, indeed, I would contend, if asserted of anything printed in a magazine. Back in 1731, each and every issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* bore the Latin motto *E Pluribus Unum*, or, 'one from many'.[31] The magazine form, the genre's prototype implied, was capable of bringing coherency to that which was otherwise diverse. The central argument of this thesis builds on this prototypical implication and on the ideas of Scott to suggest that, just as with Scott's advertisements, when literary texts are placed in magazines the hermeneutic 'product' becomes, not the piece of fiction as prepared by the author, but a heavily mediated text shaped by 'the mould' that is the magazine and its other content. It is primarily this that I term 'the magazine effect'. (A secondary meaning concerns the simple quantitative consequences of magazine publication on readership rates and distribution.) More specifically, my argument is that, as readers, we instinctively attempt to impose coherency onto the magazine's otherwise erratic eclecticism – an imposed coherency capable of radically transforming the author's submitted manuscript and its intended meaning, just as in Scott's example, in which the paper's 'atmosphere of death and burials' metastasises disastrously into 'Dr. Sleight's fat reducing pills'.[32]

In developing this argument, this thesis has been structured chronologically, around three broad Parts, each of which takes as its focus one of my three central texts. In Part One, I begin with *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as it appeared in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine.* In Part Two, I move on to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* as it appeared in the British and American editions of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine.* Finally, in Part Three, I examine the short story series *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* as it appeared in *The Strand Magazine* and *Collier's Weekly*.

In each of these Parts, I show how the central text can be read alongside the other stories, or articles, or illustrations,[33] or advertisements, or editorials, or letters-to-the-editor

[31] Fifty-one years later, *E Pluribus Unum* would become the official motto of the United States. 'The theory most often advanced', notes Monroe Deutsch, is that the 'motto [came] directly from the … *Gentleman's Magazine*': Monroe E. Deutsch, 'E Pluribus Unum', pp. 387-407, *The Classical Journal* 18.7 (April 1923), p. 391.

[32] Authorial intentionality remains, of course, a highly contentious category, and the extent to which we could have ever located the author's intended meaning (or would have wanted to) even in the submitted manuscript remains an open question.

[33] Readers of this thesis will notice just how visual magazines were during this period: as an aspiring magazine proprietor declares in Howells' 1889 novel *A Hazard of New Fortunes*, 'Do I look like the sort of lunatic who would start a thing in the twilight of the nineteenth century *without* illustrations? *Come* off' (Howells' emphasis): William Dean Howells, 'A Hazard of New Fortunes', pp. 217-23, *Harper's Weekly*

that appeared in the same magazine issue/s. In the process, each Part becomes a kind of case study, through which I point to a significant manner in which coherency might be drawn out of the magazine's apparent chaos, thereby providing new insights into the meaning of these now canonical texts. As a result, cross-reading (the interpretive act of relating magazine texts to one another) becomes both my argument and my methodology.

More specifically, in Part One, I focus on those issues of *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* in which *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* appeared, arguing that these issues envelop Twain's novel in a key obsession of late nineteenth-century America: property.[34] Particular attention is paid to the ways in which the issues valorise money (the focus of Chapter One), land (Chapter Two), and intellectual property (Chapter Three). Ultimately, I conclude, the magazine's obsession with property ensured that while the magazine simplified and dehumanised Twain's Jim it also depicted slavery more openly: as an institution not benevolently paternalistic but coldly economic. In Part Two, I examine the issue of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* in which *The Picture of Dorian Gray* appeared, arguing that the issue's championing of pseudoscience (a second key obsession of the era)[35] spills over into Wilde's novel. Indeed, I suggest, the novel and the pseudoscientific pieces that it appeared alongside share preoccupations of both content (Chapter Four) and form (Chapter Five); moreover, I note, Wilde's novel even manages to contain and mirror the two slightly different portrayals of pseudoscience put forward by the separate British and American editions of the magazine (Chapter Six). Through these interactions with pseudoscientific texts, I conclude, Wilde's novel itself begins to seem like a kind of confidence trick to be read with caution and suspicion. Structurally, Chapter Six is a significant turning point for the thesis – this is where the thesis bifurcates into transatlantic comparativism. In Part Three, I suggest that *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* stories read

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33.1683 (23 March 1889), p. 222. Aside from enhancing a magazine's marketability, illustrations (in a field often defined by inter-periodical copying) could be employed for very practical purposes in the nineteenth century: as Meredith L. McGill has noted of the illustrations in Poe's fiction, 'the expense of commissioning new woodcuts … [meant that] editors who sought to reprint Poe's extravaganza[s] found it economical to apply to the magazine in which Poe's [stories] first appeared': Meredith McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 183.

[34] On this obsession see, for instance, Lawrence R. Samuel, *Rich: The Rise and Fall of American Wealth Culture* (New York: AMACOM Books, 2009).

[35] See, for instance, Alex Warwick, 'Margins and Centres', pp. 1-16, David Clifford, Alex Warwick, Elisabeth Wadge, and Martin Willis eds., *Repositioning Victorian Sciences: Shifting Centres in Nineteenth-Century Scientific Thinking* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2006).

differently in Britain's *The Strand Magazine* and America's *Collier's Weekly*: while *The Strand Magazine* fostered intimacy, *Collier's Weekly* fostered order (intimacy and order being categories that scholars of celebrity have increasingly come to view as significant for this period).[36] In particular, this difference in emphasis is noticeable in the diegetic illustrations Doyle drew for the two magazines (Chapter Seven), in the magazines' representations of criminality (Chapter Eight), and in the magazines' representations of public figures (Chapter Nine). Thus, the *Return* stories can be seen as a metonymical microcosm of Doyle's complicated desire for a broader Anglo-American reunion. As the above summary suggests, the increasingly diverse manner in which these texts first appeared – *Huckleberry Finn* being published in one magazine, *Dorian Gray* being published in one magazine with two editions, and *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* being published in two entirely separate magazines – requires the arguments made in this thesis to become themselves increasingly complex and discriminating.

Maurice S. Lee has warned that 'since the decline of formalism in the mid-twentieth century, major developments in literary theory and digital technology have moved in the direction of intertextuality, superabundance, and unfalsifiability';[37] in other words, Lee has warned that the spread of New Historicism, now combined with the self-confirming searchability of the Internet, has led some scholars to construct 'seeming links' between literary texts and historical documents that others would dismiss as little more than 'arbitrary'.[38] On first reading, it would be easy to level the same charge at this thesis. However, when examined more closely, the methodology here adopted rests on surer ground. One significant factor stems from the formalism of the thesis and its limited corpus. As Brake has noted, 'the magazine format … invites intertextual and dialogic readings of the larger magazine text, of which the individual text is a part';[39] indeed, those for whom the 'magazine text' subsumes the 'individual text' might well argue that the methodology of this thesis should be labelled not in*ter*-textuality but in*tra*-textuality. However, as the more conventional term, 'intertextuality' will suffice for present purposes.

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[36] See, for instance, Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi's edited collection *Constructing Charisma: Celebrity, Fame, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010).
[37] Maurice S. Lee, 'Falsifiability, Confirmation Bias, and Textual Promiscuity', pp. 162-171, *J19: The Journal of Nineteenth-Century Americanists* 2.1 (Spring 2014), p. 165.
[38] Ibid., p. 164.
[39] Laurel Brake, 'Writing, Cultural Production, and the Periodical Press in the Nineteenth Century', pp. 54-72, J. B. Bullen ed., *Writing and Victorianism* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), p. 55.

Just how much those producing these magazines consciously shaped this intertextual reading process remains unclear. Deborah Wynne has argued that mid-century editors (of journals such as *All the Year Round* and *The Cornhill Magazine*) were 'sensitive to the possible connections which could be made between the novels serialised in their magazines and the various texts which made up each issue' and that these editors therefore 'invited' readers 'to adopt an intertextual approach'.[40] The extent to which this was also true of the magazines discussed in this thesis remains debatable. However, a number of historical factors do still guard against accusations of arbitrariness, as there is much to suggest that intertextuality guided how these magazines were read when they first appeared. For one thing, there is (as discussed above) the testimony of Walter Dill-Scott, for whom money could be made in exploiting the associative reading-practices of his generation. Furthermore, reviewing practices of the time also suggest that magazines tended to be read as a whole. In fact, when reviews first appeared of the three main literary texts discussed in this thesis, those reviews typically focused not just on the literary text but on everything published in the issue.[41] Finally, as the epigraphs found at the beginning of this thesis suggest, turn-of-the-century authors themselves consciously grappled with the consequences of this mode of intertextual, collective, reading – justifying the appearance of their work alongside more controversial material, or taking their artistry to a new level in order to complement 'so much derned good writing'. A twenty-first century reader can never hope to reproduce completely hermeneutic understandings formed more than a century ago; nevertheless, this thesis is an attempt to at least illuminate the experience of reading literature as it first appeared, while at the same time producing some new insights of its own.

Near the beginning of the final story in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, Doyle's detective employs his famed deductive prowess to inform Watson that two seemingly-'coinciden[tal]' events 'are connected – *must* be connected. It is for us to find the connection.'[42] By the story's end, the reader learns that Holmes was, of course, correct, and

[40] Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Houndmills, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 21, 3.
[41] Frankel notes that *Dorian Gray*, for instance, 'was initially reviewed under "Magazines"': Nicholas Frankel, *Oscar Wilde's Decorated Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 140.
[42] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Second Stain', pp. 603-617, *The Strand Magazine* 28.168 (December 1904), p. 608.

that the act of mentally-linking the events was crucial to solving the case. In a way, this thesis will attempt to perform the same hermeneutic act: to 'trace the connection' (to quote Holmes) between the seemingly disconnected in the search for underlying logic.

Fig. 2: An illustration in 'The Adventure of the Second Stain', in the December 1904 edition of the *Strand* (p. 608)

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While this thesis ultimately seeks to contribute to a range of fields, amongst them book history, media history, and material studies, it is predominately concerned with viewing literature through the lens of periodical studies. Magazines only really began receiving scholarly attention after what Sean Latham and Robert Scholes have described as 'the cultural turn' that took place within academia in the 1960s.[43] Much of the scholarship on magazines produced since then has centred upon the magazine biography: a typically historicist scholarly subfield that usually deals with either one periodical at a time or with a particular historical era (see, for instance, June Howard's study of *Harper's Bazar*,

[43] Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', pp. 517-31, *PMLA* 121.2 (March 2006), p. 517. The Research Society for Victorian Periodicals was founded in 1968. The following year, the Society launched its flagship journal, *The Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* (subsequently '*Review*'). The Research Society for American Periodicals, and its attendant journal *American Periodicals*, began operating in 1991.

Publishing the Family)[44]. Among such works, most relevant to my research have been Reginald Pound's 1966 study *The Strand Magazine: 1891-1950*, and Mark J. Noonan's (more theoretically sophisticated) *Reading 'The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine': American Literature and Culture, 1870-1893*.[45]

Wider in focus than the magazine biography are two equally significant works in the history of periodical studies from the 1990s: *The Victorian Serial*, co-authored by Linda Hughes and Michael Lund, and *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America*, edited by Susan Smith and Kenneth Price.[46] Both works remain groundbreaking early examples of periodical studies. However, Smith and Price's collection 'closes at the end of [an] era, before the development [of magazines] which lowered prices, gained enormous circulations, and funded themselves not through subscriptions but through advertisements'.[47] Needless to say, it is precisely these later developments that are of greatest interest to me. *The Victorian Serial*, meanwhile, is, as its title suggests, focused specifically on the phenomenon of serialisation and its possible consequences for readers and textual comprehension. By focusing on three magazine texts that were *not* serialised,[48] this thesis works to broaden out such discussions to encompass the magazine genre in all its variety.[49]

The thesis has also been shaped, to an extent, by the 'materialist turn' – as Bill Brown puts it, the movement towards the view that 'size matters, style matters, shape matters, color matters'[50] – brought about by critics such as Gérard Genette, Jerome J. McGann, and Donald F. McKenzie in the 1980s. Initially, this movement concerned itself

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[44] June Howard, *Publishing the Family* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001).
[45] Mark Noonan, *Reading the Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine: American Literature and Culture, 1870-1893* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2010).
[46] Linda Hughes and Michael Lund eds., *The Victorian Serial* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1991). Susan Smith and Kenneth Price eds., *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1995).
[47] Smith and Price, 'Introduction', p. 7.
[48] In the strict sense of consecutive instalments of a novel appearing in consecutive issues of a periodical: see above n 2.
[49] In discussing two key early-Edwardian novels first serialised in the *Strand* – Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1901-2) and Wells' *The First Men in the Moon* (1900-1) – J. L Cranfield seeks to further colonise magazine studies on behalf of serialisation, arguing 'that understandings derived from work on explicitly Victorian notions of "seriality" could and should be applied to later periods': J L. Cranfield, 'Arthur Conan Doyle, H. G. Wells, and *The Strand Magazine*'s Long 1901: From Baskerville to the Moon', pp. 3-32, *English Literature in Transition* 56.1 (2013), p. 4.
[50] Bill Brown, '[Concept/Object] [Text/Event]', pp. 521-552, *English Literary History* 81.2 (Summer 2014): p. 526.

with the book above all else. Indeed, Genette's 1987 study *Paratexts* opens by announcing 'the paratext is that which enables a text to become a book'.[51] Over time, however, the attention being paid to literature as object increasingly brought fresh impetus to periodical research. Thus, in 1994, Brake presented her highly-influential study of Victorian periodical culture, *Subjugated Knowledges*, as a kind of correction to McKenzie, who, she notes, 'never pauses … to look at … "non-book" texts'.[52] A shift away from what Brake terms her youthful 'formalist aestheticism',[53] *Subjugated Knowledges* is largely concerned with the historical, biographical, and socio-political features of the nineteenth-century press. Foreshadowing the arguments made in this thesis, Brake (along with other critics) would subsequently go on to declare that in 'periodical or serial publication … each piece is instantly and always contextualized, embedded in a matrix of other pieces which make up the issue in which it appears, and extend to the issues before and after'.[54]

A number of studies have taken this perspective further, employing an intertextual methodology.[55] Thus, even before Brake published *Subjugated Knowledges*, James Davies – in 'The Effect of Context: Carlyle and *The Examiner* in 1848' – examined a single issue of *The Examiner* and focused on the 'thematic, structural [and] linguistic relationships between' that issue's 'various articles, essays, [and] parts';[56] similarly, in 'The Trouble

[51] Gérard Genette, Jane E. Lewin trans., *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1. Paratexts are liminal material devices, such as cover illustrations, blurbs, and author-biographies.
[52] Laurel Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (London: MacMillan, 1994), p. xi. Brake, 'Writing, Cultural Production', p. 54.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Brake, 'Writing, Cultural Production', p. 54.
[55] The following discussion is not intended as a complete listing of my methodological precursors. A small number of other highly specialised examples have also appeared in the two periodical studies journals mentioned earlier, *American Periodicals* and the *Victorian Periodicals Review*: see, in particular, Nadia Nurhussein, '"On Flow'ry Beds of Ease": Paul Laurence Dunbar and the Cultivation of Dialect Poetry in "The Century"', pp. 46-67, *American Periodicals* 20 (2010); Charles Johanningsmeier, 'Determining How Readers Responded to Cather's Fiction: The Cultural Work of "The Professor's House" in "Collier's Weekly"', pp. 68-96, *American Periodicals* 20 (2010); and Ruth Hoberman, 'Constructing the Turn of the Century Shopper: Narratives About Purchased Objects in the "Strand Magazine", 1891-1910', pp. 1-17, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37.1 (Spring 2004). I might also draw attention to Linda Hughes' advocacy of adopting an approach to magazine reading based on 'chaos theory'. As Hughes notes, 'information or knowledge which seems random or chaotic at one level ... can resolve into apparent coherence ... at another': Linda Hughes, 'Turbulence in the "Golden Stream": Chaos Theory and the Study of Periodicals', pp. 117-125, *Victorian Periodical Review* 22.3 (Fall, 1989), p. 121.
[56] James A. Davies, 'The Effect of Context: Carlyle and *The Examiner* in 1848', pp. 51-62, *Yearbook of English Studies* 16 (1986), p. 51-2.

with Betsy: Periodicals and the Common Reader in Mid-Nineteenth Century England', Louis James asserts that magazines should be read as 'entit[ies] in which each element is modified by the whole'.[57] While my thesis sits in broad agreement with each of these pieces, Davies and James are ultimately focused on magazines largely distinct from those dealt with here: as Smith and Price made clear, the mid and late nineteenth centuries were entirely different 'era[s]' when it comes to periodicals, meaning, for instance, that neither Davies nor James looks at the advertising contained within their chosen issues.

More recently, in '*The Picture of Dorian Gray* in Context: Intertextuality and *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*', Elizabeth Lorang argues that 'the individual components of a magazine act as discursive, intertextual counterparts, the ideas in one drawing on, engaging, and complicating or contradicting ideas in another'.[58] However, while Lorang acknowledges that 'advertisements certainly constitute part of' her chosen text, she concedes that she was unable to locate this advertising matter in its entirety and that, consequently, she too chose not to discuss the issue's advertisements in her article.[59]

Having located all of the advertisements that appeared in *Lippincott's*, I attempt to rectify this gap. Perhaps more significantly, though, my thesis seeks to extend the theoretical approach implicit within these three pieces. For, while Davies, James, and Lorang all point out potential intra-magazine associations, they also shy away from what Lorang calls 'linear narrative[s] of meaning'.[60] While remaining wary of reductive simplification, I contend that the magazine genre prompts the reader to read individual issues (or a series of individual issues) as largely internally coherent, rather than as simply a bundle of distinct items that occasionally happen to thematically overlap. Indeed, at times, the advertising section itself explicitly facilitates this sense of coherency. Examples discussed in this thesis include the advertisement placed in Twain's issues of *The Century*

[57] Louis James, 'The Trouble with Betsy: Periodicals and the Common Reader in Mid-Nineteenth Century England', pp. 349-66, Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff eds., *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p. 349.
[58] Elizabeth Lorang, '*The Picture of Dorian Gray* in Context: Intertextuality and *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*', pp. 19-41, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43.1 (Spring 2010), p. 22.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 35. Other magazine studies focus exclusively on advertising: see, for instance, Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlour: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). For the view that 'modern [i.e. Romantic] literature and advertising' 'share a common genealogy', see Nicholas Mason, *Literary Advertising and the Shaping of British Romanticism* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013).
[60] Lorang, '*The Picture of Dorian Gray*', pp. 19-20.

Illustrated Monthly Magazine announcing the imminent publication of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as a stand-alone novel, and the Holmes-themed advertisements (for such diverse products as board games, electronic safes, cigars, and even tin roofing) found in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* issues of *Collier's Weekly* and *The Strand Magazine*. Richard Ohmann has argued that, visually, the products depicted in magazine advertising of this period became increasingly de-contextualised.[61] It is tempting to argue that the context of the magazine in which these advertisements appeared began to fill-in this void – to subtly adjust how these advertisements were read in a symbiotic relationship of interpretive interdependence.

Although the fields of Twain, Wilde, and Doyle studies more generally might be less narrowly concerned than I am with magazines, this thesis does still speak to what those fields have increasingly taken up as a scholarly concern: namely, the authors' relationships with their initial publics. Thus, in introducing his edited collection *Dear Mark Twain: Letters From His Readers*, Kent Rasmussen declares his chosen correspondence to be of value because it is derived largely from 'ordinary people [Twain] never met': these letters, we are told, both 'reveal what *average* readers thought of Clemens' (Rasmussen's emphasis) and reflect 'the images Clemens cast on the world'.[62]

A similar legitimating philosophy underpins *Oscar Wilde in America: The Interviews*, edited by Mathew Hofer and Gary Scharnhorst. Hofer and Scharnhorst claim that 'as far as the public was concerned, Wilde existed only in the persona he ... created': in reading these interviews, we are told, one can see the author and his interviewers 'collaborat[ing] in the creation' of that persona.[63]

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[61] Ohmann cites, as examples of this de-contextualisation, advertisements for early automobiles with no visual 'suggestion of who might drive such vehicles, through what landscape, on what errand', as well as 'page after page of typewriters, abstracted from office or home': Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 181-2.

[62] Kent Rasmussen, *Dear Mark Twain: Letters From His Readers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013) p. 3. See also Andrew Levy's search for 'how Twain's audience might have understood *Huck* in its own time': *Huck Finn's America: Mark Twain and the Era that Shaped his Masterpiece* (New York and London: Simon and Schuster, 2015), p. 9.

[63] Mathew Hofer and Gary Scharnhorst, 'Introduction', pp. 1-12, *Oscar Wilde in America: The Interviews* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), p. 2.

Finally, Doyle's notoriously fraught relationship with the readers of Sherlock Holmes continues to attract scholarly attention.[64] Here we might especially note Clare Pettitt's contention that 'Holmes was spawned and sustained by a new kind of press and a new kind of public sphere that Conan Doyle helped establish even while remaining deeply ambivalent about its throwaway ephemerality and what he perceived to be its lack of cultural authority'.[65] As this final quotation suggests, the magazine was a key site of author-reader interaction by the turn of the twentieth century. Through my thesis, I endeavour to both participate in and contribute to the growing interest in this interaction.

A Note on Magazines as Primary Sources

One of the difficulties of magazine research is that it is rare for surviving individual issues to contain their original advertisements. A number of the magazines discussed in this thesis offered readers free binding services, whereby one could send in six consecutive issues of the magazine and have them returned as a single volume; in the process, advertising matter, presumably seen as valueless and outdated at the time of binding, was typically removed. Nearly all libraries – both university and general public – appear to have adopted the same procedure. The digitisation of now often obscure magazines through such publicly accessible websites as *Hathitrust* and *Internetarchive* has proved a great boon for the field of periodical studies. However, when libraries digitise their magazines, they digitise what they have to hand – in other words, they digitise items that are, technically speaking, incomplete (in fact, the problem has become so notorious that it now has its own scholarly moniker: the 'hole in the archive').[66] As such, finding the magazines studied in this thesis in the state in which they initially appeared proved challenging. I was fortunate, therefore, to discover complete copies of *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* in the Harry Ransom Center of The University of Texas at Austin; the American edition of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* in the Rauner Special Collections Library at Dartmouth College; the British edition of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* in the Archives of the University of

[64] For more on this, see my article: 'The Public, The Press, and Celebrities in "The Return of Sherlock Holmes", pp. 1-13, *Authorship* 4.2 (December 2015).
[65] Clare Pettitt, 'Throwaway Holmes', pp. 175-97, Alex Werner ed., *Sherlock Holmes: The Man Who Never Lived and Who Will Never Die* (London: The Museum of London and Ebury Press, 2014), p. 176.
[66] Latham and Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', p. 521.

Lincoln-Nebraska; and *The Strand Magazine* in The Sherlock Holmes Collections at the University of Minnesota.[67] This thesis also benefited from time spent in the Special Collections of The University of Melbourne's Baillieu Library, The State Library of Victoria, The State Library of New South Wales, The Bodleian Library, and The British Library.

[67] *Collier's Weekly* was the one magazine examined in my study that did not group its advertisements at the front and back of the issue. Instead, *Collier's Weekly* incorporated its advertising into its other pages, making removing the advertisements during binding almost impossible. As such, finding complete copies of *Collier's Weekly* proved comparatively straightforward.

Part One

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and the Valorisation of Ownership in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*

‘The best magazine that was ever printed…’

When, in the mid-1880s, excerpts from *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* first appeared in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, they enhanced what was already the most commercially successful periodical in America. In fact, Carol Klimick Cyganowski informs us, for most if not all of the 1880s, the *Century* was ‘the largest circulation and the highest paying literary magazine in the United States’.[1] Yet, true to the poor-boy-made-good American archetype, the *Century*’s origins were anything but auspicious. Its earliest direct ancestor – a kind of grandparent publication – was *Putnam’s Magazine*. Formed in 1853, *Putnam’s* was written for a relatively narrow audience of politically progressive, middle-class, intellectuals. It typically reached around ten to twenty thousand subscribers, and averaged about sixteen thousand readers per month.[2] A second grandparent for the *Century* was the equally unassuming *Hours at Home*. Founded in 1865, this magazine was, Smith tells us, ‘to say the least, modest in its aspirations’; indeed, it appears to have primarily been an advertising medium for the book-publishing house that owned it, Charles Scribner and Sons.[3] In 1870, *Putnam’s* and *Hours at Home* merged to form the more ambitious *Scribner’s Magazine* in the hope – according to the magazine’s first editorial – of finding ‘a broader field, more thoroughly populated’ that would be able to create a ‘more fruitful’ and ‘grateful prosperity’.[4] While *Hours at Home* was never big enough to really challenge the book-publishing house that owned it, *Scribner’s Magazine* did become more independent, and in 1881 a dispute arose over the rights of Charles Scribner and Sons to publish material that had already been serialised by the magazine.[5] In the end, *Scribner’s Magazine* cut its ties with the publishing house and took on a new name, becoming *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*.

[1] Carol Klimick Cyganowski, ‘Richard Watson Gilder and *Scribner’s Monthly* and the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*’, pp. 179-228, *Magazine Editors and Professional Authors in Nineteenth-Century America: The Genteel Tradition and the American Dream* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1988), p. 179.
[2] Sheila Post-Lauria, ‘Magazine Practices and Melville’s *Israel Potter*’, pp. 115-32, Price and Smith eds., *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America*, p. 118.
[3] Herbert F. Smith, *Richard Watson Gilder* (Woodbridge, Connecticut: Twayne Publishers, 1970), p. 15.
[4] ‘Scribner’s Monthly’, pp. 105-6, *Scribner’s Monthly* 1.1 (November 1870), p. 105.
[5] Smith, *Richard Watson Gilder*, p. 24.

As the newly rechristened magazine acknowledged in its opening editorial, *Scribner's Magazine* had already become quite a successful commercial enterprise, and the *Century* began operations with 'virtually one hundred and twenty-five thousand subscribers'. [6] So too were thanks due to *Scribner's* for the *Century*'s pre-existing relationships with big names such as Bret Harte and Henry James. Yet the new magazine also established relationships of its own. One of these was with Mark Twain. Thus, while Twain was never published in *Scribner's*, he contributed to the very first issue of the *Century*, and, over time, the relationship between the author and the magazine continued to develop.[7] As such, in an 1887 issue of the magazine, we find an article by Twain on education, while a number from 1889 includes a pre-publication excerpt from *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, and the year 1894 is dominated by the serialisation of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*.[8] Perhaps most significant of all, though, given the novel's subsequent hyper-canonisation, is the series of excerpts that the magazine published of what would become *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

It is worth noting that the early history of Twain's best-known novel is remarkably complex.[9] While Twain is said to have begun writing *Huckleberry Finn* in the summer of 1876, he took a slightly eccentric (in the true sense of the word) approach to literary composition. Indeed, he believed that 'a book is pretty sure to get tired along about the middle, and refuse to go on with its work until its powers and its interest should have been refreshed by a rest and its depleted stock of raw materials reinforced by lapse of time'.[10] Consequently, after a fairly productive period in 1876, he put the manuscript of *Huckleberry Finn* aside. Around 1879, he took the book up again, and managed to more or less finish it by the middle of 1883. Ever conscious of laws regulating copyright, he

[6] 'The Century Magazine', pp. 143-4, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 23.1 (November 1881), p. 143.
[7] This contribution was: 'A Curious Experience', pp. 45-7, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 23.1 (November 1881).
[8] Mark Twain, 'English as She is Taught', pp. 932-6, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 33.6 (April 1887); Mark Twain, 'A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court', pp. 74-83, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 39.1 (November 1889); the six issues of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* appeared in consecutive issues of the *Century* (it began appearing in December 1893, and ended in June of the following year).
[9] For a fuller account of the early publication history of *Huckleberry Finn*, see the introduction to Walter Blair and Victor Fischer eds., *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1988).
[10] Mark Twain, 'Unpublished Chapters from the Autobiography of Mark Twain', pp. 310-15, *Harper's Magazine* 145.867 (Aug 1922), p. 310.

decided to publish the novel in the United States and the United Kingdom simultaneously.[11] However, when an employee of his American printers defaced one of E.W. Kemble's accompanying illustrations, the American publication had to be postponed.[12] As a result of this delay, while the novel appeared in the United Kingdom on the 10th of December 1884, it was not available in America until the 18th of February 1885. By this stage, though, three episodes from the novel had already appeared in the *Century*.

The first of these, 'An Adventure of Huckleberry Finn: With an Account of the Famous Grangerford-Shepherdson Feud', [13] went on sale on the 20th of Novemeber 1884, in the December issue of the magazine.[14] Eleven pages long (an important factor for Twain, who was paid by the page),[15] it – as its title suggests – covers Huck's initially-inadvertent involvement in an ongoing, violent, interfamily dispute taking place across the Kentucky-Tennessee border. The next issue of the *Century* (January 1885) featured a far shorter, three-page, episode of comic dialogue: 'Jim's Investments, and King Sollermun'.[16] Finally, in the February 1885 number, we find the longest excerpt of them all – 'Royalty on the Mississippi: As Chronicled by Huckleberry Finn'.[17] Over its twenty-four pages, this final

[11] As Twain noted in a letter to a business associate a few years later, '[p]revious publication in England is at present necessary to secure English copyright, but no amount of previous publication in England can hurt American copyright. Otherwise *I* should be the first one to holler': (Twain's emphasis) letter reproduced in Hill ed., *Mark Twain's Letters to his Publishers*, p. 276.

[12] Blair and Fischer eds., *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. xlix.

[13] Mark Twain, 'An Adventure of Huckleberry Finn: With an Account of the Famous Grangerford-Shepherdson Feud', pp. 268-78, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 29.2 (December 1884); when *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was published as a book, this material became chapters seventeen and eighteen.

[14] See, for instance, 'The War Papers in the Century. December Number Now Ready', p. 2, *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (20 November 1884); and 'The Century for December', p. 7, *St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat* (20 November 1884).

[15] Richard Watson Gilder, 'My Dear Mr. Clemens (Oct. 17, 1884)': correspondence held by the Mark Twain Papers, University of California, Berkeley.

[16] Mark Twain, 'Jim's Investments, and King Sollermun', pp. 456-8, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 29.3 (January 1885); this became part of chapters eight and nine. The January 1885 issue of the *Century* was being advertised as available for purchase on the 22nd of December 1884: see, for instance, 'The Century – Recent Issues – The War Series – January Number Ready', p. 3, *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (22 December 1884).

[17] Mark Twain, 'Royalty on the Mississippi: As Chronicled by Huckleberry Finn', pp. 544-67, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 29.4 (February 1885); this covers much of chapters nineteen through twenty-eight. The February issue of the *Century* was available for purchase from the 20th of January: see, for instance, 'The February Century', p. 3, *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (20 January 1885). As such, the first episode in the *Century* was available before the book could be bought in the United Kingdom, while (perhaps more importantly) all three episodes predated the publication of the book in the United States. Hereafter, all further references to the December 1884, January 1885, and February 1885 issues of the *Century* are incorporated in the text.

excerpt covers most of Huck and Jim's entanglements with two frontier confidence men, the so-called 'king' and 'duke'.

The *Century*'s excerpts were not the only means through which the American public was introduced to *Huckleberry Finn* prior to its publication as a book. Twain's 1883 travelogue *Life on the Mississippi*, includes an extract from the unfinished manuscript of *Huckleberry Finn* which the author claims to have 'been working at, by fits and starts, during the past five or six years, and may possibly finish in the course of five or six more'.[18] Moreover, between November of 1884 and February of 1885, Twain embarked upon a nation-wide lecture tour with his friend – and fellow *Century* contributor – George W. Cable that included amongst its fare passages from *Huckleberry Finn*.[19] And, finally, typically of the nineteenth-century American press, a number of newspaper syndicates published excerpts from *Huckleberry Finn* in January and February of 1885 without Twain's authorisation.[20] However, the extract of Twain's forthcoming book found in *Life on the Mississippi* never actually made it into the final version of *Huckleberry Finn*, while the lecture tour was necessarily fleeting, and the sections published in various American newspapers turn out to have been little more than republications of the instalments featured in the *Century*.[21] As such, I would argue that while these early incarnations of Twain's novel are all rich and interesting in their own right, the *Century*'s episodic publication remains particularly instrumental.

And indeed, these episodes have increasingly become a focus of critical attention. Between 1881 and 1909, the *Century*'s editor in chief was Richard Watson Gilder. Over the last eighty or ninety years, most if not all of the critical attention paid to the magazine's instalments of *Huckleberry Finn* has been focused on debating the role that he played in editing Twain's text. In his 1932 study, *Mark Twain's America*, Bernard DeVoto argues that Gilder's 'literary judgement was unimpeachable'.[22] Indeed, we are told, Gilder 'was, in

[18] Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1883), p. 42.
[19] For more on this lecture tour, see: Guy A. Cardwell, *Twins of Genius* (London: Neville Spearman, 1962).
[20] Victor Fischer, 'Textual Introduction', pp. 432-514, Blair and Fischer eds., *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 497.
[21] Peter G. Beidler, 'The Raftsmen's Passage (in *Huckleberry Finn*)', p. 615, J.R. LeMaster and James D. Wilson eds., *The Mark Twain Encylopedia* (New York: Garland, 1993); Blair and Fischer eds., 'Description of *Huckleberry Finn*, p. 523.
[22] Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain's America* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), p. 214.

his times, a liberal – even a reformer'.[23] Thus, according to Devoto, while Gilder made a number of 'graceful avoidance[s] on behalf of refinement' in editing *Huckleberry Finn* – especially when it came to impious, coarse, or violent language – his changes ultimately did little more than 'soften' Twain's novel.[24]

Twenty-three years later, Arthur L. Scott published an article in *American Literature* that presents Gilder's textual alterations in a harsher light. Going through these alterations quite closely, Scott concludes that Gilder tried 'to cram Mark Twain's sprawling narrative into something more or less resembling the chaste, urbane, conventional mould' of the other material being published in the *Century* at the time.[25] Discussing what would become an increasingly important passage for the race-based criticism that would subsequently develop, he notes that Gilder chose to not print 'Jim's touching account of how he discovered that scarlet fever had left his little daughter both deaf and dumb. In addition to its emotional impact, this … passage is psychologically important in the education of Huck. Why Gilder – in an age of sentiment – left it out of the *Century* is a mystery'.[26] In 1970, Herbert F. Smith wrote the first book-length biography of Gilder. Largely revisionist in nature, it presents Gilder as 'certainly a great editor' and argues that most of his alterations were actually improvements on Twain's novel – that 'we could wish that Twain had time to look over the emendations made by Gilder and to consider including some of them in a later edition of the book'.[27] For Smith, 'Jim's woeful story of his discovery of his daughter's deafness' was pure 'sentimentality'; it, he declares, is 'not missed'.[28] Twenty-five years later, Janet Gabler-Hover's interpretation could not have been more different. For her, Gilder's choice of *Huckleberry Finn* excerpts takes

> no chances with racial questions. When the slave Jim is involved in the excerpts that Gilder apparently selected, his presence serves as minstrel farce or plot enabler. And, significantly, the section in the duke-king episode that … 'signifies' Jim's humanity beyond the minstrel

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 212.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[25] Arthur L. Scott, 'The *Century Magazine* Edits *Huckleberry Finn*, 1884-5', pp. 356-362, *American Literature* 27.3 (November 1955), p. 362.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 361; during the course of this passage, Huck declares 'I do believe [Jim] cared just as much for his people [ie. family] as white folks does for their'n. It don't seem natural, but I reckon it's so': Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (New York: Charles L. Webster and Company, 1885), p. 201.
[27] Smith, *Richard Watson Gilder*, pp. 157, 133.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

> tropes – Jim's discussion of his deaf daughter and his own human pain – is edited out of the *Century*. Absent is the one clear instance in these scenes where Jim's humanity is shown and Huck forced to acknowledge it.[29]

While I would echo such racially informed concerns, I would also note that very little scholarly attention has been paid to viewing the *Century*'s episodes in relation to the immediate magazine context in which it appeared. A few months after publishing his excerpts in the *Century*, Twain wrote to one of Gilder's underlings, telling him that

> There is a constraint about writing for the Century, somehow. It is not intemperate language to say it is the best magazine that was ever printed; & so, what would read quite fairly elsewhere, loses force & grace in the company of so much derned good writing.[30]

The effusive enthusiasm displayed by Twain for the *Century* in this passage should probably be taken with a grain of salt – the author (who was, elsewhere, more distant and indifferent when discussing the *Century*)[31] was hoping to have another piece published in the magazine when these lines were written. However, his statement does suggest an interpretation of the magazine genre similar to the one being propounded in this thesis – that items in magazines 'read' differently depending on (in an echo of Walter Dill Scott's language) the 'company' they keep.

In fact, I will argue in the chapters to come, the *Century*'s version of *Huckleberry Finn* allows us to see Twain's composition in a new light. As a stand-alone novel, Wieck notes, *Huckleberry Finn* fights for a society in which 'decency, equality, and freedom [are] the norm rather than the exception'.[32] Read in the *Century*, *Huckleberry Finn* acquires a darker significance, appearing as it does in a periodical that takes a highly possessive approach to money, ideas, and the American environment.

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[29] Janet Gabler-Hover, 'The North-South Reconciliation Theme and the "Shadow of the Negro" in "Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine"', pp. 239-256, Price and Smith eds., *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America*, pp. 253-4.
[30] Quoted in Blair and Fischer eds., *Huckleberry Finn*, p. 496.
[31] In an 1893 letter, he ruminates 'I like the "Century" and "Harper's", but I don't know that I have any business objecting to the "Cosmopolitan" if they pay as good rates. I suppose a man ought to stick to one magazine, but that may only be superstition': letter reproduced in Hill ed., *Mark Twain's Letters to his Publishers*, p. 337.
[32] Carl F. Wieck, *Refiguring Huckleberry Finn* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2000), p. xiii.

1. Making Money

Twain was always conflicted when it came to money. On the one hand, much of his writing lampoons the late nineteenth-century obsession with finance. Thus, in the ironic preface that he and Charles Dudley Warner attached to *The Gilded Age: A Tale of To-day*, the authors sarcastically declare that 'the chief embarrassment of the writers … has been the want of illustrative examples [i]n a state where there is no fever of speculation, no inflamed desire for sudden wealth'.[1] At the same time, Twain's life was itself a series of more or less abortive investments and get-rich-quick schemes. In the 1860s he and his brother Orion vainly sought their fortunes in the Nevada silver mines;[2] in 1880, he became entangled in James Paige's now-notorious and never-to-be-operational typesetting machine (a tumultuous relationship that would last fourteen years, cost Twain from three to five million dollars in today's money, and force the author to apply for bankruptcy);[3] and, in 1900, he invested in a marketing syndicate designed to promote 'Plasmon' – a supposedly medicinal powdered milk extract that he seems to have briefly viewed as a kind of panacea.[4]

Yet, while Twain may have repeatedly failed to achieve long-lasting financial success, the very fact that he kept getting involved in these schemes does at least suggest a deep-seated (if perhaps somewhat naïve) faith in the American economic system – in what Ellen Gruber Garvey has termed 'innovation and quick wealth'.[5] This faith in American

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[1] Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, 'Preface', pp. v-vi, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of To-day* (Hartford, Connecticut: America Publishing Company, 1874), p. v.

[2] As Albert Bigelow Paine (Twain's official biographer) records, when the brothers went West, 'neither had the slightest doubt but that they would be millionaires presently': Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, A Biography: The Personal and Literary Life of Samuel Langhorne Clemens* (New York and London : Harper & Brothers, 1912), p. 193; however, Joseph L. Coulombe notes, '[m]ining was a losing battle for most men, Twain included': Joseph L. Coulombe, *Mark Twain and the American West* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2003), p. 120.

[3] Ron Powers writes that, as '[o]nly partial financial records survive', 'it is impossible to know how great his total loses were'. However, '[e]stimates range between $170,000 and $300,000 in late 19th-century dollars, or between $3,300,000 and $4,900,000 in today's money': Ron Powers, *Mark Twain: A Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 2005), p. 561.

[4] David O. Tomlinson comments that, while the author came to see Plasmon as both 'a solution to world hunger and a miraculous cure to restore his wife to ailing health', 'his 'investment … proved … unwise': David O. Tomlinson, 'Plasmon', pp. 582-3, J.R. LeMaster and James D. Wilson eds., *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Mark Twain* (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2011) p. 582.

[5] Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 61.

finance also pervades the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century*. As will be argued, Twain's episodes were themselves designed to advertise the author's forthcoming book, while the issues in which they are found encourage the reader to believe that capital can be readily acquired and that the desire to own capital is ultimately patriotic.

The *Huckleberry Finn* Instalments Published as a Marketing Device

'I prefer the Century to other mag[azines] in one way', Twain told a business associate in 1898; 'they *advertise* an article so liberally' (Twain's emphasis).[6] In many ways, the *Century*'s extracts of *Huckleberry Finn* were designed to encourage readers to buy the novel when it was later released as a book.[7] While Gilder had initially hoped to serialise 'half or three quarters' of *Huckleberry Finn*,[8] Twain had just founded his own publishing house (Charles L. Webster & Co.) and was keen to publish the work himself. As such, he made sure that only limited excerpts from the novel would appear in the *Century*.[9] These excerpts formed part of a much larger, prepublication, promotional campaign. Indeed, at the time a critic with the *San Francisco Bulletin* declared that '*Huckleberry Finn* has been introduced to the world as it were, with the blare of trumpets'.[10]As the episodes began appearing in the *Century*, Twain began 'rak[ing] the country', giving four months of public readings in what he later referred to as the 'theatres, lecture halls, skating rinks, jails and churches' of America.[11] Indeed, he went on to proclaim in his *Autobiography*, 'I was on the public highway … we were robbing the public'.[12]

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[6] Twain's emphasis: letter reproduced in Lewis Leary ed., *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers, 1893-1909* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 353.

[7] Brake has noted that this was a common practice in those magazines (such as *Macmillan's* and *Blackwood's*) run by book publishers: Brake, 'Writing, Cultural Production', p. 56.

[8] Richard Watson Gilder, 'My Dear Mr Clemens', October 10 1884: correspondence held by the Mark Twain Papers.

[9] This, it must be admitted, is only inferred from the incomplete Gilder-Twain correspondence held by the official Mark Twain archive (the University of California, Berkeley's 'Mark Twain Papers'). In a letter dated 13 October 1884, Gilder writes to Twain 'Your long letter is at hand. We'll drop the idea of the serial (with profound regret on my part). If you are so doubtful about it, I don't think we ought to consider it': Richard Watson Gilder, 'My Dear Mr. Clemens (Oct. 13 1884)'; the custodians of the 'Richard Watson Gilder Papers' (held by the New York Public Library) have told me that they do not hold any of the Gilder-Twain correspondence from this period.

[10] 'Current Literature', p. 1, *San Francisco Bulletin* (14 March 1885).

[11] Smith *et al.* eds., *The Autobiography of Mark Twain (Vol. 1)*, pp. 334, 86.

[12] *Ibid.*, 391.

The critic at the *San Francisco Bulletin* was similarly preoccupied with the commercial aspects of *Huckleberry Finn*'s prehistory, concluding that though 'readable article[s]' the *Century* episodes had essentially been 'an advertisement' for the forthcoming book.[13] And, in fact, each of the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* began with what really was an advertisement for Twain's novel:

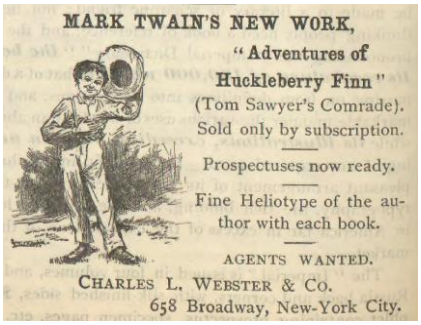


Fig. 3: An advertisement for *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in the *Century*

Here, we find a relatively respectable manifestation of Huck, politely doffing his hat to potential patrons.[14] As such, he seems to blend with the respectable Huck found in the extracts published by the magazine – a Huck who, unlike his counterpart in Twain's novel, does not curse, spend time on the raft naked with Jim, smear axes with pig's blood, or dress up as a girl.[15] And, in a way, this is not surprising. Those scholars who blame Gilder for making *Huckleberry Finn* less raucous when it appeared in the *Century* frequently cite a now notorious passage from one of Gilder's letters. In this passage, Gilder defends Twain by informing one of his conservative critics that, yes 'there is much of [Twain's] writing

[13] 'Current Literature'.

[14] Interestingly, over these three issues, the advertisement became increasingly prominent – moving steadily closer to the beginning of the magazine, appearing on page ix of the December issue, page x of the January issue, and page ix of the February issue; as if to highlight the bizarrely serendipitous (and sometimes ironic) nature of magazine publishing, the advertisement for *Huckleberry Finn* in the February issue can be found squeezed into the bottom left hand corner of a page primarily devoted to displaying another much larger advertisement which declares that 'The Great American Novel, so long looked for and so frequently announced, has at last been written. Its title is Ramona. A Story. By Helen Jackson (H.H.)': *ibid.*

[15] In a letter to Clemens, Gilder refers directly to having 'omitted … a few cuss words': Richard Gilder, 'My Dear Mr. Clemens (Oct. 17 1884)' (correspondence held by the Mark Twain Papers); in chapter 6, Huck tells us that while he had briefly 'stopped cussing, because the widow didn't like it', once back with his father he 'took to it again' (46); in chapter 19, he informs us that when on the raft he and Jim 'was always naked, day and night, whenever the mosquitoes would let us' (159); in chapter seven, he recounts having 'bloodied [an] ax good' when attempting to fake his own death and thus escape his father (57); and, in chapter 10, he follows Jim's suggestion, disguising himself on land by 'dress[ing] up like a girl' (83).

that we would not print for a miscellaneous audience. [Yet i]f you should ever carefully compare the chapters of "Huckleberry Finn", as we printed them, with the same as they appear in his book, you will see the most decided difference'.[16] Also telling, though, is the very next line in which Gilder explains that '[t]hese extracts were carefully edited for a magazine audience with [the author's] full consent'.[17] For Twain would have been just as concerned as Gilder was with ensuring that the *Huckleberry Finn* episodes published in the *Century* were appealing for a general audience. (In fact, Gilder had to slightly reign in the author's publicity-seeking suggestions: initially, Twain appears to have wanted to begin the first extract with the announcement that *Huckleberry Finn* was 'now in press', a phrase Gilder rejected as 'giv[ing] an advertising and second hand look to the thing'.)[18]

There are a number of ways in which the episodes appear designed to make the reader want to buy the forthcoming book. For one thing we are only given excerpts from a much larger work; as such, the episodes operate a little like modern-day 'teasers' designed to whet the reader's imaginative appetite, especially the third and final episode which breaks off just as the confidence men with whom Huck and Jim have been travelling are accosted by an acrimonious crowd – a somewhat climactic moment. Indeed, Gilder assured Twain in their negotiations that publishing in the *Century* 'would not kill the sale in book form [as] it would not all be in the magazine [and] you could in announcing your book through agents &c. say that the book version contained twice as much matter'.[19] Moreover, while the *Century* extracts are less ideologically challenging than the novel, their subject matter remains sensational: we are told of the violence of 'the famous Grangerford-Shepherdson feud' (p. 268, pp. 277-8), the bigamous sexual deviancy of King Sollermun and his 'about a million wives' (p. 458), the swindles of unscrupulous conmen (pp. 545-67), and the Romeo and Juliet-like dramatic romance of a Grangerford daughter running away with a Shepherdson son. Indeed, one might also note that, while appearing politically suspect to most twenty-first-century readers, the scenes that Gabler-Hover condemned as

[16] Cited in Noonan, *Reading the Century*, p. 162.
[17] Letter reproduced in Rosamond Gilder ed., *The Letters of Richard Watson Gilder* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), p. 399.
[18] See Richard Watson Gilder, 'My Dear Mr. Clemens (Oct. 17 1884)' (correspondence held by the Mark Twain Papers).
[19] 'My Dear Mr Clemens (Oct. 10 1884) (correspondence held by the Mark Twain Papers).

'minstrel farce'[20] would, presumably, have been comfortably familiar and appealing for much of late nineteenth-century America.

It is also important to note that both the advertisement for Twain's novel and the *Century* episodes explicitly relate themselves to *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (first published in 1876). Thus, while the advertisement reminds us that Huck is 'Tom Sawyer's Comrade' (see fig. 3), the first episode found in the *Century* is prefaced with a gloss in which Twain reassures us that 'Readers who have met Huck Finn before (in "Tom Sawyer") will not be surprised to note that whenever Huck is caught in a close place and is obliged to explain, the truth gets well crippled before he gets through' (p. 268). In her discussion of the American film industry, Anita Elberse comments that 'sequels are seen as one of the safest blockbuster bets [that] one can make'.[21] Presumably, though, this is only true when the original was itself a blockbuster. However, strange as it may seem today, *Tom Sawyer* was initially one of Twain's worst-selling books.[22] In fact, as Gerber, Baender and Firkins remind us, 'what finally stimulated the American sales of *Tom Sawyer* was the publication of *Huckleberry Finn*'.[23] As such, perhaps the fact that the extracts in the *Century* aimed to promote *Huckleberry Finn* is less of an anomaly than one might otherwise think. Garvey has noted how Twain's 'publications increased his popularity as lecturer while his comic lectures fed the appetite for his written work';[24] and, in a way, everything that Twain wrote was an advertisement for everything else that he had written: the author's work being a hotbed of both creative and financial cross-pollination.[25]

[20] Gabler-Hover, 'The North-South Reconciliation Theme', p. 253.
[21] Anita Elberse, *Blockbusters: Hit-making, Risk-taking, and the Big Business of Entertainment* (London and Melbourne: Scribe, 2014), p. 44.
[22] As John C. Gerber, Paul Baender and Terry Firkins note, '[f]rom Mark Twain's point of view, the early sales of *Tom Sawyer* were deeply disappointing, even disastrous'. In its first year, only 23,634 copies were sold (this, compared to 50,325 copies of *The Gilded Age*, 65,376 copies of *Roughing It*, and 69,156 of *Innocents Abroad*): John C. Gerber, Paul Baender, and Terry Firkins, 'Introduction', pp. 3-30, *The Works of Mark Twain, Volume 4: The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, Tom Sawyer Abroad, and Tom Sawyer, Detective* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1980), p. 29.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*, p. 60.
[25] Tom and Huck also appear in a number of other, less well-known, books by Twain: in the incomplete *Huck and Tom Among the Indians* (written in 1884), they spend time with native Americans; in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (first serialised in *St. Nicholas*, the Century's magazine for children, 1893-4), they travel to Northern Africa with Jim in a hot air balloon; and, in *Tom Sawyer, Detective* (first serialised 1896, in *Harper's Monthly*), they attempt to solve a murder mystery.

Investing and Investments

The *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* also promote the idea that one can and should acquire capital at an accelerated rate. As is perhaps to be expected, this is particularly true of the magazine's advertisements, many of which promulgate what are essentially get-rich-quick schemes. In one, for instance, the reader is promised that '**FARMERS' BOYS CAN MAKE MONEY EASILY AND RAPIDLY** *on the farm*, growing and selling Cabbage and Celery Plants and Seeds. Hundreds are doing it, and some sell $500 worth each season'. Indeed, the advertisement shifts into the second person to embroil the reader with an enticing 'why not *you?*' (see fig. 4). In other advertisements, Taylor Brothers and Company declare that '**BIG PAY**' is to be made 'sell[ing] our Rubber Printing Stamps' (see fig. 5), while '**$500 Yearly Profit**' is assured to those who purchase Professor A.D. Corbett's 'concise, comprehensive, and practical treatise on hatching and raising Chickens' (see fig. 6). Elsewhere, we find an advertisement for the fifth edition of a 'cloth-bound book of nearly 200 pages' entitled 'How to Become Quick at Figures' with its 'valuable Rules and Short-cuts for business calculations' (see fig. 7), and are advised that '**INVESTORS** should confer with the **WESTERN FARM MORTGAGE CO**'. (see fig. 8).

In 1880, almost one in two Americans lived on a farm,[26] and the agricultural focus of these money-making schemes is striking. The *Century*'s commodification of nature will be looked at in greater detail in Chapter Two, but it is here worth noting that these advertisements for agricultural investments tie in strongly with Jim's anecdotes about his own investments in the second episode of *Huckleberry Finn* (indeed, the episode is even

[26] The United States Census of this year records that the country's 'farm population' was 43.8% of the country's total population: United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 1* (Washington D.C.: 1975), p. 457; 'farm population' is earlier defined as the 'rural civilian population living on farms': *ibid.*, p. 449.

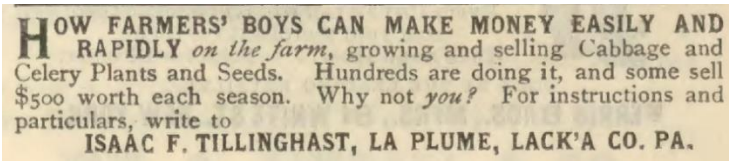

HOW FARMERS' BOYS CAN MAKE MONEY EASILY AND RAPIDLY *on the farm*, growing and selling Cabbage and Celery Plants and Seeds. Hundreds are doing it, and some sell $500 worth each season. Why not *you?* For instructions and particulars, write to
ISAAC F. TILLINGHAST, LA PLUME, LACK'A CO. PA.

Fig.: An advertisement in the December 1884 issue of the *Century* (p. lix).

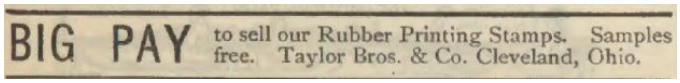

BIG PAY to sell our Rubber Printing Stamps. Samples free. Taylor Bros. & Co. Cleveland, Ohio.

Fig. 5: An advertisement in the December 1884 (p. lx), January 1885 (p. xxxvi), and February 1885 (p. xiix) issues of the *Century*.

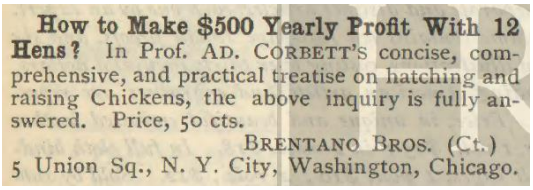
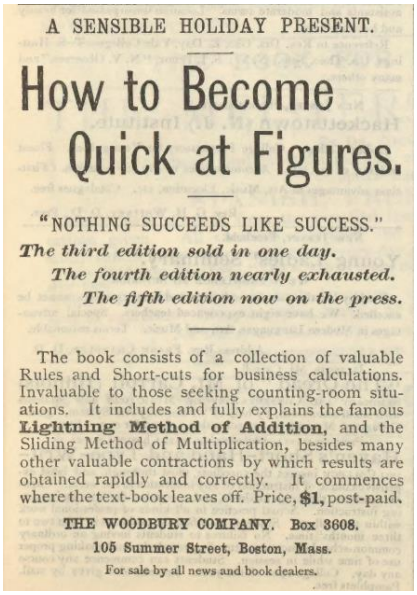

How to Make $500 Yearly Profit With 12 Hens? In Prof. AD. CORBETT'S concise, comprehensive, and practical treatise on hatching and raising Chickens, the above inquiry is fully answered. Price, 50 cts.
BRENTANO BROS. (Ct.)
5 Union Sq., N. Y. City, Washington, Chicago.

Fig. 6: An advertisement in the January 1885 issue of the *Century* (p. x).


A SENSIBLE HOLIDAY PRESENT.

How to Become Quick at Figures.

"NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE SUCCESS."
The third edition sold in one day.
The fourth edition nearly exhausted.
The fifth edition now on the press.

The book consists of a collection of valuable Rules and Short-cuts for business calculations. Invaluable to those seeking counting-room situations. It includes and fully explains the famous **Lightning Method of Addition**, and the Sliding Method of Multiplication, besides many other valuable contractions by which results are obtained rapidly and correctly. It commences where the text-book leaves off. Price, **$1**, post-paid.

THE WOODBURY COMPANY. Box 3608.
105 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
For sale by all news and book dealers.

Fig. 7: An advertisement in the January issue of the *Century* (p. xi)


INVESTORS Should confer with the
WESTERN FARM MORTGAGE CO.
LAWRENCE, KANSAS. **First Mortgage Real Estate Loans paid in New York. Absolute Satisfaction GUARANTEED.** Large experience. No losses. **SECURITY LARGE. Interest promptly paid.** Send for pamphlet, with testimonials, sample forms, etc.
F. M. PERKINS, Pres. } N. F. HART, } L. H. PERKINS, Sec'y.
J. T. WARNE, V. Pres. } Auditor. } C. W. GILLETT, Treas.
N. Y. Office, 135 and 137 Broadway, C. C. HINE & SON, Agts.
Albany, N. Y. Office, Tweddle Bld'g, M. V. B. BULL & Co., Agts.

Fig. 8: An advertisement in the January 1885 (p. 34) and February 1885 (p. xix) issues of the *Century*.

entitled ‘Jim’s Investments’). Here, Jim tells Huck that

> [‘]Wunst I had fo’teen dollars, but I tuck to speculat’n’, en got busted out’. ‘What did you speculate in, Jim?’ ‘Well, fust I tackled stock’. ‘What kind of stock?’ ‘Why, live stock. Cattle, you know. I put ten dollars in a cow. But I ain’ gwyne to resk no mo’ money in stock. De cow up ’n died on my han’s’. ‘So you lost the ten dollars’. ‘No; I didn’ lose it all. I on’y los’ ’bout nine of it. I sole de hide en taller for a dollar en ten cents’. (p. 456)

While this passage is interesting in and of itself, our analysis of it can be further enriched by first placing it alongside an earlier passage from the *Century*. For in the editorial section that concluded the magazine’s previous issue, we find a piece entitled ‘Economic Mistakes of the Poor’ that could almost be seen as a gloss to this passage from *Huckleberry Finn*. In the editorial, Gilder writes that

> One of the chief hindrances to the prosperity of the poor and to the improvement of their condition is their ignorance of economic matters and the mistakes they often make in them. We do not refer so much to economic laws and theories as to the practical conduct of life in its economic aspects, a matter in which theoretical knowledge is of subordinate importance … there is no reason why [the poor] should not manage their own business affairs with more prudence than then some of them now show. [Their] mistakes … in practical economy are frequent and of various kinds … Their means are so small that they can ill afford to spend even a portion of them imprudently; and yet they very often do so. (p. 310)

As a technique, irony is always underwritten by an ambivalent instability,[27] and it must be acknowledged that Jim’s story and the *Century*’s editorial do exist in a state of dynamic tension, the one moulding and informing how we read the other. Indeed, one could quite easily read the *Huckleberry Finn* episode as a parody of the kind of thinking embodied in the editorial, or as an attempt to deflate the empty intangibility of the increasingly powerful world of American finance. However, while it is true that all of the material found in a

[27] As Wayne C. Booth notes, ‘irony is usually seen as something that undermines clarities, opens up vistas of chaos, and either liberates by destroying all dogma or destroys by revealing the inescapable canker of negation at the heart of every affirmation’: Wayne C. Booth, *A Rhetoric of Irony* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. ix.

magazine is equal, some items are more equal than others. For, in the hierarchy that exists within every periodical, the editorial section inherently carries the greatest status and authority. It is this ontological inequality that bends one's comparative interpretation of these passages in the opposite direction: towards reading the second episode of *Huckleberry Finn* in a manner that is more literal than parodic, and thus as an illustration of the editor's, now apparently highly perceptive, points. There is nothing wrong with the current economic system, the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* seem to claim: the poor are poor because, like Jim, they 'frequent[ly]' make 'mistakes'; it is merely their own 'ignorance' that prevents them from acquiring the kind of quick capital promised by the advertisements discussed above.

America's Nouveau Riche V. Europe's Poor Aristocracy

The rapid acquisition of wealth even becomes a defining feature of American national identity in the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century*. In these issues, America's *nouveau riche* is repeatedly contrasted with (and privileged over) Europe's supposedly destitute aristocracy.[28] In 1882, the *Century* published an article on Twain by his close friend William Dean Howells in which it is declared that 'the average American is the man who has risen; he has known poverty [but now he knows] prosperity';[29] and, as *Huckleberry Finn* began appearing in the *Century*, so too did Howells' novel *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, ultimately serialised in its entirety between November of 1884 and August of 1885. As the story progresses, we follow the eponymous rise (and subsequent fall) of Silas Lapham – a financially successful paint merchant from Boston, who hopes to marry off one of his daughters to a son of the well-bred Corey family. Admittedly, as Silas ultimately loses a

[28] Intriguingly, the man who would become the most famous proponent of 'degeneration theory' – the social Darwinian idea that society was entering a period of moral decline – Max Nordau, went on to make a similar juxtaposition between what he saw as a corrupt Europe and a regenerate United States. In an 1896 interview, he assented to an American journalist's suggestion that his 1892 book *Degeneration* 'has reference to Europe as distinct from America'. 'Why should Americans degenerate', he proclaimed, '[t]hey have a new country, new opportunities, a boundless future, a restless and resistless activity; their eyes are fixed upwards, their impulses are towards better and higher things, their ambition is healthy. How can you Americans degenerate? … I see Europe descending intellectually and esthetically [sic] and America rising': quoted in Garrett P. Serviss, 'Our Way is Upwards: Max Nordau Says Americans are not Degenerates', p. 38, *The Chicago Tribune* (23 August 1896).

[29] William Dean Howells, 'Mark Twain', pp. 780-3, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 24.5 (September 1882), p. 782.

great deal of his new-found wealth, he never succeeds in realising this ambition. However, in the early instalments that appeared alongside *Huckleberry Finn* it looked as if he well might, and the novel's title certainly suggests that his socioeconomic trajectory will be monodirectional.

The novel's apparently approbatory presentation of Silas and new money more generally is heightened by the inclusion of speeches such as the following (from the December 1884 issue of the *Century*) in which Corey *père* informs his son that

> '... the suddenly rich are on a level with any of us nowadays. Money buys position at once. I don't say that it isn't all right. The world generally knows what it's about, and knows how to drive a bargain. I dare say it makes the new rich pay too much. But there's no doubt but money is to the fore now. It is the romance, the poetry of our age. It's the thing that chiefly strikes the imagination. The Englishmen who come here are more curious about the great new millionaires than about anyone else, and they respect them more. It's all very well. I don't complain of it ...' (251)

While the imperfect alignment of money and class has always been a cause of anxiety for the *nouveau riche*, this was especially true in late nineteenth-century America – a place in which, Lawrence R. Samuel tells us, 'New Money [was] desperate … to be perceived as Old'.[30] One can certainly find traces of this class anxiety in the above-quoted passage, with its orator who repeatedly hints at protestation ('I don't say that it isn't all right'; 'I don't complain of it'). Overall, though, the speech appears designed not to augment but alleviate the social concerns of America's newly wealthy. Indeed, we are assured, money now carries a kind of inherent cultural value beyond the purely utilitarian. For it has acquired an almost mythical status further validated by the fascination of visitors from England. In fact, the nation's ability to make money here provides America with the kind of respect so often desired by ex-colonies when interacting with their old imperial masters.

Money and nationalism become similarly intertwined in another novel serialised in the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century*: Grace Denio Litchfield's *The Knight of the Black Forest*, which appeared in December of 1884, and January and February of 1885. Whereas *The Rise of Silas Lapham* can be placed squarely within the newly emerging

[30] Samuel, *Rich*, p. 9.

American-realist tradition,[31] Litchfield's novel is a moralistic romance. It tells the story of Lois and Betty, young American women of comfortable means being escorted across Germany by their hen-like Aunt Sarah and a parasitic local guide called Kreuzner. In the course of their miniature Grand Tour, they encounter a dashingly debonair German Count, and both the morally upright Lois and the shallowly flirtatious Betty fall under his spell.

Additional drama is injected into the story by the arrival of Lois's American sweetheart – the 'solidly real' (p. 199) Ned Prentiss – in the novel's second instalment. The reader quickly begins to learn that the Count is less appealing than he may initially have seemed, and the novel ends with Lois realising that 'Ned Prentiss … was the real knight of the Black Forest' (p. 578). By the third instalment, passages of dialogue such as the following have begun to appear, in which Ned's wholesome American entrepreneurism is set against the Count's mercenary duplicity. When Ned suggests to the Count that 'you and I are different. You were born to possessions. I must create them', the count replies (in typically idiosyncratic vernacular)

> '*Ach, mein Gott, ja* … I was born to a title, that is so. But with the possessions, that is something other. It was forgotten to have me born to them also … In America you have big fortunes, very much money always, is it not so?' Prentiss cast a quick glance towards him; 'Sometimes', he answered, laconically. 'So I am told', continued the Count. 'I was talking with that admirable scoundrel, that most clever old cheat, – you know him, *ja?* – that inestimable Kreuzner who travels with all the Americans, and he says they do have so much money they know not what to do with it, that it is a sin not to help them spend it ...' (p. 569)

Here we again find a passage geared towards the specific neuroses of middle-class late nineteenth-century America. Most significantly, the text is underwritten by a terror of losing one's economic capital – of those you trust the most having ulterior financial motives. As if to delve further into this fear, alterity is given particular emphasis and attention. For, by exaggerating his linguistic and syntactic foreignness ('very much money'), it is the thoroughly demonised Count who becomes 'something other' in this

[31] Such a classification has been made, perhaps most notably, in the first biography of Howells, in which *The Rise of Silas Lapham* is declared to have been 'the testament of a realist': Edwin H. Cady, *The Road to Realism: The Early Years, 1837-1885, of William Dean Howells* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1956), p. 235.

passage. In discussing *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, we saw how wealth and ownership were integral to America's conception of itself as a sovereign post-colonial nation. In the above-extract, European threats to this new-found self-respect (such as European acquisitiveness) are vicariously dealt with through Ned's interactions with the Count. Thus, despite having less identifiable social status than the nobleman, it is Ned who here seems to carry all the power: answering the Count's eager questions 'laconically', and appearing to believe him to be worth little more than 'a quick glance'.[32]

This all combines to shape how we read much of the third episode of *Huckleberry Finn* printed in the *Century*. In the following passage, Huck and Jim have been co-opted into taking part in a confidence trick. While on the raft, they came across two men fleeing an angry mob. One of these men quickly introduces himself as the 'Duke of Bridgewater' (subsequently corrupted to 'Bilgewater'), while the other declares himself to be the French Dauphin, 'son of Looy the Sixteen and Marry Antonette' (p. 546). After perpetrating a number of confidence tricks on small riverside communities, the men take the opportunity to present themselves as the heirs of a man recently deceased.

Here, Huck and Jim accompany the 'king' and 'duke' as they go down into the man's cellar to inspect their potential inheritance:

> We shut the cellar door behind us, and when they found the bag they split it out on the floor, and it was a lovely sight, all them yaller-boys. My, the way the king's eyes did shine! He slaps the duke on the shoulder, and says: 'Oh, *this* ain't bully, nor noth'n! Oh, no, I reckon not!['] … They pawed the yaller-boys, and sifted them through their fingers and let them jingle down on the floor; and the king says: 'It ain't no use talkin'; being brother to a rich dead man, and representatives of furrin heirs that's got left, is the line for you and me, Bilge'. (p. 557)

Much like Litchfield's Count, the king and duke are almost always referred to by their titles. Perhaps because of this, they become a little less fully human than they might

[32] As the American social-economist Thorstein Veblen noted in 1899, as industrial society developed 'property [became] the most easily recognised evidence of a reputable degree of success [and] the most conventional basis of esteem. Its possession in some amount becomes necessary in order to [hold] any reputable standing in the community': Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: The Viking Press, 1931), pp. 28-9.

otherwise have been – appearing more like symbols than fully-fledged personalities. And, indeed, earlier in this episode Huck decrees that while he realises that the king and duke are imposters 'you couldn't tell them from the real kind … all kings [being] mostly rapscallions' (p. 553).[33] At the same time, the pair are dehumanised in a second manner in this passage. By having them 'paw' at the gold coins before 'sift[ing] them through their fingers and let[ting] them jingle down on the floor', the king and duke become decidedly animalistic. In fact, they have been reduced to the level of the subhuman by their bizarrely sensual approach to money (they are literally scum: 'Bilge'). Viewed in relation to the other items found in the *Century*, this degradation appears particularly pointed. The third episode of *Huckleberry Finn* is clearly a parodic critique of the late nineteenth-century obsession with all things financial. As such, it comes perilously close to undermining the other voices found in the magazine. However, by consistently associating the worst features of this obsession with stand-ins for European nobility, the episode actually does the opposite: purifying acquisitiveness by disassociating American entrepreneurialism from a demonised vision of European greed and the aristocratic institution of inheritance.

[33] Twain himself later told Howells that he believed the French Revolution to have been 'the noblest and the holiest thing and the most precious that ever happened in this earth … Next to the Fourth of July and its results': letter reproduced in Albert Bigelow Paine ed., *Mark Twain's Letters, Arranged With Comment By Albert Bigelow Paine, Two Volumes: Vol. II* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1917), p. 514.

2. Owning Nature

Late nineteenth-century America was marked by a certain sense of entitlement when it came to the ownership of land and nature. As the young nation's population continued to rise, it became clear that an ever greater territory would be required to support it.[1] For many white Americans, this territorial expansion had been divinely preordained. Indeed, in 1845, the newspaper editor John O'Sullivan famously coined a new expression when he wrote of his country's 'manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions'.[2] A similar (if perhaps more narrowly financial) sentiment can be found in the first passage that Twain is believed to have written for his autobiography.[3] In this passage, Twain tells us of the Tennessee land that his father purchased for the future benefit of the family. Upon purchasing this land, we are told, Twain's father proudly declared 'iron ore' to be 'abundant in this tract',

> '... and there are other minerals; there are thousands of acres of the finest yellow pine timber in America, and it can be rafted down Obeds river to the Cumberland, down the Cumberland to the Ohio down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and down the Mississippi to any community that wants it. There is no end to the pitch and turpentine which these vast pineries will yield … There are grazing lands, corn lands, wheat lands, potato lands, there are all species of timber – there is everything in and on this great tract of land that can make land valuable. The United States contain fourteen millions of inhabitants; the population has increased eleven millions in forty years, and will henceforth increase faster than ever; my children will

[1] A report published by the United States Bureau of the Census in 1909 records that, while the country's total population had been calculated at 5,308,483 in 1800, by 1900 it had increased by more than fourteen times to 76,303,387: United States Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth: From the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900* (Washington D.C.: 1909), p. 57; as Thomas Robertson notes, while Europe's Malthusian anxieties concerning overpopulation 'cropped up occasionally in the United States during the nineteenth century, especially as the frontier appeared to be closing in the 1890s', worries about overpopulation only gained 'wider currency in the United States' after the Second World War: Thomas Robertson, *The Malthusian Moment: Global Population Growth and the Birth of American Environmentalism* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2012), p. xiii.

[2] John O'Sullivan, 'Annexation', pp. 5-10, *The United States Democratic Review* 17.85 (July-August 1845), p. 5; see also David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, 'John Louis O'Sullivan (1813-95)', pp. 175-7, *Manifest Destiny* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003).

[3] The editors of the autobiography describe this passage – believed to have been written in 1870 – as 'the earliest extant manuscript that might fairly be called a draft chapter' of Twain's autobiography: Smith *et al.* eds., *The Autobiography of Mark Twain (Vol. 1)*, p. 61.

> see the day that immigration will push its way to Fentress county, Tennessee, and then with seventy-five acres of excellent land in their hands, they will become fabulously wealthy ...'[4]

The same sense of entitlement concerning the ownership of land and nature can be found in the issues of the *Century* that carry excerpts of *Huckleberry Finn*. In these issues, America's natural resources exist to be exploited, hunting is thoroughly idealised, and accounts of the recent Civil War become little more than assertive reminders of the North's geographical control.

Exploiting Natural Resources

The *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* tend to approach nature as little more than an exploitable resource. In the January number, for instance, we find a long letter to the editor focused on natural gas. Here, after conveying in great detail the latest scientific theories concerning the formation of natural gas ('The only satisfactory explanation of the formation of the gas is that is produced by the decomposition of vegetable matter deposited in the carboniferous age'), the likely location of the greatest reserves of natural gas ('The general course of the oil districts is north-east, on what is known as the forty-fifth degree line'), and the properties of natural gas ('The heating capacity of natural gas is variously estimated at from 250 to 400 cubic feet to a bushel of coal'), the author of the letter – 'J.D. Daugherty' – proceeds to inform us, with great enthusiasm, that 'wells will be put down in all parts of the country' in the search for this 'wonderful fuel', the 'products [of which] are numerous' (pp. 466-7). Now, clearly, voices calling for the exploitation of America's natural gas reserves are and were hardly confined to the pages of the *Century*: even today, calls for increased exploration continue. However, with his ostentatious use of technical terminology and his obvious awareness of specialised forms of knowledge, the author of the letter seems particularly keen to present himself as an intellectual authority. Indeed, in attempting to display a thoroughly comprehensive understanding of natural gas, the letter becomes a kind of intellectual assertion of white America's proprietorial rights.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-3.

The sun is approached in a similar manner in these issues of the *Century*. Turning once more to the advertising pages, one notices that a number of brands make use of solar images and ideas. Perhaps most notably (if least surprisingly), the logo of *The Sun* newspaper is focused on a drawing of the rising sun, and the two ads for the newspaper found in the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* (see figs. 9 and 10) are positively saturated with implicit and explicit plays on all things solar. Some of these associations are, perhaps, a little superficial: like the sun, *The Sun* can be 'look[ed] to … every morning'; like the sun, *The Sun* (being based in New York City) moves out from the east; and, like the sun, *The Sun* is characterised by its reliable 'promptness' (*à la* the speed of light). Yet the brand also relies on some slightly more conceptually significant associations. Being tied to dawn, *The Sun* becomes a symbol of youth, new beginnings, and (tapping into personal and national aspirations of the time) improving fortunes. Moreover, appropriately for a newspaper, a number of Enlightenment ideals appear to have been invoked – indeed, we are assured, *The Sun* is distinguished by both its 'accuracy' and its 'impartiality'.[5]

A second periodical, *The Spirit of the Times*, also employs a logo that is centred upon decidedly solar iconography (see fig. 11). While this periodical ties itself less intimately to cultural ideas surrounding the sun, the sun's visual presence does still seem to have been designed to provide additional nobility and grandeur to what might otherwise be mistaken for merely 'The Best Advertising Medium in the World'. In a similar manner, James Pyle's Pearline soap employs the sun in its logo as a subliminal guarantor of freshness and 'universal' purity (see fig. 12). In all of these advertisements, the natural world is approached in a particular manner. Indeed, it would seem, nature is a kind of storehouse that human beings are entitled to exploit. This is true on both an unspoken literal level – the periodicals having been printed on paper, the soap having been constructed out of various bits of offal – and on the level of ideas and associations (hence, the highly stylised character of the solar images being employed).[6] The final *Century* advertisement to feature a depiction of the sun is one that promotes Excelsior's Charter Oak Stoves (see fig. 13).

[5] As Roy Porter notes in his study of the British Enlightenment, 'light was crucial to the newly dominant epistemology, as empiricism turned the problem of knowing into a matter of seeing': Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 46.

[6] The simplicity of the sun illustrations discussed here could also be seen as a hangover from 'when advertising agencies began to form in the 1860s and 1870s' – an age of 'technical limit[ations]' and 'aesthetic conservativism]' in image reproduction: Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 282.

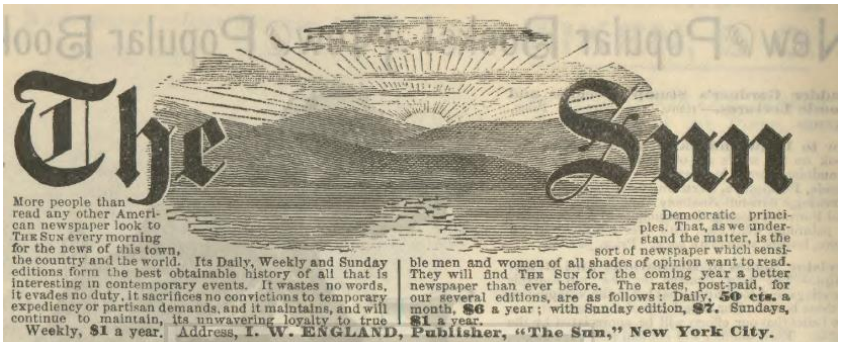


Fig. 9: An advertisement in the December 1884 issue of the *Century* (p. lvi).

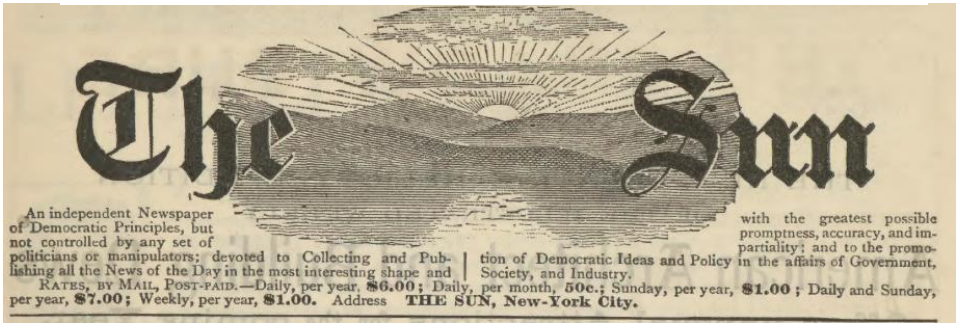


Fig. 10: An advertisement in the January 1885 (p. xxxii) and February 1885 (p. xxxii) issues of the

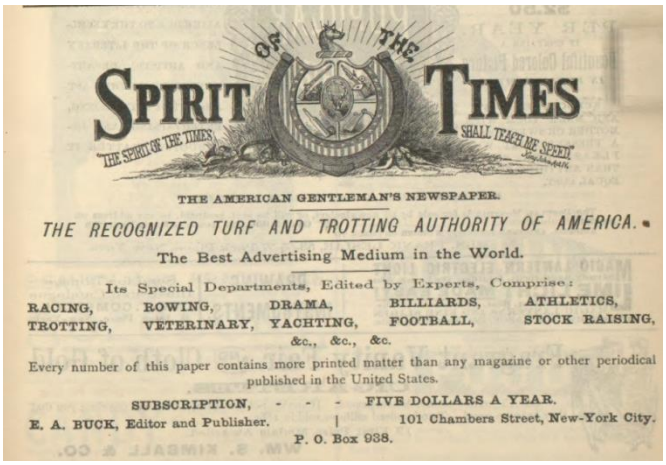


Fig. 11: An advertisement in the January 1885 (p. xxxi) and February 1885 (p. xxxii) issues of the *Century*.

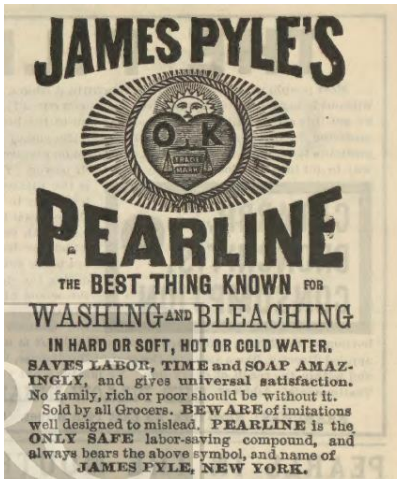


Fig. 12 (left): An advertisement in the December 1884 (p. lii), January 1885 (p. xxxiv) and February 1885 (p. xxx) issues of the *Century*.

Fig. 13 (above right): An advertisement in the December 1884 (p. xxxix), January 1885 (p. xxii) and February 1885 (p. xix) issues of the *Century*.

Here it is the energy and heat of the sun that appear to have been appropriated. And maybe this makes sense: as S.P. Langley reminds us in the *Century* for December, 'all the power derived from coal … comes originally from the sun' (p. 225). Langley's article – 'The Sun's Energy'[7] – begins as if it will be a gushing tribute to the 'occult force' which enlivens our planet: 'The incomprehensible energy of the sunbeam', he declares, 'brought the carbon out of the air, put it together in the weed or the plant, and lifted each tree-trunk above the soil' (p. 224). In fact, we are told, we are all 'children of the sun' (p. 226).

Yet, as the article progresses, it performs a remarkable shift in tone. For, while Langley may have begun his piece sounding like the wide-eyed member of a neo-pagan cult, he ends it very much the hard-nosed industrial colonialist:

> Future ages may see the seat of empire transferred to regions of the earth now barren and desolated under intense solar heat – countries which, for that very cause, will not improbably become the seat of mechanical and thence of political power. Whoever finds the way to make industrially useful the vast sun-power now wasted on the deserts of North Africa or the shores of the Red Sea, will effect a greater change in men's affairs than any conqueror in history has done; for he will once more people those waste places with the life that swarmed there in the best days of Carthage and of old Egypt, but under another civilization, where man no longer shall worship the sun as a god, but shall have learned to make it his servant. (p. 241)

Tinged with a peculiar kind of Orientalism, these powerful closing lines shift rather strangely from depicting a dystopia in which cruel nature binds humanity in servitude to proclaiming a utopia in which humanity has arisen to enslave its master.

Fewer than thirty pages after this passage, we come across the first instalment of *Huckleberry Finn*. It begins with Huck describing dawn on the river:

> The first thing to see, looking away over the water, was a kind of dull line – that was the woods on t'other side – you couldn't make nothing else out; then a pale place in the sky; then more paleness, spreading around; then the river softened up, away off, and warn't blank any more, but gray; you could see little dark spots drifting along, ever so far away – trading scows, and such things; and long black streaks – rafts; sometimes you could hear a sweep

[7] This is the third in a series of articles published in the *Century* under the collective title 'The New Astronomy'.

> screaking, or jumbled-up voices, it was so still, and sounds come so far … and next you've got the full day, and everything smiling in the sun, and the song-birds just going it! (p. 268)

One could easily argue that this passage imagines an ideal world that is entirely distinct from Langley's. Indeed, Lionel Trilling has even suggested that Huck is 'the servant of [his] river-god'. However, he also acknowledges that 'we cannot make – that Mark Twain does not make – an absolute opposition between the river and human society'. For, Trilling continues, in Huck's eyes 'much of the charm of the river is human … The fact is, of course, that [Huck] is involved in civilization up to his ears'.[8] These qualifications seem particularly apt in relation to the passage quoted above. For, in this passage, commerce ('trading scows') and the 'jumbled-up voices' of humanity become integral to Huck's almost transcendental appreciation of the scene. In fact, read in its original magazine context, this passage moves even further away from the brand of straightforward, nature-worshiping, pantheism with which *Huckleberry Finn* is sometimes associated – prompting us to pay greater attention to the approbatory glimpses that even it provides of man both commanding and exploiting the natural world.

Hunting

The *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* consistently glorify the hunt. This is particularly true of the magazine's advertising pages, in which a number of books about hunting are promoted. Thus, in the number for December, we find advertisements for *The American Sportsman* (see fig. 14), *Fair Diana* (see fig. 15), and the *Book of Cage Birds* (see fig. 16); in the number for December and January we find an advertisement for *Sport with Gun and Rod* (see fig. 17); and, in the number for February, we find a follow-up advertisement for the same (the book having been one of the 'Special Publications' of the *Century*'s parent company, The Century Co.: see fig. 18). Together, these advertisements

[8] Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: New York Review Books, 2008), pp. 107-8. Trilling's reframing of Twain's novel as a novel of civilization itself seems to stem from Trilling's broader liberal project: 'of the writers of the last one hundred and fifty years who command our continuing attention', declares Trilling in his opening preface, 'the very large majority have in one way or another turned their passions ... upon the condition of the polity' (xviii), the polity, of course, being inextricably tied to the city (*polis*).

transform hunting into a very particular kind of occupation. For one thing, hunting – or, at least, reading about hunting – here becomes a highly luxurious, highly aestheticised, activity: we are told that *The American Sportsman* contains 'over 300 Illustrations from Original Drawings', that *Fair Diana* contains '22 full-page colored Illustrations', that the *Book of Cage Birds* contains a 'beautiful colored plate', and that (most luxurious of all) *Sport with Gun and Rod* contains 'six hundred illustrations', 'ten full-page Japan proofs', and '[f]ifty separate and distinct articles' – indeed, we are informed, the book has been 'printed on very highly calendered plate paper, made expressly for it', and 'cost over thirty thousand dollars' to produce.

Yet, as if anxious that all of this luxury might sound suspiciously decadent and European, the advertisements also present the killing and capturing of American wildlife as (perhaps paradoxically) intensely patriotic. Thus, hunting, it is proclaimed, is one of the 'American field sports' (see fig. 18), engaged in by the 'American sportsman' (see fig. 14), in 'American woods and waters' (see fig. 17), depicted by '[t]he leading American artists' (see fig. 17). In fact, we are assured, when it comes to hunting 'England is indebted to America' rather than the other way around (see fig. 18). These advertisements are also of interest when it comes to their intellectual approach to hunting. For, much like Daughterty's letter on natural gas, the advertisements quoted above appear eager to present the volumes that they promote as encyclopaedic and comprehensive. As such, both advertisements for *Sport with Gun and Rod* emphasise that the book is made up of articles written by 'experts', while *The American Sportsman* is said to encompass 'the Habits of the Game Birds and Wild Fowls of America'. Moreover, the *Book of Cage Birds* not only covers information concerning 'all kinds [of] cage birds', but apparently also knows 'All about Parrots'. Thus, just as the pictorial border used in figure 16 can itself be seen as a physically literalised cage for its 'cage[d] bird', so too knowledge in these advertisements becomes a kind of enclosure, trapping and containing the very idea of the American wilderness.

One of the most striking features of the advertisement for *Sport with Gun and Rod* is the handsome engraving that accompanies it. Here, we find a true master of his domain, firmly poised on one knee, with a lone duck squarely in his sights. Indeed, having been separated from its flock, the duck that the hunter has selected appears highly vulnerable to

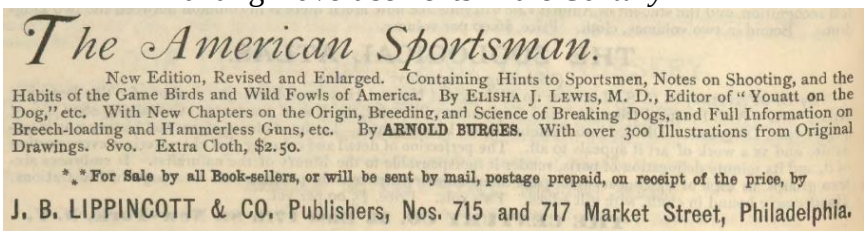


Fig. 14: An advertisement in the December 1884 (p. xvi) issue of the *Century*.

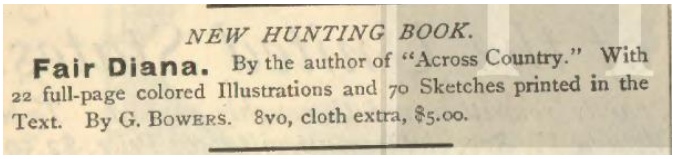


Fig. 15: An advertisement in the December 1884 (p. v) issue of the *Century*.

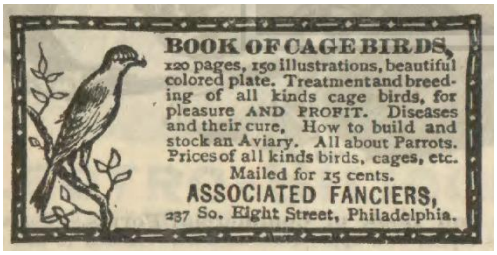


Fig. 16: An advertisement in the December 1884 (p. lvi) issue of the *Century*.

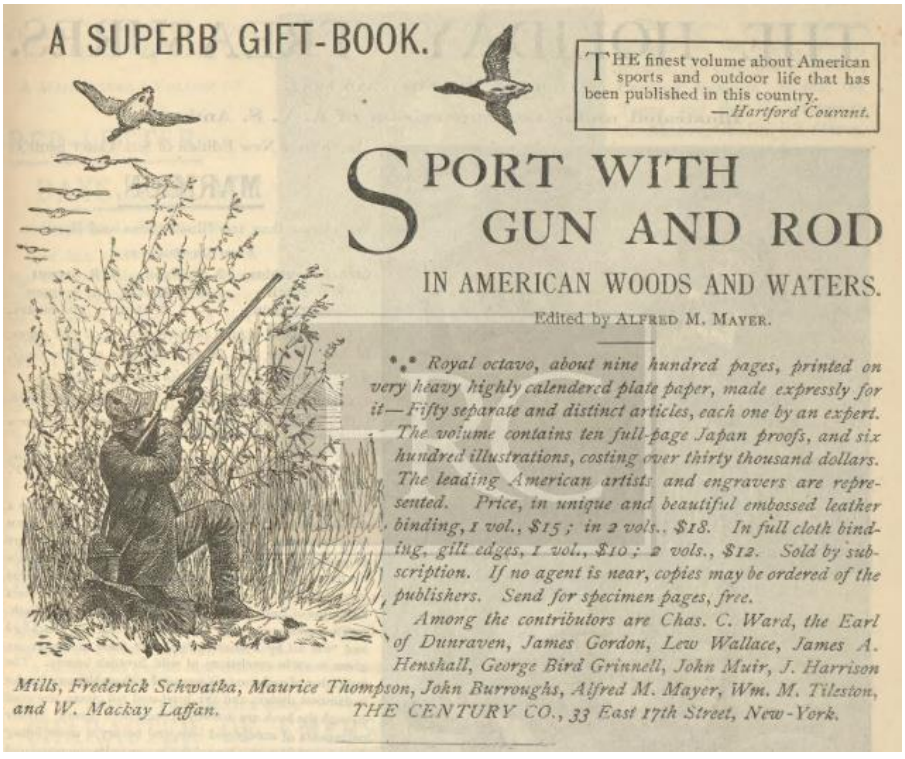


Fig. 17: An advertisement in the December 1884 (p. xi), and January 1885 (p. ix) issues of the *Century*.

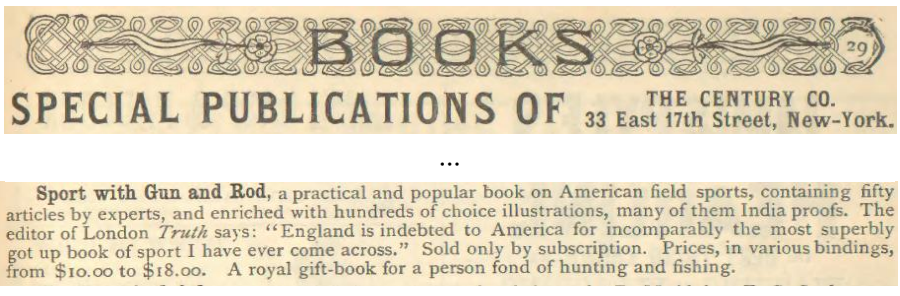


Fig. 18: An advertisement in the February 1885 (p. xxix) issue of the *Century*.

attack. Moreover, the hunter clearly knows how to use the rest of nature to his advantage. With his quasi-specialised camouflage clothing, he manages to merge with his environment and the shrubbery that surrounds him. As such, it is perhaps unsurprising that we find him so calm, confident, and composed in what is literally a moment of life or death.

Hunters and hunting are depicted in a similar manner in an article featured in the issue for December. In 'Hunting the Rocky Mountain Goat', William A. Baillie-Grohman tells us of the prowess that he displayed while hunting in the hills of Montana: over the course of a few days, he proclaims, his hunting party 'got, all told, fifteen of these rare animals, of which nine fell to my rifle' (p. 196). Like a number of other voices found in our issues of the *Century,* Baillie-Grohman's article entangles the exploitation of nature and the desire for scientific knowledge in fundamental ways. Thus, Baillie-Grohman starts off by declaring that he hopes to kill as many mountain goats as possible in an effort to increase '[o]ur knowledge of the various subdepartments of natural history' (p. 193). Moreover, despite its title, the article begins by rechristening the Rocky Mountain Goat the 'antelope-goat', its current name having been deemed 'incorrect' ('it is no goat, and strictly speaking it does not inhabit the Rocky Mountains': p. 193).[9]

Baillie-Grohman's article also features a number of illustrations by one George Inness Jr. (see, for instance, figs. 19-21). Innes Jr. appears to have been both blessed and cursed by his family relations. He was the son in law of Roswell Smith – the founder of the Century Company.[10] He was also the son of his more successful namesake, George Inness. Inness *père* was also a painter and, both in his day and in our own, the father seems to have rather overshadowed the son.[11] Unsurprisingly, this seems to have caused Inness Jr. a little professional anxiety, and Morgan tells us that, while George Inness senior maintained an 'essentially romantic and retrogressive vision of nature and man's place within it', George

[9] As Theodore Steinberg notes, 'naming is more than simply a way of knowing. It is also an act of appropriation and control … To name is to know, but it is also to own': Theodore Steinberg, *Slide Mountain, or, The Folly of Owning Nature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 80.
[10] John Davis, 'George Innes Jr.", p. 308, David B. Dearinger ed., *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design* (Manchester, Vermont: Hudson Hills Press, 2004).
[11] In *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, for instance, George Inness Jr. is not even given his own entry. Instead, he is simply granted a single short paragraph at the end of his father's page-long entry: Ann Lee Morgan, *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 239-41.

Visual Depictions of Hunting in the December 1884 issue of the *Century*

AMONG THE CLOUDS.

Fig. 19: 'Among the Clouds' (p. 203).

CROSSING THE TIMBER-LINE.

Fig. 20: 'Crossing the Timber-Line' (p. 197).

STALKING.

Fig. 21: 'Stalking' (p. 198).

Inness Jr. 'attempted to differentiate himself from his father by featuring figures or, more often, farm animals within rustic scenes'.[12]

The tension present within this state of affairs manifests itself in Inness Jr'.s illustrations for Baillie-Grohman's article. Here, one clearly feels the influence of romanticism (at first glance figure 19, for instance, would not look at all out of place alongside David Friedrich's *Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog* of 1818). However, this romantic aesthetic is ultimately undercut by Inness Jr'.s fundamentally agricultural approach to nature. While this is particularly striking in figure 20 – in which the hunting party is found herding its horses like cattle, one man caught in the act of raising a castigatory cane – the worldview upon which agriculture rests can also be found in figure 21, in which we see the men heroically surveying their dominion, and even in figure 19, where the hunter's rifle has both physically and symbolically become a kind of prop through which man's mastery of nature is solidified and assured.

The various attentions paid to hunting by our issues of the *Century* combine to ensure that the fleeting references made by Huck to hunting also become more noticeable. This is particularly true of the December issue of the magazine. Indeed, this first *Huckleberry Finn* episode suddenly seems saturated with descriptions of human beings dominating nature. Early on in the episode, Huck meets Buck Grangerford, a boy of about his own age. However, Huck claims, before he was even able to introduce himself Buck 'started to telling me about a blue jay and a young rabbit he had catched in the woods day before yesterday' (p. 270). A little later on Huck himself goes hunting with Buck,[13] who asks Huck if he 'own[s] a dog', before interrupting him to proudly proclaim 'I've got a dog – and he'll go into the river and bring out chips that you throw in' (p. 271). And, in fact, the December episode begins with Huck telling us that he and Jim began each morning on the river 'setting out the lines': 'we would take some fish off the lines and cook up a hot breakfast' (p. 268). Read in relation to the other portrayals of hunting found in the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century*, these seemingly innocent pastoral scenes take on an additional significance: in this context, these scenes become intimately embedded in ideas of national identity and in the conquest of the American frontier.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[13] '[O]ne day Buck and me was away in the woods, hunting', mentions Huck (p. 274).[14] Noonan, *Reading the Century*, p. 157.

Civil War

Every issue of the *Century* published between November 1884 and November 1887 contains a number of articles on the (still relatively recent) American Civil War. Known collectively as the *Century*'s 'War Series', these articles were written by both officers and rank and file soldiers who had fought for either the Union or the Confederacy. Voicing a widely-held belief, Noonan has argued that the editors of the *Century* had hoped to use the War Series to 'reconcil[e] regional differences' – that, having 'deemed it necessary to raise the defeated South onto equal terms with the Northern victor', these editors allowed the South to 'have its say'.[14] And, to be fair, the magazine did promise that the Series aimed not 'to go over the ground of the official reports and campaign controversies, but [rather] to soften controversy with that better understanding of each other … motives will be weighed without malice, and valor praised without distinction of uniform'.[15] However, being based in New York City, the *Century* was always going to be a Northern publication,[16] and, while the Series may have gone on to become more balanced, the issues containing excerpts from *Huckleberry Finn* allow one side to have its say far more than the other. Indeed, of the twelve articles published on the Civil War in these issues of the *Century*, nine come from men who had served with the Union.[17]

Yet, 'oddly – or perhaps not so oddly –', Gabler-Hover notes, the *Century*'s 'treatment of the war between North and South [in the War Series] was marked by no mention of the African-American presence for whom the war was at least in part ostensibly

[14] Noonan, *Reading the Century*, p. 157.
[15] 'Battles and Leaders of the Civil War', pp. 933-4, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 28.6 (October 1884), p. 933.
[16] Gilder, for instance, had himself fought for the Union: Smith, *Richard Watson Gilder*, pp. 14-15.
[17] In the December issue, we find three pieces by Unionists (Warren Lee Goss' 'Recollections of a Private', General Lew Wallace's 'The Capture of Fort Donelson', and General James B. Fry's 'The Number of Men Engaged at Bull Run') and only one by a Confederate (General Thomas Jordan's rebuttal, 'The Number of Men Engaged at Bull Run'); in the January number, we find two pieces by Unionists (James B. Ead's 'Recollections of Foote and the Gun-Boats', and Henry Walke's 'Operations of the Western Flotilla') and no pieces by Confederates; and, in the February number, we find four pieces by Unionists (Ulysses S. Grant's 'The Battle of Shiloh', Fitzgerald John Porter's 'The Offer of Union Command to General A.S. Johnston', Robert E. Patterson's 'General Robert Patterson and the Battle of Bull Run', and William Todd 'Uniform of the Highlanders at Bull Run') and two by Confederates (William Preston Johnston's 'Albert Sydney Johnston and the Shiloh Campaign' and Thomas Jordan's 'Notes of a Confederate Staff-Officer at Shiloh').

fought'.[18] Stripped of this racially-informed contextual motivation, the Civil War that is both represented and recreated in the *Century* becomes little more than a (now rather one-sided) struggle for land. This struggle is epitomised by the many competing maps that accompany various pieces in the Series. William L. Shea and Terrence J. Winschel have written of 'the strategic importance of the Mississippi River' during the Civil War, while Lincoln is himself said to have proclaimed 'the Mississippi … the backbone of the Rebellion', and 'the key to the whole situation'.[19] As such, it is perhaps unsurprising that the river – itself, in many ways, the backbone of *Huckleberry Finn* – is a dominant feature in a number of the Civil War maps found in our issues of the *Century* (see fig.s 22-4). During 'frontier disputes', notes Jeremy Black, maps become 'especially … assert[ive]';[20] and our maps certainly carry an assertive undertone, representing as they do previously contested areas of land.

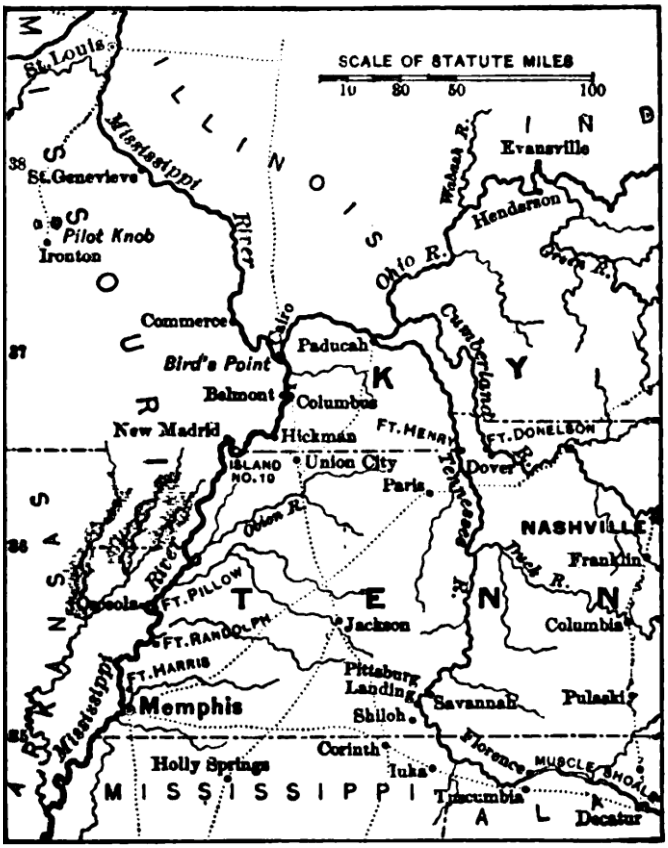
As a composite reincarnation of maps that were actually used and created by a Union officer, figure 23 is particularly interesting in this respect. Like figures 22 and 23, figure 24 pointedly depicts the ground that the Union went on to win back from the Confederacy. More than this, though, it also annotates the geo-chronology of this victory in quite a detailed manner: we are shown the route that the Union's General Pope used to 'advance from the North', the land that the Union won on the 6th of March ('Pt Pleasant'), and even the town that the Confederacy was forced to 'abandon' on the 14th of March ('New Madrid'). As such, the map becomes a particularly sharp memento of both victory and defeat.

The article that contains this map is also significant from our point of view. Authored by Henry Walke (another officer in the Union), 'Operations of the Western Flotilla' focuses on a number of actions undertaken on the Mississippi by the Northern

[18] Gabler-Hover, 'The North South Reconciliation Theme', p. 240.
[19] William L. Shea and Terrence J. Winschel, *Vicksburg is the Key: The Struggle for the Mississippi River* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), p. 1.
[20] Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 9.

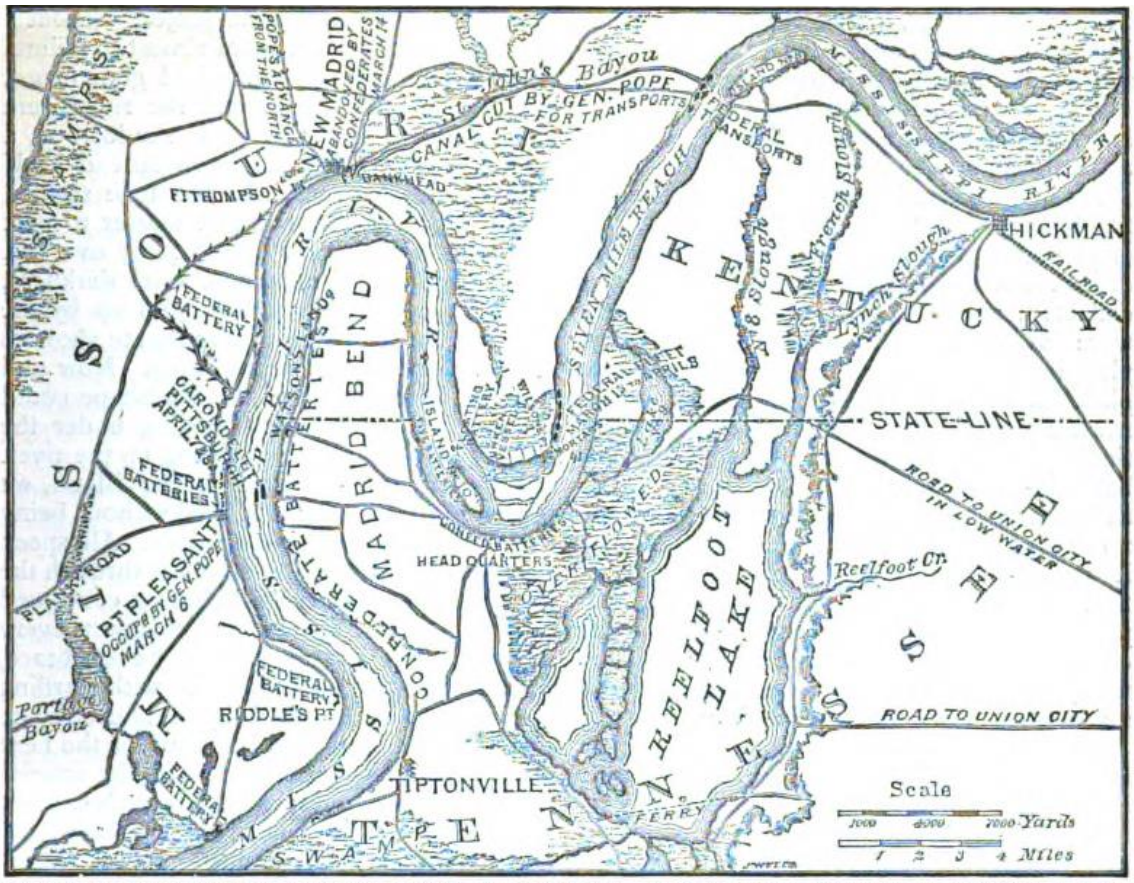
MAP OF KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE, INCLUDING FIELD OF OPERATIONS IN THE SHILOH CAMPAIGN.

Fig. 22: An illustration in the February 1885 (p. 618) issue of the *Century*.



REGION OF FOOTE'S OPERATIONS.

Fig. 23: An illustration in the December 1884 (p. 287) and January 1885 (p. 414) issues of the *Century*.



MAP OF MILITARY AND NAVAL OPERATIONS ABOUT ISLAND NO. TEN. (BASED ON THE TWO MAPS BY CAPTAIN A. B. GRAY, C. S. A., MADE IN MARCH, 1862, AND ON OFFICIAL REPORTS.)

Fig. 24: An illustration in the January 1885 (p. 441) issue of the *Century*.

Fig. 25: A map of the United States, plotting that which is shown in figs. 21-23 against the approximate progress made by Huck in the *Century* instalments.

navy. One day, we are told, it is suggested that a team 'tak[e] a gun-boat past the enemy's forts to New Madrid' (p. 441). While almost all of the other men believe such a mission to be inherently dangerous and foolhardy, Walke insists that it could succeed if it was to take place 'under the cover of darkness'. In fact, he even volunteers to lead the manoeuvre himself, knowing 'that the aid of a gun-boat was absolutely necessary to enable General Pope to succeed in his operations against the enemy' (p. 441). A team is formed and they set out:

> At ten o'clock the moon had gone down, and the sky, and the earth, and the river were alike hidden in the black shadow of a thunderstorm, which had now spread itself all over the heavens. As the time seemed favorable, I ordered the first master to cast off. Dark clouds now rose rapidly over us, and enveloped us in almost total darkness, except when the sky was lighted up by welcome flashes of vivid lightning, to show us the perilous way we were to take. Now and then the dim outline of the landscape could be seen, and the forest blending under the roaring storm that came rushing up the river … we passed the lowest point of land without being observed, it appears, by the enemy. All speed was given to the vessel to drive her through the tempest. The flashes of lightning continued with frightful brilliancy, and 'almost every second', wrote a correspondent, 'every brace, post, and outline could be seen with startling distinctness ...' (pp. 442-3)

Arguably the most significant contributor to the *Century*'s Civil War series was Ulysses S. Grant, leader of the Union forces and 18th president of the United States.[21] Grant eventually decided to use his contributions as the basis of his memoirs, and Twain spent much of the period that *Huckleberry Finn* was appearing in the *Century* vying with the magazine for the right to publish these memoirs as a book.[22] While Twain eventually won this battle – securing what would turn out to be a rare financial success for Charles L. Webster & Co. – what he really wanted was the right to publish the whole War series. '[K]eep on the best of terms with those folk', he instructed his partners at the publishing house in August of 1884,

[21] Four of Grant's articles appeared in the War series between February of 1885 and February of 1886.
[22] For Twain's account of this dispute, see: Smith *et al.* eds., *The Autobiography of Mark Twain (Vol. 1)*, pp. 75-98.

'we want the Century's warbook'; seven months later, his desire appears to have increased: 'we must have it', he told the organisation.[23]

Issues of chronology aside, one could almost believe that Huck had been the 'correspondent' referred to in the above quoted passage. For, in the issue of the *Century* that immediately followed that which contained Walke's article, Huck narrates a nocturnal Mississippi River adventure of his own:[24]

> We got away as soon as it was good and dark … about ten o'clock it came on to rain and blow and thunder and lighten like everything … It was my watch below till twelve, but I wouldn't 'a' turned in, anyway, if I'd had a bed; because a body don't see such a storm as that every day in the week, not by a long sight. My souls, how the wind did scream along! And every second or two there'd come a glare that lit up the white-caps for a half a mile around, and you'd see the islands looking dusty through the rain, and the trees thrashing about in the wind; then comes a *h-wack!* – bum! bum! bumble-umble-umbum-bum-bum-bum – and the thunder would go rumbling and grumbling away, and quit; and then *rip* comes another flash and another sockdolager … We didn't have no trouble about snags; the lightning was glaring and flittering around so constant that we could see them plenty soon enough to … miss them. (p. 548)

Intriguingly, this passage is set within a couple of hundred miles of the area in which Walke's previously-quoted naval manoeuvres are meant to have taken place (see fig. 25).[25] Yet, perhaps this should not be surprising. For these passages are intimately linked by a whole host of strangely serendipitous interconnections. Some of these are quite obvious: both expeditions take place in hostile territory, at ten o'clock in the evening, during a dramatic thunderstorm, on the Mississippi River. Others are a little more subtle. In this second class, one might place Walke's remarkably rich and poetic language which at one stage even appears to pre-emptively merge with Huck's distinctly idiosyncratic narrative voice (the storm, Walke informs us, 'lighted up' the night sky). To this, one might also add

[23] Letter reproduced in Hill ed., *Mark Twain's Letters to his Publishers*, p. 178; *ibid.*, p. 184; Twain was less successful in this bid, and the magazine itself published the War Series in book form over four volumes between 1887 and 1888 as *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*.
[24] Huck and Jim usually try to travel at night to avoid being seen.
[25] Walke's narrative centres upon Missouri's southern border with Arkansas; we subsequently learn that Huck and Jim are themselves somewhere in Arkansas ('the duke said these Arkansaw lunkheads couldn't come up to Shakespeare...' (p. 552).

the fact that in both Walke's passage and in Twain's, light itself takes on quite a particular kind of significance, becoming at once both a source of danger (when present in excess, hence the nocturnal temporal settings) and a conduit for information able to keep danger at bay ('welcome flashes of lightning … show[ed] us the perilous way we were to take'; 'we didn't have no trouble about snags; the lightning was glaring and flittering around so constant that we could see them plenty soon enough to … miss them'). Walke goes on to tell us that his mission ended-up being a great success. In fact, we are told, it contributed to 'the capture of three Generals …, over five thousand men, twenty pieces of heavy artillery, seven thousand stand of arms, and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, without the loss of a man on our side' (p. 443).

Appearing as they do in consecutive issues of the *Century*, the echoes of this overwhelming defeat surely migrate into our extract of *Huckleberry Finn* – transforming the extract into yet another reminder of the North's territorial conquest, and entangling Twain's instalment in Walke's proprietorial approach to land, military equipment, and even human beings. Indeed, as we will see in the chapter to come, in their overarching proprietorialism, Twain and the *Century* regularly blurred the boundaries between the different forms that property might take.

3. Owning Ideas

In 1900, Twain gave evidence to a special Committee of the British House of Lords, proclaiming that for him there was 'no difference between an author's property and real estate'. In 1790, the first copyright legislation in the United States limited the term of copyright to fourteen years, with an option for an additional fourteen-year extension; in 1831, the term was lengthened to twenty-eight years, with a fourteen-year extension.[1] Now, Twain advocated passing legislation to instate 'perpetual copyright … in the interest of the widows and orphans' of successful authors.[2] As he aged, Twain became increasingly concerned about his own family's future financial well-being: 'I do not sleep these nights', he told a correspondent in 1893, 'for visions of the poor house'.[3] Hoping to alleviate these concerns, he turned his attentions towards securing greater advantage from the most potentially lucrative asset that he possessed: his name and imagination.[4] Thus, in the second half of his career, Twain lent his support to a growing number of voices calling for the scope of intellectual property laws to be increased. When, in 1886, a promising copyright bill was being prepared for Congress, Twain readied himself to speak in its favour; twenty years later, he did the same in relation to patents.[5] In 1907, he took even more immediately consequential actions, registering his pseudonym as a trade mark and founding 'The Mark Twain Company'.[6]

The *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* maintain an equally proprietorial approach to culture and ideas. As I will argue in this chapter, whether aggressively defending innovations, systematically categorising knowledge, or implicitly supporting

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[1] Mellissa J. Homestead, 'Intellectual Property and Copyright', pp. 545-6, Joan Shelly Rubin and Scott Caster eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of American Culture and Intellectual History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 546.

[2] *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Copyright Bill [H.L.] and the Copyright (Artistic) Bill [H.L.]; Together With the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. Session 1900*, (London: Wyman and Sons, 1900), pp. 3, 5.

[3] Letter Reproduced in Hill ed., *Mark Twain's Letters to his Publishers*, p. 355.

[4] As Garvey has noted, while Twain advocated strengthening those laws that regulated intellectual property, he also happily exploited the lack of regulation for his own financial ends, taking 'advantage of the newspapers' habit of recirculation [without permission] to promote' the scrapbook he invented in 1876: Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*, p. 61,

[5] Mark J. Bassett, 'Copyright', pp. 183-4, *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Mark Twain*.

[6] Smith *et al.* eds., *The Autobiography of Mark Twain (Vol. 1)*, p. 586.

restrictions on the dissemination of cultural capital, these issues of the magazine consistently promote the view that culture and ideas are products to be owned.

Support for Intellectual Property

The *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* approach innovation and intellectual production in a highly proprietorial manner. Simultaneously naturalising and nationalising this approach, the January number declares that 'the inventive faculty of the Yankee race [has] crowded the Patent Office with models' (p. 354); and our issues of the *Century* are themselves crowded with advertisements aggressively staking a claim to various forms of intellectual property. One such advertisement begins by screaming 'STOP THIEF!!!' in enlarged capital letters (see fig 26), before lamenting that 'The beautiful art of 'LUSTRA' PAINTING, invented, copyrighted, and registered by Rufus H. Bragdon, Artist, of New-York City … [is] being *imitated* by several *so-called* reputable dealers in artists' materials, who impose upon the public fraudulent, worthless stuff at various prices' (December, p. lvii). In another advertisement, Bennett Telephone & Electric Co. assure us that their 'numerous patents broadly cover the features which make a successful and practical telephone of this class possible. Infringements will not be allowed either in making, selling, or using' their invention (see fig. 27);[7] even more directly, in a third, Enoch Morgan's Sons Co. (a maker of soap) warns the reader '**BEWARE OF IMITATIONS.** THERE IS BUT ONE **SAPOLIO**'. (see fig. 28). In each of these anxiously possessive advertisements, ideas about authenticity and fears of the illicit are brought together in a heady atmosphere of paranoia, ultimately designed to serve the advertisers' ends.

This was also the period in which brands first gained a legal status in America: as Cross tells us, it was only in 1870 that retail trademarks became registrable in the United States, a development that officially allowed for the identification of 'a specific

[7] In 1884, the telephone was still a relatively new invention. The very first conversation by telephone had only taken place in 1876 (the year in which a number of inventors competed to file a patent for their telephonic devices): Stephen Van Dulken, 'The Telephone', p. 190-1, *Inventing the 19th Century: 100 Inventions that Shaped the Victorian Age* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 190; many years later, Twain famously staked a claim to having been not only 'the first person in the world to apply the type-machine to literature' but also 'the first person in the world that ever had a telephone in the house for practical purposes': Mark Twain, ''From My Unpublished Autobiography', p. 391, *Harper's Weekly* 49.2517 (18 March 1905).

manufacturer with a brand design and symbol'.[8] The new language of trademarks and proprietorial branding creeps into a number of the advertisements found in the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century*. This language is often clearly designed to educate the public on how to interpret the new technology. In the December issue, for instance, we are told that 'Warren's Entire Wheat' has been granted a trademark, and that 'W WARREN'S SIGNATURE AND THE FOUR STARS' should now be read as a guarantor of 'GENUINE' authenticity and quality (see fig. 29); similarly, on the very next page, we find James Pyle's trademarked 'Pearline' detergent, and are instructed that '**PEARLINE** is the **ONLY SAFE** labor-saving compound, and always bears the above symbol' (see fig. 30). In fact, in the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the Century, even those advertisements that do not specifically mention trademarks seem to rely on the new conceptual framework of relations between symbols, companies, and ideals. Thus, in the number for February, we are told that '**You cannot** be sure of getting the **genuine** article unless you are careful to examine and see that this stamp appears plainly on the soles: **JAMES MEANS' $3 SHOE**' (see fig. 31).

Moving away from these pages of advertising, we find that the rest of the *Century* is similarly bullish when it comes to the question of intellectual property. This can be seen best in the editorial featured alongside the first episode of *Huckleberry Finn*. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a number of attempts were made to secure a form of international copyright. One such attempt was the Dorsheimer bill, introduced to the American Congress on the 18th of January 1884. As Seville makes clear, although the bill never made it into law, it would have formed the basis of reciprocal copyright agreements between the United States and other countries.[9] Under the heading 'A Ready-made Market for American Goods', Gilder offers the *Century*'s support for the Dorsheimer bill amidst the end pages of the December issue.[10] Focusing exclusively on the promise of American authors being able to hold

[8] Gary Cross, 'Origins of Moden Consumption: Advertising, New Goods, and a New Generation, 1890-1930', pp. 11-23, Mathew P. McAllister and Emily West eds., *The Routledge Companion to Advertising and Promotional Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013) p. 13.

[9] Catherine Seville identifies the bill's 'core provision' as being that 'Whenever any foreign country shall grant by law [copyright] to citizens of the United States .... the President shall issue a proclamation … from the date of which the authors of such country shall be entitled in copyright in the United States': Catherine Seville, *The Internationalisation of Copyright Law: Books, Buccaneers and the Black Flag in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 219.

[10] A year after *Huckleberry Finn* appeared in the *Century*, the magazine published a series of open letters under the title 'International Copyright: Plain Speech from American Authors'. Alongside plainly spoken

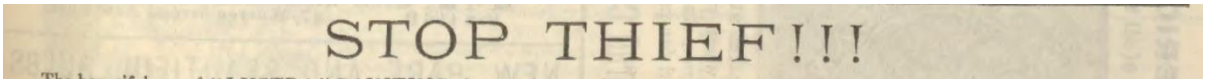

Fig. 26: Detail from an advertisement in the December 1884 issue of the *Century* (p. lvii).

Fig. 27: Detail from an advertisement in the December 1884 issue of the *Century* (p. xxxv).

Fig. 29: Detail from an advertisement in the December 1884 issue of the *Century* (p. li).

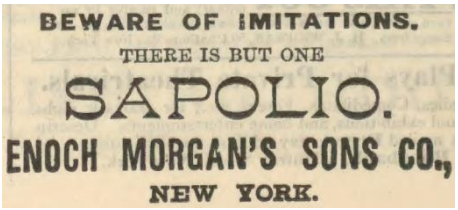

Fig. 28: Detail from an advertisement in the December 1884 issue of the *Century* (p. liii).

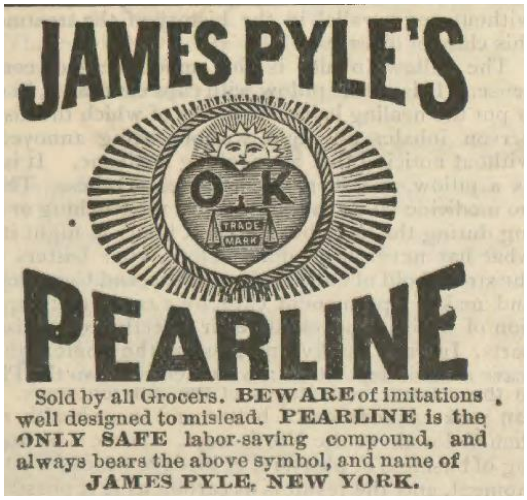

Fig. 30: Detail from an advertisement in the December 1884 issue of the *Century* (p. lii).

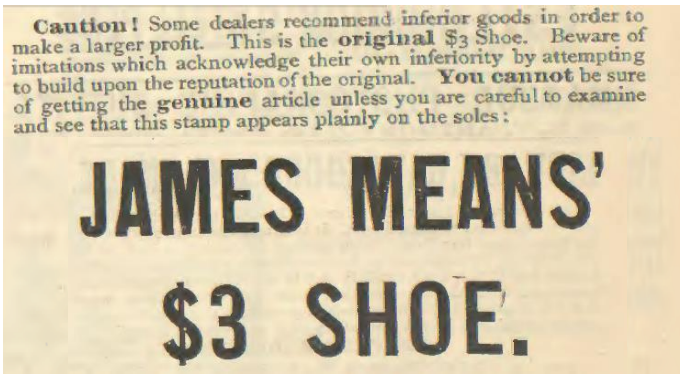

Fig. 31: Detail from an advertisement in the December 1884 issue of the *Century* (p. xxxi).

contributions from George W. Cable, Julian Hawthorn, W.D. Howells, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Charles Dudley Warner is a supportive (and surprisingly nationalistic) letter from Mark Twain: 'International Copyright: Plain Speech From American Authors', pp. 627-34, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 31.4 (February 1886).

copyright abroad (and thereby ignoring the fact that non-American authors would simultaneously gain copyright in the United States), the editorial declares that while 'men of all [political] parties [have] substantially agreed [upon] the desirability of securing additional foreign markets for American goods', there is 'one American business which, by neglect of Congress, has been refused the security of its legitimate profits in foreign countries'. For, we are told, when it comes to 'American literature', the *Century* fully supports efforts 'to obtain from Congress a recognition of property equal to that which we accord to even the poorest brand of Havana cigars' (p. 312). In a passage added to the first book edition of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, a friend of Lord Henry's aunt Agatha asks 'What *are* American dry goods?' to which Henry replies 'American novels'.[11] There is something of the same levelling spirit (*sans* irony) in the *Century*'s editorial, with its insistence that literature is a 'business' of 'profits' like any other. Perhaps most important of all, is the fact that – like many of the patented products discussed earlier – these profits are designated 'legitimate'.

Yet the *Century*'s bullish approach to intellectual property was more than merely theoretical. The magazine is itself saturated with notes staking both a claim to various kinds of content and warning off potential thieves: on every cover, the magazine declares 'Copyright, 1884, by The Century Co'. and 'Trademark registered Oct. 18th 1881', while, in actually opening an issue of the periodical, the first sentence one encounters warns that 'The entire contents of this Magazine are covered by the general copyright, and articles must not be reprinted without special permission'. In this, one of the very few lines to appear each and every month, the capitalised 'Magazine' becomes a monolithic entity to be idolised by a reader who must now beg 'permission'. As if to heighten its possessive quality, the line invariably looms above the magazine's contents page, keeping watch over its most recent acquisitions.

Individual pieces within the magazine are also often underwritten by copyright notices of their own. The first page of an article on 'Dublin City' in the December number, for instance, contains the footer 'Copyright, 1884, by THE CENTURY CO. ALL RIGHTS

[11] Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1891), p. 56; this exchange takes place in the third chapter of the 1891 text. As Bristow notes, 'Chapter III does not appear' in the text published by *Lippincott's*: Joseph Bristow ed., *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, Volume 3: The Picture of Dorian Gray, the 1890 and 1891 Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 430.

RESERVED' (p. 163). It must be acknowledged, as footers, these notes are usually reasonably discreet – however (perhaps uniquely), the note attached to the first instalment of *Huckleberry Finn* for 1885 is not a footer but a header.[12] As such, it acquires particular prominence; in a way, it even opens the story. 'Copyright, 1884, by Samuel L. Clemens', it declares, 'All rights reserved'. Immediately below this note is the instalment's title and immediately below this title is the author's by-line: 'By Mark Twain'. The fact that 'Mark Twain' was actually a pseudonym for Samuel Clemens was hardly a secret in 1884, yet there remains a certain dissonance within these three lines of prefatory material in which legal requirements seem to drag the imaginative back down to the level of the practical and the everyday.

Categorising Knowledge

The *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* also seem intent on creating possessive systems of classification. The taxonomising impulse is often associated with early modern European movements such as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. However, as John Pickstone has observed, 'taxonomy remained a vital part of the exploration and exploitation of the world … in the later nineteenth century' as well.[13] We see this in relation to information in, for instance, the arrangement of the advertisements which open and close each issue of our magazine. Here, an otherwise bewildering array of goods and services is broken down and subdivided by various headings: we have 'Books'; 'Schools'; 'Jewellery, Precious Stones & C'.; 'Proprietary Articles'; 'Furniture'; 'Architecture & Art Decorations'; 'Stove, Ranges Etc'.; 'Sporting Goods'; 'Seeds and Plants'; 'Newspapers and Periodicals'; 'Cards and Stationery'; 'Dry Goods'; and 'Miscellaneous Articles'. Admittedly, as the presence of generalising afterthoughts such as '& C'. and 'Etc'. might suggest, this categorising system occasionally has to strain to contain every advertised item (in the number for December, for instance, we find 'THE HALL TYPE-WRITER' listed under

[12] It could be that this was the result of coincidence rather than design. At a mere two and a half pages, the January instalment of *Huckleberry Finn* is significantly shorter than almost any other prose item published in the magazine. As such, it begins in the middle of the magazine's page, rather than the top. It is possible that this unconventional formatting was responsible for the unconventional placement of the instalment's copyright notice.

[13] John Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing: A New History of Science, Technology and Medicine* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 75.

'Furniture': p. xxxiiv). And, indeed, sometimes the task appears to have simply been too great – hence, the despairingly broad non-category 'Miscellaneous Articles'. On the whole, though, there does still seem to have been a concerted effort made to bring a degree of order to the chaos of late nineteenth-century American capitalism.[14]

The same desire for systematised knowledge is even more striking and apparent in an article, published in the January number, entitled 'On the Making of a Museum'. Here, Ernest Ingersoll[15] outlines the early history of the recently opened Smithsonian. Like many other institutions of its kind, the Smithsonian was built on the back of colonial exploration. Indeed, Ingersoll informs us, 'various exploring expeditions and embassies largely increased the bulk of the collections'. '"Smithsonian men" ... went westward and northward and southward, and came back with car-loads of Indian relics and modern implements of savagery'. There were 'skins, shells, insects, minerals, fossils, skeletons, alcoholic preparations, herbaria, and note books – the last crammed with novel information' (p. 354).

The emphasis on 'information' with which this quotation ends is all-important. For, in reading Ingersoll's article, it seems as if the colonial manner in which the museum's collection was acquired has also shaped the manner in which this collection is organised and displayed. We are eagerly told that

> The Museum is built up on a philosophic classification, intended to embrace the whole universe, and minute enough to find a legitimate place for every object. This classification is made ideally, and without reference to the material at present in possession of the Museum. (p. 359)

While Ingersoll seems to laud the museum for promoting what he subsequently deems an 'ambitious undertaking' (p. 369), a twenty-first century response to these sentiments might be more ambivalent. For, in the passage quoted above, the Smithsonian's 'philosophic classification' of all things appears to be underwritten by a remarkably voracious appetite

[14] William Smith's 1863 guide *Advertise: How? When? Where?* suggests that the subcategorizing of advertisements was a particularly American practice: William Smith, *Advertise: How? When? Where?* (London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1863), p. 16.

[15] Though just a name in the January issue of the *Century*, Ingersoll was a well-known American marine naturalist and explorer: Clyde L. MacKenzie Jr., 'Biographic Memoir of Ernest Ingersoll: Naturalist, Shellfish Scientist, and Author', pp. 23-9, *Marine Fisheries Review* 53.3 (July 1991).

for more than simply knowledge. In fact, in being designed to 'embrace the whole universe', the museum's 'ideal[ist]' categorisation system suggests a desire for an almost God-like order and control. Thus, while Ingersoll's article might ostensibly be about little more than the history of the Smithsonian, it also seems to get swept up in political and religious concerns, and to have been shaped by a kind of imperialism of cultural objects and history in which total ownership has become the ultimate goal.

When viewed through this lens, the episodes of *Huckleberry Finn* published in the *Century* promote a similar ideology, if a little less directly. This can perhaps be seen best in the number for January. Here, Huck tells us that he

> read considerable to Jim about kings, and dukes, and earls, and such, and how gaudy they dressed, and how much style they put on, and called each other your majesty, and your grace, and your lordship, and so on, 'stead of mister; and Jim's eyes bugged out, and he was interested. He says: 'I didn't know dey was so many un um. I haint hearn 'bout none un um, skasely, but ole King Sollermun, onless you counts dem kinds dat's in a pack er k'yards ...' (p. 457)

Taken in context, the humour of this passage concerns more than simply a lack of knowledge. Instead, while a certain degree of warmth continues to be directed at Huck and Jim in these lines, the joke is that – despite claiming to have 'read considerable' – what they do know about European monarchs and nobility is so obviously disordered and eclectic. Indeed, theirs is merely a mock-didactic relationship, centred upon an amateurishly impressionistic understanding of the world. This view is only strengthened by our seeing Huck's attempts at categorisation ('kings, and dukes, and earls'; 'your majesty, and your grace, and your lordship') repeatedly fall away into impatient generalisations ('and such'…; 'and so on'…). For, being able to disseminate or create a complete and all-encompassing categorisation system here implicitly becomes a marker of intellectual rigour and prowess: in irreverently failing to pass this test, Huck's ignorance is only reinforced.

It must be acknowledged that Huck's generalisations could be said to recall those found in the *Century*'s subtitles used to divide the advertisements discussed above. In a way, though, the magazine's advertising subtitles could get away with occasionally being a

little vague, for they employed the coldly impersonal language of bureaucracy ('& C'.; 'Etc'.), and as such, they merely broadened out the magazine's categorisation system, making it even more expansive. On the other hand, by using the far more vernacular generalisations 'and such' 'and so on', Huck's conceptual ellipses only move his half-hearted attempt at a system further into the realms of incompetency and the absurd.

Restricting the Dissemination of Cultural Knowledge

It is also important that this inferior knowledge is being freely shared between Huck and Jim. As is perhaps appropriate, given the *Century*'s valorisation of money, our issues of the magazine imply that the dissemination of high-quality cultural knowledge requires the bedrock of a simultaneous economic transaction if it is to successfully take place. This is particularly true of the literary advertisements which begin each issue. Indeed, whether buying a volume entitled 'French Pottery' or one called 'Russian Art and Art Objects in Russia',[16] culture, it is implied, is something that one owns.

One should keep this position in mind when reading the third *Huckleberry Finn* episode. In Chapter One, the ideological significance of the king and duke was briefly discussed in relation to their final, most elaborate, scheme for illicitly acquiring funds. Yet, before impersonating the heirs of a recently deceased man of wealth, the pair came up with quite a different kind of con. 'Have you ever trod the boards[?]', the duke asks the king; the king replies that he has not;

> '... You shall, then, before you're three days older, Fallen Grandeur', says the duke. 'The first good town we come to, we'll hire a hall and do the sword-fight in 'Richard III' and the balcony scene in 'Romeo and Juliet'. How does that strike you?' 'I'm in, up to the hub for anything that will pay; but you see I don't know nothing about play-act'n', and hain't ever see much of it … Do you reckon you can learn me?' 'Easy!' 'All right … Less commence right away'. So the duke told him all about who Romeo was, and who Juliet was, and said he was used to being Romeo so the duke could be Juliet'. (p. 548)

[16] Both books are advertised on page iv of the February issue.

The *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* contain a surprising number of advertisements for the works of Shakespeare: in the December number alone, we have 'THE RIVERSIDE SHAKESPEARE' ('The set, 8vo, gilt top, $15; half calf, $25.00': p. ii); an illustrated edition of '*The Seven Ages of Man.* From Shakespeare's "As You Like It"' (for the small quarto edition 'cloth extra, gilt $1.50; Alligator, $1.50; Tree calf, $5.00)': p. xvi); and (perhaps most importantly) 'ROMEO AND JULIET. Edition de Luxe. With 12 superb photogravures from original drawings' ('Price, $25.00': p. x).

This, it is implied, is the correct manner in which to disseminate high culture; it is when you move away from the codified and financially-compensatory approach of the mainstream economy that you begin to get into trouble. By associating the free transmission of cultural knowledge with two conmen, the passage quoted above effectively ties cultural generosity to deviancy, immorality, and society's subversive fringe. At the same time, the passage also reinforces the connection between illegitimate reproductions and deception formed in the proprietary advertisements discussed earlier ('BEWARE OF IMITATIONS'). As if to condemn further such actions, when they finally perform these scenes from Shakespeare, the king and duke receive a jolt of authorial retribution – the audience, we are told, 'laughed all the time, [which] made the duke mad; and everybody left, anyway, before the show was over' (p. 554).

As this might suggest, there is a slightly elitist feel to a number of the discussions of high culture found within the magazine's pages. For a number of years, Howells was the editor of the rather more intellectually demanding *Atlantic Monthly*, and, in a way, the cultural exclusivity of the *Atlantic* seems to have passed into the *Huckleberry Finn* issues of the *Century* when it serialised Howells' novel *The Rise of Silas Lapham*. During the course of Howells' novel, for instance, the well-educated Corey *fils* tells his father that, while he is not particularly fond of reading,

> ['s]till, I think I read with some sense of literature and the difference between authors. I don't suppose that people generally do that; I have met people who had read books without troubling themselves to find out even the author's name, much less trying to

> decide upon his quality. I suppose that's the way the vast majority of people read'. (p. 584)

Here, the act of reading is stripped of anything like pleasure; instead, not only what one reads, but *how* one reads, becomes a kind of social test in which the author's cultural cachet ('name') is all important. It is being aware of this socio-literary hierarchy – and of every author's place within the hierarchy – that distinguishes the cultural elite from the common herd ('the vast majority of people'). In the Introduction to this thesis, I noted how mass-market magazines such as the *Century* were built on the back of nineteenth-century economic, educational, and technological improvements, and the rise in literacy rates that they produced. It seems somewhat paradoxical, therefore, that the sentiments expressed in the above-quoted passage seem, at least in part, to be a reaction to these developments: while the privileged few may have lost their monopoly on book reading, they can still hold on to the proper way to consume these literary commodities.

It is also important to note that European cultural expressions appear to carry a particular significance in these issues of the *Century*. In an advertisement for *Eclectic Magazine* found in the January number, we are told that 'Foreign Magazines embody the most scholarly, vigorous, and searching thought of the age' (p. xxix). As such, the *Eclectic* strives 'to select and reprint all the representative articles thus given to the world. The subscriber has then at his command in a compact form the best-digested work of the masterminds of the age'. Admittedly, this advertising bravado does convey a certain appreciation of the intrinsic value of high culture ('scholarly, vigorous, and searching'). Ultimately, though, cultural expressions are still presented as phenomena that one must 'command'; all the better therefore to encounter them in a 'compact', '[pre-]digested', form.

Promises about the simplicity of bringing European culture under one's control can also be found in a slightly earlier advertisement. For, we are informed, 'THE MEISTERSCHAFT SYSTEM' is 'A wonderfully simple and practical method, enabling anyone to learn, with scarcely any effort, to speak fluently and correctly SPANISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN … Ten weeks' study sufficient for entire mastery of every-day

and business conversations'.[17] Here, 'mastery' becomes an interesting choice of term; in fact reading these claims, one could almost conclude that, post-abolition, America was turning its possessive attentions elsewhere. And, indeed, this impression is only strengthened when one examines another passage from the magazine – this time from an instalment of that second Great American Novel first serialised in the February issue of the *Century*, Henry James' *The Bostonians*.[18] Here, the Southerner Basil Ransom arrives at the Boston home of his cousin, Olive Chancellor. Entering Olive's drawing room, he acquaints himself with her belongings:

> He looked at some of the books, and saw that his cousin read German; and his impression of the importance of this (as a symptom of her superiority) was not diminished by the fact that he himself had mastered the tongue (knowing that it contained a large literature of jurisprudence) during a long, empty, summer on the plantation. (p. 535)

A little earlier on in James' story, we learn that the American Civil War has 'ruined' the Ransoms: they have 'lost their slaves, their property, their friends and relations, their homes; [have] tasted of all the cruelty of defeat' (p. 533). Highlighting the subsequent 'empt[iness]' of the Ransom plantation, the passage quoted above seems to hint at a kind of transference having occurred in response to this sudden deprivation. '[W]e can never give anything up', observes Freud in 'Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming', 'we only exchange one thing for

[17] Many of the German phrases taught to pupils of the Meisterschaft system subsequently appeared in Twain's dramatic burlesque 'Meisterschaft: In Three Acts', published in the *Century* in 1888: Mark Twain, 'Meisterschaft: In Three Acts', pp. 457-67, *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 35.3 (January 1888).

[18] It took the *Century* two years to finish serialising *The Bostonians*, which ran in the magazine from February of 1884 to that of 1886. As is so often the case when it comes to James, the novel's initial reception was far from promising. Writing in his memoirs a few decades later, the *Century*'s senior editor of the time (Lewis Tooker) recalls overhearing a conversation in which one editor at the magazine asked another if the number for February would contain the novel's final instalment. Yes, the second editor replied, not looking up from what he was doing. '"James says it does, and so does Tooker, and they ought to know: they are the only ones who have ever read it."': Lewis Frank Tooker, *The Joys and Tribulations of an Editor* (New York: The Century Co., 1924), p. 227; in July of 1885, Twain wrote a letter to Howells critically dismissing a number of contemporary authors. After casting aside the work of George Eliot and Nathaniel Hawthorne, he ends the letter with: 'And as for "The Bostonians", I would rather be damned to John Bunyan's heaven than read that': letter reproduced in Paine ed., *Mark Twain's Letters*, p. 455.

another';[19] and, here, it seems that if Basil can no longer be a master of other human beings he will substitute the lost pleasure for that which comes with being a master of language (or, more specifically, legal language – itself an instrument of social control).

*****

In many ways, our discussion of *The Bostonians*, with its almost Bourdieuvian findings about the exchangeability of property modes, epitomises the section's broader argument concerning the all-encompassing proprietorialism (a desire for money, land, and culture) of the *Huckleberry Finn* episodes of the *Century*.

This allows us to reconsider how we approach the portrayal of slavery in these episodes. At the beginning of this section I noted how, over the last eighty or ninety years, critics have increasingly condemned the *Century*'s editing of *Huckleberry Finn* as racially suspect. Recent critics have paid particular attention to the apparent excision of what Gabler-Hover has described as 'the one clear instance' in the chapters that Gilder chose to publish in which 'Jim's humanity is shown and Huck forced to acknowledge it'.[20] At times, in this thesis, issues of race and slavery have boiled to the surface of what has otherwise been a broader discussion of nineteenth-century property. And, in a way, perhaps this was appropriate – for in nineteenth-century America the concepts of property and slavery were frequently inseparable.

In both that century and the one that followed, writes Junius Rodriguez, '[a]pologists for slavery' have claimed that the practice was 'maintained as a social institution out of a sense of benevolent paternalism and that its maintenance was not associated with any supposed links to its profitability'.[21] These apologists, he notes, have even suggested that slavery was economically naive. Ultimately, though, Rodriguez rebuts, such suggestions are misleading:

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[19] Sigmund Freud, I.F. Duff trans, 'Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming (1908 [1907])', pp. 142-54, James Strachey ed., *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume IX (1906-1908): Jensen's 'Gradiva'* and *Other Works* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1959), p. 144.
[20] Gabler-Hover, 'The North-South Reconciliation Theme', p. 253-4.
[21] Junius P. Rodriguez, 'The Rise of "King Cotton" and the Economics of Slavery', pp. 107-14, *Slavery in the United States: A Social, Political, and Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2007), p. 112.

> [m]ost studies that have examined the economic history of slavery in the United States have concluded that slave labor was indeed profitable for southern cotton planters who were garnering profits ranging from 6 to 12 percent on the eve of the Civil War.[22]

If the removal of Jim's humanising anecdote is one of the most significant deletions made by the *Century*, one of Twain's most significant additions – in fact, arguably the only significant addition – involves Jim's dialogue as well. In the January instalment, Jim tells Huck about his experiences 'speculat'n'' in 'stock [–] live stock'; he bought a cow, but the cow died and he lost his money (p. 456). However, he goes on to reflect, 'I's rich now, come to look at it. I owns myse'f, en I's wuth eight hund'd dollars' (p. 457). In the book edition of Twain's novel, this is simply followed by 'I wisht I had de money, I wouldn' want no mo'';[23] in the *Century*, though, Jim's reflection is followed by '[b]ut live stock's too resky, Huck;– I wisht I had de eight hund'd dollars en somebody else had de nigger' (p. 457).

The *Century*'s follow-on (for Scott, 'almost certainly the addition of the author himself')[24] is obviously by far the more comically effective – a claim that cannot be made about most of the *Century*'s slightly puritanical edits.[25] Perhaps more importantly, though, the passage in the *Century* is also more shockingly blatant when it comes to presenting slavery as a phenomenon that was, at its core, economic (in the *Century*'s rendition, Jim becomes just another kind of 'live stock'). Thus, while the *Century* was clearly deeply reluctant to completely undermine the institution of slavery, it does reveal the phenomenon

[22] *Ibid.*
[23] Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 73.
[24] Scott, 'The Century Edits Huckleberry Finn', p. 361. There appears to be no way of knowing, with absolute certainty, how the line in the *Century* originated; however, Scott deems the line characteristic of Twain ('this has the hallmark': ibid.,), a judgement with which I concur.
[25] Perhaps the best example of such an edit is that which occurs halfway through the third and final extract. Here, after failing to impress with his first theatrical production, the duke concludes 'these Arkansaw lunkheads couldn't come up to Shakespeare; what they wanted was low comedy – and maybe something ruther worse than low comedy' (p. 552). As such, the duke has some playbills printed for a new production, 'the King's Camelopard or The Royal Nonesuch'. In the first book edition of *Huckleberry Finn*, the playbill ends with 'the biggest line of all': 'ladies and children not admitted' ('"there", says [the duke], "if that line don't fetch them, I don't know Arkansaw!"'): Twain, *Adventures*, p. 195. In the *Century*, meanwhile, the final line of the playbill and the duke's commentary upon it are omitted, leaving the magazine's readers somewhat perplexed.

for what it was – symptomatic, perhaps, of nineteenth-century capitalism more broadly, which (to quote Twain's near-contemporaries Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels)

> pitilessly tor[e] asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors', [leaving] no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment' … man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.[26]

[26] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party: Authorized English Translation*, Samuel Moore trans. (London: William Reeves, 1888), pp. 9-10. I cite here what remains the dominant translation of *The Communist Manifesto*. One might also note, however, that the very first English-language translation of *The Communist Manifesto* appeared some thirty-five years earlier, in *The Red Republican*, a penny-weekly run by the radical Chartist George Julian Harney: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 'German Communism: Manifesto of the German Communist Party', pp. 161-2, *The Red Republican* 1.21 (9 November 1850), p. 162. Serialisation continued in the issues for the 16th, 23rd, and 30th of November.

Part Two

The Picture of Dorian Gray and Popular Pseudoscience in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*

‘a very simple story published in … one of the highest class productions of American periodical literature…’

> *Carson [(counsel for The Marquess of Queensberry)]: Now listen to this. This is your account of the introduction of the artist.*
>
> *…*
>
> *Clarke [(counsel for Wilde)]: My learned friend has just handed me a copy … I am sorry to interrupt my friend. I think I must take exception to this … My learned friend hands to me a copy of Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine … It also contains articles on cheiromancy and contributions to science, ‘A Round Robin’, ‘Tales of the Powers of the Air’ and the like … Your lordship will see that the plea says ‘he published in the month of July 1890, published with his name upon the title page thereof, a work in the form of a narrative entitled The Picture of Dorian Gray[’] … But I submit that my learned friend by that is confined to a certain book [the 1891 edition of Dorian Gray] with the name printed upon the title page.*
>
> *…*
>
> *Judge: I have not seen the work that you have in your hand. (A copy is handed to the Judge.)*
>
> – The Real Trial of Oscar Wilde[1]

On Wednesday the third of April, 1895, Oscar Wilde stood in the witness box at the Old Bailey.[2] A month had passed since he had received the communication that had successfully goaded him into charging the Marquess of Queensberry with two counts of libel. Queensberry’s ‘posing as somdomite’ calling card, Wilde’s indictment alleged, had sought to both ‘deprive’ the author ‘of his good name fame credit and reputation’ and ‘bring him into public contempt scandal and disgrace’.[3] After ‘adjourn[ing] for luncheon’ on this – the first – day of the trial proper, proceedings resumed with Queensberry’s defence counsel seeking to prove his client’s accusations justified by reading aloud from

[1] Merlin Holland ed., *The Real Trial of Oscar Wilde* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), p. 82.
[2] For a vivid, near-contemporary, account of this moment, and of the trial more generally (compiled from a mixture of court and newspaper reporting) by a self-anonymising friend of Robert Ross’s, see: [Christopher Millard], *Oscar Wilde: Three Times Tried* (London: The Ferrestone Press, c. 1920), pp. 15-22; the description of *Dorian Gray* (‘a very simple story published in ... one of the highest class productions of American periodical literature’) reproduced at the top of this section is Clarke’s as reported in Millard: *ibid.*, p. 263.
[3] Holland ed., *The Real Trial*, p. 286.

The Picture of Dorian Gray. Almost immediately, however, Wilde's counsel intervened: this was not Wilde's novel that was being read from, but *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*. The suspect periodical was passed from one participant in this courtroom drama to the next, circulating (like a mass-produced Victorian reincarnation of Desdemona's handkerchief) as a potential symbol and indicator of sexual misconduct. Could this, multi-authored, multi-faceted text be viewed as a reflection upon Wilde?[4]

The defence was keen to use this, rather than what they subsequently referred to as the 'purged' 1891 book edition of *Dorian Gray,* because they believed it to be the more incriminating.[5] Yet, if the defence 'had possessed Wilde's typescript', argues Frankel, they would have been even keener to submit it as evidence, as it was 'even more explicit in its sexual allusions and references than the version published in *Lippincott's*'.[6] For, by the time it appeared in the issue of *Lippincott's* for July of 1890, Wilde's novel had already been 'purged' of many of its most 'daring and scandalous' details and passages.[7] Frankel seems a little surprised that *Lippincott's* proved unwilling to print Wilde's manuscript as they received it: after all, he claims, the magazine maintained 'a well-deserved reputation for publishing stories in the … Erotic School of American fiction'.[8] Yet, while it may now be remembered primarily as a publisher of controversial literary eroticism, in Wilde's day *Lippincott's* maintained no such reputation; in fact, in the 1880s and early 1890s, its self-promoted reputation was for printing quite the opposite kind of fare.

Lippincott's was founded in 1868 by the Philadelphian publishing house J. B. Lippincott & Co. (which had itself been founded in the 1830s as a publisher of 'bibles and prayer books').[9] Early reviews were remarkably complimentary. Philadelphia's *North American and United States Gazette* announced that the first issue 'holds so much of sterling value and has such local concern that [*Lippincott's*] ought to, and undoubtedly will,

[4] Wilde himself subsequently cut short his counsel's objections, telling Clarke that it was 'a matter of perfect indifference to him' which edition was used. As such, the edition of *Dorian Gray* contained in *Lippincott's* ultimately was the edition used throughout the trial: *ibid.*, p. 83.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[6] Frankel ed., *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. 40.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[9] Stuart J. Freeman, *Toward a Third Century of Excellence: An Informal History of the J. B. Lippincott Company on the Occasion of its Two-Hundredth Anniversary* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Company, 1992), pp. 14-15. The bicentenary claim made in the title of Freeman's book is slightly misleading: J. B Lippincott Company was founded in 1836; it was only a second corporation (Grigg, Elliott & Co), purchased by Joshua Lippincott in 1849, that could date its founding back to 1792.

receive flattering support from the Philadelphian literary world and, and thence from an increasing circle'.[10] South Carolina's *The Charleston Tri-Weekly Courier*, meanwhile, declared that if

> the first number of this new publication … is to be [viewed] as a fair specimen of its successors, we have no hesitation in saying that it will soon lay a claim to the front rank in the best periodicals of the day … the editorial matter and contributions evince a thorough judgment and appreciation of the literary necessities of American readers.[11]

As time went on, though, the magazine's 'appreciation of the literary necessities of American readers' was shown to be a little less 'thorough' than its early supporters had divined. For, by 1880, *Lippincott's* was floundering. Indeed, despite much public self-aggrandisement, the periodical refused to release its true circulation rate, leading advertising agencies to reduce their support for the magazine to little more than ten to twelve pages of paid copy per issue.[12] As the year came to a close, *Lippincott's* announced that it would take a new direction. The price would be reduced from 35 to 25 cents per issue, and 'new and attractive features' would appear, 'rendering the Magazine somewhat lighter in character than hitherto'.[13] The magazine's 'conductors', potential readers were assured in widely placed notices, would 'spare no efforts to secure the distinctive reputation of a thoroughly Popular and First-Class Family Magazine'.[14] Over the next decade, the autonymical advertising slogan 'A First-Class Family Magazine' seems to have become something of a favourite of the magazine's public relations department.[15] Somewhat less prescient, though, was the promise made in the very same 1880-1 relaunch notice that 'illustrations, carefully executed, will continue to hold a place': only five years later,

[10] 'Literary Notices', p. 1, *North American and United States Gazette* (17 December 1867).
[11] 'Lippincott's Magazine', p. 1, *The Charleston Tri-Weekly Courier* (21 December 1867).
[12] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Volume III (1865-1885)*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 398-9; Mott claims that concealing or augmenting one's circulation rate was a fairly common practice prior to the creation of the Audit Bureau of Circulations in 1914: Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Volume IV (1885-1905)*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 16.
[13] 'Reduced in Price', p. 2, *The Literary World* (1 January 1881).
[14] *Ibid.*; variations on this announcement had already appeared in, among others, *The Times Philadelphia* (18 November 1880) and the *Bell Paine News* (25 December 1880).
[15] The slogan heads, for instance, advertisements for *Lippincott's* in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (22 November 1882), *The North American* (20 December 1883), and *The Daily Evening Bulletin* (26 November 1884).

illustrations were gone altogether, casualties of the magazine's ongoing commercial battle with its better-financed counterparts – identified by Mott as *Harper's* and the *Century* – from New York.[16] In 1887, meanwhile, *Lippincott's* adopted another new approach when it sought to differentiate itself from its competitors by publishing a full short novel in every issue; and, in 1889, personnel changes saw Joseph Marshal Stoddart move up from managing editor to editor in chief.[17]

At the same time, *Lippincott's* began looking further east, across the Atlantic, towards Britain. Back in 1878, Stoddart had acquired the American publishing rights for the Gilbert and Sullivan operas.[18] As such, Wilde – whose American tour was largely organised as a promotion of the simultaneous tour of Gilbert and Sullivan's aestheticism-mocking *Patience* – was hosted by Stoddart when he arrived in Philadelphia.[19] Upon taking charge of *Lippincott's*, Stoddart made the most of this connection with Wilde, inviting him to dinner in London along with Arthur Conan Doyle, for what Doyle subsequently described as 'a golden evening'.[20] A few months later, in November of 1889, *Lippincott's* announced (yet another) 'NEW DEPARTURE':

> So far *Lippincott's Magazine* in the selection of its novels has confined itself to native American authors; but it has recently secured two strong novels from two prominent English authors, which will be brought out in the near future. One of these stories is from the gifted pen of Oscar Wilde, who is known upon this side of the water chiefly as the apostle of aestheticism, but who is destined for a more enduring fame as a poet, dramatist, and novelist. The other book [the second Sherlock Holmes novel, *The Sign of the Four*] is by A. Conan Doyle, whose recent book, 'Micah Clarke, his Statement', has caused a sensation on both sides of the water.[21]

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[16] 'Reduced in Price'; Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Volume III*, p. 399.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.
[18] Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis eds., *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde* (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), p. 125.
[19] As Hofer and Scharnhorst note, the theatrical producer of Wilde's American tour – Richard D'Oyly (aka "Oily")' Carte – was also the theatrical producer of *Patience*: Hofer and Scharnhorst eds., *Oscar Wilde in America*, p. 3.
[20] Doyle, 'Memories and Adventures [Chapters VI-VII]', p. 565.
[21] 'A New Departure', p. 746, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 263 (November 1889). Despite subsequently becoming known as *The Sign of Four*, Doyle's novel was entitled *The Sign of the Four* when it appeared in both the American and British editions of *Lippincott's.*

As if suddenly anxious that such an announcement might be liable to misinterpretation, the subsequent issue of *Lippincott's* included an annual prospectus for 1890 that re-announced the imminent publication of Wilde's novel with the introductory assurance that, as *Lippincott's* was 'fast becoming the great family magazine of the country', 'all contributions' would naturally 'be subjected to the closest editorial scrutiny', ensuring that 'nothing in the slightest degree objectionable … appear[ed within] its pages'.[22] Luckily, however, it would seem that Wilde's potentially dubious contribution would probably not even require that much 'editorial scrutiny' in the first place. For, we are informed further into the issue, 'The Oscar Wilde who made himself famous in America a few years ago is not the Oscar Wilde of to-day',

> [t]he long hair has been cut and is now short and curly. The knee-breeches have been put away carefully, the lackadaisical air is no longer worn, and the Oscar Wilde of London to-day is a straight, strong, broad-shouldered, athletic fellow, with no nonsense about him, and an evident determination on his face to make fame and money. The Wilde craze, so far as England is concerned, is over. I saw Oscar Wilde on Fleet Street to-day, and would not have known him had not an English friend pointed him out to me. He looked as English in his dress as in his manner, and conducted himself as thousands of other broad-shouldered young fellows whom you will find at Oxford or Cambridge or in the big commercial houses of London and Liverpool.[23]

A year after Wilde's American tour, *Lippincott's* expressed a certain resigned incredulity at 'the attention, public [and] private, that ha[d] been bestowed on Oscar Wilde' – an 'inferior successor' (of the truly 'great' personalities of the past) able to excite Americans simply by being foreign.[24] Less than a decade later, however, in the above-quoted passage, the magazine's new signing is thoroughly rehabilitated,[25] his popularity no longer a mere irrational 'craze', his foreignness stripped away as 'carefully' as his knee-breeches. Indeed, while the announcement deems Wilde decidedly English 'in his dress [and] manner', this

[22] 'Lippincott's Magazine for 1890', pp. i-v, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 264 (December 1889).
[23] 'The Present Oscar Wilde', p. 154, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 264 (December 1889).
[24] 'Our Monthly Gossip: Distinguished Visitors to America', pp. 640-2, *Lippincott's Magazine* 192 (December 1883), p. 641.
[25] As if to ensure the connection was made, the announcement quoted above is immediately followed by 'Oscar Wilde is at present engaged in writing his first novel for Lippincott's Magazine': *ibid.*

'straight, strong, broad-shouldered, athletic fellow, with no nonsense about him and an evident determination on his face to make fame and money' seems a curiously Yankee graduate of Oxbridge.

Yet this moment of transatlantic hybridity is also rather apt. For just as this issue of *Lippincott's* was being sold at news-stands, advertisements for the periodical began appearing in the British press, announcing that those running the publication would 'essay with a new vigour … to present the public with a truly International Magazine'.[26] Now, not only would 'prominent English authors' contribute to the journal but *Lippincott's* would itself bifurcate into British and American editions. As such, from the January 1890 issue onwards, about two thirds of the content published in the magazine appeared in both editions, while the remaining third was usually reserved for material that appeared in one edition but not the other (the advertisements, of course, were usually restricted to their country of origin).

The 1880-1 relaunch notice that announced that *Lippincott's* would hereafter attempt to become 'a thoroughly Popular and First-Class Family Magazine' also announced a second re-emphasis in editorial policy: while the 'new scheme' would continue to 'embrace a great variety of topics', particular 'prominence' would be given to those topics 'that concern[ed] actual life'.[27] *Lippincott's* altered its full title a number of times over the years. In each of the magazine's titular manifestations, however, science was flagged as a particular focus: from 1868 to 1871, the magazine was called 'Lippincott's Magazine of Literature, Science and Education'; from 1871 to 1885, it was officially known as 'Lippincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science'; and, from 1886 to 1903, it was 'Lippincott's Monthly Magazine: A Popular Journal of General Literature, Science, and Politics'. Mott has noted that throughout the history of *Lippincott's* '[s]cience was given constant if not very distinguished attention', and the many names of *Lippincott's* do seem to contain a subtle yet important qualification. This, it would appear, is less a journal of science than a journal of 'popular' science.

In the wake of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century witnessed a proliferation of aspiring scientific disciplines. Indeed, Prince Albert observed

[26] See, for instance: 'Important Announcement', p. 7, *Birmingham Daily Post* (20 December 1889).
[27] 'Reduced in Price'.

in 1859, 'The tendency to create new sciences is particularly apparent in our present age'.[28] Owing to a number of reasons, historical, socio-political, and epistemological, these aspiring sciences enjoyed a variety of fates. Among others, the fields of political economy and anthropology were widely accepted as 'social sciences', an 'umbrella term' that, Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross inform us, 'emerged in the late nineteenth century, above all in the United States'.[29] For many, rather more dubious was the status of authors such as Émile Zola and his Naturalists, who promised the imminent creation of 'a literature governed by science', 'sure consequence of the scientific evolution of the century'.[30]

Somewhere in between the contrasting responses met with by these groups was the response met with by a third. Rejected by the mainstream scientific community, yet embraced by the wider public, certain 'popular' sciences (what we might today think of as strains of pseudoscience) occupied, Alex Warwick tells us, a position that was 'culturally central but scientifically marginal'.[31] Many of these popular sciences seem to have won *Lippincott's* support. Thus, in two issues from 1880, the magazine noted having received books written by Henry Drayton, the first called 'How to Study Phrenology', the other – in collaboration with James McNeil – entitled 'Brain and Mind; or, Mental Science Considered in Accordance with the Principles of Phrenology and in Relation to Modern Physiology'.[32] Some ten years later, Walt Whitman's friend and biographer Horace Traubel appears to have been similarly acquainted with the field, knowingly informing readers of

[28] Quoted in Warwick, 'Margins and Centres', p. 1.

[29] Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross, 'Introduction', pp. 1-10, Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross eds., *The Cambridge History of Science, Volume 7: The Modern Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 2. As Porter and Ross note, by 1830 'few … doubted that political economy was a science' (*ibid.*, p. 4); similarly, Eric Hobsbawm notes that anthropology was 'emerging rapidly as a recognised science' in the third quarter of the nineteenth century: Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital: 1848-1875* (New York: Vintage, 1996), p. 261. The singular term 'social science', had 'entered the vocabulary of the West near the end of the eighteenth century, first of all in the United States and France': Theodore M. Porter, 'Genres and Objects of Social Inquiry, From the Enlightenment to 1890', pp. 13-39, Porter and Ross eds., *The Cambridge History of Science, Volume 7*, p.13.

[30] This, in an essay by Zola first published in 1880. In the same essay, Zola gleefully notes that 'the scientific domain is extending and conquering all the manifestations of human intelligence': Émile Zola, 'The Experimental Novel', M. Sherman trans., pp. 1-56, *The Experimental Novel and Other Essays*, (New York: Cassell Publishing, 1893), pp. 1, 23, 32; a second late-nineteenth century creative who harboured scientific pretensions was Georges Seurat – the leader of Post-Impressionism's 'Pointillist' movement – who boasted of his artistic method (inspired by new theories of vision) being 'perfect from a scientific point of view': letter reproduced in Jodi Hauptman ed., *Georges Seurat: The Drawings* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2007).

[31] Warwick, 'Margins and Centres', p. 11.

[32] 'Books Received', p. 264, *Lippincott's Magazine* 146 (February 1880); 'Books Received', p. 776, *Lippincott's Magazine* 150 (June 1880).

Lippincott's that the poet's 'phrenology has "caution" marked at "6 to 7", – which is high'.[33] Similar faith was placed in the science of physiognomy. Thus, in 1880, we are introduced to a man in Central America whose 'nose betrayed a penchant for sarcasm';[34] four months later, we are assured by a guide to the New York slums that 'physiognomy never lies';[35] in 1882, the magazine's editors warn us that the same 'freely advertises' 'our faults [as well as] our virtues';[36] and, in 1885, a correspondent announces that she once maintained 'a strong belief in physiognomy'.[37]

When, in February 1890, *Lippincott's* hosted Sherlock Holmes, the detective introduced the reader to a further set of pseudoscientific ideas. Near the beginning of *The Sign of the Four*, Holmes and Watson receive a mysterious letter. 'Have you ever had occasion to study character in handwriting?', inquires the detective. 'What do you make of this fellow's scribble?' 'It is legible and regular', bumbles Watson, '[a] man of business habits and some force of character'. Holmes shakes his head: 'look at his long letters … [t]hey hardly rise above the common herd'. 'Men of character', he explains, 'always differentiate their long letters'. 'There is vacillation in his *k*'s and self-esteem in his capitals'.[38]

Five months later, one of Wilde's co-contributors to the issue of *Lippincott's* for July of 1890 declared that he did not have the 'space … to enter into considerations of graphology'.[39] Yet Wilde's issue of *Lippincott's* was just as saturated with pseudoscience as any other. For, while our co-contributor may not have had room for graphology, his whole article operates as a practical guide to the related 'great science' (*ibid.*) of 'cheiromancy', or palm-reading. Meanwhile, a third contributor devotes her time on the periodical soap-box to defensively proselytising the highly dubious 'contributions to

[33] Horace L. Trubel, 'Walt Whitman: Poet and Philosopher and Man', pp. 382-389, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 279 (March 1891), p. 389.
[34] Felix L. Oswald, 'Summerland Sketches; or, Rambles in the Backwoods of Mexico and Central America', pp. 21-37, *Lippincott's Magazine* 145 (January 1880), p. 36.
[35] Helen Campbell, 'Studies in the Slums', pp. 568-73, *Lippincott's Magazine* 149 (May 1880), p. 571.
[36] 'Anecdotal and Miscellaneous: Types of Faces', pp. 417-9, *Lippincott's Magazine* 178 (October 1882), p. 419.
[37] Carlotta Perry, 'The Lumberman's Story', pp. 451-9, *Lippincott's Magazine* 209 (May 1885), p. 451.
[38] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Sign of the Four; or, The Problem of the Sholtos', pp. 145-223, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 266 (February 1890), p. 155.
[39] Edward Heron-Allen, 'The Cheiromancy of To-Day: The Evolution of an Occult Science', pp. 102-10, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 271 (July 1890), p. 104; hereafter, all references to the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's* made in-text.

science' of an inventor whose research into 'ether' and 'the vibratory subdivision of matter' has, we are assured, revealed 'some of the mysteries of the hidden sympathetic world' (p. 114).

I would suggest that, of those items found in both the British and the American edition of *Lippincott's* for July of 1890, these articles (the first two noted by Wilde's counsel at the beginning of this section) are – along with *Dorian Gray* – the most prominent and substantial. As such, they form the core of the material discussed in Chapters Four and Five, in which it is argued that both the form and the content of the immediate periodical context of *Dorian Gray* worked actively to enhance the plausibility of Wilde's novel and to make the novel appear more 'scientific' (in the *fin de siècle*'s broad, popular, vision of this category). Finally, in Chapter Six, attention is paid to the uniquely national material that Wilde's novel and these articles appeared alongside, and the role that this material played in subtly modifying how the supernatural and the pseudoscientific were presented and portrayed. Whereas the British edition of *Lippincott's* viewed the pseudoscientific through a romantically sensationalising frame, the American edition of the magazine presented the supernatural with a normalising matter-of-factness.

4. Pseudoscience and Plausibility

> *The 'new scheme will embrace a variety of topics, giving special prominence to those that concern actual life, its interests, social aspects, and various phases, pathetic and amusing…'*
>
> – 1880 advertisement for Lippincott's announcing a change of editorial direction.[1]

In the late nineteenth century, there emerged a pseudoscientific school of thought that seems to have viewed Wilde and his circle with little more than disdain, horror, and contempt. Thus, Nordau – the, himself now somewhat notorious, social Darwinian and degeneration theorist – decried decadence and aestheticism as movements which had 'gathered under their banner [the] refuse of civiliz[ation]'.[2] A particularly conspicuous piece of this *fin de siècle* trash, Wilde, we are told, displays 'a purely anti-socialistic, ego-maniacal recklessness': an 'hysterical longing to make a sensation' and 'a malevolent mania for contradiction'.[3]

Given this brand of pseudoscientific abuse, it is perhaps surprising that Wilde himself – like the magazine in which *Dorian Gray* first appeared – subscribed to a variety of pseudoscientific ideologies. One such ideology was that of cheiromancy. As such, he paid a number of visits to, among others, the fashionable London palmist 'Mrs. Robinson' ('If I could disbelieve her', he told Alfred Douglas', 'I would, but I can't'),[4] and another reader known simply as 'Cheiro' who famously told him that he had 'the left hand … of a king' and 'the right … of a king who will send himself into exile'.[5] The author and his wife also seem to have maintained a belief in astrology. Indeed, when their son Cyril was just under one week old, Wilde wrote to a friend – that man of many talents, Edward Heron-

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[1] 'Reduced in Price'.
[2] Max Nordau, *Degeneration: Translated from the Second Edition of the German Work* (London: William Heinemann, 1895), p. 337.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 319.
[4] Letter reproduced in Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis ed., *More Letters of Oscar Wilde* (London: Fourth Estate, 2000).
[5] 'Cheiro', *Cheiro's Memoir's The Reminiscences of a Society Palmist* (London: William Rider, 1912), p. 57; at what must have been either very soon before or very soon after this reading, Cheiro met with Twain, who (Cheiro claimed) signed his autograph book with the note 'Cheiro has exposed my character to me with humiliating accuracy'. Cheiro also claimed that this meeting subsequently informed Twain's use of thumb prints in his 1894 novel *Pudd'nhead Wilson* – a novel, as previously mentioned, first published in the *Century* (*ibid.*, pp. 132-3).

Allen (about whom more later) – to ask him to 'cast the child's horoscope for us … My wife is very anxious to know its fate, and has begged me to ask you to search the stars'.[6] Finally, Pearce reminds us, Wilde (anticipating Lord Henry's argument that 'it is simple expression … that gives reality to things': p. 53) 'regularly claimed to be two years younger than he was'[7] – the ultimate fountain of youth for the philosophical idealist.[8]

The *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's* is equally firm in its belief in the hand's cognitive significance, the sympathies that connect objects celestial and terrestrial, and the possibility of remaining young. In fact, in the July 1890 edition of *Lippincott's*, these otherwise thoroughly pseudoscientific beliefs – each of which is a fundamental element in Wilde's story – are presented as scientific reality. Wilde was himself famously opposed to realism, 'this modern vice'.[9] Yet despite this, it will be argued in this chapter, the magazine context in which his novel appeared seems to be attempting to transform *Dorian Gray* into a narrative which details entirely plausible events.

Cheiromancy

Throughout *Dorian Gray*, our attention is constantly being drawn to the hands of Wilde's characters. Near the end of chapter four, for instance, Dorian speaks of Sybil having 'kissed my hands' (p. 34) in an expression of submissive devotion on the night of their engagement,[10] while, in the pages that follow, a highly conflicted Dorian – already corrupted, yet wanting not to be – informs Lord Henry that 'the mere touch of Sibyl Vane's hand makes me forget you and all your wrong, fascinating, poisonous, delightful theories'

[6] Letter reproduced in Holland and Hart-Davis eds., *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, p. 594; Cyril's reading 'grieved' the Wildes 'very much', Heron-Allen subsequently noted in his diary: *ibid.*

[7] Joseph Pearce notes that Wilde reduced his age both during the trial and on his marriage certificate: Joseph Pearce, *The Unmasking of Oscar Wilde* (London: Harper Collins, 2000), p. 32.

[8] As George Woodcock notes in his study of Wilde, 'to the idealist philosopher, the world exists only because we see it. It is the sum of our perceptions, and, if our perceptions of nature are increased or changed by a work of art, then nature, in so far as it exists in our minds, has been changed and enlarged': George Woodcock, *The Paradox of Oscar Wilde* (London: Boardman, 1950), p. 126. For a general overview of philosophical idealism, see: Simon Blackburn, 'Idealism', pp. 233-4, *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[9] Oscar Wilde, 'The Decay of Lying: A Dialogue', pp. 35-56, *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* 25.1 (January 1889), p. 38. Vivien (Wilde's approximate mouthpiece in this dialogue) continues with the complaint, 'the transformation of Dr. Jekyll reads dangerously like an experiment in the *Lancet*' (ibid.).

[10] An anticipatory reference to the 'Good pilgrim, you do wrong your hands too much' scene from *Romeo and Juliet* that Dorian takes Basil and Lord Henry to see Sibyl perform (somewhat disastrously) in chapter five (p. 37).

(p. 35). Moreover, as Lorang notes, Wilde's 'narrator emphasises characters' hands at many of the most [dramatically] significant moments in the text'.[11] Thus, when Basil first begins to fear his painting and its power, we enter a period of free indirect style in which Dorian anxiously notices that the artist's 'fingers were straying about among the litter of tin tubes and dry brushes, seeking for something. Yes, it was the long palette-knife, with its thin blade of lithe steel … He was going to rip up the canvas' (p. 20). A few pages later, in a passage strikingly reminiscent of this scene, Dorian finds himself alone with Lord Henry's suspicious and quietly unsettling wife, whose 'fingers began to play with a long paper-knife' (p. 23). And, of course, amidst the final gothic crescendo of his now homicidal descent into sin, Dorian sees with horror his portrait and 'that loathsome red dew that gleamed, wet and glistening, on one of his hands, as though the canvass had sweated blood' (p. 93).

Even more intriguingly, hands repeatedly serve as the focal point for moments of richly condensed characterization in Wilde's story. In subsequently readying *Dorian Gray* for publication as a book, Wilde is said to have experienced some authorial panic: 'Ashton [Dorian's framemaker] is a gentleman's name', Wilde's publisher recounts the author having gasped, '[a]nd I've given it – God forgive me – to a tradesman! It must be changed to Hubbard. Hubbard positively smells of the tradesman!'[12] However, just as odorously suggestive is the passage in the *Lippincott's* original in which (the still misnamed) Ashton is called for and arrives 'rubbing his fat freckled hands' (p. 61), strong signifiers of a kind of bloated working-class geniality. Similarly effective are the descriptions we are given of the detached Lord Henry's 'cool, white, flower-like hands' (p. 16), and the cruel 'cold blue-veined hands' (p. 62) of the uncle about whom Dorian is said to have only 'hateful memories' (p. 59).

This technique of associating the outward appearance of a character's hand with that character's inner personality finds its supposedly non-fictional counterpart in the first substantial item to appear after Wilde's story in the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's*: Edward Heron-Allen's 'The Cheiromancy of Today. The Evolution of an Occult Science'. Heron-

[11] Lorang, 'The Picture of Dorian Gray', p. 26.
[12] The friend who recounts this story is Coulson Kernahan (editor of, and fellow contributor to, the British edition of the July issue of *Lippincott's*): Coulson Kernahan, *In Good Company: Some Personal Recollections of Swinburne, Lord Roberts, Watts-Dunton, Oscar Wilde, Edward Whymper, S.J. Stone, Stephen Philips* (London and New York: John Lane, 1917), p. 213.

Allen – a man famed, Joan Navarre notes, 'for never wearing a color of any kind'[13] – was both a friend of Wilde's and a man of curiously broad interest.[14] In 1884, he produced a guidebook to violin-making ('beautiful', decreed Wilde upon receiving a copy);[15] in 1898, he published a literal translation of the then wildly popular *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*;[16] and, in 1910, he became the District Commissioner of the Boy Scouts of South West Surrey (a post he held until 1919).[17] Indeed, the *Who's Who* for 1935 lists his 'Recreations' as 'Persian Literature; Marine and Freshwater Zoology; Meteorology; Occasional Essays and Scientific Romances; Auricula and Asparagus Culture'.[18] In 1890, though, he was probably known best – in both England and America, where he toured as a lecturer between 1886 and 1889 – as a proponent of cheiromancy. Half way through that American tour, Heron-Allen published *Practical Cheirsophy*, 'a popular summary of his larger books'. At the time, *Lippincott's* dismissed the text as 'an entertaining enough little work upon a thoroughly useless subject', and palmistry as a 'pseudoscience' – '[o]ne of the semi-intellectual "fads" of the present day'.[19] Just three years later, however, such judgements appear to have been forgotten, and the magazine itself became just one more vessel through which Heron-Allen and his popular ideas would pass.

The 'hand of man', Heron-Allen declares, is 'his most distinctive, sentient, and delicate member'. 'Why', therefore, he asks his reader, 'should we *not* be able to tell from [this member man's] principal occupations, and … natur[al] … tendencies' (my emphasis,

[13] Joan Navarre, 'Oscar Wilde, Edward Heron-Allen, and the Palmistry Craze of the 1880s', pp. 174-184, *English Literature in Transition* 54.2 (2011) p. 175.
[14] Wilde had his hand read by Heron-Allen on a number of occasions, and his 1887 sketch 'Lord Arthur Savile's Crime. A Story of Cheiromancy' appears to have been 'indirectly inspired' by their relationship: Isobel Murray ed., *Oscar Wilde: Complete Shorter Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 265. Navarre develops Murray's claim into the central argument of the article cited above. Indeed, when Stoddart began to worry about the amount of time Wilde was taking to submit *Dorian Gray* he turned to Heron-Allen whom he subsequently thanked for 'punching OW up to his work': J. M. Stoddart, letter to E. Heron-Allen, 25 March 1890, J. B. Lippincott Co. Records 1858-1958, Collection 3104, Box 61, Item 2 [foreign letter-book 1889-1894], p. 32, Pennsylvania Historical Society.
[15] Edward Heron-Allen, *Violin-Making as it was and is* (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1884); letter reproduced in Holland and Hart-Davis eds., *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, p. 245.
[16] Omar Khayyam, *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám: Being a Facsimile of the Manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with a Transcript in Modern Persian Characters*, Edward Heron-Allen trans. (London: H.S. Nichols, 1898).
[17] Edward Heron-Allen, *Edward Heron-Allen's Journal of the Great War: From Sussex Shores to Flanders Fields* (Lewes, East Sussex: Sussex Record Society, 2002), p. 7.
[18] 'Heron-Allen, Edward', pp. 1538-9, *Who's Who 1935: An Annual Biographical Dictionary with which is Incorporated Men and Women of the Time* (London: A & C Black Limited, 1935).
[19] 'Book Talk', p. 1040, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 270 (June 1890). (The description 'a popular summary of his larger books' is also taken from this review.)

p. 104). Indeed, he continues with a quote from Balzac that could almost be seen as a disquisition upon Wilde's story: 'we acquire the faculty of imposing silence upon our lips, upon our eyes, upon our eyebrows, and upon our foreheads, but the hand does not dissemble, and no feature is more expressive than the hand' (*ibid.*). In our story, Basil Hallward invests the human hand with a similar level of expressive potential. In fact, he informs Dorian, he once refused to accept a commison from a man (whose name he 'won't mention') after noticing 'something in the shape of his fingers that I hated'; and, as it turns out, 'I know now that I was quite right in what I fancied about him. His life is dreadful' (p. 79).

If Basil had only read Heron-Allen's article he would have been just as reluctant to paint Dorian. Enumerating the 'seven types' to which '[a]ll hands belong', our cheiromancer reaches type number three: 'Smooth and supple', such hands, we are told, feature fingers that 'terminat[e] conically'. 'The leading instinct of these hands', Heron-Allen continues

> is a love of the actually beautiful … This type proceeds by impulse and inspiration, prefers beauty to use, loves luxury, is changeable, and disobedient to rule or convention. If the characteristics are highly developed … it denotes sensuality, sensitiveness, generosity, and generally absolute want of principle. (p. 106)

Wilde's descriptions of Dorian's hands are usually fairly fleeting. On one occasion, though, we are given an account of Dorian's hands that – while still brief – is a little more specific. Having just murdered Basil, our protagonist desires some distraction. He begins by 'sketching upon a piece of paper, drawing flowers, and bits of architecture, first, and then faces'. 'Suddenly', however,

> he remarked that every face he drew seemed to have an extraordinary likeness to Basil Hallward. He frowned, and, getting up, went over to the bookcase and took up a volume at hazard … When he had stretched himself on the sofa, he looked at the titlepage of the book. It was Gautier's 'Émaux et Camées' … As he turned over the pages, his eye fell on the poem about the hand of Caenaire, the cold yellow hand '*du supplice encore mal lavée*', with its

> downy red hairs and its '*doigts de faune*'. He glanced at his own white taper fingers, and passed on[.] (Wilde's emphasis, p. 87)

Here, we find that Dorian's hand—with its 'taper fingers'—seems to actually be an instance of the 'conically' fingered hand described above that Heron-Allen labels "The Artistic" (indeed, in a bizarre twist of fate bordering on the less than subtle, Dorian has even briefly become an artist when the clue to this discovery is provided). In this context, the fact that Dorian's hand does accurately reflect his nature, and that Dorian is (as Wilde himself went on to describe him) 'extremely impulsive',[20] means that Heron-Allen's supposedly non-fictional text works to corroborate the existential plausibility of Wilde's protagonist and, as a result, his narrative more broadly.

More than this, though, Dorian seems to merge pre-emptively with the reader of *Lippincott's* in this passage. 'Mr. E. Heron-Allen's article on "Palmistry"', noted an early reviewer of the magazine, 'gives sufficient information to enable one to tell his own or anyone else's character from the hands'.[21] Through Dorian's anticipation of this movement from cheiromantic text to individual self ('[a]s he turned over the pages … glanced at his own white taper fingers'), he echoes and reinforces the methodologies of the magazine reader, making connections between texts seemingly 'at hazard', acquiring thereby a little more of the reader's ontological presence and becoming not merely generically realistic but truly real.[22]

Occult Sympathies

The July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's* also seems to assert that it would be entirely possible for a 'sympathy' to develop between a man's soul on the one hand and his portrait on the

[20] Letter to the editor of *The Daily Chronicle*, reproduced in Mason ed., *Art and Morality*, p. 73.
[21] 'Literary Notices', p. 2, *Northampton Mercury* (18 July 1890).
[22] This is especially true as, for Wilde the author, the ontological relationship between the inhabitants of 'reality' and the inhabitants of 'fiction' is complicated to say the least: as Lord Henry advices a distraught Dorian upon the death of Sibyl Vane, '"...Mourn for Ophelia, if you like. Put ashes on your head because Cordelia was strangled. Cry out against Heaven because the daughter of Brabantio died. But don't waste your tears over Sibyl Vane. She was less real than they are."' (p. 50).

other.[23] At times, the essence of Wilde's narrative is merely serendipitously reiterated. Thus, amongst the end pages of its American edition, the magazine relates, with great realistic specificity, a French legend concerning the 'relation between [a] holy phial and the life of the reigning king' (p. 164). '[T]he bulk of the balm' in the phial, we are told, 'diminish[ed] if [the king's] health happened to be impaired' (*ibid.*).

Elsewhere in the magazine, the assertion of plausibility is made more directly. If Heron-Allen's piece on cheiromancy is the first substantial non-fiction article found in our issue of *Lippincott's*, the second is Clara Jessup Bloomfield-Moore's hagiographic 'Keely's Contributions to Science'. Even in his own day, John E. W. Keely was a controversial figure. While he managed to acquire some strong supporters, he was also regularly condemned as a charlatan and a fraud: soon after his death in 1898, *The Scientific American* anointed him a 'prince of rogues'.[24] A long-term resident of Philadelphia, Keely dabbled with a variety of professions (as George Childs Kohn notes, he spent time as a 'carpenter, carnival and circus pitchman, and [as an] orchestra leader'),[25] before eventually deciding to become an inventor. It was in this capacity that he created the Keely Motor: a perpetual motion machine fuelled by the 'interatomic… vibrations [of] ether'[26] that, much like Twain's ill-fated typesetting machine, never quite seemed to be in full working order. Bloomfield-Moore, the wealthy widow of a Philadelphian industrialist and the author of our article, became Keely's principal patron and staunchest defender.[27]

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[23] It should, perhaps, be noted that the idea of sympathies existing between different bodies (both terrestrial and celestial) was in no means limited to *Dorian Gray* and the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's*. As John Sellars notes, the theory of sympathetic influences – the theory that 'there is a continual interaction between all parts of the cosmos no matter how far apart they may be' – dates back to at least the stoics: John Sellars, *Stoicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 103; the sympathy went on to become a particularly fundamental category of pre-empirical renaissance Natural Philosophy. Even in 1841, one of the four meanings of 'sympathy' identified in Webster's dictionary was: 'In *natural history*, a propension of inanimate things to unite, or act on each other' (Webster's emphasis): Noah Webster, 'Sympathy', p. 819, *An American Dictionary of the English Language; Exhibiting the Origin, Orthography, Pronunciation, and Definition of Words* (New York: White & Sheffield, 1841).

[24] 'The Keely Motor Fraud', pp. 59-60, *Scientific American* (28 January 1889), p. 60.

[25] George Childs Kohn, 'The Keely Motor Company Fraud', p. 218, *The New Encyclopedia of American Scandal: More than 450 Infamous Incidents from the 1600s to the Present Day* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2000).

[26] 'Keely's Etheric Vapour', p. 5, *The New York Times* (22 September 1884).

[27] See Richard R. Polhemus's discussion of Clara Bloomfield-Moore in his introduction to the archaeological writings of her son, Clarence Bloomfield-Moore: Richard R. Polhemus, 'Introduction', pp. 1-28, *The Tennessee, Green, and Lower Ohio Rivers Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield-Moore* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2002), pp. 5-6.

In a strange way, the confidence with which Bloomfield-Moore writes about Keely infuses a similar kind of certainty into Wilde's otherwise deeply ambiguous story. We never learn how, exactly, Dorian became connected to his portrait. Instead, we listen in as Dorian asks himself a series of probing rhetorical questions: 'Was there some subtle affinity between the chemical atoms, that shaped themselves into form and colour on the canvas, and the soul that was within him?' (p. 45) 'For a moment', we are told a few pages later,

> he thought of praying that the horrible sympathy that existed between himself and the picture might cease .. [But] was it really under his control? Had it indeed been prayer that had produced the substitution? Might there not be some curious scientific reason for it all? If thought could exercise its influence upon a living organism, might not thought exercise an influence upon dead and inorganic things? Nay, without some thought or conscious desire, might not things external to ourselves vibrate in unison with our moods and passions, atom calling to atom, in secret love or strange affinity? (pp. 51-2)

Whereas Dorian's contemplation of sympathetic relations is characterised by the speculative question, Bloomfield-Moore's is characterised by the confident declaration. Indeed, it is almost as if the articles are linked by their own 'strange affinity', by which Dorian's otherwise purely rhetorical ruminations are transformed into questions that can actually be answered. '[M]ight not things external to ourselves vibrate in unison with our moods and passions, atom calling to atom, in secret love or strange affinity?', asks Dorian; 'true coincidents can exist between any mediums', declares Bloomfield-Moore (p. 118). 'If thought could exercise its influence upon a living organism, might not thought exercise an influence upon dead and inorganic things?', proposes Dorian; 'the great universe of planetary masses … bears the same relation to the physical organism that celestial radiation bears to the will-force emanating from the brain', responds Bloomfield-Moore, '– a pure illustration of the control of the celestial mind over terrestrial matter' (p. 114). 'But was it really under his control?', beseeches Dorian; even Keely, consoles Bloomfield-Moore, 'has not yet been able to control the operations of his disintegrator so as to use it with safety to the operator' (p. 112). It would appear that there was 'some curious scientific reason' after all for what happens to Dorian.

The issue of control seems particularly consequential here. Shortly after he murders Basil, Dorian, we are told, 'sat down and began to think. Every year – every month, almost – men were strangled in England for what he had done. There had been a madness in the air. Some red star had come too close to the earth' (p. 85). Upon being told, by Bloomfield-Moore, that 'the great universe of planetary masses' exerts a power upon 'terrestrial' 'organisms', the perceptive reader of *Lippincott's* might recall that (around twenty pages

before the murder takes place) we are given a description of twilight falling over Dorian's home: 'Cloudless, and pierced by one solitary star, a copper-green sky gleamed through the windows' (p. 64). It is as if the magazine version is trying to reinforce Dorian's otherwise largely feeble suggestion that his actions were beyond his control – that, with all the forces of the firmament streaming through his windows, our protagonist was simply unable to exploit the grand celestial movements in which he became entwined with sufficient 'safety to the operator'.[28]

Anti-Aging

As the nineteenth century came to an end, England and America became increasingly fascinated by, and concerned about, the phenomenon of old age. The new sciences of aging (geriatrics and gerontology) would not really establish themselves until the early twentieth century.[29] As such, popular media in the late Victorian age still had plenty of scope to advocate ideas about aging that we might consider less than completely rigorous,[30] and the advertising section of the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's* asserts that the reader really can remain young. Indeed, the advertisements in our issue are underwritten by a positive obsession with health, youth and beauty. This is particularly true of the American edition. 'Barry's Tricopherous for the Hair and Skin', we are told, 'removes all impurities from the scalp' whilst also 'prevent[ing] baldness and gray hair' (see fig. 32); '*Be Beautiful*' – an 'eight-page circular' – is sworn to provide 'valuable information' to those who missed the celebrated lectures of 'Madam Rupert', 'world famed complexion specialist' (see fig. 33); '**STOUT** PEOPLE' are assured (by one E. Lynton) that their 'WEIGHT [can be] REDUCED' without their having to resort to a 'STARVATION DIET' (see fig. 34); and the promise of '**Beautiful form**, brilliant eyes, skin pearly white, perfect health' is held to those who use 'Dr. Ammett's French Arsenic Complexion Wafers' ('Life worth the living') (see fig. 35). As this final example might suggest, regulation of such products was far from

[28] One might compare this defence of non-responsibility with the claim made by a number of Wilde's friends and supporters (amongst them Doyle and Kernahan) that the author had been mentally unstable at the time of his sexual transgressions: see, for instance, Doyle, 'Memories and Adventures [Chapters VI-VII]', p. 566; Kernahan, *In Good Company*, pp. 228-31. Near the end of his incarceration, a (by now rather desperate) Wilde himself wrote a petition to the British government declaring that the research of such 'eminent men of science [as] Professor Nordau' supported his current defence of having suffered from a form of 'sexual madness': rather than 'crimes to be punished by a judge', Wilde's homosexual acts had been symptoms of 'diseases to be cured by a physician': letter reproduced in Holland and Hart-Davis ed., *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, p. 656.

[29] As Teresa Mangum notes, the creation of geriatrics and gerontology was largely a by-product of the debate surrounding the 1908 British Pension Plan: Teresa Mangum, 'Growing Old: Age', pp. 97-109, Herbert F. Tucker ed., *A Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 98.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 108.

Fig. 32: An advertisement in the American edition of *Lippincott's* (p. 26).

Fig. 33: An advertisement in the American edition of *Lippincott's* (p. 46).

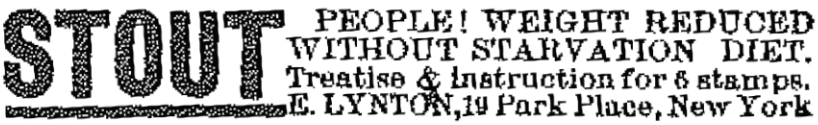

Fig. 34: An advertisement in the American edition of *Lippincott's* (p. 42).

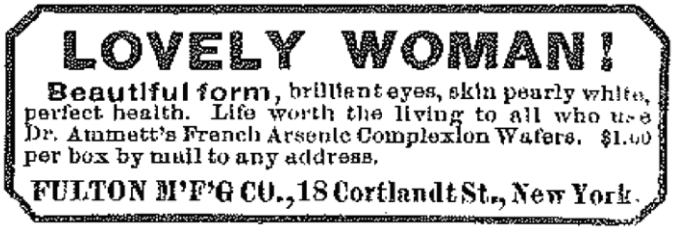

Fig. 35: An advertisement in the American edition of *Lippincott's* (p. 31).

perfect in the late nineteenth century. In the United States, Young informs us, the 'federal regulation of food and drugs' only began 'in a broad, across the board way, with the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906'.[31] In the decades leading up to the Act becoming law, numerous scandals shocked the American public, and, in the 1880s, groups were formed to 'protest ... adulterated foods'.[32] In Britain – where the Sale of Food and Drugs Act came into force in 1875 – things were a little better. However, Michael French and Jim Phillips tell us, even in the 1890s Britain housed lingering concerns: the government itself conceding the Act to be 'practically a dead letter' in many parts of the country due to the lack of adequate enforcement.[33]

Many of the *Lippincott's* advertisements try to make the most of the kind of consumer anxiety that would have flourished under so unregulated a regime. 'Dr. Price' and those at the Price Baking Powder Company are the most direct. 'The markets are flooded with cheap food products', they insist,

> products that can be cheapened only by the use of some unhealthy adulterant. Thousands of poor ignorant people are today suffering from some physical disorder the result of using some article of food adulterated with some harmful ingredient, – often a deadly poison, – ... [Indeed] a most nefarious plan has been adopted by many manufacturers, to adulterate articles of human diet with some obnoxious drug for the sake of self-gain, [despite] the misery brought upon many human souls. (p. 161)

Here, the repeated use of the indefinite pronoun 'some' becomes increasingly noticeable. Unspecified manufacturers, we are assured, use 'some unhealthy adulterant', 'some harmful ingredient', 'some obnoxious drug', in 'some article[s] of food', causing 'some physical disorder'. This consistent absence of specificity ultimately works to augment the danger to the consumer. All other products become suspect, and every kind of damage or ailment becomes possible. Best turn to Dr. Price, the one man we can trust.

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[31] James Harvey Young, *Pure Food: Securing the Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 3.
[32] Nina Redman, *Food Safety: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2007), p. 1.
[33] Michael French and Jim Phillips, 'The Evolution and Operation of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875-1907', pp. 33-65, *Cheated Not Poisoned? Food Regulation in the United Kingdom, 1875-1938* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 47.

These consumer anxieties can also be found in many of *Lippincott's* advertisements for dermatological products. Dr. T. Felix Goueaud's 'Oriental Cream' ('A Skin of Beauty is a Joy Forever'), declares itself to be 'the least harmful of all the skin preparations'. Indeed, the manufacturers swear they believe it to be 'so harmless' they 'taste it to make sure it is properly made' (p. 38). The company behind 'Kosme Depilatory', meanwhile, promises that their product removes hair (for there is 'no blemish so terrible to a pretty woman as superfluous hair upon the face', and as 'no woman desires to look ridiculous and grotesque, to be laughed at by the other sex') 'without the slightest injury' (p. 43). The producers of 'Modene' hair remover become even more insistent: their cream, it would appear, is 'free from all injurious substances', works 'without the slightest injury or damage to the most delicate skin' ('without the slightest injury' being a promise made twice in the one advertisement), and is 'as harmless as water to the skin'. They even offer the princely sum of $1000 'for failure or the slightest injury' (*ibid.*).

Modene's promise of being safe to use on even 'the most delicate skin' is particularly important. *Lippincott's* is believed to have had a large female readership;[34] and, if our advertisements are anything to go by, many of these women must have been (or, at least, in these early years of targeted advertising, must have been presumed to have been) mothers. Much of the consumer anxiety found in the magazine appears to be directed at those caring for the very young. Pears' Soap, we are told (in the British edition), may 'be used with great advantage for toilet and bath purposes, especially in the case of children and others whose skin is soft and delicate' (pp. 23-4). Going even further, the makers of 'Castoria' proclaim that '[f]orty years ago almost every mother thought her child must have a paregoric or laudanum to make it sleep. These drugs will produce sleep, and a few too many will produce the sleep from which there is no waking'. For, the advertisement continues, '[m]any are the children who have been killed and whose health has been ruined

[34] In 1869, *The Nation* referred (somewhat dismissively) to 'the preponderance of female names on the subscription lists' of antebellum periodicals: 'Magazines for September', pp. 168-9, *The Nation* 3 (30 August 1869), p. 169; building on this, Mott claims that this was particularly true of '*Appleton's Journal, Harper's, and Scribner's*' and that 'it was only a little less [true of] such magazines as the *Atlantic*, the *Galaxy*, and *Lippincott's*': Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Volume III*, p. 90. It therefore seems fitting that, in the months leading up to the publication of *Dorian Gray* in *Lippincott's*, Stoddart assured his nervous employer that, although the novel currently contained 'a number of things which an innocent woman would make an exception to', Wilde's novel would 'not go into the Magazine unless it is proper that it shall': J. M. Stoddart, letter to Craige Lippincott, 10 April 1890, J.B. Lippincott Co. Records 1858-1958, Collection 3104, Box 61, item 2 [foreign letter book 1889-1894], Pennsylvania Historical Society.

for life by paregoric, laudanum and morphine, each of which is a narcotic product of opium' (p. 173).

Perhaps in response to such fears, many of our advertisements insist that the products they promote are made from entirely natural ingredients. 'Juveen' (an 'overthrow[er] of dyspepsia'), for instance, is said to be 'a purely vegetable compound' (p. 38), while 'Rose Balm' (a skin cream) is also described as 'pure vegetable' (*ibid.*). Narrowing in on *Dorian Gray*, this is also true of the advertisements for anti-aging tonics found in our magazine. 'Crosby's Vitalized Phosphites' (see fig. 36), we are told, 'maintains man in the prime of life' and 'prevents one from growing old'; 'Laroche's Invigorating Tonic' (see fig. 37), meanwhile, is described as an 'elixir' 'which possesses in the highest degree ... restorative and invigorating properties'. The former is derived from the suitably organic-sounding 'nerve giving principles of the brain of the ox' – an accompanying illustration of an ox's head, as it emerges out of what appears to be a thoroughly fecund field, serves to reinforce this natural foundation – 'and the embryo of the wheat and oat', while the latter, we are assured, contains 'Peruvian Bark, Iron, and Pure Catalan Wine'.

That our issue of *Lippincott's* (in an age before the introduction of strict misleading and deceptive conduct laws)[35] holds out the promise of eternal youth is, in itself, a clear assertion of *Dorian Gray*'s plausibility. More than this, though, Wilde's story also maintains the associative connection of danger, youth and nature found in our advertisements. Thus, we find repeated references to Dorian's 'rose-red youth and … rose-red boyhood' (see pp. 14, 43, 98), while Sibyl is described as 'a girl, hardly seventeen years of age, with a little flower-like face' (p. 26). Similarly, when Dorian first encounters Lord Henry – a subverted temptation of Christ scene in which Satan unwittingly finds himself

[35] As Jennifer Scanlon notes, it was only in 1911 that – prompted largely by the efforts of the self-regulatory 'Truth in Advertising Movement'– American legislators made the production of misleading statements in advertising a misdemeanour: Jennifer Scanlon, 'Truth in Advertising Movement', pp. 664-5, Margaret A. Blanchard ed., *History of the Mass Media in the United States: An Encyclopedia* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 1998).

"My soul! I mean that bit of phosphorus that takes its place."—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

CROSBY'S VITALIZED PHOSPHITES, from the nerve-giving principles of the brain of the ox, and the embryo of the wheat and oat.

For over twenty years physicians have acknowledged the fact that this brain principle is the best restorer of vigor to the human system; better than any "Elixir."

It is the principle that maintains man in the prime of life; prevents one from growing old; sustains all the functions in activity; restores those who have overworked or have wasted their vigor; builds up the child's brain, and prevents the old from becoming childish. It revitalizes both brain and body.

It strengthens the intellect, cures nervousness, restores vigor to the weakened, "used-up," or brain-wearied.

It has been used and recommended by Bishop Potter, Bishop Stevens, Bishop Robertson, Presidents Mark Hopkins, Parker, Draper, Dudley, and thousands of the world's best brain-workers.

It is a Vital, Nutrient Phosphite, not an inert Acid Phosphate.

"Every one speaks well of VITALIZED Phosphites."—*Ed. Christian at Work.*

F. Crosby Co., 56 West Twenty-Fifth Street, New York. Druggists, or sent by mail, $1.00.

Fig. 36: Detail from an advertisement in the American edition of

QUINA-LAROCHE.—Laroche's Invigorating Tonic. Grand National Prize of 16,600 francs. Containing Peruvian Bark, Iron, and Pure Catalan Wine.

An experience of twenty-five years in experimental analysis, together with the valuable aid extended by the Academy of Medicine in Paris, has enabled M. Laroche to extract the entire active properties of Peruvian Bark (a result not before attained), and to concentrate them in an elixir, which possesses in the highest degree its restorative and invigorating qualities, free from the disagreeable bitterness of ordinary preparations.

This invigorating tonic is powerful in its effect, is easily administered, assimilates thoroughly and quickly with the gastric juices, without deranging the action of the stomach.

Iron and Cinchona are the most powerful weapons employed in the art of curing: Iron is the principle of our blood, and forms its force and richness; Cinchona affords life to the organs and activity to their functions.

Fig. 37: Detail from an advertisement in the American edition of

successful ('He had merely shot an arrow into the air. Had it hit the mark?': p. 15) – he is warned that 'Time is jealous of your youth, and wars against your lilies and your roses' (p. 17). Indeed, Lord Henry goes on to declare during his corruptive opening monologue,

> The common hill-flowers wither, but they blossom again. The laburnum will be as golden next June as it is now. In a month there will be purple stars on the clematis, and year after year the green night of its leaves will have its purple stars. But we never get back our youth. The pulse of joy that beats in us at twenty, becomes sluggish. Our limbs fail, our senses rot. (pp. 16-17)

Dorian's mistake is that, for once, he does not heed Lord Henry's advice. For, while Henry implies that man's only true connection to nature is that we 'rot' (i.e. that we 'wither' without being able to complete the full cycle by 'blossom[ing] again'), our protagonist will subsequently scorn this warning: 'who, that knew anything about Life', he reflects, 'would dismiss the chance to remain always young, however fantastic the chance might be, or with what fateful consequences it might be fraught?' (p. 51). It is as if Dorian has been offered the ultimate anti-aging tonic; only, unlike most suspicious late nineteenth-century readers – who, Scanlon tells us, already 'distrust[ed]' advertising with its '[f]alse promises, gross exaggerations, and misleading testimonials'[36] – he, vulnerable youth that he is, worries little of the risk and allows himself to be lulled into accepting the manufacturer's dubious offer. Indeed, as the next chapter will show, by employing many of the same rhetorical techniques as the other rather suspect articles in *Lippincott's*, *Dorian Gray* itself reads like a kind of literary confidence trick.

[36] *Ibid.*

5. Form and Rhetoric

'I rarely think that anything I write is true', announced Wilde under cross-examination at the Old Bailey. 'Did you say "rarely"?', inquired the incredulous counsel for the defence. 'I might have said never', clarified Wilde.[1] Intellectually slippery by nature, Wilde often seems to have viewed creative content as little more than a frame on which to hang the more interesting, formal, elements of rhetoric. And, on this more formal level too, *Dorian Gray* has much in common with the pseudoscientific articles in *Lippincott's* that it appeared alongside. As will be argued in this chapter, those articles and *Dorian Gray* share a discourse characterised in equal parts by the overt usage of copious authorities, jargon, and the language of revelation. Thus, Wilde's text and its questionable surrounding matter again seem to merge, ensuring that, for the reader of *Lippincott's, Dorian Gray* appears all the more morally and intellectually suspect.

Authorities

The nineteenth-century American press seems to have been particularly prone to sampling: the end pages of *Lippincott's*, for instance, frequently feature material reprinted from other contemporary newspapers and journals, while *Lippincott's* was in turn routinely extracted from. Indeed, actions that would lead many twenty-first century publications to turn to their legal divisions were treated as the ultimate form of flattery in the *Lippincott's* prospectus for 1891. The 'avidity', we are told, 'with which many newspapers, both in America and in England, avail themselves of the privilege of quoting articles from *Lippincott's* in full or at great length is good evidence of the interest which those articles have excited'.[2]

This glorification of explicit intertextuality is further reinforced by the pseudoscientific articles published in the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's*. For, in their bid for legitimacy, these articles bombard the reader with a bizarre range and bewildering number of supporting authorities. Thus, in merely the opening pages of Heron-Allen's

[1] Wilde, *The Real Trial*, p. 74.
[2] 'Lippincott's Magazine. 1891. Twenty-Fourth Annual Prospectus', pp. i-viii, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 277 (January 1891), p. ii.

article on cheiromancy, we hear from Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Arabian Nights*, *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, the English philosopher Herbert Spencer, the Scottish philosopher-mathematician Dugald Stewart, the Roman poet Juvenal, Aristotle, one of 'the first essays of[f] the printing press in Germany', the Swiss physiognomist Johann Kasper Lavater, the soldier-cheirognomist Casimir D'Arpentigny, Balzac, and the Oracle at Delphi (pp. 102-4). By jumbling these otherwise disparate texts and individuals together, Heron-Allen blurs disciplinary boundaries, ensuring that – in this spectacle of scholarly bravado – canonical literature, respected mainstream thinkers, and the scientific fringe, all take on the same degree of relevance and reliability.

Even Heron-Allen becomes a little self-conscious about the sheer number of sources that this rhetorical manoeuvre requires him to employ. 'I observe that I become wearisome', he declares; yet 'I do not repent me of having taken up your time': 'for if, as Seneca has it, "*Nosse* [sic] *haec omnia salus est adolescentulis"* ["it is salutary for young men to know all these things"], how much more is it fitting that such things should be set before you with their rations and weighted with authorities which cannot but commend them to all except such as are vain and frivolous' (p. 104). Here, Heron-Allen makes overt his use of names as cultural capital – as little more than 'weights' to give, by association, solidity to an otherwise suspiciously hollow argument which itself threatens to float away. As if to throw on a few more scholarly pounds, our author even displays an impressively scholastic command of literary Latin, invoking a line made conspicuous by its lack of translation. Perhaps unsurprisingly, however, it turns out that our author is himself all hot air: it was not Seneca who had it that '*Nosse haec omnia salus est adolescentulis*', but Seneca's predecessor, the rather less reputed 'Terence'.[3] Perhaps this is fitting: after all, it is Seneca's name, not his message, that Heron-Allen requires.

Bloomfield-Moore's defence of Keely is equally liberal in its use of authorities. Though only thirteen pages long, the article manages to invoke Pythagoras, the German physicist 'Prof[essor] Henri Hertz', the American chemist 'Professor Ira Remsen', the American palaeontologist 'Professor Leidy', Epicurus, Coleridge (clearly a popular figure amongst occultists), the American 'Professor [of Hebrew] George Bush', the engineer

[3] See the final line of Act five, Scene four, in Terence's 161 BC play *The Eunuch*: Terence, *The Eunuch*, George Colman trans., pp. 77-144, *The Comedies of Terence, Translated into Familiar Blank Verse* (London: Lackington, Allen, and Co., 1810), p. 133.

‘Professor Thurston’, Johannes Kepler, William Gilbert, ‘Professor Crooke’ (more information about whom I have been unable to find) the English physicist ‘Professor Rücker’, the South African meteorologist Charles Abercrombie Smith, the French orator-priest Pierre Lebrun, the astronomer John Kedzie, ‘the Duke of Argyll’, the German philosopher Von Hartmann, the English theologist Charles Lilly, ‘Professor James M. Willcox’ (more information about whom I have been unable to find), the English astronomer Norman Lockyer, and the English historian Henry Thomas Buckle (pp. 111-123). While this list of sources is, perhaps, a little less professionally diverse than Heron-Allen’s (placing as it does a greater faith in the status afforded to institutional academia: ‘Professor’, ‘Professor’, ‘Professor’…) it is just as international. Indeed, leaving aside England and the United States, we travel to Ancient Greece, Germany, France, and even colonial South Africa in our search for suitable contemporaries and predecessors. Bloomfield-Moore appears to both reflect upon and justify this intellectual globetrotting towards the end of her article. As we might now expect, the passage begins with a quotation:

> ‘It is remarkable’, says Horace W. Smith, ‘that in countries far distant from each other, different men have fallen into the same tracks of science, and have made similar and correspondent discoveries, at the same period of time, without the least communication with each other’. So has it been in all periods of progress and in all branches of science, from the discoveries of Euclid and Archimedes down to those of Galileo and Descartes and Bacon, and, in later days, of Gilbert and Newton and Leibnitz, then Franklin and Collinson and Von Kleist and Muschenbroek; and now Keely and Hertz and Dr Puy and Rücker and Lockyer are examples. (p. 123)

Here, we watch Bloomfield-Moore struggle to ordain her holy man in the mainstream scientific canon. To do so, she subtly installs the Keelian sympathy at the structural heart of science itself. For, just as Keely has ‘discovered’ that the world is governed by (amongst others) ‘cerebellic’ ‘sympathetic streams’ capable of operating ‘at the greatest distance’ (pp. 113-4), so too, we learn, is scientific progress governed by the quasi-telepathic intellectual ‘tracks’ and ‘corresponden[cies] that enjoin countless men located ‘in countries far distant from one another’. Indeed, in this context, the fact that Bloomfield-Moore is able

to locate such a description of scientific development in the words of someone other than herself itself works to enhance the plausibility of Keely's worldview.

Just as Bloomfield-Moore's article presents the late nineteenth century as one of the Western world's 'periods of progress' *à la* Ancient Greece, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment, so too does Heron-Allen's piece laud 'the advancing liberality of the age we live in' (p. 102). Yet the liberal approach to the use of authorities taken by these articles was itself a fairly fundamental feature of literary decadence. In fact, for the *fin de siècle* critic Arthur Symons, its 'restless curiosity in research' was one of decadence's defining characteristics.[4] As such, despite Lord Henry condemning '[a]ll influence [as] immoral' (p. 13), Wilde 'drew on a very broad range of sources', Bristow notes, in writing *Dorian Gray*.[5] These 'creative appropriations', as Frankel terms them, targeted, amongst other works, those of Walter Pater, Théophile Gautier, Wilhelm Meinhold, Robert Louis Stevenson, Charles Maturin, Edgar Allan Poe, Edmond de Goncourt, William Sharp, and, of course, Joris-Karl Huysmans;[6] when it was first released in *Lippincott's*, one critic even raged against *Dorian Gray*'s 'obtrusively cheap scholarship' while another complained of its 'cheap research'.[7]

And Wilde's research often is, if not 'obtrusive', at least overt. This is certainly the case in the following passage, in which we are told of Dorian's Des Esseintes-like fascination with precious stones:[8]

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[4] Arthur Symons, 'The Decadent Movement in Literature', pp. 858-67, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 87.522 (November 1893), pp. 858-9.

[5] Bristow ed., *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. 359.

[6] Frankel ed., *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. 25; Nathaniel Hawthorne's largely overlooked 1872 novel *Septimus Felton; or, the Elixir of Life* provides us with another curious intertext. A four part article on a yet unpublished version of the story and Hawthorne's creative process – by Hawthorne's son, Julian – was serialised in *Lippincott's* shortly before *Dorian Gray*. The eponymous novel features a Classically named protagonist who, aided by a spectral girl named Sibyl, believes he has discovered a 'Drink of Immortality', only to find that 'the drink, instead of being an Elixir of Life, is a deadly poison': Julian Hawthorne, 'Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Elixir of Life." How Hawthorne Wrote. IV', pp. 548-61, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 268 (April 1890), pp. 560-1. Parts I-III had appeared in the issues for January, February, and March.

[7] The first of these critics was from *The Daily Chronicle*; the second was from *The St James's Gazette.* Responding to the latter's 'vague and fearful insinuations against my … erudition', Wilde declared that 'it is always difficult, even for the most modest of us, to remember that other people do not know quite as much as one does oneself', before noting that one of his classical sources 'at any rate, forms part of the curriculum at Oxford'. These reviews and Wilde's response are reprinted in: Mason, *Art and Morality*, pp. 28, 41, 66.

[8] Gone, however, in the *Lippincott's Dorian Gray*, is Des Esseintes's more extreme, misogynistic, almost fascistic, aversion to 'women of the middle class' who bedeck the 'jewel cases on their dressing-tables' with the 'cheap' semi-precious stone that is the topas, and 'butchers' wives', with their 'blood-red ears and veined

> He discovered wonderful stories, also, about jewels. In Alphonso's 'Clericalis Disciplina' a serpent was mentioned with eyes of real jacinth, and in the romantic history of Alexander, he was said to have found snakes in the vale of Jordan 'with collars of real emeralds growing on their backs'. There was a gem in the brain of the dragon, Philostratus told us, and 'by the exhibition of golden letters and a scarlet robe' the monster could be thrown into a magical sleep and slain. According to the great alchemist Pierre de Boniface, the diamond rendered a man invisible … (p. 70)

'The originality … we ask from the artist', declares Wilde in one of his uncannily postmodern frames of mind, 'is originality of treatment, not of subject. It is only the unimaginative who ever invents'. For '[t]he true artist', we are told, 'is known by the use he makes of what he annexes, and he annexes everything'.[9] However, as it turns out, Frankel notes, Wilde here simply 'annexes' these apparently-multifarious 'wonderful stories' from a single source: William Jones's 1880 handbook *History and Mystery of Precious Stones*.[10] In quietly letting this fact go unmentioned, the author seems to make a point of ensuring that the scholarship behind his novel appeared even more impressively wide-ranging and diverse than it actually was. Less directly, he also ensures that – intentionally or otherwise – his use of authorities blends with the eclectic use of authorities found in the pseudoscientific articles discussed above. Indeed, just as in Heron-Allen and Bloomfield-Moore's articles, his sources for this one short extract appear to have been drawn from a remarkable variety of professions (astronomy, war-lordry, sophistry, and alchemy), periods (the 12th century A.D., the 4th century B.C., the 3rd century A.D., and the 14th century A.D.), and locations (Spain, Jordan, Greece, and France). As such, just as in those articles, Wilde's text appears to employ names as cultural capital – as gateways into the intellectual canon with which *Dorian Gray* suddenly seems to have so many sympathetic connections.

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hands', who have 'abused' the amethyst: J.K. Huysmans, *Against the Grain (A Rebours)*, John Howard trans (New York: Boni Books, 1922), p. 77; after all, how elitist and misogynistic can one afford to be when publishing in a 'cheap' shilling magazine with a large female readership?

[9] Wilde makes this declaration in a review of an 1885 theatrical adaptation of Oliver Goldsmith's novel *The Vicar of Wakefield*: Oscar Wilde, 'Olivia at the Lyceum (Dramatic Review, May 30, 1885)', pp. 28-32, Robert Ross ed., *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde: Volume 9, Reviews* (Boston: The Wyman-Fogg Company, 1909), p. 29.

[10] Frankel ed., *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. 197.

Jargon

The pseudoscientific articles found in the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's* rely greatly on jargon – a key technique of pseudoscientific discourse more generally.[11] In Heron-Allen's article, this jargon often seems designed to overwhelm us. Thus, near the beginning of his article, the cheiromancer announces that he will refer to the 'mounts' of the hand 'by the names of the deities of the heathen mythology' 'for the sake of distinction' (p. 107); however, the ensuing catalogue of quasi-astrological references to 'The Mount[s] of Venus', Jupiter', 'Saturn', 'Mercury', 'Mars and 'the Moon' (pp. 107-8) succeeds only in clouding the discussion even further. As if to head-off such accusations, Heron-Allen provides us with one of the very few illustrations to appear in the non-advertising section of *Lippincott's*, a kind of cheiromantic map of the hand:

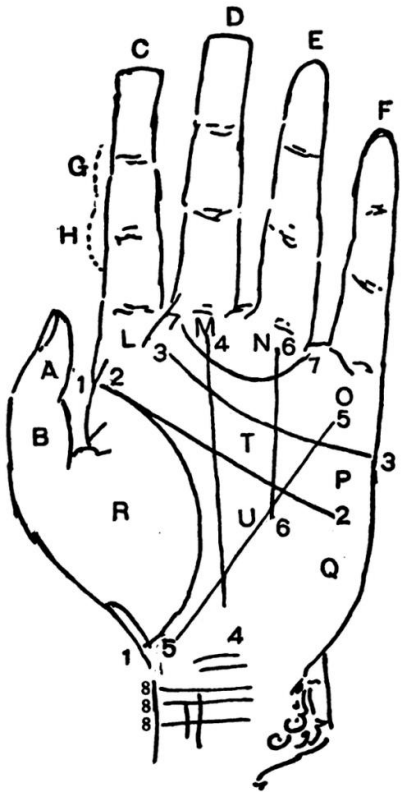

Fig. 38: A map of the hand in the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's* (p. 105).

[11] As Scott O. Lilienfeld, Steven Jay Lynn, and Jeffrey M. Lohr note, the use of 'impressive sounding or highly technical jargon' is a key weapon in the pseudoscientist's struggle for the 'imprimatur of scientific legitimacy': Scott O. Lilienfeld, Steven Jay Lynn, and Jeffrey M. Lohr, 'Initial Thoughts, Reflections, and Considerations', pp. 1-19, in Scott O. Lilienfeld, Steven Jay Lynn, and Jeffrey M. Lohr eds., *Science and Pseudoscience in Clinical Psychology* (New York: The Guildford Press, 2015), p. 9.

Here, – in this maze of letters, numbers, lines, and symbols – we again find that what was supposedly intended to clarify actually only makes things seem even more bewilderingly complicated than before: why, for instance, we may justly wonder, are Heron-Allen's alphanumeric labels consecutive in part, but not in full?

Elsewhere, Heron-Allen's use of language is less cloudily romantic than pseudo-technical. 'In each one', he explains, 'of the countless myriads of tiny tactile bodies which form by their arrangement the lines of the hand, is found the termination and re-starting point, as it were, of a sensory and motor apparatus' (p. 103). In the very next paragraph, 'cheirosophy' is described as 'a science of what, for want of a better term, we will call divination' (*ibid.).*[12] Something curious seems to happen here, in the use of the polite qualifications 'as it were' and 'for want of a better term'. It is as if conventional language breaks down a little, becoming slightly inadequate.

If anything, Bloomfield-Moore's subject matter – Keely and his etheric motor – pushes her to rely even more heavily on bizarre technical jargon. As such, throughout her article, we are constantly coming across passages that sound impressive without actually meaning very much at all. 'Keely', we are told, 'has discovered that all sympathetic streams, cerebellic, gravital, magnetic, and electric, are composed of triple flows; this fact governing all the terrestrial and celestial orders of positive and negative radiation' (p. 113); while '[t]he etheric', she continues, '(or mind) flow is of a tenuity coincident to the condition governing the seventh subdivision of matter' (p. 118). '[F]rom 1850 to 1950', notes the historian of communication Bernadette Longo, 'technical writing [became] the lingua franca of engineering and scientific knowledge'.[13] Here, with her references to 'sympathetic streams', 'triple flows', 'tenuity', and 'the seventh subdivision of matter', Bloomfield-Moore seems to be trying to play-off these developments: if specialised terminology is now the hallmark of the true scientist, the train of thought seems to go, then one need merely appropriate the new scientist's incomprehensibility in order to appropriate their status (at least, when it comes to the general reader).

[12] Along with the relentless use of the term 'cheiromancy', 'cheirosophy' is itself a prime example of pseudoscientific jargon: why not simply 'palmistry'?.

[13] Bernadette Longo, *Spurious Coin: A History of Science, Management, and Technical Writing* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 1.

Just as language appears to break down in Heron-Allen's article, so too does language break down in Bloomfield-Moore's. Indeed, a few pages into the article, we are told that Keely calls the 'power' that he has discovered '"sympathetic negative attraction" – it being necessary to use the word "attraction," as no other word has yet been coined to takes its place' (p. 112). Stepping back from this statement, one could reasonably object that (far from there being no existing word for 'negative attraction') Keely and Bloomfield-Moore could have simply used the word 'repulsion'. However, as clarity of thought and expression is ultimately the greatest enemy of the pseudoscientist, this unnecessary complication is far from surprising. A few pages later, Bloomfield-Moore goes a little further into Keely's relationship with language:

> When Gilbert, court-physician to Queen Elizabeth, announced his discovery of electricity, he was asked by his compeers of what use it was. No one dreamed then of it as a motive power. He replied, 'Of what use is a baby? It may develop into a man or a woman, and, although we cannot make any use of electricity now, the world may in time find out uses for it'. Just as little understood would Keely's writing be now on sympathetic negative attraction as were Gilbert's writings then on electricity and magnetism. Men found no sense then in the words 'electric' and 'electricity', although derived from the Greek root for amber. The same fault is found with Keely for coining new words which no one understands. (p. 117)

When Heron-Allen writes of 'what, for want of a better term, we will call divination', and Bloomfield-Moore declares that it is 'necessary to use the word "attraction," as no other word has yet been coined to take its place', they go some way towards rupturing the traditional link between signifier and signified: we may say 'attraction', and we may say 'divination', but that is not what we really mean. In the longer passage quoted above, Bloomfield-Moore glorifies Keely for going even further. Whereas there is still a partial connection between what our authors mean and the formal aspects (what Saussure would call the 'sound-images')[14] of the words 'attraction' and 'divination', Keely, we are told, breaks this connection altogether, creating new sound images that – for everyone other than

[14] See: Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, Wade Baskin trans. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), p. 67.

himself – have no meaning whatsoever. That he is unafraid of creating a language of pure form is, it would seem, the ultimate evidence of his having a mind that is truly avant-garde.

Aspiring decadent that he was, Wilde too seems to strive for a language of pure form in parts of *Dorian Gray* (English literary Decadence being, in Linda Dowling's definition, 'less a program than a perception about the materiality and autonomy of its own linguistic medium').[15] Indeed, one early critic complained that the story's author 'bores you unmercifully with his prosy rigmaroles',[16] while even an early defender of *Dorian Gray* acknowledged that there was a 'length[y]' purple patch in chapter nine that 'besides being somewhat tiresome, clog[s] the dramatic movement' of the narrative.[17] And there is much in this episode that does seem to aim for (what one of Wilde's characters elsewhere describes as) 'colour unspoiled by meaning'.[18] Here, for example, upon reflecting upon his 'special passion' 'for ecclesiastical vestments [and] indeed … [for] everything connected with the service of the Church', Dorian moves into a reverie upon his sumptuous Catholic possessions:

> He had a … cope … of green velvet, embroidered with heart-shaped groups of acanthus-leaves, from which spread long-stemmed white blossoms … The orphreys were woven in a diaper of red and gold silk, and were starred with medallions of many saints and martyrs, among whom was St. Sebastian. He had chasubles, also, of amber-coloured silk, and blue silk and gold brocade, and yellow silk damask and cloth of gold, figured with representations of the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ, and embroidered with lions and peacocks, and other emblems; dalmatics of white satin and pink silk damask, decorated with tulips and dolphins and *fleurs de lys;* alter frontals of crimson velvet and blue linen; and many corporals, chalice-veils, and sudaria. (p. 73)

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[15] Linda Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 175-6. Cf. the 'maddening melody' and 'irresistible suggestiveness' of Mallarmé's 'secret language', as glorified in Huysmans's great bible of literary decadence: *Against the Grain*, pp. 298, 295; in Wilde's letters to Mallarmé from the period, the poet is always addressed as simply 'maître' ('master'): see letters reproduced in Holland and Hart-Davis eds., *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, pp. 471, 492.

[16] 'A Study in Puppydom', p. 3. *St. James's Gazette*, 24 June 1890.

[17] Anne W. Wharton, 'A Revulsion from Realism', pp. 409-12, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 273 (September 1890), p. 410.

[18] Oscar Wilde, 'The True Function and Value of Criticism, With Some Remarks on the Importance of Doing Nothing: A Dialogue', pp. 435-59, *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* 28.163 (September 1890), p. 452.

Frankel suggests that the presence of technical terms such as 'cope', 'orphreys', 'diaper', and 'corporals' in this passage may have been informed by 'a South Kensington Museum Art Handbook [Daniel Rock's *Textile Fabrics*] that Wilde had likely consulted when he visited' what would subsequently become known as the Victoria and Albert Museum. Though an 'ecclesiologist and Roman Catholic Priest', Frankel tells us, Rock realised that many of these terms might be 'beyond the comprehension of most readers', and dutifully 'provided definitions'.[19] Wilde, on the other hand, seems to have felt no such compulsion. In fact, just as Heron-Allen allows his quotations to remain conspicuously mysterious for those readers who might happen not to possess a commanding knowledge of classical Latin, Wilde seems to go out of his way to employ language marked by its obscurity – indeed, he even brings in some additional terms of his own ('sudaria', for instance, never appeared in Rock). As such, (perhaps fittingly, in the eyes of Wilde's predominantly Protestant audience)[20] much of this passage operates as little more than linguistic music and atmosphere.

Revelation

Finally, the pseudoscientific articles published in *Lippincott's* are written as if to initiate the reader into a deeper meaning hidden beneath the surface of reality. The full title of Heron-Allen's article, one might remember, is 'The Cheiromancy of To-Day. The Evolution of an Occult Science'. As, strictly speaking, that which is 'occult' is that which is hidden ('occult', fr. *occulere*: 'to cover over')[21], it becomes clear that the act of revelation will lie at the heart of what Heron-Allen has to say. And indeed, the cheiromantist is continually letting us in on what the physical appearance of the hand 'denotes', 'indicates', 'signifies', 'shows', 'means', or 'betrays'. For, we are told, it is only by correctly interpreting the appearance of the hand that 'the tendencies of a nature' can be 'revealed' (p. 107). In fact, those who have not been properly initiated (those who do not fully 'make the science of cheirosophy a part of their lives') dabble with the subject at their peril: to take only 'a

[19] Frankel ed., *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. 200.
[20] As is noted in another article in the British edition of the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's*, 'obscurantism' is 'associate[d]' with 'sacerdotalism' and 'Popish pretensions' in this period (p. 154).
[21] 'occult', Angus Stevenson ed., *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

passing interest' in the field, warns Heron-Allen in his concluding paragraph, is to risk nothing less than a 'softening of the brain' (p. 110).[22]

There is something of the secret society about these claims and confidences, and – just as with all true secret societies – Heron-Allen's article is ultimately underwritten by a certain religiosity. Midway through his piece, this religiosity becomes particularly overt. Not to be open towards cheiromancy, the author declares, is to be one of those 'persons'

> who, fearing not God … desire naught but to remain as they are, – '*fruges consumere nati*', stumbling-blocks athwart the road of the march of enlightenment, and beams in the eyes of those who would see for themselves those things which an omnipotent Creator has placed before us for our instruction, veiled only from those swine before whom such pearls are but playthings or scratching stones. *Procul esto!* (p. 104).

Here, Heron-Allen again flaunts his enthusiasm for grand classical citation: '*fruges consumere nati* [existing merely to consume]' is taken from one of Horace's epistles;[23] '*procul esto*', meanwhile, is taken from a line in the *Aeneid* (the full line reads 'Procul, o procul este, profani [Away, away, you uninitiated]'). [24] When combined with the monotheistically capitalised 'God', and the 'pearls [and] swine' reference to the Sermon on the Mount, we find a curiously mixed defence of cheiromancy upon religious grounds. On the one hand, the classical references smack of paganism. At the same time, though, Heron-Allen appears to be trying to downplay these subversive associations – to present the practice of cheiromancy as a form of almost conventional Christian worship through an extension of the early modern defence of the scientist as priest reading from the Book of Nature.[25]

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[22] Cf. Wilde's 1891 'Preface' to *Dorian Gray*, in which we are warned that, 'All art [being] at once surface and symbol', 'Those who go beneath the surface do so at their peril' and that 'Those who read the symbol do so at their peril': Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. vii.

[23] Horace, *Horace: The Epistles*, Philip Francis trans. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835), I/ii/41.

[24] Virgil, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, Allen Mandelbaum trans. (Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 2007), VI/343.

[25] Johannes Kepler, for instance, defended astronomers as 'priests of the most high God, with respect to the Book of Nature' (the idea that in studying the material world, one moves closer to that world's holy creator) : translated by and quoted in Peter Harrison, *The Book of Nature in Early Modern and Modern History* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2006), p. 9.

Bloomfield-Moore places just as much emphasis on the idea of spiritual revelation in relaying Keely's struggle to discover 'Nature's Secret' (p. 123). The great scientist's 'researches', she declares,

> have revealed to him some of the mysteries of the hidden sympathetic world, teaching that 'the visible world', as Coleridge wrote 'is but the clothing of the invisible world'; that 'true philosophy', as Professor George Bush said, 'when reached will conduct us into the realm of the spiritual as the true region of causes, disclosing new and unthought-of relations between the world of matter and of mind'. (p. 114)

Here, the relentless density of Bloomfield-Moore's reliance upon the words of others itself becomes a little like rhetorical 'clothing'. Indeed, much like her use of jargon, her use of quotation takes on an opacity that she is able to hide behind. As a result, I would suggest, the text co-opts us into a kind of identification with Keely: after all, in attempting to reach 'the invisible world' that is the author and her subject, we find that we too are struggling to pierce through an encasing 'world of matter'.

While the co-option of the reader here remains fairly universal, elsewhere Bloomfield-Moore appeals to more specifically American preoccupations. Throughout her article, Bloomfield-Moore repeatedly refers to Keely's 'discoveries' (pp. 116, 120, 122), to that which he has 'discovered' (pp. 111, 112, 113, 115, 121), and to Keely himself as a 'discoverer' (pp. 114, 121). In one of these examples, Bloomfield-Moore enters an extended discussion upon the subject that is particularly intriguing:

> Professor Thurston writes, in the January number of the *North American Review*, 'We are constantly expecting to see a limit reached by the discoverer and by the inventor, and are as constantly finding that we are simply on a frontier which is being steadily pushed farther and farther out into the infinite unknown. The border-land is still ahead of us, constantly enlarging as we move on. The more we gain, the more is seen to be achievable'. If Keely's claims as a discoverer are not founded on charlatanism, it is seen that he has crossed the border-line long since, and is now able to look back to the frontier, from which, when but a boy in years, he saw the first glimmer of light before him that heralded the approach of a new dawn to science, – a new age, the age of harmony (p. 114)

The treaty agreed to by both sides at the conclusion of the American-Mexican War ensured that, by the late 1840s, having acquired California and thereby having reached the Pacific, America's sixty-five years of westward territorial expansion finally came to an end.[26] Yet some Americans, the Heidlers tell us, 'continued to envision an ever-expanding American empire eventually stretching into Latin American and the Caribbean' while others still 'gaze[d] longingly at British Canada'.[27] As with the previously discussed move from the mastery of slaves to the mastery of foreign languages found in *The Bostonians*, in the above-quoted passage from Bloomfield-Moore civilizational knowledge itself becomes the ultimate 'border-line' frontier in the absence of a kinetic frontier of the more traditional kind. For, unlike mere land, we are assured, there is no limit to the amount of knowledge that can be colonised. Indeed, chasing after omniscience here becomes like chasing after the tantalising rainbow – 'the perfect type of a perfect pleasure', to appropriate Lord Henry's description of the desire prompted by the cigarette, 'exquisite', 'unsatisfi[able]' (p. 35). Out ahead of the pack in this chase is Keely, noble frontiersman and inspired reconnaissance leader extraordinaire. In fact, the passage ends by moving from the occult to the merely cult, as if in anticipation of the visionary final paragraphs of Bloomfield-Moore's article in which it is declared that Keely 'has penetrated into the temple of Truth, and raised the veil of the goddess, who with serene eyes and beckoning hand invites us to follow' (p. 123).

The revelatory veil trope is just as fundamental to the rhetoric of *Dorian Gray*. Through, as it were, cracks in the closet-door, we are repeatedly granted glimpses of the homosexual substrata underpinning Wilde's novel; but the veil is never truly raised on this most scandalous of Truths.[28] Instead, the ultimate act of revelation seems to have been displaced onto other, smaller, recurring, moments of revelation found throughout the text. As a result, the reader is constantly being shown past the surface of events. Thus, at Sibyl Vane's 'third-rate' East End theatre (p. 25), we repeatedly accompany Dorian as he goes

[26] The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed by the Mexicans and the Americans on the 2nd of February 1848: Heidler and Heidler, *Manifest Destiny*, p. 160.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[28] As Frankel notes, '[i]n his life and writing, Wilde was playing a dangerous game of hiding and revealing his sexual orientation': Frankel ed., *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. 21. Harold Beaver goes further, reflecting on Wilde's American tour: 'It was Wilde's most paradoxical pose to mask his homosexuality by outbidding W. S. Gilbert's caricature, outbunthorning Bunthorne in velvets and lilies and bows, to suggest that he could not be what he seemed to be, when that is exactly what he was': Harold Beaver, 'Homosexual Signs (In Memory of Roland Barthes)', pp. 99-119, *Critical Inquiry* 8.1 (Autumn 1981), pp. 106-7.

backstage, 'behind the scenes' (p. 27, see also pp. 34 and 39), to meet the girl casting 'the shadows of art' (p. 40). Similarly, we are forever watching on as Dorian 'draw[s] … back' (p. 82, see also pp. 51 and 99) first the 'large screen' (p. 43) that he hides his portrait behind, and then the 'purple and gold pall' that he uses 'as a curtain' (p. 73), to scrutinise 'the secret of his life', 'his own soul' (p. 42). But perhaps the most significant revelation in Wilde's text surrounds 'life' itself. Amidst one of Lord Henry's streams of consciousness, we are told that

> Ordinary people waited till life disclosed to them its secrets, but to the few, to the elect, the mysteries of life were revealed before the veil was drawn away. Sometimes this was the effect of art, and chiefly the art of literature, which dealt immediately with the passions and the intellect. But now and then a complex personality took the place and assumed the office of art, was indeed, in its way, a real work of art, Life having its elaborate masterpieces, just as poetry has, or sculpture, or painting (pp. 30-1).

Here, in this typically playful passage, lies the promising suggestion that Wilde's novel will itself draw away the veil and provide us with a kind of advanced screening of life's secret (after all, we are assured, it is 'chiefly the art of literature' that is capable of so doing). However, as discussed in the introduction to this section, while the *Lippincott's* version of *Dorian Gray* was indeed more adventurous than the version published as a book the following year, the magazine's editors had themselves already made 'a number of significant emendations to Wilde's text, including the excision of ['explicit'] detail … feared too graphic for the magazine's readership'.[29] As a result, we, being part of this readership, can only guess at the much 'rumour[ed]' about (see pp. 65 and 79) sins that Dorian actually commits when he slips out of our field of vision. Indeed, far from being the God-Author's chosen 'elect', we, it would appear, mere readers of a mass publication magazine, are simply a few more of those 'ordinary people' who go into making up the common herd. Whether or not Dorian's 'claims as a discoverer are … founded on

[29] Frankel gives, as examples of this, the deletion of references to Sibyl Lane and Hetty Merton being Dorian's 'mistresses', and an unacceptably homoerotic description of Dorian's portrait ('There was love in every line, and in every touch there was passion'): Frankel ed., *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, pp. 40-1. Note, though, that even Wilde's manuscript was less than completely explicit when it came to the depiction of homosexual behaviour.

charlatanism' we will never know – having penetrated into the temple of Truth, he does not invite us to follow.

6. The Occult, British and American

'The crude commercialism of America, its materialising spirit, it indifference to the poetical side of things, and its lack of imagination…'

– 'The Decay of Lying' (1889)[1]

America, that 'vast desert of practical common sense'

– 'Impressions of America' (1883)[2]

The male American is the most abnormally serious creature who ever existed

– 'The American Man' (1887)[3]

In 1887, three years before writing *Dorian Gray* and four years after completing his year-long American tour, Wilde published a seriocomic sketch entitled 'The Canterville Ghost' in the *Court and Society Review*.[4] Prior to purchasing the Cantervilles' ancestral home, the American ambassador is warned that the British property he and his family have purchased happens to be haunted. As with all such narratives of cultural interaction, the story plays upon socio-temperamental contrasts, and, despite both the ominous tales of the current Lord Canterville and the theatrical fainting spells of the nerve-racked domestic, the ambassador remains resolutely nonplussed, announcing that – as citizens of a 'modern country' – he and his family do not believe in ghosts. Following a mock-gothic, storm-blown, night spent calmly neutralising the ghost's creaking chains and recurring spectral bloodstains with 'Tammany Rising Sun Lubricator' and 'Pinkerton's Champion Stain Remover and Paragon Detergent' (parodies of the kind of overblown advertising rhetoric discussed elsewhere in this thesis), the Americans are forced to concede that they may have been 'too dogmatic' in their nonbelief. In contrast to the British and their romantic 'readiness … to believe in ghosts', summarises Isobel Murray, the Americans 'remain practical and commonsensical' even when literally brought face to face with the supernatural.[5]

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[1] Wilde, 'The Decay of Lying', p. 45.
[2] Reproduced in Hofer and Scharnhorst eds., *Oscar Wilde in America*, p. 180.
[3] [Oscar Wilde], 'The American Invasion', pp. 341-343, *Court and Society Review* 4.145 (April 13 1887), p. 343.
[4] The story was serialised in two consecutive issues of the periodical: Oscar Wilde, 'The Canterville Ghost', pp. 183-6, *Court and Society Review* 4.138 (23 February 1887); Oscar Wilde, 'The Canterville Ghost', pp. 207-11, *Court and Society Review* 4.139 (2 March 1887).
[5] Murray ed., *Complete Shorter Fiction*, p. 8.

Wilde was hardly known for his commitment to rigorous historical accuracy, and any number of objections could be justly levelled against these generalising national characterisations. Yet, typically of Wilde, insight lurks beneath the wit, exaggeration, and whimsy; and in this chapter it will be suggested that the national distinction highlighted by 'The Canterville Ghost' also bifurcates the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's* into its British and American editions. Indeed, it will be argued, whereas the British edition tends to romanticise the everyday, the American edition tends to normalise the exceptional; whereas the British edition subscribes to a sensational strand of religiosity, the American edition subscribes to a far plainer strand of religiosity; and, whereas the British edition glorifies the supernatural, the American edition emasculates the supernatural. 'Diversity of opinion about a work of art', writes Wilde in his 1891 'Preface' to *Dorian Gray*, 'shows that the work is new, complex, and vital'.[6] To read the *Lippincott's Dorian Gray* in both its British and American editions is to read with subtly different expectations and to appreciate further the novel's particular brand of multivocal potentiality.

Transformative Trajectorial Inclinations

While the British edition of the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's* repeatedly transforms the ridiculous into the sublime, the American edition tends to transform the sublime back into the ridiculous. An early hint of this can be gleaned from the pseudoscientific articles which form the core of the two magazine editions. Whereas, in the Englishman Heron-Allen's article on cheiromancy, the highly quotidian (the human hand – *I know it like the back of my hand*) becomes the grandly cosmic ('The Mount[s] of Venus', 'Jupiter', 'Saturn'…), in the American Bloomfield-Moore's defence of Keely the grandly cosmic ('the universal … medium' 'governing … the advance and recession of solar and planetary masses': p. 112) becomes the positively earthly promise of imminent 'commercial success' for those investing in 'The Keely Motor' and the attendant 'Keely Motor Company' (p. 123).

This British-American distinction also divides the two national editions of the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's*. Prominent amongst the notices published in the British edition of *Lippincott's* are advertisements for household disinfectants. In one such advertisement – produced by the Birmingham-based 'Patent Borax Company' (see fig. 39) – we find a prime example of the British edition's above-flagged predilection for making

[6] Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. vii.

Fig. 39: An advertisement for 'Borax' in the British edition of the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's*.

much out of little. For in this (a full page) advertisement, even dry soap becomes something 'wonderful', something 'marvellous', something worthy of a stately royal flourish. Indeed, exceptionalised by the grand Gothic font in which it is rendered, the endorsement of 'Her Majesty the Queen, Empress of India' provides our manufacturer with 'the greatest' possible 'boon' conferrable by the head of the empire. This, it would appear, is a product 'suited as well to the home of the cottage house-wife as [to] the mansion of Her Majesty'. If the endorsements of both the Queen and 'The Great Seal of England' were not enough, the reader is peppered with details of Borax's countless useful properties: a 'Purifier, Water Softener, Dirt Expeller, Taint Remover, Food Preserver and Arrester of Decay', the truly panacean Borax 'Cleanses, Washes, Purifies, Brightens everything' and 'Imparts Enamel-like Gloss, giv[ing] Permanent Stiffness, Brilliancy, and Beauty to Muslin, Lace, Linen, Cuffs, Collars, Fronts, and all other Starched articles'.

Hanging (both literally and figuratively) over these somewhat manic commercial declarations, looms an expansionist exoticism. For, more than having been merely endorsed by the 'Empress of India', Borax proudly self-identifies as '**CALIFORNIAN**'. Of course, though, as Edward Said has noted, exoticism tends to maintain 'little patience for actual reality';[7] and, while those at Borax might have been eager to associate themselves with the United States, the American edition of the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's* takes a rather different approach to world phenomena. This is particularly true of the, highly populist, comic – almost carnivalesque – series entitled 'With the Wits', published haphazardly amongst the American edition's closing pages. At times, this populism manifests itself in straightforward bigotry. A particularly egregious example appears at the very end of the magazine. Here, an illustration depicts two formally dressed, yet distinctly deranged, African-Americans (one male, the other female) playing a game of cat's cradle, seemingly oblivious to the fact that the female player has caught her hair in a candle, producing voluminous smoke: 'AT THE SONS OF CONGO SOCIABLE', reads the caption, 'Chairman of Reception Committee. – "D' pussun what's smokin' a cigarette in d' hall must 'a' forgot dat dey's lehdies present."' In one awkward swoop, it would seem, the cartoon achieves the trifecta of racial, socio-economic, and sexual chauvinism.

[7] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1994), p. 102

For the most part, though, the populism of the With the Wits series manifests itself in a ridiculing of grand concepts and ideas. This is, perhaps, most distinct in what became a kind of generic staple for the series – a punning device, primarily comprised of mock definitions, aimed in this instance at the pretensions of the theatre:

AT THE THEATRE.

Before the footlights. – Raise it.
Tears, idle tears. – Unoccupied seats.
The frontier. – Sioux reservation.
Comedy. – The tragedian who takes himself seriously.
Tragedy. – Eggs for applause.
An interior scene. – The colic.
The leading rôle. – Vienna twists.
All stars. – The firmament.
Stage fright. – An aged coryphée.
Box receipts. – Black eye.
Spoiling the part. – Mussed hair.
A private box. – Pugilism in the family.

Here, we find a rather motley collection of attempts at humour. While most of these strangely fragmented lines are little more than cringe-worthy ('An interior scene. – The colic'), one or two come close to approximating comedy ('Box receipts. – Black eye'). Yet this somewhat rudimentary linguistic network is ultimately tied together by a shared methodology – one of bathos, the sudden humorous drop from the lofty to the everyday (though, it might be added, whereas bathos is traditionally unintentionally funny, these mock definitions might instead be described as unintentionally not-funny).

The productively suggestive ambivalence of the *Lippincott's Dorian Gray* manages to incorporate the respective rhetorical trajectory of both the British and the American edition. As such, irrespective of which edition one happens to be reading, one is able to fold Wilde's novel into the material that surrounds it through a kind of metastasising intellectual osmosis. Perhaps the best example of this multivocal exaltative-degradative simultaneity

appears in the preamble Dorian provides when relating his first sighting of Sibyl Vane. Dorian, it would seem, had been indulging in a spot of slum tourism:

> One evening about seven o'clock I determined to go out in search of some adventure … I don't know what I expected, but I went out, and wandered eastward, soon losing my way in a labyrinth of grimy streets and black, grassless squares. About half-past eight I passed by a little third-rate theatre, with great flaring gas-jets and gaudy play-bills. A hideous Jew, in the most amazing waistcoat I ever beheld in my life, was standing at the entrance, smoking a vile cigar. He had greasy ringlets, and an enormous diamond blazed in the centre of a soiled shirt. ''Ave a box, my lord?' he said, when he saw me, and he took off his hat with an act of gorgeous servility. There was something about him, Harry, that amused me. He was such a monster … Well I found myself seated in a horrid little private box, with a vulgar drop-screen staring me in the face. I looked out behind the curtain, and surveyed the house. It was a tawdry affair, all Cupids and cornucopias, like a third-rate wedding-cake. The gallery and pit were fairly full, but the two rows of dingy stalls were quite empty, and there was hardly a person in what I suppose they called the dress-circle. Women went about with oranges and ginger-beer, and there was a terrible consumption of nuts going on. (p. 24-5)

Here, the distinctly upper-middle class thrill of attending a theatrical performance east of Marylebone is at once both romantically elevated and realistically undermined.[8] On the one hand, the passage provides us with all the sensationalising exoticism of the British edition's advertisement for the Patent Borax Company. Thus, we are met with the 'amazing', 'gorgeous', 'monst[rous]' Other that is the Jewish theatre manager and (as if his stereotypical Judaism were not already blatant enough) the 'enormous diamond' that Wilde has branded onto 'the centre of [his] soiled shirt'.[9] At the same time, though, as we move past the 'flaring gas-jets and gaudy play-bills' of the theatre's façade, we begin to feel a

[8] It subsequently transpires that Sibyl Vane's theatre and the 'labyrinth of grimy streets and black, grassless squares' in which it sits, is actually located, not in the true East End, but in London's inner north (p. 63) – an area that Charles Booth's contemporaneous socioeconomic map confirms as having been relatively mixed, and in places even prosperous, at the time: Charles Booth, 'Map Shewing [sic] Degrees of Poverty in London in Areas with About 30,000 Inhabitants in Each, Compiled from Information Collected in 1889-1890', *Life and Labour of the People of London. First Series: Poverty, Volume 5 (Maps of London Poverty; Districts and Streets)* (New York: A.M. Kelly, 1969).

[9] Cf. Wilde's observation in 'Shakespeare and Stage Costume' (the title was subsequently changed to 'The Truth of Masks' when the essay was reprinted six years late in *Intentions*) that 'Shylock's Jewish gaberdine is part of the stigma under which he writhes': Oscar Wilde, 'Shakespeare and Stage Costume', pp. 800-18, *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* 17.99 (May 1885) p. 802.

little like the disenchanted Sybil Vane encountered a few pages later, who, having suddenly seen 'through the hollowness, the sham, the silliness, of the empty pageant in which [she] had always played', has become all too 'conscious' of the fact that the aged coryphée performing Romeo opposite her 'was hideous, and old, and painted', and 'that the moonlight in the orchard was false' (p. 39). For by the end of the passage, with its 'horrid little private box', its 'oranges and ginger-beer', and its 'terrible consumption of nuts', we find a familiar (if more successfully amusing) bathos. There is nothing incredible about this 'vulgar' 'tawdry' scene after all, American readers might conclude; when we look 'behind the curtain', it turns out the objects of exoticism are little more than comic.

Religion

Religiosity is also expressed differently in the British and American editions of the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's*. The British edition tends to rely on the high impact. This is particularly true of – what one contempoary reviewer described as – Coulson Kernahan's 'distinctly sensational' *A Dead Man's Diary: Written After his Decease*.[10] This, Kernahan's first, novel opens with the narrator informing us that

> some years ago I became seriously ill, grew worse day by day, and was pronounced dying, and finally dead. Dead I apparently was, and dead I remained to all intents and purposes for the greater part of two days, after which, to the intense and utter astonishment of my friends and of the physicians, I exhibited symptoms of returning vitality, and in the course of a week or two was convalescent. Where, during those two-score hours, I would ask, was my soul, ghost, or life-principle?[11]

It is subsequently revealed that our narrator's Lazarus-like 'soul, ghost, or life-principle' was in hell – condemned to a surprsingly brief forty-day damnation for having seduced Dorothy, his housekeeper's daughter. *A Dead Man's Diary* began appearing anonymously

[10] 'Literature', p. 6, *Local Government Gazette*, 30 January 1890.
[11] [Coulson Kernahan], *A Dead Man's Diary: Written After his Decease*, pp. 271-7, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 266 (February 1890), p. 272.

in the British edition of *Lippincott's* (of which Kernhan was the editor)[12] in February, and the three and a half page instalment published in the *Dorian Gray* issue of the magazine comprised the novel's dramatic final chapters. Here, we find our repentant narrator 'shriek[ing] under the burden of [his] sin, as only he can shriek who is torn by hell-torture and despair':

> A horde of hideous thoughts, the very vomit of hell, swarmed like vermin in my mind; there was the breath of a host of contending fiends upon my face; a hundred hungry hands laid hold of me, and strove to drag me down and down as to a bottomless pit; but with a great cry to God, I flung the foul things from me; and battling, beating, like a drowning man for breath, I fell at the feet of a woman, white-veiled, and clad in robes like the morning, whose hand it was that had plucked me from the abyss in which I lay. (pp. 151)

Rather appropriately, there is a certain breathlessness to this single, long, extraordinary, sentence, which seems to rush towards a suffocating intensity before achieving a kind of gasping release. Our narrator's female saviour subsequently removes her veil, revealing herself to be (of course) the now thoroughly angelic Dorothy, whom God in His infinite benevolence has repurified through death and spared from a life of unmitigated shame (p. 153). In this passage, she seems to draw some inspiration from Dante's Beatrice, whom we similarly first behold descending from heaven in a 'white veil' at the 'break of day'.[13] Yet this ultimate in Catholic epics is here overlaid with a very Protestant hyperventilation of guilt-ridden anxiety and moral neurosis.[14] Indeed, the line between our narrator's physical and psychological torments and tormentors seems to blur, resulting in a passage of truly heightened, hyperbolic, claustrophobia.

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[12] See Sandra Kemp, Charlotte Mitchell, and David Trotter, 'Kernahan, [John] Coulson', pp. 222-3, *Edwardian Fiction: An Oxford Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Kernahan was also the copy editor assigned to *Dorian Gray* when it was subsequently released as a book, and one of the many persons with whom Wilde maintained a friendly acquaintanceship: see, for instance, Wilde's dining invitation to Kernahan, in which he writes that he 'is charmed to see' that *A Dead Man's Diary* 'is having so great a success': letter reproduced in Holland and Hart-Davis eds., *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, pp. 437-8.

[13] Dante Alighieri, *Purgatory and Paradise: Illustrated with the Designs of M. Gustave Doré*, The Rev. Henry Francis Cary trans. (New York: The Cassel Publishing Co., 1886), Canto XXX, ll 31, 23.

[14]The son of an Irish Protestant minister, Kernahan's intellectual contradictions seem understandable: Jad Adams, 'Kernahan, (John) Coulson (1858–1943)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oct 2006; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52461, accessed 18 May 2015]; intriguingly, Kernahan would also go on to marry a Catholic convert: Sir F.C. Burnand, 'Kernahan, Mrs Coulson', p. 225, *The Catholic Who's Who & Year Book* (London: Burns & Oates, 1908).

The American edition of the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's* takes a much plainer, more matter of fact, approach to religious practice and belief. Thus, amidst a series of rather laconic book reviews in the edition's final pages, we find an account of Reverend A. J. F. Bohrends's *The Philosophy of Preaching*. 'A useful and suggestive treatise', is the judgement, 'to be commended cordially to clergymen. What the author has to say about pulpit oratory is eminently sensible' (p. 160). Here, the desentimentalising Yankee spirit extends to transform even Christian oratory into an earthly task like any other;[15] indeed, the review seems to blend with other reviews and advertisements, found in the same issue of *Lippincott's*, for such equally sensible how-to guides as J. M. Da Costa's *Medical Diagnosis. A Guide to the Knowledge and Discrimination of Disease* (p. 16), D. G. Hubbard's *The Polyglot Pronouncing Hand-book* ('A key to the pronunciation of current geographical and other proper names from foreign languages': p. 160), and even Mrs. Hester M. Poole's *Fruits, and How to Use Them* ('A useful manual for housekeepers': *ibid.*).

A similar approach is taken in one of the American edition's slightly longer book reviews: a glowing half-page discussion of Henry Alden's *God in His World*, signed by one of the magazine's regular literary critics Melville Philips.[16] Alden's treatise, Philips declares, represents

> one of those rare impassioned preachments, always welcome for the witness they bear to the survival, in a grossly materialistic land and day, of the spiritual life and aspiration. It comes as an Easter greeting, and it practically asks every Christian in the world a very plain and proper question. We may phrase it thus: Are you trying to live as Christ lived? This means everything, involving the "divine life," the scheme of human fellowship, the eradication of selfishness. Facing it, creedal differences vanish, indeed: how infinitely paltry they are! But the book is not a question; it is an exposition of simple Christian faith … it is not interested in speculations concerning the future life (p. 157)

[15] Cf. the extract from Twain's 1889 novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* first published in the *Century*, in which Twain's protagonist reflects proudly 'I am a Yankee of the Yankees – and practical; yes, and nearly barren of sentiment': Twain, 'A Connecticut Yankee', p. 74.

[16] Stoddart told his employer Craige Lippincott that Philips had 'practically … edit[ed]' *Dorian Gray* 'by picking out any objectionable passages' prior to its publication: J.M. Stoddart, letter to Craige Lippincott, 22 April 1890, J.B. Lippincott Co. Records 1858-1958, Collection 3104, Box 61, Item 2 [foreign letter-book 1889-1894], Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Here, we encounter a very different kind of Protestantism from that of *Lippincott's* UK. For while Philips and Alden begin by rejecting the gross materialism of Gilded Era America, they ultimately seem most adverse to the kind of complex psychological 'speculat[ing]' with which Kernahan's story is saturated. As such, there is a turning away from both the realm of the mind (from, for instance, 'paltry' creeds) and 'the future life', and towards the 'practical' and evident ('plain') of the world temporal.

Wilde's novel manages to incorporate both the heightened religiosity of the British edition and the earthliness of the American. These competing theological strains meet towards the end of *Dorian Gray*. After disposing of Basil's body, Dorian finally concludes that he 'has done too many dreadful things' (p. 94). He therefore resolves to 'be good' (*ibid.*). The first charitable act of his new life is the 'spar[ing of an] innocent' – Hetty Merton, the 'girl in a village', with whom he briefly dallies before magnanimously 'leav[ing] as flower like as [he] had found her' (pp. 98, 94). Experiencing a sudden rush of self-congratulatory hope, Dorian convinces himself that his portrait will have changed to reflect his regained innocence, and that the red-stain of murder will have been expunged. However, upon tearing back the purple hanging behind which he conceals his true self, Dorian issues a 'cry of pain and indignation':

> Why was the red stain larger than it had been? It seemed to have crept like a horrible disease over the wrinkled fingers. There was blood on the painted feet, as though the thing had dripped, – blood even on the hand that had not held the knife. Confess? Did it mean that he was to confess? To give himself up and be put to death? … it was his duty to confess, to suffer public shame, and to make public atonement. There was a God who called upon men to tell their sins to earth as well as to heaven. Nothing that he could do would cleanse him till he had told his own sin … Vanity? Curiosity? Hypocrisy? Had there been nothing more in his renunciation than that? There had been something more. At least he thought so. But who could tell? (p. 99)

Guy Willoughby has noted that 'the troubling witness of Christ permeates' *Dorian Gray*;[17] and, if Alden's book serves as an 'impassioned' 'Easter greeting', than so too does Wilde's magazine-novel. Here, though, Dorian himself becomes the troubled witness of his own martyrdom ('martyr', fr. *martur*: 'witness').[18] For, in the above-quoted passage, our doomed protagonist watches on as his soul – with its blood-drenched hands and its blood-drenched feet – undergoes a kind of passionate crucifixion. Indeed, it would seem that if Dorian cannot 'live as Christ lived' he can at least die as Christ died. Yet the passage does also recall the American edition's religious pivot towards the earthly. Thus, whereas Kernan's protagonist struggled to evade the 'hundred hungry hands' that 'strove to drag [him] down and down as to a bottomless pit', for Dorian the clamouring of the public comes to represent the promise of cleansing salvation – indeed, whereas Kernahan's creator demands ' a great cry to God', Wilde's 'call[s] upon men to tell their sins to earth as well as to heaven'. One area, though, in which Wilde's religiosity does depart from that of the American edition is its speculating interiority. While Philips might assure us that Alden's 'book is not a question', here (as elsewhere) Wilde's becomes almost nothing but a question. It is this relentless theoretical inquiry that resurrects Kernahan's anxious atmosphere of heightened moral claustrophobia. We may imagine that the religiosity of *Dorian Gray* conforms more to either the American edition or the British one: *but who could tell?* Here, too, Wilde's novel loses none of its multivocality.

Science and the Supernatural

The supernatural and the scientific relate to one another differently in the British and American editions of the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's*. In the British edition, scientific practices are repeatedly shown to be little more than continuations, or perhaps re-manifestations, of older practices. In an advertisement for products 'from the laboratory of Thomas Jackson, Strangeways Manchester', for instance, we find 'Jackson's Incense Spills'. 'A neat and antiseptic fashion of Purifying the air of a Sick Room, and perfuming a

[17] Guy Willoughby, 'Art, Christ, and the Self in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*', pp. 62-75, *Art and Christhood: The Aesthetics of Oscar Wilde* (Cranbury New Jersey; London, England: Associated University Presses, 1993), p. 75.
[18] 'martyr', *Oxford Dictionary of English*.

house', these spills, we are assured, 'represent one of those rare cases of ancient custom and modern science being in accord'. There is a quiet relativism in this declaration. 'Ancient custom and modern science', it would seem, occupy a non-hierarchical relationship: they are simply two, equally valid, ways of understanding the world. Where these ideologies meet, it is implied, lives true reliability and epistemological power.

In an attempt at self-exceptionalisation, Jackson's Spills present the area of ideological cross-over that they purportedly inhabit as narrow and exclusive ('rare'). However, as we continue reading the British edition, the area of scientific-supernatural interaction begins to seem a little more expansive, for we come across other phenomena that inhabit this land as well. Examples of this can be found in the short colonial travel-narrative occupying the British edition's final pages: the first part of John Lawson's serialised article 'The Sick Settler'. Lawson begins by relaying how 'Globe-trotting in search of settlement, the fates led me, some years back, to a place called Fenelon Falls, situated on a chain of lakes not far from Simcoe, in Upper Canada' (p. 159). After struggling along a 'new-formed road [running] straight North', 'without twist or turn' for seven miles, 'cut through a mighty forest, with trees arching overhead like the groined roof of some stately fain', Lawson reaches the end of the man-made trail (pp. 159-60). Here, amongst the Canadian wilderness, he falls in with a group of 'hirsute and shaggy savages' – British surveyors mapping out their new colony prior to its being sold off in lots:

> Late at night the chief surveyor, Mr. Adeane, put in his appearance … During his temporary absence the men had made a little clearance of trees, not far from camp; and at midnight we sallied out in single file to this open spot, instruments were fixed, and an observation of the pole-star taken. It was grand to be in that boundless forest at dead of night, to see the black canopy of boughs, and those swarthy men, like magicians at their rites, seek help from the stars. (p. 162)

John Henry has written of 'the significant body' of twentieth-century 'scholarship dedicated to establishing the thesis that … magical beliefs and procedures played a crucial,

even formative, role in the history of early modern science'.[19] Here, Lawson both pre-empts this scholarship and takes its thesis one step further. For, in the above-quoted passage, more than having simply played a role in the early modern formation of science, magic remains the template for how science operates in the present. Scientists may have their novel instruments and technological contraptions; but, it would seem, at heart they are still simply pagan priests leading processions to forest clearings at holy midnight to gaze up at the stars.

The American edition of the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's*, on the other hand, provides us with a scientific-supernatural relationship that is rather less equal and more linear in its privileging of the scientific – a relationship akin to the, now more canonical, view just described by Henry. Whereas the core of the British edition ends with Lawson romantically navigating the Canadian frontier, the core of the American edition comes to a close with a much more matter-of-fact, perhaps even somewhat dry, account of tornados: Felix L. Oswald's 'The Powers of the Air'.[20] However, before moving into his article proper, Oswald opens with an uncharacteristically engaging passage of contextualisation:

> In the course of the last fifty years the progress of science has curiously illustrated the significance of the old saying that truth is often stranger than fiction. The good steed Bayard would be eclipsed by the iron horse as the darts of Orion are distanced by a Minié ball, and the dolphin-riding guest of King Periander would be glad to exchange his seat for the steerage-berth of a Cunard steamer. Still greater, perhaps, would be the surprise of the mystic Bodin, if he could see how far the discoveries of the nineteenth century have surpassed anything dreamt of in the philosophy of his speculation on the acts of the 'Invisible Powers'. Invisible disease-germs are known to decide the question of life and death for countless thousands of our fellow-men. Invisible currents of a mysterious force carry our messages with a speed immeasurably superior to that of the best broom-bestriding witch, and the 'empty air' has been found to possess potencies exceeding those of all the twenty-seven varieties of aerial demons enumerated by the author the 'The Enchanted World'.

[19] John Henry, 'Magic and Science in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', pp. 583-91, Robert Olby, Geoffrey Cantor, John Christie and Jonathan Hodge eds., *Companion to the History of Modern Science* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 583.

[20] At one stage, for instance, Oswald treats us to a discussion of 'Dove and Redfield, the discoverers of several important atmospheric laws' and their theory that storms are 'analogous to the eddies formed near the point of contact of two different river-currents', suggesting the existence 'of established storm-routes, corresponding to the deflections of permanent equatorial and polar waves' (p. 150).

While the supernatural still haunts the scientific in this passage, the poltergeist has – as it were – been thoroughly enfeebled. For the magical here becomes not only more normal than the normal (less 'strange' than the late nineteenth century everyday, with its bicycles and transatlantic steamers), but also less powerful. Indeed, more than having merely 'eclipsed' the mystical, 'the progress of science' has 'distanced', 'surpassed', and even 'exceeded' the presumably static, ahistorical, world of the occult. This smugly-selfcongatulatory belief in scientific progress is chrystalised in Oswald's position on the causes of disease. 'The shift from the miasma theory', notes Suellen Hoy, to the germ theory was not sudden or complete, but [it began] during the 1880s'. 'Of that time', Hoy continues, 'William Sedgewick, public-health bacteriologist of Lawrence, Massachusetts, later wrote, "before 1880 we knew nothing; after 1890s we knew it all; it was a glorious ten years"'.[21] Whereas the British edition of *Lippincott's* (with its advertisements for both soap and 'antiseptic' products capable of 'purifying the air of a sick room') hedges its bets when it comes to such glorious developments, Oswald here places his faith firmly in 'invisible disease-germs' ('now known to decide the question of life and death') and thus the latest scientific developments. In fact, the very structure of Oswald's article both reflects and replicates the author's belief in the historical evolution from the realm of magic towards that of science: having dealt with the mythological in these opening paragraphs, he feels free to move on to the hard facts and figures of science proper.

Defiantly fickle in his ideological allegiances, Dorian himself briefly toys with the respective exceptionalising and naturalising tendencies of the British and American editions. 'Mysticism', we are told, 'with its marvellous power of making common things strange to us … moved him for a season; and for a season he inclined towards the materialistic doctrines of the *Darwinismus* movement in Germany' (pp. 68-9). While this intellectual promiscuity permeates Wilde's novel as a whole, it is perhaps seen best in one of the interior ruminations of Lord Henry, who, it would seem, always fancied himself something of a scientist:

> He had always been enthralled by the methods of science, but the ordinary subject matter of science seemed to him trivial and of no import. And so he had begun by vivisecting himself,

[21] Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 107.

> and he had ended by vivisecting others. Human life – that appeared to him to be the one thing worth investigating. There was nothing else of any value, compared to it. It was true that as one watched life, in its curious crucible of pain and pleasure, one could not wear over one's face a mask of glass, or keep the sulphurous fumes from troubling the brain and making the imagination turbid with monstrous fancies and misshapen dreams … To note the curious hard logic of passion, and the emotional colored life of the intellect, – to observe where they met and where they separated, at what point they became one, and at what point they were at discord, – there was delight in that! (p. 30)

Here, more than Lord Henry's sinews of emotion and intellect, the competing supernatural-scientific relationships formed in *Lippincott's* seem to interweave, sometimes meeting, sometimes falling away. We begin by re-encountering the American edition's progressionist vision of science. Indeed, dismissing the older sciences and their 'ordinary subject matter' as now of 'no import', we are turned instead to what Auguste Comte, the nineteenth-century founder of modern sociology and positivism more generally, deemed 'the completion of the positive method', the scientific study of humanity.[22] However, we are allowed to land here only briefly before being whisked off in the opposite direction. For, it would appear, traditional scientific instruments and contraptions (such as that 'mask of glass', distantly anonymous objectivity) cannot be used by those exploring this most modern of scientific manifestations. As such, these instruments become powerless to keep out the miasmic fumes of the 'imagination' and the 'monstrous' – of 'the good steed Bayard' and 'King Periander' – still lurking beneath the scientific surface. Yet, despite their contrasts, the British and American editions of *Lippincott's* did appear to find a common affective response, a common pleasure, in the scientific-supernatural relationships that they portrayed: observing his necromantic cartographers, Lawson is overcome with reverential awe; announcing the advances of the scientific over the mythological, Oswald exudes self-congratulatory glee. Perhaps, therefore, the observational 'delight' taken by the now distinctly Frankenstinien Lord Henry – a dissector of the living ('vivisect[or]'), who snatches Dorian's body and awakens his soul – ultimately brings the British and American editions a little closer back together.

[22] Auguste Comte, 'Sociology', Harriet Martineau trans., pp. 532-5, *The Positive Philosophy of August Comte: Volume Two* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 532.

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We began this discussion of *Dorian Gray* with Wilde in the witness box at the Old Bailey watching lawyers spar over the significance, meaning, and status of *Lippincott's* for July of 1890. Yet this was, already, the second time that such a debate had taken place that day. In fact, that very morning, the court's attention had been drawn towards another magazine in which Wilde's writing had appeared. Known (rather gloriously, and appropriately) as *The Chameleon: 'A Bazaar of Dangerous and Smiling Chances'*, the periodical had been run by a group of Oxford undergraduates.[23] Some four months prior to Wilde's case, the students responsible for the publication had released their first, and as it would turn out last, issue – that for December of 1894. Upon being approached by *The Chameleon's* editor, John Bloxam, Wilde had provided the issue with a series of typically witty yet mildly subversive aphorisms entitled 'Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young' ('If one tells the truth one is sure sooner or later to be found out'; 'Wickedness is a myth invented by good people to account for the curious attractiveness of others'…).[24]

Wilde's contribution had itself been relatively innocuous. However, purportedly unbeknownst to Wilde, Bloxam had also provided his own, rather more scandalous, contribution to the magazine: a pederastic short story called 'The Priest and the Acolyte', in which the titular minister is found in a compromising situation with one of the boys who attends him at mass. When pressed by Lord Queensberry's counsel, Wilde repudiated the story as 'disgusting twaddle'.[25] 'Worse [than] immoral', the story was 'badly written'.[26] But for Queensberry's counsel this was not enough. Reading out a series of passages from the story, the barrister peppered Wilde with questions. 'Was that blasphemous?' 'Was it only from a literary point of view that you disapproved of this?' 'I don't see why you are pinning me down to a word', exclaimed Wilde with some exasperation, '[t]hey are not my

[23] The magazine's subtitle was taken from a description of London's streets after dark, found in a collection of short stories co-authored by Robert Louis Stevenson and his wife Fanny, known as *The Dynamiter*: Robert Louis Stevenson and Fanny Vandegrift Stevenson, 'Narrative of the Spirited Old Lady', pp. 69-93, *More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1885), p. 73.
[24] Oscar Wilde, 'Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young', pp. 1-4, *The Chameleon: 'A Bazaar of Dangerous and Smiling Chances'* 1.1 (December 1894).
[25] Holland ed., *The Real Trial*, p.72
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

words'. 'We have that perfectly clear, Mr Wilde', replied the counsel for Queensberry, before continuing.[27] 'Now, sir, I ask you this: what would anybody say would be the effect of 'Phases and Philosophies" like that appearing in conjunction with such an article as "The Priest and the Acolyte"?' 'It was undoubtedly that', replied a slightly flustered Wilde, 'the idea that that might be so taken that made me object so strongly to "The Priest and the Acolyte"'. Indeed, continued Wilde, 'I saw at once that maxims that were meant to be perfectly nonsensical, paradoxical, anything one likes … would be [read] as serious. That was what I was annoyed about'.[28]

Here, the interactional, fusing, hermeneutic of the magazine ('appearing in conjunction'), and its attendant logic of guilt by association, is at its most overt and its most extreme. Yet, as has been argued in this section, exactly the same brand of contextual manipulation occurs in the *Dorian Gray* issue of *Lippincott's*, with that issue's nationally localised pseudoscientific form and content. In fact, as if in response to the context in which Wilde's text appeared, a number of the first reviewers of *Dorian Gray* (most of whom reviewed the issue as a whole)[29] approached the novel as a kind of occult practice or pseudoscience that duty required them to debunk.[30] 'It is perhaps something of a coincidence', wrote one quietly threatening American reviewer, that 'the current number of *Lippincott's Magazine* [contains] contributions from Oscar Wilde and Edward Heron-Allen', two 'men of notoriety' known for employing language to conceal their hidden meaning (in Wilde's case, a meaning which 'under the statutes of many of our states, is … punishable by death').[31] If perhaps less shocking in message, certain British reviews appear more hysterical in tone: '"The Picture of Dorian Gray" which [Wilde] contributes to

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[29] See, for instance: 'Lippincott's Magazine', p. 508, *The Ladies' Treasury: A Household Magazine* (August 1 1890); 'Magazines for July', p. 6, *The Bath Chronicle* (10 July 1890); 'Recent Publications', p. 7, *The Lancaster Gazette* (12 July 1890); and 'To Lippincott's', p. 2, *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (14 July 1890).
[30] Conversely, one might note, one of the few positive reviews of the *Lippincott's Dorian Gray* appeared in *Light*, 'a journal of psychical, occult, and mystical research', which declared Wilde's novel to be concerned with matters 'of the highest spiritual import' which should 'be, not *believed* merely, but accepted as a literal fact' (reviewer's emphasis): review reproduced in Mason ed., *Art and Morality*, p. 157.
[31] E.J. Edwards, 'Oscar Wilde's Book', p. 4, *North American Review* (16 July 1890). Edward's review also appeared in at least four other American newspapers: *Bismark Daily Tribune* (17 July 1890); *The Atchinson Daily Globe* (22 July 1890); *Middleberry Register* (25 July 1890); and *The Wichita Daily Eagle* (29 July 1890). Cf. Bristow's claim 'I have found no evidence of outright hostility towards *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in the American press': Bristow ed., *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. l. For more on this review, see my forthcoming edited republication of 'Oscar Wilde's Book' in the Little-Known Documents section of the *PMLA* (accepted for publication 26 May 2016).

Lippincott's … is false art', cried *The Scots Observer*; 'everything in the book is a sham', exclaimed *The Daily Chronicle*.[32] It would seem the magazine-novel quickly became – much like its author – a preposterous spectacle to be dragged out of the shadows.

[32] 'Reviews and Magazines', p.181, *The Scots Observer* 4.85 (5 July 1890); 'Magazines', p. 7, *The Daily Chronicle* (30 June 1890).

Part Three

The Return of Sherlock Holmes

Order and Intimacy in *Collier's Weekly* and *The Strand Magazine*

‘The highest price ever offered to any author…’

Of the three authors discussed in this thesis, Arthur Conan Doyle is probably known the best for his immersion in periodical culture. Indeed, whereas for Twain and Wilde being featured in a periodical represented (to a certain degree) a kind of stepping-stone to book publication, for Doyle it was the magazine publication itself that was most important, particularly when it came to Sherlock Holmes.[1]

After having been rejected by a number of publishers, the first Holmes story, *A Study in Scarlet*, eventually appeared in the relatively minor ‘pulp’ periodical *Beeton’s Christmas Annual* for 1887.[2] The story received a slight reception, meeting – as Doyle admitted to Bram Stoker in an interview conducted twenty years later – ‘with no particular success’.[3] However, the author went on to note in a 1929 preface, as there was no system of international copyright in the 1880s, *A Study in Scarlet* (with its focus on Mormon Utah) was repeatedly pirated in America, allowing the story to there attract ‘some attention’.[4] As such, two years later, in 1889, ‘Mr Lippincott sent an ambassador [J.M. Stoddart] over [to England] to treat for a successor’.[5] While, as has previously been mentioned, both *The Sign of the Four* and *Dorian Gray* were commissioned during this same ambassadorial foray,

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[1] One offshoot of Doyle’s immersion in periodical culture was the author’s oft-indulged enthusiasm for writing letters to the press. On a few occasions, this enthusiasm led to Doyle publically associating himself with Twain and Wilde. Thus, in 1921, Doyle wrote to the editor of *The Evening Standard* to correct a reviewer’s misquotation of Twain, harrumphing one ‘should not tamper with the classics’ (the Twain quotation had been employed in a critique the reviewer had written of Doyle’s *The Wanderings of a Spiritualist*). Two years later, Doyle wrote to the editor of *The New York Times* to announce ‘the appearance of a [psychic] script which claims to be from Oscar Wilde’, and to ‘defy any man of real critical instinct to read that script and doubt that it emanates from Wilde’. ‘One may imitate a man’s features’, we are told, ‘one may forge his name, but it is impossible to sustain a deception in a prolonged communication from a great writer’: letters reproduced in Michael Gibson and Richard Lancelyn Green eds., *Letters to the Press: Arthur Conan Doyle* (Iowa City: Iowa University Press, 1986), pp. 293, 302-4.

[2] ‘Pulp’ is the somewhat patronizing descriptive employed by the editors of Doyle’s letters: Jon Lellenberg, Daniel Stashower, and Charles Foley eds., *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters* (London: HarperPress, 2007), p. 248.

[3] Bram Stoker, ‘Sir Arthur Conan Doyle Tells of His Career and Work’, p. 1, *New York World* (28 July 1907).

[4] It took until 1891 for foreign copyright to be legally recognised in the America: Seville, *The Internationalisation of Copyright Law*, p. 36.

[5] Preface reproduced in Richard Lanceyln Green ed., *The Uncollected Sherlock Holmes* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1983), pp. 274-5. It is also worth noting that *Beeton’s Christmas Annual* was published by Ward, Lock and Co., the publishers of the British edition of *Lippincott’s*. In fact, the editor of the British edition (the previously encountered Kernahan) later claimed that it was his wife who had ‘discovered’ *A Study in Scarlet* and that Doyle greatly admired his novel *A Dead Man’s Diary*, a supposed-fact that he ‘attribute[d]’ to ‘Doyle’s interest in Spiritualism’: Coulson Kernahan, ‘Personal Memories of Sherlock Holmes’, pp. 449-60, *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review* 159 (October 1934), pp. 449-50.

Doyle's contribution would eventually appear in *Lippincott's* for February of 1890, some five months before Wilde's (a chronology that highlights well the two authors' contrasting approaches to efficiency in matters of literary production).

While *The Sign of the Four* met with greater success than *A Study in Scarlet*, it was only when Doyle's stories began appearing in *The Strand Magazine* that Holmes really entered the public imagination. Owned by the slightly roguish entrepreneur George Newnes, the *Strand* grew out of one of Newnes' earlier penny weeklies known as *Tit-Bits* (see fig. 40).[6]

Fig. 40: The *Strand* superseding *Tit-Bits*
in the illuminated first word of the first article published in the *Strand* (1/1891, p.4).

At the beginning of this thesis, we saw how magazines began as 'treasure troves', gathering up material from the eighteenth century's many ephemeral newspapers; and, in this, *Tit-Bits* represented, at least initially, a kind of return to form (indeed, upon first appearing in 1881, the magazine's full title was *Tit-Bits From All the Most Interesting Books, Periodicals and Newspapers in the World*). When *Tit-Bits* spawned the *Strand* ten years later, Newnes again relied upon material (much of it written some fifty or sixty years earlier) that had already proved successful when published elsewhere, and the early issues of the magazine are notable for their contributions from what the magazine's 'Introduction' described as 'the

[6] Pound, *The Strand Magazine*, p. 21; Pound (the *Strand*'s editor during the 1940s) also tells of Newnes financing the launch of *Tit-Bits* by opening a short-lived Vegetarian restaurant in Manchester (the 'Vegetarian Company's Saloon'), exploiting thereby a dietary health-fad of the day: 'his brother-in-law … recalled that one day he went in there to look for Newnes, who was not in. He was lunching in a chop-house in another part of the city. "Everyone to his fancy", he remarked, eyes twinkling': Pound, *The Strand Magazine*, p. 19.

first foreign authors', among them Victor Hugo, Bret Harte, Alexander Dumas, Alexander Pushkin, Voltaire, and Honoré de Balzac.[7]

Increasingly, though, the *Strand* began publishing original material of its own; and, in the issue for July of 1891, the magazine featured the first Holmes short story, 'A Scandal in Bohemia'. Initially, Doyle had only planned to publish six Holmes stories in the *Strand*. However, initiating a pattern of refusal and acquiescence that would become increasingly familiar over the course of Doyle's Holmes career, the popularity of the stories led to the editors of the magazine making him monetary offers that he felt unable to refuse, and this first series would eventually include twelve stories published in the magazine across twelve consecutive issues ('*The Strand* are simply imploring me to continue Sherlock Holmes', Doyle wrote to his mother in October of 1891, 'The stories brought me on average £35 each, so I have written by this post to say that if they offer me £50 pounds each … I may be induced to reconsider my refusal').[8] Before this first series of Holmes stories (*The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*) was even finished, Doyle was telling family members that he dreamt of 'slaying Holmes' in the final story and thereby 'winding him up for good'.[9] Through a mixture of influence, familial and financial, Doyle was convinced not to end the life of his detective, and seven months after the final story in the *Adventures* series a second series of Holmes stories (*The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes*) began in the *Strand*. At the end of this series, however, in the issue for December of 1893, Doyle did at last slay Holmes, sending him over the Reichenbach Falls in the arms of Moriarty.

At times, during the following decade, Doyle was persuaded to write the occasional additional Holmes story, such as 'The Field Bazaar', produced in 1896, to raise funds for the building of a new sports pavilion at the University of Edinburgh ('"I should certainly do it", said Sherlock Holmes … "Do what?" I asked … "Help in the Edinburgh University

[7] 'Introduction', p. 3, *The Strand Magazine* 1.1 (January 1891). In the first half of 1891 alone, we find that the issue for January contains 'The Queen of Spades: From the Russian of Alexander Pushkin' (1833-4) and 'The Two Genies: From the French of Voltaire' (I have been unable to find a date for this story); that the issue for February contains 'The Pistol Shot: From the Russian of Alexander Pushkin' (1830-1) and 'A Passion in the Desert: From the French of Balzac' (1830); that the issue for March contains 'The Snowstorm: From the Russian of Alexander Pushkin' (1831); that the issue for May contains 'Jenny: From the French of Victor Hugo' (I have been unable to find a date for this story) and 'The Enchanted Whistle: From the French of Alexandre Dumas' (1840s); and that the issue for June contains 'Out of a Pioneer's Trunk', by Bret Harte (1891), and 'The Hermit: From the French of Voltaire' (being a chapter taken from Voltaire's 1747 novel *Zadig*).

[8] Letter reproduced in Lellenberg, Stashower, and Foley eds., *A Life in Letters*, p. 296.

[9] *Ibid.*, *A Life in Letters*, p. 300.

Bazaar"…').[10] In August of 1901, moreover, the *Strand* began serialising *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, set before Holmes's 'death'. However, it would take until 1903 for Doyle – partly inspired by the success of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and, before that, William Gillette's touring play *Sherlock Holmes* (1899) – to finally relent in the face of ever greater financial offers and effect a resurrection in the thirteen stories known as *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*.

The financial offer that succeeded in bending Doyle's will came from the publishers of the American journal *Collier's Weekly*. *Collier's* had been founded in 1888 as *Collier's Once a Week* by Peter Fenelon Collier, an Irish immigrant who had arrived in America as a seventeen year old in the mid-1860s.[11] Initially, the journal was sold in conjunction with the 'Once a Week Library' – a cheap railway series published by Collier's book division (in which a pirated edition of *The Sign of the Four* would appear a little more than a month after it was released in *Lippincott's*).[12] For much of its life, *Collier's* seems to have wavered between being a magazine on the one hand and a newspaper on the other: it published miscellaneous items such as poetry and fiction, but its page size (small-folio) was far larger than that of a conventional periodical (such as the *Strand*, published in the rather more intimate octavo format) and, between 1889 and 1895, it was even called *Once a Week: An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*. In 1895, the publication's name changed once again, this time to *Collier's Weekly: An Illustrated Journal*; and, in 1902, after having been run by journalists for much of the 1890s, the editor of *Collier's* became Norman Hapgood, a theatre critic and graduate of Harvard University.[13] In the years before Hapgood's arrival, notes Mott, 'Collier money was poured into the magazine'; and, late in 1903, the publication was able to declare 'to revive the famous detective Sherlock Holmes, *Collier's* [has] paid to Sir Conan Doyle the highest price ever offered to any author'.[14] And this was

[10] Reproduced in Lancelyn-Green ed., *The Uncollected Sherlock Holmes*, pp. 148-51.
[11] Much of this background to *Collier's* is drawn from Mott's entry on the publication: Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Volume IV*, pp. 453-79.
[12] Donald A. Redmond, *Sherlock Holmes Among the Pirates: Copyright and Conan Doyle (1890-1930)* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 13, 16-17.
[13] Hapgood had, however, also begun life as a journalist, and it was as a (to use his expression) 'cub reporter' in Chicago that the editor first encountered the author of Sherlock Holmes. Doyle spent much of 1894 touring America, and, Hapgood tells us, 'when Conan Doyle came to [Chicago] … I met his train [and] he invited me to his [hotel] room and answered questions through the transom while he took his bath': Hapgood, *The Changing Years*, p. 103.
[14] 'What a File of *Collier's* Means', p. 3, *Collier's Weekly* 32.10 (5 December 1903).

just for the American publications rights: for the right to publish the stories in Britain, the *Strand* is likely to have contributed an additional 6000 pounds.[15]

Apart from Chapter Seven, which is focused on illustrations, this thesis section is primarily devoted to comparing the magazine contexts – American and British, *Collier's* and the *Strand* – in which the *Return* stories appeared. However, before moving into that context, one might note that the text of the stories themselves varies between the two magazines. Some of these variations can be explained fairly easily, by turning to the personal and professional perspectives of the magazines' respective editors. Thus, whereas the atheistic editor of *Collier's* allowed Doyle's original religious exclamations ('By God!', 'as cunning as the devil'…) to stand,[16] George Newnes (who, as Green has noted, employed 'a strict policy' of suppressing 'expletives, in particular those referring to God or the devil') systematically toned down such expressions to 'By Heaven!' and 'as cunning as the Evil One'.[17] But most of the textual variations in Doyle's stories are a little harder to explain away in purely biographical terms.

While a fuller list of these textual variations is provided in table 1, one might here draw particular attention to the following particularly representative examples: in the fifth *Return* story ('The Adventure of the Priory School'), a farm labourer is described as both a 'peasant' and a 'frightened man' in the *Strand* but simply as a 'peasant' in *Collier's*;[18] in the eighth *Return* story ('The Adventure of the Six Napoleons'), an Italian criminal is humanised as a 'fellow' in the *Strand* and demonised as a 'rascal' in *Collier's*;[19] in the

[15] Lellenberg, Stashower and Foley record that Doyle was paid US$45,000 for the thirteen *Return* stories. They also cite a letter in which the author notes being able to 'get at least 3000 [pounds] more over here' for the rights to even six of the *Return* stories: Lellenberg, Stashower, and Foley eds., *A Life in Letters*, p. 510.

[16] On the first page of his autobiography's first chapter – 'Atheism in Our Town' – Hapgood announces 'in religion I have taken no interest', before continuing 'I believe that those who need religion can create it solidly in the world of Copernicus and Newton; of modern geology and physics': Haogood, *The Changing Years*, pp. 3-4.

[17] Richard Lancelyn Green ed., *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. xxxii-xxxiii.

[18] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Priory School', pp. 123-40, *The Strand Magazine* 27.158 (February 1904) p. 132; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Priory School', pp. 18-20, 25-7, *Collier's Weekly* 32.18 (30 January 1904), p. 20.

[19] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Six Napoleons', pp. 483-495, *The Strand Magazine* 27.161 (May 1904) p. 489; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Six Napoleons', pp. 14-15, 28-31, *Collier's Weekly* 33.5 (30 April 1904) p. 15.

Table 1: Textual Variations in the *Strand* and *Collier's*

Story Title	Synopsis	In *Collier's* Dated	In the *Strand* Dated	Main Textual Variations
1. The Adventure of the Empty House	Moriarty's henchman murders his card-partner; then tries to murder Holmes	26/09/03	10/03	Holmes used 'baritsu' to escape Moriarty in the *Strand* (p. 367), 'ju jitsu' in *Collier's* (p. 13); Holmes refers to previous stories as 'our little adventures' in *Strand* (p. 370) and 'your [i.e. Watson's] little fairy tales' in *Collier's* (p. p. 14); the captured henchman curses Holmes as a 'fiend' in the *Strand* (p. 372), a 'devil' in *Collier's* (p. 14) (competing terms used throughout series)
2. The Adventure of the Norwood Builder	A spurned lover attempts to frame the son of a woman who rejected him	31/10/03	11/03	*Strand*: 'with dramatic suddenness [Holmes] struck a match and by its light exposed a stain of blood upon the whitewashed wall.' (p. 492); *Collier's*: 'with dramatic suddenness [Holmes] struck a match, lighted a candle, and exposed a stain of blood upon the whitewashed wall' (p. 18).
3. The Adventure of the Dancing Men	A Chicago gangster attempts a reconciliation with his (now-married) former fiancée (Mrs Cubitt)	5/12/03	12/03	Mrs Cubitt repeatedly refers to her present husband as 'Hilton' in the *Strand* and (incorrectly) as 'John' in *Collier's*
4. The Adventure of the Solitary Cyclist	South African miscreant attempts to forcibly marry the daughter of a recently deceased man of wealth	26/12/03	01/04	'Heaven' used as a exclamation in *Strand*, 'God' used in *Collier's* (competing terms used throughout)
5. The Adventure of the Priory School	The illegitimate son of a Duke kidnaps his father's legitimate son	30/01/04	02/04	Holmes refers to 'the scene of the mystery' in the *Strand* (p. 127) and 'the scene of the crime' in *Collier's* (p.19); the 'peasant' Holmes calls for upon discovering a corpse termed a 'frightened man' in the *Strand* (p. 132), and merely a 'peasant' in *Collier's* (p. 20)
6. The Adventure of Black Peter	A sailor attempts to bribe a villainous former captain, who he eventually kills in self defence	27/02/04	03/04	The captain's corpse appears 'like a soul lost in torment' in the *Strand* (p. 246), 'like a damned soul in hell' in *Collier's* (p. 19); 'the darkest hour which proceeds the dawn' identified as 'half past two' in the *Strand* (p. 249) and 'three o'clock' in *Collier's* (p. 19)

Table 1 (cont.): Textual Variations in the *Strand* and *Collier's*

Story Title	Synopsis	In *Collier's* Dated	In the *Strand* Dated	Main Textual Variations
7. The Adventure of Charles Augustus Milverton	Holmes and Watson steal a compromising letter from a blackmailer	26/03/04	04/04	Holmes deems the blackmailer 'as cunning as the Evil One' (p. 374) in the *Strand* and 'as cunning as the devil' in *Collier's* (p. 13)
8. The Adventure of the Six Napoleons	Upon being released from prison, an Italian attempts to retrieve a pearl that he has stolen and hidden in a plaster bust of Napoleon	30/04/04	05/04	The Italian 'find[s] employment with More Hudson' in the *Strand* (p. 495), 'with one of them' in *Collier's* (p. 31)
9. The Adventure of the Three Students	Oxbridge scholarship paper viewed illicitly before examination	24/09/04	06/04	Oxbridge college servant refers to 'the many years that I have been here' in the *Strand* (p. 608), 'the fifteen years that I have been here' in *Collier's* (p. 15)
10. The Adventure of the Golden Pince-Nez	Aging Russian revolutionaries struggle over a past injustice	29/10/04	07/04	One of the revolutionaries described as having 'been dressed' in *Strand* (p. 13), as having 'dressed himself' in *Collier's* (p. 28)
11. The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter	A Cambridge rugby player conceals his marriage to a woman of humble origin with the help of an academic doctor friend	26/11/04	08/04	Academic referred to as 'the doctor' in the *Strand*, 'the Doctor' in *Collier's*. In the *Strand* but not *Collier's*, Holmes declares that the academic 'excites my curiosity', and Watson catches 'a glimpse' of the academic 'his shoulders bowed, his head sunk on his hands, the very image of distress. I could tell by my companion's graver face that he also had seen…' (p. 134)
12. The Adventure of the Abbey Grange	A man and woman conceal the killing of the woman's abusive husband	31/12/04	09/04	The woman's maid says 'I saw the men before ever they came into the house' in the *Strand* (p. 246), grammar corrected to 'I saw the men before they came into the house' in *Collier's* (p. 11); Holmes refers to the 'Sydenham train' in *Collier's* when he means the 'Chislehurst train' (p. 12)
13. The Adventure of the Second Stain	The wife of a Cabinet Minister steals an official document from her husband to appease a blackmailer	26/01/05	12/04	Lestrade speaks with (mock) 'dignity' in the *Strand* and bombastically reprimands his constable (on Holmes's orders) in the *Strand* (but not in *Collier's*) 'No doubt you thought that your breach of duty could never be discovered and yet a mere glance at that drugget was enough to convince me that someone had been admitted into the room' (p. 613)

eleventh *Return* story ('The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter'), a well-known man of medicine is repeatedly referred to as 'the doctor' in the *Strand* and exalted as 'the Doctor' in *Collier's*;[20] and, in the twelfth *Return* story ('The Adventure of the Abbey Grange'), a maid is allowed to idiosyncratically report that 'I saw the men before ever they came into the house' in the *Strand*, while, in *Collier's*, this becomes the more grammatically correct but rather less realistically characterful 'I saw the men before they came into the house'.[21]

Taken together, these textual variations hint at larger differences between the *Strand* and *Collier's* of the kind that will be discussed in the remainder of this section. Whereas the *Return* issues of the *Strand*, it will be argued, repeatedly bend Doyle's stories towards intimacy, the *Return* issues of *Collier's* repeatedly bend Doyle's stories towards order. In other words, I will suggest that whereas the *Strand* leans towards the idiosyncratic and the egalitarian, *Collier's* leans towards the controlled and the hierarchical. More specifically, it will be argued that the *Strand* exaggerates intimacy and *Collier's* exaggerates order when it comes to the diegetic illustrations found within Doyle's stories, when it comes to depictions of criminality, and when it comes to depictions of public figures.

[20] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter', pp. 123-35, *The Strand Magazine* 28.164 (August 1904), pp. 130 131 132 etc; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter', pp. 15, 18, 27-30, *Collier's Weekly* 34.9 (26 November 1904), pp. 28, 29.

[21] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Abbey Grange', pp. 243-56, *The Strand Magazine* 28.165 (September 1904), p. 246; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Abbey Grange', pp. 10-12, 23, 25-6, *Collier's Weekly* 34.14 (31 December 1904), p. 11. Hereafter all references to the *Return* issues of the *Strand* and *Collier's* made in text, unless otherwise noted.

7. Diegetic Illustrations

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, detective fiction was a notably *multi* form of media. Indeed, appended to much detective fiction of this period, one finds a wide array of what might be termed 'diegetic' illustrations: illustrations, that is, which do not simply depict fictional characters, but which purport to have actually been drawn by fictional characters.[1] Probably the first work of detective fiction to include a map – a practice that would go on to become seemingly (to use John Scagg's word) 'obligatory' for Agatha Christie and her Golden Age contemporaries[2] – was Emile Gaboriau's *Monsieur Lecoq* of 1868-9.[3] Here, Lecoq himself creates a sketch of the murder scene and its surrounds (much to the 'amazed' admiration of his Watson-like offsider) that the reader too gets to see.[4] Some ten years later, on the other side of the Atlantic, Anna Katharine Green published her first novel, the best-selling *The Leavenworth Case: A Lawyer's Story*, in which the reader is provided with not only diagrammatic house-plans but even supposed facsimiles of a bloodstained, partially shredded, handwritten note discovered by the detective.[5]

In the early 1890s, Doyle – who was clearly very aware of the genre in which he was operating (and of Gaboriau and Green in particular)[6] – seems to have experimented

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[1] In this chapter, the use of the term 'diegetic illustrations' builds upon the use of the term 'diegetic' as it is employed in screen studies (though screen studies itself redeployed the term from literary studies). In this field, the 'diegesis' is the imagined world that the text purports to represent. Thus, diegetic (as opposed to 'non-diegetic') film music is that music which the film's characters hear, create, and play. See also my forthcoming article, '"Look at This Map": Doyle's Use of Diegetic Illustrations in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*', *Clues* 35.1 (Spring 2017).

[2] John Scaggs, *Crime Fiction* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 51

[3] Andrea Goulet, 'Gaboriau's "Vague Terrain" and the Spatial Imaginary of the Roman Policier', pp. 47-63, *Formules: Revue des Créations Formelles* 14 (2010), p. 62.

[4] Emile Gaboriau, *Gaboriau's Sensational Novels: Lecoq the Detective (Volume 1)* (London: Vizetelly, 1881), pp. 33-4. Doyle, who taught himself 'the art of reading ... French books' by reading Jules Verne novels as a schoolboy, may also have read *Monsieur Lecoq* in its original language: see Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Memories and Adventures [Chapters I-III]', p. 323-36, *The Strand Magazine* 66.394 (October 1923), p. 328.

[5] Anna Katharine Green, *The Leavenworth Case: A Lawyers Story* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878), pp. 9, 234-5, 317. The note is a letter from the murder-suspect (Henry Clavering) to the story's titular victim, Horatio Leavenworth.

[6] Soon after he first introduces Sherlock Holmes, in the 1887 novella *A Study in Scarlet*, Doyle (in a playfully knowing moment of anxious influence) has his detective dismiss the protagonist of *Monsieur Lecoq* as 'a miserable bungler', and the novel itself as a book that 'made me positively ill': Arthur Conan Doyle, *A Study in Scarlet: A Novel* (New York and London: Street and Smith, 1887), p. 27; upon touring the United States in 1894, Doyle wrote to Green, telling her that her work was 'of course well known to me', adding 'I should

with appending similar illustrations to the Holmes stories; and, in the *Memoirs* of 1893, the reader is shown a house-plan and a torn handwritten note. Ten years later, the two magazines in which the *Return* stories appeared were more visual than ever: while *Collier's* established itself as 'a leading early exponent of the halftone news picture', the owners of the *Strand* finally realised their dream of including 'a picture on every page' in 1900.[7] As such, it seems fitting that, in this series of Holmes stories, Doyle takes his experimenting one step further, leading readers of the *Return* to encounter not just two but four diegetic illustrations: two maps, a hand-drawn cipher known as 'the dancing men', and a handwritten telegram note. Despite the fact that it was almost certainly Doyle himself who drew the diegetic illustrations used in both the *Strand* and *Collier's*,[8] subtle yet significant variations can be found between the illustrations that appeared in the two editions. In these variations, I will argue, one can already begin to see the *Strand* tending towards the intimate and *Collier's* tending toward the orderly.

The *Return*'s Hand-Drawn Telegram Note in the *Strand* and *Collier's*

In 'The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter', Holmes is asked to help the University of Cambridge locate a star athlete, the rugby player Godfrey Staunton. Upon hearing that Staunton sent a telegram on the night of his disappearance, Holmes searches the sportsman's room and discovers the blotting-pad on which Staunton's telegram was written. The pad bears an impression of the rugby player's message, and the detective tears 'a strip [off] the blotting-paper' before 'turn[ing] towards us the following hieroglyphic' (*Strand* p. 127; *Collier's* p. 18). Narrowly speaking, the 'us' to whom this line refers includes only Holmes's immediate fictional audience (Watson and Cyril Overton,

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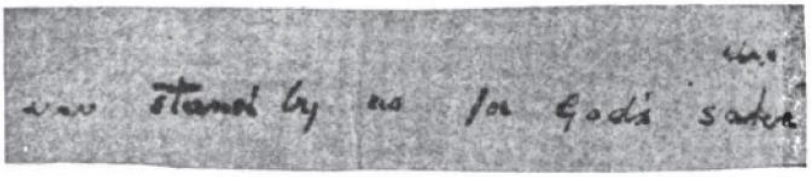
very much like to see you personally if we can arrange it': quoted in Paul Woolf, 'When Arthur Met Anna: Arthur Conan Doyle and Anna Katharine Green', pp. 177-90, *Symbiosis: A Journal of Anglo-American Literary Relations* 8.2 (October 2004), 179.

[7] Mott, *A History of American Magazines: Volume IV*, p. 454; Pound, *The Strand Magazine*, pp. 30, 67.

[8] I attribute these illustrations to Doyle for two reasons: for one thing, unlike the *Return*'s non-diegetic illustrations, these diegetic illustrations do not feature the signature of either Doyle's British illustrator (Sidney Paget) or his American (Fredrick Dorr-Steele); for another, despite the fact the Paget and Dorr-Steele worked entirely independently of one another, exactly the same number of diegetic illustrations, of exactly the same subject matter, appear in exactly the same position in both the *Strand* and *Collier's*, which seems more than a coincidence. Green has reached the same conclusion: see Green ed., *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, pp. 349, 362, 391, 397.

Staunton's rugby coach); more broadly, though, the reader too is included in this collective pronoun – for, thoughtfully, Watson provides us with a facsimile of this important visual clue. Curiously, however, what exactly one sees depends on whether one is reading the story in the *Strand* or in *Collier's*:



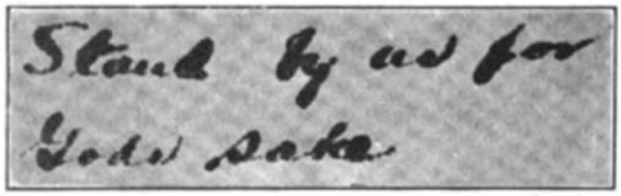


Fig. 41 (top): The strip of blotting paper in the August 1904 issue of the *Strand*, p. 127.
Fig. 42 (bottom): The same image in the issue of *Collier's* for the 26th of November 1904, p. 18.

To compare these two images is to notice certain small yet pointed differences. Perhaps most noticeably, the shape of the image given to readers of the *Strand* is far less regular than that given to readers of *Collier's*, who here see only perfectly straight sides and perfectly perpendicular corners. In this, the *Strand* remains most faithful to the text of Doyle's story, in which this piece of parchment is described as a 'tor[n] … strip' of blotting-paper. Indeed, while the *Strand*'s image seems to itself contain the haphazardly spontaneous action of Holmes's tearing, the rather more stylised, bordered, image used in *Collier's* seems intent instead on imposing yet more order on and distance from the worldly chaos from which this clue supposedly originates.

An equally significant difference relates to what is written *on* these pieces of paper. In the text of Doyle's story, Holmes tells us only that this scrap records the phrase 'stand by us for God's sake' (*ibid.)*. While this is also all that we get to see in the image given to us in *Collier's*, the *Strand*'s image reveals a little more of Doyle's world. The *Strand*'s two

additional words are it is true, fairly indecipherable (are they 'we' and 'now'?); yet the broader context of Doyle's stories and the British magazine in which they appeared (the *Strand* consistently invested great significance in handwriting)[9] ensures that these words are still able to further deepen the image's communicative power. For, time and time again in Doyle's stories, Holmes insists that one can – to use a phrase from *The Sign of the Four* quoted at the beginning of our discussion of Wilde – 'study character in handwriting';[10] and, even in the *Return*, Holmes becomes concerned when he receives a note written in a script that 'shows considerable agitation' (*S.* 9/1904 p. 244; *C.* 31/12/1904 p. 10). Given this theoretical context, that which is handwritten comes to contain two forms of value in the Sherlock Holmes stories: the *Strand*'s additional words might not tell us much more in terms of direct signification, but they can still work to further enhance the reader's general sense of intimacy with Doyle's fictional characters.

The *Return*'s Dancing Men Cipher in the *Strand* and *Collier's*

We again find the *Strand* tending towards the intimate and *Collier's* tending towards the orderly in the diegetic images that accompany 'The Adventure of the Dancing Men'. In this story, Hilton Cubitt (a self-described 'simple Norfolk squire') arrives at Baker Street seeking Holmes's advice: 'absurd little figures' have begun appearing on his property, strange stickmen 'dancing across' the surfaces upon which they have been drawn (*S.* pp. 604-5; *C.* p. 11). Holmes instructs Cubitt to return to Norfolk and to make 'exact cop[ies] of any fresh dancing men which may appear' (*S.* p. 606; *C.* p. 11). As Cubitt sends these copies through to Holmes, the reader is provided with reproductions of the squire's

[9] In the year before the magazine began publishing the *Return* stories, the *Strand* featured two articles on what it facetiously termed 'autograph fever' – first 'The Autograph Hunter', in November of 1902, by Harry Furniss (an illustrator at *Punch*), and then 'My Shakespeare Autograph Book' by 'one of the hunters', who boasts of having acquired 'specimens of the handwriting of upwards of four hundred living celebrities of almost all nationalities': Harry Furniss, 'The Autograph Hunters', pp. 542-47, *The Strand Magazine* 24.143 (November 1902), p. 542; George J. Beesley, 'My Shakespeare Autograph Book', pp. 291-9, *The Strand Magazine* 25.147 (March 1903), pp. 291-2. One might see, also, the prominence granted to the handwritten note which occupies half of the first page of Sarah Bernhardt's *Memoires* (discussed further in Chapter Nine).

[10] Doyle, 'The Sign of the Four', p. 31; such ideas were also indicative of the time in which Doyle wrote: as Tamara Thornton has noted, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, graphology – the "science" of reading handwriting for the writer's character-type and state of mind – enjoyed a certain amount of popular, and even professional, support: Tamara Thornton, 'Yourself as in a Mirror: Graphology in the Modern Age', pp. 108-41, *Handwriting in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1996).

reproductions. Once again, though, that which is shown to readers of the *Strand* is different from that which is shown to readers of *Collier's*. For in the *Strand*, the dancing men often appear less balanced than their counterparts in *Collier's* (see figs. 43-4); less complete than their counterparts in *Collier's* (compare the missing foot of fig. 45 to the able-bodied fig. 46, and the missing arm of fig. 53 to the two-armed fig. 54); less symmetrical than their counterparts in *Collier's* (compare the lopsided head of fig. 47 with the head of fig. 48); less hastily drawn than their counterparts in *Collier's* (see figs. 49 and 50); and less well-proportioned than their counterparts in *Collier's* (compare the elongated feet of fig. 51 with the feet of fig. 52). While, individually, such discrepancies might appear somewhat slight, collectively a pattern begins to emerge: overall, the intimate spontaneity of the dancing men found in the *Strand* veers away from the more classically correct images found in *Collier's*.

This impression is only strengthened by the two subtly distinct modes in which Holmes comes to make sense of the dancing men in the *Strand* and *Collier's*. As it turns out, the figures are simply a cipher used to convey encoded messages. Just as in Edgar Allan Poe's mid-nineteenth century short story 'The Gold-Bug' (a new-world influence made much of in a subsequent editorial in *Collier's*),[11] each of the dancing men pictograms represents a different letter of the alphabet. In both the *Strand* and *Collier's*, mistakes creep into this cipher. However, in the *Strand* these mistakes are more overt and Holmes is himself shown to be directly inconsistent. Thus, despite the Holmes of the British magazine announcing that the letter 'r' is represented by a figure without any arms assuming a crouch (p. 614) (see fig. 55), in most of the messages that we are shown – and even in a message supposedly written by Holmes in a display of analytical bravado – the letter 'r' is instead represented by a figure with both of its arms in the air and its left leg raised (pp. 604, 606, 608, 617) (see fig. 56).[12]

[11] [Norman Hapgood], 'Editorials', pp. 19-20, *Collier's Weekly* 32.15 (9 January 1904). In what is perhaps a nod to this American influence, Doyle's story eventually reveals that the dancing men cipher was invented by a criminal 'gang' based in Chicago (*Strand*, p. 616; *Collier's* p. 14). Upon commission, *Collier's* told Doyle 'they hoped … that some of the stories would have American settings or be of relevance to the USA': Green ed., *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, pp. xvii-xviii.

[12] In *Collier's*, Holmes declares 'r' to be this second pictogram, which is consistently used for 'r' throughout the story.

Examples of the Dancing Men in the *Strand* (12/1903) and *Collier's* (5/12/1903)

Fig. 43: A figure in the *Strand* p. 604.

Fig. 44: The same figure in *Collier's* p. 11.

Fig. 45: A figure in the *Strand* p. 606.

Fig. 46: The same figure in *Collier's* p. 12.

Fig. 47: A figure in the *Strand* p. 606.

Fig. 48: The same figure in *Collier's* p. 12.

Fig. 49: A figure in the *Strand* p. 608.

Fig. 50: The same figure in *Collier's* p. 12.

Fig. 51: A figure in the *Strand* p. 608.

Fig. 52: The same figure in *Collier's* p. 12.

Fig. 53: A figure in the *Strand* p. 617.

Fig. 54: The same figure in *Collier's* p. 14.

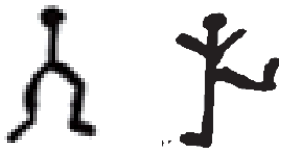
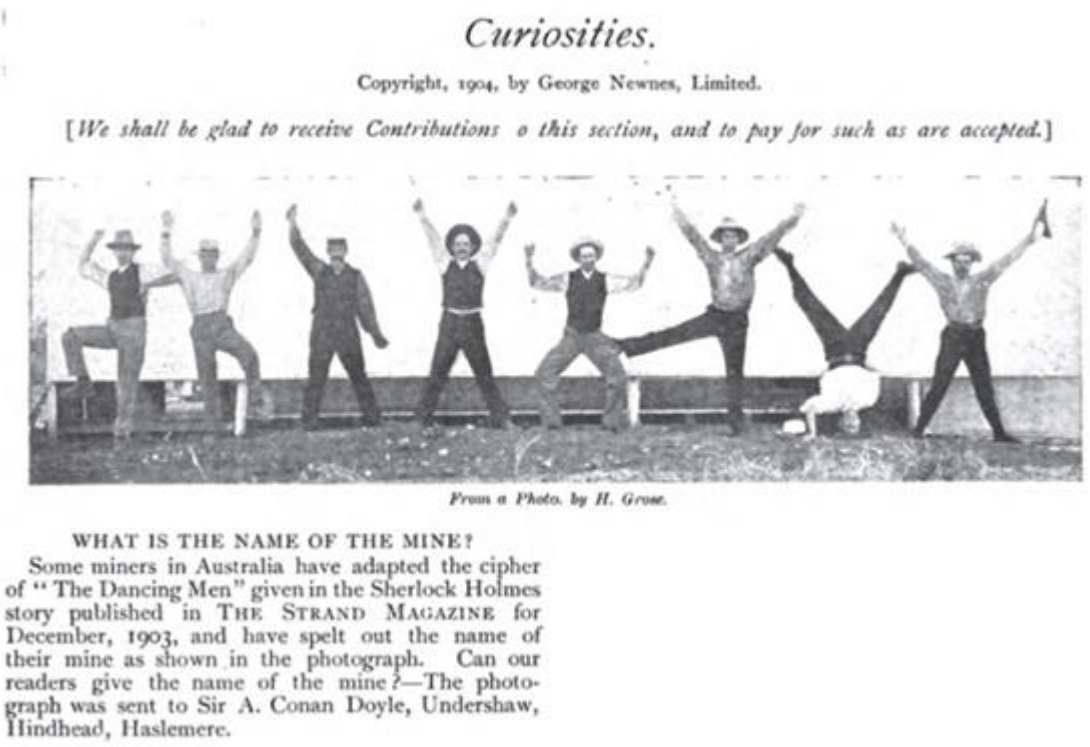


Fig. 55 (left): The pictogram that Holmes claims means 'r', used in the *Strand* pp. 607, 614.
Fig. 56 (right): The pictogram for 'r' in most messages seen in the *Strand*, pp. 604, 606, 608, 617.

Though presumably unintentional on Doyle's part, this inconsistency works to humanise the *Strand*'s Holmes a little further, transforming the detective – however momentarily – from a reasoning machine into an imperfect individual.

As such, is seems appropriate that, a few months after 'The Adventure of the Dancing Men' appeared in the *Strand*, the magazine printed part of a letter sent to Doyle by a group of the magazine's readers in the colonies (something which would itself have been impossible in *Collier's*, which, tellingly, did not print letters from its readers):



Curiosities.

Copyright, 1904, by George Newnes, Limited.

[*We shall be glad to receive Contributions o this section, and to pay for such as are accepted.*]

From a Photo. by H. Grose.

WHAT IS THE NAME OF THE MINE?

Some miners in Australia have adapted the cipher of "The Dancing Men" given in the Sherlock Holmes story published in THE STRAND MAGAZINE for December, 1903, and have spelt out the name of their mine as shown in the photograph. Can our readers give the name of the mine?—The photograph was sent to Sir A. Conan Doyle, Undershaw, Hindhead, Haslemere.

Fig. 57: 'What is the Name of the Mine?', in the August 1904 issue of the *Strand*, p. 236.

'Some miners in Australia have adapted the cipher of "The Dancing Men"', declares this subsequent issue of the *Strand*, 'and have spelt out the name of their mine as shown in the photograph. Can our readers give the name of the mine? – The photograph was sent to Sir A. Conan Doyle, Undershaw, Hindhead, Haslemere'.

Kate Jackson has argued that, in establishing a 'reading community', 'Newnes's magazines [worked] to maintain an interactive relationship with [their] readers';[13] and, by publishing this exemplary piece of photographic fan-mail (sent from the Lakeside mine, in Tasmania), the *Strand* actively promotes the personalisation of Doyle's stories. Indeed, the miners here introduce an additional layer of errata into Doyle's cipher that is all their own.[14] By reproducing and thereby legitimating these personalising errors, the *Strand* explicitly transforms Doyle's story into a kind of live, multi-authored, dialogue, licensing further the production of idiosyncratic disorderliness noted above. Australia might have undergone Federation (and thereby gained a greater sense of autonomy) three years before this photograph appeared, but, here, in the pages of the *Strand*, the Empire and the sense of community that it fostered live on.

The *Return*'s Maps in the *Strand* and *Collier's*

The two maps that accompany the *Return* stories similarly veer towards the intimate in the *Strand* and the orderly in *Collier's*. In 'The Adventure of the Golden Pince-Nez', a young policeman approaches Holmes with a case that he has been unable to solve. 'I must ask you first', he tells Holmes, 'to look at this rough plan [of the domestic murder-scene], which … will help you in following my investigation' (*S.* p. 6; *C.* p. 18). No objection being raised by the detective, the Inspector's 'rough chart' is 'unfolded' and 'laid … across Holmes's knee', Watson rising to study the diagram 'over [Holmes's] shoulder' (*ibid.).* As readers, we too get to study the diagram, if not over Holmes's shoulder then over Watson's. For,

[13] Kate Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880-1910* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001), p. 272.

[14] To have been entirely consistent with the cipher as created by Doyle, the fifth figure should have his right leg raised, and the penultimate figure should have his left rather than his right hand on the ground. The miners also introduce a new letter into Doyle's cipher-alphabet: the name of their mine requires the letter 'k', a letter not used in any of the examples provided in the story. As the description printed underneath the photograph in the *Strand* announces, this is an 'adaptat[ion]' of Doyle's cipher.

Watson notes, the young policeman's chart is 'here reproduce[d]', allowing the reader to share vicariously in the examination:

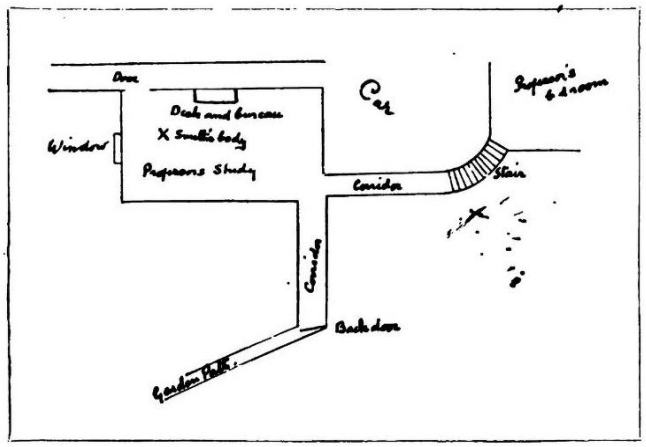


Fig. 58: The murder-victim's home in the July 1904 issue of the *Strand*, p. 6.

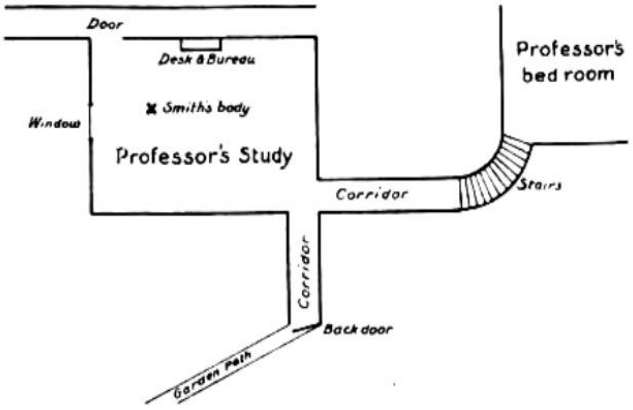


Fig. 59: The murder-victim's home in the issue of *Collier's* for the 29th of October 1904, p. 18.

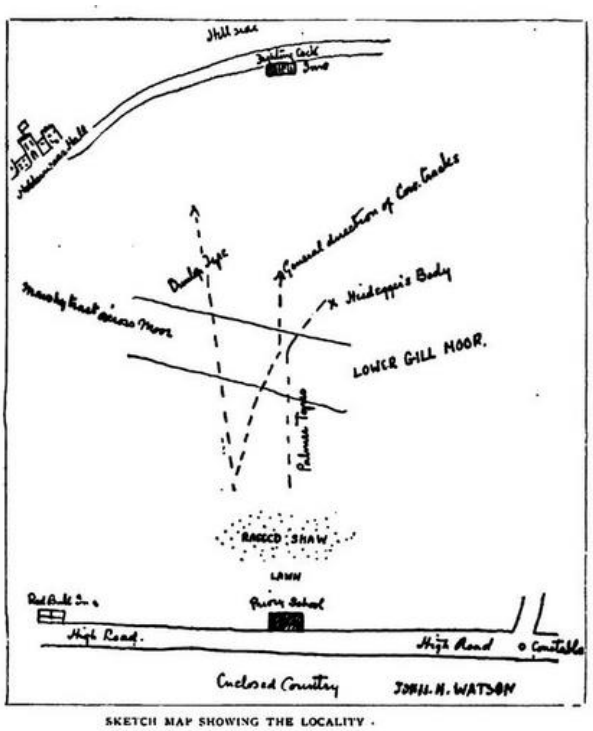
Once again, however, the reproduction that Watson has given *Collier's* appears to have been far neater than that which he gave the *Strand*. Indeed, despite the Inspector's original chart being twice described as 'rough' and once described as 'very rough' in the text of Doyle's story, the image given to Doyle's American readers is positively clear and orderly: the chart's annotations are now highly legible, and the characterfully idiosyncratic ink stains found by the staircase in the *Strand* have been tidily erased away.[15]

That *Collier's* tends towards the orderly and the *Strand* towards the intimate in their diegetic illustrations can also be seen in the second map to appear in the *Return* stories – that found in 'The Adventure of the Priory School'.[16] Here, shortly after arriving at the

[15] One might note, also, the addition of the annotation 'car' on the *Strand*'s chart, to the left of the room marked 'Professor's bedroom': a messily anachronistic insertion (no automobile is mentioned in the text of Doyle's story) symptomatic of the fact that the *Return* stories were set ten years before they were actually written. Thus, an article ('A School for Chauffeurs') that appeared in the September 1903 issue of the *Strand* alongside the first story in this series proclaims that 'a great change is coming over our vehicular traffic' and that 'motor-building and motor-driving' have become 'the newest of the great world industries' (p. 386). In 1902, Doyle had himself bought what he termed 'a beautiful motor car': see Doyle's letter to his mother reproduced in Lellenberg, Stashower, and Foley eds., *A Life in Letters*, p. 491.

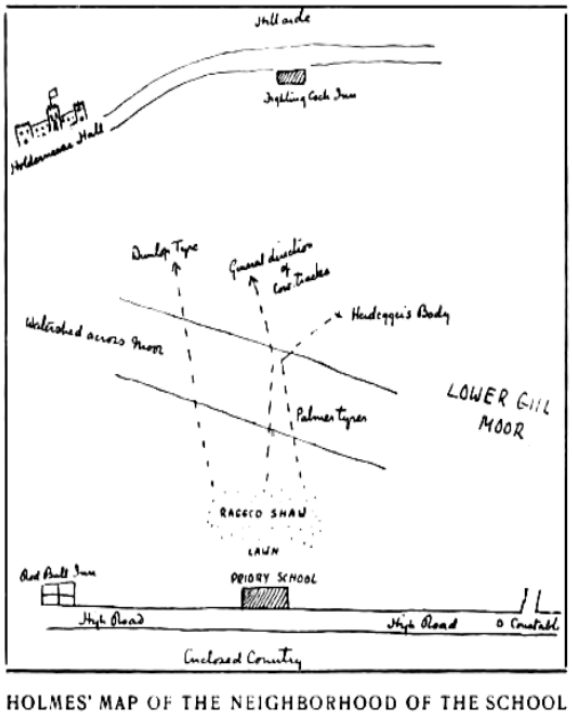
[16] For readers of the *Strand*, the sense of intimacy created in this story would have been enhanced further by the partial-origin of 'The Adventure of the Priory School': the case's central villain employs a method for concealing horse tracks that was almost certainly suggested to Doyle by a letter to the editor featured in the *Strand* a few months earlier (a letter written, in this instance, by 'Miss Alice E. Lewis' of 'Coombe Hill, near Cheltenham'): Alice E. Lewis, 'To Baffle Pursuit', p. 596, *The Strand Magazine* 25.149 (May 1903); as

scene of a disappearance, Holmes himself disappears, only to return with 'a large ordnance map of the neighbourhood' sometime 'after eleven' (*S.* p. 128; *C.* p. 19). 'Look at this map', Holmes instructs Watson and the reader, explaining '[i]n this early stage I want you to realise those geographical features which may have a good deal to do with our investigation' (*ibid.)*. In what follows, the reader is indeed able to 'look' at the map that Holmes talks through with Watson[17] – or, rather, the reader is able to look at a map that seems to somehow resemble the one being discussed in the story:



SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE LOCALITY.

Fig. 60: 'Sketch Map Showing the Locality', signed by Watson, in the February 1904 issue of the *Strand*, p. 130.



HOLMES' MAP OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE SCHOOL

Fig. 61: 'Holmes' Map of the Neighborhood of the School', in the January 30 1904 issue of *Collier's*, p. 19.

In comparing these two maps, one notices that (unlike the house-plans discussed above) neither is particularly neater than the other; instead, this time, the most significant difference between the two images has to do with where exactly the illustration that we are

Green has noted, Doyle drew inspiration from the *Strand*'s letters-to-the-editor 'Curiosities' page on a number of occasions: Green ed., *The Uncollected Sherlock Holmes*, pp. 53-4.

[17] Leaving aside the more particular impulses towards intimacy and order found in the *Strand* and *Collier's*, Doyle's use of diegetic illustrations can also be seen as part of what Susan M. Ryan has termed those 'paratextual practices of authentication' 'widely used' in the nineteenth century: Susan M. Ryan, 'Paratexts and the Making of Moral Authority', pp. 55-84, *The Moral Economics of American Authorship: Reputation, Scandal, and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Marketplace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 64.

given is meant to have come from. In the text of the three other *Return* stories that we have examined in this chapter, a strong connection is established between Doyle's subject matter and the diegetic illustrations that we are shown: this (these stories either explicitly state or strongly imply) is the telegram note that Holmes and Watson have discovered, these the stick figures that appeared on Cubitt's property, and this Hopkins' map. In 'The Adventure of the Priory School', on the other hand, no such explanation is given in the text of Doyle's story, meaning that the map that the reader sees simply appears. This makes the inclusion of Watson's name in the bottom right-hand-corner of the image that appears in the *Strand* (with all that this signifies of authorship) and the non-inclusion of Watson's name in the map found in *Collier's* all the more consequential. The inclusion of Watson's name in the *Strand* confirms that this really is a diegetic illustration immersed in the subjectivity of one of Doyle's fictional characters. By not including Watson's name in *Collier's*, on the other hand, the image seems to drift a little more towards becoming a non-diegetic depiction (of the ordnance map that Holmes has acquired) cut-off from disorderly psychology.

8. Presenting Criminality

> *Sherlock Holmes complains that sensational cases have disappeared from the London newspapers. 'From the point of view of the criminal expert', the detective [sighed], as related by Dr. Watson in 'The Adventure of the Norwood Builder', 'London has become a singularly uninteresting city since the death of the late lamented Professor Moriarty. ... With that man in the field, one's morning paper presented infinite possibilities'. Mr. Holmes admitted, however, as our readers well remember, that what was his misfortune was the community's advantage. His view of the facts is strikingly [substantiated] by the following statistics from an apparently trustworthy source: Within the metropolitan police district of London, which comprises 688 square miles and has a population of 6,500,000, there were committed in 1902 only twenty murders. In four cases the murderers committed suicide. In all the others, they were discovered and arrested by the police. Thirteen of them were tried by the courts in the same year, nine being hanged, and four adjudged insane. If Scotland Yard does as well as this, Mr. Lestrade must be showing improvement. We can hardly believe that the death of Moriarty is a sufficient explanation. The London police and the London judiciary together are such a remarkably effective protection to the British metropolis that the famous private detective is hardly needed, and ought to go to towns more harassed by crime. Take Chicago, for instance. There the murder, even of a policeman, attracts but mild attention, and in any large American city murderers go unpunished to an extent that must make our system of justice seem amateurish to London. We, therefore, very seriously suggest to Mr. Sherlock Holmes that, for a time, at least, he trust London to Lestrade, and see what he can do for his cousins across the sea.*
>
> – Editorial, Collier's Weekly (9 January 1904), p. 4.

'That crime is increasing in the United States', proclaimed C. J. St John at the 1904 Annual Meeting of the Tennessee Bar Association, 'there can be no question'. Indeed, as a percentage of the general population 'the criminal class', he assured his audience, had quadrupled between the middle of the nineteenth century and the century's end.[1] In turn of

[1] C. J. St John, 'Criminal Procedure – Delays and Remedies', pp. 133-48, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Bar Association of Tennessee (Held at Lookout Mountain, Tennessee, June 30 and July 1 and 2, 1904)*, p. 133; in contrasting America's criminal increase with London's gentrification, St John goes on to cite (p. 135) what appears to have also been *Collier's* source in the editorial quoted above (the 'Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the year 1902: Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty').

the century London, on the other hand, David Cannadine informs us, life was already 'much safer' than it had been just a few decades before: 'violent crime had diminished [and] most wrongdoing' – now largely 'confined to the working class' – operated 'on a small and petty scale'.[2]

It is perhaps this divergence in crime rates that explains the fact that, as will be argued in this chapter, the British and American publications of the *Return* themselves contain strikingly divergent depictions of crime fighting, criminals, and criminality. The *Strand*, printed in a city in which being a victim of crime was becoming increasingly less likely, seems to have felt able to move towards, psychologise, and to a degree sympathise with and even glorify criminality; *Collier's*, on the other hand, being printed in a nation in which crime seemed increasingly immediate and personally threatening, tends to try to distance itself from the specific criminal act and to instead objectify criminality as a broader national phenomenon. Indeed, just as in the above editorial, *Collier's* frequently employs the God's-eye-view perspective that comes with the use of irony and anonymising statistics. Thus, whereas the *Return* issues of the *Strand* usually approach crime with engaging sincerity, the *Return* issues of *Collier's* usually approach crime with distancing sarcasm. Similarly, whereas the *Return* issues of the *Strand* tend to zoom in on the individual criminal, the *Return* issues of *Collier's* tend to zoom out to view the criminal collective. Finally, whereas the *Return* issues of the *Strand* essentially personalise crime, the *Return* issues of *Collier's* essentially depersonalise crime.

The Engaging Sincerity of the *Strand*, the Distancing Sarcasm of *Collier's*

Whereas the *Return* issues of the *Strand* approach detection and criminality with a characteristic sincerity, the *Return* issues of *Collier's* approach detection and criminality with a characteristic irony. As with its discussions of most subjects, there is an engaging sentimentalism and even naivety to the *Strand*'s discussions of crime. We see this, for instance, in Anderson's April 1904 article on the Alphonse Bertillon system of criminal identification, 'Detectives at School'. Here, just as the very title of Anderson's article is endearingly infantilising, so too are the photographs that book-end Anderson's piece. At the top of the article we find a photographic illustration of 'Detectives Receiving a Lecture on the Method of Identification by Noses' (see fig. 62); at the bottom of the article we find a photographic illustration of 'Detectives Receiving a Lesson on Ears' (see fig. 63).

[2] David Cannadine, '"A Case of [Mistaken?] Identity": Conan Doyle, Sherlock Holmes and Fin de Siècle London', pp. 13-55, Werner ed., *Sherlock Holmes*, pp. 27-8, 35.

From a] DETECTIVES RECEIVING A LECTURE ON THE METHOD OF IDENTIFICATION BY NOSES. [Photo.

Fig. 62: 'Detectives receiving a lecture on the method of identification by noses' in the March 1904 issue of the *Strand* (p. 443).

From a] DETECTIVES RECEIVING A LESSON ON EARS. [Photo.

Fig. 63: 'Detectives receiving a lesson on ears' in the March 1904 issue of the *Strand* (p. 447).

Anderson begins his article by suggesting that 'pictures' – 'convey[ing]' as they do 'the same idea to every beholder' – are more 'scien[tific]' than traditional lingustic descritions of people and events (p. 443). In these photographic illustrations, however, it is not cold scientific objectivity that comes to the fore, but, rather, endearing subjectivism. For there is something both sublimely ridiculous and quaintly amateurish about these images of balding middle-aged men clustered behind their rows of desks and tables. Indeed, solmenly examining chalk drawings of outlandishly oversized ears and noses, the men in these illustrations appear a kind of visual Gogol minus the existential angst.[3]

A similarly endearing atmosphere of the absurd can be found in the text of the article itself. Here, Anderson relates some of the carryings-on of the detective school's end of year exam:

> We have the authority of our cleverest modern humourist for the statement that the burglar and the cut-throat like a little innocent amusement occasionally; what wonder, then, if the austere detective does also? His chiefs, therefore, thoughtfully turn these examinations into occasions of grave merrymaking by giving one or other of the examinees a descriptive portrait of some high functionary, perhaps of the Prefect of Police himself, should he be present. The fledgling is thus placed in a dilemma; he must either display his incompetence or do violence to all his notions of respect for the official hierarchy, and put a disrespectful hand on one of the few shoulders in the world that he has looked upon as sacred. The manner in which the luckless wight acquits himself of his invidious talk forms the theme of many a conversation in the 'highest detective circles' of the French capital for the next week or so. (p. 446)

Anderson ends his article by personally thanking 'M. Lepine, the Prefect of Police, and M. Bertillon for their extreme courtesy' in allowing the author to attend the police department's lessons (p. 447); and, in many ways, Anderson's article more broadly can be viewed as a kind of personalising behind-the-scenes pass which enables the reader to move beyond the official police façade of indifferent professionalism. This is particularly true of

[3] As part of the underlying *raison d'être* of this thesis – the reassertion of nineteenth-century literature as, fundamentally, periodical literature – one might note also that the Nikolai Gogol story referred to here ('The Nose') was itself first published in Alexander Pushkin's influential journal *The Contemporary*, in September of 1836: see Ann Shukman, 'Gogol's "The Nose" or the Devil in the Works', pp. 64-82, Jane Grayson and Faith Wigzell eds., *Nikolay Gogol: Text and Context* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 66.

the passage quoted above, in which both 'the burglar'/'cut-throat' and the state detective grow from being somewhat flat generic professionals into multifaceted, gossipy, human beings prone to enjoying the occasional 'innocent amusement'.[4] In the process, detection itself becomes a kind of game – a form of innocent amusement engaged in by caring ('thoughtful') individuals who relate to one another with informal affection ('fledgling[s]').

The *Return* issues of *Collier's*, on the other hand, tend to approach crime not with endearing sincerity but with alienating cynicism. This is particularly true of the second in Broughton Brandenburg's 'Our Imported Criminals' series, 'America: Europe's Felon Colony', in which – as its titles suggest – the transformative inversions of irony and sarcasm act as central rhetorical techniques.[5] Thus, in a kind of tonal pre-emption of America's inter-War hardboiled detective fiction, a gang of 'dangerous malcontents' from Syria become an 'exquisite lot' (p. 10), the malicious efforts of a Hungarian immigrant become 'commendable' (*ibid.*), and a patricidal Italian becomes 'a valuable addition to our body social' (p. 11).

As John Harman notes, irony and sarcasm signify the user's 'self-conscious alienation from the actual referential content of his or her message';[6] and, in here creating a conspicuous disjuncture between what he means and what he writes, Brandenburg works to distance himself from his subject matter. As becomes increasingly apparent towards the end of Brandenburg's piece, irony and sarcasm work to distance Brandenburg's reader from Brandenburg's subject matter too. In his article's final paragraphs, the author poses a hypothetical question that seems in equal parts despairing, sneering, and enraged:

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[4] The sociable insularity of this passage is also evident in its opening display of assumed knowledge which invites in the article's intended audience and keeps out the article's, unintended, latter-day audience: who, exactly, the twenty-first century reader may wonder, is this 'cleverest modern humourist'? As Johan R. Edelheim notes, 'assumed knowledge can feed a feeling of intimacy for people who can relate to the knowledge [i.e. Anderson's early twentieth century readers], but it can equally become a barrier [for] "outsiders"': Johan R. Edelheim, 'A Touristic Terra Nullius', pp. 47-71, Damien W. Riggs and Barbara Baird eds., *The Racial Politics of Bodies, Nations and Knowledges* (Newcastle, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), p. 68.

[5] 'Our Imported Criminals' appeared in *Collier's* as three instalments over four weeks, part one appearing in the issue for the 19th of November, part two in the issue for the 26th of November, and part three in the issue for the 2nd of December1904. Only the second part appeared in an issue of the magazine that also contained a *Return* story.

[6] John Harman, *Talk is Cheap: Sarcasm, Alienation, and the Evolution of Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 10.

> Should we supinely contemplate the ingress of millions of Italians, 45 per cent of whom can not read or write, good-hearted, industrious, generous, thrifty, optimistic children of a land *where 250,000 persons out of 38,000,000 are in prison?* (Brandenburg's emphasis, p. 24)

In the nineteenth century, argue Gilbert Boniface and Martine Monacelli, southern Europe was treated as a kind of orient of the western world – as a place 'less prosperous, less clean, less dynamic, less well-ordered, less educated, less free' than its Protestant counterpart.[7] While Brandenburg's paranoia is pan-European (elsewhere, he signals out immigrants from majority Protestant nations too), he here employs irony and the collective pronoun 'we' to exploit this ordered, clear-cut, Manichean mindset and to take his fear-mongering one step further. We, it is implied, are the ones who are actually 'industrious, generous, [and] thrifty'; they are merely lazy, selfish, and decadent.

In their depictions of crime, the *Return* stories themselves seem to hover between the irony of *Collier's* and the sincerity of the *Strand*. In large part, this is due to the fact that Holmes himself seems to hover between these two states. In Doyle's earlier short stories (and, in particular, the *Adventures*), the detective is forever split between decadence on the one hand and Victorian respectability on the other – a conflict both highlighted by and solidified in Watson's description, at the beginning of 'A Scandal in Bohemia', of Holmes 'alternating from week to week between cocaine and ambition, the drowsiness of the drug, and the fierce energy of his own keen nature'.[8] In the *Return* stories, however, Watson announces that he has 'gradually weaned [Holmes] from that drug mania which had threatened once to check his remarkable career' ('The Adventure of the Missing Three Quarter', *S.* p. 123; *C.* p. 15), and the detective seems to have lost his decadent side more or less entirely. Now, rather than being divided between bohemianism and respectability, Holmes is instead divided between emotional detachment and emotional intimacy. In his detached mode (i.e. when wearing what Watson calls 'that mask which he was wont to assume': 'Adventure of the Six Napoleons', *S.* p. 493; *C.* p. 29), Holmes relates to the world through distancing sarcasm and irony. Thus, in 'The Adventure of the Solitary

[7] Gilbert Bonifas and Martine Monacelli, 'Introduction', pp. xiii-xxv, Gilbert Bonifas and Martine Monacelli eds., *Southern Horrors: Northern Visions of the Mediterranean World* (Newcastle, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), p. xx.
[8] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'A Scandal in Bohemia', pp. 61-75, *The Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly* 2.7 (July 1891), p. 61.

Cyclist', Holmes describes the 'fine flow of language' and the 'vigorous … adjectives' employed by the story's central rogue (*S.* p.8; *C.* p. 17); in 'The Adventure of the Norwood Builder', 'I fancy that for some few years you will find your time very fully occupied', is Holmes's retort to a threat-making, soon-to-be-imprisoned, villain (*S.* p. 496; *C.* p. 31); and, in 'The Adventure of Black Peter', Watson notes how a recently outdone junior police detective 'winced at [Holmes's] ironical statements' (*S.* p. 246; *C.* p. 19).

Yet at other times this mask of cold reserve seems to momentarily slip-away to reveal something more sincere. Such a moment seems to occur in the dénouement of 'The Adventure of the Six Napoleons'.

> Holmes's movements were such as to rivet our attention. He began by taking a clean white cloth from a drawer and laying it over the table. Then he placed his newly acquired bust in the centre of the cloth. Finally, he picked up his hunting-crop and struck Napoleon a sharp blow on the top of the head. The figure broke into fragments, and Holmes bent eagerly over the shattered remains. Next instant, with a loud shout of triumph he held up one splinter, in which a round, dark object was fixed like a plum in a pudding. 'Gentlemen', he cried, 'let me introduce you to the famous black pearl of the Borgias'. Lestrade and I sat silent for a moment, and then, with a spontaneous impulse, we both broke out clapping, as at the well-wrought crisis of a play. A flush of colour sprang to Holmes's pale cheeks, and he bowed to us like the master dramatist who receives the homage of his audience. It was at such moments that for an instant he ceased to be a reasoning machine, and betrayed his human love for admiration and applause. The same singularly proud and reserved nature which turned away with disdain from popular notoriety was capable of being moved to its depths by spontaneous wonder and praise from a friend … 'Thank you!' said Holmes. 'Thank you!' and as he turned away, it seemed to me that he was more nearly moved by the softer human emotions than I had ever seen him. A moment later he was the cold and practical thinker once more. 'Put the pearl in the safe, Watson', said he, 'and get out the papers of the Conk-Singleton forgery case. Good-bye, Lestrade. If any little problem comes your way, I shall be happy, if I can, to give you a hint or two as to its solution'. (*S.* p. 495; *C.* p. 31)

There seem to be a number of ways in which to read Holmes in this passage. Most overtly, he here becomes a kind of celebrated 'master dramatist', performing his own one-man-play. At the same time, the scene – with its 'clean white cloth' and its 'sharp blow' – echoes

Watson's earlier description (in 'The Adventure of the Norwood Builder') of Holmes standing 'before us with the air of a conjurer who is performing a trick' (*S* p. 494, *C* p. 28). Shortly after that description, a bewildered Inspector Lestrade asks Holmes to explain how he solved the case in the 'manner [of] a child asking questions of its teacher' (*ibid*.), while, in 'The Adventure of Black Peter', another humbled inspector (Holmes's newly introduced protégé Inspector Hopkins) declares that he 'understand[s] now, what I should never have forgotten, that I am the pupil and you are the master' (*S.* p. 353; *C.* p. 23). For another way in which to read Holmes 'the master' in 'The Adventure of the Six Napoleons' passage reproduced above, is as a Bertillon-like 'master' or instructor of police, thoughtfully providing his fledglings with 'a little innocent amusement' and turning their 'examinations into occasions of grave merrymaking'. Yet the moment of intimacy both revealed and produced by such acts is, we are repeatedly reminded, just that – 'a moment', 'an instant', of divergence before the 'cold … thinker['s]' ironic brand of mock-modesty ('I shall be happy, if I can, to give you a hint or two') returns.

The Tendency of the *Strand* to Zoom In on Criminals and of *Collier's* to Zoom Out

Whereas the *Return* issues of the *Strand* narrow in to view the criminal individual, the *Return* issues of *Collier's* pan out to view the criminal collective. The *Strand*'s individualising focus is, for instance, noticeable in the opening lines of the June 1904 story 'In the Dark'. Appearing alongside Doyle's 'The Adventure of the Three Students', Charles Foley's piece begins (*in medias res*):

> Only one adventure of that kind has ever happened to me, I said, when my friends had finished telling their stories of robbers and thieves. The scene of action was the most commonplace possible, and it was merely a case of ordinary vulgar theft, but the circumstances in all their details connected with it make it distinctly interesting. (p. 637)

Here, the movement from a devalued generalised multiplicity to a privileged specific singularity takes place on (perhaps somewhat paradoxically) a number of levels. We have the movement from the narrator's unseen 'friends' and their unheard 'stories' to the narrator's 'I' and his 'only one adventure'; we have the movement from the 'vulgar[ity]' of

the ‘ordinary’ and the ‘commonplace’ to the ‘distinct[ion]’ of the ‘interesting[ly]’ ‘detail[ed]’; and, finally, we have the movement from ‘robbers and thieves’ to, as the story will subsequently reveal, the individual robber/thief.

A possible sociological context for this singling out of the individual criminal becomes apparent in Anderson’s previously discussed article in the *Strand* on the Bertillon method. At the heart of this article lies a very modern anxiety about the amorphous urban collective. [9] Everybody, it would seem, now looks alike. Indeed, even that most fundamental of intimate collectives – the nuclear family – appears to be breaking apart. For, Anderson tells us, ‘innumerable’ examples exist of family members mistakenly identifying strangers’ corpses as that of their own missing brother, husband, or son (p. 444). In fact, Anderson claims, ‘so persuaded have women often been of the accuracy of their own judgement that there have been cases in which they have at first indignantly repudiated the husband or son who subsequently reappears on the scene in the flesh and blood and seeks to prove that he is not dead after all’ (p. 445).

Yet even the idiosyncratic blind self-assurance of the anti-empirical female mind can be restored to normality by the Bertillon method. For, Anderson declares, if these unfortunate women had only ‘been M. Bertillon’s pupils for an hour’ such mistakes could never ‘by any possibility’ have occurred (pp. 444-5). As the author explains earlier on in his piece, once acquainted with Bertillon’s system ‘anybody of normal intelligence’ is able ‘to unerringly pick out [a] person … from a crowd’ (p. 443):

> The variety of nature is infinite; she never repeats herself. No two leaves are ever precisely alike, much less two human beings. A superficial observer may fancy that two individuals resemble each other in a remarkable manner. Let him examine them more attentively; he will find that they differ radically in almost every detail. The farther he carries his examination the more numerous and the more conspicuous will the differences appear, until at last he may almost experience a difficulty in discovering any trace of the resemblance that before seemed so striking. This is a *résumé* of some of the principal axioms at the base of M. Bertillon’s teaching. (*ibid.*)

[9] See, for instance, Richard J. Walker’s discussion of late nineteenth century, post-Wordsworthian, anxieties surrounding ‘the effects and symptoms of modernity’ and the ways in which ‘the metropolis seems to level out individualism and [to] induce conformity’: Richard J. Walker, *Labyrinths of Deceit: Culture, Modernity and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), p. 76.

In the late nineteenth century, notes Deborah Parsons, crowd theorists tended to construct highly gendered relationships between themselves and the objects of their study. While the crowd was made to quietly assume supposedly feminine characteristics such as 'irrational[ity], excitab[ility], and childish[ness]', the theorist became the self-anointed 'detached, rational bourgeois male'. [10] In the above-quoted passage, Anderson both maintains and adapts this disciplinary approach. Thus, while the passage's hypothetical 'examin[er]' is repeatedly identified as masculine, the crowd is – through its association with 'nature' – introduced as feminine. Through this association of the crowd and nature, Anderson appropriates the conventional approach of crowd theory to his own ends: the individualising feminine caprice of nature ('she never repeats herself') here allows the crowd to be broken up into its constituent parts. As such, by re-naturalising the modern metropolitan human being, Anderson re-individualises the modern metropolitan human being. Even when collected together in great numbers, it would now seem, a group of humans will never contain two individuals who are 'precisely alike'; one need merely be 'more attentive' to 'detail' and look closer to confirm that the criminal and the respectable citizen (for instance) do indeed 'differ radically'.[11]

The *Return* issues of *Collier's*, on the other hand, seem inclined to pull back and order (rather than re-individualise) the potentially criminal crowd. Thus, in the magazine's editorial for the 31st of December 1904, criminality is presented as a national ailment whose remedy lies in a broad alteration of public policy. Congress, the editorial declares, should 'facilitate [the] distribution' rather than 'congestion' of new immigrants, and thereby 'protect the country' from the impending national 'deterioration' that would ensue if the unmanaged arrival of criminal 'aliens' were permitted to continue (p. 7). In many ways, this editorial with its pseudo-medical approach to crime is simply an abridged reiteration of Brandenburg's above-discussed 'America: Europe's Felon Colony'. Here, too, criminality becomes a kind of infectious force of nature. 'What was two years ago termed "a wave of

[10] Deborah L. Parsons, 'The Woman of the Crowd', pp. 43-81, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 45.
[11] One might compare this to Britain's interwar Golden Age detective fiction in which, as Stephen Knight notes, anxiety surrounds 'the threats' that the high bourgeois society being depicted 'nervously anticipates within its own membership': Stephen Knight, 'The Golden Age', pp. 77-94, Martin Priestman ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 82.

alien crime" has', we are told, 'swelled to an appalling tide … the incoming millions of Europe threaten to give a new and deplorable color to our public morals' (p. 10). This panoramic, God's-eye view, approach to crime becomes even more schematic a little later on in Brandenburg's piece. A 'brief review', we are told,

> of the cities of the country which are the centers of alien settlement shows the several nationalities of criminals that are giving them trouble to be as follows, named in the order of importance and in proportion to population – New York: Italians, Germans, Turks and Greeks, Poles, Hungarians, Jews. Chicago: Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks, Syrians, Turks, Germans. Boston: Italians, Syrians, Turks and Greeks, Poles. Philadelphia: Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Swedes. Pittsburg: Italians, Poles, Hungarians. Buffalo: Poles, Italians, Swedes. St. Louis: Austro-Hungarians, Germans, Italians, Poles, Greeks. Cincinnati: Germans, Italians, Greeks, Poles. San Francisco: Chinese. Minneapolis: Swedes, Germans, Poles. (p. 25)

Near the beginning of his article, Brandenburg declares that 'it requires but a few statistics to convince any logical mind', and, in the above-quoted passage, we find a similar reliance upon the authority of the big-picture statistical and the quasi-scientific ('named in order of importance and in proportion to population'). Through this nationalising taxonomy of immigrant malfeasance, the chaos of criminality is both ordered and abstracted. In the process, untidy specificities are systematically swept away to leave only a kind of perfectly contained national anthropology of crime.

In the *Return* stories, Doyle manages to present the criminal both as an individual and as a symptom of something larger. These competing visions begin to merge during the very first story in Doyle's series, 'The Adventure of the Empty House'. The story opens with Watson still struggling to solve crimes in Holmes's absence – in this instance, to discover the man responsible for the murder of 'the Honourable Ronald Adair … second son of the Earl of Maynooth … Governor of one of the Australian Colonies' (*S.* p. 363; *C.* p. 12). Upon making unsurprisingly 'little progress' in the case on his own, Watson travels over to the scene of the crime, where he encounters a 'group of loafers upon the pavement':

> A tall, thin man with coloured glasses, whom I strongly suspected of being a plain-clothes detective, was pointing out some theory of his own, while the others crowded round to listen to what he said. I got as near him as I could, but his observations seemed to me to be absurd, so I withdrew again in some disgust. As I did so I struck against an elderly deformed man, who had been behind me, and I knocked down several books which he was carrying. I remember that as I picked them up I observed the title of one of them, 'The Origin of Tree Worship', and it struck me that the fellow must be some poor bibliophile who, either as a trade or as a hobby, was a collector of obscure volumes. (*S.* pp. 364-5; *C.* p. 12)

Here, we find the same investment in order that we do in *Collier's*. Indeed, to encounter even the seemingly 'absurd' warrants, it would seem, visceral 'disgust'. At the same time, though, the passage, with its play of crowd and individual, identity and disguise, can be read as a kind of reconfiguration of Anderson's article in the *Strand*. Once again, it would seem, the move from the crowd to the individual involves anonymous modernity's underlying arboreal saviour; for, it soon transpires, just as the tall thin plain clothes detective is not who he seems, neither is the scholarly tree worshipper, a disguise later flung-aside to reveal the long-awaited Holmes.

As 'The Adventure of the Empty House' comes to a close, we find a second passage that develops this curious dialogue somewhat further. Post-dénouement, Watson is 'astonished' to discover in Holmes's 'index of biographies' that the story's villain – Colonel Sebastian Moran, 'once of Her Majesty's Indian Army' and now the 'most dangerous criminal in London' – has had the 'career … of an honourable soldier' (*S.* pp. 370, 375; *C.* pp. 14, 16). In response, Holmes explains that

> '... There are some trees, Watson, which grow to a certain height and then suddenly develop some unsightly eccentricity. You will see it often in humans. I have a theory that the individual represents in his development the whole procession of his ancestors, and that such a sudden turn to good or evil stands for some strong influence which came into the line of his pedigree. The person becomes, as it were, the epitome of the history of his own family'. (*S.* p. 375; *C.* p. 16)

Here, the same brand of quasi-science ('I have a theory') found in *Collier's* can again be seen zooming out to view the individual criminal as simply a small part of something larger. Yet, in this instance, it seems worth noting, that something larger is not race but 'pedigree'. As such, it seems appropriate that the *Strand's* arboreal metaphor is also slightly altered in this passage: rather than being a unique leaf on society's tree of unique leaves, each individual now constitutes a family tree of their own.

The *Strand* Personalising Criminals, *Collier's* Depersonalising Criminals

Whereas the *Return* issues of the *Strand* tend to personalise criminals, the *Return* issues of *Collier's* typically depersonalise criminals. As the final *Return* stories began appearing in the *Strand*, the first instalments in a new series of short stories by Doyle's brother in law, E. W. Hornung, started appearing alongside them. The 'Stingaree Stories', as this series was known, centred upon an eponymous 'fancy bushranger', a 'dandy outlaw', (p. 301) in colonial New South Wales. With his aristocratic ancestry and his refined taste in music, Stingaree is, as Knight has observed, a 'gentleman as well as a thief' who 'casts doubt on [the] conventional responses to both [of these] figures'.[12] Indeed, we are told, there is 'a subtle kindness' in this 'desperado's cruelty' (p. 303). The psychological ambivalence inherent to such a personality becomes particularly apparent in the second Stingaree short story, 'A Bushranger at Bay'.[13] Having raided a mail coach for the latest issue of *Punch*, Stingaree is approached by an Englishman who offers to help him evade apprehension if he will return that which he has just stolen. As a result, the Englishman (and, thus, the reader) is able to 'study the play of suppressed mortification and strenuous philosophy' in the obviously highly conflicted Stingaree's 'swarthy face', and to 'admire' the subsequent

[12] Stephen Knight, 'Hornung, Ernest William (1866-1921)', pp. 369-70 Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle eds., *The Australian Dictionary of Biography: Volume 9 (1891-1939, Gil-Las*) (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983), p. 370; Stingaree had first appeared in Hornung's 1896 novel *Irralie's Bushranger: A Story of Australian Adventure*, and therefore initially briefly functioned as a kind of ur-Raffles in the colonies (Raffles first appeared in 1898, in the *Cassell's Magazine* story 'The Ides of March').

[13] The eight 'Stingaree Stories' appeared in the *Strand* between September of 1904 and April of 1905. It should be noted that, due to the somewhat haphazard nature of the *Return*'s publication in the *Strand*, while two of the Stingaree stories appeared in *Return* issues of the *Strand* 'A Bushranger at Bay' appeared in an issue of the *Strand* which did not contain any of Doyle's stories. The second last *Return* story, however, had appeared in the previous issue, while the final *Return* story would appear two months later.

'arduous triumph of judgement over instinct'[14] that has clearly just occurred within the outlaw's mind (9/1904, p. 369).

The criminal mind becomes even more of a psychological battleground in W. W. Jacobs' December 1904 comic *Strand* story 'The Temptation of Samuel Burge'. Burge, we are told, is a 'converted burglar' who wishes to test his new-found resolve by spending the night in a jewellery store (p. 627). 'Put me in the way o' temptation', Burge declares, 'let me 'ave a good old up and down with the Powers o' Darkness and see who wins' (*ibid.*). As the night progresses, the increasingly anxious owner of the jewellery store nervously listens through his bedroom wall to the sounds of Burge 'engaged in a terrific combat with his conscience':

> 'I tell you I won't', said the voice in the next room, with a groan; '*I won't*. Yes, I know it's a fortune as well as what you do; but it ain't *mine*'. The listener caught his breath painfully. 'Diamond rings', continued … Burge, in a suffocating voice. 'Stop it, I tell you. No, I won't just go and look at 'em'. (p. 629)

Late nineteenth-century Britain, notes Roger Luckhurst, was particularly fascinated with new psychological theories and case studies testifying to 'the strange ability of the human mind to split and fragment';[15] and, in the above quoted passage from the turn of the twentieth century, this psychological fascination is carried one step further. Now, through a kind of stream of divided consciousness, we are shown the inner workings of a conflicted Jekyll-and-Hyde type personality capable of encompassing both Christ the tempted and Satan the tempter.

In the *Return* issues of *Collier's*, on the other hand, criminals tend to be depersonalised and to therefore possess very little psychology. To an extent, this is simply a symptom of the approach taken by *Collier's* to characterisation more generally. Indeed, in the very first *Return* issue, the magazine's editorial proudly announces that 'the short stories that we have gathered for publication during the coming year … are not in the main introspective or concerned with problems' (p. 3); instead, we are told, these 'are stories of

[14] Stingaree does, ultimately, surrender his epistolary plunder.
[15] Roger Luckhurst, 'Introduction', pp. vii-xxxii, *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (Oxford: Oxford's World Classics, 2006), p. xvii.

life, action, love, success – stories of the kind that make us feel younger and keener for the reading of them' (*ibid.*). As such, one of the most prominent features of the *Return* issues of *Collier's* is a serial called 'The Borderland', a kind of imperial boy's own adventure in which we follow (significantly, not the li*ves* but) 'the life of those pioneers who, under [Roger] Clarke's leadership, captured from the British and savages that great territory which now comprises the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois' (26/12/1903, p. 23).[16] Yet, even in this context of psychological simplification, the criminals depicted by *Collier's* seem particularly lacking when it comes to depth and interiority. This can perhaps be seen most blatantly in the magazine's advertisements. Thus, in the issue for the 26th of March 1904, we find the following notice for 'Harrington & Richardson Arms Co'., of Massachusetts:

Fig. 64: 'Call the burglar's bluff', an advertisement in the March 26 1904 issue of *Collier's*, p. 18.

[16] Written by Winston Churchill (no relation of the British statesman, who had himself written an adventure novel – *Savrola* – for *MacMillan's Magazine* in 1899), 'The Borderland' was serialised across four issues of *Collier's* between the 5th of December 1903 and the 27th of February 1904. Each of these issues also happened to feature a *Return* story.

Here, while the appropriately wakeful vigilante ('vigilant', fr. 'vigilare': 'to keep awake')[17] who serves as the reader's avatar – 'call the burglar's bluff' – is hardly Shakespearean, he is at least imbued with a certain degree of realistically idiosyncratic individualism (having been in bed, his hair, for instance, appears slightly tousled). The burglar, on the other hand, is twice anonymised, being both confined to the shadows and concealed by a mask. The criminal, it would seem, is literally just a means by which to shine a light on the brilliant upholder of the law.

This advertisement is strangely foreshadowed by an image found on the previous page of *Collier's*: an illustration in the third instalment of Hildegard Brooks's novella, *The Daughters of Desperation*.[18] In one of the subplots of Brooks's tale, Powell and the 'professional burglar' Gardiner are hired to break into a safe (p. 16). However, we hear indirectly in this instalment, the men were unsuccessful – having stepped on the paw of the dog that accompanied them on their enterprise, Powell and Gardiner lost their nerve and 'ran away', a comic point underlined by the inclusion of Charlotte Harding's accompanying illustration:

Fig. 65: 'Powell and Gardiner ran away', an illustration in the March 26 1904 issue of *Collier's*, p. 17.

[17] 'Vigilant', *Oxford Dictionary of English*.
[18] *The Daughters of Desperation* was serialised in five consecutive issues of *Collier's* between the 12th of March 1904 and the 9th of April 1904. Only the third instalment appeared in an issue of the magazine that also featured a *Return* story.

There seem to be two manners in which to read this image. The first is to note that Powell and Gardiner here form a kind of highly ordered tessellation. Indeed, positioning the two figures in identical poses can be interpreted as a suggestion of the criminal's systematizable interchangeability. Yet one can also read this image as a kind of proto-futurist depiction of movement and metamorphosis. In this reading, Powell, still an amateur thief, is shown evolving into the even more extreme anonymity of Gardiner, the masked professional, Powells' hand having already evolved into a pseudo-gun. Either way, however, this depiction of straightforward cowardice works to depersonalise the criminal – running away from their own lantern, Powell and Gardiner appear to flee depiction, exiting stage right.

Criminals tend to be both personalised and depersonalised in Doyle's *Return* stories. Famously a little dismissive of his own detective fiction, Doyle argued that the genre could only ever sustain limited characterisation. Indeed, in a preface written to a new edition of the *Adventures* published in America in 1902, the author conceded that 'the secret of the thinness and also of the intensity of the detective story, is that the writer is left with only one quality, that of intellectual acuteness … The problem and its solution must form the theme, and the character drawing [must] be limited and subordinate'.[19] Yet, while the characters found in the *Return* series often are rather flat, Doyle also shows himself capable of creating moments of more complex psychology. Of this, the *Return* story – 'The Adventure of Charles Augustus Milverton' – that appeared in *Collier's* alongside the advertisement and illustration discussed above is a case in point.[20] Here, just as in the advertisement and illustration, we find thieves concealed by masks; in Doyle's story, however, these masked thieves are Holmes and Watson.

Having been hired by a wealthy noblewoman to deal with Milverton the blackmailer, the detective and his amanuensis 'become felons in the eyes of the law' by donning 'black silk face-coverings' – which, Watson declares, 'turned us into two of the most truculent figures in London' – and covertly retrieving the compromising material from Milverton's home (*S.* pp. 377-8; *C.* p. 14). Though proclaiming Hornung one of the finest short-story writers in the English language, Doyle was also a little wary of his brother-in-

[19] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Preface to the Author's Edition of Sherlock Holmes Stories', pp. v-viii, *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1902), p. vi.
[20] In fact, after beginning 'The Adventure of Charles Augustus Milverton' on pages 13-15 of *Collier's*, readers must pass through the above-discussed advertisement and illustration if they wish to reach the story's conclusion on page 19.

law's best known creation: 'you must not make the criminal a hero', reflects the author in his autobiography whilst discussing the Raffles stories and their 'dangerous … suggestion'.[21] Yet what of making the hero a criminal? (Indeed, in preparing for the break-in, Doyle even has Holmes 'confess' that 'I have always had an idea that I would have made a highly efficient criminal': *S.* p. 377; *C.* p. 14).[22] Here, Holmes first informs Watson of his intentions:

> '... Watson, I mean to burgle Milverton's house to-night'. I had a catching of the breath, and my skin went cold at the words, which were slowly uttered in a tone of concentrated resolution. As a flash of lightning in the night shows up in an instant every detail of a wild landscape, so at one glance I seemed to see every possible result of such an action – the detection, the capture, the honoured career ending in irreparable failure and disgrace, my friend himself lying at the mercy of the odious Milverton. 'For heaven's sake, Holmes, think what you are doing' I cried. 'My dear fellow, I have given it every consideration. I am never precipitate in my actions, nor would I adopt so energetic and, indeed, so dangerous a course, if any other were possible. Let us look at the matter clearly and fairly. I suppose that you will admit that the action is morally justifiable, though technically criminal. To burgle his house is no more than to forcibly take his pocketbook – an action in which you were prepared to aid me'. I turned it over in my mind. 'Yes', I said, 'it is morally justifiable so long as our object is to take no articles save those which are used for an illegal purpose'. 'Exactly. Since it is morally justifiable, I have only to consider the question of personal risk. Surely a gentleman should not lay much stress upon this, when a lady is in most desperate need of his help?' (*ibid.*)

Here, we seem to reach a kind of middle ground between the psychologising tendencies of the *Strand* on the one hand and the de-psychologising tendencies of *Collier's* on the other. Indeed, while the reader is unable to observe the kind of divided stream of consciousness

[21] Arthur Conan Doyle, *Memories & Adventures* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924), p. 259; see also Peter Rowland's intriguing suggestion that Raffles and his assistant Bunny are 'fictionalised versions of Wilde and Bosie', with whom Hornung was distantly acquainted: Peter Rowland, 'Hornung, Ernest William (1866-1921)', pp. 170-2, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 171.

[22] As Green has noted, the creator of Sherlock Holmes 'studied the Raffles stories carefully', and, in composing the *Return*, Doyle regularly 'talked over ... plots with Hornung ... profit[ing] by the exchange of ideas': Green ed., *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, p. xx.

that characterised ‘The Temptation of Samuel Burge’, we are at least assured that – despite having become a masked ‘felon’ – Watson is still a creation capable of inner-conflict (‘I turned it over in my mind’), able to implore other characters to ‘think’.

Yet the fact that Holmes and Watson employ masks during this foray into malfeasance hints at a further significance. Indeed, a moulder of identity, the mask can be seen as a shibboleth of both the criminal and the theatricalised public figure. The *Return* stories repeatedly draw parallels between these two categories, and, as will be shown in the coming chapter, just as the *Return* issues of the *Strand* emphasise intimacy and the *Return* issues of *Collier’s* emphasise order when it comes to criminality, so too when it comes to those in the public eye.

9. Presenting Public Figures

In attending further to those characters involved in crime in the *Return* stories, one cannot help but also notice the frequency with which the criminal and the public overlap and even merge. Indeed, in the vast majority of these stories, either the perpetrator of crime or the victim of crime already maintains some form of widely recognised public reputation. Thus, in 'The Adventure of the Empty House', we are told that our villain has already 'acquired an evil name' throughout London; in 'The Adventure of the Norwood Builder', Holmes's client feels 'as if [his] name and [his] misfortune must be in every man's mouth'; in 'The Adventure of the Dancing Men', we encounter an American known to police as 'the most dangerous crook in Chicago'; in 'The Adventure of the Solitary Cyclist', one of the story's colonial assailants is 'a man whose name is a holy terror from Kimberley to Johannesburg'; in 'The Adventure of the Priory School', Holmes assists 'one of the greatest subjects of the Crown'; in 'The Adventure of Charles Augustus Milverton', the titular villain (himself 'the king of all the blackmailers') targets 'people [(such as Holmes's client)] of wealth or position'; in 'The Adventure of the Three Students', the story's wrongdoer is the son of a 'notorious' aristocrat 'who ruined himself on the turf'; in 'The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter', the missing character in question is a well-known sportsman ('I didn't think there was a soul in England who didn't know Godfrey Staunton...'); in 'The Adventure of the Abbey Grange', the story's victim is a titled member of what Holmes refers to as 'the high life'; and, in 'The Adventure of the Second Stain', Holmes is approached by 'Lord Bellinger, twice Premier of Britain', and a man of 'European' renown.[1] Indeed, Holmes has himself become a 'well known consulting expert' in these stories (S. 5/1904, p. 490; C. 30/4/1904 p. 15) – an epithet strangely corroborated by the

[1] For ease of reading in the main text, I here consign citations to a footnote: *Strand* 9/1903 p. 375, *Collier's* 26/09/1903 p. 16; *Strand* 10/1903 p. 484, *Collier's* 31/10/1903 p. 16; *Strand* 12/1903 p. 615, *Collier's* 5/12/1904 p. 14; *Strand* 1/1904 p. 12, *Collier's* 26/12/1903 p. 20; *Strand* 2/1904 p. 124, *Collier's* 30/1/1904 p. 18; *Strand* 4/1904 p. 373, *Collier's* 26/3/1904 p. 26; *Strand* 6/1904 p. 607, *Collier's* 24/09/1904 p. 15; *Strand* 8/1904 p. 124, *Collier's* 26/11/1904 p. 15; *Strand* 9/1904 p. 244, *Collier's* 31/12/1904 p. 10; *Strand* 12/1904 p. 603, *Collier's* 28/1/1905 p. 13.

detective's appearance as celebrity endorser for a number of products advertised in these issues of the Strand and Collier's.[2]

The same obsession with public figures can also be found in the other material that appeared alongside these stories in the *Strand* and *Collier's*. Yet, just as with criminality, the two magazines perform this obsession in largely divergent manners. Though separated by a somewhat murky dividing line, notes Leo Braudy, 'it is worth trying to keep fame and celebrity distinguished'.[3] One of the many ways in which this can be done is through continuing to pay attention to the notions of order and intimacy that we have already begun exploring in this section: while 'evasive, almost impersonal fame', explains Braudy, 'involves an element of turning away from us, celebrity stares us right in the face'.[4] For, whereas the *Return* issues of the *Strand* consistently treat public figures as celebrities with whom we should be intimate, the *Return* issues of *Collier's* tend to present public figures in a far more orderly fashion, in this instance as famed superiors whom we should simply observe from afar.[5]

Access to Public Figures Overtly Unfettered in the *Strand*, Highly Controlled in *Collier's*

Whereas readers are granted supposedly unfettered access to the public figures they encounter in the *Return* issues of the *Strand*, in the *Return* issues of *Collier's* reader are conspicuously only told what public figures want them to be told. In the early 1890s, the *Strand* published an extended series entitled 'Illustrated Interviews', in which (James Mussell has suggested) the reader was 'encourage[d] … to partake in … a highly intrusive

[2] In one of these advertisements, in the *Strand*, Holmes announces, 'Watson, when I am faced with a complex problem, the thing that helps me to unweave the web … [is] the FLOR DE DINDIGUL CIGAR' (February 1904 p. xxxvi). In another advertisement, in *Collier's*, Watson is assured that the 'Taylor Old Style' tin roof 'has no equal' (September 24 1904, p. 22).
[3] Leo Braudy, 'Knowing the Performer from the Performance: Fame, Celebrity, and Literary Studies', pp. 1070-1075, *PMLA* 126.4 (October 2011: Special Issue on Celebrity, Fame, Notoriety), p. 1072.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Indeed, in critiquing mid-twentieth century American culture, Daniel Boorstin nostalgically identifies 'the now defunct *Collier's*' as a publication that (prior to the First World War) resisted the trivialising movement towards 'the new fashioned celebrity' by emphasising instead 'the person known for some serious achievement': Daniel J. Boorstin, 'From Hero to Celebrity: The Human Pseudo-Event', pp. 45-76, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 59.

mode that transgressed the boundary between the public and the private'.[6] Ten years later, the *Return* issues of the *Strand* make much of the apparently privileged visions that they provide of those in the public eye. As its title suggests, this is particularly true of Vacaresco's seven-part series 'Sovereigns I Have Met'.[7] Thus, near the beginning of her article on 'Marghareta Di Savoia, Dowager Queen of Italy', Vacaresco dismisses that which 'everyone' already knows about the Queen ('Everyone knows how beautiful the life of Queen Margareta has been, and how warmly she is beloved in every corner of her country': 11/1903 p. 497), declaring that she does 'not seek here to relate the numerous anecdotes told about her, to describe her daily occupations, nor to trace her biography' (*ibid.).* Instead, Vacarasco proclaims the true goal of the series to be something more intimately revealing:

> My chief aim in these papers is to give impressions of Kings and Queens whom I have met and talked with, to render as clearly as possible their characteristics, the very essence of their being, such as were revealed to me on frequent occasions when the august personages with whom I was brought into close contact displayed before the eyes of a writer of poetry sentiments they believed they were exhibiting in the presence of a mere woman of the world. (*ibid.*)

Here, just as with Anderson's Bertillon article, Vacarasco's article becomes a kind of back-stage pass that allows the reader to go behind the scenes and meet the players. Yet, in this, Vacarasco goes one step further. For, while Anderson makes it clear that the pass that he extends to the reader has been thoroughly authorised,[8] Vacarasco's pass has proudly been acquired with a little more deception. Indeed, typically of celebrity culture, it is the very

[6] James Mussell, *Science, Time and Space in the Late Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 74.
[7] 'Sovereigns I Have Met' ran in seven consecutive issues of the *Strand* between June of 1903 and December of 1903. As such, the last three instalments in the series overlapped with the first three stories in Doyle's series. Within each of these three overlapping issues of the *Strand*, Vacaresco's instalment always appeared immediately after Doyle's story, making for particularly powerful intertextual connections.
[8] Thus, Anderson concludes his article by thanking Bertillon and the chief of the French Police for 'their extreme courtesy in acceding to [my] request to be allowed to attend the course of lessons, and also for permission to use the photographs now reproduced' (p. 447)

(supposedly) *un*authorised nature of Vacaresco's biographies that imbues them with true significance and power.[9]

In the *Return* issues of *Collier's*, on the other hand, public figures are almost always able to carefully manage the release of information. Indeed, in his autobiography, the editor of *Collier's* explicitly condemns the 'bad morals' of many of his vulgar counterparts, for whom 'success' is to be placed 'ahead of delicacy'.[10] Such aversion to indelicacy also finds its way into the periodical itself. A curious article, 'Intimate Anecdotes of Famous Men', appeared in *Collier's* (without a by-line) in the issue for the 5th of December 1903. Despite the promise of its title, the article itself delivers fairly little by way of salacious scandal or prying revelation. In fact, in his final paragraphs, rather than revealing intimacies, the article's anonymous author seems to endorse their concealment. 'Whenever a President of the United States', the article concludes, 'leaves the White House, at the expiration of his official term, he is accompanied by a little trunk containing the private papers that have accumulated during the four or eight years of his incumbency':

> I have often looked with longing eyes on this precious bit of baggage. The first actual experience I had with it was when President Arthur – that prince of gentlemen – was preparing to vacate. He pointed to the customary trunk, with a smile half mischievous, half pathetic, and said to me: 'There goes a trunk full of secrets'. That trunk contained confidential letters from Conkling, Grant, Sherman, Platt, and a score of others equally well known. The publication of any one of them might have set the country by the ears. It was a powder magazine that needed only a match to explode it. Unconsciously I moved toward the trunk, but the President gently put his restraining hand on me, as much as to say: 'No, this is not for you'. (pp. 37, 39)

[9] As Richard Dyer notes, 'Stars are obviously a case of appearance – all we know of them is what we see and hear before us. Yet the whole media construction of stars encourages us to think in terms of "really" – what is [the star] really like? ... [to think that] we have a privileged reality to hang onto, the reality of the star's private self': Richard Dyer, *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 2, 10.

[10] Hapgood, *The Changing Years*, p. 104. Hapgood himself goes on to confess, 'with flaming cheeks', that as a young reporter he once 'deceived' a woman into 'making public something that she felt belonged to her alone': 'not that anything revealed was discreditable', we are assured, 'but it was for her to decide, not for me, what should be told' (*ibid.*).

'Intimate Anecdotes of Famous Men' begins with a brashly condescending pronouncement of the power of the American press. 'Many a statesman walks the streets of Washington to-day', we are assured, 'a monument to the charity and goodwill of the newspaper correspondents'. 'Would it surprise you to know that his fame has been made by what the correspondents have written of him? Or that his reputation has been saved by what they indulgently had *not* written about him?' (emphasis in original, p. 31) By the time of the above-quoted final paragraphs, however, these highly self-aggrandising declarations appear to have been quite forgotten. For, here, far from it being the press who 'indulgently' form and maintain public figures, such figures themselves become the ultimate arbiters of what will remain 'private' and what will go on to shape their persona by entering the public sphere. Indeed, *Collier's* seems to strangely undermine the very institution to which it itself belongs – mass media, these lines suggest, is a kind of violent ('magazine' v. 'powder magazine'), bacchanalian, id 'unconsciously' moved by eyes of voyeuristic 'longing'; it takes the 'restraining hand' of a New World 'prince' (a figure noticeably more instrumental than Vacaresco's Old World 'Kings and Queens'), this 'intimate anecdote' suggests, to regulate and repress otherwise ungovernable desire.

In Doyle's stories, ambivalence and ambiguity surround the degree to which public figures are able to control the release of information. At times, such figures do seem to be able to restrict the dissemination of knowledge. Indeed, the very device by which Holmes reappears in this series turns on recasting the detective's apparent demise in 'The Final Problem' (that 'so convincing an account of my unhappy end') as the ultimate act of mass-deception. To confound his enemies, Holmes announces in 'The Adventure of the Empty House', 'all the world' had to be 'convinced that I was dead' (*S.* p. 368; *C.* p. 13). Yet, while Holmes might have been able to spend three years withholding information from his fictional public (and nine years withholding it from Doyle's reading public),[11] a number of the *Return*'s other public figures find it more difficult to evade the scrutiny of the general eye. Thus, in 'The Adventure of the Priory School', Holmes and Watson learn that the young son of the Duke of Holdernesse, 'one of the greatest subjects of the Crown', has

[11] As noted earlier, *The Hound of the Baskervilles* was set before the 'death' of Holmes, and does not therefore reveal that the detective survived the Reichenbach Falls.

disappeared: ‘we had tried to keep it out of the papers’, laments the boy’s headmaster, ‘but there was some rumour of it in the *Globe* last night’ (*S.* p. 123; *C.* p. 18).

These highly divergent (not to say somewhat contradictory) portrayals of public figures converge toward the beginning of the final story in the *Return* series, ‘The Adventure of the Second Stain’. Here, the Premier of Britain himself approaches Holmes, bringing with him one of his Cabinet Ministers, ‘the Right Honourable Trelawney Hope’, ‘the most rising statesman in the country’. A letter to the Premier from an apparently unnameable ‘foreign potentate’ has been stolen (the reader never learns who this foreign potentate is, nor what exactly is in the letter). All the more worryingly, the statesmen inform Holmes, if the stolen letter were to be published ‘within a week ... this country would be involved in a great war’. ‘Who is there in England who [knew] of the existence of this letter?’, Holmes asks Hope:

> ‘Each member of the Cabinet was informed of it yesterday; but the pledge of secrecy which attends every Cabinet meeting was increased by the solemn warning which was given by the Prime Minister. Good heavens, to think that within a few hours I myself should have lost it!’ His handsome face was distorted with a spasm of despair, and his hands tore at his hair. For a moment we caught a glimpse of the natural man – impulsive, ardent, keenly sensitive. The next, the aristocratic mask was replaced, and the gentle voice had returned’. (*S.* p. 605; *C.* p. 13)

Here, it is almost as if Doyle somehow combines the above-discussed pieces from *Collier’s* and the *Strand* in kind of hasty amalgamation of dichotomous ‘moments’. Indeed, much like our Cabinet Minister himself (with his curious, divided, personality), Doyle’s passage seems to lurch between two extremes. One instant, we are re-encountering the kind of glorification of epistolary secrecy and sanctity of the public figure’s will found in ‘The Intimate Anecdotes of Famous Men’; the next, such notions are done away with, and we find ourselves again peering behind an official facade to view ‘the very essence’ (to use Vacaresco’s phrase) of someone in the public eye.

Public Figures Similar to the Reader in the *Strand*, Superior to the Reader in *Collier's*

Whereas public figures regularly prove to be a little like the reader in the *Return* issues of the *Strand*, such figures usually remain aloof and superior in the *Return* issues of *Collier's*. In the *Return* issues of the *Strand*, those in whom the public is interested often descend to the level of the everyday. Thus, in Vacaresco's final 'Sovereigns I Have Met' article, the reader is introduced to Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany. When he first enters, we are told, the Emperor 'look[s] radiant, though very grave' in his 'military costume of dazzling white' – indeed, our 'reveren[tial]' guide is forced to concede herself 'wretchedly embarrassed' just being in his presence (12/1903, p. 620). Yet, turning to Vacaresco, the Emperor attempts to dispel such misplaced veneration. 'You can see how moved she is', comments the Queen. 'Why so?', replies the Emperor 'with a humorous smile':

> '…This very young yet imposing lady has already known so many great, so many remarkable men – far greater and more remarkable than myself. She has seen Emperors too, I hear, so one more or one less cannot be of much account. I am told, madam' – and he spoke in grave tones – 'that you have as a child often enjoyed the rare privilege of spending evenings with Victor Hugo in his home. Your Queen says that you have many interesting tales to tell about him. So how can you be moved in my presence, when you have been in the presence of Genius?' As I could not for the life of me find an answer, the Emperor resumed: 'You could never have believed, could you, that you possess a superiority over me which indeed I envy you? I have enjoyed almost all the sight-seeing worth the trouble, but I have not seen Victor Hugo, nor any real literary genius. Was he very much bowed down by old age? Did he speak distinctly? What were his favourite topics?' (p. 621)

Over the course of his reign (1888-1918), notes Martin Kohlrausch, 'the neo-baroque image of Wilhelm II … was replaced by a more accessible "humanised" image', and the presentation of the 'traditional[ly] aloof' German monarchy was 'adjust[ed] ... to the needs of mass media' by presenting Wilhelm as 'one of us', 'an "ordinary man" ... like any other'.[12] It seems fitting, therefore, that the bipartite hierarchy upon which one might

[12] Martin Kohlrausch, 'The Workings of Royal Celebrity: Wilhelm II as Media Emperor', pp. 52-68, Berenson and Giloi eds., *Constructing Charisma*, pp. 60, 62.

imagine celebrity culture to rely is here radically complicated and reconfigured. Now, rather than occupying a rigidly reductive power structure, the observers and the observed come to relate to one another in a manner that is both far more fluid and far less predictable ('you could never have believed, could you…'). Indeed, epitomising the historical shift from celebrated monarchs to celebrated authors,[13] Wilhelm himself becomes a kind of gossipy fan in this passage, transforming artistic appreciation into 'sight-seeing' by breathlessly seeking intimate domestic knowledge of his favourite literary saint ('Was he very much bowed down by old age? Did he speak distinctly? What were his favourite topics?'). In the process, what one might think of as traditional distinctions between the public figure and the public seem to break down.[14]

In the *Return* issues of *Collier's*, on the other hand, these traditional distinctions are only reinforced and public figures remain largely aloof. This is felt particularly strongly in the magazine's reporting of the 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War, which was granted great prominence in many of the *Return* issues of the magazine.[15] Thus, in 'A Nation Calm and Self-Contained', Frederick Palmer assures us (perhaps somewhat self-defeatingly for a journalist) that 'the only news is that there is no news' and that the Japanese government remains 'master of all its secrets' (27/2/1904, p. 11). For, it would seem, 'All the public knows of the [Japanese] War Council is when its meetings are held. The heads of the army and the navy confer and return to their homes. The Cabinet meetings are equally secret' (*ibid.*). Here, whereas Vacaresco's article emphasised the domesticity of public figures (Wilhelm wants to hear about meeting Hugo 'in his home'), Palmer's article reinforces the separation of the public from – paradoxically 'secret' – public figures capable of removing themselves from general scrutiny by withdrawing to the privacy of their homes. Indeed, the very form of Palmer's brusquely clipped staccato lines makes a pointed contrast with

[13] Braudy dates the initial 'erosion' of the European aristocracy and their 'claim to central cultural importance' to as far back as the seventeenth century, in which 'it is writers who primarily establish a status that is superior to the temporal power that nominally employs them', a development he characterises as 'Protestant in origin': Leo Braudy 'The Democratization of Fame: From Monarchs to Individualists', pp. 315-89, *The Frenzy of Renown* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 353.

[14] One might compare this class-inverting depiction of the German Emperor with Doyle's earlier class-inverting depiction of the fictional King of Bohemia, in the *Adventures* series, in which the King (literally) removes his mask to talk to Watson and Holmes 'in [his] own person', before being informed by Holmes that the common actress with whom he cruelly dallied was 'indeed ... on a very different level to your Majesty': Doyle, 'A Scandal in Bohemia', pp. 65, 74.

[15] As Boorstin has argued, warfare is one of the few environments that – even in a post-fame, celebrity-obsessed, world – tends to 'produce new heroes': Boorstin, 'From Hero to Celebrity', p. 54.

Vacaresco's effusive brand of flowing generosity – it is as if something is being held back and the reader only told the very minimum.

Public figures are placed on a pedestal even more overtly in Hapgood's editorial for the first *Return* issue of his magazine. Although normally 'critical' individually, Americans, Hapgood declares,

> have a way of doing things in public without the sense of measure. We whoop a man to a dizzy height for nothing and drop him for the same reason. Suppose a good-humored grocer should make a great deal of money, use it to pay a Prince's debts, get thus into the faster wing of British society, acquire a title, buy a lot of yachts, and show equanimity in defeat, a certain reward should normally be his. Unless, however, he has more than money and cheerfulness, need he become a public personage and the cynosure of every eye? Is it dignified that he be looked upon as a national figure, or the nation's guest, as Mr. Chamberlain would be, M. de Witte, or M. Waldeck-Rousseau? Even, we will say, as Meredith, Ibsen, or Tolstoi might be? Is there not a greater trail of Barnumism in our cities than we need, with all due appreciation of that illustrious proponent of publicity? (p. 8)

Though he was a self-declared liberal, a certain elitism pervades much of Hapgood's autobiography;[16] and, in the above-quoted passage, Doyle's American publisher again proves itself far more traditionally hierarchical than his British. Indeed, whereas in the *Strand* Vacaresco and Wilhelm II construct a surprisingly flexible and egalitarian mode of celebrity, the editor of *Collier's* seems determined to protect the American public from both its own native tendency for 'whoop[ing]' mass hysteria ('without a sense of measure') and from Britain's invading, uppity, petit-bourgeoisie ('suppose a ... grocer...') by conservatively reinforcing fame's stratified class distinctions. On the highest rung of legitimate fame, sit international statesmen ('Chamberlain ... de Witte ... Waldeck Rousseau'),[17] while, beneath such mighty figures, we find those inspired artists who have

[16] In the chapter of his autobiography entitled 'Newspaper Ideals', for instance, Hapgood declares 'while I have been happy ... bringing something of my own to the millions of *Hearst* readers; or concentrating liberalism in *Collier's*; perhaps on the whole I am happiest when I am talking to fewer people selected from those who recognize a quotation from *King Lear*, love *Alice in Wonderland*, know who Galileo was, and are interested by the name of Giotto': Hapgood, *The Changing Years*, p. 131.

[17] The Chamberlain referred to here is likely Joseph Chamberlain, Gladstone's Cabinet Minister for the Colonies (and father to future Prime Minister, Neville); Count de Witte was Russia's Finance Minister; Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau was, from 1899 to 1902, Prime Minister of France.

displayed true merit ('even ... Meredith, Ibsen, or Tolstoi'). The everyday reader of *Collier's*, it would seem, cannot possibly hope to join the ranks of men like these. For, despite what 'Barnumism' might suggest – Barnum was a mid to late nineteenth century touring circus and 'freak-show' impresario whose 'name [was] synonymous', A.H. Saxon notes, with 'self-advertisement'[18] – true fame maintains no back-door, no short-cut, for men and women distinguished only by possessing inconsequential ('nothing') attributes like 'money', or 'cheerfulness', or a talent for unabashed 'publicity'.

In Doyle's stories, public figures manage to be both familiar and alien at the same time. Thus, in 'The Adventure of the Empty House', Holmes exposes one of his own Great Hiatus disguises: 'you may have read of the remarkable explorations of a Norwegian named Sigerson', he declares, 'but I am sure that it never occurred to you that you were receiving news of your friend' (*S.* p. 368; *C.* p. 13). A textual moment equally divided can be found near the beginning of 'The Adventure of the Priory School'. Here, the titular school's headmaster informs our protagonists that 'His Grace [the Duke of Holdernesse] is never very friendly with anyone. He is completely immersed in large public questions, and is rather inaccessible to all ordinary emotions. But he was always kind to the boy [his son] in his own way' (*S.* p. 126; *C.* p. 19). Each of these quotations seem to play with the phenomenon of renown – with being both 'inaccessibl[y]' 'immersed in large public questions' and a caring father, both an exotic 'remarkable' figure and a 'friend'. It is as if the text is unable to decide quite how public figures should be cast.

This textual uncertainty comes through even more strongly in the opening scene of 'The Adventure of the Norwood Builder'. As this story begins, we find Holmes and Watson at the breakfast-table, Holmes humorously reminiscing over Moriarty and London's lost golden-age of crime; soon enough, though, the happy pair's conversation is interrupted by the 'tumultuous' entrance of 'a wild-eyed and frantic young man'. 'Our visitor stretched forward a quivering hand and picked up *The Daily Telegraph,* which still lay upon Holmes's knee', declaring, '[i]f you had looked at it, sir, you would have seen at a

[18] A. H. Saxon ed., *Selected Letters of P.T. Barnum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. xiii. Barnum also had a passing relationship with Twain, to whom he sent numerous (politely refused) requests for endorsements during the mid-1870s. In one letter to Twain, Barnum prefigures Lord Henry's oft-quoted 'only one thing worse than not being talked about' quip in *Dorian Gray*, characteristically declaring '[y]ou know I had rather be laughed *at* than not be noticed at all' (Barnum's emphasis): P. T. Barnum, 'To Samuel L. Clemens (20 March 1876)', 196-8, Saxon ed., *Selected Letters,* p. 198.

glance what the errand is on which I have come to see you this morning. I feel as if my name and my misfortune must be in every man's mouth':

> I am the unhappy John Hector McFarlane. He made the announcement as if the name alone would explain both his visit and his manner, but I could see by my companion's unresponsive face that it meant no more to him than me. 'Have a cigarette, Mr McFarlane', said he, pushing his case across. '…You mentioned your name as if I should recognise it, but I assure you that, beyond obvious facts that you are a bachelor, a solicitor, a Freemason, and an asthmatic, I know nothing whatever about you'. … 'Yes, I am all that, Mr Holmes, and in addition I am the most unfortunate man at this moment in London …' (*S.* p. 484; *C.* p. 32).

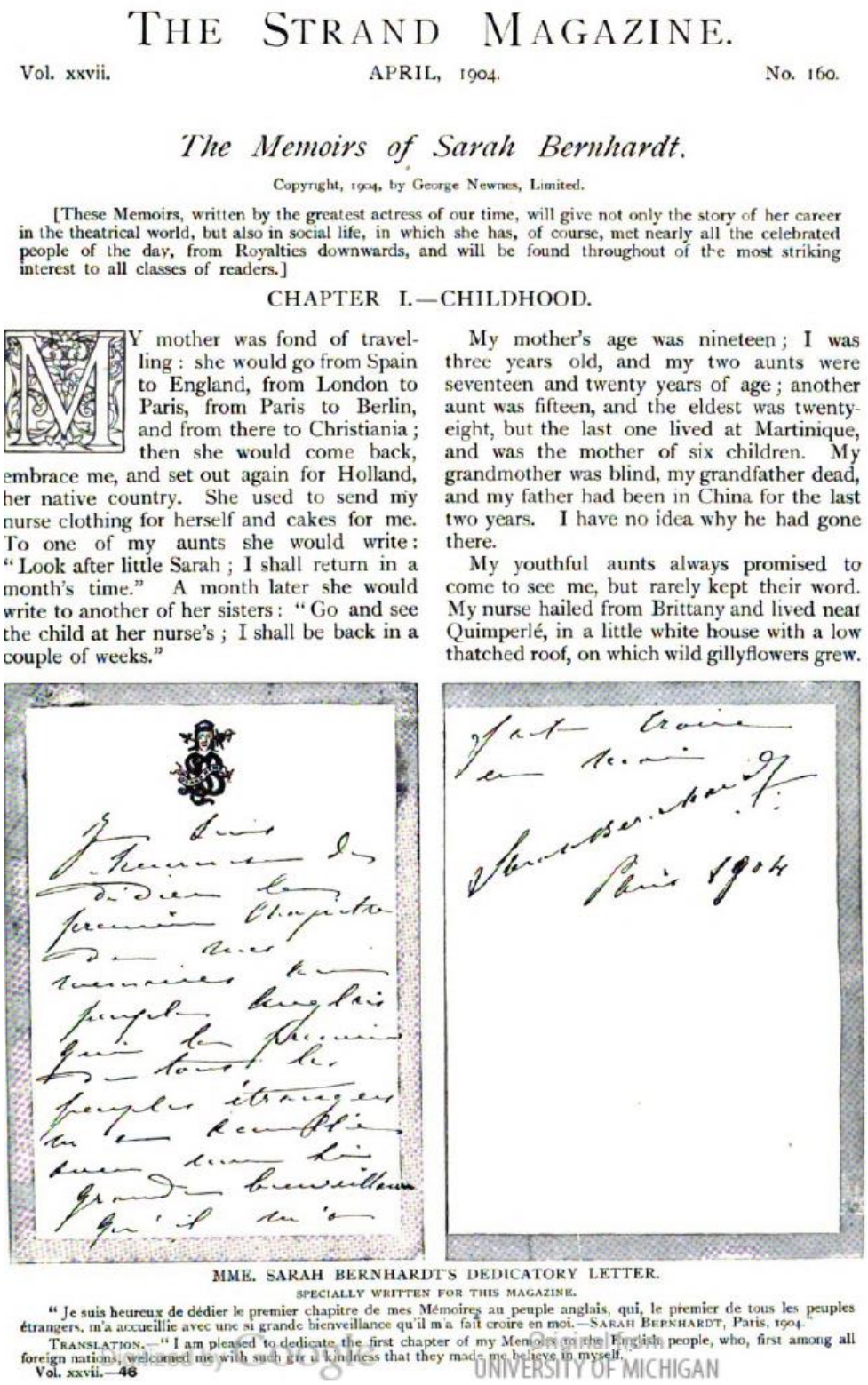
Here, we again find the competing visions of proper renown promoted by the *Strand* and *Collier's* to have been somehow combined. On the one hand, McFarlane is in many respects the reader made vicariously well-known (*The Daily Telegraph* subsequently informs us that McFarlane is 'a young London solicitor', *ibid.*, in other words exactly the kind of reader intended for the *Strand).* At the same time, though, in Holmes's 'unresponsive', unworldly, ignorance and pointedly de-exceptionalising, re-quotidian-ising, deductive process ('you are a bachelor, a Freemason, and an asthmatic...') the passage contains if not a resentment at least a kind of resistance to McFarlane's new-found reputation that seems reminiscent of *Collier's*. In the end, the passage comes to propose something of a halfway house: everyday men and women like the reader can become well-known; yet, it would seem, not through true fame or celebrity, but rather through a kind of (potentially slighter) less enjoyable, notoriety.

Public Figures Created by the Public in the *Strand*, Create the Public in *Collier's*

Whereas in the *Return* issues of the *Strand* public figures are conjured into being by the power of the public, in the *Return* issues of *Collier's* the public is constructed through the power of the public figure. The *Return* issues of the *Strand* repeatedly present celebrities as indebted to their audience for their success. This becomes particularly apparent in Sarah Bernhardt's 'Memoirs', which the *Strand* began serialising alongside the *Return* stories in April of 1904.[19] Much of these memoirs' opening page (see fig. 66) is

[19] 'The Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt' appeared in the *Strand* as twelve instalments, between April of 1904 and March of 1905. Of these twelve instalments, six appeared in issues of the *Strand* which also featured *Return* stories. The instalments discussed here and in what follows each appeared alongside a *Return* story.

occupied by a large facsimile of a handwritten dedication created by Bernhardt on what appears to be her own personal notepaper.



THE STRAND MAGAZINE.

Vol. xxvii. APRIL, 1904. No. 160.

The Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt.

[These Memoirs, written by the greatest actress of our time, will give not only the story of her career in the theatrical world, but also in social life, in which she has, of course, met nearly all the celebrated people of the day, from Royalties downwards, and will be found throughout of the most striking interest to all classes of readers.]

CHAPTER I.—CHILDHOOD.

MY mother was fond of travelling: she would go from Spain to England, from London to Paris, from Paris to Berlin, and from there to Christiania; then she would come back, embrace me, and set out again for Holland, her native country. She used to send my nurse clothing for herself and cakes for me. To one of my aunts she would write: "Look after little Sarah; I shall return in a month's time." A month later she would write to another of her sisters: "Go and see the child at her nurse's; I shall be back in a couple of weeks."

My mother's age was nineteen; I was three years old, and my two aunts were seventeen and twenty years of age; another aunt was fifteen, and the eldest was twenty-eight, but the last one lived at Martinique, and was the mother of six children. My grandmother was blind, my grandfather dead, and my father had been in China for the last two years. I have no idea why he had gone there.

My youthful aunts always promised to come to see me, but rarely kept their word. My nurse hailed from Brittany and lived near Quimperlé, in a little white house with a low thatched roof, on which wild gillyflowers grew.

MME. SARAH BERNHARDT'S DEDICATORY LETTER.
SPECIALLY WRITTEN FOR THIS MAGAZINE.

"Je suis heureux de dédier le premier chapitre de mes Mémoires au peuple anglais, qui, le premier de tous les peuples étrangers, m'a accueillie avec une si grande bienveillance qu'il m'a fait croire en moi.—SARAH BERNHARDT, Paris, 1904.

TRANSLATION.—"I am pleased to dedicate the first chapter of my Memoirs to the English people, who, first among all foreign nations, welcomed me with such gr a kindness that they made me believe in myself.

Fig. 66: The first page of Sarah Bernhardt's 'Memoirs' in the April 1904 issue of the *Strand*, p. 363.

'I am pleased to dedicate this first chapter of my Memoirs to the English people', this note 'specially written for this magazine' proclaims,[20] 'who, first among all foreign nations, welcomed me with such great kindness that they made me believe in myself' (p. 363).

A few instalments later, in the issue for August of 1904, we are told further of this inspirational English reception. In 1879, having just arrived in London with the Comédie Française, Bernhardt 'appear[ed] for the first time before the English public' in a performance of Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne's *Phèdre* (p. 143). 'The following morning', the actress continues (serendipitously reinvoking the paper that Doyle had report on his character, McFarlane), 'the *Daily Telegraph* terminated its admirable [review of the performance with the lines] "clearly Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt exerted every nerve and fibre and her passion grew with the excitement of the spectators"' (p. 144). Here, Bernhardt becomes a kind of theatricalised Christ, enduring a 'passion' through and for her modern-day faithful (indeed, only one page earlier, Bernhardt describes 'stage fright ma[king] of me a martyr': p. 143). As such, it seems fitting that, through this passion, the actress (much like Holmes himself) achieves not just a death but a glorious resurrection: upon the final curtains closing, the *Telegraph* continues, an audience-demanded 'recall could not be resisted'.[21]

Yet the English, it would seem, were not Bernhardt's only chosen nation. For, by December of 1904, the actress is telling us of her triumphant tour of the United States. The play through which Bernhardt will perform her opening American epiphany is Ernest Legouvé and Eugène Scribe's *Adrienne Lecouvreur*:

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[20] Or, more specifically, this is what Bernhardt's note purportedly proclaims (monolingual readers are helpfully provided with an English translation of Bernhardt's original French at the bottom of the page); the phrase 'specially written for this magazine' is taken from the facsimile's editorial caption.

[21] Haunting the *Strand*'s depiction of Bernhardt's English reception is the figure of Wilde. Later on in this instalment, the actress (who subsequently starred in the premier of Wilde 1893 play *Salome*) describes being farewelled by a large crowd at the conclusion of the Comédie Française's time in London. Amongst the crowd, we are told, was a 'turbulent young man' 'with luminous eyes and long hair', who reverentially strew a path of lilies for Bernhardt to walk on. While he 'looked like a German student', he was actually, we are told, 'an English poet … and one of the greatest of his time, a poet who was a genius' (p. 138). In the *Strand*, Bernhardt's 'Memoirs' then simply pass on; in the book edition of Bernhardt's memoirs (published three years later), however, this passage is extended, and lingers a little longer on this turbulent young man, continuing 'but who was, alas! later tortured and finally vanquished by madness. It was Oscar Wilde': Sarah Bernhardt, *My Double Life: Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt* (London: William Heinemann, 1907), pp. 287-8. There is, of course, an intriguing ambiguity here: do Bernhardt's 'tortured' and 'madness' refer to Wilde's homosexuality or to the mob-like hysterical intolerance that attended his imprisonment? For a discussion of Wilde, Bernhardt, censorship, and celebrity, see Sharon Marcus, 'Salomé!! Sarah Bernhardt, Oscar Wilde, and the Drama of Celebrity', pp. 999-1021, *PMLA* 126.4 (October, 2011: Special Issue on Celebrity, Fame, Notoriety).

> My appearance was greeted by several rounds of applause, which I believe had been paid for in advance by Abbey [Bernhardt's 'impresario'] and Jarrett [Bernhardt's 'representative']. I commenced, and the sweetness of my voice in the fable of the 'Two Pigeons' worked the miracle. The whole house this time burst out into hurrahs. A current of sympathy was established between the public and myself. Instead of the hysterical skeleton that had been announced to them, they had before them a very frail looking creature with a sweet voice (p. 625)

'The public discovers and makes', Joshua Gamson has argued in his analysis of celebrity and American periodicals, 'certain people [well-known] because it (with the help of the magazines) sees *through* the publicity-generated, artificial self to the real, deserving, special self' (Gamson's emphasis).[22] Here, something similar occurs in the *Strand*, and, sweeping aside the withering fallacies ('hysterical skeleton') of Bernhardt's publicity machine, the public summon-up an ethereal 'current of sympathy' to realise a youthful creation ('a very frail looking creature with a sweet voice') of their own.[23]

In the *Return* issues of *Collier's*, on the other hand, these roles are reversed, and it is the public that seems to have been constructed by its public figures. Thus, in Palmer's previously-mentioned article on the Russo-Japanese War, 'A Nation Calm and Self Contained', we are told that 'back of all [the war preparations] is the Mikado, to the masses a demigod at all times ... for he has the advice of the four statesmen who have been most instrumental in making modern Japan – Marquis Ito, Count Inouye, Count Matsukata, and Marquis Yamagata. Every act is the result of counsel in which their voices are heard' (p. 11). Here, in stark contrast to Bernhardt's highly democratic incarnation of Christ, Japan's ruler becomes a 'demigod' flanked by aristocrats. Indeed, together, this ruling elite seems

[22] Joshua Gamson, 'The Assembly Line of Greatness: Celebrity in Twentieth-Century America', pp. 1-24, *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 9.1 (March 1992) p. 12.

[23] Yet one might also compare this passage (with its repeated references to the 'sweetness' of Bernhardt's voice) with the advertisements for medicinal throat lozenges endorsed by Bernhardt in other *Return* issues of the *Strand*: 'Mme. Sarah Bernhardt Uses Proctor's Pinelyptus Pastilles with great success for Throat and Voice, and recommends them to her friends', these advertisements declare. 'Proctor's Pinelyptus Pastilles (*Broncho-Laryngeal*) Act like a charm on the voice, throat, & chest' (May 1904, p. lx). As Clara Tuite has noted, 'Celebrity is not conferred by magic ... but through the work of advertising; yet the twist is that advertising is itself a form of magic': Clara Tuite, *Lord Byron and Scandalous Celebrity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 169.

to have shaped what 'the masses' perceive just as thoroughly as it has shaped the 'modern Japan' in which they live.

Moreover, this vision of Japanese statesmanship is no mere exoticist aberration. In fact, America and its ruling class are seen in much the same way in the *Return* issues of *Collier's*. Just a few pages after Palmer's article on Japan, we find David Graham Philips's one page article on the recently deceased Ohio Senator and Presidential campaign manager Mark Hanna (p. 15). Philips's article is essentially an example of that key mode of fame and secular canonisation, the obituary (with all that this suggests of white-washing, super-humanising, glorification).[24] No mere mortal, Hanna, it would seem, was not given fame; rather, fame was something that Hanna pursued and won ('he emerged from obscurity and took the middle of the stage'), for Hanna was 'the master machine politician of his time'. More than this, though, Hanna was so able to mould public opinion that he was even able to confer fame upon third-parties (hence Philips's headline, 'Mark Hanna: President Maker').

Indeed, upon deciding that his long-time friend William McKinley should be President, Hanna 'brought all the power of his mind ... to creating and launching and successfully piloting the McKinley boom ... [with] its intricate machinery, its ingenious engineering, its amazing adaptation to the work of creating a "spontaneous demand" for Mr. McKinley'. In the *longue-durée* poem to McKinley – part epic, part ode – found inset within Philips's article ('True kinsman of the line American, whose leaders, ever...'), pre-Mayflower America becomes 'our ocean-hidden Country'; through Philips and all his bizarrely anti-democratic irony ("spontaneous demand"), Hanna becomes the 'pilot' of a new and improved, latter-day, Mayflower: having 'launch[ed]' a vessel of 'intricate machinery' and 'ingenious engineering', Hanna has been able to discover and shape a new America.

In Doyle's stories, public figures are both the creat*ions* of the public and also the creat*ors* of the public. Perhaps the most intriguing example of this can be found in the dénouement to 'The Adventure of the Abbey Grange', in which the above-discussed passages from the *Strand* and *Collier's* seem to return as strangely distorted and refracted encore presentations of their former selves. Here, Holmes has choreographed some revelatory dinner-theatre ('You will now be present', he informs Watson upon the

[24] As Braudy notes, whereas celebrity is primarily a pre-mortem phenomenon, fame is a post-mortem phenomenon that 'embrace[s] posterity': Braudy, 'Knowing the Performer', p. 1072.

conclusion of another satisfying Baker Street meal, 'at the last scene of a remarkable little drama': *S.* p. 254; *C.* p. 25). Yet, typically of such culinary thespianism, Holmes's production also involves disarming calls for audience participation, and just who it is that will do the viewing and who the performing ultimately remains a little unclear. 'There was a sound upon the stairs, and our door was opened to admit as fine a specimen of manhood as ever passed through it', Watson's narration declares. 'He was a very tall young man, golden-moustached, blue-eyed, with a skin which had been burned by tropical suns, and a springy step, which showed that the huge frame was as active as it was strong'. As it transpires, this exotically-tanned late-Victorian exemplar of the Aryan race is (much like Hanna, though in this case literally) a sailor. While Doyle's sailor (Captain Crocker) may not have discovered half a continent, he has heroically defended the woman he loves from an abusive husband, whom he has killed in an act of self-defence.

In the final lines of 'The Adventure of the Abbey Grange', the increasingly blatant theatricality of Doyle's story is reinforced once again when Holmes decides to stage a kind of mock trial:

> See here, Captain Crocker, we'll do this in due form of law. You are the prisoner. Watson, you are a British jury, and I never met a man who was more eminently fitted to represent one. I am the judge. Now, gentleman of the jury, you have heard the evidence. Do you find the prisoner guilty or not guilty?' 'Not guilty, my lord', said I. 'Vox populi, vox Dei. You are acquitted, Captain Crocker. So long as the law does not find some other victim you are safe from me. Come back to this lady in a year, and may her future and yours justify us in the judgment which we have pronounced this night!'

This chapter has occasionally noted certain moments in which Doyle's text treats Holmes like a public figure. Indeed, while even the *Adventures* sometimes mention that Holmes is 'celebrated' in his own world, on such points the *Return* is far more insistent, describing the detective as a 'famous expert', a 'famous amateur', a 'well known consulting expert', and a man of 'increasing fame'. In the above-quoted passage, Holmes the public figure seems – in a rather contradictory manner – to simultaneously follow both the democratic model of public figuredom epitomised by Bernhardt in the *Strand* and the *anti*-democratic model of public figuredom epitomised by Philips and Hanna in *Collier's*.

Thus, on the one hand, Holmes and Doyle seem to empower the public, instilling within them a certain divine creative agency ('Vox populi, vox Dei'). At the same time, though, (despite what Holmes might claim about Watson being the ideal 'represent[ative]' of the British people) the 'trial' that he deigns to conduct seems rather more characteristic of a top-down secret society or a military junta than it does an open democracy. How are we to read this doubleness? Ultimately, it would appear, so much ambivalence and ambiguity surround passages such as this that our understanding of Doyle's public personalities has to bend to reflect the two magazines in which these personalities are encountered.

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In the introduction to their edited collection of Doyle's letters to the press, John Michael Gibson and Richard Lancelyn Green suggest that 'probably no other popular writer has … believed so fervently that he had the ear of society, and therefore the right to address it on [such] a diversity of topics'.[25] One topic that Doyle is particularly keen on promoting in these letters is that of Anglo-American relations. Thus, in an 1896 letter to *The Times*, 'England and America', the author declares 'the greatest of ends' to be 'the consolidation of the English-speaking races' (a declaration that appears to echo Holmes' support, in 'The Adventure of the Noble Bachelor' of 1892, for the creation of a country in which 'our children' might sit 'under a flag' part 'Union Jack', part 'Stars and Stripes').[26]

Perhaps less well remembered today, however, is why exactly Doyle promoted Anglo-American reunification. For while Doyle did like to speak of the 'kindred' races of Britain and America, in writing to *The Daily Chronicle* in 1895 he also acknowledged that the two nations had long-since drifted apart: socio-environmental 'conditions ... dissimilar to our own', Doyle concedes, 'must evolve different types and different methods'.[27] What, then, one might wonder, prompted Doyle to evangelise on behalf of reincorporating what

[25] Gibson and Green eds., *Letters to the Press*, p. 1.
[26] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'England and America: To the Editor of The Times', p. 12, *The Times* (7 January 1896); Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Noble Bachelor', pp. 386-99, *The Strand Magazine* (April 1892), p. 398.
[27] For Doyle's use of 'kindred', *ibid.*; letter to the editor reproduced in Gibson and Green eds., *Letters to the Press*, p. 45.

were (it would seem) for him entirely separate human sub-species? One answer to this can be found in the letter to *The Times* quoted above. Here, Doyle begins by warning of America the existential threat – an existential threat that can (ironically) only be curtailed through the preemptive merging of that country with his own:

> I believe, and have long believed, that the greatest danger which can threaten our Empire is the existence of … hostility [towards us] in a nation which is already great and powerful, but which is destined to be far more so in the future. Our statesmen have stood too long with their faces towards the East. To discern our best hopes as well as our gravest dangers they must turn them the other way.[28]

Doyle was, of course, never able to realise his dream of living in what (for want of a better term) one might have called The United States of Britain. In a curious way, though, the *Return* stories can themselves be seen as a kind of 'two-systems, one-state' solution. For, as I have argued, in these stories both the predilection for intimacy found elsewhere in the *Strand* and the predilection for order found elsewhere in *Collier's* operate side by side.

[28] Doyle, 'England and America'.

Conclusion

Halfway through Howells' semi-autobiographical 1889 novel *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (first serialised in *Harper's Weekly*), the novel's protagonist Basil March tells his wife of his bemusement at the social diversity of the magazine for which he works: 'We're a queer lot, down there, Isabel – perfect menagerie'.[1] Just as the social composition of Basil March's workplace (with its 'crank[s]', and human 'oddit[ies]')[2] seemed to him remarkable, so too readers may have found remarkable the variety of individuals united by their appearance in this study: cheiromancers and criminologists, famous actresses and veterans of the American Civil War. Perhaps just as surprising was the drawing together of the three authors on whom this thesis has been focused, Mark Twain, Oscar Wilde, and Arthur Conan Doyle. However, as Howells' novel suggests, such authorial menageries were typical of late nineteenth century periodical culture, and one might note that when these central authors did directly engage with each other, that engagement usually came by way of a magazine.[3]

* * *

In the Introduction to this thesis, I set out two intended meanings for the phrase 'the magazine effect', one quantitative, the other qualitative. The quantitative meaning of the phrase had to do with the way in which publishing a text in a magazine typically greatly increased the number of people for whom the text became accessible. The qualitative meaning of the phrase had to do with the manner in which this new audience might then

[1] Howells, 'A Hazard of New Fortunes', p. 454.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Thus, when, in 1887, Twain wrote an article on an otherwise-obscure text for the *Century* – a collection of mistakes made by American schoolchildren in their examinations – Wilde (who must, therefore, have been reading the *Century*) responded to Twain's 'fascinating' piece in the *Court and Society Review*, concluding 'Mr. Mark Twain deserves our warmest thanks for bringing to light the true American genius': Oscar Wilde, 'The Child-Philosopher', pp. 370-80, *Court and Society Review* 4.146 (20 April 1887). Two years later, Wilde encountered Doyle at a small dinner held by the editor of *Lippincott's* – a previously noted 'golden evening' which led to the magazine's publication of *The Sign of the Four* and *Dorian Gray*: Doyle, 'Memories and Adventures [Chapters VI-VII]', p. 565. Finally, in 1902, during Holmes' deathly interregnum, Doyle's consulting detective made his way into Twain's *A Double-barrelled Detective Story*, published in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, one of the many Holmes parodies of the era.

read the text, given the text's multifaceted surrounds. While one might now be tempted to introduce a third, social, meaning for 'the magazine effect', it may instead be more accurate to simply extend the main, qualitative, meaning of the phrase. For if disparate authors interacted in turn of the century magazines it was because disparate texts interacted in turn of the century magazines. It has been this, textual, interaction that has been the focus of this thesis. Indeed my central argument has been that, when texts interact in one or more issues of a magazine, those texts 'fuse' (to use Scott's term as quoted in the thesis Introduction) to one another in the mind of the reader, creating thereby a new higher level of hermeneutic coherency.

In Part One, I applied this argument to the three episodes from *Huckleberry Finn* pre-published in the December 1884, January 1885, and February 1885 issues of the *Century*. In these issues, I suggested, Twain's novel became embroiled in the magazine's glorification of property. Particular attention was paid to the ways in which the issues valorise money (the focus of Chapter One), land (Chapter Two), and intellectual property (Chapter Three). Ultimately, I concluded, the magazine's obsession with property ensured that while the magazine simplified and dehumanised Twain's Jim it also depicted slavery more openly: as an institution not benevolently paternalistic but coldly economic.

In Part Two, I examined *Dorian Gray* as it appeared in the issue of *Lippincott's* for July of 1890. In this material setting, I argued, Wilde's novel was drawn into the magazine's championing of pseudoscience. The magazine itself, I suggested, bends how we see the content of Wilde's novel (Chapter Four) and the form of Wilde's novel (Chapter Five), both of which are altered once again (Chapter Six) by whether one is reading the sensationalising British edition of the magazine or the more pragmatic American edition of the magazine. Through these interactions with pseudoscientific texts (texts promoting palmistry, astrology, and patent medicines), I concluded, Wilde's novel itself begins to seem like a kind of homoerotic deception to be read with caution and suspicion.

Finally, in Part Three, I extended the transatlantic comparativism of Chapter Six and focused on the *Return* issues of the *Strand* and *Collier's* (1903-5). In these opposing sites of publication, I suggested, Doyle's stories spoke to two divergent concerns, fostering a sense of intimacy in the *Strand* and promoting a sense of order in *Collier's*. More particularly, I noted how this was true of the diegetic illustrations Doyle provided for his

stories (Chapter Seven), of the magazines' respective portrayals of criminality (Chapter Eight), and of the magazines' respective portrayals of public figures (Chapter Nine). As a result, I concluded, the *Return* stories can be seen as a metonymical microcosm of Doyle's complicated desire for a broader Anglo-American reunion.

* * *

Together, the texts and periodicals discussed in this thesis form key examples of publishing practices during this twenty-year period; but the period was not to last. With the dawn of the twentieth century came new forms of mass entertainment: on Christmas Eve 1906, Reginald Fessenden conducted what is typically considered the first true radio broadcast, transmitting a mixture of speeches, music, and biblical readings to ships sailing off the coast of Massachusetts, while cinema first emerged 'as a mass medium' in the decade following 1900.[4] At the same time, periodical culture itself underwent a process of bifurcation. On the one hand, many mainstream magazines veered increasingly towards the anti-literary in their popularising quest for continued circulation growth; conversely, new, high cultural modernist productions sought to siphon themselves off into anti-populist coterie publications. Thus, while James Joyce's 1918-22 novel *Ulysses* did first appear in a periodical, its serialisation occurred not in a mass-market magazine but in *The Little Review* – 'a magazine of the arts', the publication's subtitle declared, 'making no compromise with the public taste'.[5]

In this new environment, a kind of cultural forgetting seems to have taken place. Near the beginning of *Ulysses*, Joyce's protagonist Leopold Bloom walks past one of Dublin's many churches and tries to recall the name of an Irish informer who 'used to

[4] Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 36. Lez Cooke, 'British Cinema: From Cottage Industry to Mass Entertainment', pp. 167-88, Clive Bloom ed., *Literature and Culture in Modern Britain: Volume 1 (1900-1929)* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 172.

[5] Indeed, Lawrence Rainey has noted, 'the scale of [*The Little Review*] was tiny': its circulation probably peaked at around three thousand while its minimal number of advertisements suggests that it 'survived by a direct rapport with a restricted group of readers'. Typically of the modernist little magazines amongst which it was numbered, Rainey concludes, *The Little Review* 'existed in a special space' constructed by 'the beneficent hand of a modest yet influential patronage' able to isolate such publications 'from the direct demands of larger market structures': Lawrence Rainey, 'The Price of Modernism: Publishing The Waste Land', pp. 91-133, Ronald Bush ed., *T. S. Eliot: The Modernist in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 109.

receive ... communion there'.[6] In his confused misrememberings, Bloom can recall only approximations of the name ('James Carey') that he is searching for, amongst which is the name 'Peter Carey'.[7] Later on in *Ulysses*, Bloom betrays himself a reader of Sherlock Holmes when he looks another man over, 'Sherlockholmesing him up', and Fritz Senn has suggested that the unstated origin of the misnomer Peter Carey was 'Black' Peter Carey, the murder victim of Doyle's *Return* story 'The Adventure of Black Peter', published in the *Strand* some three months before the day in 1904 on which *Ulysses* is set.[8]

Another Bloom – Harold Bloom – has famously (for some, infamously) suggested that the progression of literary history revolves around small acts of 'creative misreading'.[9] However, in the above epitome of historical transition, we find less an act of creative misreading than an act of creative mis-recollection. This thesis has sought to counteract this process, to resurrect that which successive generations have consigned to the dustbin of history. The 'light' that was the mass market magazine – a remarkably complex cultural mode – might have ultimately failed, but it revealed literature for an era, and it is important not to let this slip completely from the collective memory.

[6] James Joyce, 'Ulysses Episode V', pp. 37-49, *The Little Review* 5.3 (July 1918), p. 45.
[7] Jeri Johnson ed., *Ulysses: The 1922 Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 800; Joyce, 'Ulysses', p. 45.
[8] As Senn notes, 'Bloom ... could have read the story, a most recent one, in the *Strand* magazine of March 1904': Fritz Senn, 'Carey Was His Name', pp. 214-6, *The James Joyce Quarterly* 24.2 (Winter 1987), pp. 214-5. Joyce himself was also specifically aware of Holmes' return: in a 1912 lecture at Trieste's Università Popolare the ever anti-populist Joyce refers dismissively to 'Conan Doyle who, bowing to the insistence of the contemporary public, brought his lanky scarecrow Sherlock Holmes back from the dead to set him off once more chasing scroungers and malefactors': James Joyce, 'Realism and Idealism in English Literature (Daniel Defoe – William Blake)', Conor Deane trans., pp. 163-82, Kevin Barry ed., *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 167.
[9] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. xlv.

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