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THE VOICE OF SCIENCE: IDEOLOGY, SHERLOCK HOLMES, AND "THE STRAND MAGAZINE"



J. L. CRANFIELD

ENG:PHD-R

SUPERVISORS: DR. VYBARR CREGAN-REID & DR. CHARLOTTE SLEIGH

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JONATHAN CRANFIELD

THE VOICE OF SCIENCE: IDEOLOGY, SCIENCE AND “THE STRAND MAGAZINE”

ABSTRACT

This thesis uses *The Strand Magazine* and Arthur Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes stories to examine the different ways in which science and ideology interacted in popular culture between 1891 and 1930. It is interested in the relationship between high and low cultures and the different experiences of the *fin-de-siècle* and modernity that they betray. It attempts to reconstruct an epistemology of scientific knowledge from ‘the artefacts of low culture’ and challenges prevailing critical attitudes in periodical criticism and Holmesian criticism. The methodology is derived from a mixture of Marxist literary criticism, ideology theory and the history of science in the belief that attitudes from all three critical traditions are necessary to properly unpack the culturally-embedded nature of periodicals. It plots the relationship between scientific and popular discourses and examines the different ways in which fiction was able to ideologically commodify scientific knowledge and incorporate it into everyday representations of the real world.

The thesis is split into four main sections that analyse, respectively, class relations in the 1890s, scientific articles after the turn of the century, depictions of the male body in the aftermath of the Second Boer War and the effect of the onset of a knowledge economy of traditional genre fiction between 1913 and 1930.

THE VOICE OF SCIENCE

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INTRODUCTION

1. SUMMARY

THIS thesis will examine the shifting relationship between *The Strand Magazine* and science between the magazine's appearance in 1891 and the decline of its popularity in the late 1920s. My interest in the relationship is principally ideological and informed by strategies deriving from Marxist literary criticism. Rather than focus solely on discrete, historical periods, each chapter will be structured around clusters of articles that represent different attitudes towards the relationship between science and culture. It was often the case, however, that noticeable changes in depictions of science were entangled with world events and this complex, self-reflexive relationship dictates a reasonably steady progression from 1891 until 1930.

The Strand has survived in the popular imagination as the magazine that first published Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories and, in the words of Mike Ashley, as a '*pot-pourri* of human-interest snippets, fairly useless knowledge and fiction aimed at lower-middle class and "aspiring" working-class readers'.¹ The persistence of this caricature will be examined more closely in the second part of this introduction but its attractions are clear. If the magazine is constituted of fiction surrounded by 'snippets' of 'human interest' and 'useless information' then literary history can helpfully discard most of the magazine's non-fiction content when discussing it. The magazine had a clear sense of its own middling place within the cultural field and, as a result of this, its fiction during the *fin-de-siècle* offers a useful counterpoint to high modernism for those critics that wish to paint a picture of what Maria DiBattista called 'high and low moderns'.² The temptation to ignore the breadth of *The Strand*'s content and to make it a servant to a particularly literary model of cultural history has proved too tempting resist. This is also, perhaps, due to the ghettoized practices of periodical criticism and the firm disciplinary boundary that demarcates it from the more straightforwardly literary study of single texts in isolation. It is the guiding assumption of this thesis not just that the non-fiction

¹ Mike Ashley, *The Age of the Storytellers* (London: British Library and Oak Knoll, 2006), p. 196.

² Maria DiBattista, Lucy McDiarmid, eds., *High and Low Moderns: Literature and Culture 1889-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 3.

content of *The Strand* should inform the reading of its fiction and *vice versa*, but that it is necessary to construct overview of the kind of textual space in which both were able to intermix. The justification for this assumption lies in the observation that no sensible study of the cultural upheavals of the early twentieth-century could ignore the crucial role of science. Why, then, is it appropriate to efface the role that non-fiction and science played in *The Strand*? I would suggest that this is because studies such as Michael Whitworth's *Einstein's Wake* have placed science firmly on the 'high' modernism side of what Andreas Huyssen called the 'great divide' between high and low culture.³ As such, it is easy to imagine the scientific content of *The Strand* to be watered-down, degraded and 'useless'. If Joyce was capable of peppering his fictions with references to non-Euclidean geometry then what could the staid, standoffish, half-hearted scientific engagements of something as base as *The Strand* have to say? Science, so often characterised as the agent of change, does not seem at home in a cultural environment such as *The Strand*. This may be true at particular points and, indeed, the magazine has to repress a great deal more than it discusses at crucial points. As a result, *The Strand's* science may seem an unlovely thing; it is diluted and separated from the research that originated it, it is frequently inaccurate, it is univocal, it is unsystematic and, worst of all, it is frequently made to fit the magazine's less flattering network of Chauvinistic attitudes. *The Strand* represented a space where science, although it could be talked about seriously and openly, existed mostly in glancing asides, unsupported allusions and ideological assertions relating to the magazine's world-view. This catalogue of calumnies, together with the critical approaches to 'low' modernism discussed above, has resulted in the prevalence of Ashley's simplified, circumscribed picture of *The Strand*. This picture is not wholly incorrect but it is insubstantial and the purpose of this thesis is to properly engage with *The Strand* as (in the words of Cooter and Pumfrey) an 'artefact of low culture' and its role in the diffusion of scientific knowledge.⁴ How, looking back, are we to distinguish the scientific tropes and ideas when they are so intermeshed with the non-scientific? Science rarely forces *The Strand* into making radical changes; instead, it insidiously invades pre-existing discourses and begins to accent and subtly change them. To properly unpack these tangled knots it is necessary to employ a mixture of

³ Michael Whitworth, *Einstein's Wake* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1988).

⁴ Roger Cooter and Stephen Pumfrey, 'Separate Spheres and Public Places: Reflections on the History of Science Popularization and Science in Popular Culture,' *History of Science* 32-3 (1994), p. 243.

practices from the history of science, periodical studies and straightforward literary criticism as it pertains to the writers who featured in *The Strand*. By doing this, I maintain, it becomes possible to think about the magazine as a single, cohesive text and, as a result, re-examine the relationship between science and middle-brow culture during this crucial period.

The first chapter looks at representations of the city and of class relations during the 1890s and early 1900s. The relative paucity of self-consciously 'scientific' articles should not disguise the fact that many pieces' depictions of science were heavily informed by scientific and technological aesthetics. The chapter goes on to consider *The Strand's* ordered, harmonious picture of the world and its relationship to the political turbulence of the 1880s. It also establishes one of the key motivations behind isolating *The Strand* as an object of study: the magazine's stubborn refusal to abandon commitments to a set of stereotypically Victorian beliefs in the face of the onset of modernity. Since science has habitually been understood as posing the most significant challenges to nineteenth-century belief, it is interesting to observe the different ways in which science and scientific veneers were seized upon as offering new ways to re-invent and replenish older modes of thought and habit. Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories are particularly useful examples in this regard. This is not simply because of the crude, scientific veneer that characterised the Holmesian 'method', an issue that has come to dominate critical perspectives on Holmes and science.⁵ Across many different parts of the magazine, for example, London was repeatedly imagined as a machine or as being analogous to a technologically-informed understanding of efficiency. This kind of metonymy did not just afford the comforting prospect of institutional surveillance but it also helped to construct an inside/outside dichotomy that isolated social disturbances and political instability from their social causes. This was most true in terms of the magazine's relationship with the railway, which was often a key component of the city-machine metaphor. It is interesting that the same slums and rookeries that gave the Holmes stories and *The*

⁵ This debate has principally occupied critics interested in the relationship between the Holmes stories and science. See Rosemary Jann, 'Sherlock Holmes Codes the Social Body', *ELH* (57- 3, 1990), pp. 685-708; Ronald R. Thomas, *Detective Fiction and the Rise of Forensic Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); John McBratney, 'Racial and Criminal Types: Indian Ethnography and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Sign of Four*', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 33- 1 (2005), pp. 149-167 and the varied contributions to Umberto Eco and Thomas A. Sebeok's edited collection *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983). All of this work is interested in the socio-cultural implications of the chains of reason implicit in Holmes' 'method'.

Strand's 'social exploration' non-fiction a reliable source of dread, were often the direct result of the development of London for intra-city and suburban travel; the same development that provided *The Strand* with its distribution networks and much of its readership.⁶

Chapter two interrogates a momentous shift in *The Strand's* representation of science and scientists. From 1900, there was a distinct change in these kinds of articles. The manner of their presentation shows a sudden and marked consciousness of science's potential to determine the nature of life in the new century. Instead of reifying or translating science into everyday arenas, the project became more similar to Bernard Lightman's conception of 'popularisation'.⁷ This meant that, on a superficial level, *The Strand* began to talk about 'science' and 'scientists' rather than 'inventions' and 'inventors', as had generally been the case. This change resulted in the investiture of scientists with a great deal more social prestige since their work was presented in a more serious tone. Soon afterwards, this paved the way for more frequent appearances by scientists in symposiums and interviews elsewhere in the magazine as scientists began to become grouped alongside writers, actresses, singers and politicians as 'celebrities'. The chapter interrogates how this consciousness spread between fiction and non-fiction in the work of such writers as Doyle, Grant Allen and H. G. Wells, whose work appeared in both formats. Ideologically, the new possibilities of science were wide-ranging and potentially disturbing. They created the need for a whole new battery of linguistic and editorial measures to contain them and to preserve an idealised image of science as an overarching project that was in step with the moral and ethical parameters of *The Strand's* sensibility.

Chapter three uses the Second Boer War and the subsequent 'physical culture' debate as a case study in the deployment of science as a strategy to regenerate the grand narratives and traditions that sustained *The Strand's* ideology. Because *The Strand's* pages were so densely packed with photographs and illustrations, the depiction of male bodies in articles that discussed the war formed a crucial part of this regeneration. Idealised visions of the male form, such as that of Eugen Sandow (the

⁶ 'Social exploration literature' is the term used by Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst to describe the work that stimulated the emerging Victorian obsession with the inner-workings of city slums. *The Fin de Siècle Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 25.

⁷ Bernard Lightman, 'Marketing Knowledge for the General Reader', *Endeavour* (24-3, 2000), pp. 100-106; *Victorian Science in Context* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1997) and Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

fin-de-siècle strongman and writer) were able to cope with this weight of expectation, as were the visions of manly beauty provided by the magazine's army of illustrators. Real, British bodies, however, noticeably short circuited these ideological requirements. This problem was particularly noticeable when Boer War articles featured photographs of battlefields, hospitals and soldiers. Manifestations of science provided a problematic series of metaphors in relation to warfare in general. *The Strand*, in its portrayal of the troops in South Africa, attempted to nurture two conflicting tropes, 'soldier as machine' and 'soldier as chivalric hero'. The chapter also examines the magazine's domestic genre fiction and the various ways in which it reinforced and complemented imperial ideology with particular reference to the depiction of sporting and professional mores. Scientific value systems, although they proliferated amongst these entanglements, prefigured the demise of *The Strand's* traditional ideology by dehumanising the chivalric subject and reducing their capacity to effectively 'ennoble' the act of conflict. These modernising trends created new conflicts with traditional models of heroism that were propagated by historical fiction, such as Doyle's medieval romances, which also appeared in *The Strand*.

The fourth chapter examines the final collapse of *The Strand's* commercial success, its decline from the pinnacle of British periodical publishing and the breakdown of its relationship with Doyle, its 'star author'.⁸ It performs this through the lens of Doyle's Professor Challenger stories and considers *The Lost World* as an attempt to hybridise the traditional quest narrative with one of scientific discovery. The novel and its sequels are viewed as part of an overarching project to harmonise scientific models of knowledge production with popular genres of fiction (the quest narrative, the invasion narrative and the courtship narrative amongst others). Doyle's attempts to reconcile spiritualism with an empirical, scientific outlook in 1926's *The Land of Mist* brought these issues to a crisis point. The subject of spiritualism is much discussed in the years after the First World War and this debate was a clear indication that *The Strand's* ideology, embodied by the close relationship between Doyle and his literary editor Herbert Greenhough Smith, was coming under serious strain. These conflicts are examined in the wider context of *The Strand* itself in these years (1912 to 1929) and in their reception by other periodicals. The chapter then

⁸ Daniel Stashower, *Teller of Tales*, London: Penguin Press, 1999, p. 335.

attempts to articulate the precise nature of the ideological schisms between *The Strand*, science and modernity.

2. CONTEXT, CRITICISM AND THEORY

The above outline only alludes to contemporaneous material appearing in *The Strand* itself and in the wider press. This raises one of the key methodological problems with a project of this kind, a problem which becomes heightened when placed within the context of recent trends in periodical studies. What is it about *The Strand Magazine* that is so interesting that it needs to be afforded a privileged position as an object of study? The danger of suggesting similarities between *The Strand's* ideology and broader modes of popular Victorian discourse is that unilateral, sweeping judgements, unwarranted by the source material or historical facts, will be attributed to it. Moreover, in the last ten years, 'periodical studies' has made huge strides towards eradicating the partisan, logocentric preoccupation with studying single texts. The explosion of online databases of nineteenth-century periodicals and an increasing inclination towards the incorporation of poststructuralist ideas (intertextuality, reception theory and the heterogeneity of textual composition) mean that the dominant critical paradigm has been to centre discussion on an issue, a debate, a figure or an idea. Such a locus has allowed critics to move across the barriers between individual periodicals and track arguments as they appeared, not just over time on the pages of one publication, but simultaneously in several publications at once. With samples of so many periodical publications so tantalisingly accessible in digital form, it can seem positively disingenuous to purposefully de-prioritise their broad vistas. A brief examination of these trends is useful in outlining and justifying the approach undertaken here.

One of the hallmarks of any self-respecting critical discourse should be self-reflexivity. Accordingly, the history of the study of Victorian periodicals provided a useful framework to examine not just the periodicals themselves, but also the discipline itself. In his seminal 1971 essay 'Charting the Golden Stream', Michael Wolff wrote that 'an attitude, an opinion, an idea, did not exist until it had registered itself in the press [...A]n interest, a group, a sect, a profession, came of age when it

inaugurated its journal'.⁹ It is a useful statement that hints at the reason for the substantial growth of periodical studies from the late 1950s, as well as for explaining why the first appearance of his journal, the *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, was so significant a land-mark in critical discourse itself.¹⁰ Why the interest in periodicals? When J. Don Vann and Rosemary VanArsdel published their long-awaited essay collection *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* in 1994, their methodology seemed designed to articulate the qualities inherent to the periodical form:¹¹

[P]eriodicals informed, instructed and amused virtually all of the people in the many segments of Victorian life [...] The objective throughout has been to illustrate the ubiquitous nature of Victorian periodical literature [...] The potential of Victorian periodicals is that they have as yet, scarcely been touched.¹²

The appeal of periodicals, from this perspective, has two dimensions. In the first instance, their volume and frequent appearances promised a suggestively responsive relationship to Victorian society that far exceeded the slower processing times of novels and poetry. The periodical bypassed traditional models of literary history by being at once a symptom of, and a metaphor for, the development of the mass market. According to a later Wolff article, periodicals represented 'the closest verbal and graphic equivalent which we have of Victorian urbanism'.¹³ The question that dominated periodical criticism in its early days was how to realise the cultural capital that remained locked within the 'vast repository' of periodicals?¹⁴ What methods and analytical tools would unpack their historical, historiographical and sociological meanings? The second benefit identified by Vann and VanArsdel is simply that, in a parent discipline as crowded as 'Victorian Studies', such unspoilt textual ground was too rare and valuable to ignore. What are we to make of the readership of Michael

⁹ Michael Wolff, 'Charting the Golden Stream: Thoughts on a Dictionary of Victorian Periodicals', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 13-4 (September, 1971) pp. 23-38, p. 26.

¹⁰ This title was later changed, in 1978, to *Victorian Periodicals Review*.

¹¹ The editors' introduction to their work testifies to the difficult gestation of the collection, J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, eds., *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), pp. 3-4.

¹² Vann and VanArsdel, eds., *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, p. 3.

¹³ Michael Wolff and Celina Fox, 'Pictures from the Magazines', *The Victorian City: Images and Realities Volume I*, H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, eds., (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 589.

¹⁴ Vann and VanArsdel, eds., *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, p. 4.

Wolff and Walter Houghton's first *Newsletter* with these issues in mind? First of all there was no great certainty that a readership for the publication even existed. Wolff wrote that '[b]y the next number we shall decide how to finance the *Newsletter* (that is, if we decide to continue it)'.¹⁵ He did not appear to write with the assurance that what Stanley Fish would later call an 'interpretive community' would provide any kind of substantial response.¹⁶ With this in mind, the first *Newsletter* reveals at least two interesting formal details. Firstly, the journal's title appeared under the banner heading of its parent journal, *Victorian Studies*. Secondly, it was entirely composed of thirty numbered contributions from interested academics who took the opportunity to flesh out their interests, make general appeals for information and suggest possible ways in which the periodical community could coalesce and communicate. That the *Newsletter* was entirely composed of potential readers' contributions and that the majority of these expressed a desire for closer connections suggested that a discourse (related but distinct from the generic *Victorian Studies* journal) was being 'inaugurated'.¹⁷ The *Newsletter*, in these regards, actualised the critical fantasy of periodicals as a heterogeneous space that was constructed, in both a real and a metaphorical sense, by its readers. Whether by design or not, Michael Wolff and Walter Houghton produced a perfect, scholarly paradigm for the formation and social function of periodicals. They were no longer mere texts but spaces of exchange, social interaction, fantastic projection and ideological contest. In recent years the 'phenomenon' of the growth of periodical studies was governed by two competing critical impulses, characterised by Kay Boardman as the 'materialist' and the 'theoretical'.¹⁸ On the one hand, the traditionally empirical research of paper costs, circulation figures, author's fees and business models found periodicals a congenial, relatively untrodden field. On the other, the incorporation of continental theory and philosophy into literature and history studies provided a battery of new analytical models to deal with the heterogeneity, ephemerality and diffused idea of authorship that periodicals appeared to promise.

¹⁵ Michael Wolff, 'Editorial Business', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* 1 (January, 1968), p. 1.

¹⁶ Fish, in his seminal work *Is There a Text in this Class?* (Harvard University Press, 1980) suggested that the production of meaning is not the result of a privileged author, nor of the reader and his 'interpretive strategy'. Rather, it is produced by an "interpretive community" of which both are integral parts whose idiosyncrasies are tempered and regulated by the group's multiplicity (p. 13).

¹⁷ Wolff, 'Charting the Golden Stream', p. 26.

¹⁸ Kay Boardman, "'Charting the Golden Stream": Recent Work on Victorian Periodicals', *Victorian Studies* 48-3 (Spring, 2006), p. 509, 505.

In order to locate this thesis within these trajectories it is necessary to deal with two challenges to traditional conceptions of the periodical as an object of study. The first was the beginning of mass digitisation of periodical titles such as that practised by the British Library in assembling its *British Newspapers 1800-1900* and *British Periodicals* collections. The compilation of searchable online databases had several consequences. It made the seeming ‘vastness’ of the periodical field a little less vast by providing usable horizons for thesis projects. It also made material instantly available that could otherwise have presented insurmountable boundaries to funded research, a concern that preoccupied many of the contributors to *VPN* in 1968 (as well as Wolff himself, whose repeated invocation of the archival potential of microfilm prefigured these later developments). Moreover, it made periodicals practicable objects of teaching and study at less specialist levels and, finally, the searchable database provided researchers with unparalleled, discriminate access to the spread and drift of ideas throughout the periodical deluge of the nineteenth-century. The second challenge came simultaneously in the form of the ‘Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical’ project (SciPer) at the Universities of Sheffield and Leeds which sought to provide a workable compass to direct researchers through the newly acquired mass of texts. Their website suggested that online databases ‘threaten[ed] to overwhelm the student with unwanted hits’ and that genuinely ‘illustrative’ material can be difficult to locate.¹⁹ The SciPer project proved a useful means of solidifying a sense of community and productivity by putting together programmes of numerous conferences and publications that attempted to map the spread of science through the morass of non-specialist magazines.

Just as the boom in critical theory that began in the 1960s and 70s coincided with the explosion of the traditional literary canon, so the technological enlargement of the accessible canon of Victorian periodicals placed a similarly expansive exigency upon periodical criticism. The approach of the SciPer group, directed by Geoffrey Cantor and Sally Shuttleworth, was necessarily horizontal as it condensed huge amounts of data across hundreds of publications, formats and platforms by thousands of writers and illustrators. Another consequence of this expansion was that the principal form of critical inquiry that analysed its findings was the book-length essay collection. In *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical: Reading the Magazine of*

¹⁹ ‘Introduction’, www.sciper.org/introduction.html (accessed 20.01.2010).

Nature and *Science Serialized* each article typically offered an examination of a particular genre of periodical, in a particular period that was focussed around a particular debate, author or title.²⁰ Two things, then, are of (self) interest in this discourse: first, no one title was given more than ten pages of treatment unto itself and, second, *The Strand Magazine* was mentioned, in passing, only once.²¹ By focussing on a single text like *The Strand*, emphasis is necessarily placed upon a more vertical interrogative model that tracks developing patterns of repetitions and deviations. A critical perspective can only ever be a parallax view; just as the broad panoramas offered by SciPer emphasised the proliferation and density of science in periodical discourse at large, so it necessarily elided the quieter machinery of the individual relationships that grew over time between publications and science. One of the reasons that *The Strand*, despite its staggering popularity, has received relatively scant critical attention is that, at first sight, it seems a rather unappealing critical object. It appeared, in 1891, rather too late to partake in the century's greatest debates and it then had the temerity to run long into the twentieth-century (1950, in fact) which disturbs any sense of orderly historicity. Unlike its near relation, *The Review of Reviews*, it was too middlebrow and had too rigorous a sense of decorum to get seriously involved in many of the heated debates which the openness and scale of the periodical form seemed to afford. *The Strand*, in fact, seemed to enjoy a rather smug elevation beyond the rest of the periodical field which, in commercial terms, it came to dominate and re-define. The canon of *Strand* criticism that presents itself to the *ingénue* is not substantial. The dedicated journal *Victorian Periodicals Review* offers three articles in the shape of Christopher Pittard's 'Cheap, Healthful Literature', Peter McDonald's 'The Adventures of the Literary Agent' (later expanded into a chapter in his *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice*) and Ruth Hoberman's 'Constructing the Turn-of-the-Century Shopper'.²² In three articles and a book Kate

²⁰ Joanthan R. Topham, eds., *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical: Reading the Magazine of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Geoffrey Cantor and Sally Shuttleworth, eds., *Science Serialized* (London: The MIT Press, 2004).

²¹ The introduction of *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical: Reading the Magazine of Nature* mentions it in a list of 'new and distinctive' journals that showed 'populist and aggressively imperialist' tendencies (p. 23).

²² Christopher Pittard, "'Cheap, Healthful Literature": *The Strand Magazine*, Fictions of Crime and Purified Reading Communities', *Victorian Periodicals Review* (40-1, 2007); Peter D. McDonald, 'The Adventure of the Literary Agent: Conan Doyle, A. P. Watt, Holmes and *The Strand* in 1891', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 30-1 (Spring, 1997); Peter McDonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Ruth Hoberman, 'Constructing the Turn-of-

Jackson examined the magazine through the lens of its managing editor and proprietor George Newnes.²³ Most recently, and with no little relevance, James Mussell's *Science, Time and Space in the Late Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press* contained a brief chapter on the magazine's depictions of science and detective fiction.²⁴ Elsewhere, the magazine made appearances in discussions of the art of magazine illustration, through its relation to the emergence of the linked series of short stories, as an interesting example of trans-Atlantic cultural influence or as a cultural prop to the politics of new imperialism.²⁵ Away from this direct interest, shadowy allusions are always cast to *The Strand* in the overcrowded annals of Sherlock Holmes criticism which, essentially, qualifies as a distinct discipline by itself. Few critics pay serious attention to the vast swathes of material that appeared alongside the stories in *The Strand*, and fewer still entertain the idea that interpretations of the stories could be modified by consideration of these intertexts. This thesis pays close attention to this issue and, where predominant critical perspectives from Holmesian criticism are contradicted or challenged by these considerations, then correctives or modifications are suggested. The overall goal of this thesis is not to quarantine *The Strand* off, but simply to prioritise it above competing critical considerations. Many of the incidents that will be analysed, for example, require heavy contextualisation within the broader community of late Victorian, Edwardian and Georgian periodicals. Interestingly, this process is made extremely difficult by the heavy 'Victorian' emphasis in periodical studies. Attention is so heavily on the 1800-1900 barriers that very little critical work or online resources facilitate later contextualisation into the twentieth-century.

The aim of this study is to provide an analysis of *The Strand*'s relationship with science over the first forty years of its existence. In light of the recent trends in periodical studies this, in itself, needs some justification. Why prioritise one single

the-Century Shopper: Narratives about Purchased Objects in the "Strand Magazine," 1891-1910', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37-1 (Spring, 2004);

²³ Kate Jackson, "'Doing Things Differently'" and "'Striking Whilst the Iron was Hot'": The Entrepreneurial Successes of the Media Magnate George Newnes, 1881-1910', *Publishing Research Quarterly* 12-4 (December, 1996); 'George Newnes and the "Loyal Tit-Bitties": Editorial Identity and Textual Interaction in *Tit-Bits*', in *Nineteenth Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, edited by Lauren Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880-1910* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

²⁴ James Mussell, *Science, Time and Space in the Victorian Periodical* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 61-91.

²⁵ Anne Hollander, *Moving Pictures* (Anne Hollander, 1989); Ed Wiltse, "'So Constant an Expectation": Sherlock Holmes and Seriality', *Narrative* 6-2 (May, 1998); Paul March-Russell, *The Short Story: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 48; Ronald R. Thomas, 'The Fingerprint of the Foreigner: Colonizing the Criminal Body in 1890s Detective Fiction and Criminal Anthropology', *ELH* (61- 3, 1994).

magazine over the entire morass of publications when the prohibitive vastness of the field has only recently been made navigable? The answer for this flagrant digital ingratitude lies partly in the success and influence of *The Strand* in opening up a particular market *niche* (the illustrated shilling monthly), partly in its blurring of the strict divide between nineteenth and twentieth century that has become an endemic parameter of the field and, partly, taking a cue from Kate Jackson, to a consciousness of the magazine as a culturally embedded product.²⁶ It is the oldest *cliché* that, from the early nineteenth-century, science produced a series of challenges to the traditional narratives that constituted the different kinds of Victorian ideology. Part of what makes *The Strand's* life-span so striking is that its cultural entrenchment and resistance to change coincided with a far greater longevity than the illustrated monthly magazines that followed in its wake. So it was not some idiosyncratic persuasion that isolated *The Strand* but rather a set of unignorable historical conditions that made the 'phenomenon' of its appearance and success distinct in certain respects from other approaches to periodical studies. The challenge was to write an examination from a particular perspective (that of the interplay between science and ideology) with enough comparators to ground the material in its cultural scene without zooming out too far and losing sight of it in the background.

There is a quiet theoretical underpinning to the interrogative model used in this thesis. This is not deployed in the iconoclastic belief that contemporary theory has in any way over-written the critical vocabulary of the past. Rather, for all their recondite squabbling, the skirmishes that have attended recent theoretical discussions have occasionally pulped serious historical significance into theoretical terms.²⁷ The working definition of 'ideology' used herein derives (as discussed at the start of chapter one) from the everlasting debate within Marxist theory and is used in two senses: the first simply describes the assemblage of different ideas into a projected

²⁶ She asserts that her study 'attempts to answer [...] the challenge posed by recent work in cultural studies and literary criticism concerning the relationship between the industrial production of cultural forms and the consumption or reception of those forms, and offers a model of the periodical text [...as] a culturally-embedded, social object [...] [A] product of negotiation and interaction between editor-proprietor and audience'. Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 7.

²⁷ One such relevant debate is Slavoj Žižek's seemingly endless contest with Simon Critchley over the true interpretation of Walter Benjamin's term 'divine violence'. It offers a useful perspective on *The Strand's* treatment of late nineteenth-century terrorism in chapter one. See Slavoj Žižek, *Violence*, London: Profile, 2008 and Simon Critchley, 'Violent Thoughts About Slavoj Žižek', *Naked Punch* 11 (Summer, 2008), pp. 3-7. Critchley suggests that Žižek's valorisation of the revolutionary terror is dangerous and 'cruel' (p. 3). Žižek in turn suggests that political commitments without the threat of violence are pale reflections of the real thing.

value system whilst the second hints at the distortions that occur when the idea is preserved at the expense of reality ('twisting facts to suit theories' as Sherlock Holmes, channelling the spirit of Marx over Hegel, once put it).²⁸

Elsewhere in the thesis, Manuel Delanda's discussion of the life-span of inorganic entities in *Intensive Science and Virtual Philosophy* is also informative because it solidifies a vocabulary by which one can speak of historical entities (cities, species, organizations, magazines) as having the same characteristics as an individual life, albeit with a 'larger spatio-temporal scale'.²⁹ To this end he rehearses the argument (familiar from the work of Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace) that a species is born when two breeding groups are separated from each other and are left to reproduce apart. *The Strand* was born after the dissolution of the partnership between W. T. Stead and George Newnes who had jointly founded *The Review of Reviews* in 1889. The reasons for their differences were explicitly cultural and centred on the function of journalism and its role within culture. The dissolution of their partnership (Stead bought out Newnes' share for £10,000) was prompted by a series of profound disagreements over the appropriateness of proposed content. One of these disagreements was prompted by Stead's desire to publish Tolstoy's novel *The Kreutzer Sonata*. Stead (noted and mocked in the popular daily press as a rabid Russophile) anticipated the work, which he had not read but had discussed in person with the author on a visit to Russia, as an assault upon the 'conventional illusion of romantic love' and the institution of marriage.³⁰ These incidents (also including the publication of potentially blasphemous letters from theosophists) lead to 'sleepless nights' for Newnes who feared both legal action and falling sales as a result of Stead's quixotic, politically committed style.³¹ Pound quotes him as worrying that the *Review* 'would be shut out of numberless homes'.³² On the ending of their partnership, he wrote to Stead and observed that

²⁸ Arthur Conan Doyle, *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Novels and Stories Volume I*, New York: Bantam, 1986, p. 212.

²⁹ Manuel Delanda, *Intensive Science and Virtual Philosophy* (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 58.

³⁰ 'Mr Stead is, of course, jubilant at the inauguration of a policy [the prospect of political accord between England and Russia] which he has frequently advocated [...] we can hardly pretend to relish the oleaginous and meretricious sentiments for which it is made the occasion', *Pick-Me-Up* 160 (Saturday, April 14, 1900), p. 18. Similar statements appeared in the *Birmingham Daily Post* 11412 (Tuesday, January 15, 1895) and the *Glasgow Herald* (Saturday, June 4, 1898) which termed him 'eloquent but not convincing'. His views on *The Kreutzer Sonata* are quoted in Reginald Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, Heinemann, 1966, p. 151.

³¹ Pound, *The Strand Magazine: 1891-1950*, p. 29.

³² Pound, *The Strand Magazine: 1891-1950*, p. 29.

There is one kind of journalism which directs the affairs of nations; it makes and unmakes cabinets; it upsets governments [...] It is magnificent [...] There is another kind of journalism which has no such great ambitions. It is content to plod on, year after year, giving wholesome and harmless entertainment to crowds of hardworking people [...] This is my journalism.³³

The cultural impact of *The Strand* has to be seen in this context: the conditions of its creation were oppositional. The *Review*, its near relation, was created with excitement and anticipation for the contests and challenges of modernity whilst *The Strand* purposefully went into the future with its eyes firmly focussed on the past. The magazine's 'death', too, can be considered in cultural and ideological terms. Using Delanda's reasoning, we could attribute the continuation of its existence and success to its being 'maintained by the overlap of successive generations of neighbours'; an examination of *The Strand* as a business model accordingly reveals very slow staff turnover across the decades.³⁴ These details are discussed in more detail in chapter four but it is suggestive that from 1891 to 1930, the magazine had only two editors, Newnes and Smith, both of whom were part of the magazine's staff from the very beginning of its separation from the *Review*. From this perspective, the magazine's consistent fulfilment of its ideological commitments, its collection of long-running series and its refusal to incorporate any kind of 'modernist' or 'psychological' fiction should be no surprise. It is testament to the editorial style of the magazine that articles written decades apart can appear strikingly similar in their phraseology, rhetoric, tone and imagery. From this perspective, then, the end of popular interest in the magazine also hints at the seismic end of Victorian ideology. Literary critics are apt to locate this end sometime between the publication of *Heart of Darkness* and the turn of the century; however, the prolonged life of *The Strand* shows that it took several decades to filter through to the mass-market audience whom, presumably, the literary elite had neglected to inform.³⁵ This is not to suggest

³³ Kate Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain 1880-1910* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 54.

³⁴ Manuel Delanda, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (London: Continuum, 2006), p. 44.

³⁵ In *Modernism*, part of the *Critical Idiom* series, Peter Childs rehearses this argument: 'the class system was rocked by the rise of the trade unions and the Labour Party; beliefs in King and Country, patriotism and duty were betrayed by carnage and war; the strength of patriarchy was challenged as

that aspects of 'Victorian' ideology do not survive today simply that popular taste for its undiluted expression had ceased to exist. We are liable to ask how the close publisher/readership relationship between Newnes and his public broke down. These questions, dealt with in depth hereafter, are concisely framed by using Delanda as a theoretical reference-point. Delanda's observations on the relationship between technology and cultural constructions and depictions of warfare in *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines* are also strikingly relevant.³⁶ They provide a useful historical condensation of events that contextualises the dilemma that faces *The Strand* during the physical culture debate and the Second Boer War discussed in chapter three. He tracks the historical trends that link society's self-perceptions and ideologies to their production of weaponry and military tactics. The manufacture of arms is an extremely pertinent example to this thesis because it represents the point at which theoretical science, applied technology, big business and all kinds of ideology become incestuously interrelated. These distinctions are profoundly difficult to identify but, in a sense, *The Strand's* populist approach to science means that pinning them down is not always necessary. The magazine's ideology often functioned by consciously blurring the boundaries between those categories for specific purposes; explaining where, when and why this happens is more relevant than hammering out recondite, theoretical taxonomies for the sake of it. With that in mind, Delanda is deeply concerned with the ways in which the fields of technology and industry affect the grander ideas that circulate through a society. A daily newspaper would be hard pushed, for example, to turn a person who had remotely activated a nuclear bomb into a chivalric hero. *The Strand* itself faces a similar dilemma when it attempted to depict a modern army in language still saturated with traditional models of medieval heroism and self-sacrifice.

Finally, Jean François Lyotard's brilliantly succinct description of belief in decay, *The Postmodern Condition*, runs throughout the thesis as a theoretical

women went to work outside the home'. This was the cultural context into which modernism articulated its taste for 'discord' against 'Victorian harmony'. Such reductiveness is not common in more detailed criticism but the idea of modernism directly supplanting nineteenth-century literature is a common trope in overviews, *précis* and introductions. Peter Childs, *Modernism* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 20-21.

³⁶ Manuel Delanda, *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines* (New York: Zone Books, 1991). Of particular interest is chapter one, which examines long historical trends in weapons technology and military tactics.

reference point.³⁷ Despite the endless arguing that still attends Lyotard's formulation of 'grand' and 'small' narratives as a metaphor for the ideological confusion of the twentieth-century, his encyclopaedic examination of the interrelations between science, culture and ideology are profoundly relevant to *The Strand's* own struggle. Lyotard's writing is not referenced to describe something as unilateral as 'the way things are' but as an accurate allegory for the relationship between *The Strand's* overall ideology and the small articles and stories that were its everyday components. It also provides an appropriate historical context for the diffusion of the power of the nation-state and the rise of multinational corporations and a 'knowledge economy'.³⁸ These observations become crucial when examining Arthur Conan Doyle's Challenger narratives which are explicitly concerned with the problematic dissemination of scientific knowledge throughout society. Even when *The Strand* published non-fiction articles on subjects relating to science or technology, the subject matter could only be written about in the form of narratives that told the story of how science could potentially impact the everyday life of the reader. The 'pure' or 'theoretical' sciences were anathema to the narrative demands of the magazine's status as a popular product of the mass-market press. Whilst the issue of 'popularisation' has been treated by several historians of science with more explicit relevance, Lyotard's insistence upon the role of narratives as the medium by which ideas derived from science are able to circulate throughout a culture is particularly pertinent. The fact that so many contributors to *The Strand* held dual statuses as scientists and authors (Grant Allen, Arthur Conan Doyle, H. G. Wells are only the three most famous) is indicative of this. These theoretical ornaments are not, as suggested, the modern gloss necessary to make the final, triumphant intuitions about *The Strand*. They simply provide useful metaphors and vocabulary to describe the relationship between science, ideology and culture that are of principal concern. No theory is held up as being unilaterally true, only its relevance to understanding *The Strand* is suggested.

Between December, 1890 and March, 1950 *The Strand* published just shy of seven hundred issues which ran to nearly two hundred bound volumes. Such a wealth of material necessitated certain limitations, even on a thesis-length project and the

³⁷ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

³⁸ Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 5.

logic behind the decision of what to include and what not to include should be explained. It might be puzzling, for example, that, aside from an analysis of *The First Men in the Moon* alongside *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, H. G. Wells is not as omnipresent as might reasonably be expected in a study of science and fiction at the *fin-de-siècle*. Similarly, the close focus that this study maintains on the Sherlock Holmes stories could justifiably be accused of occluding the swathes of imitators who wrote detective fiction directly in his wake and who have stimulated much recent criticism. The variations that such authors as L. T. Meade, Arthur Morrison, Jacques Frutelle, E. W. Hornung, Gaston Le Roux and, later, Ernest Bramah imposed upon Doyle's model offer case studies in the generic adaptation of detective fiction to slightly different cultural contexts (colonial, female detective, female author, American-set).³⁹ Another approach to the material could have been to focus on several of *The Strand's* signature long-running series such as *Portraits of Celebrities at Different Times in Their Lives*, *From Behind the Speakers Chair* (Sir Henry Lucy's satirical summary of the month's events in Westminster), *Illustrated Interviews*, *The Queer Side of Things* (a miscellany that echoed the regular features of *Tit-Bits*). A close analysis of the subtle reverberations and changes would certainly be more clearly visible over time in such a collection of articles, especially if, like Lucy's, they were written to an established, unbreakable formula and by a single author. *Illustrated Interviews* and *Portraits of Celebrities* were quick to manifest social and cultural shifts through their editorial choices. Which public figures were *The Strand* reader expected to care about and which aspects of his or her career were particularly recommended as being relevant? It could also be argued that emphasis on Sherlock Holmes perpetuates one of Doyle's greatest literary frustrations by ignoring his historical fiction which made frequent (and highly popular) appearances in the magazine.⁴⁰ These excursions into the history of the British identity and ideology that

³⁹ See John Greenfield, 'Arthur Morrison's Sherlock Clone: Martin Hewitt, Victorian Values, and London Magazine Culture, 1894-1903', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 35-1 (Spring, 2002); Joseph A. Kestner's books *The Edwardian Detective 1901-1915* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) and *Sherlock's Sisters* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) catalogue the variations, usually in the context of the Holmes stories. More generally, J. Kenneth Van Dover's *You Know My Method: The Science of the Detective* (University of Wisconsin Popular Press, 1994) contains a long discussion of the various Holmesian imitators. To generalise, such detectives as Martin Hewitt, Professor Augustus S. F. X. Van Dusen, Hilda Wade and Joseph Rouletabille appeal to critics because they seem to offer subtle, subaltern rewritings of the dominant, Holmesian paradigm.

⁴⁰ Doyle always claimed that *Micah Clarke*, an 1889 *bildungsroman* set during the seventeenth-century Monmouth rebellion was Doyle's favourite of his novels. In March, 1888 he wrote to his mother that 'everyone who hears [it] comes under the spell [...] I think it is fresh and original. More like Dumas

Doyle and *The Strand* shared with their readership literally enacted the process by which narratives from the past were used to back up and legitimate claims about the present and the future.

Whilst almost all of these writers and series do make an appearance in this thesis, the guiding principal behind de-prioritising these approaches was dictated by its emphasis on science. The closure of the study at 1930 was suggested by the end of the Professor Challenger narratives in 1929 (around which chapter four is structured), Doyle's death soon after in 1930 and the fact that the 1930s, according to Reginald Pound, marked the point at which the decline in the magazine's circulation became terminal.⁴¹ In its dotage, the magazine's editors de-prioritised non-fiction, cut its length from 120 pages to 96 and, consequently, it appears more detached from the world around it.⁴² Large swathes of *The Strand*, though, had established a loose succession of events that, when cobbled together, could tell a particular narrative about *The Strand*'s uses of science and shed light on its commercial and ideological decline whilst emphasising the crucial, complementary roles that Doyle, Newnes and Smith played in forming the magazine's ideology. There is a sense in which discussions of science in *The Strand* gradually coalesce from 1891 until the early 1900s, the subject is slowly taken more seriously and is attributed with more social and cultural significance. It is this change that opens up ideological splits and differences over time. The chosen material was organised to express this change and so does not follow any strictly chronological timeline that derives from scientific disciplines or discoveries. Instead it follows a series of engagements between the two, none of which are especially alike but which represent different ideological strategies to incorporate science within the existing confines of the magazine's format and language. Wells' presence, in this context, seemed something of a false-lure since it takes only a superficial comparison between his appearances in *The Strand* (where he published a handful of short stories and one novel, *The First Men in the Moon* in 1901) and the *Fortnightly Review* where he was encouraged to publish lengthy disquisitions on socialism, sociology and wildly speculative engagements with contemporary science. This comparison is examined properly in chapter two

than any English author I can think of'. Jon Lellenberg, Daniel Stashower and Charles Foley, eds., *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters* (London: Harper Perennial, 2008), p. 252.

⁴¹ 'The truth was that the magazine had shown no spectacular profit since the early '30s, although outside the boardroom its status remained undimmed'. Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 167.

⁴² Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 168.

but, suffice to say that Wells was ideologically aberrant as far as *The Strand* was concerned and his participation in the magazine away from his fiction is limited in a way that Doyle's was certainly not. This is not to say there is no critical capital to be made from examining the problems that arose out of Wells' and the magazine's differences, but simply that, in the context of the overall narrative, it seemed digressive. The decision to cherry pick particular instalments of those long-running series was prompted by two considerations. The first was that *The Strand* published a large number of different formats and kinds of article during its first few decades. As such, the flash-points of controversy and disagreement between *The Strand* and science occur in different, culturally-specific places at different times within the broader landscape of the magazine's content. The aim of the thesis is to present these moments as connected and construct a lurching, sometimes non-sequential narrative that could not be simply grafted onto the regular appearance of a popular series. Because the structure of the argument hereafter is modelled on *The Strand* itself, it seems necessary to justify the androcentric emphasis that frequently dominates. In fact, *The Strand's* treatment of women in non-fiction articles and the ways in which it cultivated relationships with female writers such as L. T. Meade and Gertrude Bacon is extremely rich. Moreover, since Hoberman's essay is the only critical work on *The Strand* that addresses the topic at all, it was a wrench not to discuss such suggestive articles as 'Muzzles For Ladies', 'The Kind of Woman a Man Likes', 'Should Women Serve as Soldiers?' or 'Distinguished Women and Their Dolls'.⁴³ It is a fact, however, that the principal difference between the depiction of men and women is that science played such a crucial role in the former and was conspicuously absent in the latter. Male bodies were visceral participants in the various culture wars in which *The Strand* engaged in a way that women were not and so it is for reasons of economy rather than disinterest that female representations were de-prioritised.

The predominance of the Holmes stories, on the other hand, is inescapable. This is not because of the cultural significance of Holmes or the huge body of criticism and popular debate that he still conspires to stimulate but because of the instant and insistent identification of him with Doyle, with Newnes and with the magazine. That issue will be discussed in greater depth at the end of this introduction

⁴³ 'Muzzles For Ladies', *The Strand* 8 (November, 1894); 'The Sort of Woman a Man Likes', *The Strand* 45 (February, 1913); 'Should Women Serve as Soldiers?', *The Strand* 40 (July, 1910); 'Distinguished Women and Their Dolls', *The Strand* 8 (September, 1894).

but it is clear that the magazine's carefully, painstakingly constructed public image was embodied by the figures of Holmes and Doyle. Efforts have been made throughout to acknowledge digressive trains of thought and the potential fruits of other avenues of enquiry where they arise. In the best tradition of *The Strand* and theories of science as a culturally-embedded product, this thesis is the servant to a particular narrative.

3. THE STRAND AT THE BEGINNING

This section of the introduction will examine the nature and consequences of *The Strand's* appearance in the periodical marketplace as well as discuss some of the clues to the ideological commitments of the key figures involved in its production. The first appearance of any reference to the publication occurs in November, 1890 in *The Pall Mall Gazette* where a small advertisement footer politely informed the reader that 'THE printing of *THE STRAND MAGAZINE* has now BEGUN and will be continued day and night until publication'.⁴⁴ This was followed by other modestly phrased and positioned adverts on November 26th and November 30th where the news that '185,627 sheets' had been 'struck' was also included.⁴⁵ These modest beginnings might seem inconsequential but they hint at Newnes' delicate understanding of the cultural and intellectual economies of the periodical marketplace. *The Pall Mall Gazette* was an evening daily that began in 1865 and was, according to Andrew King, 'an early proponent of new journalism'.⁴⁶ It was edited by Stead from 1883 until he departed to take over the *Review of Reviews* in 1889 and was one of the first publications to take advantage of the leavened government constraints on printing. Serious and politically-engaged enough to avoid Newnes' horror of cheap or sensational publications, it was equally constrained by its dependence upon circulation to avoid the revolutionary tenor of politically-active journalism that would, in Newnes' words, 'make and unmake cabinets'.⁴⁷ Its principal claim upon its readers' attention, according to Martin Conboy, was that it brought 'the scope and

⁴⁴ *The Pall Mall Gazette* 8012 (Saturday, November 22, 1890).

⁴⁵ *The Pall Mall Gazette* 8015 (Wednesday, November 26, 1890).

⁴⁶ Andrew King and John Plunkett, eds., *Victorian Print Media: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 340.

⁴⁷ Newnes passionately believed that his 'wholesome' brand of journalism kept his readers from 'the sporting papers, which boasted a "low", racy style and emphasised turf news, racing tips and *double entendre*.' Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 48.

variety of the periodical reviews into daily journalism' with a 'lightness' and 'polish' that contrasted with the 'heavy' and 'tradition-bound' morning papers.⁴⁸ Its readers, working men of substance but not part of the intellectual elite, were precisely the 'common men' of Newnes' imagination. It is strange to survey the 1890 and 1891 reviews of *The Strand's* first number since every modern viewpoint commends its 'newness' and 'innovation'.⁴⁹ In contrast to this, the Dublin-based *Freeman's Journal* received the magazine with a studied tedium, beginning simply '[y]et another' before observing that 'it is not badly got up' despite condemning the *Portraits of Celebrities at Different Times in Their Lives* section as 'hav[ing] very little interest either for the educated or the *hoi polloi*. We are already surfeited with the photos of these shop window celebrities'.⁵⁰ Its tedium was perhaps understandable; the genre of the illustrated monthly had indeed been in full swing for some years. *Golden Hours* (1864), *London Society* (1862) and *The Savoy* (1865) all ran into the late 1880s and featured some mixture of fiction, current affairs and human interest content. In the 1880s there was a second wave of magazines including *Art and Letters* (1888) *The Bookworm* (1881), *The English Illustrated Magazine* (1883) and *The Universal Review* (1888) all of which capitalised on the increasing popular taste for review literature. As Stead wrote in his introduction to the first number of the *Review of Reviews*:

In the mighty maze of modern periodical literature, the busy man wanders confused, not knowing exactly where to find the precise article that he requires, and often, after losing all his scanty time in the search, he departs unfulfilled.⁵¹

In this context, the world-weariness of the *Freeman's Journal* makes even more sense. The glorious future of *The Strand* was, at that point, entirely unpredictable. Of the countless reviews of *The Strand's* first number, certain qualities are continually highlighted as being of interest to readers. *Portraits of Celebrities* is repeatedly mentioned, as is the high number of illustrations, the noticeable influence of American magazines, the high number of translated stories, the role of Newnes, his

⁴⁸ Martin Conboy, *Journalism: A Critical History* (London: SAGE, 2004), p.167.

⁴⁹ See the introduction to chapter one.

⁵⁰ *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (Friday, December 12, 1890).

⁵¹ W. T. Stead, 'Programme', *Review of Reviews* 1:1 (January, 1890), p. 14.

association with *Tit-Bits* and the emphasis of institutional portraits of the Animal Hospital, the Fire Brigade and the Thames Police.⁵² Its prospects for success were agreed to be fair to moderate; the *Birmingham Daily Post* asserted that *The English Illustrated Magazine* 'ha[d] yet no rival' despite *The Strand* aping 'some of the lighter features of that admirable magazine' and being, for all its sins, 'bright', 'clever' and 'entertaining'.⁵³ The most frequently used word in the reviews is 'capital' which seems an appropriately moderate expression of approbation for a solid, impressive, if unoriginal venture.⁵⁴

These judgements were necessarily revised, however, when the first issue of *The Strand* sold 300,000 copies; sales which elevated it to the forefront of the periodical marketplace.⁵⁵ *The Pall Mall Gazette* of February 6th contained an advertisement that ran

The phenomenal sale of No. 1 of the STRAND MAGAZINE makes the appearance of No. 2 peculiarly interesting.

The sale of No. 1 extended to the hitherto unheard-of total of 350,000.

It is an interesting fact that not one single copy has been returned to us from the trade. It is probable that had we been able to print No. 1 fast enough we could have sold half a million.⁵⁶

⁵² *Reynolds's Newspaper* highlighted *Portraits...* as one of several 'novel features' (2106 [Sunday, December 21, 1890]); *The Leeds Mercury* suggests that the series shows 'the merit of originality' (16447 [Tuesday, December 23, 1890]); an impressed *Penny Illustrated Paper* commended 'Mr Newnes' for 'present[ing] for sixpence a gallery of well-engraved portraits' (1545 [Saturday, January 10, 1891]). The high percentage of illustrations was also noted by every one of these reviews. The magazine was further described as '[g]ot up in the American style' (*The Leeds Mercury* 16447 [Tuesday, December 23, 1890]); *The Pall Mall Gazette* called it 'a home-made Harper' (8077 [Saturday, February 7, 1891]); *The Derby Mercury* observed that '[t]he illustrations are engraved and printed in a fashion which leaves the American magazines little to boast about' (9192 [Wednesday, March 18, 1891]). The connection with Stead and the *Review* is raised elsewhere: 'Mr George Newnes, M. P., is the lucky owner of a veritable journalistic gold-mine in *Tit-Bits*. Tempted, perhaps by the prodigious success of Mr Stead's *Review of Reviews* (in which pie Mr Newnes had a finger at the start), the fair and frank-looking proprietor of *Tit-Bits* has launched another goodly venture in the shape of *The Strand Magazine*' (*The Penny Illustrated Paper* 1545 [Saturday, January 10, 1891]).

⁵³ *Birmingham Daily Post* 10183 (Wednesday, February 11, 1891).

⁵⁴ The word is used by *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* (twice), *The Derby Mercury*, the *Northern Echo* and *The Pall Mall Gazette*.

⁵⁵ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 94. However, a later advertisement in *The Pall Mall Gazette* claimed '350,000' (8076 [Friday, February 6, 1891]).

⁵⁶ *The Pall Mall Gazette* 8076 (Friday, February 6, 1891).

Jackson suggests that Newnes' success with *The Strand* was principally attributable to his 'established reputation as a publisher' and his aptitude for 'promoting his magazine prior to its appearance'.⁵⁷ However much Jackson, Reginald Pound and Geraldine Beare may speculate about reasons for *The Strand*'s large volumes of sales, it becomes clear from a survey of contemporaneous press discussion that intertextuality was a key factor. Adverts almost overlap with positive reviews in *The Pall Mall Gazette* which, on the day after the advert quoted above, contained a review that suggested to its readers that

[g]ood in many respects as the first number of the *Strand Magazine* was, the second issue shows a very marked improvement. It is a home-made *Harper*. The articles are each excellent, and the illustrations are worthy of them.⁵⁸

The column then contains a lengthy extract from the symposium article 'Letters from Artists on Ladies' Dress' which ran in *The Strand*'s first issue. The symposium also generated interest in provincial newspapers with extracts also appearing or being quoted in *The Bristol Mercury* and *The Derby Mercury*.⁵⁹ Newnes integrated his magazine to his potential readers' lives through specifically targeted daily newspapers and by banking on both his reputation and the reputation of *Tit-Bits* which, in the 1890s (according to various sources) circulated 600,000 copies a week. He was thus able to broadcast a clear image of his publication to the general public.⁶⁰ On May 14th of 1891, in the full flush of *The Strand*'s first popularity, *The Pall Mall Gazette* published an advert that was headlined

A BUSY DAY AT THE TIT-BITS OFFICE

This day, Thursday, the 14th of May,

ARE PUBLISHED AT TEN O' CLOCK THIS MORNING

620,000 COPIES OF TIT-BITS,

AND 210,000 COPIES OF THE STRAND MAGAZINE.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 94.

⁵⁸ *The Pall Mall Gazette* (8077 [Saturday, February 7, 1891]).

⁵⁹ *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* (13348 [Monday, February 23, 1891]); *The Derby Mercury* (9192 [Wednesday, March 18, 1891]).

⁶⁰ The figure is quoted in *Penny Illustrated Paper* review, quoted above and is also alluded to by Reginald Pound (p. 17).

⁶¹ *The Pall Mall Gazette* (8158 [Thursday, May 14, 1891]).

To talk of the ‘birth’ of *The Strand*, then, is not an idle metaphor. We can consider its intertextual and ideological relationship to the publications around it as a process of ‘speciation’, the process by which a species becomes isolated from those around it by ‘the closing of the gene pool [...] to external genetic influences’.⁶² This might seem an outlandish theoretical imposition at first but consider Reginald Pound’s summary of Newnes’ transition between *The Review of Reviews* and *The Strand*.

The severance from Stead left Newnes with another sort of problem. He had engaged for the *Review of Reviews* an editorial staff which Stead could not afford to take with him [...] He kept [them] on the payroll whilst he decided what to do.⁶³

This interim period of gestation shows the embryonic *Strand*’s removal from the direct sphere of influence of Stead and his *Review*. Despite this, an intertextual relationship would be continued by their connection in the minds of reviewers, through reciprocal advertising space and by the *Review*’s frequent (generally positive, if condescending) reviews. In January, 1891, for example, the *Review* wrote that ‘The first number went off with an immense rush, owing to the coloured supplement which the ingenious Mr Newnes discovered would serve as an ample advertisement [...] in February there will be no coloured supplement, the magazine must depend solely upon its contents for its sale’.⁶⁴ If we zoom out from these minutiae then we can see that the ideological flux that surrounded the failed partnership meant that *The Strand* appeared as a direct symptom of conservative cultural values in the face of progressive ones. Many contributors and editorial employees of *The Strand* published widely in other areas and we can see comparable sets of values underlying their other work. Perhaps the most relevant was H. Greenhough Smith who began his *Strand* career as literary editor and then took over the full editorship from Newnes in 1895 and continued in that role until his retirement in 1930. It was his stewardship of the magazine’s fictional content that gradually phased out the translated continental fiction of the first few issues and replaced it with domestic genre fiction, a change

⁶² Manuel Delanda, *Intensive Science and Virtual Philosophy* (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 39.

⁶³ Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 29.

⁶⁴ *The Review of Reviews* 3-13 (January, 1891), p. 29.

facilitated by the positive reaction to authors such as Doyle, who Smith contentiously claimed to have 'discovered'. In 1878 Smith had contributed an article to *Poet's Magazine*, a short-lived monthly publication, on the subject of the work and letters of Keats. In the article he mounts a tangential defence of the poet in the face of accusatory suggestions of 'effeminacy', 'want of manliness' and 'moral courage'.⁶⁵ The article outlined the same approach to literature that would later control and regulate the precise sensibility of *The Strand's* fiction content as well as prefiguring the views of George Newnes who, in 1878, was still working as a commercial traveller. Smith mounts his own defence of poetry by first asserting that 'the intense sensuousness and love of beauty of which his poetry is the incarnation often seems to overpower the stronger qualities of his mind, and make them indistinct'. The argument went on to suggest that Keats' moral fibre was evidenced by his forthright rejection of 'cant' and by his ability to 'thrash a cowardly blackguard double his size for bullying a child'.⁶⁶ The key, for Smith, was to look within the immersive sensuality of the verse and find that same courage and manliness shown by the poet in his life. This insistence upon a mixture of romanticism and common-sense manliness is one of the principal characteristics of *The Strand's* fiction and should temper the suggestion that *The Strand* was simply and solely an organ of conservative retrenchment. Its preference for genre fiction should not blind modern readers to its humanism and its veneration of the poetry of everyday life.

Ever consistent, forty-seven years later, Smith used his considerable connections as an editor, essayist and novelist, to solicit contributors for a book-length symposium on the experience of authorship called *What I Think*. Contributors included the most famous names in *The Strand's* stable: P. G. Wodehouse, W. W. Jacobs, Sapper, Doyle, E. Philips Oppenheim, Jerome K. Jerome, Hugh Walpole and Bernard Shaw amongst others. One of the subtitles posed to these men of letters as a question was the ambiguous phrase 'the book I shall never write'. Most of the authors took this to mean, 'what book do I dream of writing but do not think I am capable of?' However, one of the less well known names, Ian Hay, interpreted the question another way:

⁶⁵ H. Greenhough Smith, 'Keats', *Poet's Magazine* 4 (February, 1878), p. 89.

⁶⁶ Smith, 'Keats', p. 89.

Most authors cherish a dream of breaking away one day from routine and writing something immortal [...] But they never do. The reason is that their readers will not allow it. Your steady reader does not like his oats changed. Once he has decided what you are- a realist, a feminist, or a humorist, or what not- he sees to it that you remain humbly and reverently in that station to which *Vox Populi* has appointed you [...] [I]f I were to join that frankly morbid school of soul-dissectors and sex-analysts who are enjoying (so far as they are capable of enjoying anything) so great a vogue to-day, I should be inundated with protests [...]⁶⁷

His observations are echoed by one of Smith's diary entries, recorded by Reginald Pound:

[H]owever irresponsible those early short-story writers of ours seem to our war-tried, more mature generations [...] they did not fashion their plots out of man's bewilderments and fears; nor did they have any part in the brutal disillusioning process to which many of the new writers put their gifts.⁶⁸

The Strand's contents can thus be seen as the result of a three-way pact between the magazine's editorial staff, its contributors and its readers. Right from the moment that Newnes separated from Stead, this kind of commitment was implicit. The clear image that Newnes broadcast to the public and which received such a resounding response was a manifest commitment not to unsettle the reader with indulgent essays into literary modernism. Form, style, sexual politics and character types would remain relatively constant on the pages of the magazine which would thus present a stable, determinable ideology over long periods of time. The positive response to the first number of *The Strand*, attributed by the *Review*, rather snottily, to its 'colour supplement', 'so inspirited' Newnes that he proposed to print '200,000' copies of the second issue.⁶⁹ The tone is ironic but the relationship it identifies was real enough, an ideological pact had been formed between Newnes, his publication and his readers and no party would happily 'have their oats changed' for decades to come.

⁶⁷ H. Greenhough Smith, ed., *What I Think: A Symposium on Books and Other Things By Famous Writers of Today* (London: George Newnes, 1925), pp. 135-136.

⁶⁸ Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 75.

⁶⁹ *The Review of Reviews* 3-13 (January, 1891), p. 29.

Newnes himself wrote, in relation to his *Tit-Bits* readership, that '[t]hey care for things that cheer and make them laugh, and lead them momentarily away from their own more or less drab lives, into an atmosphere of fun and merriment'.⁷⁰ Artistic modernism was something that happened to other people, in other cultural contexts and this promise, above all others, was encoded into the magazine's self-perception and public image. Christopher Pittard and Kate Jackson have examined *The Strand*'s embodiment of a 'purified reading community' along these same lines. A fact not considered by either critic is that this 'community' was bonded in more formal ways than mere cultural agreement. By July in 1891, Newnes took his publishing company public and declared his intentions, once again, in *The Pall Mall Gazette*:

The business consists principally in the publication of the well-known periodicals 'Tit-Bits' and 'The Strand Magazine'. The former was first published in the year 1891, and the circulation is now at the rate of upwards of 550,000 copies per month. Mr Newnes is confident that the business is capable of great development, and he desires to make further provisions for securing the co-operation of those who are able to promote or are interested in such development – viz. Newsagents, booksellers and advertisers. It is this desire which has led to the formation of the company and to the offer now made of a portion of the shares for subscription. Only applications from newsagents, booksellers, bookstall clerks, and advertisers in 'Tit-Bits' and 'The Strand Magazine' and the staff of the periodicals will be considered.⁷¹

Descriptions of Newnes' relationship to his readers often fail to take account of this strategy that was designed to bind the broader community of advertisers and newsstand owners into the shared community of his success. He understood that the magazine's initial popularity was precarious and so moved quickly to shore up its foundations by implicating those tradesmen responsible for its sale at street-level in its continued prosperity. This move was the subject of envious sniping from other illustrated publications, *Funny Folks*, a humorous miscellany published a satirical column from the illiterate perspective of a newspaper boy:

⁷⁰ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 48.

⁷¹ *The Pall Mall Gazette* 8200 (Thursday, July 2, 1891).

By the way, sir, do you see that the *Strand Magazine* and *Tit-Bits* are being turned into an enormous limited liability company, with speshal fassilities –as shareholders- for the likes of us, who can push their sail? It’s a fact and a ‘cute one too, I call it. Moreover, I’d take some shares like a shot if I had the £ s. D. – speshly the £. I have it not. But not so my boss – he’s got a stocking full of savings somewhere or other, and has taken shares galore. You should see how he’s pushing the July *Strand*. I hope you won’t sack me sir, when I tell you that I push ‘F. F’.⁷²

Even at this early stage, *The Strand* became a coveted object on the periodical marketplace, the subject of speculation and interest from those publications that it was outselling. As the subject of reviews, the provider of extracts, anecdotes, re-printed interviews and gossip, the magazine filled the pages of other periodicals both national and local. The ‘Illustrated Interview’ with Cardinal Manning in July 1891, for example, provided anecdotes that were re-printed countless times in the wider press.⁷³

4. SCIENCE AND SHERLOCK HOLMES

How is this discussion relevant to *The Strand*’s depiction of science? This thesis argues that science was absolutely integral to the magazine’s ideology in a number of ways, although it is useful to tentatively define the terms under which the word is engaged with here. Despite the fact that *The Strand*’s scientific content was restricted to the most ‘popular’ kind in Peter J. Bowler and Iwan Rhys Morus’ terms, it acknowledged the existence and specificity of numerous sub-categories.⁷⁴ These distinctions, though they came to be slightly modified in subsequent years, were helpfully delineated in three early entries of *The Strand*’s most popular early series, *Portraits of Celebrities at Different Times of their Lives*. By July, 1891, the series

⁷² *Funny Folks* 869 (Saturday, July 18, 1891), p. 242.

⁷³ The British Library’s 1800-1900 collection alone records re-prints in *The Glasgow Herald*, *The Daily News*, *Freeman’s Journal* and *The Birmingham Daily Post*.

⁷⁴ Bowler and Morus consider the traditional view of ‘popular’ science as being the mediums (‘books, lectures, museum exhibitions [...]’) by which scientific knowledge is ‘disseminated to a popular audience’. Peter J. Bowler and Iwan Rhys Morus, *Making Modern Science: A Historical Survey* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 368. They do, however, complicate this simple model by considering the formative roles of a popular audience in the interpretation and cultural construction of science.

had already featured Thomas Huxley, John Lubbock and Richard Owen. All three men have been classed as ‘popularisers’ by Bernard Lightman in *Victorian Popularisers of Science* and this status was crucial to their brief depictions in *The Strand*. The use of the word ‘celebrity’ in the series title was telling, as was its reiteration by *Freeman’s Journal* as ‘shop-window celebrities’. It indicated that it was precisely these figures’ preference for communicating with large, popular audiences that justified their inclusion at all. Huxley was particularly praised for his ‘limpidity of style and strength of logic which [made] him the most redoubtable antagonist in the literary arena, and the most popular exponent of the discoveries of science’.⁷⁵ Similarly, Lubbock’s mind was recommended for its ‘enviable’ ability to ‘find its interests alike in the great and in the little, in the past and in the present – which can pass from the wigwam of the prehistoric savage to the London of today’.⁷⁶ Both pieces cast out references to anthropology, geology, evolutionary theory, surgery and natural history, though in very basic terms. The editorial constraints of the *Portraits of Celebrities* format were strict; the articles had to be limited to a single page and made to accommodate at least three large images of the subject. As such the text was marginalised and was often found to meander around the images in an attempt to squeeze itself within the borders of the page at all. Details of the subject’s life were consequently sparse and emphasis was placed upon identifying the principal contribution of its subject to the realm of popular culture (popular books, important public lectures and so on), though references to official-sounding prizes, awards or honours were also to be found in abundance. In short, scientists were included as ‘celebrities’ only to the extent that they were what Frank M. Turner called ‘public scientists’: figures who ‘consciously attempt[ed] to persuade the public or influential sectors thereof that science both support[ed] and nurture[d] broadly accepted social, moral and religious goals and values and that it [was] therefore worthy of public attention’.⁷⁷ The ‘scientist’ as a figure in the early issues of *The Strand* was subject to a problematic split-definition. On the one hand, the only time ‘scientists’ were depicted, they were identified as ‘popular’ or ‘public’ variants but on the other, the word ‘scientist’ could be used to designate another kind of figure. Using Turner’s formulation, these figures would be termed ‘private scientists’, men whose abstraction

⁷⁵ ‘Professor Huxley’, *Strand Magazine* 1 (January, 1891), p. 160.

⁷⁶ ‘Sir John Lubbock’, *Strand Magazine* 1 (January, 1891), p. 47.

⁷⁷ Frank M. Turner, ‘Public Science in Britain: 1880-1919’ in *Contesting Cultural Authority: Essays in Victorian Intellectual Life* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 202.

from everyday life was construed as theoretical rather than practical and whose intellectual impulses were more or less antagonistic to everyday life. In 1896, an article by Alfred T. Story discussed the explorer S. A. Andrée's planned balloon expedition to the Arctic, in describing the reaction of the scientific community to Andrée's plans. Story deploys this second, derogatory definition of the word 'scientist':

When Mr Andrée first made his proposed voyage known to an English audience (at the Geographical Congress in 1895), he received but scant encouragement at the hands of men of science [...] One scientific man, indeed, characterized the idea as foolhardy.⁷⁸

Here, the 'scientist' was cast as the obstacle placed before the figure of Andrée who was associated with romantic adventure as well as the common-sense world of business and trade. His valorisation was cast as precisely relative to his mixture of scientific and 'public' capital. The *Portraits of Celebrities* article on Richard Owen, in fact, completely fails to mention any of his publications or achievements and confines itself to affirming that 'Her Majesty' had 'appropriately recognised his great services to Science by granting him a residence Sheen Lodge, in Richmond Park [sic]'.⁷⁹ By a process of metonymic induction, the reader was asked to infer the magnitude of Owen's accomplishments from the splendour of his address.

Whilst *The Strand* recognised the distinction between 'public' science and other kinds, it preferred not to render the disciplinary distinctions between different fields. A consciousness of these distinctions only emerged after the turn of the century and the reasons behind this shift are discussed in depth in chapter two. The other principal hierarchy in depictions of science was that between what would now be called 'science' and 'technology'. Whilst the figure of the 'public scientist' was admired for his commitment to everyday life, the amateur 'technologist' or, to use *The Strand's* preferred term, 'inventor' was made the subject of endless derision for his hapless misjudgement of public taste, the market economy and his pretension to a scientific understanding of the world. The magazine published numerous miscellanies of failed inventors and inventions throughout the 1890s and the figures

⁷⁸ Alfred T. Story, 'Mr Andrée's Balloon Voyage to the North Pole', *The Strand* 12 (July, 1896), p. 77.

⁷⁹ 'Professor Owen', *The Strand* 2 (July, 1891), p. 274.

depicted therein were afforded none of the social prestige which even the most 'private' of scientists could have expected. This is not to say that 'amateurs' as a breed of scientist, were wholly disparaged, *The Strand* also published many articles on natural history. The most notable series of this genre were written by Grant Allen who pointedly located his objects of study in and around the middle class home. This suggested to the reader that the spiders in his garden, the plants in his flower bed and the ants under his patio were legitimate objects for scientific observation by the everyday man in his everyday environment.

Even in a popular medium like *The Strand*, the idea of precisely which activities, behaviours, qualifications or commitments went to constitute a 'scientist' were confused and subject to constant change. For the purposes of this thesis, 'science' is used to denote a very broad definition including technology, natural history, the social sciences, the pseudosciences (phrenology, palmistry, astrology) and popular science as well as the traditional disciplines of chemistry, biology and physics. There is no unilateral set of qualities or conditions that unite these different activities other, perhaps, than their association with the word 'science' and even that is open to serious dispute. The goal is not to treat all of the disciplines in the same way, nor to suggest that they are deployed in *The Strand* to similar ends. It is crucial, however, to observe that the question of knowledge and legitimation is central to identifying the differences between strands of science as well as their role within *The Strand* as a text. Articles and stories made appeals to scientists and scientific institutions of particular kinds in an attempt to legitimate particular kinds of knowledge. Science, although a relatively infrequent subject for the first ten years of the magazine's life, was endemic to *The Strand's* justification of its own ideology and was deployed in countless ways to this end. Science, in a very generalised way, provided the language by which wide-spread, common-sense facts or beliefs could be re-articulated. To be explicit, *The Strand's* belief in the therapeutic, beneficial exercises of imperial power could be emphatically re-stated in the early 1900s because of recent developments in 'physical culture'. The appearances of Eugen Sandow in the magazine during this period were interesting because they resulted in exactly these appeals to non-specific branches of 'science' to justify a renewed focus upon the male body as the main tool for the perpetuation of empire. In his earlier book, *Sandow on Physical Culture*, for example, he alluded to 'the science of physical culture' and to 'the vast field which science, aided by the microscope, has opened up

for us in relation to the bone and cell structure, waste and repair of the human body'.⁸⁰ The only scientists that Sandow discussed openly in the book were men like Archibald Maclaren who was a campaigner for educational and military reform and who made a living by teaching gymnastics and building gymnasias in schools, universities and other institutions.⁸¹ The scientific advances in cellular biology that Sandow referred to had been steadily progressing from the seventeenth-century in the hands of figures like Robert Hooke, Matthias Schleiden and Theodor Swan.⁸² These ideas then passed through the hands of serious scientific popularisers such as Huxley (who had published articles in *MacMillan's Magazine* and *The Nineteenth Century* on cell structure and physical health in the 1870s), then through the work of scientifically-informed campaigners like Maclaren, and finally arrived in *The Strand* courtesy of a verbose strongman wearing a leopard-print leotard. Once the evidential, scientific basis of the science had been stripped away, it enabled the magazine to deploy it ideologically in support of imperial sentiments. This is not to say that the 'science' in the articles was wrong, simply that the kernel of knowledge produced in the scientific arena had to become dissociated from its original context that it could become deployed as a supplement to other discourses. There is a delicate tension at play in *The Strand's* ideological uses of science since it was only very rarely that science created new and complete paradigms. Science arrived in pre-existing discourses and came to subtly accent them. The physical culture debate discussed in chapter three is a good example, as are the putative promises of electrification examined in chapter one and degenerative science in chapter two. The scientific legitimisation of attitudes only arrived where those attitudes already had a strong heritage. The physical culture debate deployed new biological thinking to venerate the strong male body as the instrument of empire, but it is not as if *The Strand* had previously valorised the feminised body of the aesthete; male bodies had always been a key component of the magazine's ideology and, as evidenced by Smith's article on Keats, ran even further back into its ideological heritage. Science in *The Strand* is endemic because it is inextricably concerned with the processes of legitimisation, the means by which ideas or hypotheses became enshrined within their culture's hegemonic sense of what was natural or true.

⁸⁰ Eugen Sandow, *Sandow on Physical Training* (Kessinger Publishing, 2003), p. 11, 142.

⁸¹ Frank Galligan, *Advanced PE for Edexcel* (London: Heinemann, 2000), p. 17.

⁸² Michael Windelspecht, *Groundbreaking Scientific Experiments, Inventions and Discoveries Through the Ages* (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), pp. 41-45.

The process is exemplified by the Sherlock Holmes stories which, as a body of work, became ideologically indistinguishable in many ways from that of the magazine as a whole. Across the following four chapters, they frequently provide the lens by which the migration of ideas from the worlds of science and technology are ideologically formatted and made to function alongside the rest of the magazine's content. It would be a mistake to focus on the Holmes stories alone; a mistake almost as great as attributing the magazine's success solely to the popularity of the stories. As suggested above, the commercial success of *The Strand* was noted by many contemporaneous commentators long before 'A Scandal in Bohemia' appeared in July, 1891. The more complex implications of their relationship are discussed in chapters one and two and key to these discussions is the speed with which the magazine built the figures of Doyle, Holmes and Watson into its own *mythos*. Very quickly, they began to be deployed as representative images of *The Strand*'s identity, a move which was reflected by their inseparability in the minds of contemporary reviewers. *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* of July 16th, 1891 wrote, with considerable foresight that

The stories [in the July *Strand*] are all sensational and worth reading, especially the detective story entitled 'A Scandal in Bohemia'. This is not at all the common type of detective story, with which we are getting very familiar [...] Altogether the 'Adventures of Sherlock Holmes' are likely to prove interesting.⁸³

The stories instantly displaced the parts of the magazine that had traditionally been highlighted by reviewers. Reviews in *The Royal Cornwall Gazette*, *The Hampshire Advertiser*, *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Aberdeen Weekly Advertiser* throughout the following months, never failed to mention the inclusion of a new 'Sherlock Holmes story' in their reviews.⁸⁴ The process had begun by which the fame of the stories and their association with the magazine would be solidified by the same network of national and regional newspapers that had reviewed and advertised the magazine since it began. So close was this association that, upon the conclusion of the

⁸³ *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* 11510 (Thursday, July 16, 1891), p. 2.

⁸⁴ *The Royal Cornwall Gazette* 4595 (Thursday, August 20th, 1891), p. 6; *The Hampshire Advertiser* 4742 (Saturday, November 21st, 1891), p. 7; *The Glasgow Herald* 307 (Thursday, December 24, 1891) and *The Aberdeen Weekly Advertiser* 11608 (Saturday, April 16, 1892).

Adventures, *The Review of Reviews* was lead to express patronising concern for *The Strand*'s endurance: 'Having no longer the attraction of Sherlock Holmes, the *Strand Magazine* is lucky in having still Mrs Meade's series 'Stories from the Diary of a Doctor,' to please lovers of the sensational'.⁸⁵

After assuming such a privileged status amongst the magazine's content, the Holmes stories' pivotal role in *The Strand*'s representations of science is impossible to ignore. Whilst the relationship is never simple (Holmes is anything but the ideal *Strand* reader) there is a certain sense in which the stories played an ambassadorial role for the magazine throughout popular culture. Holmes and Watson were both identified in this capacity as amateur kinds of scientist and this problematic status requires examination, as do the scientific, pseudo-scientific and technological contexts of this identity. What kinds of science are treated flippantly in the stories but seriously elsewhere in *The Strand*? Is there a correlation between the discussion of scientific issues in a Holmes story and its appearance in other parts of the magazine? Are these issues highlighted by reviewers? These questions are crucial to understanding the ways in which science became a prop with which to buttress *The Strand*'s reading community against the increasingly turbulent modern world. It served equally well as a shield from the cultural conflagrations of modernism and, as such, was indissociable from the magazine's self-definition and cultural position.

⁸⁵ 'The Strand Magazine', *The Review of Reviews* (February, 1894), p. 186.

CHAPTER ONE:

VENEERS OF SCIENCE

THIS chapter will examine the representations of the city, criminality and their scientific context during the first decade of *The Strand Magazine*. To do this, it is important to note that *The Strand* did not appear in a late Victorian hermetic bubble. Many commentators, past and present, have commended the magazine for its ‘innovativeness’, but the popular diffusion of scientific knowledge under the banner of ‘light and interesting’ reading matter was not much of a novelty in itself.⁸⁶ In fact, the magazine’s ‘innovativeness’ resided in certain formal, generic and editorial choices that delineated a strong position in the middle of the late Victorian cultural field. The unparalleled popularity of the magazine and the way it re-drew the possible expectations and demands of periodicals can retrospectively distort the way we read its content. Its prominence can obscure the long traditions of scientific popularisation, popular fiction writing and the ‘abstract’ as a periodical genre to which it was indebted. Yet the enormous success of *The Strand* was also too great to completely ignore when performing an examination of its cultural and ideological significance; some attention must be paid to why *The Strand* became such a spectacular success. This chapter will argue that the stylistic and editorial decisions that characterised the magazine were in tune with certain material conditions of late Victorian England without recourse to the ‘vulgar’ Marxist blame-game that punishes popular cultural products as the instruments of stagnation or hegemony. The working-definition of ‘ideology’ at play in this thesis should be explained briefly. In *Ideology: An Introduction*, Terry Eagleton argued that ‘ideology has a whole range of useful meanings, not all of which are compatible with each other’.⁸⁷ The key to the nature

⁸⁶ Kate Jackson’s *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) describes Newnes’ ‘constant innovation’ (p. 201); Hulda Friedrichs’ *Life of George Newnes* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1911) draws attention to his ‘restless desire for novelty’ (p. 13) and Reginald Pound’s *The Strand Magazine: 1891-1950* (London: Heinemann, 1966) paints him as ‘an exception, an innovator’ (p. 10). Newnes characterised *The Strand* as ‘wholesome and harmless entertainment’ (Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 29) whilst a contemporary review of the magazine’s first issue in *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* wrote ‘*The Strand Magazine* contains a very admirable variety of light and interesting reading’ (Monday, February 23, 1891). See the introduction for a list of *The Strand*’s periodical predecessors.

⁸⁷ Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 2007), p. 1.

of *The Strand*'s ideology can be found by combining one of Eagleton's suggested definitions with a more commonplace suggestion of Slavoj Žižek's. Eagleton discusses the idea of 'semiotic closure', a term used to designate the process by which the unpleasant or contradictory elements of a word or an idea can be tactically shut-off and foreclosed.⁸⁸ Žižek raises the idea that ideology, away from the straightforward Marxist discourse of ruling classes and cultural dominance, can simply mean the process by which 'the things we don't know that we know' can 'mystify' our understanding of a real-life problem or situation.⁸⁹ *The Strand* arrived on British magazine stands in the December of 1890 as the direct result of George Newnes' desire to 'to provide them [the public] with time-saving reading which represents the scattered wisdom and opinion of the civilised world'.⁹⁰ The role of the magazine would be comparable to that of an abstract, though an abstract of a different kind to the ones that first appeared in the 1830s. Those periodicals (such as *The Monthly Repository* and the *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, discussed by Jonathan R. Topham in his chapter in *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical*) were often part of the emancipatory project of radical publishers who found huge, popular audiences eager for the democratisation of scientific knowledge.⁹¹ Although these publications had habitually been the subject of anxieties over reductiveness, ideological hijacking or simple misrepresentation, their role was very different to that of *The Strand*. For *The Strand*, ideological hijacking and reductiveness was built into the selection process that, in the words of Reginald Pound, would assure 'the mental as well as physical comfort' of 'the middle classes'.⁹² Pound continued with the famous statement: '[c]ertainly the middle classes of England never cast a clearer image of themselves in print than they did in *The Strand Magazine*'.⁹³ These two functions of the magazine seemed to be in opposition. On the one hand, it was a textual embodiment of the values of the middle

⁸⁸ Eagleton, *Ideology*, p. 2.

⁸⁹ Slavoj Žižek, *Organs Without Bodies: Deleuze and Consequences* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 95. Elsewhere, he elaborates: 'The very concept of ideology implies a kind of basic, constitutive *naïveté*: the misrecognition of its own presuppositions, of its own effective conditions, a distance, a divergence between so-called reality and our distorted representation, our false consciousness of it' Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (Verso: London, 1999), p. 28.

⁹⁰ Pound, *The Strand Magazine: 1891-1950*, p. 28.

⁹¹ See Jonathan Topham, 'The *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* and Cheap Miscellanies in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical: Reading the Magazine of Nature*, Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Graeme Gooday, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth and Jonathan R. Topham, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁹² Topham. 'Cheap Miscellanies', p. 7.

⁹³ Topham. 'Cheap Miscellanies', p. 7.

classes (Pound's use of the plural is significant) who invested a certain amount of faith in the security of that representation and, on the other, its role was to present new ideas and 'wisdom' with which, by definition, the audience would have been unfamiliar.

This tension draws us back to the words of Eagleton and Žižek. They suggest that events, ideas or opinions that might threaten the material or mental comfort of the middle classes would be ideologically processed until they were fit for purpose. As such, there was a self-imposed limit on what could be expressed in *The Strand* and a hermeneutic, literary study of the magazine would reveal a woefully small syntactic field. Here we find Eagleton's 'semiotic closure', the absence of certain words lead to the absence of certain ideas which, in turn, 'mystified' and transformed the original event. For clarification, one final question needs to be answered: what has science to do with this? *The Strand*'s commitment to re-packaging or abstracting ideas for the mass market was very different from that displayed in *The Review of Reviews* and nowhere was this disparity made clearer than in their depictions of science. In January, 1890, for example, the *Review* published a lengthy condensation of Thomas Huxley's 'The Natural Inequality of Man' and established the scientific basis for his dispute with Herbert Spencer on the subject of Romantic philosophy and absolute ethics. This debate had begun in the letters pages of *The Times* in late 1889 and continued in the January and February numbers of *The Nineteenth-Century*. The *Review* used lengthy quotes and framing rhetoric that summarised not only Huxley's opinions, but also the structure of his argument and its context in relation to other thinkers and, specifically, to the work of Spencer. Although it is a slightly unfair test case, since *The Strand*'s first issue appeared mere days after *The Times* letters, but the only time Huxley and Spencer are mentioned together throughout the first fifteen years of the magazine occurred in a 1905 article called 'Composite Portraits of Men of Genius' where the two men's faces were combined with those of Darwin, Kelvin and Lyell (amongst others) to show 'the typical scientist's face'.⁹⁴ The article's description of this composite 'scientist' noted his '[d]eep reading, sedulous research, wide knowledge [and] clear insight into nature'.⁹⁵ These bland, abstract remarks are symbolic of the fact that *The Strand* made little serious attempt to collect and summarise scientific thought, although this conversely means that the representations

⁹⁴ 'Composite Portraits of Men of Genius', *The Strand* 30 (December, 1905), p. 679.

⁹⁵ 'Composite Portraits of Men of Genius', p. 679.

of science and scientists that do appear are fascinating studies in the ideological management of scientific knowledge. *The Strand* was influenced by and showed awareness of science in many ways that belied straightforward ‘representation’. It was a system whose aura of empirical certainty and social utility could be invoked to support the set of beliefs that were at the core of *The Strand*’s discourse. This chapter will focus on the importation of scientific value systems and the deployment of scientific veneers and aesthetics that were used to augment the kinds of everyday narrative with which the magazine was filled.

THE INVISIBLE SERVANT AND THE SILENT ANARCHIST

In the December of 1912, Newnes released *The Strand Magazine*’s Christmas double-issue. It featured an article called ‘The New Electric Hotel’ by Frederic Lees which consisted of an interview with the French inventor Georgia Knap. Although it appeared some time after the magazine’s beginning, it offered a pin-point perspective on the uses of science in its early years. Knap outlined his plan to design, build and fit a fully automated hotel to be called *La Maison Electrique* which, when completed, would constitute ‘the hotel of the future’ and which would be open for business in ‘six months time’.⁹⁶ Knap’s choice of words was telling; if the hotel of the ‘future’ would be functioning in the immediate ‘present’ then this suggested an idea of imminent advancement. In fact, it seems as good a definition of the word ‘progress’ as any other, ‘The future. Now.’ This article is extremely useful because of the ways in which it blends the uses of science and technology with an ideological projection of how ways of living could be redefined. On the subject of workforce, M. Knap made the following prediction:

You mustn’t imagine my hotel will be without a personnel. No; the hotels of the future will still have to keep large staffs of servants, though undoubtedly they will be smaller than those now employed [...] [M]ost of the subordinate workers will be invisible to the occupants.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Frederic Lees, ‘The New Electric Hotel,’ *The Strand* 44 (December, 1912), p. 319.

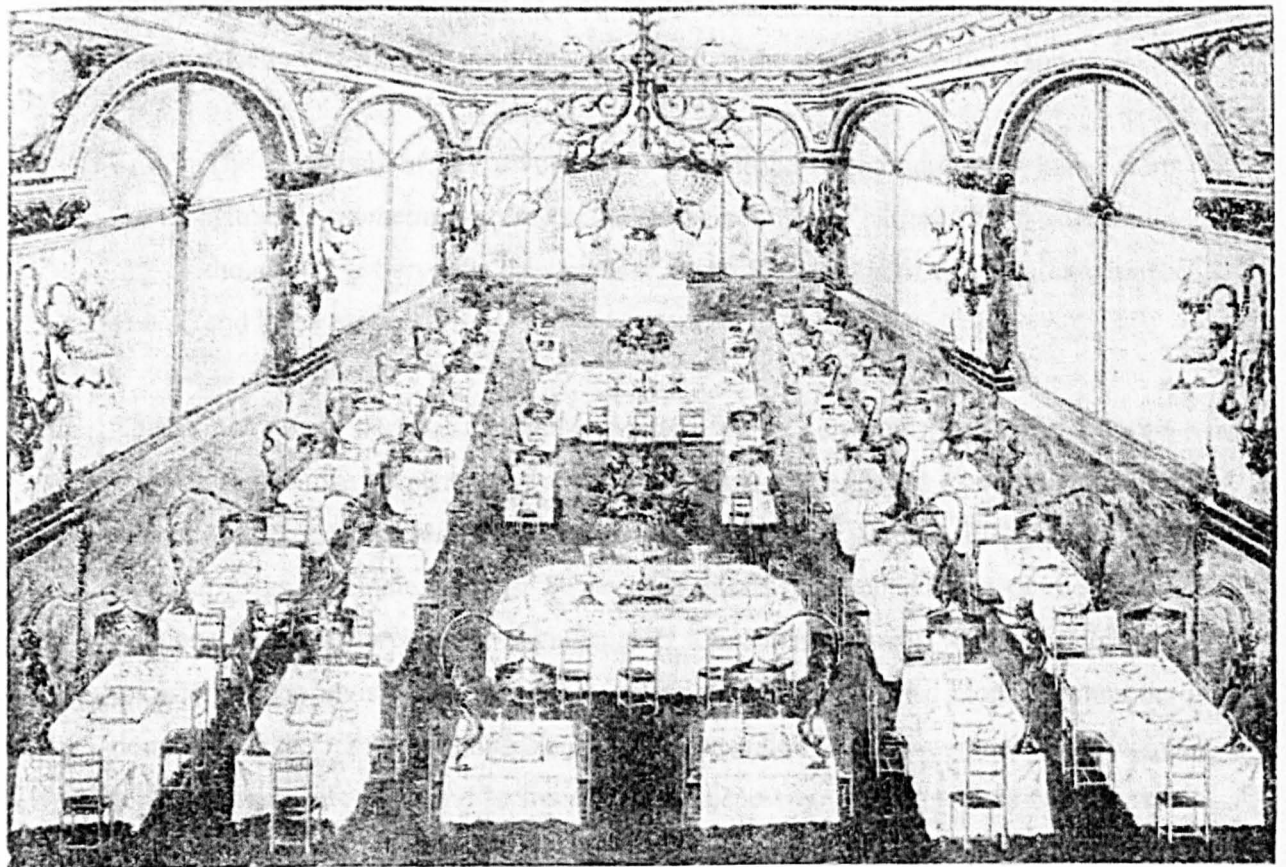
⁹⁷ Lees, ‘Electric Hotel’, p. 320.

'The Invisible Servant' represents a crucial figure in terms of the way *The Strand* constructed its political ideology. Through the use of photographs and diagrams, Knap demonstrated a microcosm of the ways in which the lived experience of the bourgeois lifestyle could be automated and hermetically protected from economic and class conflicts. The diners in *La Maison Electrique's* restaurant were attended to *in absentia* via small electric lifts that conveyed food directly to their tables. The article rendered this idea in clear, diagrammatic terms (1.1 and 1.2). The restaurant would have seated one hundred and eighty well-disposed persons attended to 'closely' by a small group of waiters and cooks, whose physical presence would be banished to the netherworld of the kitchen so as not to disturb the illusion of segregation. Knap promised more, though, in the shape of private dining rooms where 'diners [...would] not experience the inconvenience of a waiter leaning over their shoulders'.⁹⁸ The electronic wiring that allowed communication between diners and staff could assuredly be silenced '[b]y means of a simple device' allowing guests not to worry that their words would be 'repeated to the *femme de chambre* or the parlourmaid'.⁹⁹ This effectively meant that the only words that could pass from guest to servant would be words of command. By temporally locating the hotel's opening within touching distance ('six months') the article dangles this imminent, valorised possibility before its readers' eyes. The electric hotel fitted into *The Strand's* understanding of progress because it allowed the fantasy of a politically secured and physically demarcated class system. This is the first of a whole series of ideological manoeuvres in which the magazine engaged and, to analyse it in its proper context, we must ask what, in ideological terms, has happened here? Science provided *The Strand* with a trope ('the invisible servant') that represented a 'semiotic foreclosure' of certain unsavoury connotations. The Electric Hotel re-cast the employer-servant relationship as one of pure labour exchange; the human dimension of the servant was banished and the servant was not experienced as a subject but as a hollow provision of utility. 'Servant' need no longer mean the disquieting, half-awake, half-sentient listener-at-keyholes or the dormant sexual threat explored, amongst many others, by Claudia Nelson in her *Family Ties in Victorian England*.¹⁰⁰ The threat of the servants' otherness was articulated across many other contemporary texts, including manuals of

⁹⁸ Lees, 'Electric Hotel', p. 322.

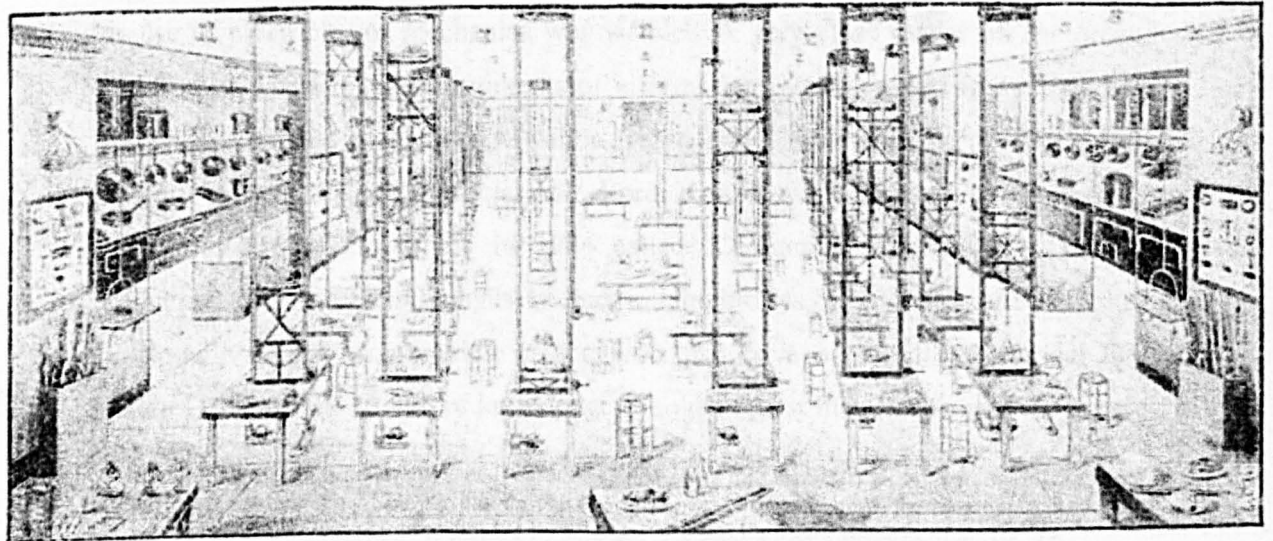
⁹⁹ Lees, 'Electric Hotel', p. 322.

¹⁰⁰ See also Indrani Sen, *Women and Empire* (London: Orient Blackswan, 2002), p.2.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE DINING-ROOM, SHOWING THE LIFTS IN THE CENTRE OF THE TABLES, AND THE LAMP-SUPPORTS, WHICH CONTAIN A TELEPHONE TO THE KITCHEN.

1.1



1.2

child-rearing and home-making as well as the sensational reporting of divorce trials which placed great store by the climactic calling of the domestics to the stand:

The chief part of any divorce trial – evidence of the adultery – came from witnesses, sometimes to the act itself, sometimes of circumstances suggesting the act [...] Servants, ever present in the households of the rich, saw much and knew more.¹⁰¹

This is not to say that masters and servants lived in perpetual mistrust. Victorian fiction offered many emancipatory crossings of class-boundaries as well as positive visions of proper, beneficial co-habitation. However, whilst discord did not necessarily predominate, it must be seen as an essential constituent of the power relations that structured their engagement. Considered against this genealogy of uncertainty, the invisible servant seems to represent the imagined moment when the domestic space could simultaneously be evacuated of the servant's awkward 'outside/inside' presence and be freed from the necessity of being a class-contact site. Looking back over *The Strand's* fiction, the middle class home was central to the vast majority of stories where some kind of evil influence, external or internal, psychological or material, racially-cast or socially-cast, could be repelled. The role of science in this article can appear incidental or peripheral since there is no real acknowledgement of its presence within the narration. Knap was not represented as a 'scientist' but as an 'inventor' and there was no sense in which the theoretical basis of his use of electricity or mechanics was visible. A very close reader of *The Strand* could have pieced together fragments of information over the years from *Illustrated Interviews* with the Maharaj of Gwalior (1894) and Thomas Edison (1905), a 1901 'History of the British Association', Lord Kelvin's appearance in *Portraits of Celebrities* (1893), an article in 1904 called 'Designs by Electricity' about the production of commercial images in electric laboratories or 'Slaves to the Lamp', F. D. Godwin's 1904 examination of accidents that have occurred in electrical light works. This diffuse spread of knowledge should suggest that *The Strand* had no real

¹⁰¹ Allen Horstman, *Victorian Divorce* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1985), p. 5. Horstman goes on to highlight the servant's testimony as the focus of sensation: the creaking beds, the moaning and so on. This issue is also addressed and expanded by Michael Diamond's *Victorian Sensation: Or, the Shocking and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Anthem Press, 2004), pp. 124-6, where he locates popular discussion and interest in divorce trials around cases that had these kernels of sensation to recommend them.

interest in directly explaining how electricity worked, but was, on the other hand, highly interested in the effect of its uses within society. Since science was brought onto the market and into the notice of ‘the man in the street’ (a term used by Godwin in his article) principally by technologists like Knap, then higher kinds of science could be safely ignored.¹⁰² It was the social management of science as technology that most concerned *The Strand* in its first decade. In this way, science became mutely encoded into the ways in which *The Strand* imagined and projected different futures. Michael Whitworth has discussed the principal exchange between science and literature as being that of figurative language in general and, specifically, metaphor.¹⁰³ Science, in this particular article, did not directly provide an imagined future, but instead provided the language by which *The Strand*’s desired future could be articulated. Knap was obviously concerned with providing a novel dining experience and demonstrating the ways in which modern technology could have interacted with common, everyday experiences. The consequence of this was that he opened up a space in which the perceived threat of the servant classes could be elided. This analysis is, by itself, obviously insufficient to account for the ‘event’ of *The Strand*’s arrival and success. To leave the argument here is to suggest that *The Strand* was a bigoted organ of bourgeois hegemony and that this crude reflectionist theory is as nuanced a technique as one can hope to understand it with. A more balanced picture of what happened when *The Strand* arrived on the scene can be achieved with reference to two particular historical conditions that facilitated it. The first begins as a simplistic juxtaposition of the 1880s and the 1890s in terms of their dominant political and social trends. The second concerns the continual redevelopment and modernisation of London as a city with particular reference to the growth of intra-city train routes.

On the 30th of October 1883, two bombs were detonated on London’s underground rail service. The first detonated between the old Charing Cross (now Embankment) and Westminster stations and the second at Paddington Praed Street (now Paddington). The attacks, along with the bombings of the Local Government Board offices in March of that year and Victoria station in 1884, were presumed to be Fenian in origin. Both Stephen Knight and Joseph A. Kestner have highlighted the growth of detective fiction in the years during and following these incidents and

¹⁰² F. D. Godwyn, ‘Slaves to the Lamp’, *The Strand* 37 (March, 1904), p. 256.

¹⁰³ Whitworth, *Einstein’s Wake*, pp. 1-26.

suggest a connection between the two.¹⁰⁴ The juxtaposition is temptingly stark: on the streets there was civil unrest as the various tensions within an advanced capitalist, imperialist nation began to combust, but within the pages of detective fiction a calm rationality prevailed and curtailed anarchic criminality for its perturbed readers. It is a neat supposition but one that needs tempering. For the moment, it is necessary only to observe that the political and social unrest of the 1880s (including also the Bloody Sunday riots in November 1887 and the Ripper murders in 1888) seems to cut some sort of contrast with the vision of the 1890s that is presented to someone reading *The Strand*. Potentially combustible social, sexual and political fault-lines between classes, the genders, rival colonial powers and colonised subjects all become subject to the same kinds of ideological processing within its pages. These fault-lines and the figures that are symptomatic of them, like the invisible servant, were processed, reified and re-presented on the periodical marketplace in an attempt to realise their market value. One consequence of this, as seen above, is that the servant becomes invisible and this is symbolic of the silencing of various kinds of subaltern voices. These observations are not revelatory or even particularly interesting in themselves. Interest lies in observing the minutiae of an ideology's functionality; the occlusions, exclusions, elisions, falsehoods and sophistry that were necessary for *The Strand* to operate its ideological machinery. As Thomas F. Gieryn writes in his study of science's history as a tool of legitimation, *Cultural Boundaries of Science*: '[...] bearers of discrepant truths push their wares wrapped in assertions of objectivity, efficacy, precision, reliability, authenticity, predictability, sincerity, desirability, tradition'.¹⁰⁵ Whether *The Strand's* truths are 'discrepant' is questionable but all of these nouns highlight the variable shades that differentiate the ways in which science became central to *The Strand's* engagement with society. The patterns that the magazine displayed are arresting and work in occasionally digressive, occasionally counter-intuitive ways towards the project of creating an image of British society and the British place within global hierarchies. It is this image that it is necessary to

¹⁰⁴ Kestner suggests that '[t]he period of the late 1880s was a turbulent one in British history, and it is this turbulence which has the most immediate relevance to the emergence of the detective and particularly to the appearance of Sherlock Holmes'. Joseph A. Kestner, *Sherlock's Men: Masculinity, Conan Doyle and Cultural History* (London: Ashgate, 1997), p. 40. He later says that the stories offer a 'virtual summary of the male, cultural anxieties of the Victorian, Edwardian and Georgian periods' (p. 193). Knight, similarly, identifies close relations between the solving of domestic crimes and the softening of wider social problems or anxieties. Stephen Knight, *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction*, (London: MacMillan, 1980), p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas F. Gieryn, *Cultural Boundaries of Science* (University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 1.

interrogate as it contains many of the answers to the question of science and ideology in *The Strand*. This is the snap-shot that appears on the surface of *The Strand* as a text, and it is worth considering how many subterranean effects are necessary to maintain its unblemished veneer. If we (charitably) assume that the above suppositions have a basis in fact then the question should now become one of examining *The Strand's* representations of social unrest in the 1890s. Fortunately, history furnishes us with a useful case study; the wide spread panic surrounding the activities of 'anarchists'.

In Geneva in September 1898 an Italian named Luigi Lucheni assassinated Empress Elizabeth ('Sisi') of Austria with a small wood file.¹⁰⁶ In 1899, Benjamin H. Ridgely, the U.S consul to Geneva, published an article in *The Strand* detailing the events surrounding the crime and the subsequent punishment of Lucheni by the Swiss authorities. He also records passages from the trial:

'I am an anarchist', [Lucheni] replied, glibly; 'we are the agents of those who eat not, drink not, and have not; we kill to call attention to ourselves [...] My accomplices are all those who suffer' [...] Lucheni had been abandoned even by his mother, and had been brought up in vice and poverty. How could society ever expect such a being to have the least moral perception? He heard his sentence passed and shouted [...] 'Death to Society – Long live Anarchy'.¹⁰⁷

Lucheni's claim, that he killed in order to obtain popular attention, was specifically countered by the punishment that he received; he was to be buried beneath a grindingly repetitive prison routine which, according to Ridgely, would crush all dissidence from his spirit. 'The only terrible feature of Lucheni's punishment is the continued silence and solitude [...] the ceaseless babbler is reduced to everlasting silence; the preacher of the bad cause is without a public'.¹⁰⁸ This punishment is a symptom of modern punitive paradigms in accordance with Foucault's observations in *Discipline and Punish*. The violence of a punitive spectacle (such as the public dismemberment and immolation of Robert-François Damiens in 1757 in Paris, with

¹⁰⁶ He is elsewhere called Lucheni and Luigini. *The Literary Digest*, Vol. 105 (Funk and Wagnalls, 1898), p. 363.

¹⁰⁷ Benjamin H. Ridgely, 'The Assassin and the Empress', *The Strand* 18 (September, 1899), p. 300.

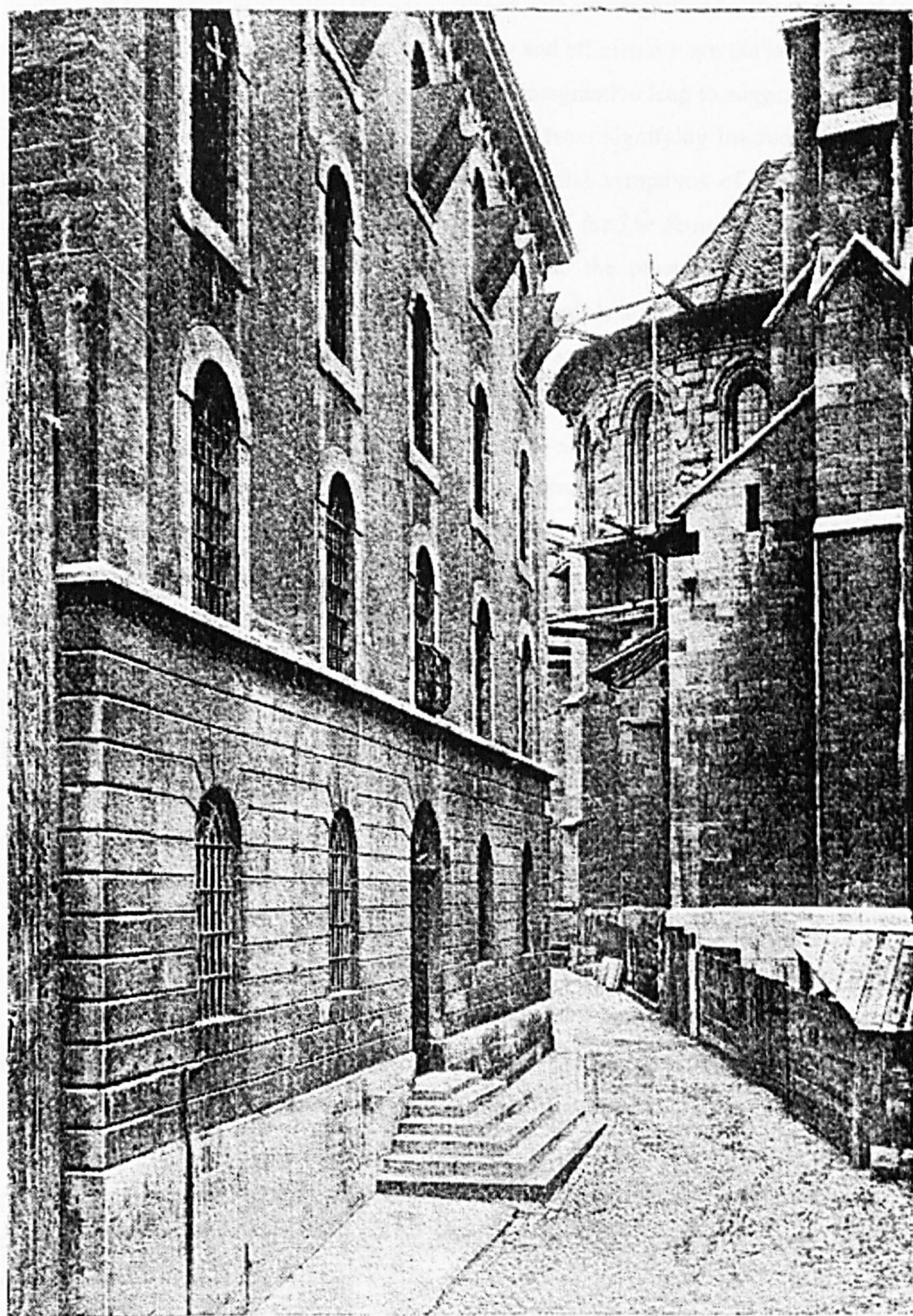
¹⁰⁸ Ridgely, 'The Assassin and the Empress', p. 302.

which Foucault begins his book) gives way to a disciplinary approach to punishment.¹⁰⁹ Foucault identified a fundamental shift in the processing of state punishment whereby the constitutional body began to shy away from extreme acts of reciprocal violence towards violent criminals. There is a sense in which, he concluded, such violence perpetuated the crime and ‘exceeded the savagery’ of the initial transgression.¹¹⁰ In accordance with this view, *The Strand* illustrated its article with a photograph of the exterior of the Geneva Cantonal Penitentiary (1.3). The building appeared at once timeless and modern; its barred windows recalled an older kind of punishment but the sheer frontage of the building, accentuated by the sharp angle of the camera, made it appear impenetrable and utilitarian. The photograph reinforces the idea that ‘modern’ punishment was something that occurred invisibly within state institutions rather than being opened out as spectacle for the masses. If we return briefly to the text of Ridgely’s article we observe a similar sentiment: ‘It is fortunate that capital punishment is not inflicted in Geneva, otherwise Lucheni, with the bravura of his kind, would have gone under the guillotine in the conventional way crying: ‘Vive l’Anarchie’, and his brethren would have been spared the demoralising spectacle of the most reckless, vicious and audacious of their lot turned into a trembling gaol-bird’.¹¹¹ Ridgely seemed to believe that any violent retribution of socially-constituted order directed towards the criminal body could dangerously perpetuate its initial transgression. He de-prioritised the social causes of Lucheni’s ideology by removing him from society itself; his life of ‘poverty’ and ‘vice’ was figured as occupying a space beyond the confines of social order with a view to casting Lucheni as an outsider. His punishment became, in a sense, a means of education in the ways of society, a bringing-inside of the outsider and a process by which he could gain admittance to orthodoxy. This admission could only be reached through his silence; Lucheni had to learn that the price of his continued existence was the repudiation of the idea that society itself played a role in forming either his social position or his ideology. This depiction of Lucheni and his punishment make perfect sense if we consider Foucault’s conflation of ‘science’ with other post-Enlightenment strains of thought. The punishment is depicted as, to use some of the words highlighted by Gieryn, ‘objective, effective, reliable and precise’. Here again

¹⁰⁹ Damiens made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Louis XV of France in January, 1757.

¹¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 9.

¹¹¹ Ridgely, ‘The Assassin and the Empress,’ p. 298.



THE GENEVA CANTONAL PENITENTIARY, WHERE LUCHENI IS NOW
UNDERGOING HIS SENTENCE.

From a Photo. by d'Illy and Jacom, Geneva.

'science' was a silent ideological presence, whose role was signified by the coding of scientific values (centred on notions of objectivity and efficiency) into the language of the article's depictions. It does not take a hugely imaginative leap to suggest that the 'vice' and 'poverty' of Lucheni's up-bringing, far from signifying his fundamental exclusion from society, must be considered as crucial symptoms of the socially-embedded nature of his situation. It makes more sense for *The Strand* to conceive of anarchist violence as a missile hurled from outside the placid, serene world of everyday reality. Žižek (writing back to Walter Benjamin's *Critique of Violence*) refers to this apparent juxtaposition of everyday peace and sudden violence as the difference between 'subjective' and 'objective' violence, where the violent act that disturbs the apparent stillness of day-to-day life is somehow dissociated from the 'objective' violence necessary to maintain that same appearance of peace: 'The overpowering horror of violent acts and empathy with the victims inexorably functions as a lure that stops us from thinking [...and observing] the systemic violence that has to go on in order for a comfortable life to be possible'.¹¹² The point here is not to absolve Lucheni of the responsibility of his crime, neither is it to deny the victimhood of the Empress, but to suggest that there was a deeper, more complex interrelation between the two figures that the simple binaries of 'attacker/victim' or 'oppressed/oppressor' might have effectively effaced. How does this theoretical digression bear upon the issue at hand? Primarily, it highlights the fact that *The Strand's* approval of Lucheni's 'silencing' makes perfect sense since it is perfectly synchronous with the elision of social problems elsewhere in the magazine. The silence of Lucheni, like the invisibility of the servant, is a measure that foreclosed the connection between subjective and objective violence. The idea that Lucheni's voice might have originated from somewhere within the same scenes that populated *The Strand's* fiction was anathema; it had to have come from outside.

The two articles, though they effectively formed part the same ideological project, were superficially dissimilar. Lees' article on Knap was clearly played for its comedy. The page was bordered by an illustrated escalator on which Wodehousian figures stumbled and slid along the margins. Meanwhile, Ridgely's piece was intended to provide some gravitas in the shape of informed, political, intellectual and social commentary. To this end, it was far less ornate and proceeded with the sombre,

¹¹² Slavoj Žižek, *Violence* (London: Profile, 2008), pp. 3-8.

portentous tone that signified the deployment of an 'authoritative' voice; that is, words delivered from within the authority of social institutions. This disparity accorded with the different kinds of threat that the subjects of each article posed: the servant was problematic inasmuch as he or she was inconvenient and intrusive whereas the anarchist was constructed as posing a direct and violent threat to the readers' way of life. Predictably, the differences between the articles served only to accentuate their similarities; principally, they both discussed and outlined means of affecting silence. Lees' article imagined means by which the subaltern, servile presence within the upper middle class home could be eradicated whilst Ridgely's highlighted silence as a more appropriate punishment than death for revolutionaries. In both of these cases the silence benefited those people who share a particular world-view by ameliorating a particular network of social anxieties. This suggestion is not intended to posit the existence of a group of ideologically-bonded, unilaterally pro-capitalist, broadly middle class figures and suggest that it was *these* people alone who read *The Strand*. It is only a means by which we can establish the idea that there was something autopoietic in *The Strand's* production, an impulse to preserve and maintain a particular image of harmonious social order. The issue at stake here is how this impulse can be married to the magazine's modernity and its preoccupation with science. How could a symptom of modernity remain so resolutely anti-modern in its world-view? The key to this apparent contradiction lay in *The Strand's* ability to strategically use science or scientific veneers to carefully deconstruct and re-invent problematic issues in society. There may still be a great deal of currency in the great cliché of twentieth-century modernity that the dialectical contest between scientific and religious worldviews resulted in the dissolution of Victorian social values, but that does not mean that science could not, at the same time, be a tool for conservative retrenchment in the face of these contests.

If the political upheavals of the 1880s (both in Britain and Europe) called into question the ideological security of Britain's system of colonial power, class-structure and, indeed, the legitimacy of advanced capitalism as a system then how did the articles respond to these threats? Firstly, they conjured the spectre of 'progress', which delineated the means (mainly scientific but also intellectual and political such as the developments in prisons identified by Ridgely and, later, Foucault) by which the functionality of society could be improved. As a consequence, it also discussed the means by which potentially violent racial, political and class conflicts could be

prevented from constituting an ideological threat. It becomes clear when reading any serious amount of *The Strand* that the majority of its short stories were populist testing-grounds where modern fables or morality plays were used to demonstrate the efficacy or inefficacy of various ideas. The non-fiction pieces, whether they were directly related to the subject or not, had explicit levels of ideological content built into their rhetoric. For example, Grant Allen, the great scientific populariser, wrote an 1898 article entitled 'British Bloodsuckers' on the subject of native mosquitoes and horse-flies.¹¹³ An otherwise straightforwardly informative article, written for a reader with no prescribed interest or pre-learning in the subject, it began with the following passage:

I write this title with peculiar pleasure, because it is so nice to be able for once to apply it literally [...] In some of our tropical colonies the free-born Britons who are sent out in government employment to protect the natives or the coolies or the negroes, as the case may be, from our aggressive brethren, [...] are commonly known as 'British bloodsuckers'.¹¹⁴

The double meaning of the article's title showed a writer attempting to bridge a gap between two different lexical fields, one of which would have, apparently, associated it with pejorative accounts of colonial administrators. His opening sentence enacts Eagleton's description of 'semiotic closure'. Allen's sentiment is interesting because it was so marginal to the overall purpose of his piece; he seemed to take pleasure in imagining the foreclosure of the phrase's negative ideological connotations. *The Strand* was closely bound to the world of empire, both through its worldwide circulation along trade, shipping and diplomatic routes as well as through its content.¹¹⁵ It frequently included tales of colonial adventure (some written by Allen and others by more well known adventurers such as H. Rider Haggard, Doyle and Arthur Quiller Couch) as well as various encounters with degenerative and racial science. These implications will be considered in detail in later chapters but it is

¹¹³ Allen's role in the explicit discussion of science in *The Strand* will be examined in greater depth in chapter two.

¹¹⁴ Grant Allen, 'British Bloodsuckers,' *The Strand* xv (April, 1898), p. 393.

¹¹⁵ 'Conan Doyle wrote to Greenhough Smith after returning from the continent: 'Foreigners used to recognise the English by their check suits. I think they will soon learn to do it by their *Strand* Magazines. Everybody on the Channel boat, except the man at the wheel, was clutching one'. Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 63.

helpful to observe that an article, otherwise neatly sealed within its subject and its generic form (a popularised article on natural history) operated within the same ideological co-ordinates as the two discussed above. In Allen's article the discordant, anti-colonial voice was conjured as quickly as it was silenced and functioned simply as part of the ideological apparatus of popularisation. In this way, we can begin to piece together the different kinds of practices that constituted the idea of Britain that *The Strand* evoked as well as the idea of the reader that it projected.

If George Newnes' 'simple wholesomeness' was, like his 'common man' fetish, part of a self-mythologizing marketing technique it is still doubtful that he interrogated his publications in this kind of way. The qualities that Newnes prioritised in print: unpretention, simplicity, Christian morality, liberal politics, traditionalism and temperate nationalism became the prime means of constructing his readership-publisher dialogue. To anchor the above speculation in reality we need only to look at the ways in which Newnes himself saw the ideological identity of his magazine and the connection it established with its readers. Jackson observes in *George Newnes and the New Journalism* that

The success of *The Strand* was also dependent upon the editor-publisher's editorial experience, and his creation of close affective and social ties with a circle of readers and contributors [...] Appeals to 'loyalty' and 'friendship' were a common Newnesian ploy [...] Appearing at a time when its middle and upper middle class readers were beset by the forces of change and anxiety over a variety of social problems, providing them with security, stability, a sense of 'immutable British order.'¹¹⁶

This is a succinct summation of Newnes' business model which was geared towards his readers' frequent involvement alongside attempts to integrate his publications into the patterns of their lives. In an earlier article, Jackson discussed Newnes' marketing strategy as a mixture of 'the interrelated processes of specialization and diversification' that sought to capitalize upon 'the evolution of a vast and varied

¹¹⁶ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain: 1880-1910*, pp. 115-7.

reading audience'.¹¹⁷ With each of his publications he aimed explicitly for a particular demographic of what Alfred Harmsworth called 'a market which had been created by the spread of popular education'.¹¹⁸ All of this suggests a strong, reflexive bond between publisher and reader. However, if we consider that *The Strand's* circulation rose significantly with the publication of each Sherlock Holmes story then it is possible to provide some contextualisation. If ten, twenty or 100,000 extra copies are sold on these occasions then they are sold to people who are not 'readers' of *The Strand* in the sense of the word used by Jackson and Newnes. They are clearly not in thrall to the traditionalist vision that Jackson identifies or, even if they are, then they clearly do not find *The Strand* an appropriate organ for expressing it. The fluctuation of sales figures means that although assertions of reader-as-type can be made, they can only ever throw insubstantial light on the ever-shifting, unknowable collection of people whose only connection was to buy and possess the same bit of text once a month. The successes or failures of mass-market publications, whilst they carve out an identity in part through an editorial, ideological discourse, are impossible to track or explain simply in those terms. Historians of science have always had difficulty tracking its mutations and diffusions throughout popular culture. Indeed, this difficulty is central to Cooter and Pumfrey's seminal essay on the subject where they bemoan the absence of a 'history of science from below constructed from the material artefacts of science within 'low' culture'.¹¹⁹ These two issues, working out who read periodicals and why and, secondly, working out how science was received and acted upon after the moment of popularisation are difficult because of the fundamental complicity between science, periodicals, popularisers and the historians themselves. As a concept, logocentrism, or the unquestioned dominance of the written form, is seldom deployed in a non-pejorative sense but it is useful to highlight the observation that science, history and literary criticism all depend upon the relationship between reading and writing. Practitioners of science, although their work may be experimental, practical and visual, can only distribute their knowledge through logocentric systems of knowledge production and consumption (books, articles, prepared lectures). At no point in the analysis can the writer actually hope to engage

¹¹⁷ Kate Jackson, "'Doing Things Differently" and "Striking Whilst the Iron was Hot": The Entrepreneurial Successes of the Media Magnate George Newnes, 1881-1910', *Publishing Research Quarterly* 12-4 (December, 1996), p. 19.

¹¹⁸ *The Times* (Friday, Jun 10, 1910), p. 13.

¹¹⁹ Cooter and Pumfrey, 'Separate Spheres and Public Places', p. 243.

with anything more than words on a page. The limitations of these analyses can become clear through a naïve thought-experiment. What if we ignore Gillian Beer's paradigm-shifting observation in *Darwin's Plots* that, upon its release, *On the Origin of Species* was read as unoriginal and not particularly interesting, and imagine that instead it precipitated a minor revolt? A working class community with a revolutionary, dissenting heritage was first politicised by the world-wide revolutions of 1848 and then found, in Darwin, the spark which ignited a revolt against religious moral and legal hegemony. Even in this idealised fantasy of 'bottom-up' science, the only way for a historian to encounter and read the event would be through written records: court records, pamphlets, perhaps a diary entry or a letter. There must forever be this unknowable kernel at the heart of these enquiries into reception and reader response, a kernel that resists symbolisation into the form of written records. Nevertheless, if we happily build this short-circuit into our methodology then its admittance need not undermine the overall project of examining modes of scientific dissemination. A close examination of the first decade of *The Strand*, for example, reveals, as we have seen above, that whilst science is occasionally discussed within the magazine, its principal influence can be felt in the foundational materialist, rationalist, evidential, experiential values that are propagated in a variety of ways throughout the magazine. This is not to say that these values are the direct result of science, in fact they were present in *The Strand* from its earliest appearances, but by association with science, technology and scientists, these values begin to legitimate themselves through the association. The effacement of science that we find in an article such as Ridgeley's means that even the category of scientific popularisation may be problematic since it involves the tracing of particular ideas (be it Darwinian evolution, degenerative theory, vaccinations or the discovery of anaesthetic) down the epistemic ladder into the realm of lay fiction and non-fiction. By the time the science has reached this 'bottom' level (in Cooter and Pumfrey's terms) it has become so blended with non-scientific values that it is impossible to tell where one ends and the other begins. So *The Strand's* relationship with science, as well as its role within culture, is muddied by the chimerical role of the reader and the complicated relationship between scientific and 'everyday' ideology.

If there is any worth in this idea then it lies in exploring and properly explicating the minutiae of the magazine's ideological interactions. The correct response, I would suggest, to the rather gloomy discussion above is to be found in the

notion of ideology. Ideology puts science to concrete uses and momentarily fixes it in different ways that are much more open to analysis. 'Science', 'technology' and 'modernity' are insufficient terms in themselves since 'progress', for the purposes of *The Strand*, encompassed all of these meanings and more. Progress meant projecting not just an imagined future, but also an imagined, idealised population to occupy it. Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories are incredibly helpful in elucidating this process. The stories represent the point of maximum efficiency between science, ideology and commercial success. In July 1906, an article called 'Forerunners of Sherlock Holmes' was published in *The Strand*, it began in the following way:

Sherlock Holmes has achieved that rarest of all reputations in literature, for he has become the symbol of a vital force in the language, and has taken his place among the small band of men who are types of their calling [...H]e is an individual gifted with an extraordinary sense of logical deduction.¹²⁰

This passage admitted not just the importance of Holmes to *The Strand* but also that his 'scientific' nature (a complex issue, to be discussed at length shortly) was key to this relationship. The 'symbol' that Holmes became denoted a fundamentally scientific outlook, albeit with some extraneous adornments by way of Christian morality, sympathy with a sense of bourgeois melodrama, a taste for the theatrical and a little bluff, everyday common-sense. Since Doyle's style of detective fiction was so beautifully unadorned, David Trotter is able to note that the genre 'suit[ed] the hermeneutic requirements of almost any form of theoretical enquiry you[d] care to mention'.¹²¹ Because of this, the idea of the Holmes stories as periodical material has been lost somewhat. In the deluge of Holmesian criticism, approaches that consider the stories firstly as periodical reading matter (rather than firstly as detective fiction, novels, Victoriana, invasion narratives, narratives of empire and so on) are very rare. This act of excision, whereby the stories are read in isolation from the rest of *The Strand* means that existing criticism can lose sight of the grander project into which they originally fitted. When considered alongside figures like the invisible servant and the silent anarchist, what future world do the Holmes stories help to project?

¹²⁰ 'Forerunners of Sherlock Holmes,' *The Strand* 32 (July, 1906), p. 50.

¹²¹ David Trotter, 'Theory and Detective Fiction', *Critical Quarterly* 33-2 (1991), p. 68.

SHERLOCK HOLMES AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Regardless of *The Strand*'s ideological potency, it is essential to establish the fact that a more significant reason for the magazine's popularity was the readability of its fiction and particularly that of the Holmes stories. The truth of this can be established by repeating the fact reported by Reginald Pound (as well as Jack Adrian, Kate Jackson and Stephen Knight) that when the magazine serialised *The Hound of the Baskervilles* in 1901, *The Strand*'s circulation increased by 300,000 copies.¹²² The Holmes stories' perspective on science, modernity, the dual concepts of progress and the constitution of a social body is distinct yet connected to that of the non-fiction that surrounded it. The diegetic logic of the stories operated according to a set of laws that were contiguous with those observable in Ridgely and Lees' articles. This becomes clearer when examining two instalments from the first run of stories, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* which began in June 1891: 'A Case of Identity' (September, '91) and 'The Man with the Twisted Lip' (December, '91).¹²³ The former story begins with a piece of much-quoted Holmesian whimsy:

'Life is infinitely stranger than anything which the mind of man can create [...] If we could fly out of that window hand in hand, hover over this great city, gently remove the roofs and peep in at the queer things which are going on [...] it would make all fiction with its conventionalities and foreseen conclusions most stale and unprofitable'.¹²⁴

The plot of the story that unfolded after this proclamation was appropriately bizarre; indeed it bordered upon the comically grotesque. Yet this strangeness was itself bound within both the inflexible confines of Doyle's version of the detective story form and the limitations of his moral landscapes, which remained constant throughout his fiction regardless of genre or period. The stories did not conjure a society that was

¹²² Adrian, *Mystery Stories from The "Strand"*, p. xviii; Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 93; Stephen Knight, *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction*, p. 67; Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 74.

¹²³ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'A Case of Identity' in *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Novels and Stories Vol. 1* (New York: Bantam, 1986), pp. 251-267; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Man with the Twisted Lip' in *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Novels and Stories Vol. 1*, pp. 306-328.

¹²⁴ Doyle, 'A Case of Identity', p. 251.

rich in its pluralities, but instead one based upon a fundamental rigidity. It is this rigidity that makes the stories receptive to scientific veneers. The plot can be simply summarised. James Windibank, a man in his 30s marries an older woman, Mrs Sutherland, both for her money and for the money of her daughter, Mary. His lifestyle rests upon keeping Mary a dependent in his house and so he disguises himself as a suitor named Hosmer Angel, proposes to Mary and presses her for her an oath of faithfulness before abandoning her on the chapel steps and leaving her in the confusion that prompts her to visit Holmes. It was, like many of the Holmes stories, a mystery of capital; a tale of monetary appropriation and redistribution. In effect, the stories presented the reader with a bonded society, but a bonded society that was subject to interference and assailment from outsiders, whose different value systems distorted the tightly-woven systems that regulated the fictional universe. The logic is the same as that which depicted Lucheni as an outsider. This is not an original observation but it is crucial to understand the ways in which these antithetical values were processed and emended alongside the techniques deployed elsewhere in the magazine. What are the Holmesian equivalents of the invisible servant and the silent anarchist?

The systems that regulate the world of the stories include the economy associated with an advanced capitalist state; the associated demands of business in a free-market; the codes of conduct within domestic romance based upon upper middle class sexual mores; an unquestioned and mutually beneficial class-structure; a clearly gendered understanding of familial roles and the assumed primacy of Britain within both the European political economy and within its own colonial hierarchy. James Windibank is a semi-itinerant social climber who ‘travels’ for claret importers ‘Westhouse and Marbank’.¹²⁵ These details provide Windibank with a professional identity of exactly the kind that his alter-ego, Hosmer Angel, purposefully avoids:

‘Mr Angel was a cashier in an office in Leadenhall Street –and–’

‘What Office?’

‘That is the worst of it Mr Holmes, I don’t know’.

‘Where did he live then?’

¹²⁵ Doyle, ‘A Case of Identity’, p. 196.

'He slept on the premises [...I addressed my letters] To the Leadenhall Post-Office, to be left till called for'.¹²⁶

Financial details pepper the story; we discover that Mary's private income derives from the 4% annual interest accumulating on £2,500 of stock held in New Zealand. We learn also that Hosmer Angel made no attempt to procure a dowry before his disappearance and that Mr Windibank lived a lifestyle that seemed suspiciously beyond his means. Why do these details occur with such frequency throughout the story (and many others)? Doyle's sparse prose and uncomplicated style meant that where a detail about a character was noted, it was always telling in one way or another; either it was a false-lure to purposefully derail the readers' expectations or it was a clue that Holmes would sooner or later be called upon to interpret. Here, a definable presence within the economy provided a means by which individuals could be classified, tracked and traced; it was Hosmer Angel's conspicuous lack of such a presence that alerted Holmes to his insubstantiality. In his article 'The Slaughterhouse of Literature', Franco Moretti attempts to explain the process of canonisation. Why, he asks, does 0.5% of literature come to obliterate the other 99.5% and consign it to the titular abattoir?¹²⁷ In the case of Conan Doyle and nineteenth-century detective fiction, he suggests that the readability and, consequently, the marketability of the genre rested upon the deployment of clues within the narrative. Conan Doyle's use of them, though by no means exemplary according to Moretti, was more systematic than those of other less renowned crime writers in *The Strand*. Some 'use no clues at all' and 'these writers are completely forgotten'.¹²⁸ The link between clues and popularity seems unsatisfactorily justified. Moretti cites the fact that 'decodable' clues would soon become the 'first commandment of detective fiction' and establishes a (slightly uneasy) correlation between this and market success.¹²⁹ It seems unwise to de-prioritise the role of idiosyncrasies of prose and form which mark Conan Doyle out from his contemporaries. Regardless of these problems, Moretti correctly establishes the prominent role of clues to the narrative structures of the stories. The 'clues' in 'A Case of Identity' were effective because they constituted a

¹²⁶ Doyle, 'A Case of Identity', p. 194.

¹²⁷ The essay is an earlier draft of the ideas that would later form the first chapter in his 2007 book *Graphs, Maps and Trees* (London: Verso, 2005).

¹²⁸ Franco Moretti, 'The Slaughterhouse of Literature', *Modern Language Quarterly* 61-1 (2000), p. 214.

¹²⁹ Moretti, 'The Slaughterhouse of Literature', p. 214.

coded assurance to the reader that, whether the mystery was solvable or not, the answer would be bound by a highly simplistic motivational landscape. Would it be possible within the logic of the stories for Mary Sutherland (a lady with ‘natural advantages’), to surprise Holmes and outrage Watson by declaring that she in fact earns her income from prostitution? Such a revelation would be, of course, impossible within the moral confines of the fictional space that Conan Doyle created. Whilst such an observation is unfair, it also points to a whole series of activities that would be considered unfitting for the necessarily passive victimhood that Sutherland’s role demands. When aberrations occur and characters act outside these boundaries then Holmes expends considerably more effort unpicking events. ‘The Man with the Twisted Lip’ presented an aberration of precisely this sort. The plot summary is that a man, Neville St. Claire, is not the affluent banker he pretends to be to his wife and children but, in fact, dons a disguise to beg on the streets of London as ‘Hugh Boon’. His wife unknowingly exposes his falsity when she accidentally stumbles across his hideout and, in disguise, he is arrested for his own murder. In her article ‘Detecting the Beggar: Arthur Conan Doyle, Henry Mayhew and *The Man with the Twisted Lip*’ Audrey Jaffe explores the problems that the case causes for Holmes:

Inspector Bradstreet’s solemn insistence, at the end of the case, that there be ‘no more of Hugh Boone’ reflects a determination to eliminate precisely the kind of instability Holmes implicitly acknowledges [...] The story describes not a crime but a disturbance in the social field.¹³⁰

This idea is not revelatory in itself; it is common practice in Holmesian criticism (most prominently that of Rosemary Jann) to discuss the ways in which the Holmes method indexes people *via* profession or class or race and so on.¹³¹ What is interesting, though, is the way in which moral boundaries defined the limits of the possible within the stories. This boundary dictated that, for Holmes, Neville St. Clair must be dead because the only other option is that he is Boone, the beggar. The implications of such a conclusion are considerable; the sanctity of the upper middle

¹³⁰ Audrey Jaffe, ‘Detecting the Beggar: Arthur Conan Doyle, Henry Mayhew, and ‘The Man with the Twisted Lip’, *Representations* 31, 1990, pp. 96-117, pp. 96-7.

¹³¹ Jann has written that Holmes ‘create[s] the distinctions [he] purports to observe, in effect constructing categories of the normative whilst appearing merely to interpret them’ and that, as a result, he ‘enforce[s] the fixity and naturalness of social ordering’. Jann, ‘Sherlock Holmes Codes the Social Body,’ *ELH* 57- 3 (1990), p. 686).

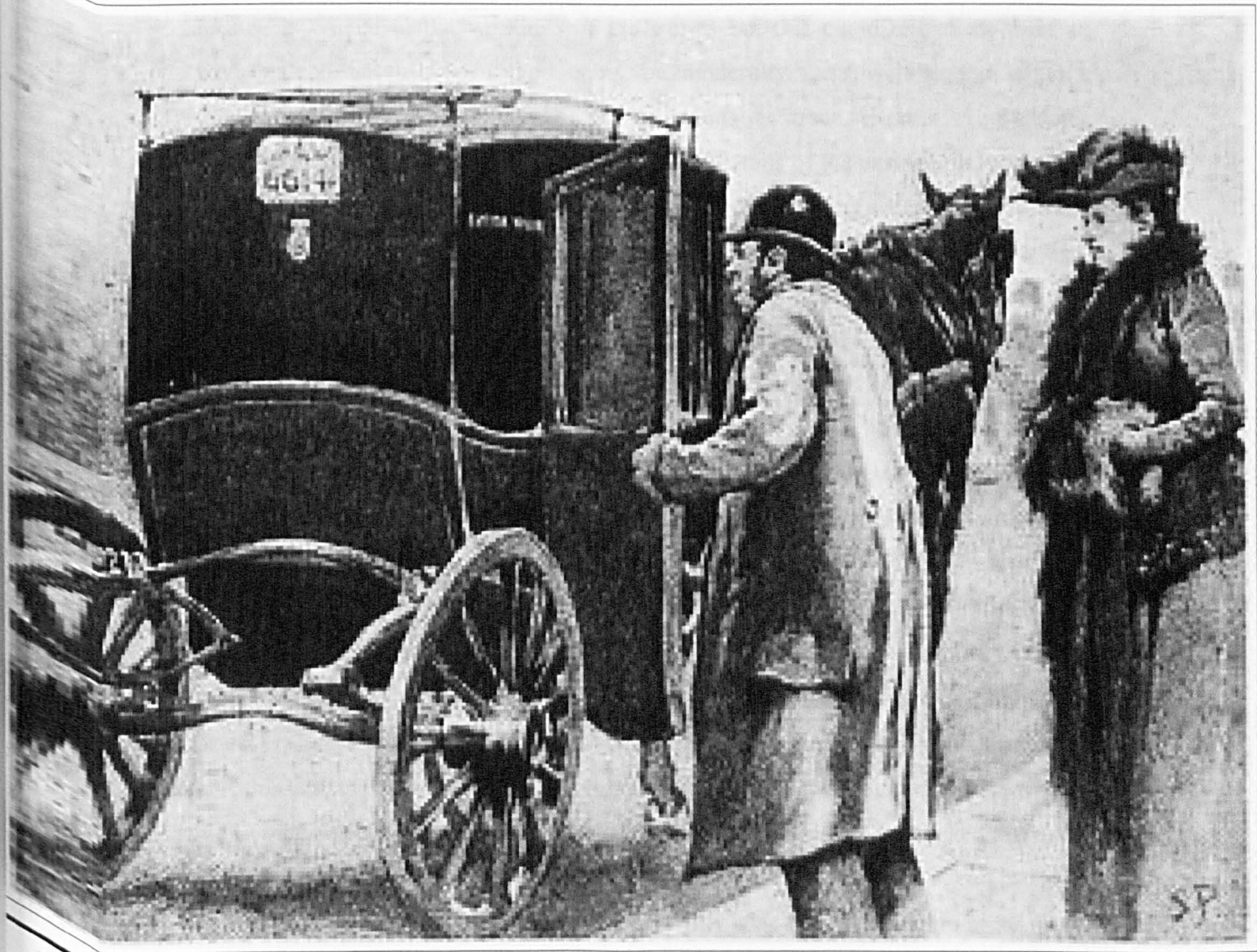
class position and the virtue of professional work that maintained this position made the idea insupportable to Holmes. He also considers it unlikely that someone in St. Clair's position could willingly place his wife in such a horrific situation. St. Clair's actions questioned the very moral fabric of the stories in a way that Windibank's did not. Holmes immediately knew Windibank for what he was, having traced him through the idiosyncrasies of his typewriter, his appearance and his motive. St. Clair's actions did not precipitate disgust, condemnation or contempt as much as confusion. When his deception is finally uncovered, he challenges the police:

'And pray what am I charged with? [...] If I am Mr Neville St. Clair, then it is obvious that no crime has been committed, and that, therefore, I am illegally detained'. 'No crime, but a very great error has been committed', said Holmes. 'You would have done better to have trusted your wife'.¹³²

The police's only stipulation in response is that St. Clair must cease his activities and cement his identity as the upper middle class professional he pretended to be. The breach in convention is thus closed; it is a mystery with no crime and no villain. St. Clair's only offence was against social cohesion and convention and the only victim was familial harmony. This is something that again we see in 'A Case of Identity' with the Windibank family. The fact that James Windibank marries a woman considerably older than himself and that this woman is then capable of such cruelty to her daughter suggests that she is in the thrall of sexual passion for him which, in the eyes of Watson and Holmes, disgraced both her role as wife (to her dead husband, Sutherland) and mother (to Mary). Interestingly she is totally absent from the story which suggests that the stories had no language appropriate to portraying someone who transgressed so many moral and ethical restraints.¹³³ Just as an invisible horizon limited the scope of the character's possible actions, it also prohibited the portrayal of certain kinds of figure.

¹³² Doyle, 'The Man with the Twisted Lip', p. 242.

¹³³ This is not to say that Doyle has trouble portraying sexually-emancipated women (Irene Adler in 'A Scandal in Bohemia') although it is usually fused to a harsh, uncaring nature which receives, inevitably, some hubristic downfall (Mary Holder in 'The Beryl Coronet,' Sarah Cushing in 'The Cardboard Box,' Isadora Klein in 'The Three Gables'). Elsewhere there are sympathetic portraits of women who attempt to leave unsympathetic husbands in 'The Abbey Grange', 'The Retired Colourman' and 'The Veiled Lodger.'



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Like the non-fiction articles discussed earlier, then, the Holmes stories performed comparable acts of semiotic foreclosure by delineating a strict inside/outside dichotomy and construing exterior voices as the results of criminality or anti-sociality. It is crucial, however, that the moral economies of the stories were regulated and enforced by developments in technology and science, in exactly the same way as the servant's invisibility and the anarchist's silence were affected. Money is crucial to the workings of the stories but this could only happen in an environment that has been 'laid open' by modernity. As well as the villain's idiosyncratic typewriter, Holmes used telegrams to trace Hosmer Angel/James Windibank after correctly analysing the financial details of the case and interrogating the 'professional identities' of the 'two' men. This is a society where the movement of information and people have been expedited and in turn provided the tools with which the moral machinery of the stories could function. Crucial to this landscape is the idea that the movements of people leave a trace behind; that the city itself has developed enough means of surveillance (in Foucault's terms rather than the more modern Anglicised meaning) to guard against those within it who have something to hide. Hosmer Angel and Neville St. Clair's lack of a traceable history was highlighted by events in both stories and, in both cases, Holmes had to artificially augment the existing record of events to cauterise the danger of their transgressions. Thus, when Hosmer Angel entered the cab (as depicted by Sidney Paget in figure 1.4) and failed to emerge again to meet the moral and social expectations of him, he issued a coded challenge to the prescience of the city's surveillance. Figure 1.4 shows the discovery of Hosmer Angel's disappearance but also a possible key to his discovery. It is this possibility which forms the promise of knowledge and the re-instatement of moral order. The story tells us that 'when the cabman got down and looked there was no-one there' and, as a marginal detail of Sidney Paget's illustration, the cab is shown with its license plate visible. Whilst this detail remained a dormant clue in the story, it appeared in numerous other Holmes stories and was one of a series of 'traces' that allow Holmes to confirm the details of the 'mystery'.¹³⁴ Mary Sutherland's letters from Angel, the newspaper advertisement slip that she still carries, the vague details

¹³⁴ In 'A Scandal in Bohemia' Holmes praises 'the advantages of a cabman as a confidant'. Doyle, 'A Scandal in Bohemia', p. 219. Evidence of this testimony is born out in *A Study in Scarlet*, 'The Engineer's Thumb,' 'The Missing Three Quarter' and 'The Second Stain' where the traceability of cab journeys is useful to Holmes, not to mention the dependence of almost all the stories upon the use of cabs to keep the plots mobile, to facilitate chases and discrete observations as well as to open up the backstreets of London in ways that would have been geographically impossible for the railway to do.

of Angel's address and the particular details of Sutherland's income. These fragments of detail (sometimes physical objects and sometimes mental or verbal records) were the product of a new kind of social scene dictated by two impulses: the mechanistic and the bureaucratic. The result of these two impulses was that people's actions came under the purview of various kinds of surveillance, both private and governmental, and, as a consequence, became inscribed into complicated networks of logs and records to which Holmes has access. This official, objective memory is never infallible or unproblematic but proves itself across the Holmesian canon as being a fundamental agency for good by perpetually holding the potential for the heuristic revelation of hidden truths, the punishment of transgression and the re-instatement of bourgeois values. It is the very insubstantial presence of Angel within this official memory that signals his non-existence. To make a crass but worthwhile comparison, this gap between 'official' and 'real' presences is the same one that Kafka frequently exploited. This outlook, again, is not straightforwardly scientific in itself but instead refracts values from science and puts them to ideological work. Indeed, science was inescapably ideological in *The Strand*; ideology was not some artificial supplement that the authors attached to science, rather it was inscribed into the very notion of it as an applied (as opposed to 'pure') discipline. How does this function in practice? Knap's mechanisation of the domestic scene was possible because it was commercially viable. Whatever the nature of Knap's pure, theoretical scientific work, its application was guided by the cultural and ideological conditions that surrounded the related questions 'what do people want' and 'what will people pay for'? This distinction is crucial to Arnold Pacey's *The Culture of Technology* which attempts to assess, first, the contested borders between science and technology (theory and application) and, second, the different ways in which technology and culture are implicated by each other. He observes that 'the web of human activities that surround the machine' mean that technology can never be 'kept in a separate compartment' from culture.¹³⁵ Technology has always maintained closer ties to the marketplace than science; indeed, in terms of the production of instruments, science has been one of technology's key marketplaces. The proximity of technology and commerce has been one of the reasons that historians of science have been snobbish about seriously

¹³⁵ Arnold Pacey, *The Culture of Technology* (MIT Press, 1991), p. 3. Broader overviews of this discussion in Philosophy of Science circles is provided by Rachel Laudan's article 'Natural Alliance or Forced Marriage? Changing Relations Between the Histories of Science and Technologies', *Technology and Culture* 36-2 (1991), p. 3, 17-30.

considering it as a serious area of study, but this connection now seems to be the principal motivation behind scholarly interest.¹³⁶ Iwan Rhys Morus, for example, correlates the fields of science and commerce by examining the Victorian taste for technological exhibition and performance. He argues that exhibition (be it in designed spaces such as the Adelaide Gallery or on-site as with the public construction of the Thames tunnel) gave the wider public a stake in the kinds of technology being produced and also enabled the doubled production of public interest and private capital. Why are these discussions relevant to the Holmes stories and the larger canvas of *The Strand*? Their relevance is that the 'diffusion' model (whereby scientific knowledge slowly drips down into popular culture) can become more like 'accommodation' where the two fields find themselves in a constantly shifting cohabitation. This is the theory; in reality it means something rather simpler. *The Strand*'s discussion of science was not just intended to interest and amuse its readers; the magazine itself could be seen to constitute a space of exhibition and would thus have been a popular participant in the reception and creation of science. Knap's hotel (and an electric house he discussed in 1907) are advertised and brought to public notice in this way. *The Strand* was in a position to establish a link between technology and the consumer beyond the peripheral content of its advertising and it was able to do this by incorporating it into culture. It is important that the cultural dimension of science should not come to over-determine it. Culture, as a determinant of science should be characterised as 'one amongst many' but its role was certainly too prominent for it to be characterised as a passive, receptive discourse for higher scientific ideas. Different ideologies could have encouraged different kinds of science. We can see this, to use just one example, in the content of the *Mechanics Magazine* which encouraged technological and scientific innovation for the labouring class as a route to emancipation, moral improvement and industrial self-determinism.¹³⁷ *The Strand*'s chief interest involved a rather non-specific importation of rationalist and empirical aesthetics. It is this belief in calculability that drove its

¹³⁶ 'Since positivist philosophers and those influenced by them saw no sign of formal theory in technology, they paid it little heed, relegating it to the purely artifactual. Denied an intellectual dimension independent of science, technology was characterized as merely applied science'. Laudan, 'Natural Alliance or Forced Marriage?', p. 18.

¹³⁷ 'Radical commentators [who would end up contributing to *Mechanics Magazine*] increasingly urged workers against direct attacks on machinery as a means of protecting their livelihood, arguing instead that workers should take political action to gain control of the machines they rightfully owned'. Iwan Rhys Morus, 'Manufacturing Nature: Science Technology and Victorian Consumer Culture', *BJHS* 29 (1996), p. 412.

valorisations of the official memory in the Holmes stories. On one level they allowed for the streamlining of their plots, which depend upon a flurry of train journeys and ticket stubs, telegrams and carbon copies, cab rides and license plates, typewriters and their idiosyncrasies and so on. The growth of technology also allowed for the projection of London as a kind of balanced, homeostatic, clockwork city where movements in and out were measured by train timetables and whose inner workings triggered hundreds of surveillance techniques. The Holmes stories were thus wired into the same project as the scientific articles in *The Strand* because they offered, week after week, fresh examples of how technology could resist the various forces that threatened the stability of the magazine's traditional bourgeois values. Morus discusses the relationship between rationalisation, industrial mechanisation and the suppression of working class culture and produces comparable examples from the world of industry. In his 1835 book *The Philosophy of Manufactures*, Andrew Ure wrote that 'the infirmity of human nature' (by which he meant 'self-willed and intractable workmen') could be palliated by making them subordinate to the 'self-regulated moving force' of machines.¹³⁸ The movement here is the same as outlined in Knap's and Ridgeley's articles. We see the method by which voices anterior or oppositional to a discourse could be elided by the modernising, technocratic impulse and made to function silently within it. Whilst science and technology became part of the institutional apparatus of government and policing in this way, they also provided the language, metaphors and aesthetics required to project this utopian vision of culture and science's coexistence.

THE STRAND AND THE LAW OF EXCHANGE

As useful as the invisible servant and the silent anarchist are as symbolic threats against the universe of *The Strand*, it is helpful to examine the variety of other ways that 'threats' were constituted and banished. Once again, the Sherlock Holmes stories furnish some usefully analogous examples, particularly 'The Red-Headed League' from 1891. Two themes that *The Strand* incessantly represented and combined were the mechanisms of social regulation and the ways in which they protected and safeguarded the economies of possession, supply and demand. Moretti equates

¹³⁸ Morus, 'Manufacturing Nature: Science, Technology and Victorian Consumer Culture,' p. 408.

criminality in the Holmes stories with a violation of the ‘perfect balance’ of supply and demand and ‘the law of exchange’.¹³⁹ Thus the acceptance of a low salary (‘The Musgrave Ritual’) or seemingly excessive rewards (‘The Copper Beeches,’ ‘The Stockbroker’s Clerk,’ ‘The Engineer’s Thumb’) signalled the occurrence of anti-social, criminal or otherwise damaging activities.¹⁴⁰ More than this, the financial economy, due to its high visibility in the way the stories are told, functioned as a sensitive cortex to the underworld of criminality. Therefore, the secret, subterranean actions of criminals could be intuited from the surface twitches and ruptures in the law of exchange. ‘The Red-Headed League’ exemplified this relationship by representing the fictional world of the stories as a delicately balanced and interconnected system where each participant benefitted from recognising the inherent value of their position without striving to accrue surplus value or accepting less than they are worth.¹⁴¹ The first action of the plot (though it is one of the last details to be revealed) is that The City and Suburban Bank strengthened its gold resources by borrowing a large amount of bullion from the French government. This artificial augmentation of value (which was supposed to remain secret) remained in one site: the bank’s Coburg branch. This swelling of value was something about which the ‘directors had misgivings’ yet had failed to avoid and it was precisely this action that had attracted the attention of the criminal network to which the chief villain, John Clay, belonged.¹⁴² All subsequent perversions of the law of exchange resulted from this one temptation including John Clay’s acceptance of a half-wage to work for Jabez Wilson and the Red-Headed League’s offer of ‘nominal’ employment for a ludicrously high wage. The idea of a balanced, hermetic system that becomes distorted is continued to the very end of the story where Holmes mentions the ‘small expenses’ that he incurred during his investigation and which he ‘expect[ed] the bank

¹³⁹ Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders* (London: Verso, 2005), p. 137.

¹⁴⁰ Doyle, ‘The Musgrave Ritual’ in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 527-524; ‘The Copper Beeches’ in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, 429-453; ‘The Stockbroker’s Clerk’ in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 494-510; ‘The Engineer’s Thumb’ in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 369-388. ‘The Musgrave Ritual’ finds Richard Brunton, a man of ‘personal advantages’ and ‘extraordinary gifts’ happy to serve as a mere butler over a period of decades whilst he attempts to steal the family’s hidden fortune (Doyle, ‘The Musgrave Ritual’, p. 530). In ‘The Copper Beeches’ a governess, Violet Hunter, is hired at an excessive wage to act as an unwitting substitute for the imprisoned daughter of the family. In ‘The Stockbroker’s Clerk’ Hall Pycroft is lured away from his banking job with the offer of a much-increased salary so that his position can be taken by a criminal impersonator.

¹⁴¹ Arthur Conan Doyle, ‘The Red-Headed League’ in *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Novels and Stories Vol. I*, pp. 230-251.

¹⁴² Doyle, ‘The Red-Headed League’, p. 247.

to refund'.¹⁴³ The story is, in this way, settled like a balance-sheet. Disruptions in the flow of capital, occasioned by the devaluation or inflation of labour, are not just to be read in terms of the stories' focus on preserving and/or restoring property against the threat of theft or illegal dispossession. Money broadcasts intention; for the Red-Headed League, an excessive outlay can only mean deferred, illegal profits at some point in the future. The story was perfectly conscious of these aspects of its construction and Doyle happily built appropriate metaphors and analogies into his writing. Wilson's predicament is described variously as 'outside the conventions and the humdrum routine of everyday life', 'a little off the beaten track', 'not a common experience' and 'almost past belief'.¹⁴⁴ His metaphorical passage out of the everyday exchange of normality is occasioned by his proximity to the swollen gold reserves. Wilson's fundamental ordinariness is also repeatedly emphasised and related to his benign, self-sustaining financial life. He earns enough to 'give' him 'a living, [...] keep a roof over [his] head and pay [his] debts [...] if nothing more'.¹⁴⁵ Holmes' solving of the case is predicated on understanding the nature of economic fluctuation and recession. First, he erroneously observes that 'the strangest and most unique things are very often connected not with the larger but with the smaller crimes', before eventually demystifying the strangeness of events by recognising the interconnections upon which Wilson's fate depended.¹⁴⁶ He was bound to the newly arrived gold not just by the 'immense stream of commerce' that flowed through London but also by his juxtaposed proximity to the financial district. Watson struggles to reconcile the 'line of fine shops and stately business' that 'abut[ted]' Wilson's 'faded and stagnant square'.¹⁴⁷ When Holmes explained his reasoning to Watson at the story's end, Watson could not but conclude admiringly: 'it is so long a chain but every link rings true'.¹⁴⁸ This analysis of this story is crucial because, alongside 'A Case of Identity,' it established some of the key logical steps upon which the Holmesian method depended. For example, the 'resistless, inexorable evil' that John Openshaw described in 'The Five Orange Pips' can be reduced to the fact that, when in America, his father stole papers that implicated 'some of the first men in

¹⁴³ Doyle, 'The Red-Headed League', p. 249.

¹⁴⁴ Doyle, 'The Red-Headed League', p. 230, 233, 238.

¹⁴⁵ Doyle, 'The Red-Headed League', p. 234.

¹⁴⁶ '[T]he more bizarre a thing is, the less mysterious it proves to be'. Doyle, 'The Red-Headed League', p. 241.

¹⁴⁷ Doyle, 'The Red-Headed League', p. 243.

¹⁴⁸ Doyle, 'The Red-Headed League', p. 251.

the South' in involvement with the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁴⁹ The series of violent disasters that persecute his family in England, and which appear to him as a 'resistless' force, are, in fact, the violent outlay of wealthy men's capital as they seek to preserve their liberty and status.

The maintenance of correct values for specific skills and commodities is an idea woven strongly into many Holmes stories, but also into the fabric of the magazine itself. A piece entitled 'Thieves v. Locks and Safes' from 1897 began in the following way:

Ever since man has been possessed of anything worth keeping, some other man has been at work to get it away from him without paying for it [...] When jewels and money came into fashion, and people used houses with doors to them, things became more orderly, and a gentleman who wanted another gentleman's property had to go about the matter quietly.¹⁵⁰

The article offered a perspective upon the growth of consumer capitalism and attempted to reinforce the idea of criminality as an emanation from without. There was a clear sense of a 'before' and an 'after', which occurred either side of a momentous development where 'things become more orderly'. This development seems to coincide both with the development from feudalism to capitalism and the population shift from rural to urban living space. By this logic, criminality is an atavistic echo or an unfortunate hangover from the primordial and 'less orderly' 'before': before the coalescence of peoples together into unifying systems of financial exchange, official surveillance and the coming of the mass market. Crime represented the disruption of exchange, possession and the symbolic network of laws, regulations and state apparatus that preserved the social scene. This view meshed with the Holmes stories because it helped to position all crime as a kind of innate perversion in the criminal, an inability to fully adjust to the world as it is. This effaced the social causes of crime and foreclosed the understanding of criminality as a socially produced phenomenon. Like Luigi Lucheni, the thief's motivation was constructed unilaterally as a desire to circumvent the balance of supply and demand and to undermine the stability of the 'law of exchange'. The well-locked room, in this article, became a

¹⁴⁹ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Five Orange Pips' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 289-306, p. 297.

¹⁵⁰ 'Thieves V. Locks and Safes,' *The Strand* 8 (July, 1894), p. 497.

symbolic representation of possession itself. The article featured a picture of an array of burglar's tools ('picklocks and skeleton keys') which appeared alongside depictions of locks through the ages (Figures 1.5 and 1.6). The text then described historically parallel developments in both lock-making and burglary. It articulated two hermetically separate and imagistically contrasted patterns: the criminal (imaged as a skeleton key) and the orthodox (imaged as a lock). Locks were the safeguards of possession and thus ensured a steady and secured system of finance and commodities whereas the skeleton keys (assembled specifically to fit any given lock) represented a slippery, subversive presence within this economy. The skeleton key itself (in a similar way to Neville St. Clair/Hugh Boone) stimulated a kind of horror at the idea of an object or person with unstable and fluid possibilities. In this way, the image of the criminal was constructed as an exterior presence, picking the locks of society with malicious intent. The criminal, the terrorist, the anarchist, the servant and the racial other can all be slotted into this paradigm and, subsequently, all eruptions of violence attributed to them can be dealt with (solved or at least palliated) by a technocratic social superstructure. One could hardly expect a middlebrow publication like *The Strand* to express radical sympathy with these subaltern figures in Victorian society but the terms under which the occlusions were managed are particularly interesting as they seemed inevitably to be legitimised by frameworks drawn from science or technology. The technological evolution of the lock is the crudest example but it points to the common strategy whereby the criminal is shown to have been anticipated and prepared for. In the same way that Knap located his 'futuristic' project in the immediate present, so *The Strand's* non-fiction promised that the technology necessary for the maintenance of social order had already superseded that available to the criminal. We see this in other articles such as 'Smuggler's Devices' in 1891 and 'A Night with the Thames Police' from the first number in 1890, both articles constructed very neat narrative curves to encompass their respective subjects. They began by evoking a past in which criminal behaviour (be it, respectively, the picking of locks, the smuggling of dutiable commodities or non-specific riparian thuggery) was widespread and unpoliceable. Then they detailed the ways in which modern technology allowed society to fight a winning battle against it and, finally, they predicted a future with an ever-decreasing potential for committing the crime. There are numerous examples but the following comes from 'Smuggler's Devices':

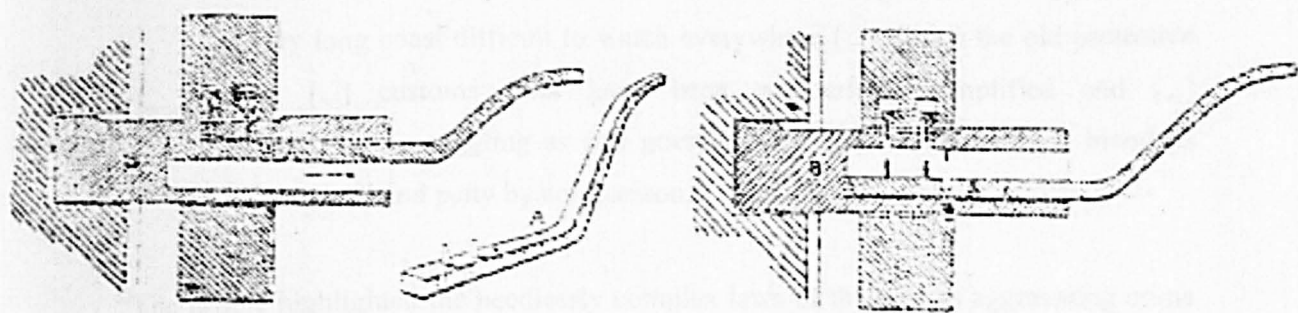
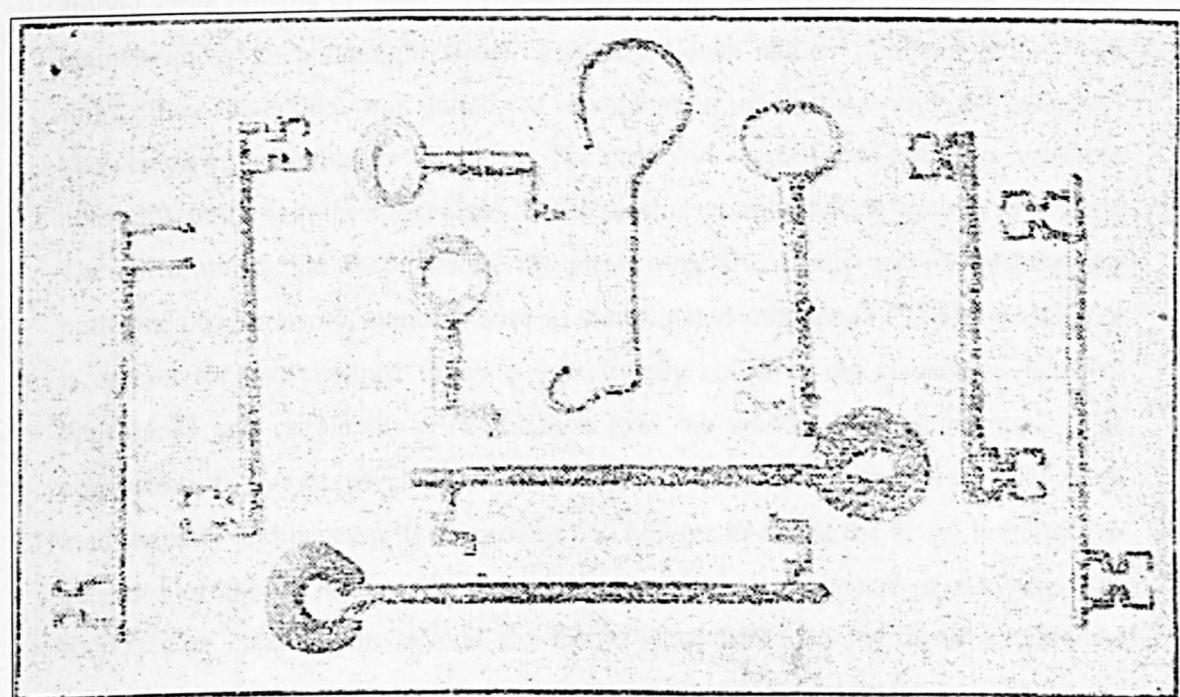


FIG. 2.—EGYPTIAN WOODEN LOCK AND KEY.

1.5



PICKLOCKS AND SKELETON KEYS.

1.6

In old times [...] the practice reached tremendous proportions [...] all contraband articles came from across the water, and [...] the country possessed a very long coast difficult to watch everywhere [...] Since the old protective days [...] customs laws have been wonderfully simplified and [...] consequently smuggling as still goes, the old taint in the national blood, is mean, small and petty by comparison.¹⁵¹

The article highlighted the needlessly complex laws of the past as aggravating crime rather than abating it. The implication was, again, that an increasingly advanced technology of surveillance and an increasingly ergonomic and simplified legal system had combined to narrow and contain the problem. The article could thus afford to be humorous as it shrank the contemporary issue down to a series of amusing anecdotes about the measures by which dock workers and sailors attempted to smuggle small amounts of alcohol and tobacco from ships. These figures give themselves away among large crowds to ‘alert’ customs officials by ‘an unusual expression of blank blamelessness’ or a ‘straight ahead’ gaze that ‘looks neither right nor left’.¹⁵² In short, their detection was largely a combination of instinct and an increased knowledge of the smuggler’s devices. The observers seem first to notice an excess of normality in the criminals that signifies the surplus tobacco hidden in a sleeve or boot. The illustrations that accompanied the piece were also comic and showed smiling policemen triumphantly standing over an incriminated shipman (1.7). The illustration is crucial for two reasons; firstly it superficially confirms the connection between appearance and criminality. The caption read ‘no wonder he was limping’. The conclusion to be drawn from this is not just the simple one (that criminality inadvertently and necessarily telegraphs and betrays itself *via* the body) but also that excesses of capital necessarily decompose the ‘innocent’ veneers of everyday life. Excesses of capital gain beyond the labour-wage could not be absorbed into the smuggler’s private accounts without deforming his exterior appearance. The second point of interest lies in the article’s tone. Just because it was broadly humorous does not mean that its depiction of power relations was any different to that of more serious writing, such as Ridgeley’s. The laughter inscribed into the illustration makes the intuitive deductions of the policeman more powerful since it arrives without stern

¹⁵¹ ‘Smuggler’s Devices,’ *The Strand* 2 (July, 1891), pp. 417-8.

¹⁵² ‘Smuggler’s Devices’, p. 419.



"NO WONDER THE POOR FELLOW WAS LIMPING."

concentration and practice, as with Holmes. Similarly, it makes a direct connection between the figure of the criminal and that of the clown, both of whom are characterised by an inability to control the exertions of their body. It is crucial that, regardless of the seriousness of the crime (which, however humorous, was always flagged by the article's tone), the preventative forces were constantly 'progressing' but were never themselves corrupted. They were possessed of an unquestioned legitimacy that *The Strand* habitually bestowed upon those who had 'official' capacities. This legitimacy was achieved by layering series of tropes and figures onto the performative act of power in the ways described above. The policeman's arrest was not just a proficient act in itself; it offered a metonymic condensation of the criminal and official stereotypes that were established elsewhere in *The Strand*. Time and again, the articles reproduced the criminal/official binary that evoked two opposed banks of meaning. Where the criminal posed simultaneous moral, technological, financial, scientific, social, political and sexual threats; the 'official' presence embodied the legitimised counter-offensive.

The criminal, as a figure in non-fiction, occurred with great frequency and tended to play one part of a narrative triptych alongside the 'official' (the agent of social justice) and a reader substitute. The voice of the articles conjured a figure, either within the narrative of the article or as the interlocutor with the narrative voice:

When a visitor with valuables in his possession locked his bedroom door on retiring and, like a careful man left the key in the lock [...]¹⁵³

Let us imagine ourselves at the dock gates as a dock-labourer approaches to leave, and observe proceedings.¹⁵⁴

This is a representation of the dialogical relationship between Newnes and his readers (his 'common men'). The dominant values expressed within the articles are articulated for, or delivered to, a listener who is, crucially, not synonymous with the figures of power. From this perspective, *The Strand's* reporting of crimes can be seen as an extended exercise in constructing and presenting, in the words of Lyotard,

¹⁵³ 'Thieves V. Locks and Safes', p. 499.

¹⁵⁴ 'Smuggler's Devices', p. 418.

'positive and negative apprenticeships' to the reader.¹⁵⁵ 'Ideology' becomes so worked into the frame of the pieces that it makes itself apparent and becomes unquestionably didactic. The reader, for example, could be in no position to confuse himself with any figure in the piece other than the 'visitor with valuables'. This same tripartite relationship is reproduced in the Holmes stories and Doyle's later Professor Challenger narratives, as well as numerous other fictions including H. G. Wells' *The First Men in the Moon*. The status of Holmes as an 'official' figure of the establishment is complicated but it is sufficient to observe that he is not presented as a figure of identification and that his power, as an arbiter of justice, has to be routed through the figure of the Watsonian everyman.¹⁵⁶ The crucial example of this dynamic can be found in 1904's 'The Abbey Grange' where Holmes found himself in full sympathy with two lovers who had inadvertently murdered the abusive, aristocratic husband of the lady.¹⁵⁷ As he confronted the couple, Holmes first tested their commitment to each other and then says:

See here Captain Croker [the murderer], we'll do this in due form of law. You are a 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 [...] guilty or not guilty?¹⁵⁸

Watson naturally answers 'not guilty' to which Holmes exultantly responds '*vox populi, vox Dei*' and allows the pair to flee abroad. Holmes is the locus of power in this scene and is invested as such by his peculiar abilities. Yet the operation of power depended upon it being superintended by Watson's presence as the representative of *The Strand's* reader. Similarly, in *The Strand's* non-fiction, the addressee was not spoken to as a participant in the enactment of power but as part of the social group that provided, in its values, the core motivations for its enactment. In other words, the '*vox populi*' became the '*vox Dei*' and provided the ideological substance of justice. This relationship is difficult to comprehend because at first it seems like modesty;

¹⁵⁵ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁶ In 'The Red-Headed League' Watson observes "Holmes relapsing into his armchair and putting his fingertips together, as was his custom when in juridical moods". Doyle, 'The Red-Headed League', p. 230.

¹⁵⁷ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Abbey Grange' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 881-901.

¹⁵⁸ Doyle, 'The Abbey Grange', p. 901.

Watson had no interest in wielding power himself because he was modest and, consequently, a desire for influence beyond his field of expertise would be antithetical to his nature. Yet, in this abjuration lies the contradiction that power can only be wielded if it promises to always be silently accountable to the ‘common-sense,’ ‘everyday’ middle class values that the magazine constantly venerated.

THE INS AND OUTS OF CRIMINAL SPACE

In order to further understand the specificity of this insider/outsider dichotomy and its relationship to science, technology and the city we can refer, firstly, to the Holmes story ‘The Copper Beeches.’ Holmes and Watson travel by train to Hampshire where Watson expresses his admiration for the isolated rural cottages that they pass. Holmes famously responded:

‘You look at these scattered houses, and you are impressed by their beauty. I look at them, and the only thought which comes to me is a feeling of their isolation and of the impunity with which crime may be committed there [...] The reason is very obvious. The pressure of public opinion can do in the town what the law cannot accomplish. There is no lane so vile that the scream of a tortured child, or the thud of a drunkard's blow, does not beget sympathy and indignation among the neighbours, and then the whole machinery of justice is ever so close that a word of complaint can set it going’.¹⁵⁹

This passage brings much of the non-fiction content already discussed into very sharp contrast. The putative means of social control, if we think of them as ‘machinery’ (or, in Foucault’s terms, ‘technology’) become a constitutive part of a far grander design: the urbanised, modernised city-machine. This machine is an obvious fallacy. It is the result of a handy ideological congruity between discriminatory ideologies of various kinds with a dependence upon scientific advance as legitimising grand narrative. This fallacy is necessarily ‘modern’ because it depends upon the idea of society as an electrical circuit; a series of functional city-sites that are connected by railways and roads which conduct traffic through the uncivilised terrain of the rural. Holmes does

¹⁵⁹ Doyle, ‘The Copper Beeches’, p. 438.

not admit that there can be a blind-spot within the auspices of the city where the surveillance of the law cannot be triggered. This belief is given weight by the fact that Holmes is not blind to the dualities of city life, where the affluence of one part of the city is dependent upon the necessary poverty of another; it constitutes a kind of ideological reinforcement. Whilst Doyle is able to explore the fictional possibilities of potentially lawless areas of society (such as in 'The Man with the Twisted Lip' and *The Sign of Four*) the moral framework of the stories are strictly bonded in exactly the same way as his characters' private morality is.¹⁶⁰ In his *Atlas of the Modern Novel*, Franco Moretti compares the sites of criminality in the Holmes stories with those of poverty as they appeared in Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London*. He (Moretti) finds that poorer parts of London hardly ever appear and that, when they do, they are a decoy to distract from the fact that crime in the stories is the 'almost exclusive' property of 'the West End and the City'.¹⁶¹ Moretti's scholarship in compiling his maps is exemplary but his conclusions can elide the fact that, even if Holmes never actually deals with crime emanating from the poor parts of London, he still frequently alludes to it. We can perhaps account for its absence rather by referring to Watson's tact and propriety as a narrator and editor. Holmes frequently aligns the poor with the criminal and *The Strand*'s frequent essays into non-fiction on the subject reinforce his remarks. In 'The Illustrious Client' Watson epitomised this argument when he introduced Shinwell Johnson, one of Holmes' informants:

'I have not had occasion to mention Shinwell Johnson in these memoirs [...] During the first years of the century he became a valuable assistant. Johnson, I grieve to say, made his name first as a very dangerous villain and served two terms at Parkhurst. Finally he repented and allied himself to Holmes, acting as his agent in the huge criminal underworld of London [...] With the glamour of his two convictions upon him, he had the entrée of every night-club, doss house, and gambling-den in the town'.¹⁶²

This seems a straightforward enough description but there are some points of interest. Watson alludes to the discretion (the sense of 'occasion') which may have lead him to

¹⁶⁰ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Sign of Four* in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 105-207.

¹⁶¹ Moretti, *Atlas of the Modern Novel 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 135.

¹⁶² Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Illustrious Client' in *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Novels and Stories Vol. II*, pp. 512-538.

disregard Holmes' forays into the 'criminal underworld' of London in favour of more middlebrow, less politically volatile 'adventures'. Moreover, when we examine the list of places to which Johnson has 'entrée' we begin to see the coded assimilation of poverty and criminality. Night-clubs, doss houses and gambling-dens are, in themselves, symptoms of the former rather than of the latter. It is wrong to assume that the threat of what Andrew Mearns called 'Outcast London' is absent simply because it never really materialises.¹⁶³ It is equally true, for example, that Holmes' fear of a lonely countryside decimated by untraceable, unpunished criminality does not materialise either. In, for example, 'The Engineer's Thumb', 'The Priory School' or 'Silver Blaze' the rural landscape is used to knowingly conceal crimes, but the crimes (coining, kidnap for ransom and sabotaging a race-horse) belong to the same monetary, middle class family as those in the city and are not dependent upon some location-specific weakness of social cohesion, the distinction is purely geographic.¹⁶⁴ The question, then, is what kind of relationship *The Strand* depicts between poverty and criminality and in what ways this tallied with the outside/inside dichotomies that have revealed themselves so far? How far is it possible to graft this dynamic onto a representation of a single city-space?

Doyle's depiction of slums and rookeries colludes with the mid-to-late Victorian practice of producing a huge discourse on the subject of poverty and its associated evils. In Doyle's work, these spaces represented a dangerous separation from social surveillance and a return to reliance upon a community-regulated morality. In fact, according to Jennifer Davis, these sites became the subject of incredibly focussed police activity; albeit an activity corrupted by fear and prejudice and lacking in the essential qualities *The Strand* was keen to depict the police as possessing. 'The Victorian Metropolitan police', writes Davis, 'operated under a number of crucial constraints. Most notably, these were their small numbers and their consequent need for public support or acquiescence in carrying out their duties'.¹⁶⁵ This is the point at which the ideology of *The Strand* begins to re-shape the representation of ideas into what it seemed to find a more pleasing pattern. Let us compare two passages, the first from Davis' article where she discusses 'Jenning's

¹⁶³ P. J. Keating, ed., *Into Unknown England 1866-1913* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), pp. 91-111.

¹⁶⁴ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Priory School' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 744-772; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Silver Blaze' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 455-477.

¹⁶⁵ Davis, 'From "Rookeries" to "Communities"', *History Workshop Journal* 27-1 (1989), p. 3.

buildings', a rookery in Kensington and the second from *The Strand*'s 'Making a Policeman' article.

Although they had been organized as a preventative force whose presence on the streets would deter crime, they certainly lacked the numbers to make that presence felt evenly throughout London. Not surprisingly, they concentrated their resources instead on those areas, such as Jennings' Buildings, whose popular reputation as a haven of vice and criminality generated enormous public pressure on the police to keep it under control.¹⁶⁶

Who would guess that the smartly set-up, smooth-spoken, well-informed policeman, who grips a question the moment it leaves the querist's lips, and whose glib tongue rolls off a quick, intelligent reply, hails, in the majority of cases, from the most countrified districts in Great Britain? He has renounced his native pastoral charms for the privilege of serving the King, clad in uniform of blue, in London's muddy or dusty streets!¹⁶⁷

No one, looking back at the Victorian period, would assume any serious degree of concord between the actualities of day-to-day police work and the kind of middle class, proto-lifestyle magazine depiction of them that would be found in *The Strand*. It seems worth stating again that it is not the aim of this argument to preside over a posthumous trial of *The Strand*'s factual journalism and to pronounce it guilty of this prejudice or that inaccuracy. Of interest are the particularities of the falsehoods and the minutiae of the prejudices. So here, for instance, the differences prompt an articulation of the ways in which criminality was spatialised with regard to two tensions: urban/rural and affluent/poor. The preponderance of rural-born candidates for police training evokes *The Strand*'s doubled idea of the interaction between rurality and urbanity. This asserts that whilst movement from the former to the latter constitutes a 'progression' (and that consequently the urban is hierarchically prioritised) the rural still represents a crucial formative developmental stage of which it is important not to lose sight. The rookeries themselves represented subaltern sites

¹⁶⁶ Davis, 'From "Rookeries" to "Communities"', p. 5.

¹⁶⁷ H. J. Holmes, 'Making a Policeman', *The Strand* 23 (April, 1902), p. 386.

within the city, not just because the occupants were poor but because of the high number of immigrants (typically Irish or European Jews) that lived there. The occupants of these sites were thus subject to triple-level subjugation in relation to *The Strand's* ideology; being poor, being foreign and occupying a vilified area within the city were individually reproached by the magazine in different ways.

The mid-to-late Victorian mass-market media famously maintained a strong interest in the state of the London poor. From Henry Mayhew's labyrinthine *London Labour and the London Poor*, portions of which appeared from 1841, through Friedrich Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* and up to Andrew Mearns' *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883) and William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890), the popular press fostered and satiated a consumer fascination with the specificities of urban degradation.¹⁶⁸ This tradition was maintained within *The Strand* by George Sims' *Off the Track in London* and *Trips About Town* series (later collected and published under those titles in 1908 and 1911 respectively).¹⁶⁹ As one may expect, the material featured in these pieces was of a less directly prurient nature than its predecessors. The articles featured less of the explicitly detailed minutiae of suffering that we find in the earlier writers and Sims seems keen to establish the presence of a kind of social authority in even the most 'off the track' areas. The following quote comes from his wanderings through Kensington:

It [Kensington] has streets of evil reputation [...] The Borough Council has now in hand a splendid rehousing scheme which will vastly improve the district, but we must take it as we find it today [...] The Industrial Schools officer has a busy time in the Dale [...] Their work is invaluable. Under the Act a careful guardianship can be exercised by the state until the rescued boy or girl has reached the age of eighteen [...] He [the officer] has occasionally to exercise the ingenuity of a Sherlock Holmes in order to get on the track of 'one of his young people'.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1970); Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (London: Penguin Classics, 1987); William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: The Salvation Army, 1890).

¹⁶⁹ George R. Sims, *Off the Track in London* (London: Jarrold, 1911).

¹⁷⁰ George R. Sims, 'In the Royal Borough of Kensington', *The Strand* 27 (May, 1904), pp. 545-50.

The phrase that first warrants interrogation in this passage is ‘which will vastly improve the district’. This is one symptom of Sims’ compulsion to locate the degradation he observed within an empirical devotion to the beneficial capacities of institutional reform. In this way the possibility of improvement forever hovered over the figures in the pieces, promising improvement and progress should they only accept. We see this impulse voiced elsewhere in his articles on Rotherhithe and Shoreditch. In the former he observes ‘an ambulance carriage; the driver has a whistle in his mouth [...] The smallpox wharf is vigilantly guarded. No curious stranger, be he author or artist, can pass those gates, and the rule is a wise one’.¹⁷¹ In the latter, whilst visiting a synagogue, he notes that ‘these pious Jews, most of them from the lands of persecution and massacre, are still nervous and fearful. They have not yet learned the true meaning of English freedom, and the Alien Commission is to them a warning note of some new disaster that threatens’.¹⁷² Again *The Strand* conjured the spectre of ‘progress’ and again the agencies of this improvement were officials of the state. Whilst Sims was keen to maintain a dispassionate detachment in his writing, the projected reader was nevertheless left with a strong impression of the kind of person that the narrator was. This sense is derived partially through the explicit uses of language, partly through implicit deductions and finally through his estimations of difference. When he peppers his articles with phrases such as ‘to unaccustomed Gentile eyes’ and describes himself as ‘unveil[ing] ‘how the poor live’ then it becomes evident that this observer draws a clear distinction between himself and those he observes.¹⁷³ This superficiality does not mask hatred or simple condemnation, instead it reveals unease at the spectacle of difference. The putative institutional measures to improve the situation are promised half for the benefit of the subjects themselves and half to alleviate the disquieting thought that London contains ethnic, moral and financial multiplicities. Faith in institutions means faith in cultural hegemony; not as a tool of oppression but as the means of alleviating the promise of difference. But what are the terms of Sims’ relationship to poverty and how does he construct the lives and bodies of the people that he observes? The illustrations that accompany the piece are diegetically discussed by Sims, who confides in his reader the ploys with which he distracts his subjects’ attention so that they can be rendered

¹⁷¹ George R. Sims, “‘Down Town’ in Rotherhithe”, *The Strand* 28 (July, 1904), p. 36.

¹⁷² George R. Sims, ‘On Alien Land’, *The Strand* 27 (April, 1904), p. 421.

¹⁷³ Sims, ‘On Alien Land’, p. 416.

by his 'artistic *confrere*' (1.8 and 1.9).¹⁷⁴ The illicitness of the images' production is crucial since it suggests the idea that sites of poverty are somehow unrepresentable. There are no photographs and we trust to the guerrilla sketching of Sims' artist to capture the scene. The pictures themselves are fascinating. The figures of 'the poor' reinforce Sims' habit of making his subjects appear in some way deformed. The children in particular seem to have the distorted faces of adults, with heavy brows and are shown walking with a miserable, aimless gait. The caption reads 'Many are going back to miserable dens'. The reader, however is left none the wiser as to this fact because the figures fade into a blank, white background suggesting that the subjects are suspended in some featureless purgatory. Two old women are shown 'loafing at the doors of dark, forbidding-looking houses' and, again, appear suspended in the middle of some interminable idle. The doorway that might otherwise have revealed a home is instead an inky black absence that suggests the contents were too abject to appear even in outline. Because of the strange detailing, the figures seem lost in an ill-defined, parallel *otherspace*. In the 'Electric Hotel' article, the restaurant was depicted by a photograph, whilst the kitchen beneath was represented by an illustration. There was an imagistic hierarchy being employed here by the magazine whereby unfamiliar environments would be redrawn to allow them to fit into pre-existing paradigms. Drawings were much more effective ideological tools because photographs, however staged, contained auxiliary details that can compromise the smooth relationship between text and image.¹⁷⁵ If the children are depicted as floating against a blank backdrop then the text can swoop to fill the absence with the promise of 'miserable dens'. This is not to make the asinine point that the lives of the London poor might have been enriched by ideologies, lifestyles and unorthodox family structures that are simply too wild and contingent to be appreciated by *The Strand*. Every source from census findings, historiographical sources, social exploration literature, contemporaneous photography and contemporaneous fiction confirms the dreadfulness of the living conditions in poor parts of London. *The Strand*, however, differs from much of the other literature of social exploration by refusing to alleviate its faith in the modernising, technocratic reforms of governmental power. The full title of Andrew Mearns' book on the subject, for example, was *The*

¹⁷⁴ George R. Sims, 'In the Royal Borough of Kensington,' p. 416.

¹⁷⁵ A closer examination of the ideological role of images in *The Strand*'s ideology occurs in chapter three.



"LOAFING AT THE DOORS OF DARK, FORBIDDING-LOOKING HOUSES."

1.8



"MANY ARE GOING BACK TO MISERABLE DENS."

1.9

Bitter Cry of Outcast London. The title of the work was telling, it aimed to articulate the problems and prompt reforms, not from efficient, imminently effective institutions but from failing ones. The faith in the city-as-machine and government-as-machine should rightly falter at the sites that Sims visits but the impulse is, again, to maintain it at the expense of the subjects' silence. There is no 'bitter cry' here, only a silence enforced by Sims' refusal to give any of his subjects a voice, since it might disrupt the useful cohabitation of poverty and criminality as a trope.

This cohabitation also found expression in the idea that a subject's aberrant behaviour was largely due to the effect of their circumstances (children sent to the Industrial Schools were allowed 'no return to their evil surroundings') and were thus open to remedy.¹⁷⁶ Where deviation was found to be incurable it was attributed to an innate biological or psychological malfunction rather than failure in which society and its institutions are also responsible. The Industrial Schools Act of 1857 that Sims referred to was part of the governmental desire to 'rescue' children from evil circumstances, in this instance from begging, and to incorporate them into systems of organised learning. Strangely, the routines imposed upon the children recall those detailed in Ridgeley's description of Luigi Lucheni's punishment:

The timetable was quite a strict one, the children rose at 6.00am and went to bed at 7.00pm. During the day there were set times for schooling, learning trades, housework, religion in the form of family worship, meal times and there was also a short time for play three times a day. The boys learned trades such as gardening, tailoring and shoemaking; the girls learned knitting, sewing, housework and washing.¹⁷⁷

Here we find further expression of the modes of thought displayed in the Lucheni article. If educational institutions resemble the institutions of punishment then several clear comparisons are being made: between the criminal and the poor; between the criminal and the uneducated; between the criminal and the child. All of these states were to some degree highlighted as aberrant and in need of close surveillance, most especially where two or more states converged. In these cases, government

¹⁷⁶ George R. Sims, 'In the Royal Borough of Kensington,' p. 418.

¹⁷⁷ Jeannie Duckworth, *Fagin's Children: Criminal Children in Victorian England* (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 215-20.

institutions move to assert control over the aberrant body and estimate its capacity for re-education. It was only in 1823 that penal policy began to distinguish the child from the adult and the hulk *Euryalus* was moored at Chatham to house these siphoned, underage convicts. Later, in 1837, the juvenile penal colony of Point Puer in Tasmania was established and 1838 saw the opening of Parkhurst Prison.¹⁷⁸ Domestically, the industrial schools as well as reformatories and ‘ragged’ schools in the 1850s were given legislative support. Pamela Horn notes that by 1883 there were 99 industrial schools in England which were responsible for almost 13,000 children.¹⁷⁹ The crucial aspect of the industrial schools (as, indeed, is highlighted by Sims) was that they represented an attempt by the state to take a kind of administrative guardianship over the child. This ‘laying hold’ of the subject’s body by the state was similar to both the modern penal system and the heightened machinery of social control in general which Foucault defines as ‘comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; [...] a technology’.¹⁸⁰ These means of social control were harmonious with *The Strand*’s depictions of science precisely because they also resemble a technology. They inspired the same fetishistic devotion to the progressive capacity of scientific thought. The desire to build society like a machine found expression in ‘the twin Victorian agencies of uniformity and propriety’, of which the industrial schools and reformatories are a clear product.¹⁸¹ The schools and reformatories, in this regard, acted as an ideological conveyor belt that formed the kind of working class product that the bourgeois identity needed to maintain the existing set of social relations. In *The Victorian Town Child* Pamela Horn notes Henry Mayhew’s outraged observation that ‘little creatures of six years of age’ had been branded for ‘throwing stones, or obstructing highways, or unlawfully knocking at doors – crimes which the very magistrates themselves, who committed the youths, must have assuredly perpetrated in their boyhood’.¹⁸² One significantly recurring feature of the grinding routine of these institutions (particularly the workhouse and The Waifs and Strays Society) was the employment of silence as a tool of control:

¹⁷⁸ Pamela Horn, *The Victorian Town Child* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), p. 203.

¹⁷⁹ Horn, *The Victorian Town Child*, p. 216.

¹⁸⁰ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 215.

¹⁸¹ Peter Ackroyd, *London* (London: Vintage, 2001), p. 574.

¹⁸² Horn, *The Victorian Town Child*, p. 184.

At the Longwells Green Diocesan Home, for example, former inmates remembered silence being imposed on getting up, during meals, whilst they were walking to and from school, when they went to bed and 'at all times outside the home'.¹⁸³

The children were allowed to talk, but quietly, and for brief, specific periods of time. Their fate is thus comparable with that of Luigi Lucheni, the silent anarchist. In both instances the voice of the article assumed that the reader approves of both situations. Lucheni was silenced, not just because he committed a vicious murder but because he held political views in direct, violent opposition to those prevailing among the bourgeoisie.

Sims also made a telling reference to Sherlock Holmes that is useful in establishing the ways in which Doyle's short stories use the ideas discussed above. The phrase 'the ingenuity of a Sherlock Holmes' tapped into a clear reservoir of meaning for those who read *The Strand* and the reference served several purposes that are worth considering. First, it aligned Holmes with the social institutions discussed above and it located him within the framework of social surveillance. His skills were used here to reinforce the capacity for industrial schools officers to penetrate the outer disguise of former pupils and reroute them back into the social machine. The reference is also to a skill so honed as to be almost inhuman. Watson re-introduced Holmes in 'A Scandal in Bohemia' by describing him as a 'perfect reasoning and observing machine'.¹⁸⁴ Holmes' skill, like the auspices of government rehousing schemes and the dutiful care of industrial schools officers, was similarly depicted as being beyond human fallibility and closer to mechanical precision. Holmes, too, fulfilled comparable social functions within the stories because, as Knight and others note, Holmes (especially in the first two series of stories) is far less concerned with resolving crimes and punishing criminals than he is with mediating the moral conflicts that emerge as a result of, in Holmes' own words, 'four million human beings all jostling each other within the space of a few square miles'.¹⁸⁵ The stories, which Stephen Knight characterises as 'fables' that 'examine the dangers' that occurred when members of the middle class were 'untrue to [their] code', critique social and

¹⁸³ Horn, *The Victorian Town Child*, p. 197.

¹⁸⁴ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'A Scandal in Bohemia' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 209-230, p. 209.

¹⁸⁵ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Blue Carbuncle' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 328-346, p. 328.

cultural pluralities and both working and upper class specificities in terms of the ruptures caused to the client's 'personal, moral fortress'.¹⁸⁶ To designate the principle narrative event in detective fiction as 'the crime,' whilst not entirely inaccurate, is nevertheless slightly unhelpful. The event can be better characterised as the principle 'opposition' that Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* and Moretti's *Signs Taken for Wonders* identify as essential to understanding the 'paradigmatic' functions of literature.¹⁸⁷ The word 'crime' becomes more useful when discussing the detective fiction that emerges (predominantly in novel form) in the early twentieth century (in the work of the 'four queens' of detective fiction Agatha Christie, Margery Allingham, Ngaio Marsh and Dorothy L. Sayers, where the event is almost always a murder).¹⁸⁸ In the Holmes stories, though, this opposition is more often than not a question of capital and a question of class. Holmes acted as a kind of higher, moral arbiter to these disputes and this cast him as the ideological engine of the stories. Holmes became for *The Strand*, a self-referential short-hand for the scientific veneers that are used to legitimise bourgeois ideology. The enormous socio-cultural impact of Holmes as a figure which has been the subject of numerous in-depth analyses is one of the principal reasons for elevating *The Strand* as an isolated object of study. Michael Saler argues that the Holmes stories established the modern paradigm of immersive fictional landscapes (in the work of J. R. R. Tolkien and modern film and television fandom surrounding *Star Trek* and *Star Wars*). This, he suggests, is a very different cultural phenomenon than the previous literary cults that had sprung up around Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* and J. W. Von Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. These phenomena had always heavily emphasised the role of the author and allowed for a 'sentimental [...] affective release' which Holmes' superficial rationality did not encourage.¹⁸⁹ Whilst critics disagree on the precise mixture of rationality and enchantment that constituted the popular reception of Holmes, there can little question that he came to embody some very specific aspects of *The Strand's* own identity. As discussed in the introduction, the presence of

¹⁸⁶ Knight, *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁸⁷ Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (University of Texas Press, 1968). This idea was also expressed by Umberto Eco in his model of 'Narrative Structures in Fleming' from his book *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (London: Hutchinson, 1981).

¹⁸⁸ An idea explored further by Slavoj Žižek in *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan Through Popular Culture* (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 48-50.

¹⁸⁹ Michael Saler, "'Clap If You Believe in Sherlock Holmes": Mass Culture and the Re-Enchantment of Modernity, c. 1890- c.1940', *The Historical Journal* 46-3 (September, 2003), p. 601.

Holmes became indissociable from the magazine in the minds of contemporary reviewers. Indeed, even when the *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* appeared as an individual volume in October, 1892, it was also published by Newnes. Of Holmes' connection to *The Strand*, Hulda Friedrichs has written that

The name of Sherlock Holmes was almost synonymous with that of *The Strand*. It was in its pages where the prince of detectives appeared one day out of nowhere, it might be said, since, so far, he had not attained the world-wide celebrity in store for him. *The Strand* had leapt into popularity with its first number; with the arrival of Sherlock Holmes it entered upon the period where it had to be sent to press a month before the date of publication, keeping the machines working till the day it was put upon the bookstalls.¹⁹⁰

What is implicit in Saler's analysis of the Holmes phenomenon is that the environment of the stories, as much as the figure himself, was a key constituent and this environment was managed by 'the two instincts intrinsic to modernity, rationalization and bureaucratization'. These instincts are not always scientific or technological, E. J. Wagner's book *The Science of Sherlock Holmes* and Ronald R. Thomas' *Detective Fiction and the Rise of Forensic Science* both examine the direct uses of science within the stories.¹⁹¹ Such accounts, however, miss the fact that scientific emanations within the stories are relevant only to the extent that they enhance or embody the two instincts pinpointed by Saler. It may seem strange to conflate the governmental procedures highlighted by Sims with, say, Holmes' use of telegrams, typewriters and chemical experiments but such connections are implicit within the environment of the stories and *The Strand* as a whole. Arnold Pacey's observations on the interrelations of science, technology and culture are particularly relevant here because they suggest that the boundaries between what can be called science and what cannot are confused by the intermediary role played by culture. Yet *The Strand*, as an instrument of culture, presented these disparate phenomena as successful incarnations of the same, valorised impulse. Seeing these patterns of representation emerge over time in the magazine is a key benefit of focussing on a single text. This approach asks us to consider the sprawling magazine-text as a

¹⁹⁰ Friedrichs, *The Life of George Newnes*, p. 122.

¹⁹¹ E. J. Wagner, *The Science of Sherlock Holmes* (New Jersey: Wiley, 2006).

‘constructivist’ project in the sense that Timothy Morton has used the term, remarking ‘[c]onstructivism is a poetics that builds a structure in which the reader’s mind, their thoughts and ideas, become the raw materials’.¹⁹² Morton, in talking about Shelley, was attempting to describe a much more challenging, *avant-garde* project than *The Strand*, but the approach is eminently translatable. Every article and every story depicted a different mixture of places, peoples and relationships which were united by a consistent poetics and ideology and by being bound together each month under the banner of *The Strand*. The pictures of the inner city, the suburbs, the countryside, the superstructure of society and the power relations that governed production, consumption and the social hierarchy were all present at different times. From this perspective, *The Strand* built itself a model city for its readers to inhabit, an environment where, although there was no absolute cohesion between parts, things could be made sense of. If we move away from the microscopic level of the text and consider the magazine’s role within the real, lived environment of London, however, then this way of thinking proves surprisingly relevant.

SPACES OF CAPITAL

Critical discussion of *The Strand* has always emphasised the representational character of the magazine’s connection to London. This question of why and how a locality is portrayed in such a way always assumes a foundational distinction between the text and its environment that can overstate the degree of their separation. Even when such analysis (the work of Kate Jackson is a good example) acknowledges *The Strand* as being ‘culturally formative’, this dichotomy is still implicit because it assumes that the social influence of texts can only reside in the mode of their representations and subsequent cultural influence.¹⁹³ The opposite approach, whereby periodicals are reflections of aspects of their environment falls prey to the same mistake.¹⁹⁴ This is not to say that no distinction exists between a text and its

¹⁹² Timothy Morton, *The Cambridge Companion to Shelley* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 36.

¹⁹³ ‘In *The Strand*, Newnes played host to the members of the so-called ‘intellectual class’, the professional classes, and the upper and middle classes in general, confirmed their values, and fostered and celebrated their achievements. Newnes’ magazine was thus a powerful cultural determinant.’ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 88.

¹⁹⁴ This is not to say that this perspective is so monocular that it believes the importance of periodicals to be solely reflective. The approach is summed up in seminal terms by Michael Wolff’s suggestion (quoted earlier) that ‘an attitude, an opinion, an idea, did not exist until it had registered itself in the

environment, but rather than the implicit arrangement of this relationship has become problematic. If we insist that the principal, defining characteristic of the periodical's social influence occurred after the act of dissemination and reading then we commit to the idea of 'culture' as a kind of virtual space in which ideas are transmitted, rather than as an unignorable chunk of the dreaded 'real world.' The constructivist approach to reading *The Strand* seems initially to suggest that the environment constructed by the magazine had no strong connection to anything approaching the 'real'. Compounding their lowly cultural status, popular magazines have often been accused of discouraging their readers from an active engagement with their environment. Such, at least, was Michael Wolff's judgement of the early illustrated magazines that began to appear in the 1850s and upon which *The Strand* was modelled. These magazines, he suggested in analysing *The Illustrated London News* implied that

city-dwellers of the of the socio-economic level of the readership were in a very limited relationship to their surroundings [...] Its main effect, however unconscious, was to protect those to whom and for whom it spoke from too clear or deep an understanding of the complexities of the industrial city and their own role in it.¹⁹⁵

These criticisms can be dealt with by referring to two or three historical events that wove *The Strand* into its London environment and which call its sweeping judgements into question. In 1885, Newnes famously instituted his 'Railway Insurance Policy' whereby one hundred pounds would be paid to the family of 'any person who [was] killed in a railway accident, provided a copy of the current issue of *Tit-Bits* [was] found upon the deceased'.¹⁹⁶ This scheme explicitly acknowledged the ways in which the magazine's distribution networks were intermixed both with the physical spaces opened out by the advancement of intra-city railways and with the suburban, commuting lifestyle in general. *Tit-Bits*, like its younger sibling *The Strand*, 'appealed to a commuting market' and depended upon ergonomically fitting its format to reading patterns conditioned by frequent journeys on public transport.¹⁹⁷

press [...A]n interest, a group, a sect, a profession, came of age when it inaugurated its journal'. Wolff, 'Charting the Golden Stream', p. 26.

¹⁹⁵ Wolff and Fox, 'Pictures from the Magazines', p. 561.

¹⁹⁶ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 77.

¹⁹⁷ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 78.

The magazine's principal points of sale were clustered around train, tram and omnibus stations; moreover, it was editorial policy to lower the length of accepted short stories from the traditional bottom-limit of 6,000 words because it would better suit the commuter's reading experience.¹⁹⁸ Similarly, in terms of non-fiction, Newnes made an explicit connection between the busy mobility of the modern urban experience and the 'light' tone of his magazine's writing which affirmed his readerships' 'preference for moral and physical comfort'.¹⁹⁹ In effect, *The Strand* broadcasted these influences as clearly as Jonas Oldacre's will in Arthur Conan Doyle's 'The Norwood Builder' which the magazine published in 1903.²⁰⁰ In the story, Holmes is able to interpret, from a hastily written will, that its author penned the document whilst 'on a suburban line, since nowhere save in the immediate vicinity of a great city could there be so quick a succession of points' adding that 'the train was an express, only stopping once between Norwood and London Bridge'.²⁰¹ It was part of the Holmesian method, then, to interpret the environmental qualities that could be inscribed into texts and this is a useful paradigm when thinking about *The Strand* as a whole. The form of the magazine itself was also, in part, the product of the chaotic re-ordering of urban spaces that was occasioned by the conjunct of science, technology and industry. The reactive, malleable nature of the periodical allowed for these complex relationships in a way that other forms of literature did not. Any single-volume novel published in 1800 would not have looked substantially different, for example, to one published in 1900, but Newnes' continuing interest in making his publications ergonomically suited to their environment identified him as one in a long line of periodical publishers who revolutionised the production and consumption of texts throughout the nineteenth-century.²⁰² Whilst the novel maintained a reliably unchanged appearance, the periodical was far more reactive as it attempted to harmonise with the rhythms of everyday life. The point here is to suggest that ways of reading and ways of living were mutually-implicated in a cycle of influence with

¹⁹⁸ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 42. Also covered in more depth in Pound, *The Strand Magazine*, p. 30, 66.

¹⁹⁹ Pound, *The Strand Magazine*, p. 7.

²⁰⁰ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Norwood Builder' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 682-704.

²⁰¹ Doyle, 'The Norwood Builder', pp. 689-690.

²⁰² In her essay on Newnes as an 'entrepreneur', Jackson catalogues Newnes' many innovations to the periodical form. Newnes himself located his enormous success within his desire to 'do things differently'. Jackson notes his desire to publish his evening paper, *The Westminster Gazette*, on 'pale green paper' as it was 'less trying on the eyesight'. Jackson, "'Doing Things Differently' and 'Striking Whilst the Iron was Hot'", p. 17.

ways of producing and presenting texts. As such, to limit *The Strand*'s relationship with science and technology to the level of its representations can elide the fact that the magazine was itself implicated in the social trends that Saler identified as linking modernity to rationalization and disenchantment through 'established science'.²⁰³

The Strand always had a close relationship to the railway; modern modes of transport both facilitated and required the easy plotting of undemanding fiction. In the magazine's first decade, stories set in England were less frequent than those set elsewhere such as colonial adventures (like Charles J. Mansford's *Shafts from an Eastern Quiver*), fairytales for children and what Jack Adrian called 'strange stories' which either occur abroad or in some non-specific 'long ago' past.²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, train stations and train journeys featured frequently in the domestic fiction that did appear; they provided both a fertile metaphor for the rhythms of everyday life, and a generator of the kinds of contingent encounters that stimulated narrative.²⁰⁵ The train journey enabled new, distinct environmental experiences whilst also representing, in *The Strand*, a particular world-view that derived from playing the social role of a 'commuter'. This connection reveals the intimate connections between the urban reconstitution of London in the period and the appearance and success of the magazine. Thomas Gieryn has observed that:

Without naming, identification, or representation by ordinary people, a place is not a place. Places are doubly constructed: most are built or in some way physically carved out. They are also interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined.²⁰⁶

There is thus a strong link between the 'lived' and 'imagined' spaces of a city. In fact, this 'double construction' has to happen more or less simultaneously, especially when considering the role that the growth of intra-city railways played in continually

²⁰³ Saler, 'Clap Your Hands If You Believe in Sherlock Holmes', p. 602.

²⁰⁴ See Jack Adrian, ed., *Strange Tales from the Strand* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1992.

²⁰⁵ Just some of the stories where railways and railway stations are crucial to the plot are: Robert Barr, 'Two of a Trade', *The Strand* 23 (January, 1897); Jacques Normand, 'The P. M. L Express', *The Strand* 2 (July, 1891); Victor L. Whitechurch, 'Special Working Instructions', *The Strand* 18 (November, 1899); Alvah Milton Kerr, 'The Luck of the Northern Mail', *The Strand* 19 (April, 1900); Victor L. Whitechurch, 'Saved by a Train-Wrecker', *The Strand* 18 (August, 1899); Annie Armitt, 'A Breach of Confidence', *The Strand* 2 (July, 1891); Anon., 'Two Kisses' *The Strand* 2 (July, 1891); various instalments of L. T. Meade's *Stories from the Diary of a Doctor* series and many Sherlock Holmes stories.

²⁰⁶ Thomas F. Gieryn, 'A Space for Place in Sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000), 465.

revising the map of London throughout the nineteenth-century. Did the appearance of the 'commuter' as a cultural figure derive from the appearance of these railways or were the railways built to satisfy a pre-existing demand from this as-yet-unnamed group? To attempt to fit the two phenomena together in a flow chart of cause and effect would be meaningless because both resulted from a set of wider circumstances that can be traced back as far as one is willing to examine. However, just because that question is unanswerable, it does not mean that an examination of the railway's environmental re-mapping of London in the late-century is not essential to an understanding of *The Strand*. These changes have been of great interest to historians since the 1960s but of little concern to literary scholars until recently.²⁰⁷ Until the end of the century, railway firms had been given the freedom of the city and the scale and nature of their developments were, accordingly, unrestrained by any government intervention.²⁰⁸ This freedom resulted in the free-flow of railway-capital along established networks of property ownership in the city. It was easier for companies to deal with large landowners than small ones for administrative and geographical simplicity.²⁰⁹ By 1900, as Dyos observes, there was a sudden move to regulate the companies' expansion by means of a 'planning ideology' that related to the experiential map of the city as it was lived and encountered by its occupants rather than as a simple reflection of the needs of commerce.²¹⁰ The cheapest land available to the companies was that occupied by 'half-formed streets of fourth-rate cottages, dilapidated summer houses, clay-pits and carpet-beating grounds'.²¹¹ Haywood expands upon this by highlighting the aggressive nature with which the railway companies targeted 'deteriorated' land with a high-percentage of rental properties since the occupants would present less of an impediment to swift development:

Railway construction led to the demolition of much existing housing in inner urban areas – usually working class housing, often of the very lowest standard.

²⁰⁷ This article makes reference to John R. Kellett, *The Impact of the Victorian Railways on Cities* (London: Routledge, 1969); Russell Haywood, 'Railways, Urban Form and Town Planning in London: 1900-1947', *Planning Perspectives* 12-1 (1997) and H. J. Dyos and D. H. Aldcroft, *British Transport* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969), though there are numerous others. For recent literary and cultural criticism see Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon* (London: Yale University Press, 2000) and Pamela K. Gilbert, *Imagined Londons*, State University of New York Press, 2002) who incorporate this topic into literary critical discourse.

²⁰⁸ Haywood, 'Railways, Urban Form and Town Planning in London', pp. 37-38.

²⁰⁹ Kellett, *The Impact of the Victorian Railways on Cities*, pp. 183-184.

²¹⁰ Dyos and Aldcroft, *British Transport*, p. 164.

²¹¹ Kellett, *The Impact of the Victorian Railways on Cities*, p. 248.

The companies re-housed few of the displaced residents; the majority moved sideways into adjacent areas.²¹²

These violent environmental changes laid the foundations, at a structural level, for the appearance of *The Strand* but also played a major part in forming the same network of slums from which emanated many perceived threats to daily stability. This is not to suggest that the railways or commuting culture created London slums, such unpleasant aspects of urban life have been noted for centuries in discourses of the metropolis. What is crucial is that, whilst responsibility for the degraded state of these sites is too diffuse to specifically pin down, the formation and development of slum areas were part of the same process that extended the railway, assured the security of the commuting lifestyle to which *The Strand* attempted to fit itself and facilitated the various new ways by which these environmental changes could be, in Gieryn's terms, 'narrated'. This implication had to be continually repressed by a magazine which sought to define itself in opposition to poor, urban areas. In these circumstances, the depiction of slum areas in *The Strand's* fiction and non-fiction becomes intriguingly ambivalent about the magazine's own relationship to its environment. The insistence upon a radical environmental separation between the two kinds of spaces (slum and suburb or gin-shop and coffee house) seems ideologically designed specifically to absolve the latter sites of any responsibility for the former. This separation is, consequently, worked into the texture of many articles of *Strand* writing.

In 1892, Doyle's 'The Beryl Coronet' depicts Sherlock Holmes entering a nearby slum and disguising himself accordingly (1.10).²¹³ According to Watson's narrative,

'He hurried to his chamber and was down again in a few minutes dressed as a common loafer. With his collar turned up, his shiny, seedy coat, his red cravat, and his worn boots, he was a perfect sample of the class. 'I think that this should do,' said he, glancing into the glass above the fireplace. 'I only wish that you could come with me, Watson, but I fear that it won't do.'²¹⁴

²¹² Haywood, 'Railways, Urban Form and Town Planning in London', p. 44.

²¹³ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Beryl Coronet' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 408-429.

²¹⁴ Doyle, 'The Beryl Coronet', p. 422.



1.10

This passage sidesteps an important question: why will it 'not do' for Watson to accompany Holmes on his excursions into these parts of London? The answer reveals the slippage that occurred between *The Strand's* role in its environment and its self-perception of that role. Watson's inability to clothe his 'highly respectable self' in 'disreputable clothes' and effectively carry off a disguise that might ask him to transgress the strong, moral barriers that define his character is symbolic of a particular kind of masculine ideology that is endemic to *The Strand*. It repeatedly sought to situate its articles and stories around a stable and dependable male figure that had some share in that same, sturdy collection of qualities that Watson possessed. In this way, Holmes' ability to traverse London's slums is figured as an ethical, as well as a geographical, license. In treating the distinction between two different kinds of environment (one where it 'will do' for Watson to be employed and one where it 'will not') the Holmes stories betray their commitment to a fundamental separation between the two. Holmes and Watson can travel around London and its suburbs by train, enjoying the benefits of those aforementioned environmental upheavals but the stories also rely upon their more severe consequences being somehow indecorous or unfit for narration, as examined earlier in reference to 'The Illustrious Client'. This is a delicate argument to make because it is not as if we have a handy diary entry from Doyle that reads 'Railways made slums worse, remember to repress;' nor would such reasoning have been at all tasteful to the philanthropic and socially aware Newnes. The argument is simply that this method of depiction implies a deep distinction that goes beyond the 'suburb is good'/'slum is bad' binary. The separation between the two has to fundamentally suggest that the two sites belong to different orders of existence, free from interrelations that are too direct and tangible. This implied boundary is crucial because it marks a distinction that legitimates a whole series of insider/outsider paradigms that characterise the descriptions of city life. This is not to say that there are not crossings and inter-penetrations between the two spaces, or that the idea of responsibility was an unknown mediating force between them. The distinction's absoluteness resides in the fact that it is formative and derives from a moment that is always prior to the moment of the story. This dichotomy always pre-existed the text because it was encoded into *The Strand's* very form. From this perspective, *The Strand's* connection to the railways and, by association, with the rapid redevelopment of inner-city areas means that both projects (the magazine and

the expansion of intra-city travel networks) share a double-minded picture of the world that dissociates the middle class ideology of commuting and prosperity from the subaltern sites that, historically, were their indirect corollaries. Suddenly, *The Strand*'s depiction of slums becomes an interesting projection of the fears associated with its own security. This is why the ontological separation between suburb and slum is hard-wired into its representations of both sites. In practice, this distinction could be observed in the introductory paragraph to Sims' *Off the Track in London* series:

It is many a long year since I first began to delight in wandering through the least-known districts of the capital [...] I am privileged to sit around the coke fire in lodging-houses where an ordinary stranger would meet with scant courtesy; and the mysteries of 'How the Poor Live' are unveiled to me [...] I am permitted to spend days and nights, not peeping furtively at the human comedies and tragedies in which the strange men and women are players, but made way for as one entitled to a front place in the local audience.²¹⁵

This introductory passage is crucial because it establishes the parameters that delineate the nature of Sims' 'social exploration'. The question is one of representing the spectacle whilst also insisting on a crucial separation; the theatrical metaphor is one tool by which this is accomplished. It allows a perfect mixture of intimacy and hierarchical separation between the observers and the observed. It also, sub-textually, promises to commodify the urban, slum experience into a series of narrative experiences that can be easily consumed because they obey the same rules of decorum that govern other writing in *The Strand*. This means that it is less directly prurient and contains less explicit details of the lives of the poor than, say, the famous work of W. T. Stead or William Booth but also that it is far less politically-engaged than those writers and argues far less vehemently for change. The theatrical metaphor is also useful because it implies that the 'players' and the 'stage' are determined and manipulated by some force that is completely anterior to the text. This is crucial because the passive consumption of the writing would be compromised by any sense of the reader's implication in the events described; they have to occur on 'stage.'

²¹⁵ George R. Sims, 'On Alien Land', p. 416.

Both slum and suburb belonged, in this sense, to the same space of capital; they were bifurcated products of the same technological impulse that unfolded free from any real limits or regulation. In *Capital Offences*, Simon Joyce suggests that the increase of middle class discourse about slum life (be it based in philanthropy, sensation or fear) was predicated upon the fact that the ‘great railway termini’ in central London and the subsequent growth of the suburbs had effected a ‘lateral segregation’ between the classes’.²¹⁶ According to this logic, ‘the streets of London belong[ed] to the poor after nightfall because their wealthy counterparts had departed’.²¹⁷ This relationship may be reductive (enough large inner-city houses survive to suggest that the exodus was far from absolute) but it does highlight a crucial issue, also alluded to by Gieryn. In a sense, the bourgeois retreat to the suburb turned the slum into an object of interest, study and desire since it opened up enough distance in between the two sites for a distinction or separation to be possible. The suburban commuter (when he was not flicking through *The Strand*) could look out of the window and observe the gradations and changes in his landscape from the prosperous ‘one class community’ of the suburb and through the wreckage of those low-cost land-tracts that were gutted and re-developed by the railways companies.²¹⁸ It is this tradition of objectification from a distance that *The Strand*, arriving in 1891, wrote itself into and helped propagate.

‘IMAGE PERPETUATED WITHOUT CHANGE’

A 1921 *Strand* article entitled ‘Tracking Criminals’ found the improbably named author Joseph Gollomb comparing the police procedures in England, France, Germany and Austria by citing a typifying case from each country. Its superficial purpose was to highlight the differences between the four systems (and consequentially the four different ‘types’ of people) and to fantasise a future where ‘man-hunting in Europe will proceed [...] with the combined skill of all nations’.²¹⁹ Barely concealed beneath this feel-good narrative curve was the suggestion that the

²¹⁶ Simon Joyce, *Capital Offences: Geographies of Class and Crime in Victorian London* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2003), pp. 50-52.

²¹⁷ Joyce, *Capital Offences*, p. 53.

²¹⁸ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects* (London: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), p. 493.

²¹⁹ Joseph Gollomb, ‘Tracking Criminals,’ *The Strand* 61 (July, 1921), p. 62.

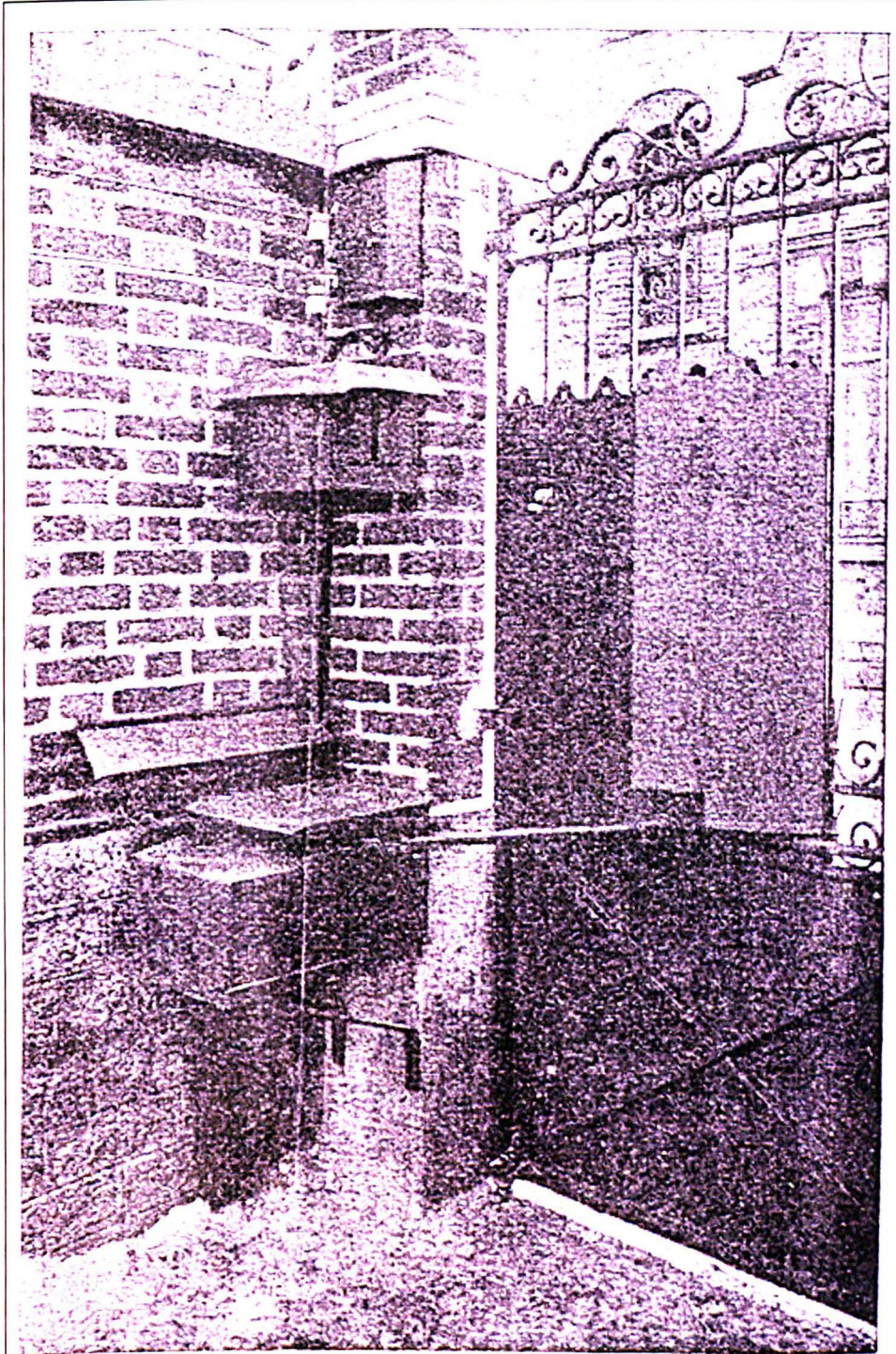
British police had considerably more to offer than any other nation. Further, Gollomb seemed more or less ambivalent as regards the French's supposed quality: individuality.

Call it the Anglo-Saxon love of team-play or a racial disinclination of the individual to push himself forward at the expense of the group interest [...] The instinct for organization and organized effort, which has made Scotland Yard the foremost man-hunting medium in the world, is the inspiration not of individuals, but of the race.²²⁰

Gollomb heaps derision upon the French detective system, which, according to his description, is constituted of pompous and prickly prima donnas who mistrust and despise each others' ideas. Scotland Yard, on the other hand, is imaged as the stronghold of bonded nationalism. The tightly-packed network of operatives, each of whom fulfil a particular task to the ultimate success of the team, again recalls Foucault's use of the word 'technology' to describe modern methods of surveillance. This network of people who function like a machine allow for a streamlined access to knowledge. More than this, the passage openly expresses this idea when it details the archetypal 'British' police investigation which, presumably, was investigating the archetypal 'British' murder. The case introduces an old man named 'Smithers' who has become wealthy from a lifetime of unscrupulous business deals and who, in the process, has also accrued many enemies. 'Smithers' seeks safety in 'a neglected three-storey private dwelling with heavy shutters and doors' which he outfits with 'bars and double-locks' and with a fully electrified burglar detection system.²²¹ In these technological modifications the place recalls the article on Knap's electric house which proudly featured photographs of its mechanised gates (Figure 1.11). However, the meaning has become inverted because whilst Knap's ideas do help protect the home, they are fundamentally designed to welcome guests rather than to shut people out. Instead of using the possibilities of science to open out the domestic space and maximise the opportunity for freedom and leisure within it, Smithers attempts to lock himself away from all society. The desire to create an individualised space which bordered a private, illegitimate morality was anathema to the ideology of *The Strand*,

²²⁰ Gollomb, 'Tracking Criminals', p. 58.

²²¹ Gollomb, 'Tracking Criminals', p. 56.



THE APPARATUS INSIDE THE GATES BY WHICH THE ABOVE-MENTIONED WONDERS ARE ACHIEVED.

From a Photo. by Laurence & Co., Paris.

which was in favour of sturdy locks only when they protect property and possessions, not when they become a barrier to normal socialisation. In this light, the dismissal of the French *penchant* for individuality can be seen as part of a wider system that covertly sought to legitimate the effacement of the individual beneath a traditional strain of patriotism. The use of technological metaphors to represent the efficacy of the British police force suggested that a scientific veneer has been coated onto an old-fashioned nationalist ideology. Franco Moretti suggests that ‘murderer and victim meet in the locked room because fundamentally they are similar’ and, accordingly, Gollomb seems equally keen to condemn Smithers as much as his killers (whose ingenuity in bypassing all Smithers’ anti-burglar devices is grudgingly admired).²²² The crime may or may not have been typically ‘British’ but these aspects of its depiction are certainly typical of the kind we find in the Holmes stories. *The Strand* reacted against the locked room in various ways, one of which is by adorning interviews with famous men with photographs of their empty bedrooms, sitting rooms, or studies. In the *Illustrated Interviews* series this is particularly prominent. The likes of Thomas Edison and Arthur Conan Doyle are shown standing smartly in their studies whereas for more remote figures, such as Kaiser Wilhelm II, the reader must content themselves with only a photograph of the subject’s offices and ante-rooms. These articles are often keen to thank the subject profusely for their permission and seem to exult in throwing open these private quarters to public inspection. Access to these rooms is shown to be the result of an equal exchange; obsequious flattery and admiration from the reporter and photographer result in the openness of even the most remote of private spaces. Similar openness did not extend to the occupants of Sims’ ‘off the track’ London, though, where doorways were perpetually obscured and impenetrable. Private spaces in *The Strand* were thus the result of a continuously negotiated tension between tact and transparency. Bourgeois sociality depends upon a certain level of openness and lack of secrecy mediated by an anxiety that ensured a certain level of security and privacy.

This tension is often explored in the Holmes stories, many of which also rely upon the double condemnation of victim and criminal: The King of Bohemia is portrayed as arrogant and weak because of his liaison with Irene Adler; ‘The Boscombe Valley Mystery’ sees Charles McCarthy murdered by his former partner in

²²² Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders*, p. 136.

burglary, a crime McCarthy had long since attempted to forget.²²³ Similarly Mr Blessington in 'The Resident Patient' seeks sanctuary from the revenge of his former companions in crime before he is found hanged in a locked room.²²⁴ As he often did, Sidney Paget provided the perfect illustration of this dynamic when he depicted the discovery of Brunton in 'The Musgrave Ritual' (1.12). In the story, Brunton solves a centuries old riddle and discovers the secret burial place of what he believes to be a lost fortune. Unfortunately, his chosen accomplice was his spurned lover, Rachel Howells and, by accident or by design, he is sealed in the underground chamber until discovered by Holmes. Brunton, like Smithers, sought a quick, larcenous route to wealth. His prize lurked in the most remote, closed and private of spaces and in seeking out such forbidden remuneration for himself he perished as a direct result of his removal from the values of normal society. The story is not a revolutionary one but the spatial dimension is telling when considered alongside the various inside/outside dynamics discussed throughout this chapter. Brunton, the educated working class character, became a butler to the oafish Musgrave and remained in the job long beyond anyone's credulity. His intelligence and articulacy impressed all Musgrave's visitors and his employer still retained bemusement that he 'should have been satisfied so long in such a position'.²²⁵ This disruption in the law of exchange provides the key to Brunton's eventual disappearance; he was happy to remain in the job only because he held designs upon the mislaid fortune apparently concealed somewhere on the Musgrave estate. The treasure, and its concealment in a playful rhyme passed down through generations of Musgraves, is a symbol of aristocratic, hereditary wealth. Brunton's criminal designs represent a serious transgression of the law of exchange and the hierarchical relationships that they silently support. As Holmes peers down into the secret chamber, he does so from the very roof of the illustration's frame and the details that he observes are suggestive:

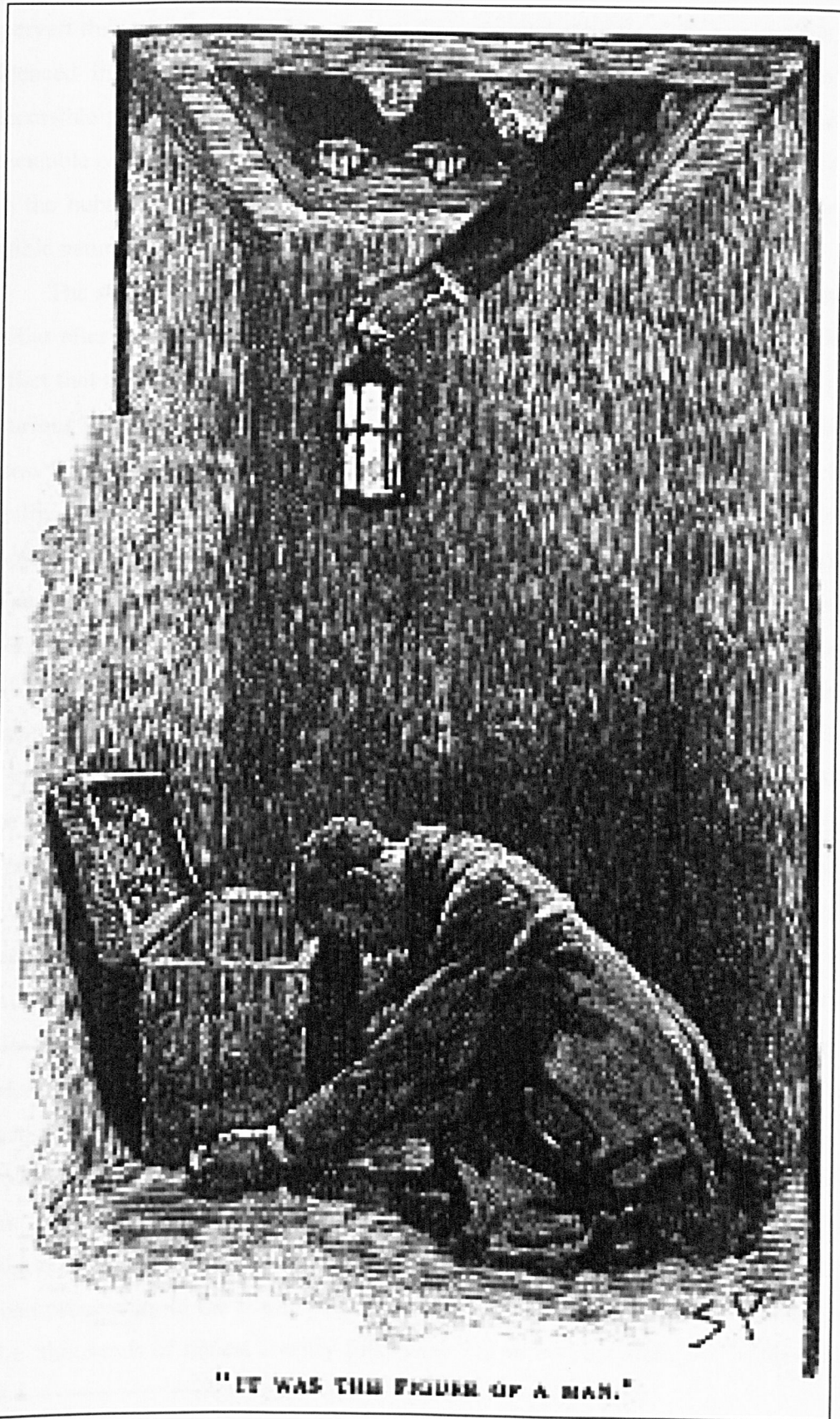
At one side [...] was a squat, brass-bound wooden box, the lid of which was hinged upward, with this curious old-fashioned key projecting from the lock.²²⁶

²²³ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Boscombe Valley Mystery' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 267-289.

²²⁴ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Resident Patient' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 578-595.

²²⁵ Doyle, 'The Musgrave Ritual', p. 531.

²²⁶ Doyle, 'The Musgrave Ritual', p. 540.



The key here represents symbolic authority, an authority that Brunton had attempted to pervert through his crime. His removal from the moral confines of the everyday is evidenced in the build up to his death. Upon realising that the chamber was inaccessible to a single person, he was forced to look for an accomplice. The only presentable candidate was Rachel Howells to whom he had been unfaithful and cruel, thus the hubristic return from his dual ethical transgressions were combined in the horrible nature of his death which took the form of an absolute exclusion.

The story subtextually revisits the same individual/group conflict that becomes familiar after reading even a small sample of *The Strand*. Indeed, it is precisely this conflict that drives the relationship between Holmes and Watson. Holmes possesses ‘a curious secretive streak [...] which led to many dramatic effects, but left even his closest friend guessing as to what his exact plans might be’.²²⁷ This characterial mobility is one of the reasons that Holmes lives in isolation, away from the bourgeois trappings of life that Watson adheres to: a wife, a home, friends, a stable career, sports and so on. This is the emotional centre of the Holmes stories; the two meet in *A Study in Scarlet* as disregarded, emotionally detached men and the tragedy of their friendship is that it rehabilitates Watson into middle class society and away from his dilettantism, whilst simultaneously confirming Holmes in his isolation. By making the same criticism of both ‘Smithers’ as well as his murderers, the piece places the same demand upon ‘Smithers’ as Watson’s ‘success’ at social integration places upon Holmes: namely, the demand to be exactly as one appears to be. This is one of the key qualities that *The Strand* valorised; it inculcated a perpetual admiration and respect of the stereotype. Because each piece of writing in *The Strand* has to stretch to avoid uncomfortable questions and allusions, its prose comes to rely upon the deployment of characters whose limits and possibilities can be articulated in the briefest possible way. Gollomb’s article, for example, follows a group of police investigators to a widow’s lodging house: ‘The three went to the boy’s mother, a widow who kept lodgers. The woman, honest and hard-working, confirmed her son’s claim’.²²⁸ This technique is analogous to that found in George Sims’ articles where he variously identifies ‘women of the class that drift to the doss-house’, ‘an old woman proceeding to the public house for beer’ and wrings his hands over the plight of the ‘thousands of honest country folk’ who ‘crowd up year after year to the great

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

²²⁸ Gollomb, ‘Tracking Criminals’, p. 57.

city they believed to be paved with gold'.²²⁹ These figures unite character and motivation; every aspect of their appearance, movement and speech only serves to further limit the possibility of their individual specificity. Sims, in his capacity of 'gentile' observer, creates these people by projecting imposed narratives upon them. Their passage from reality to the symbolic network of the article is only made possible by the elision of all contradictions, complexities and multitudes and their reduction to a flat, semiotically foreclosed stereotype.

The power of stereotyping is not just directed downwards. Moretti observes that the Holmes stories suggest 'that to avoid death [...] it is suggested that one conform to stereotype: in this way one will never be a victim or a criminal'.²³⁰ In this way, Gollomb's 'honest, hard-working' mother purchases her security within the confines of his narrative at the expense of her free-will. She has been tagged, coded, identified by way of taxonomical methods not dissimilar to those of Stapleton, the entomologist villain of *Hound of the Baskervilles*.²³¹ *The Strand*, in this way, establishes the ideal image of society as a delicately balanced clockwork system, where each individual component exists entirely within a specifically limited set of possibilities. This system is homeostatic until it is disturbed by some duplicity or falsehood. Ruptures in this clockwork network become detectable through varieties of imbalance, as discussed earlier. For example, where too much or too little money is offered for a transaction ('The Copper Beeches'); where too little attention is paid to an important familial relationship ('A Case of Identity'); where a young woman falls in love with a criminal ('The Beryl Coronet' and 'The Illustrious Client'); where the innate superiority of Englishness is not respected ('The Second Stain') or where the stability of racial and class hierarchies are not firmly adhered to ('The Yellow Face' and 'The Man With the Twisted Lip'). All of these disturbances represent imbalances within the underlying economies of the projected society we find within *The Strand's* pages.

Gollomb's article, a much later piece than any other discussed in this chapter, helps relate this patterning to the magazine's style over time. Gollomb expertly echoes the style of reporting that predominates in the policing articles of the 1890s such as 'Fingerprints Which Have Convicted Criminals', 'Making a Policeman' and

²²⁹ Gollomb, 'Tracking Criminals', pp. 546-50.

²³⁰ Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders*, p. 137.

²³¹ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles* in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. II*, pp. 1-161.

'Detectives at School'.²³² It also uses exactly the same coded systems to express its ideology. Yet, it seems worth remembering that this article was published exactly thirty years after the first edition of *The Strand* and eleven years after the death of George Newnes. By this point it seems safe to assume that the narrative properties of the magazine (its syntagmatic functions) have become simplified and refined through constant use so as to become an easily reproducible 'style.' Gollomb, a Russian born in St. Petersburg who spent his later years scripting Hollywood musicals, was ten years of age when the magazine began and yet his writing contains all of the same verbal ticks, thematic emphases, exclusions and displays all of the same ideological content as the other pieces analysed here. One doesn't need to be English to write in a way that favours and prioritises them. *The Strand's* style became a commodity that could be endlessly reproduced and was self-perpetuating for the simple reason that it made money. Sometimes the force of demand was enough to bring the fetishised commodity into existence, as with *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*. After convincingly killing off Holmes in 1893's 'The Final Problem', Doyle was eventually enticed to resuscitate. No such violent shock was required to facilitate *The Strand's* marketability as a whole though. The mechanical reproductivity of its style and the concomitant ideological reserves that underpinned it were enough to keep the presses moving until the magazine ended in 1950, sixty-one years after it first appeared.²³³ In this way the magazine's modes of production begin to resemble clockwork in both their literal, mechanical production as well as in the methods of their ideological formatting.

In its original meaning, the word 'stereotype' (derived from printing vocabulary) means a metal cast of printable matter which has been re-moulded from a paper impression of the original cast. Here is a pertinent analogy for the ways in which ideas, the basic matter of ideology, are impressed and then re-cast by different hands which produce an almost exact replica of the original. Similarly, many of the basic ideas that *The Strand* engaged with are present in its earliest issues. *The Strand's* first issue featured, for example, the articles 'A Night with the Thames Police,' 'At the Animals' Hospital,' 'Fac-simile of the Notes of a Sermon by Cardinal Manning,' 'The Metropolitan Fire Brigade - Its Home and Its Work' and translated

²³² G. E. Mallett, 'Finger-Prints Which Have Convicted Criminals', *The Strand* 29 (May, 1905); H. J. Holmes, 'Making a Policeman', *The Strand* 23 (April, 1902); Alder Anderson, 'Detectives at School', *The Strand* 27 (April, 1904).

²³³ The magazine's 'death' is covered at greater length in the conclusion.

short stories by Alphonse Daudet, Alexandre Dumas, Paul Heyse, Voltaire and Michael Lermontoff. Over time, Newnes moved away from using translations of 'heavyweight' continental authors to provide his magazine's fictional content. Instead, he and Smith identified several genres (the adventure romance, the engagement plot, the detective story, the evil influence narrative, the children's fairytale and so on) that could be produced domestically and which could, by reason of generic conventions, not disturb the ideological balance established by the non-fiction articles. These stories, right from the beginning, are concerned with ideas of governmental control, social surveillance, and the blossoming scientific and technological possibilities that can adorn them. In *The Strand's* third issue (March, 1891), Newnes published an uncredited story by Doyle called 'The Voice of Science' which represented, from this perspective, a kind of epiphany. It fused the concepts of science and surveillance to a well-worn domestic courtship narrative. In the story, a young woman, Rose Esdaile, has trouble choosing the 'right' *fiancée*. Her mother, a lady of 'remarkable scientific attainments',²³⁴ has brought a phonograph into the family home for the purposes of recording a scientific lecture she has organised. Rose is enamoured of an army captain, Charles Beesly, and seems keen to accept his proposal during the coming evening. Rose's brother, Rupert, has heard rumours about Beesly's shady past and decides to trap him using the phonograph: 'Slowly his hands emerged from his pockets as his eye fell upon the apparatus, and with languid curiosity he completed the connection and started the machine'.²³⁵ Here we see a fundamentally dull story, worn thin through use and misuse over centuries. Yet, with his spark of inspiration, Rupert Esdaile connects some wires and re-routes the story into modernity. He records himself challenging Beesly on his past indiscretions and plays the recording before an assembled party, from which Beesly flees. The story's scientific veneer adds novelty and superficially suggests the modernisation of the narrative itself, whilst in fact leaving it untouched. This charts the beginning of *The Strand's* relationship with science. It is a relationship that will deepen and become closer after 1900 before the dormant fault lines and ideological instabilities between the two later become incompatible as the magazine's popularity and relevance hit a steep decline in the 1920s and 30s. What we see in the early years of *The Strand*, however, is an adoption of different kinds of scientific veneer that allowed for the

²³⁴ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Voice of Science,' *The Strand* 1 (January, 1891), p. 312.

²³⁵ Doyle, 'The Voice of Science', p. 314.

product to *appear* modern and innovative whilst still appealing to a basically conservative, bourgeois ideology.

‘The Voice of Science’ ends with a pertinent illustration by W. S. Stacey (1.13) that shows Beesly’s flight; the image is laden with meaning. The door to the Esdaile house is ajar leading light to spill out, the happy, genteel party has been restored to its position of security. The ideological and ethical menace of lustful Beesly has been banished by the genesis of scientific surveillance. Finally, the middle class home, the ideological Bastille at the heart of *The Strand*, is secured by casting the offending and unwelcome presence into an unknown and barren *outside*.



1.13

CHAPTER TWO:

ENGINEERING

TOMORROW

NON-FICTION science articles in *The Strand* between 1891 and 1908 betray a sharp, modernising trajectory; developments in public science prompted the magazine to find new ways to treat and contain its challenging corollaries. Explicitly science-based articles at the turn of the century were reinforced and augmented by both the magazine's fiction (Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and H. G. Wells' *The First Men in the Moon* appeared in overlapping serials during 1901) and non-scientific, non-fiction articles.²³⁶ These different forms within *The Strand* create a constellation of formal, stylistic and perspectival depictions of science. This constellation challenges the traditional formulation where the periodical arena functions as a bird-table where crumbs from the table of science are fought over and contested. Instead, the principal function of science in *The Strand* is simply to allow new ways of expressing ideas that already had long, established traditions and which spring from an ideologically conservative pool of 'common sense' opinions. These opinions are embodied by stereotypes and an examination of their specificities, through the lens of the Holmes stories and with reference to numerous other fiction and non-fiction articles, allows for an epistemic analysis of the long-term relationship between science and periodical. In the previous chapter, the emphasis was on the reflection and refraction of scientific values throughout predominantly non-scientific kinds of writing. As such, the working-definition of 'science' was necessarily loose but, by examining the growth of serious depictions of science and scientists, this chapter will take account of the stratifications, cultures and ideologies that characterised different disciplines. Pseudo-sciences like phrenology, astrology and palmistry appeared in *The Strand* alongside natural history writers, mechanical engineers as well as prestigious chemists, inventors and evolutionary biologists. As time passed, *The*

²³⁶ H. G. Wells, *The First Men in the Moon* (London: Phoenix, 2004).

Strand's awareness of the differences between these fields grew alongside its awareness of the increasingly charged relationship between science, culture and society. The scientific veneers of the magazine's early years would, by themselves, prove an insufficient engagement with the ideological threats and promises that it would have to deal with at the turn of the century and in the years leading up to the First World War.

UNNATURAL HISTORIES

The Strand was not given to Damascene changes of stylistic or thematic direction. Changes occur like rock formations, gradually and over long periods of time. One particularly noticeable development is located distinctly at the turn of the century and marked by a new kind of non-fiction scientific article. *The Strand's* depictions of scientific matters before this point were infrequent and delivered in consciously unscientific tones. Before 1900, *The Strand* only published two types of 'scientific' articles: humorous miscellanies and case-studies in natural history. Examples of either type are numerous and an examination of them will frame the dramatic change that would later take place. In 1892, an anonymous author contributed an article called 'Some Curious Inventions'.²³⁷ The article is typical of the kind of coverage that science and scientists received from *The Strand* in its first decade; the principal characteristic of which was an avoidance of the word 'science' itself with attendant disregard for scientists, scientific theory and scientific language. This was easily accomplished since the articles focussed on men whose status as scientists was open to debate. *The Strand* called them 'inventors' but the more appropriate word would perhaps be 'mechanics', they were men who strove independently to apply mechanical and electrical principals to the manufacture of marketplace commodities. According to traditional models of the relationship between science and technology (as discussed and complicated by Rachel Laudan), science is the 'head' and 'technology' the hands. Ideas derived in pure, theoretical science, by this logic, are then adopted, commodified and condensed into commercial product by technologists. Like Laudan, *The Strand* showed awareness of the reductiveness of this formulation; an *Illustrated Interview* with Thomas Edison in 1905 reserved particular praise for its

²³⁷ 'Some Curious Inventions', *The Strand* 2 (July, 1891).

subject's ability to mix the worlds of science and industry.²³⁸ Such delicate distinctions were nowhere to be seen however in 1892, the language of the article instead highlighted the 'novelty' of inventions and the 'humorous side' of their failings. This article (and the genus to which it belonged) were comedic and sent up the misguided inspirations of recent inventors whilst highlighting the economic success stories with which the reader may or may not have been familiar:

Vast sums of money are brought in by apparently simple inventions requiring no great mechanical knowledge [...] We feel that we could have invented them with the greatest ease, if we had only known better the wants and tastes of the public.²³⁹

The article allows for no elevation of the 'inventors' or their ideas beyond the reader's sphere of interest; what distinguishes them is not some reserved knowledge but a better understanding of market forces and public demand. Explicitly, and in direct contrast to the articles that would emerge after 1900, there is no distinction made between the world of science and the everyday world; there is no epistemic hierarchy where the scientist is cast as a knowledge-producer for the reader. Instead the readers' values and everyday environs are the testing ground for the worth of the idea, the standard against which the ideas are measured. The writing style is anecdotal and abstract, it does not name the failed inventors nor does it locate their inventions too explicitly within reality (by, for example, saying how much money was lost in their manufacture). Instead, illustrations of each invention are provided by J. M. Roberts which represent the 'malfunction' of ideas as different kinds of over-complication or confusion within domestic scenes. One inventor is discussed who believed that he had solved the riddle of hat-ventilation with a cunning system of 'springs, slides, or staples' which allow the crown to be raised or lowered upon demand (2.1). The author then satirically notes that 'the "every day" man would prefer holding his hat in his hand if very hot'.²⁴⁰ The illustrations scattered across the pages show also an 'alarum bed' which snaps its occupant upright at an agreed hour (2.2) and a military

²³⁸ Francis Arthur Jones, 'Illustrated Interviews: Thomas Alva Edison', *The Strand* 29 (April, 1905).

²³⁹ 'Some Curious Inventions', p. 313.

²⁴⁰ 'Some Curious Inventions', p. 314.

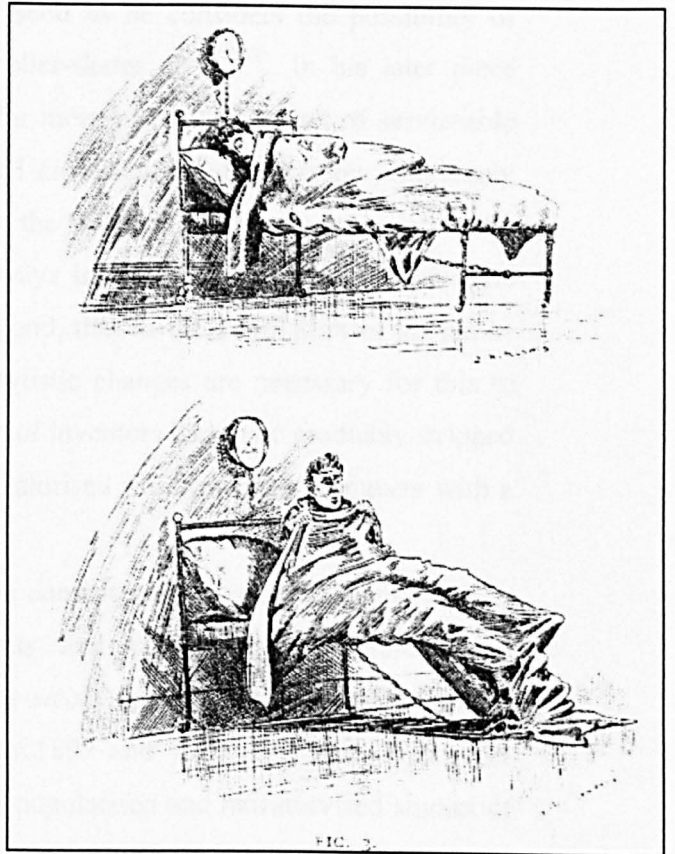
coat that can double as a tent (2.3).²⁴¹ Successes and failures are recorded by their ability to accent the middle class Victorian experience. Inventions are negatively-reinforced specifically as a result of their disunity with a particular style of life which is held to be that of both writer and reader. The first point of interest here is not the way that the article represents an ideology but the way in which it deals with the idea of 'science' itself. In this article the idea of science as a discipline is almost entirely absent, the reader's interest is only triggered when the products of science begin to interact with the 'everyday' man in his 'everyday' life; where it may streamline or otherwise improve the functionality of his existence. These modes of representation are replicated in other articles such as James Scott's 'Eccentric Ideas' (which charts the 'ideas of cranks and addle-pated men'), 'Remarkable Accidents' and 'The Evolution of the Cycle'.²⁴² These articles occasionally consider the potential of science but such speculations are always grounded by emphasising the role of the 'invention': the simple idea that makes 'everyday' life easier. This emphasis blurred the distinction between science and mechanics by reducing the efficacy of both disciplines to an ideologically-charged question of 'every day' application. The idea of broadcasting a scientific view into the near or distant future is antithetical because of the strict temporal and spatial limits placed upon the subject. It did not seem at all likely or desirable that science would have any great stake in shaping the future. As with the work of Georgia Knap, whose mechanical reinvention of the hotel was discussed at length in chapter one, the readership of *The Strand* is only presumed to take an interest where the moment of technological innovation is imminent, if not immediate. For the scientist, mechanic or inventor to offer opinions about the future would be to suggest that they occupied a position of superiority. This is not to suggest that scientists, particularly 'celebrities' like Huxley and Lubbock, were not respected and admired, it is simply to observe that the knowledge they produced was construed, whilst profound and admirable, as being fundamentally separate from the 'every day' world. The tone of these early articles is avuncular in the depiction of willing 'inventors' (by illustration as well as text) and, in mocking their efforts, the articles seem to adhere to the idea that science has already achieved the bulk of its

²⁴¹ The author quips 'we are not told what happens to the sleeves when used as a tent; perhaps one is stuffed with straw to keep out the cold and the other is used as a chimney or ventilator'. 'Some Curious Inventions', p. 316.

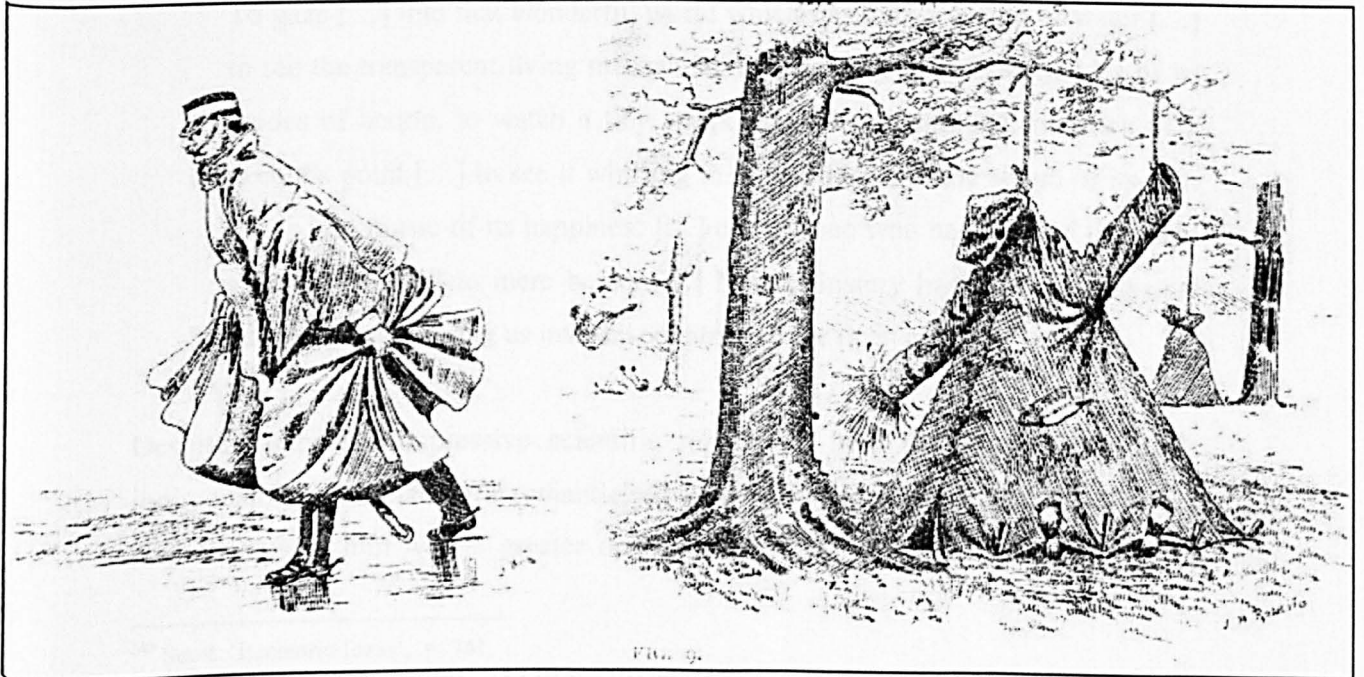
²⁴² James Scott, 'Eccentric Ideas', *The Strand* 9 (January, 1895), p. 340; James Scott, 'Remarkable Accidents', *The Strand* 9 (January, 1895); 'The Evolution of the Cycle', *The Strand* 4 (July, 1892).



2.1



2.2



2.3

potential: 'Are we getting lazy?' wonders Scott as he considers the possibility of perpetually sloping roads for wearers of roller-skates (2.4).²⁴³ In his later piece 'Strange Devices', Scott claims to 'find it far more pleasant to speak of serviceable outcomes of ingenuity than by dwelling, as I did a few months ago, on notoriously nonsensical schemes'.²⁴⁴ This prefigures the coming development in scientific writing in *The Strand* by focusing on the ways in which science could service the more wide-reaching needs of its reader; beyond, that is, the ventilation of his hat or the efficacy of his alarm clock. Certain stylistic changes are necessary for this to happen; most noticeably, the ironic depiction of inventors had to be gradually stripped away for the 'addle-pated men' to become valorised as knowledge producers with a hefty stake in the future shape of society.

The other popular strand of scientific content was the natural history article; here again there are minor developments and changes in expressions and representations of science before the *fin-de-siècle* epoch. Grant Allen's prolific 'Glimpses of Nature' series which, between 1897 and the author's death in 1899 produced thirteen articles and created highly popularised and narrativised studies of plant and animal life. Lubbock himself contributed a florid series entitled *Beauty in Nature*. On the subject of natural history in 'Rivers and Lakes' Lubbock uses the following quote:

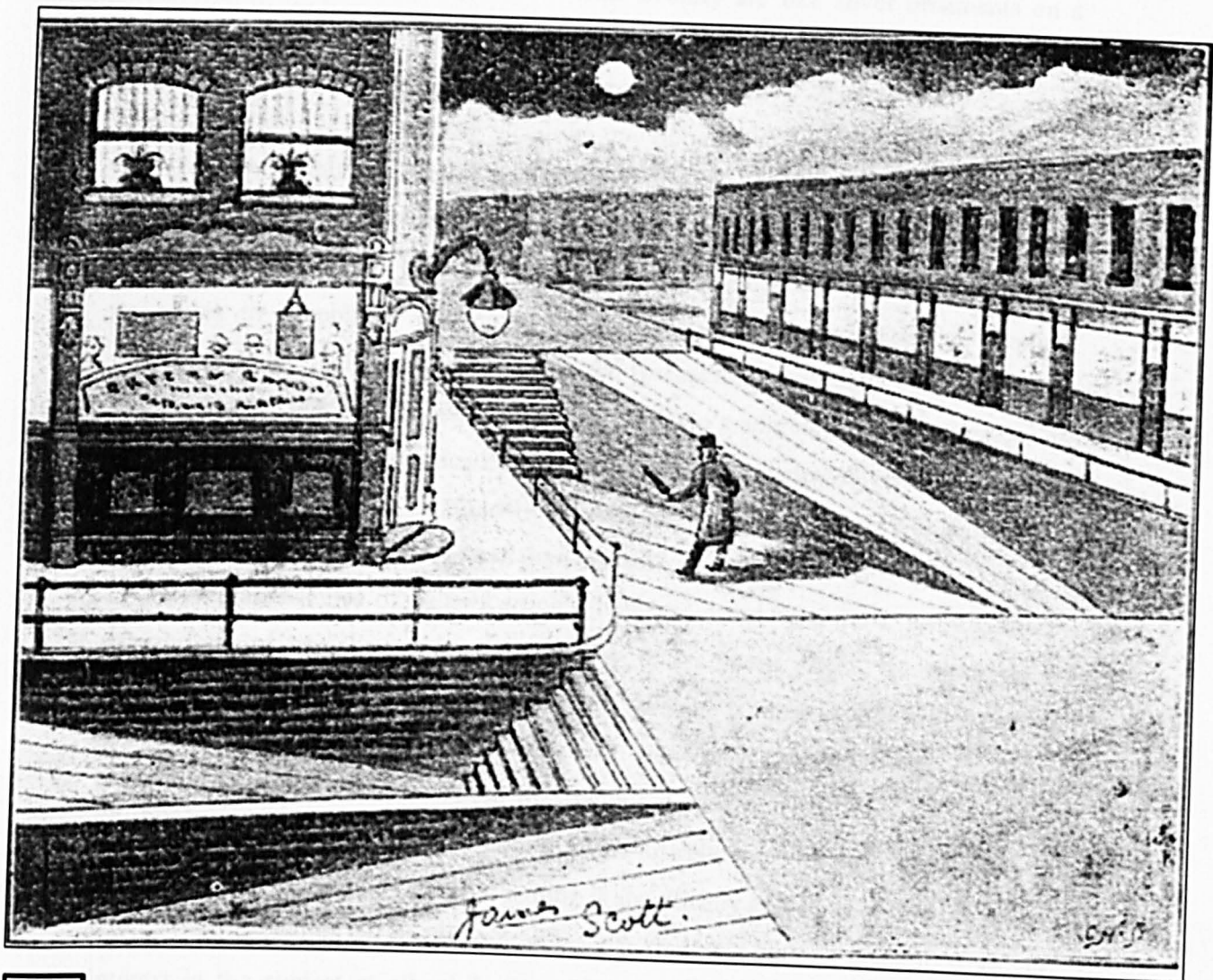
To gaze [...] into that wonderful world which lies within a drop of water [...] to see the transparent living mechanism at work, and to gain some idea of its modes of action, to watch a tiny speck that can sail through the prick of a needle's point [...] to see it whirling in a mad dance, to the sound of its own music, the music of its happiness [...] can anyone who has enjoyed this sight ever turn from it to mere books [...] Natural history has indeed the special advantage of carrying us into the country and the open air.²⁴⁵

Despite Lubbock's impressive scientific reputation, here the idea of science is indissociably connected to a romanticised relationship to rural England and serves only to present him with a greater opportunity to wax prolix about the beauty of

²⁴³ Scott, 'Eccentric Ideas', p. 341.

²⁴⁴ Jame Scott, 'Strange Devices', *The Strand* 10 (July, 1895), p. 189.

²⁴⁵ John Lubbock, 'Beauty in Nature: Rivers and Lakes', *The Strand* 3 (January, 1892), p. 401.



nature.²⁴⁶ Scientific knowledge is cloaked and subordinated to techniques deriving from the literary picturesque just as the microscopic ‘view’ is subordinated to the pastoral landscapes that accompany the piece. There are no scientific terms, no pictures of what Lubbock is observing under his microscope; instead, the pictures (2.5) focus exclusively on representing the enhanced beauty that lakes and rivers bring to a landscape (‘Lakes in a beautiful country are like silver ornaments on a lovely dress’ Lubbock helpfully observes).²⁴⁷ In the *Academy* of November, 1892, Lubbock’s book *The Beauties of Nature and the Wonders of the World* received a positive review for its ability to blend the traditional language of nature appreciation with ‘draw[ing] out the chief scientific problems associated’ with ‘familiar [...] sights and subjects’.²⁴⁸ This mixture was key to the method of popularisation that Lubbock deployed in *The Strand*. He emphasised the therapeutic benefits of natural landscapes as routes to ‘happiness and content[ment]’ and then segued into the ‘leading discoveries [that had] been made during the [preceding] half century in animal life and physics’.²⁴⁹ Whilst Lubbock’s work as ‘Darwin’s apprentice’ and a member of the X-club made him a significant figure during the late nineteenth-century, his work in *The Strand* emphasised his romantic attachment to landscapes over and above their scientific basis to a far greater extent than his work elsewhere.²⁵⁰

The appearance of Allen’s articles, however, heralded a move towards more straightforward depictions of natural history and a more direct, less apologetic, engagement with scientific knowledge itself. The tone is more clearly influenced by scientific writing, as are the illustrations which show what Lubbock’s article did not: the microscopic view (2.6). These illustrations deconstruct the romantic, pictorial instinct expressed in Lubbock’s article and illustrate the growing importance of scientific data. Despite this, Allen’s writing is specifically geared to be understood by a reader not only with no specialised knowledge, but also with no prescribed, extant interest in the subject at all. Like many of the earlier popularisers identified by Bernard Lightman, Allen attempts to bridge the syntactical and lexical gap between scientific language and the ‘everyday’ language of his audience by imposing basic

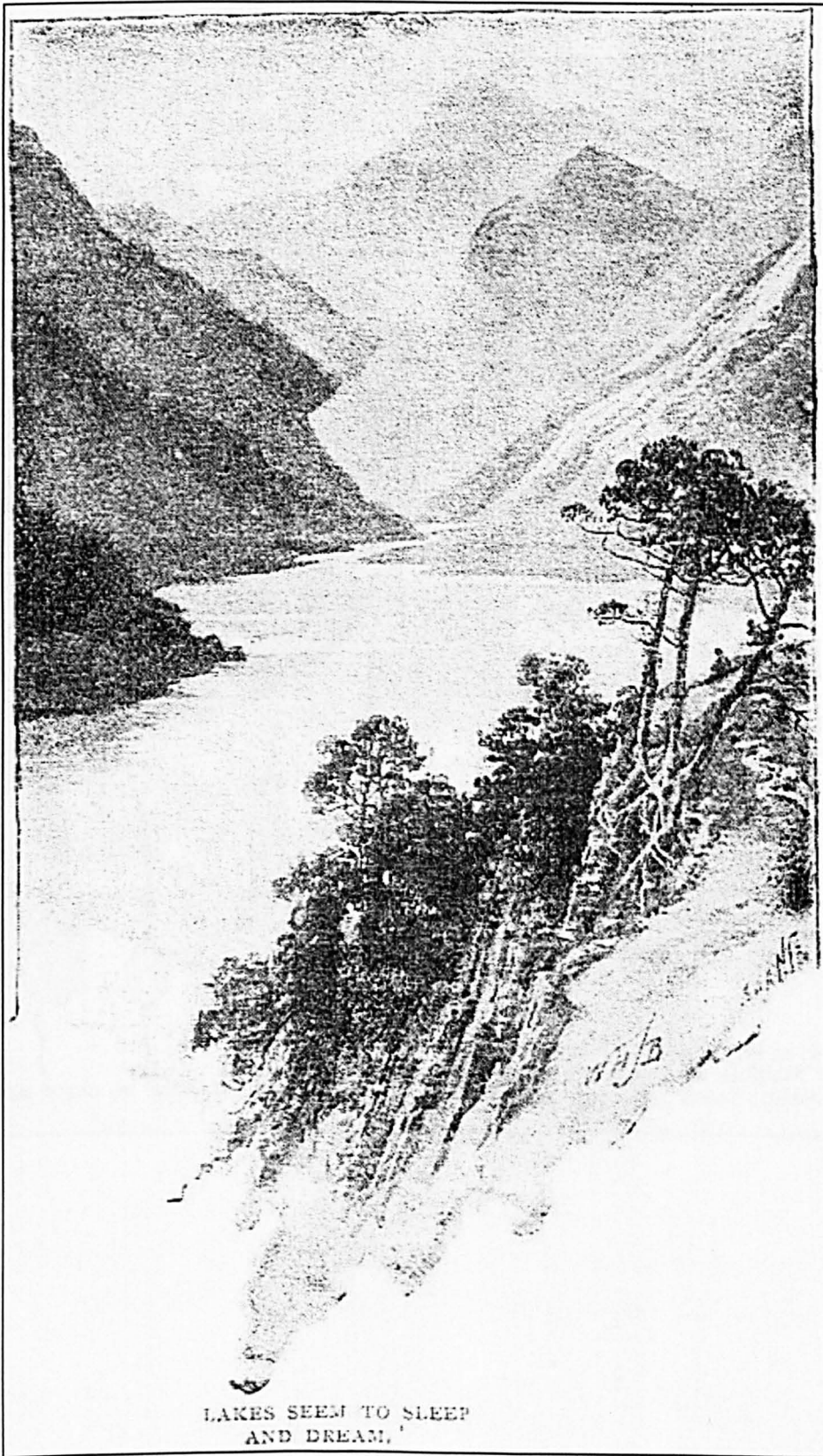
²⁴⁶ He was a member of The X-Club with, in the words of Ruth Barton, ‘Huxley [...] and half a dozen others’.

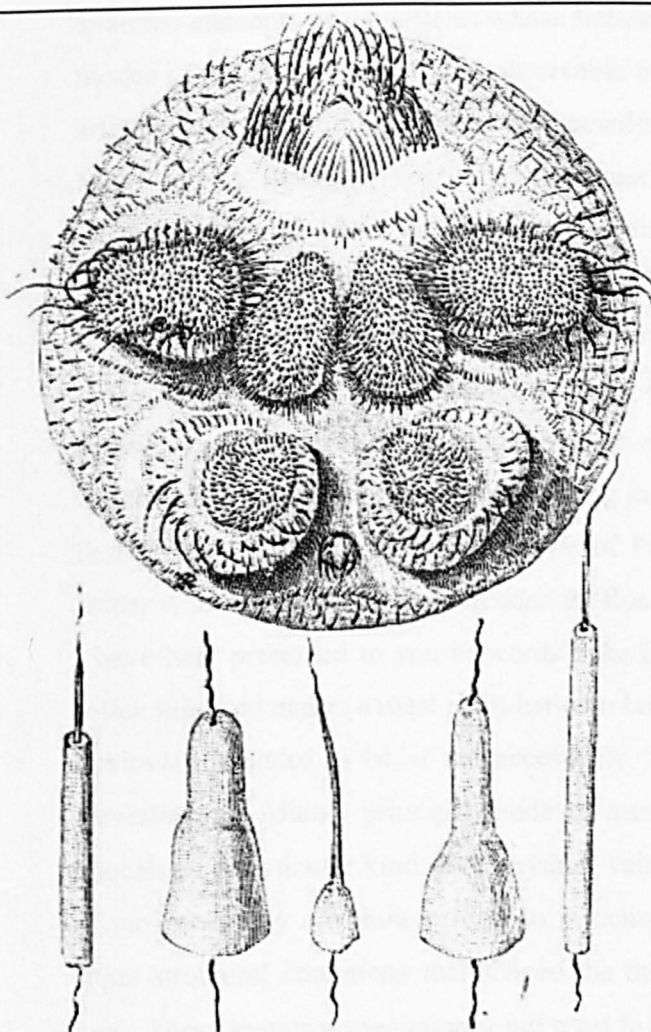
²⁴⁷ Lubbock, ‘Beauty in Nature: Rivers and Lakes’, p. 401.

²⁴⁸ M. G. Watkins, ‘Science’, *Academy* 1072 (November, 1892), p. 460.

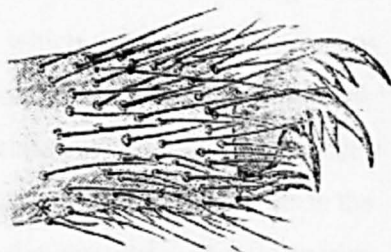
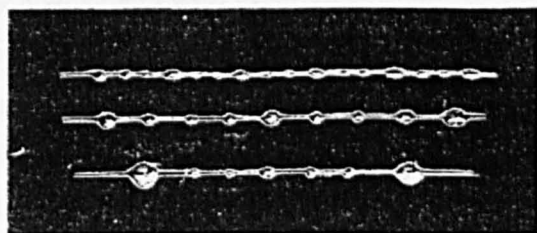
²⁴⁹ Watkins, ‘Science’, p. 460.

²⁵⁰ The term ‘disciple of Darwin’ is used by Mark Patton in his *Science, Politics and Business in the Work of Sir John Lubbock* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 13.





NO. 4.—BACK VIEW OF ROSALIND'S SPINNERETS.



NO. 5.—VISCID THREADS, WITH STICKY BEADS: FOOT AND CLAWS OF SPIDER: SPIDER'S FACE, WITH JAWS AND POISON-FANGS.

literary techniques such as narrative, character and metaphor onto his specimens.²⁵¹ William Greenslade and Terence Rodgers observe the ‘free interplay of epithets’ between ‘the human and natural worlds’ in the titles of his articles and identify this reflexivity as resulting from Darwinism.²⁵² This impression over-emphasises the anarchic elements of the articles whose fictionality aligns them with exactly the same modes of ideological expression observable in *The Strand*’s fiction. Two of Allen’s articles from 1897 illustrate this: (the bewilderingly entitled) ‘The Cows That Ants Milk’ and ‘A Beast of Prey’. In the former, Allen examines the life-story of rose Aphids and, in the latter, the habits of the common garden spider. These articles are models of a particular kind of popularisation; they function by couching their scientific content within a clear ideological framework which provides the necessary range of metaphors and allusions that are called upon to contextualise scientific knowledge. Allen initially binds his subject matter to classical and artistic allegories which foster the idea of ‘nature’ performing in an imagined theatrical space; this is the first level of fictionalisation. ‘A Beast of Prey’ tells the story of a female garden spider who is introduced to the reader as ‘Rosalind, the particular lady whose portrait I have here presented to you in words’; she is a ‘Messalina among small deer’ who ‘often kills and makes a meal upon her own lawful spouse’.²⁵³ These comparisons are obviously intended to be, if not necessarily ‘funny’, then at least knowingly ribald. Nevertheless, Allen’s principal mode of metaphorical allusion relies upon making appeals to a particular kind of ‘everyday’ value system. When animals perform acts of violence, they are shown to do so in contravention of the laws, mores and other super-structural conditions that shaped the middle class values discussed in chapter one. These humorous techniques are soon followed by a second wave that hints at a more seriously-intended series of moral judgements. To further flesh out the violent excesses of Rosalind, Allen continues, ‘[s]he killed flies in a fashion that would have brought up fresh tears in the eyes of Jacques; and she devoured her Orlando with all the callous ferocity of a South Sea Islander’.²⁵⁴ These metaphorical frames of reference are identical to those he deploys in his Hilda Wade detective stories. The

²⁵¹ Bernard Lightman, ed., *Victorian Science in Context* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1997) and Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

²⁵² William Greenslade and Terence Rodgers, eds., *Grant Allen: Literature and Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 7.

²⁵³ Grant Allen, ‘A Beast of Prey’, *The Strand* 14 (September, 1897), p. 287.

²⁵⁴ Allen, ‘A Beast of Prey’, p. 287.

stories ran in *The Strand* until Allen's death and the final, unfinished instalment was completed, in a 'pathetic act of friendship' by Arthur Conan Doyle.²⁵⁵ An 1898 story, 'The European with a Kaffir Heart,' details the dangers resulting from a Matabele uprising in Rhodesia. The narrator, Hubert, observes that 'in a conflict of race we MUST back our own colour' before describing the 'savages' in conflict as 'swarming, black like ants' and adding, by way of explication, that they also 'swarm like bees'.²⁵⁶ Allen's fiction draws its metaphors from the same sources as his science writing which suggests a strong intertextual relationship between the two writing styles. In 'The Cows that Ants Milk' he elaborates the examination of rose-aphids by describing the winged aphids as 'the founders of new colonies, on their way to some undiscovered Tasmania [...] They have enough enemies to satisfy Mr Rider Haggard'.²⁵⁷ These rhetorical techniques appealed not just to contemporary and classical culture but to strands of imperial politics, romance fiction and racial science. In these articles Allen's writing locates itself between two temporal groups of unilateral, unchanging truths. The 'past' is selectively mined for the ideological foundations of the magazine's imagined 'future' that we will see projected later in the more serious, post-1900 scientific articles. By examining Allen's writing, however, the first part of this model can be clarified. It can be summarised in the following way: the principal content of Allen's articles is the natural detail he observes in animal and plant life. These details are not presented in bare, scientific language but in language that the 'everyday man' could understand; this extends beyond the grammar and syntax of the writing and permeates the moral judgements of the narration which function by complementary systems of historical/classical and contemporary racial, sexual and class allegories that provide the contextual lens through which the content of the piece (scientific knowledge) is made accessible and agreeable. Thus when Allen wishes to highlight the hierarchical world of spider species, which can be seen as 'scientific' information in need of linguistic simplification and ideological coding, he arrives at the following passage:

The family to which Rosalind belongs, that of the geometrical spiders, may be placed at the very head of the whole spider order [...] Some of the least

²⁵⁵ Grant Allen, 'The European with the Kaffir Heart', *The Strand* 18 (October, 1899), p. 462..

²⁵⁶ Allen, 'The European with the Kaffir Heart', p. 144, 150.

²⁵⁷ Grant Allen, 'The Cows that Ants Milk', *The Strand* 14 (July, 1897), p. 12.

advanced kinds merely stalk or hunt down their prey in the open [...] one may compare them to such low hunting human races as the natives of New Guinea or the North American Indians [...] Among spiders, as among humans [...] some races have advanced further than others.²⁵⁸

By imposing the same stock narratives of domestic fiction that fill *The Strand's* fiction upon plant and animal life, Allen (as a by-product of his popularising technique) directs the epistemic power of the scientist (the producer of knowledge) to bear upon moral issues. What, for Greenslade and Rodgers, is anarchic in Allen's writing we can also see as profoundly conservative. Here he casts references to a lineage of racial science and builds this hierarchical understanding of humanity into its ideology as one of its historical certainties. By eliding the 'monogenic' (or single-race) argument that Nancy Stepan examines in *The Idea of Race in Science* we see precisely how *The Strand* looked selectively to the past to underpin its ideologically-bounded constructions of present and future.²⁵⁹ These techniques are continually observable in *The Strand's* natural history articles across its lifespan and their primary aim is to translate the language of science by conflating domestic and scientific ideas. Allen's series highlights the accessibility of natural history by locating it in the gardens of his readership and in the fields surrounding their houses. This localness mirrors the conflation of domestic, imperial and scientific narratives that we observe in Allen's work of whatever genre.

This intermingling makes the first tentative suggestion of the different ways in which scientific practices were intermixed with those of fiction and used to ventriloquise the magazine's ideology. *The Strand's* ideological archaeology of the past to create its moral science takes a new form at the turn of the century as the magazine attempted to resist the same group of historical factors that established the background of modernity and artistic modernism. Studies of these background factors have, in recent years, taken more and more account of the role that science played in

²⁵⁸ Grant Allen, 'A Beast of Prey', p. 294.

²⁵⁹ Stepan examines the ways in which the strong tendency towards monogenism through the nineteenth-century was rewritten by a late-century surge in favour of polygenism: 'In 1800, most British scientists [...] were monogenics [...] By the end of the eighteenth century, however, doubts about the unity of all men in a single, created species, *Homo Sapiens*, had arisen in intellectual circles [...] More and more scientists were willing to embrace the [...] view that the human races were separated from each other by profound mental, moral and physical differences'. Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science* (London: Macmillan, 1982), p. 2.

the conflagration. Peter Child's *Modernism*, for example, devotes a chapter to Albert Einstein, observing of *fin-de-siècle* and Edwardian science that it 'created modern living, which was now about distance, speed, consumption, communication and mechanisation'.²⁶⁰ Child's list can seem both anachronistic (quite how those qualities are any different from the Victorian experience remains un-interrogated) and inaccurate (quite how many non-scientists read and understood Einstein in the first decades of the century would have to have been remarkable to make such a claim). However, the fact that such linear progressions begin to appear in generalist, explanatory works shows the degree to which modernity and modernism are now considered to be inseparably linked to the science of the early twentieth-century. Works such as Michael Whitworth's *Einstein's Wake* have examined these connections in greater depth and concluded that 'the intellectual atmosphere' of the period was fed by a network of 'shared metaphors' between literature and science.²⁶¹ The 'literature' discussed by Whitworth is not the literature of *The Strand*, it is the 'canonical works of high modernism'; quite how writers like Allen and Doyle, occupying significantly more modest positions in the cultural field, would react to these exigencies is not considered.²⁶² The world of Allen's 'Glimpses of Nature,' where science and domesticity peacefully coexist was to be superseded as *The Strand* needed to develop a new battery of ideological strategies to cope with the increasing schism.

ENGINEERING TOMORROW

The idea of science as an enterprise that could be simply and humorously conflated with bourgeois experience and values was changed significantly by the appearance of a series of articles that presented an altered picture of science as a subject, as an industry and as a profession. The distinctions between mechanics, inventors and natural historians before 1900 had been subtle and vastly outweighed by the similarities in their depiction. Three articles are particularly telling: 'Science in the New Century' in 1901; 'The Promise of Science' in 1904 and, in 1907, 'Problems

²⁶⁰ Peter Childs, *Modernism* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 21.

²⁶¹ Michael Whitworth, *Einstein's Wake* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. vii.

²⁶² Whitworth, *Einstein's Wake*, p. 20.

Science Has Almost Solved'.²⁶³ The titles of these pieces alone are suggestive. They prominently advertise the word 'science' which is used not just as a noun to loosely group activities associated with the study of nature but instead to denote a socially-integrated institution; by this I mean an institution that has become part of the super-structural apparatus of everyday life. This is an institution that makes 'promises' to society to 'solve' its 'problems' amongst other commitments. Together these pieces address similar concerns; they operate (like Allen and the popularisers) as a bridge between high science and the reader, but do so in very different ways. Here the author of each article acts as a conduit to the scientists whom he interviews and whose opinions he collates for the reader; he 'enacts' the role of the abstracter for the reader. A more serious development is that the kinds of science being discussed have increased in complexity beyond the ability of popularisers like Allen to convey. Allen's articles sought to bring the depiction of science more in line with patterns of fiction whereas the newer articles explicitly acknowledge that the gap between the 'everyday' man and the scientist is too great to be easily bridged by straightforward narrative or fictionalising techniques. In effect, this reasserts the epistemic supremacy of the scientist, whose knowledge is now too esoteric to be readily encapsulated within parable and allegory. A new language of popularisation is required and, with this in mind, the narration of each article fosters the idea of its author as a mediating figure by explicitly representing the interviewing process. For example, 'Science in the New Century' begins in the following way:

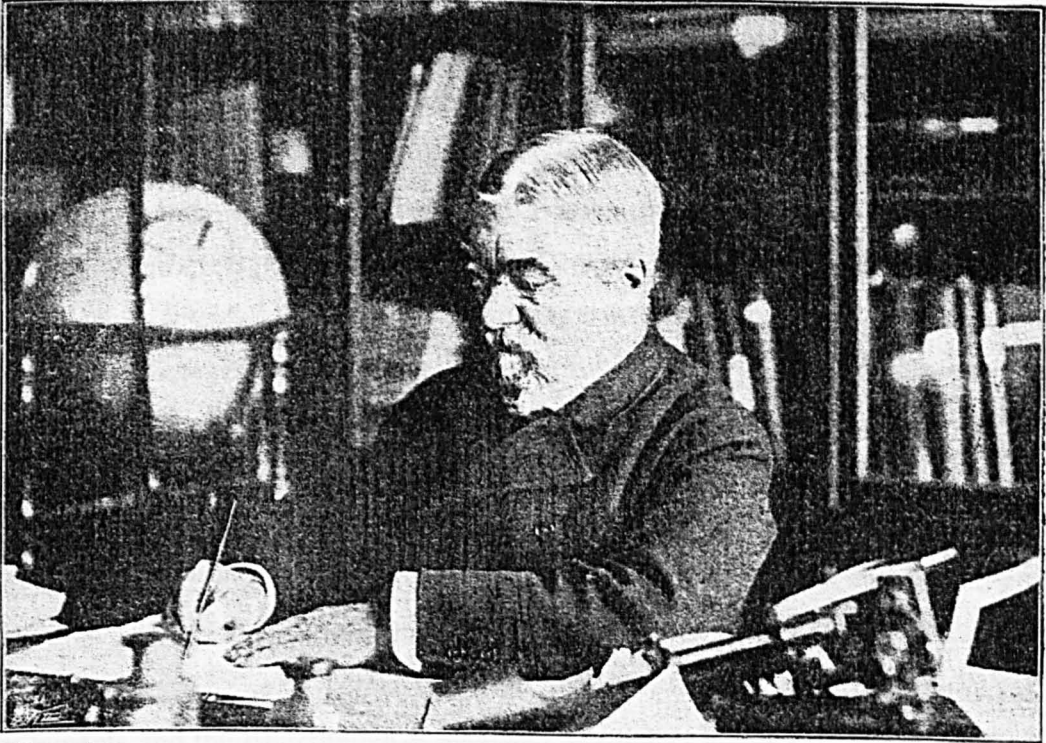
What are the 'fairy tales of science' to which, having regard to this record of the marvellous, the new century may be reasonably expected to give the substance of fact? With such queries on my lips I have been calling upon some of the most distinguished scientists of the day.²⁶⁴

The author, Frederick Dolman, then canvasses opinions from 'leading experts' in the fields of astronomy, electricity, mechanics, medicine, physics and chemistry. Dolman 'calls on' these men at their homes and laboratories around London and, in this way, bases his article on a series of familiar, friendly meetings. Details of addresses,

²⁶³ Frederick Dolman, 'Science in the New Century', *The Strand* 21 (January, 1901); 'The Promise of Science', *The Strand* 28 (December, 1904); 'Problems Science has Almost Solved', *The Strand* 33 (February, 1907).

²⁶⁴ Dolman, 'Science in the New Century', p. 57.

offices, visiting cards and other paraphernalia of the bourgeois social encounter are all recorded. This has the effect of rooting the ideas discussed within a recognisable pattern of sociability. The scientists are represented either by a portrait photograph (as with Sir Norman Lockyer [2.7]) or by an action-shot of them at work in laboratory or office. These photographs, like all of *The Strand's* images are not peripheral to the writing but rather epiphenomenal. The pictures reify and condense *The Strand's* changed attitude towards science, an institution whose practices have become less easily fictionalised. In the miscellanies discussed above, for example, the failed inventions are imaged as sketched cartoons; condemnation of the ideas is rendered in the ironic cast of narration and mirrored by the absence of the photographs that would more frequently appear in the more serious articles. The photographs in 'Science in the New Century' play a crucial role in bestowing authority and legitimacy upon their subjects. Joseph Swan (inventor of cellulose light-bulb filaments and bromide paper [2.8]), for example, is shown in the midst of his apparatus with his hair swept back, his beard bristling and his brow furrowed with focussed intellectual intent. In its depiction of Swan, the magazine situates him as a locus of desires: his social status is highlighted by reference to his address 'in Holland Park' and so in one sense he becomes pushed forward as a positive apprenticeship in the value of scientific labour. Further, he is shown in command of partly obscured scientific apparatus, the precise workings of which would almost certainly be beyond the understanding of the reader; at the very least, such ignorance is one of the pre-conditions for the article's existence. This *mise-en-scène* casts Swan as a knowledge-producer occupying a position of epistemic power. If 'science' is in the business of making people 'promises' then the implicit corollary of this phrase is that the likes of Swan and Lockyer are responsible for fulfilling them. Instead of being anonymous and submerged beneath layers of ironic abstraction and cynicism, the figure of the scientist in non-fiction articles has been elevated in accordance with the depiction of the 'celebrity' scientists. Their work, instead of being characterised as superfluous and slightly silly has acquired the value of real social relevance. These later articles evince an understanding that the story of the twentieth-century will be the story of its science. If the role and depiction of the scientist has changed then so has that of the reader. Suddenly cast as consumers of abstruse scientific knowledge, their interests are represented by the pieces' respective authors. Dolman, for example, has been invested with the duty of raising issues that are of direct concern to his readers. Therefore by examining the



From a]

SIR NORMAN LOCKYER.

[Photograph.

2.7



From a Photo. by]

MR. J. W. SWAN.

[George Nones, Ltd.

2.8

topics discussed we gain an insight into both the kinds of reader *The Strand* believed itself to be addressing and the demands of the new social scene that they inhabited.

The language of these articles again calls upon the grand narrative of 'progress'. The excitable narration focuses upon the real and tangible improvements that are, apparently, imminent. It seeks to position the reader suspended before the 'moment' of progress; 'Science in the New Century' is subtitled '[w]hat will be its greatest achievements', the declarative phrasing constitutes a promise. What we see in these later pieces is a definite opening-out of scientific perspective that represents a coming to terms with the onset of modernity and a complete shift in the kinds of time depicted. The questions discussed are the interpretation of sunspots to predict drought; wireless telephony; sea-tides and waterfalls as potential energy sources; increased traffic congestion in urban centres; the possibility of subterranean tunnels under the English Channel and Irish Sea; the feasibility of flight; the capacity of Edison's proposed new storage battery; the benefits of artificial nutritional supplements and the bacteriological approach to curative medicine. The article is a perfect illustration of the ways in which *The Strand* re-formulated its representation of science and re-articulated its own scientific responsibilities after the pre-1900 Grant Allen era. The subject matter cannot be effectively transmitted through techniques derived from fiction and a new language with new metaphors is necessary to appropriately manage the material. By making the author-as-representative figure a visible component in the writing, the articles create a kind of conversational abstract where particular questions are necessarily asked to distil the information that is relevant and relatable to domestic contexts. The article also makes an explicit distinction between 'speculative' science and 'practical' science by quoting engineer William Preece's observation that the most innovative work is done by practical men (such as Watt and Stevenson with steam) whom 'the speculative scientist follows'.²⁶⁵ Here we see the distillatory function of the article at work; the writing purports to know precisely what 'the 'everyday man' desires from his science and separates this from the bulk of 'speculative' and, implicitly impractical theory. The relationship between scientific and domestic spheres are similarly hermetic in 'Some Curious Inventions' although, in 1892, the hierarchy is inverted. 'Inventors' strive and contest to achieve integration with an exalted domestic environment; a decade later, the

²⁶⁵ Dolman, 'Science in the New Century', p. 58.

inventors bestow the 'promise' of their work upon a readership that is portrayed as eager for their discoveries and grateful for what they may promise.

Because of this distinction, the subjects that are raised assume a new relevance; they represent the 'practical' issues which will touch upon the lives of the magazine's readers. One issue dominates the others: the question of energy.

In regard to either wind or tide, an engineer may arise with some new plan [...] and in this sense there is scope for one of the greatest achievements on the part of engineering in the new century.²⁶⁶

We of the twentieth century live in an age of marvels. Not the chimeras and fantasies [...] of old [...] The real problem to be solved is the discovery of some inexhaustible source of energy perpetually at our beck and call.²⁶⁷

We are actually hovering on the very margin of the promised land [...] Nothing is more important to the world than the supply of heat for economic and industrial purposes.²⁶⁸

The search for a 'perpetual' source of energy, as we see it enacted in these pieces, covers several different areas of scientific enquiry. 1904's 'The Promise of Science' focuses principally upon the observations of the great chemist Marcellin Berthelot; he identifies 'the central heat of the earth' as the energy source that will 'be the universal servant in the future' (figure 2.9 shows an imagined factory that could harvest energy from the Earth's core).²⁶⁹ The use of the word 'servant' (and the phrase 'beck and call' in this context aligns this quest for energy with the requirements of a middle class existence. As if in confirmation of this implication 'Problems Science Has Almost Solved' quotes Nikola Tesla as saying that '[T]he rays of the sun [...] will operate every machine in our factories, propel every train and carriage in our streets and do all the cooking in our homes'.²⁷⁰ The 'promises' of science are in this way reduced to questions of perpetuating a particular kind of domesticity. As in the case

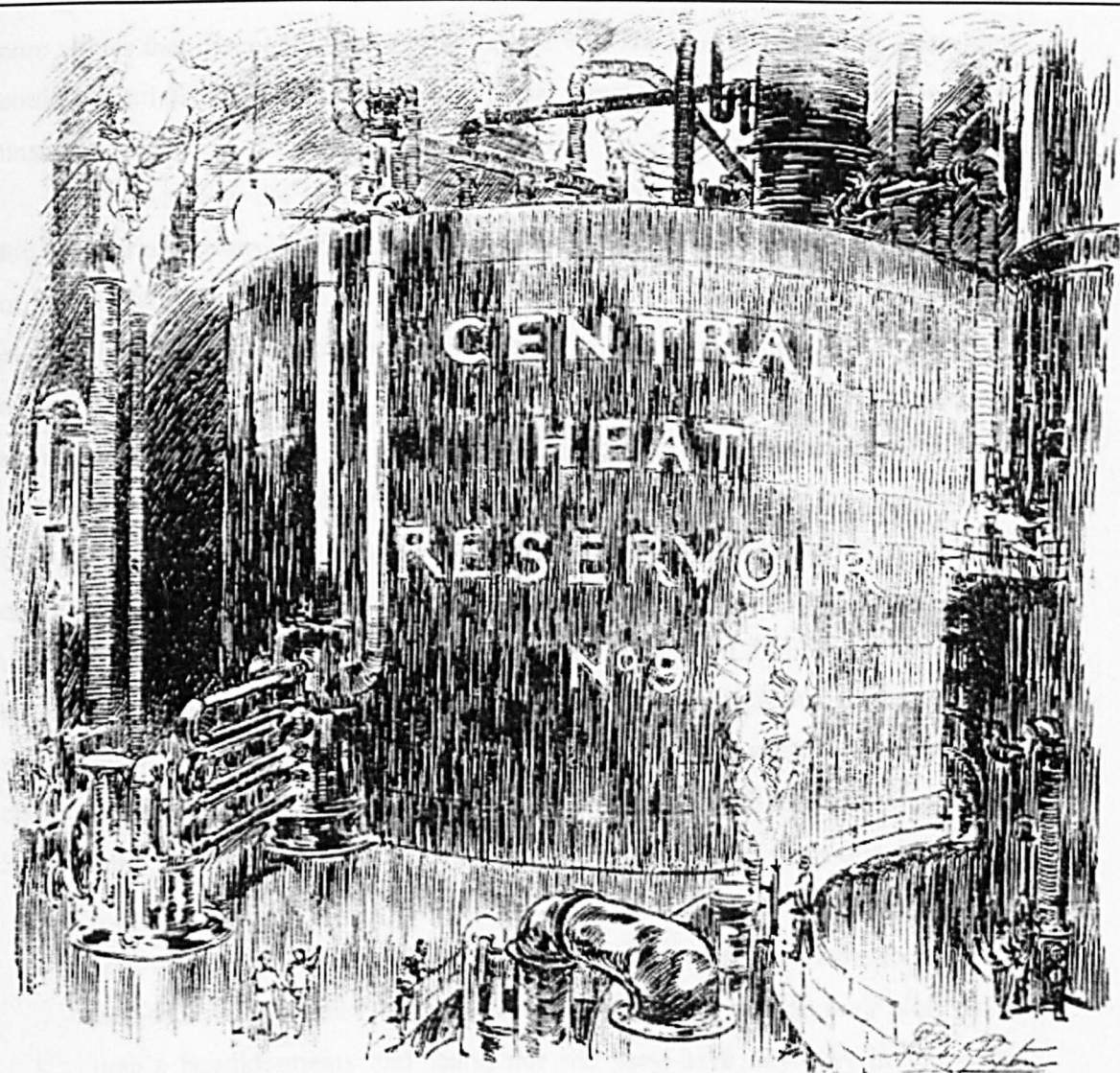
²⁶⁶ Dolman, 'Science in the New Century', p. 60.

²⁶⁷ 'The Promise of Science', p. 669.

²⁶⁸ 'Problems Science Has Almost Solved', p. 283.

²⁶⁹ 'The Promise of Science', p. 669.

²⁷⁰ 'Problems Science Has Almost Solved', p. 283.



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OF THE EARTH.

of Grant Allen, it is worth noting that these kinds of observation are not intended to lasso these authors and scientists together and enthusiastically decry them for a crowd of small-minded, capitalist peddlers of 'false consciousness'. These articles are telling because they mark out *The Strand's* ideological boundaries and illustrate the core values that it sought to valorise and preserve. The idea that scientific endeavour could potentially pose an ideological or social threat was unthinkable and, therefore, unsayable.

Elsewhere in the articles, rainfall, the tides, the sun and wind are explored as the appropriate means of enlisting natural power to perpetually underwrite human life or, more particularly, that portion of human life that relies upon central heating, electric lamps and oven cookers. How are we to read this desire for energy? First, taking a cue from Anson Rabinbach and Gillian Beer, it can be seen as a direct symptom of modernity.²⁷¹ The questions of fatigue, expiration and loss of potency were the subject of fierce debates throughout the mid and late century as Lord Kelvin's laws of thermodynamics and other modifications to the transfer of heat and energy gradually became accepted.²⁷² Modernity in its most basic terms clearly represented a series of challenges to the ideas at the heart of *The Strand*; namely its emphasis on religion as a social cohesive, its simplistic and distinct formulations of science as a social tool and war as a kind of romance. The artistic response to the challenges of modernity found no place within *The Strand* and its editor Greenhough Smith believed this was a service to his readers. He wrote in his diary that

[H]owever irresponsible those early short-story writers of ours seem to our war-tried, more mature generations [...] they did not fashion their plots out of man's bewilderments and fears; nor did they have any part in the brutal disillusioning process to which many of the new writers put their gifts.²⁷³

This quote signals a clear acknowledgement that *The Strand's* self-image was intended to be anti-modernist (though not entirely 'anti-modernity') and that it sought to avoid direct engagements with the issues that informed the culture of artistic

²⁷¹ See Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor* (University of California Press, 1992) and Gillian Beer, 'The Death of the Sun' in Gillian Beer, *Open Fields* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

²⁷² See Crosbie Smith and M. Norton Wise, *Energy and Empire: A Biographical Study of Lord Kelvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 524-612.

²⁷³ Pound, *The Strand Magazine*, p. 75.

modernism. The 'postmodern' age that Lyotard depicts in *The Postmodern Condition* depends upon the atrophy of grand narratives in general and a subtler degeneration of the importance and relevance of nationhood. The literary culture examined in *Einstein's Wake* is not just disengaging itself from these same grand, unifying ideals but rooting the terms of its disengagement in the language and ideas of contemporary science. Einstein famously attempted to contextualise his re-imagining of Galileo's relativity principle by imagining the different material and temporal conditions that would take place in a moving train carriage when observed from within and without, on a nearby embankment. The dissolution of absolute space and absolute time could not be dealt with by the writers in *The Strand* in the same way as writers such as Joyce, Woolf and Lawrence. For those writers, the prioritisation of relativity and subjectivity over objectivity and empirical certainty provided the appropriate metaphors with which to portray a fragmentary society and to background the paradigm-shift in fiction from the panoptic vision of the high Victorian realists to the microcosmic view offered by stream of consciousness narration. Implicit in Smith's comment is a desire to remain defiantly outside the train carriage where time and space can be bent and to locate himself firmly on the embankment, in a world where time and space, like grand narratives, remain unchallenged. These scientific articles, then, offer an ideological guide through modernity and its associated discontents; a series of strategies that marginalise uncertainty and insist on the perpetuity of older ways of life. The process was dependent upon a series of demarcations which elided the dangers of an ideological unbound science. The scientific world, as it moves beyond the bourgeois environs of the naturalist, has to be re-cast as a kind of focus group that works to meet the ideological and societal demands of the world-view that *The Strand* depicts.

Here we see the remote world of twentieth-century scientific endeavour ideologically subjugated to the demands of the middle class domestic space. These articles clamour to endorse statements such as Tesla's and their tone is judged to accordingly undermine ideas and statements that make some sort of ideological deviation. This is most evident with the treatment of Berthelot in 'The Promise of Science' where he makes a bewildering array of predictions including the possibility that scientific development may compromise 'traditional' moral values and precipitate a radical development of social norms. Berthelot promises the following:

[W]e shall be compelled to modify all our present theories, social, economic and even moral, for they will have no more application than the original ideas on light of a blind man who has suddenly received the use of his eyes.²⁷⁴

Berthelot imagines a world changed by chemistry, where the means of developing artificial dietary supplements will obviate the need for traditional agriculture; man would, in this way, be freed from the necessary ‘destruction of other living creatures’ and could ultimately ‘attain a far higher level of morality than at present’. Berthelot then elaborates on what this future Earth would look like:

[I]t will be once more covered with verdure, forests and flowers, and will form one vast garden, a garden irrigated by subterraneous streams, a garden in which the human race will live happily amid the abundance of the legendary golden age. There will be no privileged classes. Everyone will have to labour, possibly more even than is the case today, but it will be a labour of love and delight.²⁷⁵

The idea, implicit in Berthelot’s words, that the exigencies of scientific development may result in political and cultural change is one that is clearly in opposition to the dominant tone of these articles. In order to incorporate this contradictory message the article uses a series of strategies that aim to de-prioritise these particular observations and re-focus upon the ideas of thermal energy whilst, at the same time, being careful not to dislodge Berthelot from his position of epistemic supremacy. The anonymous author appends Berthelot’s appearance in the symposium by suggesting that, whilst the famous chemist has a supreme mind, his wider predictions may be clouded by the unfortunate predilections of his ‘French temperament’ which is ‘too sanguine’.²⁷⁶ Having established the assailability of Berthelot’s views, the article then proceeds to deconstruct them with a series of common-sense responses from British scientists who provide ‘notes of dissent’. Chemist and discoverer of Thallium, William Crookes first notes that the opinions of Berthelot ‘deserve every attention’ before, in generalised terms, decrying the ‘platitudes of pseudo-science’ under which banner he

²⁷⁴ ‘The Promise of Science’, p. 668.

²⁷⁵ ‘The Promise of Science’, p. 670.

²⁷⁶ ‘The Promise of Science’, p. 671.

finds ‘numerous prophets who seem to derive a deal of pleasure from forecasting the future’.²⁷⁷ Finally, on the subject of artificial diets Crookes delivers the final blow to Berthelot by exclaiming ‘[t]hink of what a dinner-party would be like under such conditions’.²⁷⁸ The article then concerns itself with considering the various means of providing universal energy and measuring the cost of a Berthelotian Earth against the allure of middle class gastronomic sociability. Clearly the predictions of the French chemist, as amusing as they may appear a century later, touched an ideological nerve with *The Strand*. The postulation of a society entirely redrawn by the dismantling of its superstructure, its modes of production and consumption and its economic hierarchies is naturally unpleasant. The very presence of this suggestion within the pages of *The Strand* at all should suggest that its ideological boundaries were not policed as violently as they might have been and, indeed, the politics of their enforcement were never less than genteel. Nevertheless Berthelot’s comments exist in direct contradiction to several formative foundations of *The Strand*’s ideology. They disrupt the orderly relationship between past, present and future upon which the magazine depended. Behavioural and social models drawn from the past were used to enact Lyotard’s ‘positive and negative apprenticeships’ and to project ‘futures’ that depended upon their streamlining and enhancement rather than revision or revolutionary change.²⁷⁹ The grand projects of physics and chemistry are presented in a manner not dissimilar from the ‘inventions’ discussed before 1900; Berthelot’s future world is categorised alongside the mechanical hat and the pneumatic ‘alarumb-ed’ of Scott’s article as integrative failures. *The Strand*’s orderly temporal relationship is coupled with several textual and thematic strategies (discussed in chapter one) that perpetually re-assert kinds of social stratification. In *The Strand*’s fiction, the romance plot is frequently coupled with the gentrification plot where the embattled swain assures his romantic success through promotion or advancement in his career. All of these qualities display a commitment to social stratification as a strict, uncritical meritocracy. Berthelot further threatens *The Strand*’s preferred presentation of the rural-urban relationship whereby the rural becomes (as in the work of Lubbock) a beatified, preserved space that offers a romantic retreat from the city rather than the principal site of human life. In short, this article displays a precise

²⁷⁷ ‘The Promise of Science’, p. 671.

²⁷⁸ ‘The Promise of Science’, pp. 670-1.

²⁷⁹ Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 20.

example of how *The Strand* was able to ideologically limit science with a view to preserving its core values. Scientific practices have to be editorially, authorially, thematically and narratively processed to meet two specific specifications: the first is formal and requires that science writing meet the same syntagmatic standards of the magazine's fiction; the second is ideological and requires that science never be shown to lose its commitment to the bourgeois way of life.

DO WE PROGRESS?

So far I have focussed almost exclusively on non-fiction articles which can appear to be relatively passive responses to science when compared to some of *The Strand's* fiction. H. G. Wells' *The First Men in the Moon* began its serialisation in November, 1900 and finished the following August in the same issue that featured the first instalment of Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. This period crucially marked the time when the importance of science appeared to dawn upon *The Strand* and the time when its leading, prestigious works of fiction were modelling very different approaches to science-fiction. Harry Collins and Trevor Pinch argue in *The Golem at Large* that science and technology, although bifurcated products of the same basic endeavour could be made distinct by the idea of 'applicability'.²⁸⁰ Technologists take the work of scientists and find ways in which it can be commodified and applied to the everyday world. This distinction was lurking in the background of *The Strand's* representation of 'inventors'. In truth such men would not be considered 'scientists' by any but the most generous, capacious definition. Their work was not interested in the production of knowledge but the production of objects. In *The Strand*, the work of fiction writers like Wells and Doyle could be seen in a similar light; their aim was to take ideas and practices that had no rightful place in everyday discourse and fashion them into serviceable, understandable narratives. Given that fiction that treats scientists has to negotiate this discursive gap between science and popular fiction, it often contains explicit acknowledgement of this fact. Wells' novel, for example, can be read entirely as an examination of the transferable currencies of science and fiction. It has been common in 'science fiction' criticism of the novel (principally by

²⁸⁰ Harry Collins and Trevor Pinch, *The Golem at Large* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1-2.

Carlo Pagetti, but also by John Milstead, Steven McLean and Patrick Parrinder) to remark upon the way the bourgeois voice of Bedford is used to incorporate the arcane language of the wilfully abstract scientist, Cavor.²⁸¹ The early scenes of their friendship depend for their comedy upon the conversational incompatibility between the two men. Bedford notes that ‘half his words were technicalities entirely strange to me’ and, when Cavor suddenly frets about his intellectual property, Bedford is able to state with absolute honesty that ‘it is certain I do not know enough to steal your ideas myself- and I know no scientific men’.²⁸² Bedford soon acknowledges that his reader is perhaps expecting a summary or explanation of the precise nature of Cavor’s work:

The best thing I can do therefore is, I think, to give my impressions in my own inexact language without any attempt to wear a garment of knowledge to which I have no claim [...] He [Cavor] showed me by calculations on paper, which Lord Kelvin, no doubt, or Professor Lodge, or Professor Karl Pearson or any of those great scientific people might have understood [...] Suffice it for this story [...]

Bedford’s sentence continues beyond that ellipsis but its content is less important for our purposes here than the narrative techniques that co-opt and fictionalise scientific language. Wells, through the narrative voice of Bedford, confronts the same problem of popularisation that faced Allen in his articles on spiders and ants. The summary of the theory that underpinned Cavor’s experiments is limited by the language of fiction which is embodied by the figure of Bedford. John Milstead identified the key problem of the story to be one of miscommunication, a problem that is only solved by Bedford ‘successfully tell[ing] his story’ in the shape of his autobiographical novel.²⁸³ All of the novel’s driving characterial forces (Cavor’s aspirations to scientific celebrity, Bedford’s satirised lusts for colonisation and material gain) are reified into a single product, Bedford’s manuscript. His presence as the *petit bourgeois* filter to the

²⁸¹ See Patrick Parrinder, *Shadows of the Future: H. G. Wells, Science Fiction and Prophecy* (Syracuse University Press, 1995); John Milstead, ‘Bedford Vindicated: A Response to Carlo Pagetti on *The First Men in the Moon*’, *Science Fiction Studies* 9-1 (March, 1982), pp. 103-105; Steven McLean, *The Early Fiction of H. G. Wells: Fantasies of Science* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009); Carlo Pagetti and Marie-Christine Hubert, ‘*The First Men in the Moon*: H.G. Wells and the Fictional Strategy of His “Scientific Romances”’, *Science Fiction Studies* 7-2 (July, 1980), pp. 124-134.

²⁸² H. G. Wells, *The First Men in the Moon* (London: Phoenix, 2004), pp. 9-10.

²⁸³ Milstead, ‘Bedford Vindicated: A Response to Carlo Pagetti on *The First Men in the Moon*’, p. 103.

figure of Cavor echoes that of Watson to Holmes and prefigures that of Malone to Challenger in Doyle's later science fiction narratives. Milstead has questioned the security of Bedford's *bourgeois* status but, ultimately, the novel's narrative structure is testament to the changed status of science within *The Strand* and re-affirms the analogous relationship that is shared by technologists and novelists. Their shared goal is the realisation of the use-value of science on the open market; the formal language of scientific theory has to be ventriloquised and re-articulated by amateur tongues. McLean's analysis of the novel focuses upon the scientific basis of Wells' speculations and highlights his observation that 'except for Cavorite, that substance opaque to gravitation, the writer has allowed himself no liberties with known facts; there is no impossibility in the tale'.²⁸⁴ McLean then suggests that Bedford's garbled explanation of gravitational forces is a direct example of 'popularisation' for the 'non-specialist' audience of *The Strand Magazine*.²⁸⁵ Because McLean (and other Wells critics) emphasise the role of Wells' place within particular kinds of discourse (science fiction, sociology, politics, the culture war between him and Henry James) and because Wells is not central to this thesis, it is necessary to make an observation about the periodical context of his writing and about how this affects our interpretation of his role as a populariser. As a public intellectual, Wells did not find *The Strand* a natural home and this fact is emphasised by the famous series of articles that were published in *The Fortnightly Review* under the overarching title of *Anticipations*. His speculations on the future nature of democracy, war and sociology were extracted and reprinted by W. T. Stead's *The Review of Reviews* at the same time as *The First Men in the Moon* was reaching the end of its run in *The Strand*. It takes only a superficial comparison of Wells' contributions to the *Fortnightly Review* and *The Strand* to suggest that his brand of confrontational, iconoclastic social speculation was in direct contravention of many of *The Strand's* founding principles, particularly in relation to science. In one article, for example, he argued that the proliferation of military technology would begin to occlude traditional concepts of chivalry; elsewhere he made frequent attacks upon capitalism and upon class structures. These conflicts (the latter examined in chapter one and the former to be examined in chapter three) were crucial ideological battlefields for *The Strand* and it is not surprising that the huge bulk of Wells' periodical writings occurred away from

²⁸⁴ McLean, *The Early Fiction of H. G. Wells*, p. 117

²⁸⁵ McLean, *The Early Fiction of H. G. Wells*, pp. 117-119.

Newnes and his magazine. Taken as an isolated text, the satirical motivations behind the depiction of the Selenites as a culture prone to specialisation and fragmentation (as argued by McLean) are heavily accented. When considered as part of *The Strand*, however, alongside the work of Allen, Lubbock and the likes of 'The Promise of Science', the novels' explicit valorisation of fiction as an ideological mode of popularisation seems more pertinent. McLean's observation that Wells was 'popularising' with a particular audience in mind is slightly disingenuous since it ignores the growth of scientific articles that had been appearing in the magazine since the mid 1890s. Seen in that context and tactically shorn of his political speculations, Wells highlights the fact that it is in fiction that the dangerous potentiality of an ideologically unbound science is first combated. The comparison between *The First Men in the Moon* and *The Hound of the Baskervilles* in their shared context of *The Strand* is inviting because it suggests a new perspective upon two works that have been the subject of reams of criticism that completely ignore their periodical origins.

The Hound of the Baskervilles was the first Holmes novel to be serialised by *The Strand* and was situated after the first two series of short stories (*Adventures* and *Memoirs*) and before the subsequent three (*Return*, *His Last Bow* and *Case-Book*).²⁸⁶ The novel is the first Holmes narrative published after what Holmesians (with customary levity) refer to as 'The Great Hiatus' following Holmes' 'death' in 1893's 'The Final Problem' and, thus, also the first to appear in *The Strand*'s heightened scientific climate. This change is noticeably reflected in the novel's more explicit engagement with strands of contemporary scientific theory.²⁸⁷ From this position it joins with *The First Men in the Moon* in representing a sustained picture of the cohabitation of ideology and science by uniting groups of ideas that were loosely scattered elsewhere across *The Strand*. 'The Promise of Science' and its fellow post-1900 articles worked scientifically to endorse *The Strand*'s ideology by predicting a future that basically affirmed its presuppositions and, whilst science in the Holmes

²⁸⁶ *A Study in Scarlet* was published in *Beeton's Christmas Annual*, November 1887 whilst *The Sign of Four* appeared in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* in February 1890. *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* appeared in *The Strand* between 1891 and 1892 before being published as a single volume later that year. The *Memoirs* ran from December 1892 until December 1893 before being published as a book in February 1894. *Baskervilles* appeared in 1901 and was followed, between October, 1903 and December, 1904 by the *Return* stories which were collected and published in April, 1905. *His Last Bow* and *The Case-Book* were grouped together informal and appeared irregularly, the former between September 1908 and September, 1917 and the latter between October, 1921 and April, 1927.

²⁸⁷ Holmes is, for example, described as a contemporary of Alphonse Bertillon by James Mortimer, himself a student of degenerative science.

stories is broadly deployed towards the same project, it functions differently. Here science is used in a more individualised way, aligned to society at a moral level rather than as the engine that would shape the future of the world. The distinction is similar to that which Lyotard makes between grand narratives and *petit récits* where 'little narratives' ('the quintessential form of imaginative invention'), inscribe themselves onto the older, grander narratives.²⁸⁸ Whilst the critical world does not want for discussions of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* in terms of its science, existing critiques unfailingly adopt the historicist method of holding the novel alongside slices of contemporary degenerative or criminological theory. The problem with this method is that it assumes too great a degree of cultural autonomy on the part of Doyle's text. *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, by being segmented and dispersed over the course of a year in *The Strand*, was presented alongside hundreds of other stories and articles that dilute the autonomy that the historicist method assumes. The ideal *Baskervilles* critique, whilst it should certainly be alert to the explicit debt that the text owes to physiognomic and degenerative science, should also acknowledge the extent to which its scientific outlook relates even more closely to various species (serious and less serious) of scientific articles with which it shared the pages of *The Strand*. When considering the novel alongside various other articles then it appears not as the artistic echo or response to the call of degenerative science but rather as the peak of a body of text that casts domestic, everyday concerns in scientific parlance. Where the novel is scientific, it is only so within the magazine's established fictional boundaries.

One of the minor themes of the novel is that of the social potency of calculation and it is with precisely this idea that it begins. Holmes and Watson examine the walking-stick of a forgetful visitor named James Mortimer who had called earlier and found them away. Watson misinterprets the appropriate signs made available to him whilst Holmes, of course, correctly estimates Mortimer's age, appearance, background and nature. This is probably the most famous example of Holmes' deductive power; however one of the unremarked features of the scene is that it was unlikely to have occurred much earlier in the century since it hinges upon the correct decoding of an abbreviation: Mortimer's stick bears the inscription '...from his friends of the C.C.H'.²⁸⁹ Although the practice of 'initialism' in various

²⁸⁸ Lyotard gives the examples of 'the dialectic of spirit' and 'the emancipation of humanity'. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 60.

²⁸⁹ Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, p. 4.

forms dates back centuries, it only became standard linguistic practice towards the end of the nineteenth century.²⁹⁰ Under the strain of increasingly verbose medical and scientific vernacular, the linked practices of initialism, abbreviation and acronymisation appeared as strategies that could condense these complexities into jargon. Whilst acronyms are a peculiarly pervasive feature of both modernity and modernism and they represent a crucial moment growing, as they did, from the needs of medical and scientific language. The advancement of these fields and the increased need for denotation necessitated a complication of language which the acronym is designed to cope with. However, once acronymised, the expression becomes jargon for a particular field and is taken certainly beyond the purview of any person outside a particular interpretive community. It follows that they become a frequent symbol of alienation in fiction and this suggests a re-reading of the novel that establishes the importance of Holmes' role in *The Strand's* presentation of science. The passage beyond the everyday that acronyms suggest also recalls *The Strand's* need to employ 'conduits' in its scientific pieces and, with this in mind, *The Strand* begins to resemble the kind of scientific abstract that William H. Brock identifies as proliferating in the later part of the nineteenth-century.²⁹¹ The development of dedicated scientific abstract publications occurred alongside the article length abstract that began to proliferate in publications like *The Review of Reviews* before appearing, in suitably condensed form, in *The Strand*.²⁹² These publications selectively culled and presented a *précis* of large swathes of material as it became impossible for anyone to realistically keep up to date with the volume of writing in each field. Theoretically, the role of the 'abstracter' should be more or less transparent and impartial but when the role is being performed by an unscientific organ like *The Strand* then it assumes a strong epistemic role itself that fictionalises, selects and presents material that concords with its own ideals. It is this selection process that disrupts the interrogative model of the criticism resulting from the SciPer project. *The Strand*, like Holmes' decoding of Mortimer's abbreviated cane, abstracted particular strains of scientific

²⁹⁰ Which the OED dates to 1899, the first use of 'Acronym' was not until 1943. *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition.

²⁹¹ See the introduction to William H. Brock, *Science For All: Studies in the History of Victorian Science and Education* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996) where Brock examines the exponential growth of the science abstract throughout the nineteenth-century.

²⁹² See also Bernard Lightman, 'Knowledge Confronts Nature: Richard Proctor and Popular Science Periodicals' in *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, Louise Henson, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

discourse from their reserved lexicons and, like Bedford in Wells' novel, made them readable and consumable. There is nothing sinister in this; *The Strand* is not committing an epistemic sin. It is performing what Newnes considered to be a necessary service by making material available to his readers in a way that they could both absorb and enjoy. However, through the methods of Holmes which accommodate aspects of 'real' contemporaneous theory alongside a mix of purposefully slanted fiction and pure fantasy, the process by which particular strains of discourse are promulgated becomes explicit.

The Hound of the Baskervilles' plot depends (at both paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels) entirely upon the veracity of degenerative theory, particularly the work of Cesare Lombroso, Francis Galton, Havelock Ellis and Edward Ray Lankester. It is this aspect of the work that has informed the bulk of its recent criticism, yet these critiques seem content to highlight the presence of prejudicial links in the chain of Holmes' reasoning without properly locating it within two highly necessary contexts.²⁹³ Firstly, in spheres wider than that of late-century medico-criminology, the previously mentioned shift from a monogenic to a polygenic emphasis in racial science. The late shift towards heavily emphasised polygenism became widely discussed in England at the same time as Francis Galton's contributions to the field of eugenics were becoming popular.²⁹⁴ Also, in wider terms, the great wave of New imperialism that characterised the 1890s began, in the words of Ronald R. Thomas, the overwriting of 'mid-century popular indifference, colonial uprisings and left-wing criticism' and resulted in a re-equation on Empire with 'morality and patriotism'.²⁹⁵ These concomitant and overlapping shifts in both genetic science and imperial politics achieved discursive supremacy by rewriting the events and ideas of the past. New imperialism and polygenic science achieved dominance in the same way that *The Strand* attempted to palliate the disruptive social contestations of the 1880s with its revised formulations of sexual, racial and class

²⁹³ Joseph Kestner's *The Edwardian Detective* highlights 'the cultural anxiety about atavistic reversion' as the cause of 'moral, intellectual and existential instability and disorientation' (pp. 37-9). For Greenslade, *The Hound of the Baskervilles* 'tapped the widespread and irresistible fascination with physiognomy' to 'underwrite the plausibility of the narrator's extensive use of degenerationist and reversionary discourse'. (in relation to 'the two degenerate criminals'. Greenslade, *Degeneration, Culture and the Novel*, p. 100.

²⁹⁴ Popular enough for Galton to be featured in *The Strand* as the subject of the popular series 'Portraits of Celebrities at Different Times of Their Lives,' which will be discussed later.

²⁹⁵ Ronald R. Thomas, 'The Fingerprint of the Foreigner: Colonizing the Criminal Body in 1890s Detective Fiction and Criminal Anthropology', *ELH*, 61 – 3 (1994), p. 657.

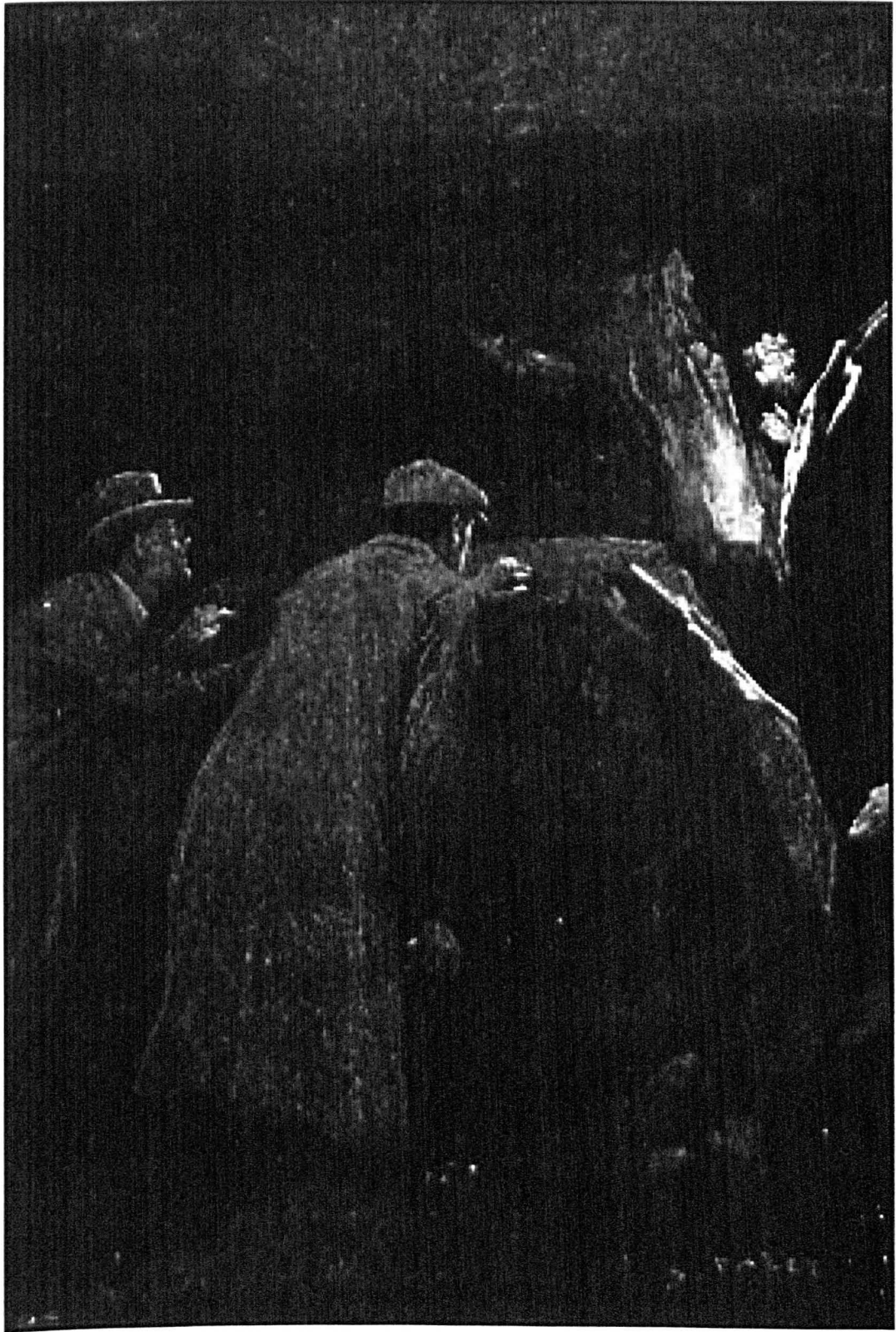
dynamics. The second context to consider alongside Holmes' co-option of science lies with the ideas of science presented alongside it in *The Strand*, not just the anticipatory pieces such as 'Science in the New Century' but different species of science articles typified by Bernard Hollander's 1908 contribution 'Can Criminals be Cured by a Surgical Operation?' and Gertrude Bacon's 'Has Baby a Clever Head'. These pieces, which base the bulk of their speculation upon a mix of anthropometrics and degenerative theory, are a further example of the ways in which fiction and non-fiction worked together, through shared formal and linguistic practices, to perpetuate *The Strand's* project of depicting an ideologically bounded science.

The precise details of these articles need to be explored after first establishing the specifics of *The Hound of the Baskervilles'* use of atavistic theory. The plot has it that Henry Baskerville (lately a farmer in Canada) inherits both the baronetcy of his Devonshire ancestors and the curse that has, since the days of his twisted antecedent Hugo, dogged the family in the shape of an enormous hell-hound. Trained in London, Baskerville consults Holmes and returns (with Watson) to his family's ancestral home on an isolated patch of Dartmoor. The plot is complicated by the disturbing presence on the moor of an escaped murderer, Selden, and an enigmatic stranger (who turns out to be Holmes). One of Baskerville's new neighbours, the naturalist Stapleton is the 'criminal of the piece, an embittered and disenfranchised descendent of Hugo Baskerville, he keeps an enormous dog with which he hopes to murder his way to the baronetcy. Henry Baskerville's estate presents highly significant geography. The grounds are bordered on the one hand by the deadly Grimpen mire upon which 'a false step means death to man or beast' and on the other by the settlements of 'pre-historic man' (2.10) whose stone huts and fire-pits still dot the landscape.²⁹⁶ The two criminals in the story, Stapleton and Selden, inhabit these respective areas; Selden hides in one of the prehistoric huts and Stapleton uses his knowledge of the mire to secretly pen his hound there. The two men represent different types of criminality which conform to the existing discussion of *The Strand's* ideology by representing, respectively, servile and gentlemanly strata of society. Selden is positioned amongst the pre-historic huts and it is here that Watson and Baskerville discover him (2.11):

²⁹⁶ Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, pp. 64-65.



2.10



2.11

Over the rocks [...] there was thrust an evil, yellow face, a terrible animal face, all seamed and scored with vile passions [...] It might as well have belonged to one of those old savages who dwelt in the burrows in the hillside.²⁹⁷

Similarly, when Stapleton is discovered to be an illegitimate product of the Baskerville family, his nature is expressed in the language of atavism. Holmes sees the face of 'Stapleton' in a portrait of the late, degenerate Hugo Baskerville:

[T]he picture of the old roysterer seemed to have a fascination for him [...] It was not a brutal countenance, but it was prim, hard, and stern, with a firm-set, thin-lipped mouth and a coldly intolerant eye [...] The face of Stapleton had sprung out of the canvas [...] '[I]t is an interesting example of a throw-back, which appears to be both spiritual and physical [...] This chance of the picture has supplied us with one of our most obvious missing links.'²⁹⁸

Selden and Stapleton both bear the marks of their criminality upon their faces and in their difference it becomes clear why Holmes predominantly confines the exercising of his talents upon the middle class. Selden is monstrous and possessed of no ability to disguise or cloak himself, unlike Stapleton, who relies upon his apparent benignity as criminal tool.²⁹⁹ Whilst this makes him more violently dangerous criminal, he is demonstrably easier to 'detect'. Stapleton, here, represents the kind of subversive and covert criminality that lurks within the blood without manifesting itself on the face. Holmes' observation that his nemesis Moriarty had a 'criminal strain in his blood' is equally true of Stapleton; yet here the threat of the 'throwback' is explored in greater detail.³⁰⁰ Selden is both confined by the official net that tightens around him and forced to remain hidden because of his appearance. Upon entering Devonshire Watson observes 'a mounted soldier' on the moor before being informed that 'the warders watch every road and every station'.³⁰¹ For all the aura of danger that Selden provides to the narrative, the threat that he poses is shown to be minimal and manageable because of his malignant appearance. So whilst Stapleton is capable of

²⁹⁷ Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, p. 92.

²⁹⁸ Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, p. 132.

²⁹⁹ Watson remarks, upon first meeting him, of his 'placid[ity]' and 'steadfast[ness]'. Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, p. 62.

³⁰⁰ Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, p. 645.

³⁰¹ Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, p. 49.

changing jobs (before his pose as a naturalist, he was headmaster of a school) and moving about the country free from immediate suspicion, Selden remains hidden in his pre-historic hut. Stapleton's *facade* gives him social motility which in turn makes his threat more insidious. The battle that Holmes and Watson face in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* is one against the peril of atavism and that battle is recorded in the wider language of the paranoia that often attended discussion of degenerative or atavistic theory. The connection between *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and degenerative science has been the subject of critical speculation for years. Catherine Wynne observes that the Baskerville moors 'became a site for the interplay of Gothic forces. Aristocratic degeneracy, madness and defilement of purity flourish in this kind of landscape [...] a treacherous site of instability that unleashes dark and degenerative forces'.³⁰² Similar arguments appear in Stephen Kern's critical overview, *A Cultural History of Causality* where he describes the plot of *Baskervilles* being motored by 'a reversion to ancestral evil'.³⁰³ These arguments are rehearsed in several other critical works but, strikingly, the readings emphasise the story's landscape, its disgust at the moral outrages of the aristocracy and its ties to gothic or 'imperial Gothic' literary conventions.³⁰⁴ These emphases detract from the nature of Selden's character and cast him only as the brutish, degenerate double to Stapleton's embodiment of Max Nordau's 'higher degenerate'.³⁰⁵ The domestic cast that Doyle gives to Selden's character is completely overwritten by this interpretation and, indeed, it is only made particularly noticeable when considered alongside some of *The Strand's* treatments of degenerative science as a broader subject. 'Can Criminals be Cured by Surgical Operation?' replicates Doyle's supplementary explanation for Selden's violent proclivities in its exploration of 'weak-mindedness as a cause of crime'. Hollander writes of a 'typical case', the only son of 'a weak and indulgent mother who lavishly supplied him with money and gratified every passion and caprice

³⁰² Catherine Wynne, *The Colonial Conan Doyle* (London: Greenwood, 2002), p. 66.

³⁰³ Stephen Kern, *A Cultural History of Causality* (London: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 40.

³⁰⁴ See also James Kissane and John M. Kissane, 'Sherlock Holmes and the Ritual of Reason'

Nineteenth-Century Fiction 17-4 (March, 1963): 'The old family hall is perched on the very edge of the desolate moor whose presence seems to threaten the settled neighborhood and touch it with gloom [...] This sinister desolation has [...] outlasted the human attempts to subdue it. A village of Neolithic huts is the memorial of one extinct society; the abandoned tin-mine in the middle of the Grimpen Mire is another such reminder [...] the mire itself serves as a compelling image of an impersonal and pervading hostility' (p. 361). Also, Greenslade, *Degeneration, Culture and the Novel*, pp. 99-104 and Kestner, *The Edwardian Detective 1901-1915*, pp. 34-40.

³⁰⁵ Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), pp. 63-65.

of his'.³⁰⁶ This overindulgence in childhood manifests itself as a violent criminality in adulthood and the man was eventually 'confined in an asylum'.³⁰⁷ The reason Selden is able to survive on the moor undetected is because no-one connects this violent degenerate with the quiet and withdrawn Mrs Barrymore, the housekeeper of Baskerville Hall, who is his sister.³⁰⁸ Doyle clearly suggests that Selden is a criminal 'throw-back' in Lombrosian terms and thus identifies his physiological nature as potentially criminal.³⁰⁹ He further explains that this was exacerbated by his overindulgence as a child: 'We humoured him too much when he was a lad and gave him his own way in everything until he came to think that the world was made for his pleasure' says Mrs Barrymore.³¹⁰ Physical degeneration, according to Hollander is not the unilateral signifier of the criminal but instead the symbol of 'pre-disposition' which can be realised if attenuating circumstances conspire.³¹¹ This lapse, this distancing from a strictly biological criminality is crucial because it allows for the entire machinery of *The Strand's* ideology to begin turning. If 'attenuating circumstances' are the true trigger of crime because they ignite or inflame this network of pre-dispositions, then these circumstances (family structure, style of parenting, schooling, moral education, prison regime, town planning, medical care) come under official scrutiny. Strict biological determinism was antithetical to *The Strand* for these reasons but, interestingly, provided the structural basis for proto-modernist writers in the work of Emile Zola amongst others.

Of the social theorists, anthropologists and criminologists who contributed to the field of degenerative study, the work of Francis Galton is particularly informative when defining the ways in which the project intersects with the Holmesian method. In defining the use of fingerprinting, Galton affirmed his desire 'to fix the human

³⁰⁶ Bernard Hollander, 'Can Criminals Be Cured By a Surgical Operation', *The Strand* 35 (January, 1908), p. 95.

³⁰⁷ Hollander, 'Can Criminals Be Cured by a Surgical Operation', p. 98.

³⁰⁸ 'Was it possible that that this stolidly respectable person was of the same blood as one of the most notorious criminals in the country?' wonders Watson when he discovers the truth. Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, p. 88.

³⁰⁹ 'Criminal anthropology came to Lombroso not merely as an idea but as a 'revelation'' writes Greenslade. When he performed a post-mortem on a brigand named Vilella, Lombroso 'discovered a depression in the skull precisely in the middle of the occiput - 'as in inferior animals'. William Greenslade, *Degeneration, Culture and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 91. Lombroso himself wrote that 'at the sight of the skull, I seemed to see all of a sudden, lighted up as a vast plain under a flaming sun, the problem of the nature of the criminal - an atavistic being who reproduces in his person the ferocious instincts of primitive humanity, and the inferior animals'. Ian Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 174.

³¹⁰ Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, p. 88.

³¹¹ Hollander, 'Can Criminals Be Cured By a Surgical Operation?', p. 96.

personality, to give each human being an identity, an individuality which may be depended upon'.³¹² He combined experimental methods of cataloguing and indexing characteristics (through isochronic and composite photography as well as more traditional anthropometric measures) with post-Darwinian theories of heredity and atavism that combined to form the basis of eugenics. Implicitly, Galton's work seeks to protect a fundamental core of 'honest', 'civilised' people and he performs this function by highlighting the colonial uses of fingerprinting:

In civilised lands and in peaceable times the chief use to society [...] is of detecting rogues [...] In India and in many of our colonies the absence of satisfactory means for identifying persons of other races is seriously felt. The natives are mostly unable to sign; their features are not readily distinguished by Europeans; and in too many cases they are characterised by a strange amount of litigiousness, wiliness and unveracity.³¹³

Here we see the exact point at which the politics of racial science and ethnography conflate with the essentially domestic world of criminology and this conflation is crucial to understanding the ways in which the criminal *other* was established in the late Victorian consciousness. The drive to criminalise racial difference is clearly visible in Galton's work.³¹⁴ He sought to import the idea of race as a variable characteristic that he used in his anthropometric work on facial character into his study of fingerprints. He was frustrated upon discovering that fingerprints were entirely useless when distinguishing nationality, race, sex or class and this frustration is palpable in the text.

The impressions from Negroes betrays the general clumsiness of their fingers, but their patterns are not, so far as I can find, different from those of any others, they are not simpler as judged either by their contours or by the number of origins, embranchments, islands and enclosures contained within

³¹² Galton is here reusing the comments of M. Herbet upon the potential of *Bertillonage*. Francis Galton, *Finger Prints* (London: Macmillan, 1892), p. 169.

³¹³ Galton, *Finger Prints*, p. 149.

³¹⁴ This has been commented upon, with particular prescience, by Ronald R. Thomas in 'Fingerprint and the Foreigner' where, with reference to this same passage, he discusses how the urge to 'associate criminal and foreign' became 'irresistible'. Thomas, 'Fingerprint of the Foreigner', p.245.

them. Still, whether it be from pure fancy on my part [...] the width of the ridges seem more uniform [...] they give an idea of greater simplicity.³¹⁵

Here, in the work of Galton as in the Holmesian method, there is an observable desire for various kinds of social stratification to be preserved and reinforced through scientific process. Galton's disappointment in discovering that his research had in fact highlighted a symptom of a monogenic, *unstratified* race shows how his research was governed by an ontological commitment to the implicit superiority of his own race. Galton's language, like *The Strand's*, is explicitly written from within a particular social site that is demarcated by racial, political and class boundaries. If 'the criminal body is the non-European, non-white, often imperfectly-male adult' and is characterised by its 'sexual' and 'developmental [...] indeterminacy', then whoever reads that passage is addressed, *via negativa*, as someone fully 'determinate' in the same areas.³¹⁶ Galton, as a scientist exhibiting similar ideological commitments to *The Strand* and in a similar way, featured several times in its pages; including, in 1898, an appearance in the long running series 'Portraits of Celebrities at Different Times in Their Life' (2.12). The text details the various accomplishments, prizes and positions attained by Galton whilst the pictures chart the growth of Galton in the picture of benign, scientific respectability that is captioned 'the present day'. This short piece is more explicit than 'Science in the New Century' in highlighting both science as a social institution and scientists' lives as valorised exercises in usefulness and benevolence. 'The present interest in finger-prints', notes the article, 'is almost wholly due to the writings of this indefatigable scientist'.³¹⁷ The only Holmes story to feature fingerprinting is 1903's 'The Norwood Builder;' yet the idea had been given reasonable coverage elsewhere in the magazine. A 1905 article, 'Finger-Prints Which Have Convicted Criminals' details the successes of a pilot programme involving the Bradford Police Force. The author, G. E. Mallett, details a series of crimes and outlines how the perpetrators were undone by the use of finger-printing. One hubristic felon stopped, after burgling a club in Bradford, to drink a bottle of beer (2.13):

³¹⁵ Galton, *Finger Prints*, p. 195-6.

³¹⁶ Thomas, 'Fingerprint of the Foreigner', p. 665.

³¹⁷ 'Francis Galton: Portraits of Celebrities at Different Times in Their Life', *The Strand* 14 (November, 1897), p. 518.

FRANCIS GALTON, M.A.,
F.R.S.

BORN 1822.

SCIENCE possesses a learned devotee in Mr. Francis Galton—a name made famous by research in the subjects of heredity, meteorology, anthro-



AGE 12.
From a Silhouette.

Society. His "Meteorographica," in 1863, resulted in establishing the theory and existence of anti-cyclones. In 1886 a gold medal came to him from the Royal Society. He has been President of the Anthropological Institute and Vice-President of the Royal and Royal Geographical Societies, and is now chairman of the committee in



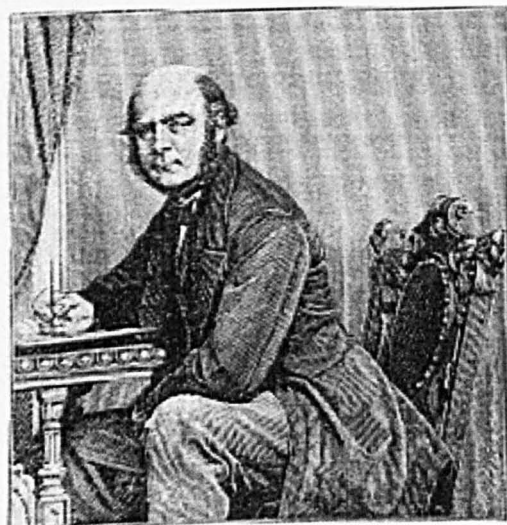
From a [Photograph] AGE 22.



From a [Photograph] AGE 66.

pometry, and by successful scientific travel. Mr. Galton was born in 1822, and after studying medicine, graduated at Trinity College,

charge of the Royal Observatory at Kew. The present interest in finger-prints as a means of identification is almost wholly due to the writings of this indefatigable scientist.



From a Photo. by AGE 42. [Moire & Halyk]



PRESENT DAY.
From a Photo. by The Cameron Studio.

Cambridge. For an exhaustive account of a journey in 1850 to the unknown Damara and Ovampo lands in South Africa, he received a gold medal from the Royal Geographical

The thief got in through a window and helped himself to a bottle of beer [...] The finger-print on the bottle was very obscure indeed, but after being chemically treated and photographed and then enlarged it came out.³¹⁸

The article focuses on the 'registering' and 'preservation' of finger-print data for future use as well as for crime scene investigations. It appeals to the same instinct, expressed by Galton, that derived a sense of societal security from the project of fixing and recording identities. It is this same project that Holmes contributes to when he examines John Hector McFarlane's thumb print in 'The Norwood Builder' (2.14). Just as Galton's ideas flesh out the landscape of fiction, so the man himself became a 'celebrity' and worthy of valorisation in the same way as Lockyer and Swan in 'Science in the New Century,' another object of 'middle class desire'.³¹⁹

In *The Strand*, the figure of the criminal also becomes a useful repository for a whole host of other unwelcome ideas. 'Can Criminals be Cured by Surgical Operation', for example, discusses the proclivities of unnamed murderers, burglars and incendiaries alongside Maximilien Robespierre and the poet Thomas Chatterton. A side-on portrait of Robespierre is captioned 'Absence of ethical instincts; he knew no mercy. The forehead is very low and sloping'.³²⁰ According to Hollander's interpretation of anthropometrics, Robespierre's simian characteristics left him liable to fits of passion; 'A wave of passion swayed the French populace, dominated their reason and converted sane beings to merciless furies'.³²¹ This is a simple elision yet a powerfully suggestive one. To attribute the French revolution to a volatile temper and, further, to locate the predisposition for volatility within a scientific framework, enforces a polygenic hierarchy that prioritises the English and disparages the French at genetic, political, emotional and social levels simultaneously. This discussion is not intended to suggest that *The Strand* operated at the bleeding edge of scientific expression. Rather, gradually, as scientific ideas became culturally embedded or, as Gillian Beer put it, 'become part of the apparently common-sense set of beliefs which instructs us that the earth revolves around the sun' then they become available to *The*

³¹⁸ Mallett, 'Finger-Prints Which Have Convicted Criminals', p. 534.

³¹⁹ 'The success of *The Strand* was predicated on the presentation of images [...] to be consumed as the object of middle-class desire'. Mussell, *Science, Time and Space in the Victorian Periodical*, p. 68.

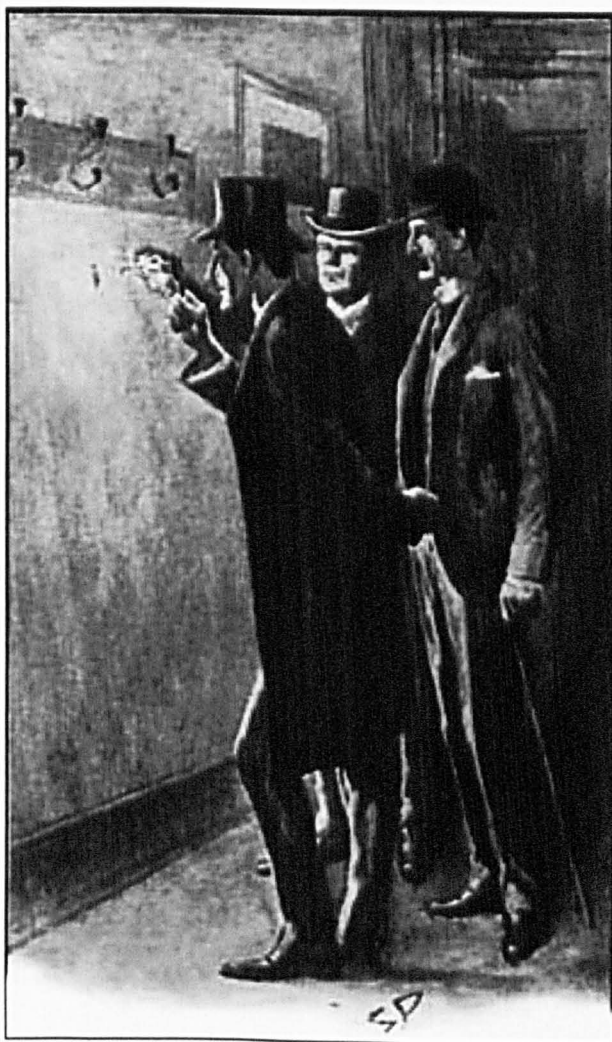
³²⁰ Hollander, 'Can Criminals Be Cured By a Surgical Operation?', p. 35.

³²¹ Hollander, 'Can Criminals Be Cured By a Surgical Operation?', p. 35.

2.13



2.14



Strand in very specific categories.³²² They may be discussed as part of a scientific symposium; they may be treated in a dedicated non-fiction article; the scientist, or knowledge-producer behind the idea may be foregrounded as a celebrity or, finally and most pervasively, the idea may find itself diffused throughout fiction in the language of metaphor. This is the pattern that is illustrated by Galton and fingerprinting: the 'idea' appears, discussed and depicted in non-fiction; as the certifiable 'man-behind-the-idea' then Galton himself is worthy of coverage and, finally, his idea observably augments the battery of fictional expression. This model, however, still prioritises the scientific domain as the epistemic source from which fiction draws its metaphors and images and whilst it may account for the appearance of specific references to scientists and theories, it fails to account for the fact that middlebrow fiction, long before Lombroso, Doyle and *The Strand* itself, had made unilateral equations between physiology and morality. These connections, even if we limit our consideration to fiction of the nineteenth-century, are visible through the novels of Jane Austen and into later sensation fiction. The observation that the wildness and moral licentiousness of Willoughby, in *Sense and Sensibility* is characterised by his Byronic appearance is an observation too facile to be commonly made in serious criticism yet few would argue that Austen was 'underwriting the plausibility' of the principal proponent of degenerative and anthropometric theory, the French amateur, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon. It is a mark of simplicity in fiction that a character bears the mark of their true nature upon their face in some way. Reginald Pound, the last editor of *The Strand* opined of his writers that 'their feet were firmly planted squarely on a common ground, where the surface was solid and familiar, where there was no need to look beyond the actual and the familiar'.³²³ Where characters successfully conceal some aspect of themselves from other characters in *The Strand's* fiction, they do not do so from the reader who is generally made aware of some glaring *excess* of normality or through some physical tick of which the reader is markedly made aware. Doyle's 1891 story 'The Voice of Science' illustrates this through the insidious presence of the moustachioed moral-vacuum and womaniser Charles Beesly. Rose Esdaille, the virtuous object of his lascivious attention, is infatuated by him and refuses to hear a word said against him: 'I won't stay here to

³²² Beer, *Darwin's Plots*, p. 3.

³²³ Pound, *The Strand Magazine*, p. 105.

hear him slandered'.³²⁴ The reader, however, is alerted to Beesly's true nature: 'He had very plaintive, blue eyes, and there was such a depth of sorrow in them as he spoke that Rose could have wept for sympathy'.³²⁵ Beesly displays an unseemly performance of emotional excess that is designed to trigger alarm signals for the reader. From this perspective, degenerative and anthropometric science may provide a means by which an older set of 'common-sense', 'everyday' beliefs can be re-articulated but they are not unilaterally responsible for the tropes appearing at all; as much modern criticism would suggest.

Despite this note of caution, it is worth considering the precise ways in which contemporary sciences (criminology and eugenics among them) were worked into the Holmesian method. Since Holmes rarely errs, the fictional society of the stories is built to the specifications that his huge banks of data dictate and this essentially makes actions and characters calculable and transparent (even if the formal demands of detective fiction prioritise the delayed revelation of their transparency). Greenslade's *Degeneration, Culture and the Novel* measures the impact of criminal anthropology (particularly the work of Lombroso) on a cultural level and finds the reach of its influence staggering; 'the artist, the scientist, the man in the street subscribed to the system of class and moral differentiation' he writes. That triangular formulation of 'artist', 'scientist' and 'man in the street' interestingly replicates the epistemic model of *The Strand* where the work of the artist and the scientist is filtered to the 'everyday man' through the magazine as fiction and non-fiction respectively.³²⁶ Whilst Greenslade is more particularly concerned with the late nineteenth century novel than the periodical press his observation is telling and a study of *The Strand's* use of these 'differentiations' presents an interesting case-study in the dissemination and ideological commodification that scientific ideas underwent.

An illustration of the desire to make individuals calculable in the wider content of *The Strand* can be seen in 1904 with the publication of Gertrude Bacon's article 'Has Baby a Clever Head'. The article discusses aspects of phrenology in relation to the facial characteristics of babies; it is an article that explicitly testifies to phrenology's great popular currency (in the same way that the biographical article on

³²⁴ Doyle, 'The Voice of Science', p. 314.

³²⁵ Doyle, 'The Voice of Science', p. 316.

³²⁶ Greenslade, *Degeneration, Culture and the Novel*, p. 90.

Galton testified to the 'current interest' in fingerprinting).³²⁷ The crucial difference, of course, was that the article was very explicitly directed at women whose expected level of scientific rigor is constructed as being even less than those reading the rest of the magazine. The article offers a rather vague series of observations upon the relation of head measurements to character traits and illustrates each point with a photograph of a baby who apparently embodies them. For example, a future 'home bird' can be detected because of his developed 'bump of philoprogenitiveness' which equates to familial love.³²⁸ By locating these dormant qualities within babies the article attempts to make their characters calculable and contribute to the more explicitly criminal dimension of this project that we see in the Holmes stories. The article is scattered with photographs of babies like Bertillon *fiches* captioned with their dominant quality. The photos reproduced overleaf show 'No. 4 – A typical John Bull' (2.15), 'No. 5 – A peaceable citizen' (2.16) and 'No. 6 – A little mother' (2.17), shown clutching a doll). Of the region 'above and behind the ear' Bacon observes that this is where 'lie the outward manifestations of the presence or absence of that most important business called "getting on in the world"'. These qualities are particularly potent to Bacon because they are morally unbound and owe their ultimate fruition to the manner of the babies' upbringing:

A very noteworthy set these, for not only are they all-important as natural attributes, but it is to their abuse and undue development that we owe the seamier side of life. Phrenology owns to no 'bad bumps' *per se*, holding that so-called bad qualities are only abuses of good and natural ones.³²⁹

So the qualities that may beget a fine soldier may equally create a street brawler according to the logic of the article. 'Mothers [...] need fear to find no trace of ill,' Bacon continues, 'whilst it rests with them, more than all the world, to see that none may hereafter be discoverable'.³³⁰ In this way the article matches its logistics to the Holmes stories and its concomitant scientific content by understanding the science of

³²⁷ 'There are those who sneer at the science of phrenology as elaborated nonsense and charlatanism, and deny the possibility of arriving at the contents of a head from studying its outward form. There are many more who do not dispute its tenets but refuse to allow that they can hold good in the case of infants'. Gertrude Bacon, 'Has Baby a Clever Head?', *The Strand* 21 (May, 1901), p. 490.

³²⁸ Bacon, 'Has Baby a Clever Head?', p. 491.

³²⁹ Bacon, 'Has Baby a Clever Head?', p. 492.

³³⁰ Bacon, 'Has Baby a Clever Head?', p. 492.



2.15



2.16



2.17

criminality and deviance as a moral economy atop a physiological one. Physiological predispositions may be led and determined by moral influences, as with the Selden family and their over-indulged, murderous son. The use of images in this article (and in Hollander's) is an interesting expression of the need for calculability; by reproducing the Bertillon mug-shot in this way we see Galton's desire for personalities to be 'fixed' become realised. The babies are thus inextricably pinned to their qualities by the photographs and attendant captions. The drive for calculability is visible in other areas of *The Strand* such as when, in 1893's 'The Greek Interpreter' Sherlock Holmes sits with his brother Mycroft as they compete in judging 'the magnificent types' that they observe.³³¹ The relationship that this scene depicts echoes the same relationship observable in Bacon and Hollander's articles. Considering the fiction alongside the non-fiction suggests that critics have erred when over-emphasising the remoteness and otherness of Holmes' deductive skill. Holmes, from this perspective, is practising techniques and referring to the same series of hierarchical indices that readers of *The Strand* would have been familiar with and encouraged to participate in. The science that underpins the formulation and articulation of these techniques was an attempt to marry the common-sense ontology of English superiority to a new epistemology so that each could reciprocally reinforce the other. This ontology is a composite part of 'the reader' that the magazine itself constructs and who is also the addressee in the articles by Allen, Scott and Lubbock. Insofar as writing in *The Strand* responds to contemporary science, such relationships have to be mediated by observing that they do so as a direct corollary of their commitment to the same particular, 'everyday', 'common sense' ontology that precipitated the hypotheses of the science itself. To suggest that *The Strand* is a kind of echo chamber, where the attuned ear can record the reverberations generated from the epistemic plateau of science high above is linear and unhelpful.

To examine the nature and limits of this ontology it is instructive to look more closely at the balance of the aforementioned hierarchies that inform Holmes' deductive reasoning. Doyle and Holmes' judgements of racial and national 'types' are more fair-handed than they may appear when amassed together and analysed in such a way as this. I would like to suggest also that historically reinforced stereotypes, such as the ones soon to be under discussion hold as much weight in the

³³¹ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Greek Interpreter' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 595-612, p. 598.

magazine as grand narratives. Whilst they are rarely vicious and frequently geared to recognising the positives to be found in their ‘characteristics,’ they insist on unilateral limitations and demarcations based on gendered, racial and national characteristics which imprison characters within the same network of pre-dispositions discussed above. In any case, the stories offer security because, in the deployment of stereotypes, they help render each individual as calculable as the data inscribed on Dr. Mortimer’s cane.

HOLMES AND HIS HIERARCHIES

‘A Scandal in Bohemia’, the first Holmes short story, depends upon the balance of power amongst European nations and so it is fitting to begin an examination of Holmes’ hierarchies here. The ‘cult’ of the *Pax Britannica* is preserved by depicting the English as the impartial yet unquestionably dominant European presence. The rival empires of France, Germany and Spain are represented by a regular cycle of characters who continue the stereotyping progress by being, respectively: dangerously unpredictable and eccentric; coldly, deceptively maniacal and prone to wild passions emanating from the ‘blood’. The key example occurs in 1904 with the publication of ‘The Second Stain’ where Holmes tackles ‘the most important international case’ of his career.³³² That phrasing is crucial because it highlights the dangerously fluid political economies that underwrote transactions between nations in Doyle’s stories. European secretary Trelawney Hope has mislaid an injudicious letter from a ‘foreign potentate’ that, if brought to light, could spark a European war and cost ‘the lives of a hundred thousand men’.³³³ The framework of the story (which is set in 1888) depends upon the fragile accord between European colonial powers, in which Britain plays the crucial mediating role. ‘There is a double league which makes a fair balance of power’, says the Prime Minister, ‘Great Britain holds the scales. If Britain were driven into war with one confederacy, it would ensure the supremacy of the other’.³³⁴ Immediately after this meeting Holmes reduces the list of possible thieves to three foreign agents he knows to be operating in Britain: ‘Oberstein, La Rothiere and

³³² Arthur Conan Doyle, ‘The Second Stain’ in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. 1*, pp. 901-924, p. 902.

³³³ Doyle, ‘The Second Stain’, p. 905.

³³⁴ Doyle, ‘The Second Stain’, p. 906.

Eduardo Lucas'³³⁵ These nationally-specific names elucidate the situation more clearly and Doyle's estimation of European power structures becomes clear as Britain maintains an explicitly passive, mediating role between the German, French and Spanish 'confederacies'. The idea of European politics as a delicate structure of balanced allegiances re-surfaces several times in 'The Naval Treaty,' 'The Bruce-Partington Plans' and 'His Last Bow'.³³⁶ In these stories Doyle makes his contribution to the nascent genre of spy fiction by re-focussing the threat of conflict from a colonial theatre (as was the case in so much of the romance fiction of the mid and late Victorian period) to a European, domestic one and it is here that we can begin to sketch the characteristic 'types' that Holmes' method is keyed to re-enforcing.³³⁷

Aside from the unseen Oberstein, the Germanic race provides the stories with Col. Lysander Stark in 'The Engineer's Thumb' who is a forger, a murderous lunatic and a physical grotesque; Martin Heidegger, a teacher in 'The Priory School' is 'a morose man, not very popular either with masters or boys'; Baron Gruner in 'The Illustrious Client' is a vicious sexual sadist and 'there is no more dangerous man in Europe' whilst Von Bork in 'His Last Bow' is a spy intent on disabling British sea defences.³³⁸ Von Bork attributes his efficacy as a spy to his aptness at mimicking traditionally British traits; he 'hunts', 'play[s] polo' and 'boxes' and 'passes for a good old sport' whilst being 'at the centre of half the mischief in England'.³³⁹ These Germanic specimens share certain characteristics in fiction that *The Strand* elsewhere backs up as anthropological observations, they are cold, excessively withdrawn and this withdrawal seems designed to shield a fundamental inhumanity. Joseph Gollomb

³³⁵ Doyle, 'The Second Stain', p. 907.

³³⁶ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Naval Treaty' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 612-642: a school-friend of Watson's, Percy Phelps, has mislaid a vital treaty that 'defined the position of Great Britain towards the Triple Alliance, and fore-shadowed the policy which this country would pursue in the event of the French fleet gaining a complete ascendancy over that of Italy in the Mediterranean' (p. 617). The criminal of the story, Joseph Harrison is attempting to sell the treaty to the French or Russian embassies. Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Bruce-Partington Plans' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. II*, pp. 398-428: Oberstein, the spy referenced in 'The Second Stain,' 'eager to complete the coup of his lifetime' has stolen the plans for a new British submarine and 'put [them] up for auction in all the naval centres of Europe' (p. 428). Arthur Conan Doyle, 'His Last Bow' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. II*, pp. 491-509: a story written in 1917 and set in August 1914 (the latest-set of all the Holmes stories) where Holmes is called out of retirement by the Prime Minister to entrap Von Bork, a German spy working in Britain on the eve of the Great War.

³³⁷ See Robert Fraser, *Victorian Quest Romance: Stevenson, Haggard, Kipling and Conan Doyle* (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1998). This genre and its relationship to *The Strand* are discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

³³⁸ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Priory School' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 744-772, p. 747; Doyle, 'The Illustrious Client', p. 514.

³³⁹ Doyle, 'His Last Bow', p. 493.

in 'Tracking Criminals', for example, praises a tendency for efficiency but abuses the Teutonic instinct that 'reduces the human element to cogs and part of an automaton'.³⁴⁰ Later, a bizarre symposium from 1912 entitled 'Which is the Finest Race' firmly decides that the Germans are the most unlovely European people in terms of physical attractiveness.³⁴¹ The French are largely absent in the Holmes stories, are portrayed by Gollomb as 'keenly individual' yet 'less patient' and 'less efficient in organization' the English.³⁴² In '...Surgical Operation?', Hollander fixes the French identity as open to uncritical fits of communal frenzy. Iberians, regardless of sex, are highly feminised in Holmes, and are depicted as being dictated to by the exigencies of their passions and the sensory demands of their 'blood'; they share this representation with their South American colonial subjects. Holmes observes that Stapleton's fate would have been sealed by his treatment of his wife regardless of his own actions; upon realising that she has feelings for Sir Henry, he holds her hostage which is an insult that 'no woman of Spanish blood [...] condone[s] so lightly'.³⁴³ Similarly volatile characteristics recur in 'The Problem of Thor Bridge' with the Portuguese Maria Pinto who intricately plots the ruin of the younger woman whom her husband loves.³⁴⁴ The pattern re-appears with Mrs Ferguson, the Peruvian wife of an Englishman in 'The Sussex Vampire' whose 'foreign birth and [...] alien religion always caused a separation of interests and of feelings between husband and wife, so that after a time his love may have cooled towards her'.³⁴⁵ The picture that Doyle presents, then, is backed up by the non-fiction writing in *The Strand* and cumulatively works to present the English government as marshalling the other colonial powers whose genetic coding necessarily predisposes them to unreason. In the light of all these characterisations, the 'passivity' of Britain's position in European inter-imperial relations becomes a crucial plank of self-identity. That identity, which is also a

³⁴⁰ Gollomb, 'Tracking Criminals', p. 61.

³⁴¹ 'And, now, what is the result of these most interesting expressions of opinions as to which is the finest race? [...] The Germans are never mentioned, except in disparagement'. 'Which is the Finest Race?', *The Strand* 44 (March, 1911), p. 155.

³⁴² Apart, that is, from Holmes' suggestion in 'The Greek Interpreter' that his family is partially French: 'My ancestors were country squires, who appear to have led much the same life as is natural to their class [...] my grandmother [...] was the sister of Vernet, the French artist'. Doyle, 'The Greek Interpreter', p. 596; Gollomb, 'Tracking Criminals', p. 59.

³⁴³ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Problem of Thor Bridge' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. II*, pp. 626-652, p. 630.

³⁴⁴ Her husband, Senator Gibson says of Maria that 'It was a deep rich nature, too, passionate, whole-hearted, tropical, ill-balanced, very different from the American women whom I had known [...] She was crazy with hatred and the heat of the Amazon was always in her blood'. Doyle, 'The Problem of Thor Bridge', pp. 636-638.

³⁴⁵ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Sussex Vampire' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. II*, pp. 593-610, p. 595.

constituent part of the reader-ontology that *The Strand* projected, is emotionally stable and intellectually reasoned when defined against the various psycho-sexual manias that proliferate across the Channel. This is not to suggest that Britons are depicted unilaterally with these characteristics (as we shall see, there are further schisms within the term 'Briton'), but domestic examples of criminality, deviance, violence or cowardice are diluted and lost in the aggregate of Britain's public demeanour which unfailingly embodies its finer qualities.³⁴⁶

In terms of Doyle's treatment of non-European races the depictions of Tonga in *The Sign of Four* and of Steve Dixie in 'The Three Gables' has tended to dominate criticism on the subject.³⁴⁷ Tonga is a cannibal from the Andaman Islands possessed of 'features [...] deeply marked with all bestiality and cruelty' and 'savage instincts' for murder. Dixie is a Briton of African extraction who Holmes treats with markedly racial disgust.³⁴⁸ These examples are so striking, though, that they obscure the fact that Doyle principally uses non-European characters as useful decoys within the story. Daulat Ras in 'The Three Students' is a helpful prop to the story because, as one of three possible cheats in a university exam, he offers the 'quiet inscrutability' of his Indian race to obscure the true perpetrator, Bannister.³⁴⁹ In 'Wisteria Lodge,' Inspector Baynes arrests Aloysius Garcia's cook for his murder as part of a ploy to trap the real murderer. The cook is reported in the local newspaper to be 'a huge and hideous mulatto, with yellowish features of a pronounced negroid type' and is described by Baynes as 'a perfect savage, as strong as a cart-horse and as fierce as the

³⁴⁶ It is also worth noting Thomas' observation that criminals are frequently identified as having foreign physical characteristics as if miscegenation partly explains criminal behaviour that might otherwise contradict the best, innate qualities of Britons.

³⁴⁷ Yumna Siddiqi's article 'The Cesspool of Empire' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 34-1 (March, 2006) highlights the description of Tonga as a 'homicidal savage' (p. 224) whilst, for Diane Simmons, he is 'evil incarnate' (p. 74). In *The Manichean Investigators: A Postcolonial and Cultural Re-Reading of the Sherlock Holmes and Byomkesh Bakshi Stories*, Pinaki Roy uses Asish Nandy's seminal postcolonial treatise *The Intimate Enemy* to deconstruct Holmes' racism in 'The Three Gables' where 'Doyle's narratives rationalise themselves through rigid oppositions such as maturity/immaturity, civilization/barbarism, developed/underdeveloped.' (Sarup and Sons, 2002), p. 62.

³⁴⁸ When accosted by Dixie in Baker Street Holmes says "I won't ask you to sit down, for I don't like the smell of you" whilst Watson describes "the savage's [...] hideous mouth". Later, during a second confrontation Holmes reaches to his pocket, Dixie asks "'Lookin' for your gun, Masser Holmes?" "No, for my scent-bottle, Steve". Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Three Gables' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. II*, pp. 575-593, p. 577, 583, 584.

³⁴⁹ Soames, a scholar who believes one of his students may have stolen an advanced look at one of his examination papers, describes the three suspects to Holmes. Gilchrist, who is a 'fine, manly fellow' whose family was 'ruined on the turf'; McLaren, a 'brilliant fellow when he chooses to work [...] wayward, dissipated and unprincipled' and Ras, 'a quiet, inscrutable fellow; as most of those Indians are'. Doyle, 'The Three Students', p. 832.

devil'.³⁵⁰ Mrs Ferguson's otherness in 'The Sussex Vampire' is the source of her suspicion, if not as a vampire then as an abusive mother when, ultimately, the source of conflict is Mr Ferguson's 'crippled' son from a previous marriage.³⁵¹ One of the underlying scientific principles of degenerative science was its belief in conflating behavioural, psychological and social phenomena with racial, sexual and class profiles. However this principle is not as observable in the Holmes stories as recent criticism might suggest. Instead, in the same way that the stories mask the (predominant) absence of genuine 'crime' from their plots with an obsessive discussion of 'crime' and 'criminality', the ornamentation of degenerative language and allusion belies the predominant absence of degenerate criminals in favour of more mundane forms of transgression.

In Britain itself, English 'blood' is the least conducive to madness and degeneration as opposed to primitive overtures of 'Celtic' blood in the Welsh and Irish. 'The Musgrave Ritual' shows Rachael Howells, a house-maid who leaves her unfaithful fiancée to his death in an underground tomb and then impulsively loses her own life attempting to rescue him. She is 'of an excitable Welsh temperament' which precipitates 'a sharp touch of brain-fever'; her death occurs when she runs, 'demented', through the night and into a lake. Similarly McMurdo in *The Valley of Fear* attributes his outbursts to his 'hot Irish blood' and 'glib Irish tongue'.³⁵² The English temperament, at its best, achieves its superiority through a rejection of vanity. The 'English' way is promoted as fundamentally collaborative and hard-working in a variety of ways. Gollomb highlights 'the Anglo-Saxon love of team-play' as does C. B. Fry's 1902 article 'Personalities of Football' where he observes that 'the individual, with his personal characteristics, is becoming a minor aspect of modern association football' due to 'the development of the game into a highly exact science'.³⁵³ In the contestation of temperament, then, the willingness to subordinate oneself and one's specificity to the exigencies of team-work proves to be decisive in the Holmes stories and *The Strand* at large. The tone of the representation of other

³⁵⁰ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Wisteria Lodge' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. II*, pp. 325-356, p. 34, 350

³⁵¹ Doyle, 'The Sussex Vampire', p. 599.

³⁵² These references are echoed in the descriptions of Edward Malone in the later Challenger narratives.

³⁵³ C. B. Fry, 'Personalities of Football', *The Strand* 23 (February, 1902), p. 147. This equation of Englishness with team sports is one that Fry (and *The Strand*) repeat with his subsequent article 'Teams that have Won the Football Association Cup' in 1902 where he charts the development of the modern game as a shift from 'individual play' towards 'combination tactics.' C. B. Fry, 'Teams That Have Won The Football Association Cup', *The Strand* 23 (April, 1902), p. 455.

racess and nationalities may vary but the single, fundamental difference tends to be the same; namely unwillingness (or an inability) to bypass the sensory and emotional demands of the self in order to comply with social and moral obligations.

England itself is the subject of the most detailed stratification and it is here that Conan Doyle makes the importance of this 'difference' most clear. At the centre of the stories are the same 'honest' and 'civilised' men that Galton believed to be the measure of the best in humanity: the lower middle and upper middle classes that are hard-working, morally attuned to the sensibilities of bourgeois values and confident in judging correct and appropriate economic values in their private and professional lives. Watson himself is the key example of this type and this figure recurs countless times throughout the canon. Their reward in the stories is, firstly, the resolution of any disturbance in their lives and, secondly, the maintenance and assurance of the social superstructures that they rely on. The stories almost always feature a figure of this sort at their centre. In the twenty-four stories that comprise the *Adventures* and *Memoirs* series there are sixteen such figures whose ability to comply with their obligations becomes challenged by some disturbance.³⁵⁴ The ability of the English characters to conform to this type becomes far more varied in other areas of society. Above, for example, there are the upper classes who span from the *nouveau riche*, through the titled gentry and up to royalty and whose depictions vary according to the nature of their character. For example, Lord St. Simon of 'The Noble Bachelor,' the anonymous king of 'A Scandal in Bohemia' and the Duke of Holderness in 'The Priory School' are three men of comparable situation who are, in various ways, being held accountable for their sexual appetites. The King's engagement is threatened by his indiscretion and subsequent blackmailing by Irene Adler; the lascivious and unpleasant Lord St. Simon is searching for his missing bride and Lord Saltire's son is kidnapped as part of a plot by his jealous, illegitimate son from a youthful love affair. All of these cases depend upon curbing the libidinal excesses of the upper classes; their treatment by Holmes within the story and their depictions by Watson depend upon their behaviour as the cases develop. Holmes mocks Lord St. Simon and the

³⁵⁴ Jabez Wilson in 'The Red-Headed League'; Mary Sutherland in 'A Case of Identity'; James McCarthy in 'The Boscombe Valley Mystery'; Mrs St. Clair in 'The Man with the Twisted Lip'; Helen Stoner in 'The Speckled Band'; Victor Hatherley in 'The Engineer's Thumb'; Arthur Holder in 'The Beryl Coronet'; Violet Hunter in 'The Copper Beeches'; Col. Ross in 'Silver Blaze'; Susan Cushing in 'The Cardboard Box'; Grant Munro in 'The Yellow Face'; Hall Pycroft in 'The Stockbroker's Clerk'; Victor Trevor in 'The Gloria Scott'; Percy Trevelyan in 'The Resident Patient'; Mr Melas in 'The Greek Interpreter' and Percy Phelps in 'The Naval Treaty'.

King of Bohemia and Watson backs up this treatment by depicting them as foolish and vain.³⁵⁵ Holderness is suffering because of his refusal to abandon his illegitimate son, which distinguishes him from the unvarnished lust displayed by the other noblemen and explains his more reasoned (though still condemnatory) judgement at the hands of Holmes and Watson. The most succinct appraisal of the upper class occurs in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* where Sir Henry, despite spending the vast majority of his life travelling abroad, has remained a 'Devonshire man' and an exemplum of aristocratic munificence. As Watson looks at Sir Henry, he eulogises on this theme next to a Sidney Paget illustration that exaggerates his noble qualities to unintentionally comic effect (2.18):

I read upon his eager face how much it meant to him, this first sight of that strange spot where the men of his blood had held sway so long and left their mark so deep. There he sat, with his tweed suit and his American accent, in the corner of a prosaic railway-carriage, and yet as I looked at his dark and expressive face I felt more than ever how true a descendant he was of that long line of high-blooded, fiery, and masterful men. There were pride, valour, and strength in his thick brows, his sensitive nostrils, and his large hazel eyes.³⁵⁶

So, in this sense, Holmes' project in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* is to restore and preserve the qualities that Sir Henry possesses to the position of the Baronetcy. These qualities (as shown by the weaknesses discussed above) are too rare for Watson's taste; of Lord Holdhurst in 'The Naval Treaty' he remarks that 'he seemed to represent that not too common type, a nobleman who is in truth noble'.³⁵⁷ This emphasis upon blood-succession in contrast to the figurative castrations described in 'A Scandal in Bohemia', 'The Noble Bachelor' and 'The Priory School' describes a conscious or unconscious dependence upon the idea of eugenic refinement through

³⁵⁵ In 'A Scandal in Bohemia' Watson remarks that the King's style of dress 'would, in England, be looked upon as akin to bad taste' and creates an impression of 'barbaric opulence' (Doyle, 'A Scandal in Bohemia', p. 213). Holmes himself responds to his elaborate pretensions (a fake name, pretending to be an agent of the King, rather than the King himself) by responding 'drily' 'I was aware of it' (p. 214). Similarly Holmes punctures Lord St. Simon's arrogance in the 'Noble Bachelor' (just as Watson does with his satirical titling of the piece): St. Simon says 'I understand that you have already managed several delicate cases of this sort, sir, though I presume they were hardly from the same class of society' to which Holmes responds 'No, I am descending [...] My last client of the sort was a King'. Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Noble Bachelor' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 388-408.

³⁵⁶ Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, p. 52.

³⁵⁷ Doyle, 'The Noble Bachelor', p. 629.



SIR HENRY BASKERVILLE.

selective breeding. This aristocratic breeding programme aims to purify the 'type' and promulgate the diffusion of 'pride, valour and strength'; qualities which, for the alien Von Bork are 'medieval conception[s]' and out of place in 'a utilitarian age'.³⁵⁸ Here, the spectre of eugenic science provides a modern, scientific legitimation for the preservation of the grand narratives of medieval chivalry that Doyle was so enlivened by in his historical fiction.³⁵⁹

The lower branches of English society that Holmes comes into contact with are almost exclusively criminal and, as discussed in chapter one, this can result in a confusion between the two statuses of 'the poor' and 'the criminal'. However, vast swathes of the non-criminal working class populate the stories as a shadowy, background presence. Doyle's prose is brief and sparing, yet condenses large amounts of information and so, across the canon, there are numerous examples where he casually populates his stories with an invisible working class presence. To preserve their clarity the plots of the stories need to continually make allowances for the working class presence within Conan Doyle's favoured sites which are usually either middle class (suburban houses or places of business) or aristocratic. So, for example, even the houses of some of the stories' most formidable villains are built around a servile presence. We learn that the Stapleton household, for example maintains a small staff and, at the climax of *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, he waits until his servant departs at the end of dinner before sending Sir Henry onto the moor to be attacked by his hound. The eponymous heartless blackmailer in 'Charles Augustus Milverton' is tended to by a large number of servants whom Holmes and Watson must circumvent when they break into his home. Because Doyle's prose is keyed to disregarding inessential detail, the servants in the stories only become the subject of any description if their behaviour is in any way unusual; if they are too close to their masters or mistresses; if they display signs of vice; if they appear over-qualified; if they are obtrusive in a social setting. In this largely silent and unremarked way, Doyle's writing in fact offers a much larger working class presence than is commonly thought, though they escape notice and mention through their transparency. This transparency enacts the fantasised elision of the working class

³⁵⁸ Doyle, 'His Last Bow', p. 494.

³⁵⁹ Doyle's personal favourites were *Micah Clarke* (1889), *The White Company* (1891) and its sequel *Sir Nigel* (1906). In a 1905 letter he wrote of the latter 'Dei Gratia finished, 132,000 words, my absolute top'. Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, p. 290.

presence within the domestic scene that Georgia Knap hoped to embody in his electric homes and hotels.

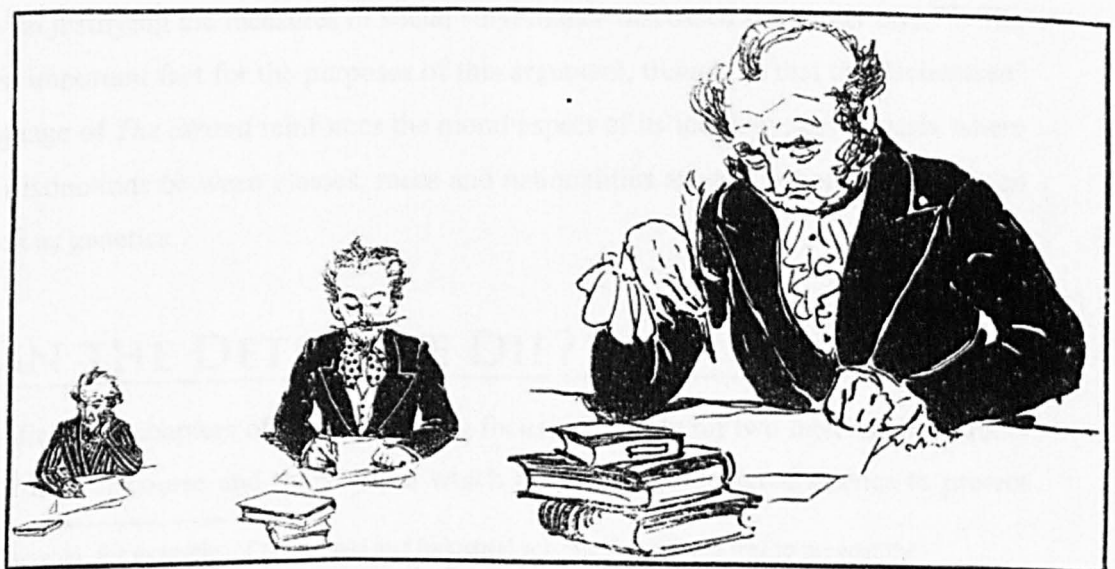
These are the social forms and hierarchies that are found in the stories and which are reinforced by the work of Holmes, by the science that underpins his methodologies and by the diegetic logic of the world that he inhabits. Also, in terms of its illustrations and other visual components, the magazine sought new ways to render these hierarchies. In this way it arrived at the use of pictographs to represent statistics whereby synecdochic representations of nationalities are sized to reflect percentage differences. So in the anonymous 1910 article 'Untying Hymen's Knot' divorce rates across the world per 100,000 population are shown as a series of arguing couples (2.19).³⁶⁰ In this pictograph the image of British nationality does not even need to be seen, since proportionally, Britain appears as a small dot next to the undignified and argumentative representations of other nationalities. In this way the graph preserves a sense of a higher morality for the British stereotype. 1911's 'Where John Bull Leads' details the industrial, economic and artistic strength of Britain and punctuates its text with pictographs accordingly. A sub-header which explains that the graphs show 'at a glance in what respects Great Britain still holds the field against the world'.³⁶¹ These illustrations show a large 'John Bull' 'performing' various industries alongside weedier representations of similar American, French and German figures. We see John Bull as novelist compared with French and American output; the picture is captioned with the note that 'John Bull as a novelist penetrates more universally than any other country. The export and diffusion of British works of fiction in 1910 was four times as great as that of France and six times that of America' (2.20). *The Strand* uses these images for several reasons, primarily they, as visual aids, help Newnes' magazine to live up to its promise of 'a picture on every page'; secondly they translate dry statistics tables into easily understandable and suitably jingoistic expressions of dominance. Thirdly, the idea of hierarchical and measurable 'differentiation' between races and nationalities is a recurring theme in *The Strand* and the illustrations conform perfectly to the demand of this expectation. These hierarchies are not drawn from science, but from the same 'medieval' past as the grand ideals dismissed by Von Bork; science provides a new modern language by

³⁶⁰ The divorce, per 100,000 population, in size order are Japan: 215; United States: 73; Switzerland: 32; France: 23; Norway: 6 and Great Britain: 2.

³⁶¹ 'Where John Bull Leads', *The Strand* 41 (April, 1911), p. 415.



2.19



2.20

which these age old prejudices, 'othernesses' and enmities can be preserved and re-inscribed.

Of course this society as we see it in Holmes and *The Strand* is a mirage. It is a subjective projection of a single value-set that rewards conformation to particular expectations and which serves to mark those with divergent ideals (either genetically or through official means) as being a threat. The key to this complex series of relations is the idea of morality; not morality as an individualised, personal code but a kind of received-morality, a series of conventions that become legitimised commandments. Galton attempted to build a moral science to reflect this aspect of his own thought and in his work we see how such concords break down in the real world. The project of the Holmesian society incorporates ideas from Galton, Lombroso, Ellis and Nordau not because it necessarily agrees with the science but because it agrees with the morality and this moral science ultimately becomes a science of 'difference'. In this way science becomes a tool of legitimation for the social forms outlined above and as an argument against serious change to the roles that those forms create. The scientific details drawn from degenerative and criminological science inform Holmes' reading of the world by reducing characters' specifications (social status, career, physique, facial features, sexual appetite, race, sex and so on) to a series of 'predispositions'. The link between aspects of a person's identity and their subsequent actions that this science posits is never unilateral in the Holmes stories, nor in *The Strand* as a whole, instead genetic science is used to establish a whole network of predispositions which may or may not flourish. This of course goes some way to justifying the measures of social surveillance discussed in chapter one.³⁶² The most important fact for the purposes of this argument, though, is that this 'scientised' language of *The Strand* reinforces the moral aspect of its ideology, particularly where the distinctions between classes, races and nationalities are a question of morality as much as genetics.

CAN THE DETECTIVE DIE?

The first two chapters of this thesis have focussed closely on two interlocking strains of *Strand* discourse and the ways in which the magazine depicted science to protect

³⁶² The goal, for example, of the ragged and industrial schools programme was to prevent the predisposition of poorly schooled and laxly parented children to criminality from burgeoning fully, as discussed at length in chapter one.

and preserve the ideas at its heart. At this stage it is necessary to synthesise these arguments into a clearer historical context and state more clearly how this fluctuating relationship between science and ideology participates in the wider conflicts of modernity, science and modernism.

The moment of *The Strand*'s appearance and subsequent success marked the convergence of several historical, political, social and literary trends. The mechanical advances in printing and photographic reproduction meant that publishers had the technology to meet the reading demands of an educated lower middle class swollen by successive Education Acts. In literary terms the high-culture progression between Victorian realism, *fin-de-siècle* flux and high modernism can obscure the development, in rather less exalted networks of artistic production, of professionalised authorship. Nicolas Daly's *Modernism, Romance and the fin-de-siècle* and Peter D. McDonald's *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice* highlight this development. 'The appearance of the Society of Authors, the rise of the literary agent and the appearance of numerous 'how to' books for aspiring young authors' together with Greenhough Smith's fondness for securing his stable of fiction writers to long-term contracts meant that *The Strand* represented a space where the values of artistic expression meshed with those of a professional, middle class work ethic.³⁶³ This space was financially secured by the 'phenomenal' success of the magazine and its strong, editorial self image propagated by Newnes: 'They [the masses] want things served up with other interesting matter, and with as much of the personal element as it is possible to give them'.³⁶⁴ *The Strand*'s distaste for modernist literature was not just the result of Greenhough Smith's editorial pencil, it was a principal determinant in its appearance at all. In an 1897 symposium on fiction in *The Strand* James Payn asked 'what right has a man to pen a story like Turganief's 'On the Eve' to make generations of his fellow-creatures miserable?'³⁶⁵ For Newnes, Smith, Doyle and Payn, modernism was something that happened to other people. This observation is not just relevant to the specificities of the *fin-de-siècle* literary and cultural field but a crucial way of contextualising the magazine's uses of science.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Nicholas Daly, *Modernism, Romance and the fin de siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 21

³⁶⁴ Daly, *Modernism, Romance and the fin de siècle*, p. 151.

³⁶⁵ McDonald, *British Publishing Practice*, p. 155.

³⁶⁶ McDonald and Jackson's books give the most comprehensive account of these developments.

There is consensus amongst historians that the passage from Victorian to Edwardian periods was principally characterised by imminent flux and change. Samuel Hynes conjures an age poised to be overtaken by ‘elements of disorder’.³⁶⁷ Meanwhile, *The Strand*’s content and editorial ideology converged with a desire (as discussed in chapter one) to preserve a more solid, traditional set of politics and beliefs. This desire can be read in the cultural conflict that New Journalism stimulated, its most famous critic (and the man who christened the movement) was Matthew Arnold. Principally in reference to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, then edited by Stead, Arnold wrote in an 1887 article that

It has much to recommend it; it is full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts; its one great fault is that it is feather-brained [...] The democracy, with abundance of life, movement, sympathy, good instincts, is disposed to be, like this journalism, feather-brained; just as the upper class is disposed to be selfish in its politics, and the middle class narrow.³⁶⁸

Arnold notes the tendency of New Journalism toward over-simplification, moral subjectivism and political short-sightedness (specifically with relation to the question of Irish independence) and all with a view to maximising profitability. What Arnold foresaw (and what he was attempting to stem) was the likes of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, Newnes’ *Tit-Bits* and their many imitators achieving a position of cultural dominance. His fears, such as they were, were brought to fruition four years later with the appearance of *The Strand* which achieved world-wide popularity far beyond the *Pall Mall Gazette* whilst being noticeably and explicitly more ‘featherbrained’. Arnold’s criticism of ‘New Journalism,’ however uncritical it may be as a taxonomy, is useful because it is that rare thing, an unembittered elitist critique of mass culture.³⁶⁹ Arnold’s concern is that, as a cultural product, it promises retardation over progress

³⁶⁷ Samuel Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 3. This view is echoed by André Maurois’ *The Edwardian Era* where he illustrates a country pre-occupied with the question ‘what will happen now?’ (D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933), p. 39. Sir Charles Petrie’s *Scenes of Edwardian Life* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1966) suggests that the Edwardian period signified ‘the end of Great Britain’s prosperous years’ (p. 2).

³⁶⁸ Matthew Arnold, *Essays Literary and Critical* (London: J. M. Dent, 1907), p. 102.

³⁶⁹ This is, in any case, a slightly monocular view because it fails to take account of the fact that new journalism, and particularly *The Strand*, certainly raised the quality of popular print journalism from the collection of sensationalist miscellanies, salacious fiction and sporting papers that constituted it through the first half of the century.

and parochial narrow-mindedness over dissent and challenge. Whilst Stead seemed aware of the political power that his publications wielded Newnes was far more moderate in his judgement. Because of his frequent involvement with the content of *The Strand*, his notes to readers and his understanding of the publisher-reader relationship as a benevolent partnership, this ‘wholesomeness,’ this absence of political ambition, is itself a key component of the paper’s cultural dominance. In a market composed, by the late nineteenth-century almost entirely of political and conceptual *niches*, it seems strange that the most successful and enduring product of the mass market press was explicitly disengaged from the more savage political confrontations. Again, the picture here is of retardation, of a cultural space that self-consciously limited its social, political and religious syntax. *The Strand* was a powerful cultural participant as its readers made the passage between two historically and culturally distinct periods but was never keen to acknowledge this fact itself. Its decision to avoid the more serious artistic responses to modernity created a publication that on one level produced socially-ignorant and a narrow-minded material because these qualities (that Arnold called ‘featherbrained’) were part of what its audience responded to. In this way *The Strand*’s intellectual production became as automated and as repetitive as the mechanical motions of its presses. If we consider again *The Strand*’s treatment of the question of energy at the turn of the century then the consequences of this decision fall into focus. By insisting on the social and ideological commitments of science to providing a perpetual source of energy the magazine echoes its own commitment to endlessly re-producing itself and its ideological commitments. The effect of this can be read into the farrago surrounding Doyle’s attempt to kill off Holmes in 1893. The fact that Doyle came to have such a real, resentful relationship to his creation is commonly remarked. Andrew Lycett notes that in one of Doyle’s diaries for 1893 the entry for December simply read ‘[k]illed Holmes’.³⁷⁰ Holmes, for Doyle came to signify the mechanical process of writing to a commercial formula that he felt stifled his ‘better’ essays into historical and romance fiction.³⁷¹ Once Doyle attempted to stop the most powerful

³⁷⁰ Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, p. 197.

³⁷¹ In November 1891 Doyle was already concerned about his post-Sherlock Holmes output, complaining to his mother in a letter that Holmes took his mind from ‘better things’ (Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, p. 169). Some years later, in his introduction to the book version of *The Casebook of Sherlock Holmes*, Doyle wrote with more equanimity that he ‘had not, in actual practice’ found himself prevented from ‘exploring and finding [his] limitations in [...] history, poetry, historical novels, psychic research and the drama’. Doyle, *Casebook*, p. ii.

cog in *The Strand* machine from turning the response was vociferous and continuous throughout 'The Great Hiatus'. The financial incentives offered by Greenhough Smith for further Holmes instalments increased until 1901 brought *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, a story that firmly purported to be 'another adventure' of Sherlock Holmes rather than a 'resurrection'.³⁷² The rabid public response to the story prompted *The Strand*'s highest ever domestic distribution and the issues went to seven printings, more than any edition before or after.³⁷³ This kind of ecstatic commercial response, I would argue, is because the re-appearance of Holmes was analogous to a malfunctioning machine being re-fitted with a missing component and roaring back to life. Thus *The Strand* was commercially committed to the process of mechanical reproduction and the magazine became dependent on a cycle of perpetual replication. The death and resurrection of Holmes is interesting when considering the ideological relationship between publication and reader; we see the kind of power that a committed and bonded readership can hold over their publication. The penmanship of post-1893 Holmes is still Doyle's but the authorship is diffused amongst the thousands of readers who complained and campaigned for his resuscitation and return. Under such circumstances, it is unsurprising that Doyle came to view Holmes as something alien to him rather than a character under his complete control.

Holmes' fate at the end of 'The Final Problem' represents something antithetical to *The Strand*'s ideology: the dying detective. His death disrupts the strict moral economies discussed above but also the scientific economies that informed or reinforced all of the articles discussed in this chapter. The dying detective is entropic, a symbol of change, decay and mutability. The formula of the stories endlessly reinforced the difference between Holmes and the 'antagonist'. Each story demands that the antagonist be, in some way, ejected from their particular landscape. They can be, like James Ryder in 'The Blue Carbuncle', James Windibank in 'A Case of Identity' or Count Silvius in 'The Mazarin Stone,' ejected from Baker Street; they can be passed into police custody, as Sebastian Moran ('The Empty House'), Von Bork, Arthur Pinner ('The Stockbroker's Clerk') and the Josiah Amberley ('The Retired Colourman') are; they can also, occasionally, be killed, as Jack Turner in 'The Boscombe Valley Mystery' or the representatives of the Ku Klux Klan in 'The Five Orange Pips' are. All of these permutations insist on a narrative hierarchy that

³⁷² Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, p. 266.

³⁷³ Michael Coren, *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (London: Bloomsbury, 1996), p. 105.

defenestrates the antagonist whilst confirming Holmes' health and security in the centrality of his rooms. 'The Final Problem' presents a challenge to this model when Holmes and Moriarty plunge into the Reichenbach falls together (2.21). Whilst such an ending was necessary for Doyle to achieve the closure he required, it radically breaks the implicit geographical laws of the stories' form and disrupts the moral-spatial relationships upon which much of *The Strand's* fiction depended. One of these relationships (discussed in chapter one in relation to Doyle's 'The Voice of Science') decreed that insidious examples of amorality would necessarily be cast out of the family home in the same way that the Holmes stories eject their antagonists. These laws, in the fictional world of *The Strand's* fiction, have as much currency as a scientific decree and can be used to map the ideological components of their repeated tropes and characters with similar accuracy. *The Strand's* ideology, then, has a geographic or spatial dimension that insists that some things happen in particular spaces and some in others. 'The Final Problem' bends this spatial law so that both Holmes and Moriarty occupy the place reserved for the banished antagonist. No differentiation is allowed between the entwined fates of two men on either side of a moral divide. Holmes' return symbolises the resumption of the strict insistence of geographic and moral stability.

Michael Whitworth, in attempting to find a workable model for the passage of metaphors between science and literature, opines that '[i]t is not enough to say that scientists and artists share a common linguistic system' because, although they have 'a common stock of metaphors [...] the most intellectually innovative ones are those least likely to be shared'.³⁷⁴ This problem is an impediment when examining, as Whitworth does, the canonical works of high modernism but needs re-assessing when both the literature and the science appear as part of the same text, as in *The Strand*; indeed, in the case of Grant Allen, both the 'science' and the 'literature' could be written by the same author. Doyle similarly wrote numerous non-fiction articles alongside his fictional contributions and, with this in mind, the imagined barrier between 'two cultures,' which is perpetuated in subtler forms by Whitworth, becomes so porous as to seem entirely transparent. The metaphors and allusions that informed Allen's article on Rosamund the spider are the same that Doyle uses to depict Tonga in *The Sign of Four* and the 'negroid' cook in 'Wisteria Lodge. Similarly, the

³⁷⁴ Whitworth, *Einstein's Wake*, p. 17.

metaphors of perpetuity that inform its post-1900 scientific non-fiction are echoed by the repeated themes, tropes and characters that occur and recur in the magazine's fiction. This 'common stock' of metaphors becomes itself a metaphor for the intermingling of science and fiction that can only happen away from 'high' art and 'high' science, in a medium such as the illustrated monthly. The intermingling is such that the whole idea of science in some way providing literature with ideas or metaphors (as in Whitworth and Beer's *Darwin's Plots*) becomes irrelevant. What happens instead is that a science removed from the outer edges of scientific discovery and a literature removed from the dangerous contemporaneity of high modernism, are both able to draw their metaphors and language from a shared concept of the past. *The Strand*, as a social network, discouraged experimentation and does not impress upon its contributors the demand for innovation or originality. There is, for example, no Ezra Pound to demand perpetual reinvention and formal revolution. In such a *milieu* it becomes possible to coalesce past, present and future together in a clear, ideologically linear progression. Where science is tasked to provide new metaphors and images for fiction, it can do so only within specific ideological and moral limits not because *The Strand's* was politically conservative (though it frequently was) but because the magazine had realised its extraordinary commercial potential was tied to its ability to protect its content from the exigencies of modernity. The shared textuality of science and literature in the period is exemplified by a composite reading of texts like *The First Men in the Moon* and *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. Traditional readings of those texts have focused heavily upon the transmission of ideas from science into literature and the peculiar malversations that they underwent in the process. It is not the intention of this thesis to deny the importance of those approaches; when writing their novels it is clear that Doyle and Wells were more likely to be reading standalone volumes of science than looking assiduously to *The Strand* to inform their ideas. However, the texts' proximity to so many other scientific or pseudo-scientific articles is a critical invitation that few have taken up. There is an unresolved tension that needs to be addressed before this argument proceeds much further; it is clear that an uncritical grouping of articles like 'Has Baby a Clever Head?', 'Which is the Finest Race?' and 'Science in the New Century' is extremely problematic. Phrenology's status within serious scientific circles had been



2.21

discredited 'by 1840' according to Stephen Kern and, aside from a smattering of specialist vocabulary, the article made no serious claims to scientific legitimacy.³⁷⁵ The article's veneer of science is playfully deployed and, consequently, there is no easy comparison between it and an article like 'Science in the New Century' that is explicitly concerned with 'legitimate' science. Surely, a superficial label of 'science' is insufficient to tie the articles together? The key to this disparity can be found in Roger Cooter's observation that phrenology was able to outlive the period of its legitimacy through its 'entrenchment' within popular culture.³⁷⁶ Earlier in his career, Cooter had attacked 'diffusionist' models of popularisation because he suspected that 'any model that, in granting to scientists the sole possession of genuine scientific knowledge, serve[d] to support their epistemic authority'.³⁷⁷ Popular culture, by this logic, has its own systems of legitimation which cannot be easily incorporated into traditional models of popularisation. By de-prioritising the scientific status of phrenology we can see that it is the discipline's ideological application and its appeals to received wisdom or common sense that tie it to the experimental observations of Swan, Lockyer or Berthelot. *The Hound of the Baskervilles* is not explicitly a 'phrenological' text in any traditional sense, yet its proximity to Beare and Hollander's articles prompts us to re-consider Doyle's quite standard uses of physiognomy as a literary device in a scientific context to which it may not necessarily belong from any other perspective. This is a 'reader's eye' perspective of *The Strand* and it is a view that does not appear very frequently in criticism. The suggestion here is not that we can pin-point a particular reader and a particular attitude because of this specific arrangement of texts but simply that such observations have to be the first pre-requisite if Cooter and Pumfrey's desire for a 'bottom-up' epistemology of popular science is to be realised.³⁷⁸ The 'everyday' or 'common sense' models of legitimation are scary for literary critics because they look a little too much like laziness in the face of more rigorous intellectual models. It may seem counter-intuitive but the grand canvas of scientific popularisation in the late nineteenth-century requires a more or less complete abandonment of 'scientific' values in critical approaches. In chapter one, I suggested that *The Strand's* mixture of

³⁷⁵ Kern, *A Cultural History of Causality*, p. 229.

³⁷⁶ Roger Cooter, *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 238.

³⁷⁷ Lightman, *Victorian Science in Context*, p. 189.

³⁷⁸ Roger Cooter and Stephen Pumfrey, 'Separate Spheres and Public Places: Reflections on the History of Science Popularization and Science in Popular Culture,' *History of Science* 32-3 (1994), p. 243.

different genres and images of society turned it into a kind of diorama upon which is projected different ways of living and behaving. It is in this kind of *milieu* that the effectiveness of science was measured; does it allow Holmes to capture the villain and restore the missing capital? Does it allow me to guide my infant towards a socially useful career? Does it reassure me of Britain's innate superiority over its imperial rivals? Does it suggest that criminals can be recognised in the street? By answering these kinds of questions, *The Strand* legitimised or discarded the scientific ideas that entered its purview. The problem, from the perspective of the magazine's longevity, was that it became so invested in presenting a particular model of social relations and, as a corollary, particular kinds of science. These strategies, whilst they ensured the magazine's success long into the twentieth-century, also established the terms for its eventual commercial decline. The conflicts between modernity, science and ideology which are successfully made dormant in the articles described above, eventually rupture and destabilise the clear, ethically secured and ideologically stable passage from the past into the future.

CHAPTER THREE:

FINE PHYSIQUES

THE two previous chapters focussed chiefly upon the relationship between bodies of ideas. Because of its editorial remit, its reputation for plain speaking and a reluctance to overly confuse issues, *The Strand* ended up being constituted of a relatively transparent group of ideas that could, without much difficulty, be compared and contrasted with the original contexts from which they were appropriated. The way in which ideas become mutated by their appearance in *The Strand* offers a key to understanding of how *The Strand* positioned itself in the literary and cultural field of the late Victorian period. These interactions are useful but also potentially reductive since they suggest that the chief oppositions and conflicts that *The Strand* presented occurred primarily at the level of ideas. In fact, these conflicts were enacted within its pages by bodies and things. Bodies and things were made the agents of ideas in *The Strand*, yet their agency was not passive since the naked, corporeal body presented numerous problems for the magazine with which it struggled to cope. Things, superficially more compliant vehicles for ideas, prove themselves only marginally more reliable than bodies. This chapter and the next will consider *The Strand* within a theoretical framework principally derived from Lyotard's understanding of 'grand narratives'. Lyotard's emergence at this point is not intended to bestow a kind of theoretical authenticity on the content of *The Strand*; that would be unnecessary. What Lyotard offers to *The Strand*, though, is a more clearly articulated understanding of the magazine's central dilemma, a dilemma that prompted that same lust for 'certainty' discussed at the close of chapter two. The question is one of ideological stability: 'when did ideals become simply ideas'? In its incessant typologies, *The Strand*'s writing performs what Lyotard calls the enactment of 'positive and negative' literary 'apprenticeships'.³⁷⁹ I will argue that the qualities embodied and represented by these types can be equated with the idea of the bonded relationship between the grand narrative and the everyday narrative. *The Strand*

³⁷⁹ Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 22.

sought to embed these 'types' into historical immutability (to 'legitimate' them) by aligning them with what it would call 'grand ideals' but which resemble Lyotard's grand narratives. In this light we can further articulate H. Greenhough Smith's mistrust of literary modernism as a disdain for narratives dislocated from the grand narratives of the past. These totalising ideals are often found to be evoked in *The Strand* and the figures used to embody them express an ambivalent response to this level of expectation. For clarity, when Lyotard refers to the 'modern' he means something different from a literary critic's understanding the word. Instead of the literature of modernity developing out of the discomforted passage from nineteenth to twentieth-centuries he means, more broadly, the literature of the modern world or post-Enlightenment writings. What a literary critic would call 'modern' Lyotard calls 'postmodern'.³⁸⁰ The 'modern' fiction that Smith objected to was precisely the same writing that Lyotard so engages with as 'post-modern'. Two aspects of Lyotard's understanding of narratives are important to establish here. Firstly, literature can never be apolitical. This is not because texts explicitly agree or disagree with governmental strategies or ideologies, rather because the appearance of small, localised narratives constitutes a challenge to the domination of unifying, grand narratives and a cultural resistance to hegemony.³⁸¹ Secondly, the political importance of narratives is that the method and mode of narration is keyed to the self-perception of a culture. 'Static' cultures, he argues, are those for whom the very process of narration takes precedence over the specific content. He refers to the initiation ceremonies of certain tribes where incantations lose all direct, linguistic significance beneath the shared 'meter' of narration and suggests a connection between this and the *bildungsroman* form which 'asserts the self-mastery of the mind' through characterial certainty. 'Postmodern' (or 'modernist', for our purposes) narratives for 'the sons of *Ulysses*' disrupt this certainty and serve constantly to undermine the relationship of the present to the past and future. This is the kind of helpfully reductive, pseudo-scientific framework that made Lyotard such an easy target for post-modern sceptics like Alan Sokal.³⁸² However, despite its flaws as an

³⁸⁰ James Joyce's *Ulysses* is Lyotard's most frequently used example.

³⁸¹ Lyotard gives the example of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipeligo* whose collection of narratives 'refuse incorporation into the general narrative of Stalinism' and, consequently, 'erode its power'. Keith Crome and James Williams eds., *The Lyotard Reader & Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 120.

³⁸² Sokal's famous assault on the erroneous scientific basis of 'postmodern' philosophies of Julia Kristeva, Jacques Derrida and Jacques Lacan (as well as Lyotard) was outlined in his 1997 book

anthropological observation, Lyotard's understanding of 'static' cultures provides a hugely instructive perspective onto *The Strand* and its uses of science. Despite the magazine's status as a cultural product whose very existence and reception would have been inconceivable at any previous point in history (the technology did not exist to produce it and no one would have been there to read it), its content frequently presents a deeply ambivalent attitude towards modernity and, this contradiction (a 'static' representation of modernity) is one of the guiding tensions in its ideology. I will attempt to articulate this connection by investigating the doubled relationship that *The Strand* displays towards modernism and modernity. Its modernity is ultimately superficial because it barely conceals a desperate longing for the preservation of grand narratives and the 'static' society they would imply. The rhythmic, language-less chanting of Lyotard's tribes is replaced by the mechanised typologies of *The Strand*'s fiction, ceaselessly reproducing the same characters and situations in narratives that explicitly adhere to grand narratives of the past. Yet, the visual culture of the illustrated magazine dictates that these de-individualised figures must be brought to life in some way, either through illustration or photography. Individual bodies, in short, had to be imagined to embody these grand narratives. Ultimately, the gulf between the individual body and the totalising historicity of the grand narrative creates an ideological slippage whereby, in the transition from ideal to page, the longed-for 'certainties' fail to materialise. The failure inherent in this relationship is made particularly apparent in a loosely related series of articles and stories that are united by their interest in The Second Boer War and, specifically, the crisis of masculinity that sprang from its problematic course. The debate, and much discussion of the conflict in general, centred on the male body which consequently became a particularly contested site. As a result, it is necessary to pick apart the congested network of ideas that characterised its representation.

Fashionable Nonsense. He suggested that Lyotard's rejection of scientific worldviews was only possible by incompetently cobbling together 'six distinct branches of science' of which he had no serious grasp. Alan Sokal, *Fashionable Nonsense* (London: Picador, 1999), p. 125.

THE BOER WAR AND THE PHYSICAL CULTURE DEBATE

This abstract talk of the relationship between ‘bodies’ and ‘narratives’ remains somewhat abstract and theoretical until we focus upon one particular body; that of Prussian bodybuilder and proponent of ‘physical culture’ Eugen Sandow. Sandow began his career as a performer in Florenz Ziegfeld’s circus reviews in the late 1880s and was hugely popular with British audiences. He made his mark on the cultural landscape with various publications including exercise regimens, a magazine (*Sandow’s*) and a series of speculations upon the benefits of regular exercise. All of this work stimulated much debate on the state of the British body since it coincided with the ongoing public debate over the underperformance of the British army in the Crimea, in Afghanistan and, particularly, in the Boer War. Here, the phrase ‘physical culture’ debate is used to describe discussion (in the popular press, in literature and in the houses of parliament) about the state of national health and efficiency. This debate is an interrelated part of various overlapping discourses that, as shown by Anson Rabinbach, date back to at least the thirteenth-century. Fears of degeneration, expiration and entropy are thus endemic to Western culture.³⁸³ The physical culture debate, however, is made historically specific because its terrain was specifically mapped by the Second Boer War and its multivalent implications for Britain’s imperial and European standing. Harold B. Segal has tracked the spread of this debate across European modernism and suggested that military activity and public interest in sport and physical culture were necessarily intertwined. If armies had engaged successfully, as in Germany, then the emphasis was on avoiding complacency whereas in countries of declining military strength the debate was urgently precipitated by performance anxiety on the world stage.³⁸⁴ This debate was

³⁸³ He writes that ‘[i]n early modern Europe the noble figure of work was constantly threatened by the subversive figure of idleness’. Rabinbach, *The Human Motor*, p. 25. ‘Fatigue’, symptomatic of ‘the body’s intractable resistance to unlimited progress and productivity [...] became the permanent nemesis of an industrializing Europe’ (p. 4). Taking an even longer view, the discourse can be traced to Juvenal’s observation in his *Satire* on ‘The Decay of Feminine Virtue’ that ‘[n]ow the ills of long peace afflict us: luxury, a more deadly/incubus than warfare, avenges the world we subdued’. Juvenal, Peter Green, trans., *The Sixteen Satires* (London: Penguin Classics, 1998), p. 43.

³⁸⁴ ‘Also working to promote the new European enthusiasm for physical culture and sports was the experience of war, both good and bad [...] The poor performance of the English troops in the Boer War led not long after to Lord Baden-Powell’s creation of the Boy Scouts’. Harold B. Segal, ‘Pantomime, Dance, Sprachskepsis, and Physical Culture in German and Austrian Modernism’ in *The Great*

played out across every platform of the mass-market popular press and Arthur Conan Doyle was a frequent participant. His contributions in the autumn of 1900 after his return from a three-month stint in a private military hospital in South Africa are particularly telling. In these letters the question of the British male's physical wellbeing seem to particularly pre-occupy him. In November of that year he contributed to two separate strands of the debate: he could firstly be found arguing for military reform in *The Times* and secondly for the shortening of shop-workers' hours in the less illustrious pages of *The Grocer's Assistant*. The two debates, disparate in scale, share only the new popular language of physical culture.

[...T]here is a great untapped source of military strength in that large portion of the population who would willingly learn the use of a rifle, but who are unable to join any organised body of volunteers [...] It would be a good thing for the country that every man should be made to understand that he is not to trust to others, but to himself for protection.³⁸⁵

The matter of shorter hours for shop assistants is one in which I take the deepest interest, believing that in a country which has no compulsory military service the physique and well being of the class to which you allude can only be guaranteed by a universal adoption of short hours and frequent holidays.³⁸⁶

Doyle's argument, in the first letter, was that there were many thousands of 'immature' soldiers that had to be left at home and many thousands more who were unfit for combat and lacked sufficient training to be of any use in the Transvaal. These soldiers had sucked resources away from the core of men who, alone, should have constituted the main military presence. The systems of training and defence were, he felt, antiquated and had been shown to be so half a century earlier in the Crimea, from which point they had evolved little further. The physical condition of the army would be improved, he continued, by halving its numbers, doubling its pay and using it 'entirely for the defence of the outer empire'.³⁸⁷ The home islands

Tradition and its Legacy, Michael Cherlin, Halina Filipowicz and Richard L. Rudolph, eds. (Berghahn Books, 2004), p. 68.

³⁸⁵ Arthur Conan Doyle, *Letters to the Press* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1986), pp. 72-3.

³⁸⁶ Doyle, *Letters to the Press*, p. 71.

³⁸⁷ Doyle, *Letters to the Press*, p. 73.

themselves would be defended by an expanded militia, or a corps of 'civilian riflemen'. In this context, Doyle's interest in the physical well-being of shop assistants seems a far more serious problem than at first glance; it frames a vital connection between the imperial war zone and the shop floor. The inspiration for this plan had not come from any imperial force but from the Boer themselves who, over the course of the war, had won grudging respect from many domestic commentators. Doyle was not alone amongst the British press in making them the subject of a simultaneous demonization and valorisation that abjured their apparent 'savagery' yet celebrated their bravery and endurance.³⁸⁸ They were admired for their bravery, their military intelligence and their ability to use their local knowledge to full effect against the ungainly and physically underprepared British forces. Whilst in his Bloemfontein hospital, Doyle contributed an article to *The Strand* entitled 'A Glimpse of the Army' where he impressionistically recorded some of his experiences: 'These farmers have taught our riflemen their business and they bid fair to alter the artillery systems of the world as well [...] Brother Boer is not a Bushman [...] He is a tough, stubborn fighter, who plays a close game, but does not cheat'.³⁸⁹ In a letter to *The Times* in December 1899 he had presaged these later ideas when he wrote that 'this war has at least taught the lesson that it needs only a brave man and a modern rifle to make a soldier'.³⁹⁰ Discourse on physical health was, of course, not born out of the Boer War but the experiences of the army prompted a radical re-focussing in which science would play several conflicting roles. In the first instance, 'physical culture' was, at least superficially, a discipline informed by a biological understanding of body-mass and calorific consumption. In his 1894 book, *Sandow on Physical Training*, Sandow makes repeated reference to both 'the science of physical culture' and to 'the vast field which science, aided by the microscope, has opened up for us in relation to the bone and cell structure, waste and repair of the human body'.³⁹¹ Secondly, physical culture was deployed in the movement towards 'national efficiency' which was a series of strategies designed to increase governmental 'supervision' of the nation's

³⁸⁸ 'London journalists invariably presented the Boers as primitive and backwards, isolated rural people [...] whose defeat by the superior civilisation of the British was an inevitable result of social Darwinism [...] But the reporting of events on the front soon became more balanced. There arose growing admiration [...]'. Kenneth O. Morgan, 'The Boer War and the Media (1899-1902)', *Twentieth Century British History* 13-1 (2002), p. 5.

³⁸⁹ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'A Glimpse of the Army', *The Strand Magazine* 20 (July, 1900), pp. 350-2.

³⁹⁰ Doyle, *Letters to the Press*, p. 57.

³⁹¹ Eugen Sandow, *Sandow on Physical Training* (Kessinger Publishing, 2003), p. 11, 142.

effectiveness on all levels.³⁹² In the accounts of W. H. Greenleaf and Geoffrey Russell Searle, this drive for British 'efficiency' would affect the organisation of parliament, the operation of the marketplace, modes of education and town-planning as well as the bodily health of the nation's subjects.³⁹³ Searle insightfully ascribes this impulse as the desire for the country to be organised by 'scientifically-ordered' systems.³⁹⁴ In this way, science became engaged in the struggle to modernise and make-efficient the terrain of individual bodies; this is the context into which Sandow and Doyle were writing.

As prominent public figures with similar agenda, the two men were friends. Doyle supported Sandow's exercise regimens and recorded his weight accordingly in his diary.³⁹⁵ In September 1901 the two men sat together in judgement on a contest, arranged by Sandow and held at the Royal Albert Hall, to find the British man with the finest physique. Andrew Lycett notes that the winner, William Murray of Nottingham, was presented with a 'solid gold' statue of Sandow with the proceeds of the tickets being donated to the Lord Mayor's Transvaal War Fund.³⁹⁶ This financial detail further strengthened the idea of a connection between physical culture and events in South Africa; failures or deficiencies in one area were being balanced elsewhere. In November of that year a plaster-cast of Sandow's physique was displayed in the South Kensington branch of the British Museum. *The Strand* marked this occasion with an article entitled 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris' which retold the painstaking story of the cast's construction. The terms in which the article couched these events and the culture of the magazine's presentation of the male body, open up a route to understanding the ways in which bodies became, for *The Strand*, highly problematic vehicles for its ideas. The relationship between the text and the images in the article are of particular interest. The anonymous author highlights a series of pertinent issues that arise from the physical culture debate whilst, on the page, his text is supplemented by no less than twelve separate pictures of a naked or semi-naked Sandow from various stages of the cast's construction. The interplay between image

³⁹² W. H. Greenleaf, *The British Political Tradition, Volume 1* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2003), p. 106.

³⁹³ Greenleaf points out that an 'efficiency ideology' was geared towards 'reform[ing] education, housing [and] sanitation' as well as 'imperial federation' and 'the world-wide mobilisation of the resources of the Empire'. Greenleaf, *The British Political Tradition, Volume 1*, p. 105-6.

³⁹⁴ Geoffrey Russell Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency* (University of California Press, 1971), p. 27, 101, 256.

³⁹⁵ Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, p. 270.

³⁹⁶ Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, p. 270.

and text is controlled by the author who outlines a series of ideological positions that, in the form of allusions, mediate and inscribe meanings onto the photographs. The images are deployed because they, in one way or another, establish Sandow's physique as the embodiment of these allusions. The article is keen to place *The Strand*, its readers and the people who would wish to see the cast in the British Museum at a very particular, midway point in the cultural field. Whilst some way beneath the pretentious, implicitly sedentary, high culture aesthete they were also some way above the indiscriminate, scopophilic gaze of the low culture thug. The article began:

My friend the Superior Person had been visiting the South Kensington branch of the British Museum and he came back in high dudgeon [...] indeed he was literally spluttering with wrath. Evidently his very superior susceptibilities had suffered a cruel outrage.³⁹⁷

The 'superior person' is outraged at the presence of Sandow in the rarefied space of the British Museum; 'Great Scott' he exclaims, 'what will the museum be coming to next? A penny show with marionettes and performing dogs I suppose'.³⁹⁸ The author mediated this perspective by discussing the issue with the museum's then-curator and frequent contributor to *The Strand*, Ray Lankester who highlighted the anthropological benefit of the cast. Sandow, it was argued 'presents the perfect type of a European man' and also stands as 'a striking demonstration of what can be done in the way of perfecting the muscles by simple means'.³⁹⁹ 'I know what popular prejudice is' continued the article sadly, 'even in these enlightened days individuals still exist who regard the cultivation of the body as a thing to be frowned upon'. Having decried the high culture perspective, the author then resists the counter claims of low culture prurience. Lankester, according to the article 'is the last man in the world who would be moved by considerations of what is likely merely to amuse and to gratify the idle curiosity of a certain section of the public'.⁴⁰⁰ Sandow's body, in this light, is established as the site of a cultural contest. The new science of physical culture had become, for *The Strand*, a means of legitimising its own self-perception as

³⁹⁷ 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris', *The Strand Magazine* 22 (October, 1901), p. 461.

³⁹⁸ 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris', p. 461.

³⁹⁹ 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris', p. 461.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris', p. 462.

a middlebrow publication, committed to intellectual and personal growth but not so lost to reason and simple pleasures as to join the ranks of the 'superior persons'. More than this, 'science', in the shape of new biological understanding, seems to promise the synecdochic renewal of the European race through Sandow's embodiment of the Grecian bodily ideal.

The specifics of this new social imperative outline precisely what qualities were expected to be codedly read in the abundance of Prussian flesh that the Sandow article in *The Strand* displayed (3.1). The Boer war and the reaction of the public and press to its failures didn't necessarily help the anti-imperialist cause, instead, according to Bentley Gilbert,

the war and its aftermath turned imperialism inward and redirected its energy, its violence and its intolerance back onto England [...] imperialists, with the same uncompromising vigour they displayed in the conquest of Africa, took up national service, physical training, the Boy Scouts [...and] most importantly [...] they adopted national efficiency.⁴⁰¹

In 1904 the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration delivered a damning verdict on the state of Britain's 'physical efficiency' in light of the conflict and this further cemented the same connection between domestic health and military success that Doyle's two letters established.⁴⁰² Even if we are to treat Gilbert's rather unilateral statement with scepticism regarding the wider picture of post-Boer imperialism, we can read its relevant veracity in terms of *The Strand's* depictions of maleness and masculinity. *The Strand* goes to great lengths to engage and palliate the dual crises of the British male body and British manliness as an ideal. By casting Sandow as an idealised figure, someone who embodied the classical proportions of Greek sculpture, the article attempted to legitimate his body as an historical artefact by aligning it with the classical heroic, masculine discourse of remote classicism. To answer the question of what is at stake in the portrayal of Sandow's body we thus

⁴⁰¹ Bentley Gilbert, *The Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain* (London: Joseph, 1966), p. 61.

⁴⁰² Morgan, 'The Boer War and the Media (1899-1902)', p. 6. The report's appearance in 1904 can be slightly misleading since it was commissioned, in 1902, with a view to examining the bodily health of schoolchildren, not soldiers (see Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration* [UNC Press, 1995], pp. 43-47). Its role in the debate was more or less accidental, though no less crucial given that it stimulated debate in spheres as far apart as the cheap popular press and the House of Lords.



3.1

need to balance a confused mixture of cultural, political, artistic, scientific and nationalistic commitments. Sandow, for example, is held up as a kind of embodiment of an idealised, deterritorialised 'Europe' and in this way guards against the anxieties of empire stimulated by Boer War failures.⁴⁰³ Crucially, however, the direct threats to Britain's security were far more likely to be rival imperial powers; when Doyle imagined an 'invading force', it did not emanate from the colonies but from much nearer home.⁴⁰⁴ Fears of physical frailty are banished as Sandow becomes a kind of fetish that allows Britain to fantasise its own bodily strength as a cultural and artistic combatant as well as a militaristic one. The invocation of the British Museum, with its connotations of monumentality and historicity is crucial since it allows the author to reclaim physicality as a cultural buttress to nationalism. Sandow's status as a cultural totem is reinforced in this way by *The Strand* which posits masculine bodily perfection as one of its grand, historic ideals. His body, because of its unusual development, is capable of shouldering these expectations but problems arise when *The Strand* attempts to translate the masculine ideal onto 'everyday' British bodies. This attempt is played out across the two plains that Doyle had implicitly intertwined in his letters: the domestic social scene and the site of imperial conflict. Discussion of the former inevitably leads towards the latter and it is there that we begin to discover how the new efficiency-imperative began to be employed as a discursive and rhetorical technique in *The Strand*.

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

In *The Strand Magazine: 1891-1950*, an autobiographical history of the magazine that he edited, Reginald Pound named his first chapter 'A British Institution', a phrase which is suggestive not only of the magazine's self-perception but also of a significant part of its editorial remit. *The Strand* frequently published portraits of social institutions; its first issue famously contained such an article: 'A Night with the

⁴⁰³ This may seem odd, given that Sandow (a Prussian) would seem to be representative of a rival imperial power and, as a consequence, someone to be feared rather than admired and venerated. Despite Sandow's gestures towards universalism and his adoption of British citizenship, this proved to be the case (see Vike Martina Plock, 'A Feat of Strength in "Itachca": Eugen Sandow and Physical Culture in Joyce's *Ulysses*', *Journal of Modern Literature* [30-1, 2006], pp. 129-139, pp. 133-135). Another reason for *The Strand*'s equanimity could have been its extreme reluctance to identify the Germans as a genuine threat to peace. As late as 1912, the magazine published a profile of Kaiser Wilhelm II arguing that he was the victim of popular prejudice and that he represented Europe's 'best hope for peace'. 'The Kaiser As He Is', *The Strand* 43 (March, 1912), 255-263.

⁴⁰⁴ Doyle, *Letters to the Press*, p. 72.

Thames Police'. This trend continued throughout the magazine's first decade with a slew of similar articles including 'At the Children's Hospital', 'At the Animal's Hospital', 'Young Tommy Atkins', 'The Metropolitan Fire Brigade', 'Our Money Manufactory' and 'Smuggler's Devices'.⁴⁰⁵ In simple terms, the articles displayed a naïve faith in the ability of institutions to provide and maintain the conditions under which the safe, unchallenging world of the magazine's fiction was possible. As with George Sims' social exploration literature, their principal object was to establish the absolute otherness of challenges to this tranquil scene; moreover, science (or at least an awareness of the potential of modern technology) afforded the promise of perpetual progression in a drive toward efficiency. This drive makes some interesting demands of the individuals depicted in the articles as well as evidencing an insidious paranoia about the kinds of eruption that threatened its progression. In 'A Night with the Thames Police', the author regrets that '[g]oods to the value of a million sterling were being neatly appropriated every year' and praises the mercantile collective that, in 1792, formed the 'Preventative Service' which, forty years later, would be incorporated into the Metropolitan Police.⁴⁰⁶ This organisation had ensured that smuggling was 'played out' and that its practitioners now counted themselves lucky to escape with 'a coil or two of old rope'.⁴⁰⁷ The dynamic is the same as the one discussed in relation to 'Smuggler's Devices' in chapter one: a chaotic past becomes modernised and standardised by the technological advances in institutional surveillance. Again the improvements are measured in terms of capital, from the 'one million pounds' lost before, to the 'one hundred pounds' lost now.⁴⁰⁸ However, there is an intimate connection, signified by the term 'efficiency' that unites this modernising impulse with the bodily representation of individuals. *The Strand* speaks in the language of bodies: the Thames Police are a 'body of two hundred strong'; they were not 'incorporated' into the Metropolitan Police, but were 'embodied' with them.⁴⁰⁹ The concept of 'surveillance' can carry connotations of some disembodied, faceless agency, but here it is the direct result of 'the river-policeman's eye'.⁴¹⁰ In a manner that will become familiar to readers of *The Strand's* portraits of institutions,

⁴⁰⁵ These pieces offered treatments of vets, soldiers, the Royal Mint and Customs and Excises officers respectively.

⁴⁰⁶ 'A Night with the Thames Police', *The Strand Magazine* 1 (January, 1891), p. 124.

⁴⁰⁷ 'A Night with the Thames Police', p. 125.

⁴⁰⁸ 'A Night with the Thames Police', p. 125.

⁴⁰⁹ 'A Night with the Thames Police', p. 125.

⁴¹⁰ 'A Night with the Thames Police', p. 125.

the river policemen are depicted as a collective body whose purity is maintained by living as a community of men. We are told that 'accommodation is provided for sixteen single men with a library, reading-room and billiard-room'.⁴¹¹ Their efficiency, as a bonded unit is also written in bodily terms:

It blows cold as we spin past Traitor's Gate at the Tower, but our men become weather-beaten on the Thames, and their hands never lose their grip [...] They need a hardy frame, a robust constitution [...] At the time of the Fenian scare at the House of Correction, thirty-six hour [shifts...] were considered nothing out of the way.⁴¹²

The intimacy of the relationship between institutional and bodily efficiency is clearly suggested here but is articulated further in the article as the day-to-day duties of the policemen is discussed. Their physical robustness allows them to patrol the river not just to prevent smuggling but also to act as a dragnet preventing the disappearance of bodies and things into the river. The policemen attach 'stories' to the anonymous bodies that they pick up; they do this by focussing on fragments of detail, 'a piece of lace, [...] the button on a man's trouser, [...] the inscription engraved on a watch'.⁴¹³ Here the emphasis on institutional efficiency begins to fall into context. It is, in one sense, a suture to cover the whole network of anxieties that attend the role of the river. Rivers historically afford the possibility of unauthorised entrances and exits, be they on the large scale (immigration, emigration, military or naval invasion) or the small scale (discarded objects, crime-scene evidence or the appearance of diseases). It is this dangerous potential that the physical prowess of the river police is invoked to banish. As Rod Edmond notes,

Because of their bounded nature island cultures were unusually susceptible to imported disease, their peoples lacking antibodies and the immunity [...] As places of ceaseless arrival and departure islands seemed to promote the ethnic

⁴¹¹ 'A Night with the Thames Police', p. 125.

⁴¹² 'A Night with the Thames Police', p. 126.

⁴¹³ 'A Night with the Thames Police', p. 127.

mingling that, according to later nineteenth-century racial science and germ theories of disease, facilitated contagion.⁴¹⁴

In this context, the heavy trend towards embodiment makes historical sense. It is too easy to suggest that *The Strand* was a puppet of the dominant ideology. The magazine was perfectly capable of making eloquent and passionate critiques of governmental and institutional policy.⁴¹⁵ Many of these critiques were confined to the pages of symposia and discussion articles where dissent was explicitly promised and forewarned; but this was by no means always the case. In 1891, for example, *The Strand* published a long series of articles that detailed 'The State of the Law Courts'; of particular interest is the instalment that appeared in July and dealt with criminal trials across the country. The anonymous article begins with some incidental observations on the appearance of the working class criminal ('growth stunted by drink [...] sharp, terrier-like features') but then mounts a strong attack on abuses of power and other injustices that are suggested to be endemic.⁴¹⁶ London magistrates, for example, 'pride themselves' on discharging 'the greatest possible number of cases in the shortest possible time' at the expense of 'taking notes and depositions' in case of a mistrial.⁴¹⁷ Moreover, magistrates are uniformly prejudiced in favour of police witnesses, whose '*esprit du corps*' (in itself 'a commendable feature') pre-disposes them to provide false testimonies and perpetrate injustices. The anonymous author goes on to detail further problems such as the role of nepotism in the selection of magistrates and the unrigorous, biased practices of country justices of the peace, described as a 'laughing-stock'.⁴¹⁸ This article shows that *The Strand's* institutional portraits are not just monocular recapitulations of dominant ideologies; neither does their emphasis on technological surveillance blind them to the socio-ethical commitments that these bodies owe to 'the public'.⁴¹⁹ What is particularly striking,

⁴¹⁴ Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, eds, *Islands in History and Representation* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 134.

⁴¹⁵ The magazine frequently contained articles and debates arguing against the strict marriage laws that prevented mutually beneficial divorces (see 'Do Love Marriages Turn Out Best?', *The Strand* 47 [May, 1914], pp. 523-528). It also ran symposia on the effectiveness of the English race in general ('Is England on the Downgrade', *The Strand* 44 [October, 1912], pp. 406-412) and the value of the military ('If Britain Disarmed', *The Strand Magazine* 43 [October, 1911], pp. 414-418).

⁴¹⁶ Anthony Guest, 'The State of the Law Courts IV: The Criminal Courts', *The Strand* 2 (July, 1891), p. 84.

⁴¹⁷ Guest, 'The State of the Law Courts IV: The Criminal Courts', p. 85.

⁴¹⁸ Guest, 'The State of the Law Courts IV: The Criminal Courts', p. 87.

⁴¹⁹ Guest, 'The State of the Law Courts IV: The Criminal Courts', p. 86.

however, is that criticism of failure is measured in terms of 'inefficiency' and institutions' failure to live to a scientifically-informed expectation of regularity and reliability. Institutions become the bearers of Gieryn's list of scientific values: 'objectivity, efficacy, precision, reliability, authenticity, predictability, sincerity, desirability' and 'tradition'.⁴²⁰ The law courts, for example, are open to be attacked primarily because they manifestly fail to live up to this scientific set of ideals.

As the turn of the century approached and the Boer War left its mark in popular discourses of the body, this bodily element of non-fiction articles and its associated anxieties became still more predominant. H. J. Holmes' 1904 article 'Making a Policeman', for example, detailed the processes by which applicants for the Metropolitan force were examined and tested for their suitability. The piece was saturated with the language of the physical culture and this saturation suggested that physical and bodily integrity were the principal qualifications required.

The man who would be a constable in the Metropolitan Police must possess the following qualifications [...] His age must not be over twenty-seven nor under twenty-one; he must stand 5ft. 9in clear [...] be able to read and write legibly [...] be free from any bodily complaint whatsoever, of a strong constitution [...] and particular as to personal cleanliness.⁴²¹

The appended photographs (3.2 and 3.3) show a prospective candidate being respectively measured and weighed to see that his body meets the required standards. The question posed by the images is done so purely in terms of physicality: is the candidate's physical integrity sound enough for him to progress through his examination? The article later asserts that all candidates 'must be re-vaccinated' before they assume active duties.⁴²² The article asserts two direct correlations: first, as discussed above, between the efficiency of an institution and the bodily health of its members and, secondly, between bodily integrity and moral integrity. The idea that one must be physically fit to 'apprehend offenders against the peace' is natural enough; but the value attributed to this quality seems excessive.⁴²³ The surplus-value signalled by this over-emphasis can be related to the augmentation of traditional

⁴²⁰ Gieryn, *The Cultural Boundaries of Science*, p. 1.

⁴²¹ Holmes, 'Making a Policeman', p. 387.

⁴²² Holmes, 'Making a Policeman', p. 389.

⁴²³ Holmes, 'Making a Policeman', p. 391.



3.2



3.3

policemen's duties (upholding the law) with their symbolic function in the article (banishing certain anxieties of the imagined 'reader'). The article literally explains how policemen are 'made', yet this process is depicted as almost entirely physical as opposed to moral or ethical. This 'making' (analogous to a physical augmentation) incorporates both moral and physical educations. This mixture of the physical and the ethical is able to appropriate aspects of what T. C. Sanders called 'muscular Christianity' and re-employ them to counter the modern anxieties whose flames had been fanned by the physical culture debate. The phrase 'muscular Christianity', coined in 1857 in response to Charles Kingsley's novel *Two Years Ago*, has become a useful critical term for analysing ideologies that promoted bodily well-being as 'inoculation against potential threats to religious belief, [...] social stability and national prestige'.⁴²⁴ In the context of Holmes' article, the fine physique is clutched as a kind of fetish to ward off incipient threats as varied as imperial decay, immigration, civil unrest and moral slackening associated with new modernities. The male body is the battleground on which these hopes and fears are contested in *The Strand* and Holmes' article makes this clearer than any other.

The article fits neatly into the editorial niche to be filled by 'institutional portrait articles' and is filled with eulogistic praise for the Metropolitan Police. The claims made in 'A Night with the Thames Police' were principally ethical (this body of men are reliable guardians of public order) and the bodily language was one aspect of this reliability. By the time of Holmes' article, descriptions of the body had come to subsume and overdetermine the depictions of ethics or morality. This conclusion echoes that of the article 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris', which appeared in the subsequent issue of the magazine. The two articles are very different yet both attempt to 'legitimate' their subjects and idealise them, by appealing to a grand narrative of physically-coded morality. The police force is portrayed in the article as a (collectively) superior body of men constituted of individually superior bodies. There is a sense in which the fitness that qualifies the successful candidates for their positions admits them entry to a reserved space, marked out in bodily specifications. Yet, unlike Sandow, the policemen depicted in the article are problematic vehicles for this grand ideal. For their 'all-important medical', the candidates are asked to

⁴²⁴ Timothy Chandler, Mike Cronin and Wray Vamplew, *Sport and Physical Education: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 135-136.

assemble dressed only in cloaks.⁴²⁵ They emerge from the 'ordeal [...] mostly with broad grins upon their faces [...R]elieved because *that* portion of the days programme is over'.⁴²⁶ That sentence and the accompanying picture (3.4) reinforce the idea that the men's success or failure is dependent entirely on the state of their body. In their nervousness and discontent (and in their subsequent relief) we can read a lingering anxiety not limited exclusively to the possibility of failure. The men are clearly uncomfortable with their nakedness and the photograph visualises a discomfort which is juxtaposed with the strong lines of the identical cloaks which prefigure their future encasement within institutional uniforms. In short, the bodies of the men in the article are asked to bear the burden not only of their personal ambitions, but of the excess value that *The Strand* attributes to bodily health. Sandow's body was employed in a similar way, yet the 'everyday' bodies of the police applicants are far less sturdy vehicles for this ideological baggage. The slight erotic charge that attends their stripping and their 'relief' at its conclusion holds implications that undermine the steady progression of the article's intended narrative. It also undermines the progression of images which become gradually more regimented and ordered. This progression mirrors the text's promise to eradicate 'the slouching gait, or ugly walk' in favour of the 'smart, soldierly style that tells the well-drilled man' and finally concludes with what it terms 'the complete article' (3.5).⁴²⁷ The 'well-drilled' regularity of this final photograph condenses not just the physical-ethical dialectic but also a suggested relationship between the scientific and the militaristic. The latter combination becomes particularly noticeable in *The Strand* throughout the years of the Boer War and will be discussed in more depth later. At this point, it is enough to suggest a superficial comparison between the idea of a regimented, military aesthetic and the scientifically-informed aesthetic of technological efficiency as detailed above. The succession of images in the article, each better 'drilled' than the last, emphasises the idea that these policemen are not being 'hired', 'trained' or 'chosen', they are being 'made'. This word in itself suggests that the applicants are committed to a transformative process that makes them in some way artificial and less fleshly. How can these men, however strong they may be, be expected to become embodiments of these grand ideals when their obvious discomfort over their medical suggests an entire

⁴²⁵ Holmes, 'Making a Policeman', p. 388.

⁴²⁶ Holmes, 'Making a Policeman', p. 388.

⁴²⁷ Holmes, 'Making a Policeman', p. 389.

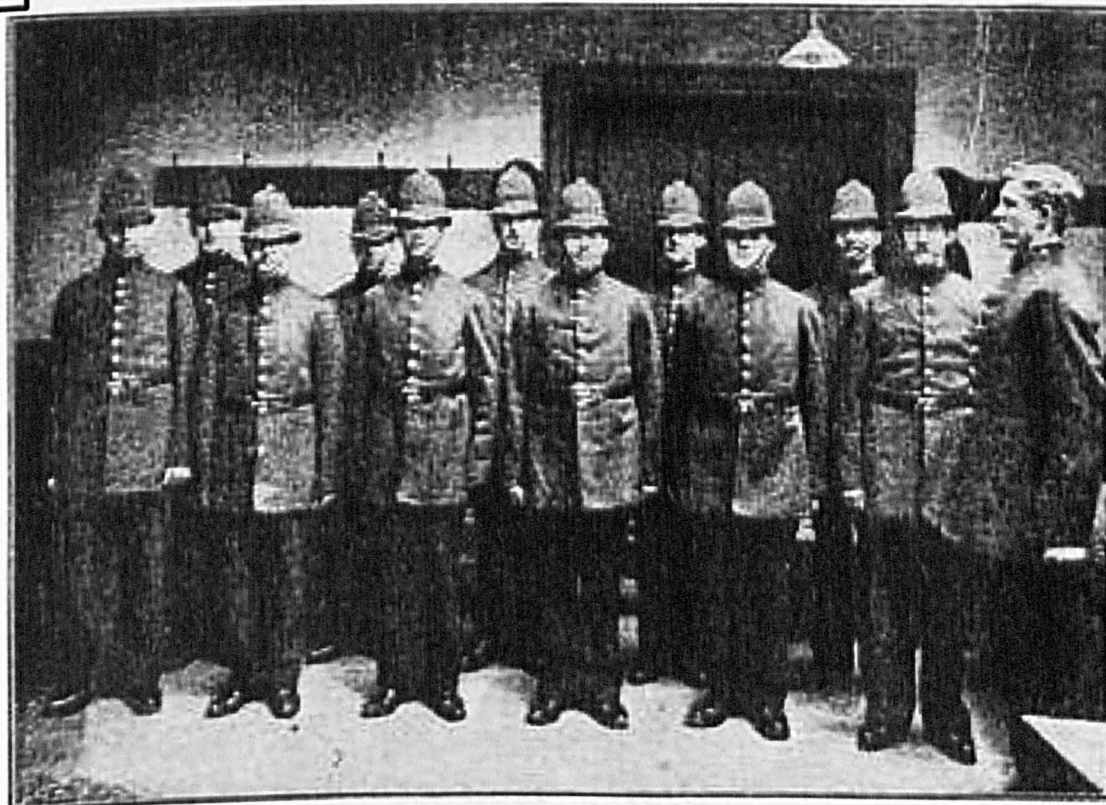


[From a]

MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

[Photo.]

3.4



[From a]

THE COMPLETE ARTICLE.

[Photo.]

3.5

network of submerged anxieties, fears and doubts which render them somehow incapable? The principle point of interest in the article is that a new physical, bodily economy is at work in *The Strand*'s ideology. '[S]oldierly' values are highlighted as being particularly beneficial to the domestic scene, presumably as a response to the wastage prompted by the commercial life denounced by Doyle. If we accept that the magazine was attempting to embody a combined physical-ethical ideal then we should think about the 'ethical' as much the physical. *The Strand* was not a magazine given to endorsing vanity or the cultivation of the body for any reason other than utility. The fantasy of the idealised body is contingent upon its 'soldierly' qualities; the idea of a strong domestic physique, for *The Strand*, carries an explicit promise to uphold imperial values in conflict. As Graham Dawson notes in the introduction to his *Soldier Heroes*, 'masculinities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination'; the masculine crisis may have grown out of real fleshly conflicts in South Africa but *The Strand*'s response was fashioned in its domestic, imaginative fiction as well as its non-fiction articles.⁴²⁸ Institutions such as the police and fire-services afford the opportunity to import militaristic values into these domestic scenes. The policemen are drilled, wear uniforms and are tasked to act for the public good at no small risk to themselves; the comparison with those involved in imperial conflicts is not difficult. However, because the magazine's fiction focuses so overwhelmingly upon a social rather than institutional *milieu*, it uses a different method to domesticate the masculine, soldierly ideal; a method that is dependent on sport. This idea of a bonded physical-ethical ideal finds the playing field extremely fertile ground and, little surprise given his express involvement in other areas of the physical culture debate, Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories provide a lucid set of examples.

Sporting values were of a key importance to Doyle throughout his life. As suggested at the start of this chapter, he felt that a healthy sporting culture kept a nation fit and in readiness to defend itself should the need arise. This understanding of sport mirrors the 'soldierly' quality of the policemen in that it translates values derived from Empire into a domestic environment. We can observe, in testament to this relationship, his violent reaction to the news that, whilst fighting still continued in

⁴²⁸ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 1.

South Africa, a Springbok cricket team intended to tour England. He wrote to *The Spectator* and claimed the following:

It is a stain on their manhood that they are not out with rifles in their hands driving the invader from their country. They leave this to others whilst they play games [...] The only excuse for a game is that it keeps a man fit for the serious duties of life.⁴²⁹

The implied understanding of sport as a healthy, domestic arena for the enactment of chivalry and heroism is made explicit here and the moral background of his Sherlock Holmes stories accordingly mirrors this. Watson is the key example of someone who nurtured dual passions for both sporting and soldiering. He fought in the second Afghan War and, in civilian life, nurtures a fine sporting instinct. The repeated references to his 'service revolver' call attention to this 'soldierly' aspect of his nature.⁴³⁰ Watson responds well to sportsmen because they tend to share in the idea that sport is a way of harnessing and refining the finer passions. In 1904, amongst 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris' and 'Making a Policeman', we find Doyle's 'The Missing Three-Quarter'.⁴³¹ The plot is straightforward: Holmes and Watson are visited by Cyril Overton, captain of the Cambridge rugby team, who is desperately searching for his 'right-wing three quarter', Godfrey Staunton. Staunton disappeared the day before the all-important Varsity clash with Oxford.⁴³² Watson describes Overton as

An enormous young man, sixteen stone of solid bone and muscle, who spanned the doorway with his broad shoulders and looked from one of us to the other with a comely face which was haggard with anxiety.⁴³³

⁴²⁹ Doyle, *Letters to the Press*, p.81.

⁴³⁰ References to Watson's 'service' or 'army' 'revolver' occur in 'Thor Bridge', 'The Red-Headed League', 'The Speckled Band' and 'The Copper Beeches' amongst others.

⁴³¹ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Missing Three-Quarter' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 861-881.

⁴³² It ultimately transpires that the reason for Staunton's absence is compelling. To preserve his inheritance he married in secret to a woman whom Lord Mount James would have considered unsuitable; his wife is taken seriously ill on the eve of the match and Staunton is called to her death bed.

⁴³³ Doyle, 'The Missing Three-Quarter', p. 863.

Overton is bewildered that Holmes would be ignorant of either his name or the name of the missing man: 'Good Lord! Mr Holmes' he exclaims, 'where *have* you lived'?⁴³⁴ Holmes replies ruefully:

You live in a different world to me, Mr Overton, a sweeter, happier one. My ramifications stretch into many sections of society, but never, I'm happy to say, into amateur sport, which is the best and soundest thing in England.⁴³⁵

The simple inference is that the world of sport holds no interest for Holmes because it is populated by people whose athleticism inures them against exhibiting any of the qualities that would attract his attention: criminality, mendacity or immorality. Holmes views this world with envy, just as he envies Watson's ability to reintegrate himself into society after his return from Afghanistan despite it necessitating his abandonment of Holmes and Baker Street for a more ordered domesticity. Holmes looks with envy upon the sportsmen because there is a sense in which his ability to maintain a fluid identity and to submit his body to the rigours of the social aberrance ultimately compromises him. There is a strong visual coding of bodies in the Holmes stories and Overton represents the clean and untainted representation of ethical soundness. We see, in him, an image that *The Strand's* fiction returns to again and again: a healthy, physically sound exterior that is contorted by some grievance ('a comely face [...] haggard with anxiety'); a plot is then generated by the attempt to cure or explain this malfeasance. It may sound simplistic but this simple habit was a heavily ingrained editorial policy. *The Strand's* art editor, George William Leech wrote that '[o]ur most general demand is for normal, decently dressed people who can still retain their attraction under some stress of emotion'.⁴³⁶ The suggestion in 'The Missing Three-Quarter' is that, because Godfrey was a 'sportsman down to the marrow' and because his disappearance appeared voluntary, that his lapse in sporting values can only have been prompted by an 'overpowering necessity'.⁴³⁷ The typologies of the Holmes stories present several military men whose trustworthy exteriors conceal malignance but there are no sportsmen whose indiscretions are not

⁴³⁴ Doyle, 'The Missing Three-Quarter', p. 863.

⁴³⁵ Doyle, 'The Missing Three-Quarter', p. 863.

⁴³⁶ George William Leech, *Magazine Illustration: The Art Editor's Point of View* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman, 1939), p. 5.

⁴³⁷ Doyle, 'The Missing Three-Quarter', p. 864.

in some way legitimised by circumstance, as Staunton's is by his bereavement. Sebastian Moran in 'The Empty House', Colonel Barclay in 'The Crooked Man' and even the Moriarty brothers in 'The Final Problem' have military backgrounds.⁴³⁸ Moran is described as having the 'career of an honourable soldier' and is 'a man of iron nerve' but this public exterior conceals 'the second most dangerous man in London'.⁴³⁹ Similarly, Colonel Barclay in 'The Crooked Man' has a glittering military career during which he rose from the ranks of 'The Royal Munsters' (a regiment which 'did wonders in the Crimea and the Mutiny') 'to command the regiment in which he once held a musket'.⁴⁴⁰ This 'gallant veteran' and 'dashing, jovial old soldier' conceals guilt at the horrific betrayal of his friend, Henry Wood. Entrusted with a covert mission during the Great Mutiny, Barclay arranged for Wood's capture by Indian forces as a way to marry Nancy, the woman they both love. When Wood returned to England, hideously deformed by his travails, Barclay was so frightened by his reappearance that he succumbed to an apopleptic fit. Soldiers, because of their exposure to the heightened scenes of imperial conflict and because of their removal from the normalising routine of 'everyday' England can easily be figured as potential criminals or 'villains'. Sportsmen, though, carry no such insidious threat and instead bear out Holmes' assertion that 'even in the world of fresh air and fair play there may be work for me to do' only when they are pushed by strong, morally compelling reasons.

Two comparable figures in this context are Hall Pycroft in 'The Stockbroker's Clerk' and Gilchrist in 'The Three Students'. Despite the former being the 'client' and the latter the 'villain' of their stories, they are both sportsmen who represent both the virtues and ethical reliability of that code. They also highlight the strong, mutually reinforced connection between sporting and imperial values. Pycroft is described by Watson and depicted by Paget (3.6) in the following terms:

[Pycroft] was a well-built, fresh-complexioned young fellow, with a frank, honest face and a slight, crisp, yellow moustache [...] a smart young City man,

⁴³⁸ Doyle, never over-attentive to the finer details of his plotting, was happy christening both the famous villain (who had a career as 'an army coach') and his brother ('Colonel') with the name James Moriarty. Doyle, 'The Final Problem', p. 643-5. Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Empty House' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. 1*, pp. 663-682; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Crooked Man' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. 1*, pp. 562-578.

⁴³⁹ Doyle, 'The Empty House', p. 690.

⁴⁴⁰ Doyle, 'The Crooked Man', p. 345.



3.6

of the class who have been labelled cockneys, but who give us our crack volunteer regiments, and who turn out more fine athletes and sportsmen than any body of men in these islands.⁴⁴¹

Pycroft's complaint to Holmes (he is another whose face, 'naturally full of cheeriness', is distorted in 'half-comical distress') transpires to be the result of a murderous plot to rob a bank by impersonating him (it echoes the more famous 'Red-Headed League' in a number of ways).⁴⁴² The language used to describe him is the key interest here: his sportsman's physique suggests, to Watson's practiced eye, the imperial value of such men. This connection recalls Doyle's letter to *The Spectator* because it finds the embodiment of a sporting ethic indivisible from that of an imperial one. Watson reminds us of Doyle's axiom that the purpose of 'playing games' is to keep us fit for the more 'serious duties of life'. Gilchrist, unlike Pycroft, is nominally the 'villain' of 'The Three Students'. Holmes is contacted by a university professor, Soames, whose preparations for an important exam have been thrown into disarray by an apparent attempt to steal a look at the question paper. The destination of an important scholarship depends upon the exam and the suspicion falls on the titular academics who share the building with Soames. Watson describes him much as Sidney Paget depicts him (3.7, the blonde figure entering the room):

[Gilchrist, according to Soames,] is a fine scholar and athlete; plays in the rugby team and cricket team for the college, and got his blue for the hurdles and the long jump. He is a fine, manly fellow.

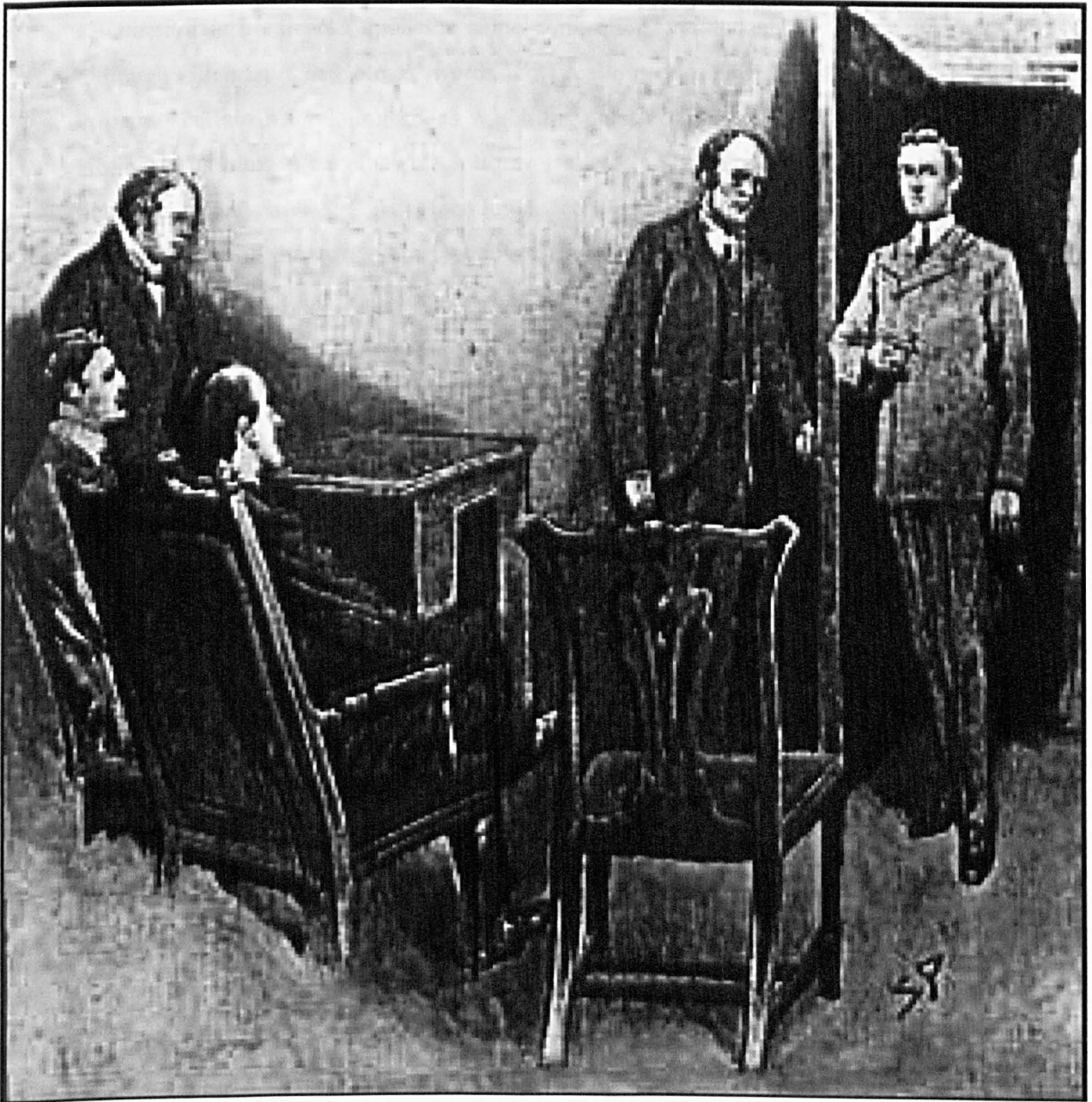
[Watson later describes him as] a fine figure of a man, tall, lithe and agile, with a springy step and a pleasing, open face.⁴⁴³

Gilchrist's 'crime' was prompted by his family's impoverishment at the hands of his dissipated father, a situation which placed undue importance upon him winning the scholarship. Holmes shares Watson's obvious admiration for the boy and their estimation is rewarded by evidence that Gilchrist suffered an attack of conscience and decided not to sit the exam. Instead he avows his intention to take up a commission in

⁴⁴¹ Doyle, 'The Stock-Broker's Clerk', p. 496.

⁴⁴² Doyle, 'The Stock-Broker's Clerk', p. 496.

⁴⁴³ Doyle, 'The Three Students', pp. 832-834



3.7

the Rhodesian Police. This denouement satisfies all participants in the story and this satisfaction is predicated upon the same connection detailed above. Namely, that although Gilchrist is in Holmes' words 'not a callous criminal', whilst he is guilty of violating certain behavioural codes which his putative imperial service will amend. Holmes tells him, in conclusion, 'you have fallen low, let us see, in the future, how high you can rise'.⁴⁴⁴ This sentiment contains an explicit assertion of the translatability of the two ethical codes; deficiencies and misappropriations in the domestic arena may be amply repaid and balanced by exertions at the outer edge of empire. The illustrations reproduced here are not decorative; they suggest a visual genealogy of masculinity in *The Strand's* images. The illustrations assert these sporting figures as 'apprentice' Watsons and they reproduce that character's simplicity, genuineness and good health. Since Watson narrates the stories we can assume that it is he who maintains this physical economy of representation. That Gilchrist is to be a policeman, rather than a soldier is significant because it further reinforces the comparability of the two professions that were noted above in reference to 'The Making of a Policeman'. That Pycroft as well should belong to a 'body of men' recalls the institutional articles' insistent desire to coalesce and bond its protagonists into a composite 'body'. These stories and the way they project deliberately military, imperial and sporting inscriptions onto the male body recall Lyotard's distinction between small and grand narratives. The characters function as synecdochic embodiments of ideals drawn from grander, totalising narratives. This dynamic is simple and familiar to any reader of Edward Said's *Culture and imperialism* where he examines the different ways in which fragments of the grand narrative of imperialism were refracted in different ways through domestic fiction.⁴⁴⁵ Fiction looks to this grand narrative (amongst others) as a way of legitimating the positive and negative apprenticeships of its characters, Gilchrist's acceptance of colonial duty is emblematic of this bond. Doyle asks the reader to be satisfied that his misdemeanour will be palliated and his character scourged by attaching his small, personal narrative to the grand narrative of imperialism. The dynamic in *The Strand* is more complicated, however, since the male body appears to play host to a whole series of competing narratives which intersect around the valorised bodily ideal.

⁴⁴⁴ Doyle, 'The Three Students', p. 841.

⁴⁴⁵ Edward Said, *Culture and imperialism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993).

A fine physique recalls, at once, sport and a healthy ethical outlook as well as fitness for combat and the assurance of imperialism's ideological security. This is another instance where a reading of the Holmes stories suffers by being removed from the ideological context of the magazine as a whole. The male bodies in the Holmes stories, for example, might seem to be entirely divorced from considerations of science. When considered against the intertwined genealogies of sport, imperialism, institutions and efficiency as examined above, then the isolated bodies in Holmes can be seen, in one very particular sense, as instrumentalist components, waiting for institutions to incorporate them. That this physical importance contained ethical elements is unsurprising; the physical culture debate was, after all, entwined with the great ethical debate over the British treatment of South African prisoners in concentration camps. The positive propagation of soldierly qualities in the 'everyday' domestic scene is directly related to this debate. Contemporary historians such as Kenneth O. Morgan, John Gooch and Paul Joseph Eisloeffel openly acknowledge the horrors of the British camps but the very idea of an ethically compromised military presence was unbearable for Doyle and *The Strand*.⁴⁴⁶ It continually re-affirmed the correctness of British behaviour and this alignment with sporting values allows for a military, soldierly ideal to be shorn of its distasteful associations.

THE CRICKETER AND THE LEPER

The frequency with which characters like Gilchrist and Pycroft appeared in *The Strand* implies a strongly felt need to commit their image to the public notice.⁴⁴⁷ This projection of an idealised masculinity in fiction suggests a comparison with the Sandow cast in the British Museum. Exhibiting his form in the centre of national culture, as far as *The Strand* was concerned, was part of a necessary project to re-masculinise the 'everyday' British man. The magazine naturally endorsed Doyle's suggestions for military reform with articles such as 1901's 'The New Musketry Practice at Aldershot' which painted him as 'the pioneer of civilian rifle clubs', the oracle of 'modern warfare' and suggested that his model would now be adopted by

⁴⁴⁶ See Morgan, 'The Boer War and the Media'; John Gooch, *The Boer War: Direction, Experience and Image* (London: Routledge, 2000); Paul Joseph Eisloeffel, *The Boer War Concentration Camps: Policy in South Africa and Response in England* (San Diego: San Diego State University, 1983).

⁴⁴⁷ The only difference between the two men is one of class, their similarities highlight them as harmonious, bifurcated symptoms of the same impulse.

the 'regulars'.⁴⁴⁸ This backed up earlier articles where Doyle was able lay out his manifesto more clearly. 1901 also saw the publication of an interview with Doyle where it is suggested that it is 'as important for a boy to learn to handle a rifle as to learn to swim'.⁴⁴⁹ These articles and stories speak of a necessity to re-draw cultural boundaries to more masculine dimensions and, in doing so, exculpate and occlude the 'feminised' cultural domains which are frequently linked with physical and moral weakness. This insistent link between the male body and imperial strength (at home and abroad) means that there is an awful lot at stake in its representation. That the figure of Sandow was being employed as a combatant in a political contestation as well as a cultural one is borne out by its designation as 'an object lesson to generations unborn'.⁴⁵⁰ The article suggests that unless this lesson is taken to heart by both the 'superior persons' above and 'certain sections of the public' below then the consequences to the national character and reputation could be grievous. William Murray, winner of Sandow and Doyle's 1901 strong-man competition was, as mentioned earlier, presented with a gold-plated statue of Sandow. This occasion clearly represented part of a concerted effort to reward the physical as much as the intellectual; to raise the realm of physical accomplishment into a more serious level of appreciation and enter it into culture. One of the clearest fictional representations of this comes from Austen Philips' 1913 story 'The Boy Who Read Kipling'.⁴⁵¹ The story is also useful because of its appeal to a culturally-enforced masculine ideal. The narrative features a young cricketer and bank clerk, Harry Bassett who regularly wins county cricket games single-handedly but who is 'too blooming modest'⁴⁵² to take the acclaim of his baying fans. Bassett is confronted by a moral dilemma: his girlfriend, Joyce Calvert, is threatening to flee to Switzerland to get away from her dissolute father and his lascivious gambling cronies. Harry, a man of modest means, is unable to propose marriage. In low spirits he consults with his widowed, middle-aged, platonic patroness Mrs Hussingtree who advises him to go to his bank's general manager, Mr Gordon, and ask for his own branch. Harry buoys himself for this act of bravado by rereading one of his many volumes of Kipling which reassuringly suggests that 'fellows [...] get on' through acts of courage and personal dynamism.

⁴⁴⁸ Albert H. Broadwell, 'The New Musketry Practice at Aldershot', *The Strand* 22 (December, 1901), p. 777.

⁴⁴⁹ Captain Philip Trevor, 'A British Commando', *The Strand* 21 (June, 1901), p. 635.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris', p. 468.

⁴⁵¹ Austen Philips, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling', *The Strand* 43 (September, 1912).

⁴⁵² Philips, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling', p. 646.

Ultimately, Harry gets what he wants from his 'Kipling-begotten scheme'.⁴⁵³ Mr Gordon proves to be an ardent sportsman and Kipling fan and their meeting descends to frenzy as they recite 'If' to each other. What is of interest, firstly, is the diction used to mark out Harry, Joyce, and Gordon's characters. Harry, 'that apotheosis of youth in the temple of cricket' is 'bronzed and tall' having ripened 'out of spotty hobbledehoyhood into striking handsomeness' and 'from tall ungainliness into magnificent manhood' (3.8).⁴⁵⁴ He is frugal in his habits, austere in his sense of decor and rigid in his literary tastes. Both his moral and physical education come directly from Kipling and the adjectives 'clean' and 'healthy' are applied several times. Joyce is also, by nature, a picture of 'normal, clean good-healthiness' but has become 'nerve-wracked and ill' putting up with the dissipation of her father and his cronies. The narrator laments the physical state to which 'she, the healthiest and most athletic of girls, had been driven by her father'.⁴⁵⁵ Harry's late-blooming body lifts him beyond the sedentary results of modern life and the means by which he achieves this transcendence is figured as a combination of excessive Kipling reading, playing cricket, a pointedly asexual courtship of Joyce, prayer and drinking milk instead of alcohol.⁴⁵⁶ On noting this last detail the narrator defensively remarks of Harry that 'he was not a "modern" and who breaks a lance for his lady is stayed, not shamed by prayer'. His un-modernity is symbolised by his explicit commitment to the grand chivalric and religious narratives that are invoked frequently throughout the story and which constitute the principle opposing tropes to 'the modern'.

Harry's body represents a gambit on the part of *The Strand*. It is fitted (against the exigencies of modern life that Doyle wrote about to *The Grocer's Assistant*) with the physical strength to excel at cricket and the moral strength to defend his country should it need him: he is 'not less but more knight-errant for the teachings of outdoor games'.⁴⁵⁷ The language of chivalry is also emphatically deployed, this language would no doubt be familiar to Harry from the few 'Doyles' that are fighting a losing battle with Kipling for shelf-space in his room. Whilst Harry may well have been a Holmes fan, it is more probable, given the chivalric tenor of

⁴⁵³ Philips, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling', p. 650.

⁴⁵⁴ Philips, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling', p. 648.

⁴⁵⁵ Philips, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling', pp. 649-652.

⁴⁵⁶ Philips notes that '[...] the life of a provincial bank-clerk is so ordered for him that it kills the aspiring instinct and drugs the immortal soul'. Later, Hussingtree bids Harry to 'Have that milk of yours- try to sleep sound'. Philips, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling' p. 649, 652.

⁴⁵⁷ Philips, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling', p. 647.



3.8

Harry's depiction that he has some of Doyle's historical novels such as *The White Company*, *Micah Clarke* or *Sir Nigel* which, according to Doyle, constituted his 'great labour' and which would, in time, 'illuminate our national traditions'.⁴⁵⁸ Anxieties over the average body's ability to withstand the modern world were common in *The Strand*. A year before the publication of 'The Boy who Read Kipling' Sandow contributed to the 'My Reminiscences' section of *The Strand* and traced the birth of his interest in physical culture to a conversation between his father and his 'delicate' and 'frail' ten-year-old self:

'The heroes of old, my little Eugen,' he said, 'never lolled at ease in a carriage or a railway train. Either they walked or rode on horse-back. Thus they were ever active, ever exercising their bodies. But nowadays,' he went on, 'the brain is cultivated and the body neglected [...] the result of it being world-wide degeneration of health and strength'.⁴⁵⁹

Harry's physique thus embodies a fantasised response to these social and political conditions. He is not the idealised superman that Sandow is presented as; instead he is something much more valuable to *The Strand*, the 'everyday man' who has triumphed in his struggle against the 'modern' to preserve his fitness. The second point of interest in the story, though, does not lie in the bare physicality of his achievement, but in its cultural dimension. The appeal to Kipling as an august standard of moral, manly conduct in both everyday social affairs and imperial conduct is one that Said would later retrace through the passage in *Culture and imperialism* that deals with the late Victorian rediscovery of the quest romance. Through an analysis of Kipling's *Kim* Said examines the same link between imperial strength, bodily health and moral certitude. As direct evidence of the culturally embedded nature of Kipling, imperial values and domestic ideas of Englishness, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling' is a smoking gun. Said writes that the 'tragically, or sometimes comically blocked protagonists' of realist fiction become gradually substituted with

⁴⁵⁸ Jon Lellenberg, Daniel Stashower and Charles Foley, eds., *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters* (London: Harper Perennial, 2008), pp. 174-175.

⁴⁵⁹ Eugen Sandow, 'My Reminiscences', *The Strand* 39 (March, 1910), p. 145.

an alternative – not only in the novel of frank exoticism and confident empire, but travel narratives, works of colonial exploration and scholarship [...] we discern a new narrative progression and triumphalism.⁴⁶⁰

It is this ‘triumphalism’ that stimulates Bassett; the kind of morally and politically secured narrative space where, inevitably, ‘[e]xplorers find what they are looking for’ and ‘adventurers return home safe and wealthier’.⁴⁶¹ Said balances these narratives against the simultaneous birth of modernism in Conrad and Camus which ‘radiate [...] an extreme, unsettling anxiety’, the same quality in fact, so abhorred by H. Greenhough Smith whose views on the subject were discussed at length in the preceding chapter.⁴⁶² In these contexts Phillips’ frequent attempts to define Harry as opposed to ‘the modern’ are symptomatic of a committed cultural participation, the burden of whose expectations is carried almost exclusively by the male body. Harry represents the point at which every valorised quality becomes embodied: physically developed, handsome, ethically principled within strict and clearly delineated boundaries, ascetic as regards stimulants and sex but alive to the pleasures of sport as a training ground for imperial conflict. As such, to any sensible reader he becomes either instantly hateful or profoundly ridiculous. To spend any time in his company is to be instantly cast as a ‘modern’ oneself and to long for the company of Joyce’s father and his cronies who, for all their faults, might at least have some fun. The moral mechanics of the story are so specifically and predictably wrought that they permit no flaw or crack to the surface of its hero’s ethical veneer. The story does not just unite Joyce and Harry, but also Mrs Hussingtree and Mr Gordon, who, it transpires, she rejected when the two were young. This rejection has tormented Hussingtree ever since. Her motivation for the rejection was that she was ‘tricked by her mothering instinct’ into marrying a ‘consumptive’ whom she nursed lovingly till ‘death’.⁴⁶³ This incessant melding of a health/sickness binary into the story’s fabric persists even to Harry’s new job in a place called ‘Budley’; the outgoing manager he is to replace ‘was weak – exceedingly weak’ and the ‘thoroughly bad office [...] needs a young, vigorous and, above all, popular man’ to take his place.⁴⁶⁴ In short, the only

⁴⁶⁰ Said, *Culture and imperialism*, pp. 226-7.

⁴⁶¹ Said, *Culture and imperialism*, p. 227.

⁴⁶² Said, *Culture and imperialism*, p. 227.

⁴⁶³ Phillips, ‘The Boy Who Read Kipling’, p. 654.

⁴⁶⁴ Phillips, ‘The Boy Who Read Kipling’, p. 655.

way to maintain the absolute purity of the manly ideal is in bad, mechanical, written-to-order fiction. For all that it fostered this limited culture though, the fictional content of *The Strand* was frequently provided by writers of considerable talent and we should observe what happens when bodies less reliable, less secure than Harry Bassett are expected to uphold these value systems in different ways. Only one Holmes story engages directly with the consequences of the Boer War and it offers this pertinent comparison.

To contextualise 'The Blanched Soldier' (published in 1926) we must first look back to Doyle's service in South Africa.⁴⁶⁵ He spent most of his time in Bloemfontein attempting to contain a horrendous outbreak of enteric fever and he recorded his experiences in some depth in a letter to *The British Medical Journal* that was published in July, 1900.⁴⁶⁶ The letter covers territory that would be familiar to anyone who had read *A Study in Scarlet* where Watson, having been injured in the second Afghan war, himself succumbs to enteric fever and is invalided home to London.⁴⁶⁷ In Doyle's recollections of the events of 1900, the prospect of imperial conflict goes hand in hand with the lingering threat of physical degeneration. In describing the lot of the medical orderlies in Bloemfontein, Doyle wrote

He is not a picturesque figure, the orderly, as we know him. We have not the trim, well-nourished army man, but we have recruited from the St. John Ambulance men, who are drawn, in this particular instance, from the mill hands of a Northern town. They were not strong to start with, and the poor fellows are ghastly now [...] sallow, tired men in the dingy khaki suits –which, for the sake of the public health, we will hope may never see England again.⁴⁶⁸

Doyle emphasises the physical danger in which these men place themselves. The risk of infection in the underfunded, understaffed and unsanitary military hospitals was enormous and, to Doyle, the war seemed ever entwined with the constant dread of

⁴⁶⁵ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Blanched Soldier' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. II*, pp. 538-558.

⁴⁶⁶ Enteric fever is a condition common where a community's water supply becomes contaminated with faecal matter. 'The bacterium' then 'colonises the small intestine' which causes fever, blood infections and chronic diarrhoea. Untreated it has a mortality rate of only 'around 10%' but the consequences to an army in foreign territory that succumbed to a large scale outbreak were obviously extremely serious. J. Heritage, Emlyn Evans, R. A. Killington, *Microbiology in Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 38.

⁴⁶⁷ Arthur Conan Doyle, *A Study in Scarlet* in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 1-105.

⁴⁶⁸ Doyle, *Letters to the Press*, p. 61.

physical debilitation as a result. 'The Blanched Soldier' accordingly presents South Africa as a place with that exact potential. Holmes narrates the story himself. He is visited by a Boer veteran, James Dodd who has not heard from his comrade, Godfrey Emsworth since the latter was invalided home with a bullet wound. Emsworth's father, a V. C., has responded very coolly to Dodd's enquiries but in spite of this, Dodd made a visit to his friend's family home where he is convinced he saw the spectral, 'deadly pale' face of his friend in his window (3.9).⁴⁶⁹ Emsworth, it transpires, is being kept under a kind of secret quarantine by his family. When confronted by the detective he re-tells the events that followed his injury and flight from the battlefield at Pretoria. Having regained consciousness he stumbled into a remote house and fell asleep in a convenient bed. He awoke to be confronted by

'A small, dwarf-like man with a huge bulbous head, who was jabbering excitedly in Dutch [...] behind him stood a group of people [...] a chill came over me as I looked on them. Not one of them was a normal human being. Every one was twisted or swollen or disfigured in some strange way'.⁴⁷⁰

A doctor arrives to explain that Emsworth has 'slept in a leper's bed' and he soon discovers the 'terrible signs' of the disease on his face.⁴⁷¹ The story re-enacts what Gilbert described as a 're-direction inward' of imperial energy where the focus on the maintenance of Empire becomes concomitant with an attempt to preserve bodily health at home. The casualties of war, physically compromised by their involvement at the outer fringes of the border between health and disease, come to represent the same kind of threat as the orderly's 'suits' of Doyle's letter. Fortunately for Emsworth, his 'disease' proves equally simple to disrobe from and he is discovered to be suffering from a psychosomatic and non-contagious pseudo-leprosy brought on by the trauma of his experience. The illustration (by Walter Paget, the son of Sidney) captures a scene that the Holmes stories commonly reproduce. A presence hinting at social and familial aberrance is cast outside of the family home and witnessed from within. The subject of the middle class home in *The Strand* is something of repeated and multi-layered significance but here we see it as the dominant edifice from which

⁴⁶⁹ Doyle, 'The Blanched Soldier', p. 545.

⁴⁷⁰ Doyle, 'The Blanched Soldier', p. 555.

⁴⁷¹ Doyle, 'The Blanched Soldier', p. 555.



'HE SPRANG BACK WHEN HE SAW THAT I WAS LOOKING AT HIM AND
VANISHED INTO THE DARKNESS.'

the conjoined gaze of magazine, 'normalised' character and reader is projected outward onto an aberrant figure or event. Emsworth is depicted in a strikingly similar manner to Professor Presbury in 'The Creeping Man' (3.10).⁴⁷² Presbury's desire for a much younger woman leads him to inject himself with a serum derived from apes in an attempt to make him more virile. In the illustration, Presbury is shown frightening his young daughter by appearing at her third-floor bedroom window. Despite the even less credible tenor of 'The Creeping Man', it does tap into the Holmesian heritage of gazing out from the family home. 'The Yellow Face' and 'The Dancing Men', for example, present two husbands, Grant Munro and Hilton Cubitt, who are drawn to spy out of their windows by their wives' suspicious behaviour. In both instances the women's withdrawal from the home betokens their continued attachment to an illicit past liaison. Emsworth thus adds his name to a list of characters whose aberrance (in one way or another) forces them away from the family home. Furthermore, the 'horror' of this retreat is measured by the 'big, fresh, sunburned, upstanding Briton' Dodd, who sees in the 'furtive, guilty' figure of his friend 'nothing of the frank, manly lad' of before.⁴⁷³ In its artificiality, the story's limp conclusion effaces this 'horror' by reversing his bodily degeneration and reinstating his 'frank manliness'. The unsatisfying *dénouement* constitutes an acknowledgement that, even in 1926, there was something still too alive and raw in the blended threat of imperial and physical decay to be faced squarely. The conclusions of the Holmes stories were written to reasonably consistent specifications, the solutions to the mysteries, whilst 'guessable', are never 'calculable'.⁴⁷⁴ The mysteries hinge on one or two particular 'clues' scattered throughout the story but which are ultimately loose and malleable signifiers that can mean anything that Doyle wants them to mean when he reaches the story's end and finds a use for them. Whilst even a brief acquaintance with the Holmes stories would allow a reader to see where these clues lie, no inherent logic could be expected to interpret them sensibly at the time of their deployment.⁴⁷⁵ The key, though, is that the

⁴⁷² Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Creeping Man' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 652-673.

⁴⁷³ Doyle, 'The Blanched Soldier', p. 546, 523, 545, 546.

⁴⁷⁴ The mechanics of clues and the improbability of correctly guessing the outcome of the stories is something that Franco Moretti discusses in detail in his article 'The Slaughterhouse of Literature', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 61-1 (March 2000).

⁴⁷⁵ John A. Hodgson's essay 'The Recoil of 'The Speckled Band': Detective Story and Detective Discourse', *Poetics Today*, 13-2 (1992), pp. 309-324, demonstrates that the narratives hinges on so many inaccurate or falsified truths that the 'logic' of the story that informs Holmes' deductions bears no significant relation to the world inhabited by the reader.



mystery will turn on one of these signifiers already established by Doyle. This structure is present in 'The Blanched Soldier': Holmes has the fact of Emsworth's bleached skin, his exposure to South Africa where leprosy is 'not uncommon' and the hunch that only an infectious malady would prompt such segregation as he hears described.⁴⁷⁶ However, built atop this structure is an ungainly *deus ex machina* that seeks not only to explain the mystery, but to further restore every relationship in the story to a normal, healthy state.

If we accept Holmes as a social agent whose goal is to reconstruct a fractured social and ideological composition then his job is clearly not finished by merely discovering Emsworth's condition; he has to cure him as well. This desire overrides every good, formal sense that Doyle possessed and, therefore, suggests that an occlusion is taking place.⁴⁷⁷ There is a bodily element to this re-composition whereby the exterior signs of distress and dissatisfaction that disfigure characters when they first visit Holmes must be erased to holistically balance the healthy physique. 'The Man with the Twisted Lip' is another story that rests upon the correction of a bodily deformity that ultimately proves to be plastic and artificial. The result, in that story, is not just Neville St. Clair's return to physical normality but a reuniting of the entire St. Clair family unit. These two restorations share strong metaphorical links. Similarly, 'The Blanched Soldier' reunites both the Emsworths as a family and the broken comradeship between Godfrey and Dodd. The superficial, intended 'idea' carried by Godfrey Emsworth's body is that colonial paranoia and physical corruption are more the products of fear than of reality. The structural jolt of the story's conclusion suggests a reverse corollary where Emsworth's body in fact becomes the true embodiment of those fears. The truth of Emsworth's state would be too dreadfully visceral, too much a realisation of the destructive potential of the site of imperial conflict to be faced. Instead, it is displaced and repressed. His body, in this sense, short-circuits the ideological current it was intended to carry. Without presuming to psychoanalyse Doyle, it is clear that, for him, the Boer War was enmeshed with ideas of physicality: physical culture, physical decay, infection, health and disease. His readiness to make this conscious association in his letters to the press, his fiction and his *Strand* articles should render a putatively unconscious, unmediated connection in

⁴⁷⁶ Doyle, 'The Blanched Soldier', p. 557.

⁴⁷⁷ Even the critically maligned contents of Holmes' *Case-Book* adhere to the high structural doctrine of the *Adventures* and *Memoirs* if not their imaginative and prosaic standards.

'The Blanched Soldier' less specious. On the surface, the story is cut from the same ideological cloth as 'The Boy Who Read Kipling' but the stylistic and aesthetic differences between the two writers mean that Philips, though an inferior writer, is a more successful apprentice to *The Strand's* ideology. As a simple illustration of this, Philips is happy for the story's antagonists (Joyce's father, his 'cronies' and her lustful pursuer) not to appear at all, bar one or two brief allusions, whereas Doyle frequently brings his villains face to face with Holmes.⁴⁷⁸ By articulating and exploring his antagonists and antagonistic forces more clearly, Doyle gave them a life and a presence within the story that, as with the ideas discussed here, can work against the project of the story as a whole. The moments of crisis in Philips' story are encountered and overcome purely at the level of self-realisation. Harry does not have to struggle against embodied forces but against self-imposed impediments to progression and success. In 'The Blanched Soldier' however, the image of a leprous Godfrey, peering through the window at his friend seems so much more vivid than the questionable resolution of his illness. The observation of this vividness is not original; Susan Cannon Harris has already observed that the story's conclusion 'leaves the Empire's pathological possibilities wide open'.⁴⁷⁹ However, this openness is significantly explicated (in terms of the imperial context of leprosy and its imagined toll taken on the male body with all of its crucial commitments) by invoking the entire history of *The Strand's* depictions of male bodies, empire and the threats of decay. Such judgements are suggested by a comparison of the cricketer and the leper but, for all its anachronistic confinement to the 1890s, 'The Blanched Soldier' appears too late to provide sufficient evidence of this dynamic by itself. There is a broader heritage of invasion narratives in the Holmes stories that need to be considered since they appeared at the same time as a flood of articles that dealt (explicitly or tangentially) with the Boer War.

⁴⁷⁸ Grimesby Roylott in 'The Speckled Band', Charles Augustus Milverton in his eponymous story, Moriarty in 'The Final Problem', Count Silvius in 'The Mazarin Stone' and James Windibank in 'A Case of Identity' all come to confront Holmes in Baker Street, not to mention the innumerable villains whom Holmes hunts down and confronts in other locations.

⁴⁷⁹ Susan Cannon Harris, 'Pathological Possibilities', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 31-2 (Sep., 2003), pp. 447-466, p. 465.

INVASION AND THE NATIONAL BODY

There is an overarching project at play in all of the writing discussed above and to explain how it works it is necessary to return to Lyotard's understanding of the function of narratives. Narratives (or, as he later preferred, 'writing') is obviously not limited simply to fiction; 'Making a Policeman', 'A Night with the Thames Police', 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris' and Sandow's 'My Reminiscences' all propose narratives that present an ordered structure of events that are unified ultimately by one or two core ideological beliefs. We must be careful here; in the realm of 'high' theory Lyotard is happy making more or less uncritically direct correlations between a society's narratives and its self-perception. His tendency toward over-simplification and unilateralism is the source of Jürgen Habermas' famous dismissal of Lyotard's postmodern rejection of grand narratives as a grand narrative in itself.⁴⁸⁰ *The Strand* provokes more modest conclusions. The late Victorian popular press as a whole was too much of an incoherent Babel of different voices to trace any definite 'self-perception' at work within it. To presume to divine a unified, late Victorian/early-Edwardian ontology on the basis of a single publication, however popular, would clearly be fallacious. The real Britain in 1904 could no more be divined from *The Strand* articles of that year than it could from any single novel or poem. What we can observe, though, in fragmented instalments, is a patterned, ideologically-conditioned vision of what *The Strand* wanted Britain to be like. When the magazine eventually ended in 1950 it died at the same time as the first generation of boys and girls who would have read the magazine in the 1890s; it is surely no accident that its 'life-span' mirrors that of its youngest readers. The magazine offered a Victorian belief that progress into the future could be achieved with a kind of selective modernity; a world-view (examined at length in the preceding chapters) where the destructive potential of the modern is occluded. Science, because it is explicitly constructed by the magazine as being socialised (ideologically-committed to a particular vision of society), becomes the principal symbol of this selective modernity. Despite the fact that the various tropings and figurations of the 'fine physique' may superficially appear to represent a retreat from science, it is evident from a wider reading of *The Strand* that the success of these representations is dependent upon science. Scientifically

⁴⁸⁰ This is an extreme simplification of Habermas' argument in 'The Entwinement of Myth and Enlightenment' in *Nietzsche's On the Genealogy of Morals: Critical Essays*, Christa Davis Acampora, eds. (London: Rowan and Littlefield), 2006.

informed methods are required to maintain it in the modern world (as in the articles dealing with Sandow). Science (or, more specifically, technology) provides the means by which the power of individual, healthy physiques can be unified and sublimated into modernising governmental superstructures. It can also provide the language by which bodily fears of invasion and infection can be articulated and disseminated. The fears that the fiction of the magazine dispelled (or intended to dispel) were projections of the underside of its own ideology.

If health and bodily integrity are so heavily incorporated into the positive ideology of 'Britishness', then, over time, an obverse reservoir will begin to collect and store the lingering fears of disease and bodily corruption. 'The Blanched Soldier' shows us the contents of this reservoir; the story is a superficial assertion of ideas that are contradicted by the content of the story. Yet its destructive potential is not limited to the individual body as is evident if we ask a simple question that Holmes answers imperfectly: 'why is Godfrey kept in quarantine'? The answer that Holmes gives is the simple one ('because his family believe he has leprosy') but the fuller answer is that he is kept removed from society to stop his contagion spreading more widely. That fear is never openly expressed and is thus buried deep beneath layers of the story's thematics. The real dread of the story lies in what Herbert F. Tucker called 'reverse-colonisation'.⁴⁸¹ In this relationship (which characterises in more florid terms the same relationship posited by Bentley and, earlier by Holbrook Jackson) the grand teleological, physical achievements of colonialism are attended by contingent fears of a similar reverse-conquest at the level of the blood cell and the microbe.⁴⁸² 'The Blanched Soldier' unwillingly articulates this fear, as do the other Holmes stories that contribute to what Tucker (amongst numerous others) calls 'invasion narratives': 'The Dying Detective', 'The Sussex Vampire' and 'The Devil's Foot'.⁴⁸³ The latter story deals with the appearance from Africa of an undetectable, deadly poisonous plant root; it is brought by a Dr. Sterndale, a famous hunter and explorer.

⁴⁸¹ Herbert F. Tucker, ed., *A Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 449, though the idea has been explored by many other critics.

⁴⁸² Jackson asserted in his 1914 book *The Eighteen Nineties: A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (Franklin: Tantallon Press, 2002) that 'The first half [of the 1890s] was remarkable for a literary and artistic renaissance, degenerating into decadence; the second for a new sense of patriotism degenerating into jingoism' (p. 11). Although he spends a great deal of time complicating these two groups of texts, they still embody the two strains of confidence and paranoia that critics perennially associate with *fin-de-siècle* culture.

⁴⁸³ Harris also highlights *The Sign of Four* and *A Study in Scarlet* and both novels do involve murderous uses of poison, albeit in contexts away from *The Strand*.

The villain of the story is Mortimer Tregennis, a disinherited acquaintance of Sterndale, who learns of the root's potency and uses it to variously murder and madden his siblings. The story concludes with Sterndale repaying the favour and killing Tregennis by the same means. 'The Dying Detective' is more explicit, it begins with Watson learning from Mrs Hudson that Holmes is seriously ill. Watson is then made frantic by his visit to Holmes who appears to be suffering under an extreme strain of exotic fever. Holmes, it transpires, has angered a brilliant amateur physician and erstwhile overseer of a Sumatran plantation, Culverton Smith. Smith, a murderer, attempts to infect Holmes with a disease he discovered whilst working in the colony. Holmes, naturally, is not dying but affecting the illness to entrap the villain. This group of stories deal with the return of objects, substances or persons from colonial territories that represent the same threat, namely the fruition of the reverse-colonisation fear.⁴⁸⁴ Exotic threats to bodily unity return from the site of conquest to challenge the 'healthy' and noble beneficiaries of new imperialism. As Susan Cannon Harris notes, 'the poisoner and his crime are products of Britain's imperial expansion'.⁴⁸⁵ Like 'The Blanched Soldier', both 'The Dying Detective' and 'The Devil's Foot' use this threat to disrupt a familial or domestic unity and, ultimately, neutralise the potential threat.⁴⁸⁶ In 'The Devil's Foot' we see the harmony of the Tregennis household disintegrated by the actions of Mortimer who surreptitiously drops the poison onto his family's hearth as he leaves the house after a game of cards. Tregennis' story is retold in the following way:

His two brothers and his sister were seated round the table exactly as he had left them, the cards still spread in front of them and the candles burned down to their sockets. The sister lay back stone-dead in her chair, whilst the two brothers sat on each side of her laughing, shouting, and singing, the senses stricken clean out of them. All three of them, the dead woman and the two demented men, retained upon their faces an expression of the utmost horror.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ These stories are isolated here because they deal specifically with the threat of contagion. More generally, the return of bodies and things from abroad is a much more widely used trope in the stories. Of the fifty-six short stories and four novellas that constitute the Holmesian canon, forty-one turn either on the appearance of persons, substances or objects brought from abroad or on events occurring abroad; of these forty-one, twenty-two relate to former or contemporaneous British colonies.

⁴⁸⁵ Harris, 'Pathological Possibilities', p. 451.

⁴⁸⁶ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Dying Detective' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. II*, pp. 428-444; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Devil's Foot' in *Sherlock Holmes Vol. I*, pp. 465-491.

⁴⁸⁷ Doyle, 'The Devil's Foot', p. 422.

The scene is unusually graphic and grotesque. The cosy domestic *milieu* of the night before is transformed into a horrific and uncanny mirror-image. The brothers, in their madness, seem not to care or even notice that their sister is laying dead next to them, the family, its constituent members and its interrelationships have been undone. The root is an 'ordeal poison' from central Africa which was suited for a murder in England not only because of its virulent effects but also because it exists outside of the 'literature of toxicology' and is thus 'undetectable' to 'European Science'.⁴⁸⁸ At the story's conclusion, Holmes allows Sterndale to return to Africa taking the remnants of the root with him and effectively eradicating it from the homeland. 'The Dying Detective' deals with a more urgent threat of infection, not only because it threatens Holmes himself but because it occurs in London as opposed to the Cornish wilderness. When Watson visits Holmes' sick-bed he is offended and appalled both by Holmes' physical state and by the manner in which he addresses him:

'[T]hat gaunt, wasted face staring at me [...] sent a chill to my heart. His eyes had the brightness of fever, there was a hectic flush upon either cheek, dark crusts clung to his lips; the thin hands upon the coverlet twitched incessantly [...]'⁴⁸⁹

This physical debasement confirms for Watson Mrs Hudson's judgement that Holmes is 'not long for this world'. Even more shocking than his appearance, though, is the manner in which Holmes treats his old friend:

'Stand back! Stand right back!' said he, with the sharp imperiousness which I had associated only with moments of crisis. 'If you approach me, Watson, I shall order you out of the house [...] If I am to have a doctor [...] let me at least have someone in whom I have confidence'.⁴⁹⁰

Watson is 'bitterly hurt' at this attack and attributes it to his friend's extreme illness. Once again, though, it is a domestic scene that is decomposed by a microscopic

⁴⁸⁸ Doyle, 'The Devil's Foot', p. 439.

⁴⁸⁹ Doyle, 'The Dying Detective', p. 386.

⁴⁹⁰ Doyle, 'The Dying Detective', pp. 387-388.

colonial intruder whose virulence is measured not only in the physical wastage of its sufferer but also in the inter-personal relationships that surround him. The idea of Watson being thrown out of Baker Street is bizarre and unseemly, as is Holmes' uncaring degradation of Watson's professional abilities. The story, like 'The Blanched Soldier' and 'The Devil's Foot', implicitly bases its plot upon the threat of wide-spread infection and the idea that unfamiliar, exotic diseases carry the most insidious threat. Holmes expounds on this theme to Watson from his sick-bed:

It is a coolie disease from Sumatra [...] One thing only is certain. It is infallibly deadly, and it is horribly contagious [...] by touch. Keep your distance [...] There are many problems of disease, many strange pathological possibilities in the East.⁴⁹¹

These 'pathological possibilities' and their pandemic potential can only result from the realisation of a 'national body'. They stem from an understanding of a bonded population that are prone to the same diseases and share the same bodily fate; in this sense, the national body is only as strong as its weakest constituent. The undernourished, physically degraded specimens that populated slums and tenements in the social exploration literature of George Sims (discussed extensively in chapter one) are thus figured as a potential weak spot in the national body's cortex. Against the background of these fears, the new emphasis on the united physical strength of social institutions begins to make more sense. In *The Strand* these fears are indissociably linked with threats to the middle class home which identifies the threat as ideological as well as physical. What we see in these articles and stories is the domestic end of a dialectical relationship between domestic centre and imperial outpost, 'biocontaminant' threats from the latter spring up and stimulate awareness of the fragility both of Britain's imperial presence and of the ideas and ideals that underpin the middle class home.⁴⁹² If this seems like overly linear reasoning it is important to re-assert the idea that these conclusions derive from internal evidence from *The Strand* itself. To attempt to broaden these conclusions and to suggest a more unilateral ontology of 'a *Strand* reader' would be misguided. However, to focus on the specific articulation of fears and fantasies as they appear repeatedly over a

⁴⁹¹ Doyle, 'The Dying Detective', p. 388-389.

⁴⁹² Harris, 'Pathological Possibilities', p. 449.

period of years allow us instead to conjecture about *The Strand's* idea both of itself and its country.

The precision with which the presentation of bodily strength and science is connected to imperial and chivalric ideals (grand narratives) combined with their close connection to submerged fears of physical and ideological decay reveal a text that is broadcasting a very clear self-perception. This perception places a high premium on the preservation of grand narratives as the well-springs of meaning and worth. These ideas are always embodied by men and it is consequently the male body that is most scrutinised and most congested with the accumulated debris of these discourses. In the Holmesian invasion narratives the male body becomes prey to insidious contagions which, however artificial, still enact the deteriorations that, the text implies, would happen. These submerged truths lurk beneath the artificiality of the diseases in the plots of the stories and is where the true image of imperial anxiety can be witnessed. The male body must attach itself, inscribe itself, into these grand narratives to be fully idealised. Harry Bassett is the clearest example of the fully realised 'positive apprenticeship' in the chivalric 'grand narrative'. His body is developed and not weakened by its participation in a modern tertiary industry; yet its splendour is not so developed as to prompt either vanity or overt sexuality in its subject. Harry is morally sound and committed to the creation of the model middle class home that *The Strand* propagates. His body is also purified, both from the libidinous excesses of alcohol and from the artistic decadence of any literature that might disrupt his ideological apprenticeship. The ordered, regulated lifestyle that Philips asks us to imagine in Harry and Joyce's future is figured as the reward for his bodily integrity. Where integrity wanes and where invasion and infection threaten to take hold, the entwined threats of national, imperial, socio-ideological and bodily decay unite.

THE CHIVALRIC MACHINE

The physical culture debate and its enactment on the pages of *The Strand* represented a sustained attempt to 'scientise' the traditional, 'chivalric' language which the magazine used to describe war and its individual participants. The same language that is used to describe Harry Bassett (and which is linked to Conan Doyle's evocations of medieval gentlemanly mores in his historical fiction) frequently appears in discussion

of the Boer War itself. The articles that explicitly cover the war provide a closer examination of the second constituent part of the domestic/imperial dialectic. The writing makes more direct appeals to traditions, tropes and totems which are held to be immutable; these appeals to 'grand narratives' are interesting in this context because their deployment is complicated by a concomitant attempt to depict the armed forces as 'efficient', 'mechanistic' and 'modern'. I would argue that these two instincts, whilst they both spring from *The Strand's* formative ideology, ultimately work to undermine each other and that this contradiction can best be read in the bodies that are expected to bear the burden of this doubled message. The symbolic bodies that populate the fiction and non-fiction of the magazine's Boer War canon (like Godfrey and Harry) become ambivalent figures incapable of supporting these two contradictory impulses and this suggests a fundamental instability in *The Strand's* ideology. The problem of a selective modernity again rears its head.

If we observe how this complicated relationship was played out on the page then this rather abstract theorising should fall into clearer focus. Two articles, 1900's 'The Rank-and-File of the British Navy' and a 1913 'symposium' 'If Britain Disarmed' elaborate the first component part of this interaction with their appeals to grand narratives.⁴⁹³ That they do this without explicit reference to the Transvaal conflict means that they are a useful gauge of the predominance of their ideas outside of *The Strand's* Boer canon. 'If Britain Disarmed' weighs up the financial pros and cons of disbanding the armed forces. The issue turns on how the contributors construe the whole notion of war, the anonymous author of the article mediates by wondering '[i]s war an unmitigated evil? Is the maintenance of gigantic armaments without a correspondent benefit to the community? Able historians have alleged, indeed, that war is as necessary to a high type of civilisation as religion or literature'.⁴⁹⁴ This view comes to predominate (though not without challenge), particularly when voiced by the thriller writer E. Phillips Oppenheim who opined

The nation which ceases to breed warriors and sailors will be a nation without vital impulses [...] I find nothing terrible in war [...] From each great campaign succeeding generations have reaped benefit [...] War has been the

⁴⁹³ Lord Charles Beresford, 'The Rank-and-File of the British Navy', *The Strand* 20 (October, 1900); 'If Britain Disarmed'. *The Strand Magazine* 43 (October, 1911).

⁴⁹⁴ 'If Britain Disarmed', p. 412.

subjective inspiration of art, simply because it has thrown onto the great canvas of life living examples of chivalry, heroism, patriotism and endurance. War has been the wholesome and stimulating corrective to a stultifying and narrowing commercialism.⁴⁹⁵

These appeals to 'heroism', 'patriotism' and 'chivalry' are interesting not just in themselves as calls toward 'traditional' ideals but also in the way they are wielded as guards against the now familiar 'modernity threat', as conjured variously by Doyle, Sandow and Philips. These grand narratives derive their power in *The Strand's* ideology because of their supposed immutability; they inscribe themselves into monumentality by transcending the hum-drum, everyday life. This is the source of the ideals that Harry Bassett is measured against. He was described as 'bronzed', made literally statuesque by his frequent embodiment of these ideals. The worth in this process is the same as that *The Strand* found in the cast of Sandow; that, in reproducing the values of perceived chivalric, heroic or classical traditions, figures transcend the meaningless, sedentary gauntlet of the 'modern' world and achieve an historic 'presence'.⁴⁹⁶ In this way *The Strand* sets itself up as a magazine against the modern but whilst we can clearly read this desire in 'If Britain Disarmed', 'The Rank-and-File of the British Navy' presents the second part of this doubled idea by valorising the efficiency and modernity of the navy. The article makes no attempt to disguise its aim to serve as a recruitment tool that would, 'in the new patriotic spirit of militarism that the nation is exhibiting', 'appeal to the mothers of the Empire who hesitate to trust their sons to the fancied perils of a sea career'.⁴⁹⁷ The article picks out the various career paths that a young 'bluejacket' recruit could follow. The development of the boys is charted in the now familiar language of physical culture. '[S]turdy' boys who want to 'try their fortunes on the sea' become 'well-filled-out young men' at eighteen, then blossom into 'splendid specimen[s] of British manhood' and, finally, can expect to retire the service at 'the age of forty, a young man, in the prime of life and in the best of health'.⁴⁹⁸ This physical education is played out on the same 'canvas of life' that Oppenheim described. The navy offers 'the lads of the

⁴⁹⁵ 'If Britain Disarmed', p. 416.

⁴⁹⁶ The three terms are confused and used interchangeably throughout 'The Boy Who Read Kipling' and 'Sandow in Plaster of Paris'.

⁴⁹⁷ Beresford, 'The Rank-and-File of the British Navy', p. 379.

⁴⁹⁸ Beresford, 'The Rank-and-File of the British Navy', pp. 371-374.

British Empire' the opportunity 'to sail under the same flag which floated over Drake and Nelson'.⁴⁹⁹ According to the article, this naval tradition, and its attendant prospects for heroism, courage and patriotism is enhanced rather than dimmed by technological advances since the days of Trafalgar: 'If the old seaman [...] could come back to revisit the British Navy, nothing would astonish them more than the engine room on board a modern man-of-war'.⁵⁰⁰ The article explains that what the Navy most needs now are engineers rather than warriors but despite having 'none of the fun of the fight' the engine-room will nevertheless 'be made of the stuff of heroes'.⁵⁰¹ This passage marks the first intersection of two ideas of warfare: the chivalric and the modern. The depiction of the navy seeks to project this doubled perspective of a service subject to increased mechanisation and 'efficiency' (the word is used four times in the article) yet still capable of investing its men with the ability to connect with the same traditions that Oppenheim lists. The fact that Oppenheim explicitly highlights these qualities as wards against the perils of other aspects of modernity is suggestive of instability between the two ideas. Naval personnel are represented as constituent parts of a composite body that lock together and function, machine-like, as an efficient unit. The dynamic is similar to that deployed in the magazine's institutional articles, although here the machinistic metaphor is used more markedly. Although the text pays lip service to the grand ideals of the heroic past, it is clear through the article's relentless focus of career paths, wages, ranks and pensions that the organisation under discussion is much more like an industry than (as 'If Britain Disarmed' puts it) 'the good old days' where 'a man had only to shoulder his arquebus or his pike and be off to the wars'.⁵⁰² In *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines* Manuel Delanda launched a large-scale interrogation of the relationship between society, science and warfare. He invokes a contest between two models of warfare: the 'sedentary', column or phalanx-based formations of land-holding, imperial powers and the 'nomadic [...] flexible tactical doctrine' of the Asiatic armies that 'invaded Europe in the thirteenth-century'.⁵⁰³ The triumph of the 'sedentary' model was partly precipitated by the incipient structures of capitalism that facilitated the faster development and deployment first of artillery and then of hand-weapons.

⁴⁹⁹ Beresford, 'The Rank-and-File of the British Navy', p. 379.

⁵⁰⁰ Beresford, 'The Rank-and-File of the British Navy', pp. 375-376.

⁵⁰¹ Beresford, 'The Rank-and-File of the British Navy', p. 376.

⁵⁰² 'If Britain Disarmed', p. 412.

⁵⁰³ Manuel Delanda, *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), p. 11.

The developments of weapon technology gradually stripped the ‘act’ of trigger-pulling of all connotations of ‘artisanship’ and ‘heuristic knowledge’.⁵⁰⁴ The overarching project of military science, Delanda suggests, has had the effect of gradually developing means by which human beings could be taken ‘out of the decision-making loop’.⁵⁰⁵ This project derives from the European classical ideal of a de-personalised, massed battle formation (as with the Roman phalanx) and is moving, according to Delanda, towards a fully computerised, human-independent mode of conflict. Whether these predictions are correct or not, the historical background to his argument is compellingly relevant to *The Strand*’s rhetorical conflation of classical, medieval and modern warfare. Principally Delanda discusses a subject familiar to Doyle: the process by which ‘sedentary’ European armies had to learn to adopt the ‘nomadic’ tactics of their opponents during colonial warfare in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries.⁵⁰⁶ It is in these conflicts that many of *The Strand*’s explicit models of heroism are found and it will be useful to now examine some of those references in the context of Delanda’s observations and the general context established by ‘If Britain Disarmed’ and ‘The Rank and File of the British Navy’. Those articles suggested that the whole business of warfare is being modernised, professionalised and commercialised and that, in themselves, these developments were beneficial because the fundamental ‘value’ of war (that everyday men can inscribe themselves, through heroism, into history) remains achievable. Using Delanda’s model of scientific and military/naval development, it is interesting that the ‘grand canvas of life’ is populated principally by men who fought during engagements (colonial wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) that necessitated the partial abandonment of the modernising, techno-military impulse. The Strand’s Boer-War canon consists of six articles: ‘The Flags of Our Forces at the Front’, ‘Tommy on a Transport’, ‘Pigeons as Messengers of War’, ‘Deeds of Daring and Devotion in the War’ and the aforementioned Doyle article ‘A Glimpse of the Army’.⁵⁰⁷

In these articles the ideological goal is the same as in ‘If Britain Disarmed’ and ‘The Rank-and-File of the British Navy’; the projection of a modern, mechanised

⁵⁰⁴ Delanda, *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines*, p. 25.

⁵⁰⁵ Delanda, *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines*, p. 43.

⁵⁰⁶ Delanda, *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines*, p. 13.

⁵⁰⁷ By this I mean non-fiction articles that dealt explicitly with the war in South Africa. References and allusions to the war appear with some frequency during the relevant years.

army that still fostered the capacity for chivalric heroism. Doyle was one of the most vocal critics of the 'old-fashioned' army that was initially sent to the Transvaal and he expands bitterly on this subject in his article:

Who can stop this army now [...]? It makes one's heart bleed to think of the deaths and the mutilations and (worse than either) the humiliations which have come from our rotten military system, which has devoted years to teaching men to walk in step and hours to teaching them to use their weapons.⁵⁰⁸

Humiliation is worse than death or mutilation for Doyle because it contradicts the grand ideal of chivalry which, he suggests, is to either die or succeed in combat. The best guard against this kind of embarrassment is articulated later in the article. Under a mortar assault he observes that operators of a gun-battery 'might have been parts of an automated machine'.⁵⁰⁹ Similarly 'Pigeons as Messengers of War' bemoans the lack of an adequate communications network in South Africa and highlights the Army's unpreparedness for modern combat: 'How invaluable in the same manner might pigeons have been to those gallant fellows at Nicholson's Nek'?⁵¹⁰ Again here the wording is crucial, the 'gallant' soldiers are betrayed by the inefficient army network around them.⁵¹¹ Nicholson's Nek was one of the 'humiliations' that Doyle mentioned. A combination of poor judgement and bad communication during the siege of Ladysmith meant that a substantial British force was left isolated on the summit of Tchengula Hill and mercilessly exposed to enemy fire as it watched the bulk of the British force retreat before it. The chastening result was that eight hundred British soldiers were captured. Elsewhere in the article Doyle examines the deployment of infantry troops, '[l]ook at the scouts and the flankers – we should not have advanced like that six months ago. It is not our additional numbers so much as our new warcraft which makes us irresistible'.⁵¹² The army's advances are, for Doyle, solely predicated upon a new ability to balance the resourcefulness and bravery of the individual soldier with the bludgeoning power of the massed phalanx:

⁵⁰⁸ Doyle, 'A Glimpse of the Army', p. 345.

⁵⁰⁹ Doyle, 'A Glimpse of the Army', p. 350.

⁵¹⁰ Christiaan Rudolf De Wet, *Three Years War* (BiblioBazaar, 2007), pp. 21-26.

⁵¹¹ This is not to suggest that something as quaint as a pigeon network is presented as a gleaming hub of modernity, just that in representing the system, the language of 'efficiency' is invoked, the same language that Gilbert notes.

⁵¹² Doyle, 'A Glimpse of the Army', p. 346.

The lonely hero is the man to be admired. It is easy to be collectively brave. A man with any sense of proportion feels himself to be such a mite in the presence of the making of history that his own [...] welfare seems for the moment too insignificant to think of. The unit is lost in the mass.⁵¹³

Doyle, in 1904, provided first-hand evidence of the kinds of military-scientific accommodations discussed by Delanda a hundred years later. Doyle displays utter faith in the compatibility between individual heroism and mass, scientifically-informed efficiency. This faith seems ironically misguided given that, from the millennial vantage point of such theorists as Delanda and Graham Dawson, the conditions necessary for such a relationship were a historical quirk peculiar to the nuances of colonial combat that would soon be straightened out. 'The impossibility of heroism' is a recurring trope in artistic modernism, stimulating poetry (Ezra Pound's 'The Return') and novels (James Joyce's *Ulysses*) that satirise the simple interrelations between war, heroism and the individual's relationship to society and to history.⁵¹⁴ The threat against which *The Strand* defends itself is again both culturally and historically constructed. Doyle's efforts to isolate and valorise individual 'units' further emphasises the importance that was placed on the bodies of front-line troops, an emphasis that would be repeated in other Boer War articles.

'Tommy on a Transport' details the passage of British troops to the Cape on chartered liners by soliciting interviews with the ships' captains. When asked for their opinions on 'Thomas Atkins', responses include suggestions that 'the typical British private is a great, overgrown "kid", a man arrested in development and turned into a machine'.⁵¹⁵ The rest of the article discusses the various ways in which the troops were kept fit and fed on the voyage. 'Physical drills' prevented them from becoming 'soft and flabby' or 'going to waste' and instead rendered them 'hard and fit'.⁵¹⁶ This mechanistic fitness is set up as a warning contrast to civilian life. 'After years of peace and prosperity a time of stress and storm is coming once again for

⁵¹³ Doyle, 'A Glimpse of the Army', p. 350.

⁵¹⁴ William M. Chance uses this phrase in *The Political Identities of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot* (Stanford University Press, 1973) to describe his subjects (p. 118) whereas Daniel R. Schwarz's *Reading Joyce's Ulysses* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1987) refers to Joyce's attack on 'traditional notions of heroism' which are construed as 'obsolete' (p. 1).

⁵¹⁵ Alfred T. Story, 'Tommy on Transport', *The Strand Magazine* 29 (February, 1905), p.417.

⁵¹⁶ Story, 'Tommy on Transport', pp. 417-421.

England' notes 'The Flags of Our Forces at the Front', adding that there is a 'need to see that as a nation we have not degenerated through our long enjoyment of peace'.⁵¹⁷ When viewed in isolation, this line of argument can seem to be a simple hymn to the protection that the army offers to the settled, domestic scene. In the context of *The Strand's* long involvement in the physical culture debate, though, these soldierly bodies represent a realisation of domestic strength and constitute an admission that the army provides unimpeachable models of manly behaviour and bodily performance. The 'need' to ward against 'degeneration' prompts numerous articles to compare contemporary events in South Africa with military engagements in the past. 'Flags...' mentions 'the mighty battles' of 'Marlborough's wars', the 'prolonged Peninsular struggle' (including specific mentions of 'Quatre Bras', 'Waterloo' and 'Ciudad Rodrigo'), 'the Egyptian campaign of 1801', 'the Crimea', 'India' and 'Afghanistan'. The language used to connect events in South Africa with these 'deeds of valour' is similar to that used by Oppenheim in 'If Britain Disarmed'.⁵¹⁸ Regimental colours become 'sacred memorials of war, the symbols of a courage and heroism that go far to redeem its savagery and barbarism'; battles in South Africa are a means of 'preserv[ing...] the glorious record of the past'; the Grenadier Guards of 1902 are 'still maintaining the gallant tradition of their regiment' that stretches back to Waterloo. The broader 'canvas' of war ennobles the individual act of violence which might otherwise be repugnant. The weight of history is thus brought to bear upon the individual act and can make it transcend the unpleasant connotations that attend the threat of an ideologically unbound, ahistorical violence.⁵¹⁹

The diction and phrasing of these articles is crucial because through the familiar network of allusions and omissions they attempt to carve a strong ideological meaning out of the events in South Africa. Whilst this meaning is relatively simple, it is not elementary. For example, the war is not represented as wholly good and neither are the soldiers but, crucially, the war acts as a kind of theatre that enabled the soldiers to enact their best selves. Moreover, it acted as a lens through which veiled criticisms of 'the modern' could be mounted by casting it as a cause of 'degeneration', 'peace-softening' and moral weakness. In fiction like 'The Boy Who

⁵¹⁷ Christabel Osborn, 'The Flags of Our Forces at the Front', *The Strand Magazine* 19 (June, 1900), p. 259.

⁵¹⁸ Osborn, 'The Flags of Our Forces at the Front', p. 256.

⁵¹⁹ Violence of the kind discussed at greater length in chapter one and is of that kind which Žižek terms 'subjective' in his book *Violence*.

Read Kipling' these ideas can be simply and uncomplicatedly embodied in characters like Harry Bassett. Bassett can be shaped any way his author wishes; he can be shorn of any kind of complexity or contradictions to make him fit an ideological mould. The story's illustrations were able to conjure his image to these exacting specifications. The problem that faces the non-fiction articles is that such a burden must be placed on real figures and that the processes of visualisation must be fulfilled as much by photography as by illustration. To illustrate these articles *The Strand* had to find a way of visually representing the 'chivalric machine' dialectic. Because the articles tended to be nominally located around some ephemera (pigeons, flags, transport ships and so on) several of the articles side step the representation dilemma by prioritising these inanimate objects or other tangential figures. 'Pigeons as Messengers of War', for example features a series of illustrations of pigeon lofts and 'Tommy on Transport' focuses entirely on portrait shots of the Transport captains, rather than 'Thomas Atkins' himself. However, problems with its coherence arise when bodies are expected to carry the heavy burden that attended the depiction of male bodies in *The Strand*. We see this in the article 'Deeds of Daring and Devotion in the War' which, instead of focussing on material ephemeral to the army and the war, picks out specific events and figures from the Boer conflict and attributes special notice to them. It does this by suggesting that their relevance lies in their tapping into a grand national narrative: 'To read the daily papers is like being at a school of heroism [...] Britain's sons [are] emulat[ing] the traditional hardihood and the traditional devotion [...] These [deeds] will ever stand, like a piece of antique sculpture adorning the frieze of Time's temple of valour'.⁵²⁰ The bravery displayed in the field, then, becomes the means of inscribing one's name and deeds onto a historical monument, covered already with the deeds of the past. Here we see Lyotard's connection between 'writing' and 'grand narratives' enacted; an overriding, confluent text is augmented by the appearance of smaller, localised narratives that graft tropes and figures from the 'grand' narrative in an appeal for legitimacy. However, because the article describes real people and real events, it has to translate these techniques into an appropriate visual language in its appended photographs. 'Deeds of Daring' is more instructive in this regard; even by *The Strand*'s standards it is heavily illustrated with photographs, featuring fifteen images across its seven

⁵²⁰ Alfred T. Story, 'Deeds of Daring and Devotion in the War', *The Strand Magazine* 20 (August, 1900), p. 158.

pages. The article is anecdotal in structure and recounts a series of stories that are intended to embody the dual-ideal of individual heroism and mechanistic efficiency. Most of the stories are presented with a portrait photograph of its protagonist in a formal, uniformed pose. These bodies represent a contested site and *The Strand* is keen to depict their journey to edge of imperial conflict as a means through which they enacted and 'secured' true British values:

It shows how secure so far the national feeling and the national tradition lie at the basis of the common life. The two things may be summed up in the words 'home' and 'supremacy' wherever the flag flies. The thought was well exemplified in the dream of a soldier in the hospital at Colsberg [...H]e fell into a gentle sleep [...and] began to sing in a soft, low voice [...] 'Home Sweet Home' and 'Rule Britannia'. That dreaming soldier was a personification of England.⁵²¹

Here we begin to see that, as much as the ideas that were used to constitute Harry Bassett derive from imperial values, so imperial values themselves derive from domestic ones. The two systems are in fact co-extensive and mutually supportive. *The Strand* finds it equally necessary to imagine the soldier abroad as patriotic from root to tip: from his dreaming unconscious to his everyday actions. The possibility that the soldier, in his travails, would waver either in his physical or moral integrity is potentially dangerous not only because it represents a fulfilment of the anxiety that necessarily complements imperial confidence but because it undermines this conflation of domestic and imperial values. The project to keep the soldier's body free from contradictory ideas is clearly an important one for *The Strand*. This is imperative is as important as the one that demanded that Godfrey Emsworth's body was cleansed of its 'leprosy'. These imperatives, when they are enacted, exculpate the anxieties of imperial conflict. With this in mind the series of portraits in 'Deeds of Daring...' are fascinating appendages to the previously discussed textual functions of the articles. In the handsome face of Trooper Clifford Turpin (3.11) and the story of his promotion to Sergeant the relationship between text and image is relatively straightforward. Turpin was carrying his wounded colonel to safety when the officer

⁵²¹ Story, 'Deeds of Daring and Devotion in the War', p. 160.

was finished off by 'a bullet through the brain'.⁵²² This prompted him to attack and seize a Boer gun emplacement; the story is tied off neatly by a conclusion stating that 'for his gallantry Turpin was promoted [...] and his name was mentioned in dispatches'.⁵²³ The relation of Turpin's actions, both officially in dispatches and unofficially by his appearance in *The Strand* reinforce his bravery. His reward, in a sense, is to gain entry into the symbolic 'record' of events which confers upon him the legitimating 'traditions' of heroic discourse. The photograph is simple; a medium-shot with no background and the image is thus purified, freed from any external associations other than that which the text provides. The story is too brief to contain any detail that might obstruct the clear delineation of the narrative; the man and his actions were 'gallant' and so he appears in the photograph. A different story from the same article provides a contrast to this arrangement. The story of Sergeant Boseley is even briefer than Turpin's:

Nor should one forget Sergeant Boseley who, fighting his gun on that eventful day⁵²⁴, and having an arm and a leg taken off, bade his men 'Roll me away and go on with the firing'.⁵²⁵

The picture of Boseley (3.12) is different from that of Turpin, Boseley appears older and is shown seated in an armchair, with an empty sleeve and an empty trouser leg. Unlike Turpin, his gaze is not directed fully at the camera but at an angle away from it. A small desk and several pot-plants are visible in the background. The strict harmony between text and image is disrupted by these differences in several ways. Turpin's direct gaze at the camera implies a level of simplicity; he has earned his presence in the magazine by coming unharmed through a highly dangerous skirmish. His gaze meets that of the reader just as his qualities and his body meet the expectations and desires that the text establish. Because Boseley is looking out of frame he appears to be contemplating something beyond this dialogic relation.⁵²⁶ The

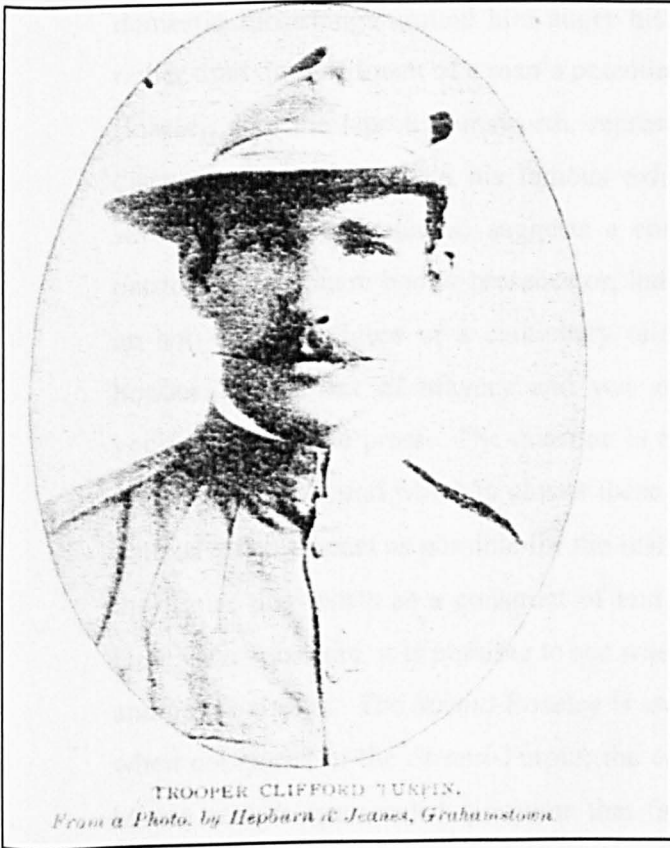
⁵²² Story, 'Deeds of Daring and Devotion in the War', p. 153.

⁵²³ Story, 'Deeds of Daring and Devotion in the War', p. 153.

⁵²⁴ The 6th of January 1902 where the British held 'Cæsar's Camp' against a vicious Boer assault.

⁵²⁵ Story, 'Deeds of Daring and Decotion in the War', p. 160.

⁵²⁶ I do not presume to have the key to Boseley's inner consciousness here. His gaze falling outside of the frame is the principle contrast between the two photos and this supposition arises out of this compositional difference rather than as an observation upon the real person that the photograph portrays.



TROOPER CLIFFORD TURPIN.

From a Photo, by Hepburn & Jeans, Grahamstown.

3.11



SERGEANT BOSELEY.

From a Photo, by Synnolds & Co., Portsmouth.

3.12

domestic furnishings around him auger his civilian future and signify the stunting, rather than the fulfilment of a man's potential by war. As a body mutilated in conflict Boseley, like the leprous Emsworth, represents the fruition of imperial anxiety: the discomposed body. Even his famous exhortation to 'roll me away' (reported in several Boer War histories) suggests a corporeality that changes him from active participant to a mere bodily presence or, indeed, to an impediment.⁵²⁷ Boseley is not an anti-imperial figure or a cautionary tale. He was rewarded with the medal of honour for his act of bravery and was no doubt pleased to see it recorded so vociferously in the press. The question is not one of establishing imperial and anti-imperial poles around which to cluster these figures and ideas. The question is rather, with as much respect as possible for the real, quotidian Boseley, to separate him from the figure that exists as a construct of text and image on the pages of *The Strand*. Here, as a construct, it is possible to see where the ideological slippage between word and image occurs. The *Strand*-Boseley is an imperfect agent for the magazine's ideas when compared to the *Strand*-Turpin; the compositional language of his photograph leaves certain open-ended questions that fail to adequately tie image to text. The photograph leads onto a series of questions as the reader may wonder what Boseley is looking at, where he is and what his life will lead to after his recovery. Uncertainty is the enemy of many ideas in *The Strand* and uncertainty (or at least ambivalence) results from the Boseley picture. It is an example of how ideas, projected clearly (though not without considerable manoeuvring) in text, can be undermined by the body asked to carry the idea and also begins to suggest why photographs prove far less reliable than illustrations at providing the magazine with embodiments.

The editorial 'project' of the images is necessarily linked with the writing it accompanied; what, ultimately, would be the point in expensively putting together a visual accompaniment that would, in any way, work against the main body of the article? Photographs in *The Strand* fall into three categories: 'portraits', where a subject or subjects pose specifically for the photo, removed from the everyday scene of their lives; 'scenes', where subjects are depicted as if the camera was not there, going about their business and 'exhibits' where things are depicted in isolation. Of

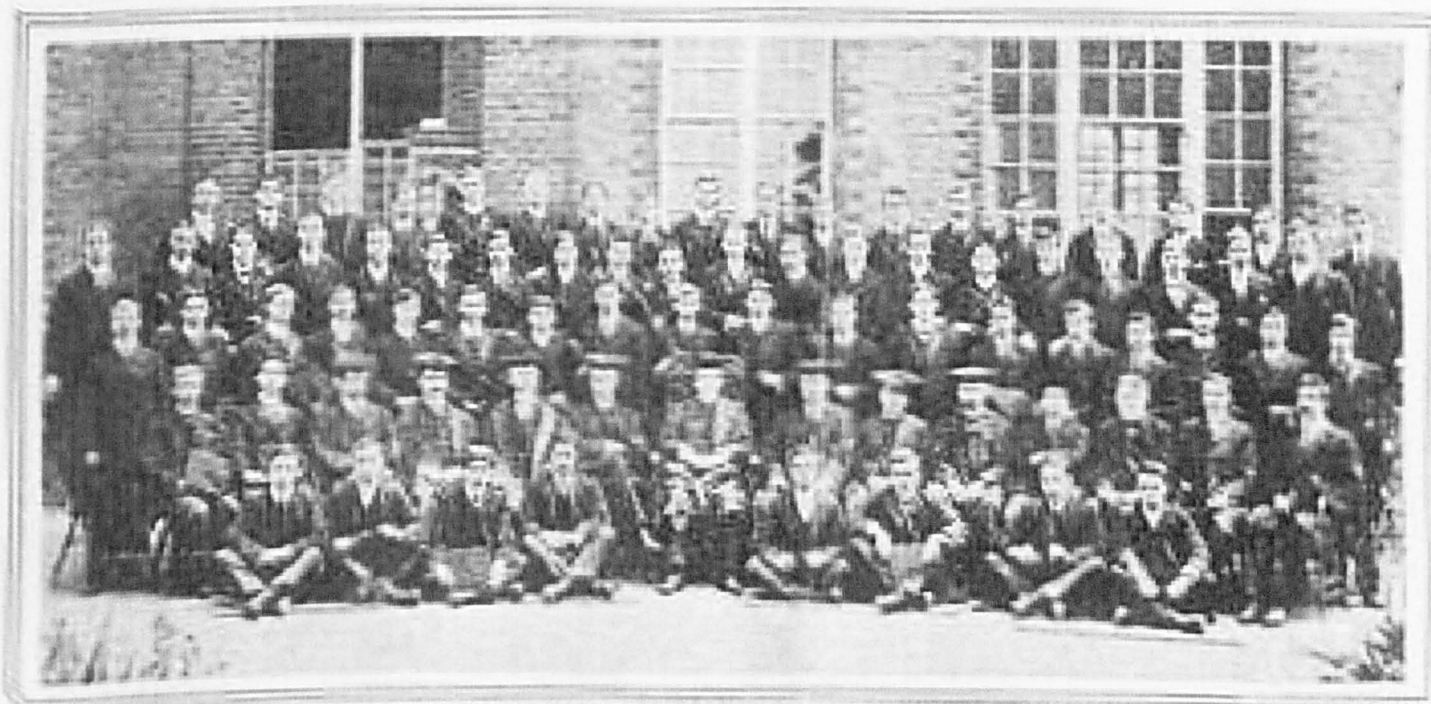
⁵²⁷ These include *The Times History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902* (A. Low Marston and Company, 1905), p. 190; J. H. Settle's *Anecdotes of Soldiers in Peace and War* (London: Methuen, 1905), p. 505 and, most notably, Henry Nevinson's *Ladysmith: The Diary of a Siege* (Echo Library, 2006) where the journalist author recalls Boseley's dependency ('helpless as a log' [p. 111]) and predicts his future 'great career as a wonder from the war' [p. 112]).

course, in reality, the 'scenes' are as stage-managed as much as the portraits. For all the pictures of soldiers going about their daily duties, there are no photos of them directly engaged in combat because the event would be too live and confused to be appropriately contained within a decipherable image. *The Strand's* dependence on stage-managed images is interesting because it suggests that there is a compositional language at work in their construction. This language is comparable to the lexicon of the articles but has different parameters. For example, 'Deeds of Daring...' can describe desperate battles and heroic mutilations but the photos, in embodying the participants, invariably do so in 'portrait', removed from the scene that is happily and boisterously described in text. The route to understanding this disparity lies in the same problem that has coloured this discussion throughout, the terms of *The Strand's* representation of narratives and characters (fictional and non-fictional) are too heavily conditional, too dependent upon slotting them into the exigencies of a rigid world-view and ethical code. This code, in such instances as 'The Boy Who Read Kipling', contains an implicit opposition to 'the modern' in favour of swearing allegiance to grand militaristic and chivalric ideals. This is too complicated a contradiction to simply contain within any visual language that is not highly controlled and artificial. It is for this reason that, in attempting to analyse the ideology at work around *The Strand* (and has been clearly visible over the last chapters) illustrations offer more fertile ground for analysis than photographs. This is because their constitutive materials are so much more malleable, so much easier to bend and provide images like that of the Harry Bassett ideal and his many stereotypes. The reality of photographs, such as it is, contains an implicit threat to disrupt all of the delicate ideological manoeuvres of text and illustration. Readers may relate to a valorised depiction of a soldier fighting for King and country but the 'real' image of battle and slaughter would represent a different challenge. Text that projects figurative bodies (like the Boer War articles that discuss particular soldiers) develop figurative strategies (the frequent appeals to 'valour', 'chivalry', 'empire' and 'Britishness', for example) that represent bodies artificially embellished with the weight of grand narratives. Such embellishment is difficult to preserve in representing someone who, whatever their bravery and whatever their belief in these values, is demonstrably an inhabitant of the same human, 'modern' world as the reader. The effective photographs, like that of Turpin, slot into the article because they occur outside of temporal and spatial co-ordinates. There is no back-drop, no scenery, no evidence of

the battle, no suggestion of whether the photo was shot before or after the incident described. Boseley's photograph confuses this representative scheme because it locates its subject within a recognisable *milieu* that problematises the smooth absorption of his micro-narrative into the same grand narrative as Turpin.

ECONOMIES OF ILLUSTRATION

Illustration, as we have seen with Harry Bassett and numerous characters in the Holmes stories, offers a more fertile ground for *The Strand's* idealised language of visual representation. In terms of photography the magazine was much more comfortable either with group portraits or with long-shots that represent groups of individuals. This tendency has already been discussed in relation to 'Making a Policeman' (and many other institutional portraits) but it also occurs in discussions of trainee teachers in 'The Making of a Secondary School Teacher' and the tug-of-war team depicted in 'Which is the Finest Race?' (3.13 and 3.14) amongst others. These photographs are amenable because their composition is regulated by an unnatural sense of order. There is a sense in which disparate bodies have been brought together and formed into a composite, ordered body of men whose actions and ethics are regulated by a similar order. A photograph from 'The Rank-and-File of the British Navy' (3.15) shows a self-reflexive acknowledgement of this, the caption beneath reads: 'Recruits, compared with boys of three months training'. The compositional purpose of the image is to draw attention to the two pairs of boys, the one pair who have an appropriately naval, ordered stance (one that tallies with all the other images in the article) and the other pair who appear more disordered. The image also contains the promise that soon the slack compositional contribution of the pair on the right will be transformed into that of the boys on the left. This is a tacit acknowledgement of how much value *The Strand* placed on a sense of order in its images. Whilst in photographs such as these, there is clear effort taken to distort and bring order to a real life scene or event, in illustrations the pretence of order can be absolute and unmediated. When depicting, for example, a group of young naval recruits in a different article (1911's 'Boy Soldiers and Sailors' [3.16]) then the difference is made clear. This is not to say that the idea of a young boy marching in unison is unbelievable, but that illustrative depictions of groups of individuals are more suited for *The Strand's* selective ideological remit because they allow much



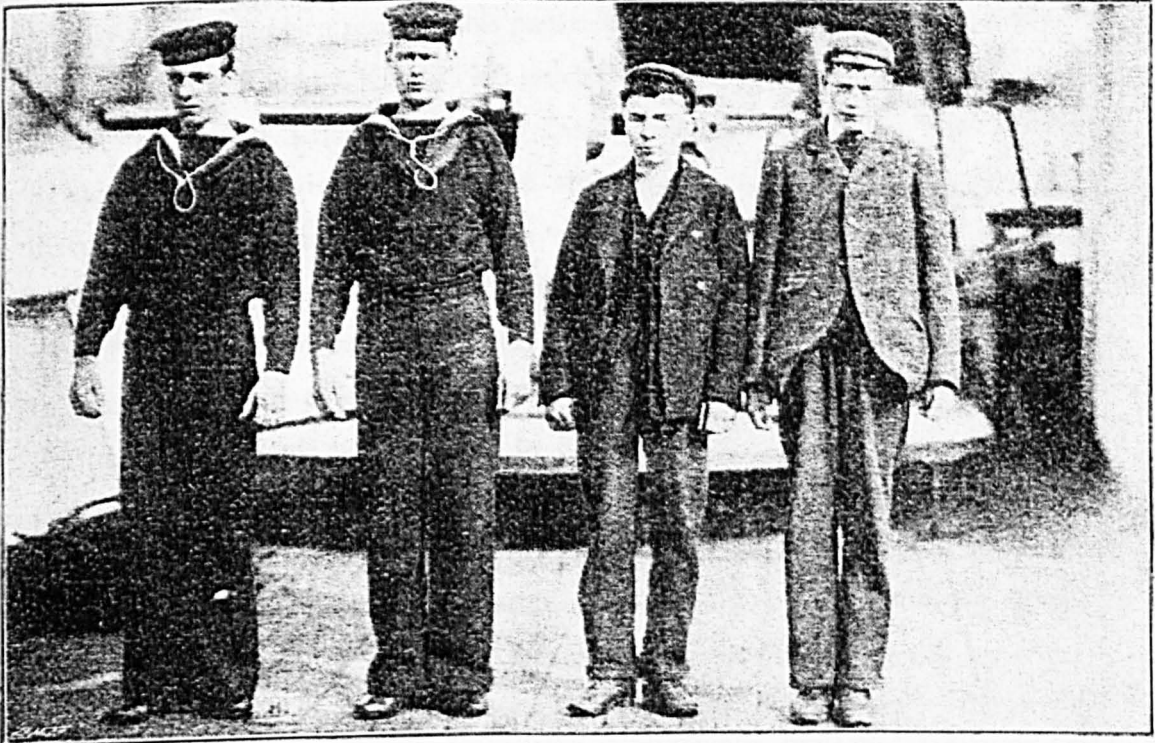
STUDENTS AND STAFF OF TRINITY COLLEGE THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.
 From Photo by W. S. Hunt, Richmond, Ontario.

3.13



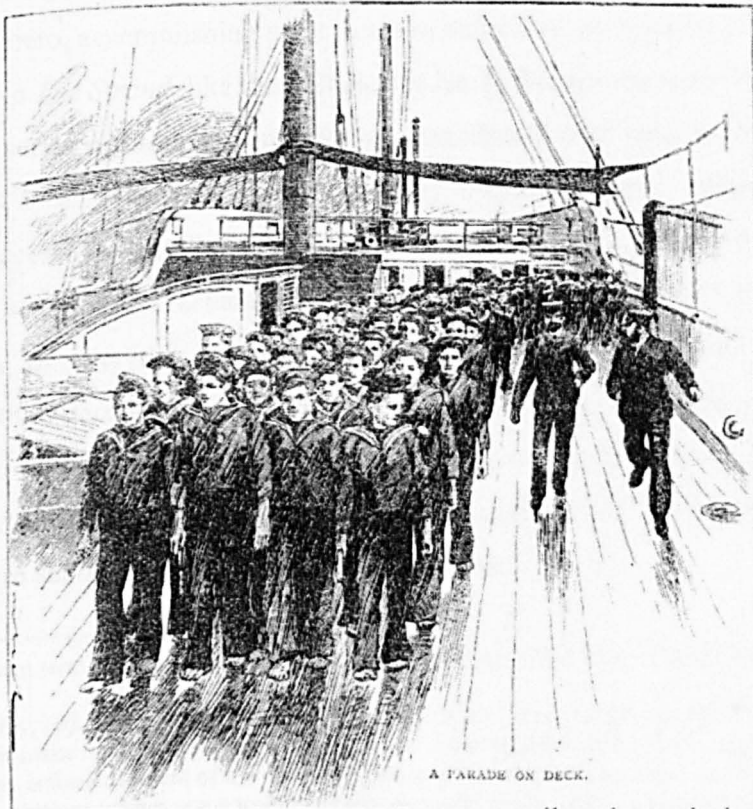
THE TEAM OF THE CITY OF LONDON POLICE WHO WON THE TUG-OF-WAR AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES—
 From a Photograph by THE MEN OF THE FINEST PHYSIQUE IN THE WORLD. (Sport & General)

3.14



RECRUITS, COMPARED WITH BOYS OF THREE MONTHS' TRAINING.
From a Photo. by W. Gregory & Co.

3.15



A PARADE ON DECK.

3.16

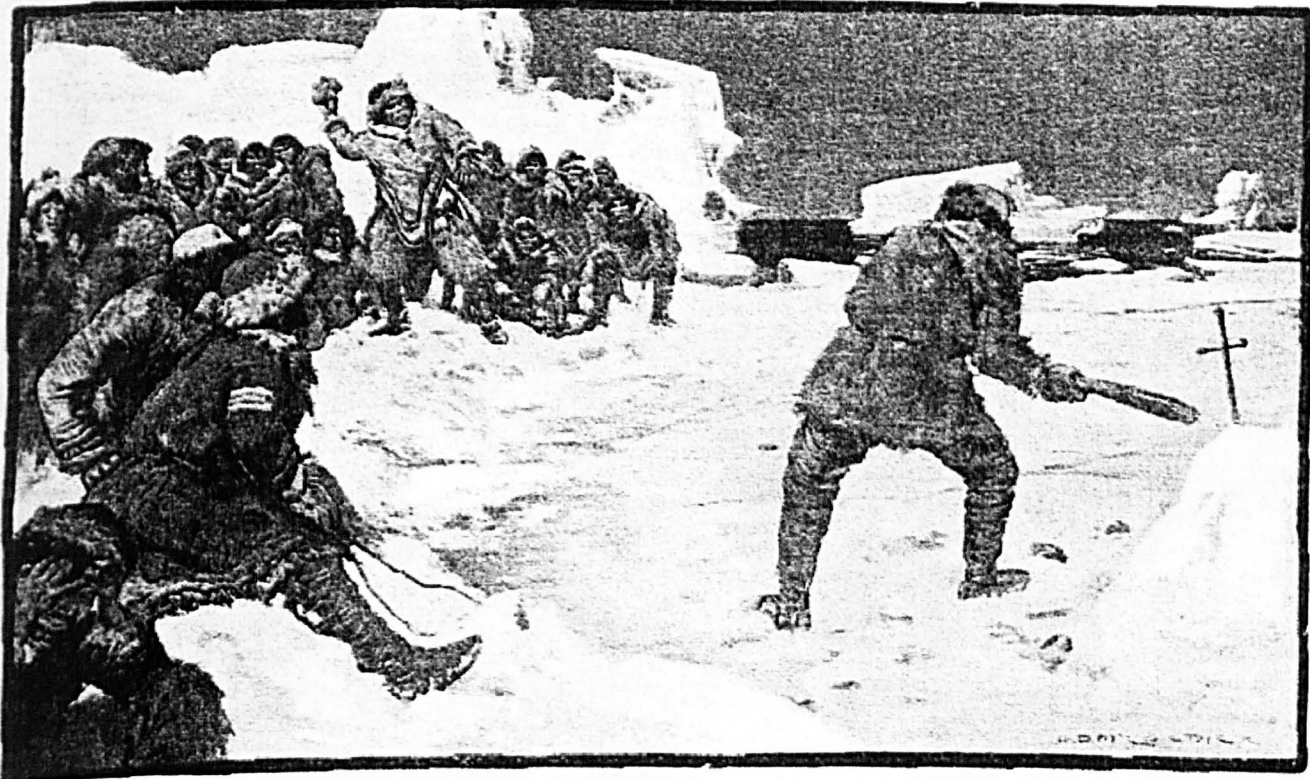
well understand that a

more space for oclusions and emphases. Illustrations of disorder appear more heavily emphasised as a result of this particular as we can see from two illustrations that appeared in Rupert J. King's 1905 article 'English Sport Among Savages'. 3.17 shows 'Esquimaux Cricket' and 3.18 shows 'Football, Played by West African Savages'. These visions of disorder are crucial because they relate this brief discussion of *The Strand's* images to the rest of the preceding argument. Illustrations like these (and the ones that featured in George Sims' articles) functioned by disrupting the unity of the bodies that they present. They are images with no arbiter to impose order or enforce *The Strand's* dominant mores; in terms of fictional illustrations the frame will typically be dominated by a figure of authority. It is perhaps one of the reasons for the disproportionately large role that Sidney Paget's illustrations played in the cultural impact of the stories that Holmes fulfils this role so frequently. In the first twelve stories alone, forty-five of the seventy original illustrations to appear in *The Strand* feature Holmes depicted either in a position of implicit authority (sitting, considering or lost in thought) or explicitly performing his 'extra-legal' role as an arbiter of justice (3.19-3.24).⁵²⁸ Illustration allows for the construction of an ego-ideal, an image of perfection that condenses positive models of behaviour and appearance. A figure 'composed of all the fantasies which portray the subject, or a hero, accomplishing great deeds or achieving recognition'.⁵²⁹ Successful illustrations in *The Strand*, like those depicting Harry Bassett are assembled according to a logical series of measurements that are established over time in the magazine's text. Harry's 'achievement' was not strictly limited to the Freudian domain of worldly success (as outlined in 'Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming'), but represented a complete evacuation of the negative, antagonistic forces that threatened the stability of everyday life elsewhere in the magazine that had been slowly articulated over decades.⁵³⁰ His success in the bourgeois, mercantile and romantic arenas is, in this way, a modest surface that conceals the far grander, multi-layered accomplishment of having penetrated the first decade of the twentieth-century with his well-worn set of Victorian ideals defiantly intact.

⁵²⁸ This pertinent term is frequently used by Christopher Pittard in his essay 'Cheap, Healthful Literature'.

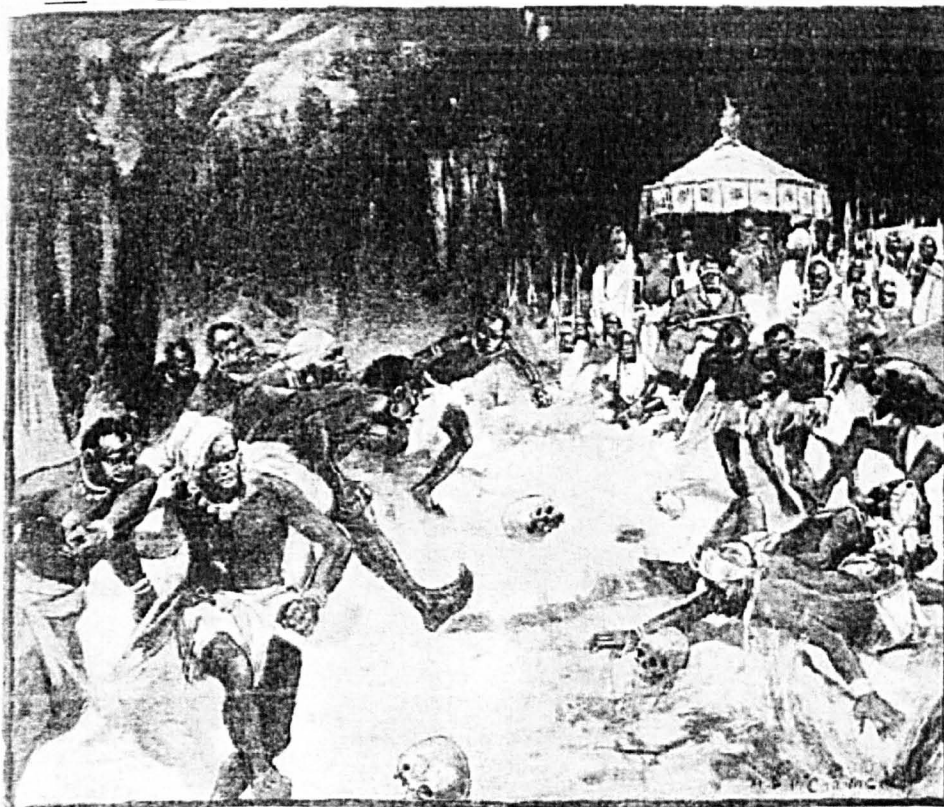
⁵²⁹ H. A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 166.

⁵³⁰ 'Let us now make ourselves acquainted with a few of the characteristics of phantasying [...] Every single phantasy is the fulfilment of a wish, a correction of an unsatisfying reality [...] In young men egoistic and ambitious wishes come to fore clearly alongside erotic ones'. *The Creativity Question*, Albert Rothenberg, Carl R. Hausman, eds. (Duke University Press, 1976), pp. 48-49.



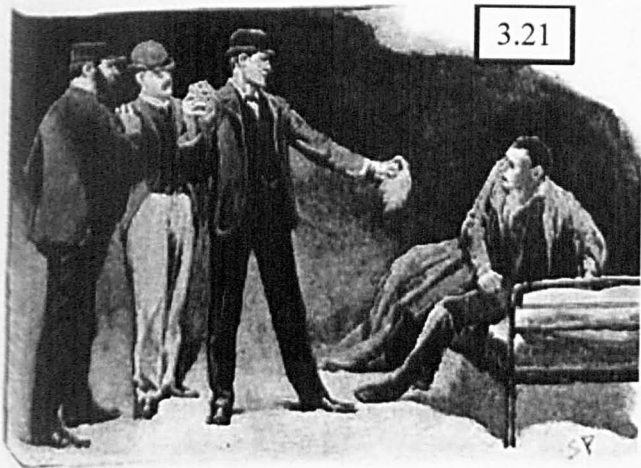
ESKIMAUX CRICKET, PLAYED WITH A CLUB AND A POUND SHOT.

3.17



KOBBALL, PLAYED BY WEST AFRICAN SAVAGES, WITH THE SKULLS OF THEIR ENEMIES FOR BALLS.

3.18



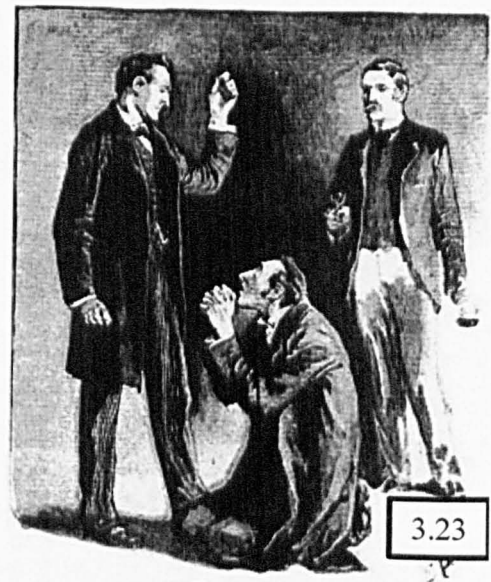
3.21



3.22



3.20



3.23



3.19



3.24

From this perspective, *The Strand* establishes the rules of its own success; the text details the ideological map onto which the successful figures are grafted. This is another reason why sport holds such profound importance as a source of characterial legitimation. It provides a figurative (not to mention literal) field in which all the difficulties and contradictions of social context and bodily uncertainty can be replaced by a hermeneutic set of rules and behavioural codes that provide a simple ethical barometer. As a comparator, we can observe the chaos that attends the illustrations in 'English Sports Amongst Savages' when such values are subverted or misunderstood. The 'aborigines' in 3.17 confuse a bewildered, Western observer who wonders whether he is observing 'a fight in progress' or the performance of 'some singular native rites or festivities'.⁵³¹ The 'grotesque' perversions of 'Esquimaux cricket' are, however, superseded by the version of football practiced by the West African 'Umbaba' tribe (3.18). When confronted by the confused spectacle, the British emissary confronts the chief of the tribe who,

smiling broadly, looked at the white men for their approval. 'Is it not great – your football?' he asked, 'Yes', was the answer; 'but the rules say-' 'Never mind the rules. The Umbaba makes his own laws'.⁵³²

At this, the Englishmen 'look away', 'far too horrified and disgusted as they realized the impracticability of teaching an Anglo-Saxon game, in all its innocence and simplicity, to a bloodthirsty African savage brought up upon cannibalism and mystic rites'.⁵³³ The compositional confusion of the image arises from the otherness of its ideological bedrock, different set of 'laws' and 'rites' that value and devalue different ethical models. The goal here is not to use the poststructuralist valorisation of difference to crow over this cheap colonial ideology but to simply observe the formal differences between images under different ideological conditions. In his essay on *The Strand*, Pittard makes some useful observations on the function of images in the Sherlock Holmes stories. Firstly, he suggests that they played a pivotal role in the 'suppression of sensation' by refusing to break the continuities of the text.⁵³⁴ Aside from the full-page 'teaser' illustration that preceded many Holmes stories at the

⁵³¹ Rupert J. King, 'English Sports Amongst Savages', *The Strand* 25 (March, 1903), p. 523.

⁵³² King, 'English Sports Amongst Savages', p. 525.

⁵³³ King, 'English Sports Amongst Savages', p. 525.

⁵³⁴ Pittard, 'Cheap, Healthful Literature', p. 12.

beginning of the magazine, the images, according to Pittard, never break the 'reassuring' pace with the story's movement 'from mystery to resolution'.⁵³⁵ In 'The Stockbroker's Clerk' Holmes and Watson confront an unusually violent sight by bursting in on the villain's suicide attempt. The illustration from the passage focuses on Holmes' entry into the room (3.25) and suspends him between the act of bursting through the door and discovering the sight of the man's 'drawn up knees', 'hung head' and 'livid creases' of skin.⁵³⁶ There is a sense in which the illustration is obeying a dual courtesy by not betraying the plot's sensational developments to wandering eyes and by suturing the bodily violence enacted by the unnamed 'chairman on the Franco-Midland Hardware Company'. This dialectic relationship between word and image where the imaginative recesses opened by the text can be exploited and then soothed by the balm of a safe quotidian illustration is compelling, if not in quite so direct a way as Pittard implies.⁵³⁷ The ideological coding of visual images fulfils a number of functions which include the suppression of violent images (as with the Boer War articles) but which, as in the case of 'English Sport Amongst Savages' and George Sims' articles, is also required to assure a certain amount of violence and disorder in certain situations and directed at certain bodies. In Sims' articles we encountered street fights and the implication of domestic violence and child abuse which reflexively re-affirmed the absence of violence in the magazine's domestic non-fiction. The skulls that stand in for footballs in the Umbabas' game are symbols for the wild violence inherent to their culture and depictions of other societies and other modes of living are similarly marked by these subtle deployments of metonymy.

Lone images that are free from associations can be radically open to interpretation, a situation understood and exploited by film theorists from the earliest emergence of the medium.⁵³⁸ When, however, they are presented alongside text, as in *The Strand*, they can materialise and solidify the subtextual apprenticeships of the text. Images, more often than not, mean the depiction of bodies which, as a result,

⁵³⁵ Pittard, 'Cheap, Healthful Literature', p. 11.

⁵³⁶ Doyle, 'The Stockbroker's Clerk', p. 453

⁵³⁷ The final illustration of the story is happy enough to show the slumped figure of the man as he recovers from his ordeal which suggests that protecting the progression of the plot was far more important than 'averting the illustrative gaze' from the sight of bodily distress. Pittard, 'Cheap Healthful Literature', p. 13.

⁵³⁸ We can see this, to take just two examples, in the experiments of Sergei Eisenstein and the early work of Carl Theodor Dreyer (*Vampyr*, 1932).



3.25

SP

become crucial components of *The Strand's* vision of selective modernity and the ways in which it arranged its narratives. The problem, underlying all of the work discussed in this chapter, was that bodies were subjected to binocular and contradictory sets of demands necessitated by *The Strand's* ambivalent relationship with modernity. In its coverage of the Boer War, *The Strand* produced work that pronouncedly bore the marks of this ambivalence. Over the course of the period, male bodies were expected to carry too many contradictory ideological commitments. They had to continue the grand chivalric narratives of the past; reject the torpor and debased pleasures of modern life; successfully embody the interest and desire for a scientifically-amplified physical culture and, finally, adopt a technologically-informed aesthetic of efficiency. *The Strand* showed itself to be a rather bewildered participant in cultural debates as the century advanced and it clung to the vestiges of its ideological heritage. This may seem a rather bleak picture but, given that, by 1914, many of *The Strand's* competitors and imitators had folded, it still showed remarkable commercial resilience. W. T. Stead's *The Review of Reviews* would continue until 1936 but *The English Illustrated Magazine* ended in 1913, *The Pall Mall Magazine* in 1914, *The Bookworm* in 1917 and *The Windsor Magazine* in 1900. This is not to mention the short-lived rivals that had finished whilst still in their infancy in the 1890s such as *The Universal Review* (1888-1890) or *Art and Letters* (1888-1889). This chapter is not arguing that *The Strand* was a befuddled pensioner, left obsolete by modernity's roadside. What is clear, however, is that the preservation of its core values was becoming harder to maintain alongside its commitment to covering the current events of the 1900s. The amount of 'semiotic closure' necessary to sustain the traditional heritage of words and ideas was becoming greater and science was at the centre of these changes. It was increasingly necessary for the magazine to rely upon science as a tool of legitimation (as with its popularisation of physical culture) but this dependence belied the fact that scientific and technological advances in the military were radically altering the terms under which old ideas of chivalry and heroic combat could be constructed. Over the next two decades, Doyle's faith in the powers of science and the mass-market press would fail as he attempted to promulgate his belief in spiritualism in *The Strand*. The Boer War and the physical culture debate, however, ensure that the terms of Doyle's ideological separation from *The Strand* and the magazine's commercial decline were already in play early in the century.

CHAPTER FOUR:

INVERTING THE

QUEST

Scientific knowledge does not represent the totality of knowledge; it has always existed in addition to [...] narrative.⁵³⁹

SO wrote Lyotard, cheerfully recapitulating the ideological spirit of George Newnes. This thesis has been much concerned with *The Strand's* selective approach to modernity and its conception of science as a way of refreshing and rearticulating older grand narratives. This final chapter discusses the breakdown of the relationship between science and the magazine's ideology principally through the lens of Arthur Conan Doyle's Professor Challenger stories which appeared between 1913 and 1929.⁵⁴⁰ They represent a particularly interesting example of the latter stages of this project. Lyotard's model of the diffusion of scientific knowledge is suggestive because he anticipates the culturally embedded nature of science. It is not simply the old *cliché* that science's veneer of empiricism and Hegelian pursuit of absolute knowledge conceals a shameful core of cultural, relativistic practices. What Lyotard specifically notes is that ideas (empirical or not) produced by science, cannot force themselves into culture unless they are conveyed by narrative. The naked idea is shameful; it must be adequately symbolised and incorporated into established linguistic formulations before it is welcomed into polite company. This dynamic forces us to acknowledge that the straightforward identification of science as

⁵³⁹ Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁰ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* (1912) in *The Lost World and Other Stories* (London: Wordsworth Classics, 1995), pp. 1-171; Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Poison Belt* (1913) in *The Lost World and Other Stories*, pp. 173-239; Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Land of Mist* in *The Lost World and Other Stories* pp. 241-421; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'When the World Screamed' (1928) in *The Lost World and Other Stories*, pp. 437-461; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Disintegration Machine' (1929) in *The Lost World and Other Stories*, pp. 423-435.

culturally-produced is meaningless without an attempt to identify the division between idea and narrative. Moreover, the nature of the relationship is arrestingly open, does narrative play the role of a passive place-holder or is it the idea that forms a decorated, unchanging stage upon which the narrative is free to cavort? In effect, this is why *The Strand* became increasingly comfortable with representations of science, since the magazine's ideological landscape provided all sorts of helpful narrative vehicles for ideas 'produced' by science. The role of science in the Challenger narratives reveals a series of ideological experiments which were complicated by Doyle's public commitment to Spiritualism in the late 1910s.⁵⁴¹ This chapter does not intend to suggest that, in some theoretical way, *The Strand's* ideology was outmanoeuvred by the changing world of modern knowledge production. Instead, because these narratives are explicit attempts to mix science with older kinds of narrative, they offer a perfect lens through which to think about *The Strand's* wider content as its popularity declined. These considerations, I argue, offer a rich perspective on the war-with-many-fronts that constituted the attritional conflict between pre-existing ideologies and those that became prominent in the twentieth-century.

Doyle's explicit goal in writing the first of the stories, *The Lost World*, was to effect a scientific quest romance that would unite elements from the work of two of his friends, H. Rider Haggard and H. G. Wells. It is testament to Doyle's cultural naïvety that the two elements of his 'original' combination (adventure fiction and science fiction) had already sustained a mutually informed, dialectical relationship since at least the work of Jules Verne. The validity of Doyle's cultural diagnosis is, of itself, immaterial; what is crucial is that in his hands the scientific quest romance goes through a series of mutations that hinge on fundamental inconsistencies between scientific and imperial ontologies. *The Lost World* represents a case-study of science's perceived ability to 'modernise' more traditional forms and ideas. In *The Postmodern Condition* Lyotard notes that scientific knowledge itself exists in a space outside ideology and that it 'possesses no general metalanguage in which other

⁵⁴¹ Although his interest and beliefs in the creed had been active since at least the 1880s as he mentions in *Memories and Adventures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). Andrew Lycett and Daniel Stashower date his full conversion to spiritualism to July 1887 where a medium named 'Horstead' suggested that Doyle not read Leigh Hunt's *Comic Dramatists of the Restoration*, a book which he had purchased but not mentioned to anyone of his acquaintance. Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, p. 130; Daniel Stashower, *Teller of Tales*, pp. 97-99.

languages can be transcribed and evaluated'.⁵⁴² Science, for Lyotard, is incapable of providing legitimation in the same way as traditional grand narratives because it exists removed from the world of ideas and values and is more or less indifferent to their cultural currency. Lyotard is not dismissing the role of ethical and moral judgements within scientific thought and writing (as with the work of Francis Galton, discussed in chapter two). What he suggests is that scientific systems cannot effectively legitimise moral, political or ethical systems because the bare facts of the physical world are themselves transcribed in a language irreducible to that of social paradigms. The field of scientific knowledge is necessarily both transformative and proleptic: 'someone always comes along to disturb the order of reason'.⁵⁴³ In Lyotard's reasoning, each scientific 'explanation' must make allowances for a 'power that destabilizes the capacity for explanation' by the 'promulgation of new norms for understanding'.⁵⁴⁴ Science, in short, can only legitimate itself by achieving entrance, via challenge and peer review, into its parent discourse where, even after the event, it is still subject to challenge, modification and eventual obsolescence. Scientific knowledge, in fact, displays qualities entirely opposite to the nature of knowledge displayed in *The Strand's* paradigms which endlessly and unchangingly reassert their appeals to standards of behaviour which are immutable and unchanging. These rather superficial observations suggest an (equally superficial) opposition between *The Strand* and science but it is the precise nature of the conflict that emerges between science, romance and modernity that resulted in the schisms between the magazine, its readership and its key contributors.

HARRY BASSETT'S BOOK-SHELF

It is helpful to begin where the previous chapter ended, with Austen Philips' 'The Boy Who Read Kipling' and its hero, Harry Bassett, who furnishes a useful illustration of the relationship between 'grand' and 'little' narratives.⁵⁴⁵ Bassett's dependence on narratives of empire to reinforce his identity has already been discussed, he refers to his employer in tones of delighted discovery as 'a white-man'.⁵⁴⁶ This particular

⁵⁴² Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, pp. 64-5.

⁵⁴³ Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, pp. 61.

⁵⁴⁴ Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, pp. 61.

⁵⁴⁵ Lyotard refers to them as '*petit récits*'. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 60.

⁵⁴⁶ Philips, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling', p. 653.

'Kipling-ism' was the subject of Edward Said's analysis in *Orientalism* where he suggested that the term referred to a self-legitimising ontological state, 'an idea and a reality. It involved a reasoned position towards both the white and the nonwhite worlds [...] An idea, a persona, a style of being'.⁵⁴⁷ This style of being, according to Philips, is appropriately translatable to the domestic landscape of modern, Georgian Britain. As the story's title implies, these narratives are gleaned principally from Rudyard Kipling, but his are not the only books that Bassett possesses and Philips includes a detailed description of the other sources from which Bassett constitutes his guiding ideology:

[H]is square, high-ceilinged sitting-room, with its photographs of cricket and football teams [...] its innumerable ensigns of sport. It was cleanly, finely Philistine; a man's room, not a woman's [...] a small book-case chock-a-block with books –some Doyle's, some 'Q'.s' and a Dumas or two, several treatises upon banking, a stray Stevenson [...] volumes by Grace and Ranjitsinhji [...] And [...] in one red, magnificent row, a dozen or more Kiplings.⁵⁴⁸

The bookshelf contains, as well as Kipling, many more straightforward 'adventure' novels that sit alongside them. This suggests that, whilst his ideology was gathered principally from Kipling, it was also obtainable from other cultural sources including the likes of Doyle and Arthur Quiller Couch. This relationship superficially bears out Elaine Showalter's assertion in *Sexual Anarchy* that 'little boys who read will become big boys who rule' and that 'fiction was the primer for empire'.⁵⁴⁹ Bassett, supporting the veracity of Showalter's argument, finds an ideological support to his actions in these stories of adventure and empire. The quest narrative form was familiar territory to *The Strand*; Haggard was a valuable contributor amongst the constellation of less well remembered adventurers including Couch and 'Sapper'.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Vintage, 1977), p. 228.

⁵⁴⁸ Philips, 'The Boy Who Read Kipling', p. 650.

⁵⁴⁹ Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991), p. 80.

⁵⁵⁰ The pen name of Herman Cyril McNeile who, during the First World War, published adventure stories in *The Strand*. The magazine also published frequent colonial adventure narratives by H. Rider Haggard and Charles J. Mansford's long-running series *Shafts from an Eastern Quiver*, which Ronald R. Thomas notes contains 'tales of British adventurers who took part in strategic military and scientific projects and narrowly escaped from the clutches of devious and dangerous oriental tribesmen'. Ronald R. Thomas, 'The Fingerprint of the Foreigner: Colonizing the Criminal Body in 1890s Detective Fiction and Criminal Anthropology', *ELH* [61- 3, 1994], p. 658.

In this way, the story of Harry Basset's achievements is locked into a much larger textual pattern that establishes imperial values as a dialectical construct of two different kinds of narrative: the domestic and the exotic. Whilst the collection of texts gathered under the heading 'quest romance' by later critics may seem disparate, perhaps the one identifiably common denominator between these texts is a common kind of what Derrida called 'ontopology'.⁵⁵¹ By this he meant the mixture of ideological and geographical worldview that, in these fictions, lays the landscapes of the colonised world open to its characters as a playground and as a well-stocked larder of wealth and happiness. Whilst the specificities of British imperial ideology go far beyond this rather elementary mindset, the quest romance form fits into Lyotard's formulation of grand and small narratives by endlessly reproducing and reinforcing the values of conflict and conquest as a desirable and effective behavioural and ethical model. Doyle consciously engaged with these aspects of quest narratives when writing *The Lost World*, using his own epigram at the novel's opening:

I have wrought my simple plan
If I give one hour of joy
To the boy who's half a man,
Or the Man who's half a boy.⁵⁵²

Doyle had written to his mother as early as 1889 recording his interest in writing 'a Rider Haggard kind of book [...] for all the naughty little boys of Empire' and constructed the pursuit of science and the gathering of scientific data as a legitimising prop to the existing ideological baggage that attended quest narratives.⁵⁵³ By 1911, however, the challenge of writing such a book had changed dramatically. Doyle felt that the expanding horizons of scientific exploration had in some way compromised

⁵⁵¹ Some of the many critical works to treat this subject include Patrick Brantlinger's *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and imperialism 1830-1914* (London: Cornell University Press, 1990); Daly, *Modernism, Romance and the Fin-de-Siècle*; Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*; Robert Fraser, *Victorian Quest Romance: Stevenson, Haggard, Kipling and Conan Doyle* (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1998); Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991) and Said, *Culture and imperialism*. Of 'ontopology', Derrida wrote 'we mean an axiomatic linking indissociably the ontological value of present-being (on) to its situation, to the stable and presentable determination of a locality, the topos of a territory'. Jacques Derrida, *Spectres of Marx* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 82.

⁵⁵² Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 1.

⁵⁵³ Lellenberg, ed., *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters*, p. 577.

the potential for romantic fantasy. His 1910 speech at a lunch given for the Arctic explorer Robert Peary anticipates much of *The Lost World*'s thematic content:

There had been a time when the world was full of blank spaces and in which a man of imagination might be able to give free scope to his fancy [...] these spaces were rapidly being filled up; and the question was where the romance writer was to turn.⁵⁵⁴

The Lost World, although it revealed a comparable ontology to Victorian quest romances, spent a great deal of time establishing the increasing impossibility of romance in the modern world. As such, it constituted a declaration that, for Doyle, science had been the cause of a cultural shift, the undesirable new potential of which it was necessary to foreclose. In Doyle's estimation, science's elongation of the boundaries of knowledge had made the pursuit of adventure difficult because it stripped the world's landscape of mystery and laid it open and knowable. It is telling that his lament echoed the language of Edmund Burke's sublime with its emphasis upon darkness and obscurity.⁵⁵⁵ It suggests that, for Doyle, adventure fiction functioned because of an imaginative projection that used the gaps in popular perception to project and articulate dangers and fears. The surplus 'danger' that attends nightfall according to Burke, becomes a creative resource for the writer of romances who requires strange and exotic settings for his characters to explore.⁵⁵⁶ Doyle found his solution by deploying deep-time in his storytelling to defamiliarise the, by now well-charted, colonial landscape. Science is, at once, part of the problem and the solution. On the one hand it diminished the possibility for legitimate adventure whilst, on the other, the conceptual spaces opened up by the receptivity of popular culture to crude, popularised narratives of James Hutton's geological theories appear to offer salvation.⁵⁵⁷ Such is the happily, linear, anecdotal opposition at play

⁵⁵⁴ Lellenberg, ed., *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters*, p. 578.

⁵⁵⁵ 'To make any thing very terrible, obscurity seems, in general to be necessary. When we know the full extent of any danger when we can accustom our eyes to it, a great deal of apprehension vanishes'. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, (Harvard: Harper and Brothers, 1856), p. 74.

⁵⁵⁶ Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry*, p. 74.

⁵⁵⁷ Joseph E. Harmon and Alan G. Gross suggest that 'Hutton's theory is not matched by his prose'. *The Scientific Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). Because of this, the potent theory at its heart (that the Earth was far older than existing accounts suggested, 'with no vestige of a

in the first Challenger narrative, but these binary depictions of science reveal their instability and combustibility in suggestive ways, most notably, I will argue, when filtered through the ironically humorous tone of Doyle's narration.

The Lost World presents two principal contradictions that arise from its representation of these issues; two ways in which the traditionalist ideology of *The Strand* was undermined by a fluid scientific prolepsis. Firstly, the quest romance and the imperial ideology that underpinned it were both dependent to some extent upon an understanding of a polygenic, racial hierarchy. Critics vary in their desire to impugn the quest romance as racist yet the consensus is that there is a significant connection between tales of adventure and imperial ideology. As Deirdre David says 'the quest romance is [not] inherently racist, but rather its conventions map easily onto the polar oppositions of racism: us versus them, civilized versus savage, white versus black'.⁵⁵⁸ Said, whilst not condemning, assumes a higher level of implication between adventure and racism. For him, power relations in domestic fiction reflected those employed abroad and, in Kipling particularly, saw that the quest romance mixed a need for 'surveillance and control' with 'love for and fascinated attention' for foreign landscapes. He concluded that the 'troubling, even embarrassing truth' was that 'the overlap between the political hold of the one and the aesthetic and psychological pleasure on the other is made possible by British imperialism itself'.⁵⁵⁹ Doyle was certainly conscious of the colonial connotations of quest romances and the relationship that we can see is similar to the depictions of the racial others in the Holmes stories that narrativise and enact the various polygenic scientific theories explored in *The Strand's* non-fiction. The subjective events that occur in fiction are inscribed into the wider culture of the magazine by inserting characters, illustrations, themes and plots into pre-existing ideological patterns. Those displaying 'chivalry' in the Holmes stories, for example, are predisposed to thrive since they are inscribed into the historical tradition of chivalry that the magazine charted in historical fiction and non-fiction that discussed models of warfare.⁵⁶⁰ So, even if the exterior of *The Lost World's* romance structure has had a scientific makeover, its familiar plot carries a group of travellers safely from a domestic metropolis, through a series of adventures

beginning' and 'no prospect of an end' required populariser or 'literary artist[s]' to 'bring to life what Hutton dryly describe[d] in abstract terms' (p. 119).

⁵⁵⁸ Deirdre David, *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 158.

⁵⁵⁹ Said, *Culture and imperialism*, p. 161.

⁵⁶⁰ This issue is discussed at length in chapter three.

in a colonial outpost and back home again richer, wiser and more respected than when they left. Such narratives necessarily rely on foregrounding and assuring the prospects of the travellers whilst making expendable the native background colour. However, the scientific background of the story (which Doyle spent some effort to make sure was accurate) contradicts such a hierarchy.⁵⁶¹ The second principal contradiction relating to the depiction of science is that the story is an open critique of the mass-market press as a mechanistic disintegrator of traditional beliefs. However, the novel's form and narrative voice betray a close commitment to the modern press and certain aspects of modernity that cannot be shaken off. In exploring both of these points it is possible to observe the point at which *The Strand's* selective adoption of science and modernity begins to self destruct. In the post-war years Doyle's public belief in spiritualism and fairies would highlight a growing schism between the magazine and its favourite son. The terms of this schism, I would suggest, are visible from the first publication of *The Lost World* and its uneasy mixture of modernity, romance and science.

ROMANCE AND SCIENCE

The Lost World begins with a journalist, Edward Malone, who is propelled by sexual and romantic frustration to join Professor Challenger on an expedition to South America. Challenger himself has only recently returned from his first expedition and has been discredited by his apparently baseless claims for the survival, on a remote plateau, of several dinosaur species. In order to verify these claims, the Royal Society sends the sceptical antagonist Professor Summerlee to join Challenger and Malone; the party is completed by the presence of Lord John Roxton, a sportsman and adventurer. The group is thus constituted purposefully of different representations of modernity augmenting the stereotypical, anachronistic 'sportsman and traveller' Roxton (who seems to consciously echo Haggard's Allan Quatermain).⁵⁶² Two scientists and a journalist make up the rest of the group; thus the novel establishes its commitment to combining science and romance at its very beginning. Challenger's

⁵⁶¹ Lycett writes that Doyle 'had been fascinated by [dinosaur fossils] ever since coming across whilst out on a walk at Stonyhurst', a passion that was resurrected when he moved to Crowborough where 'the soils of the Welad were stuffed with bones and other relics'. He goes on to record numerous correspondences between the author and various scientific experts to whom he looked to verify his findings. Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, pp. 327-328.

⁵⁶² Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 39.

status as a scientific charlatan means that the group is 'elected' by the Royal Society as a way of proving or disproving his far-fetched claims.⁵⁶³ Challenger stands before a riotous lecture hall and proclaims 'you persecute the prophets! Galileo, Darwin and I', his 'you' refers to those arbiters of authority who refuse to verify his claims to legitimacy.⁵⁶⁴ Challenger struggles against what Lyotard refers to as 'the effectuation of establishment procedures defined by a unanimously agreed-upon protocol'.⁵⁶⁵ By finding himself outside of the legislative authorities that regulate the scientific establishment (the Royal Society) and the popular culture establishment (the press), Challenger is placed in a position where he is thwarted from disseminating knowledge because he lacks appropriate empirical evidence. The distinction recognised here is that which exists between individual scientists and the various power structures that regulate the cultural spread of ideas. In this distinction, Doyle finds an appropriate metaphor for the romantic infertility of the modern world. The very exoticism of Challenger's quest compromised the evidence that should have confirmed its truth. The damaged photographs and testimony of adventure are easily dismissed as faked and false respectively. The traditional elements of the quest romance are, in this way, embedded into a reactionary critique of the insipidity of modernity. It would be a mistake to assert the absolute reflection of imperial values in the quest romance but certain repeated tropes and features make the connection unavoidable, even before one considers the implicit cultural connections suggested in works such as 'The Boy Who Read Kipling' and *Shafts from an Eastern Quiver*.

Doyle's ironic voice (prosopopoeically filtered through Malone) manifests itself in various ways. Superficially the novel's plot, theme and form uphold the aforementioned ideology. The Western adventurers enter in the wider world and find their every wish granted and their every desire satiated. In *The Lost World* this relationship is complicated by the presence of heavy irony which frequently kicks aside the epistemic pedestal of the 'scientist' (be it Challenger or Summerlee). In these moments, the line that separates the 'scientist' from the 'savage', the imperial heartland from the colonial outpost and the 'modern' from the 'primitive' is blurred. Once in Maple White Land, Malone is distressed to discover an 'enormous blood-tick' feasting on his leg. In quelling Malone's disgust, Challenger affects a

⁵⁶³ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 39.

⁵⁶⁴ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 37.

⁵⁶⁵ Jean-François Lyotard and Georges Van Den Abbeele, 'The Differend, the Referent and the Proper Name', *Diacritics* 14-3 (Autumn, 1984), p. 4.

sententious tone and reminds him of 'the glorious privilege of having your name inscribed in the deathless roll of zoology'. He continues, '[y]ou should cultivate the detached scientific mind [...] to a man of philosophic treatment like myself the blood-tick [...] is as beautiful a work of nature as the peacock'. Summerlee then dryly observes that

'There can be no doubt of that [...] for one has just disappeared behind your shirt-collar'. Challenger sprang into the air bellowing like a bull, and tore frantically at his coat and shirt to get them off. At last he exposed his monstrous torso [...] His body was all matted with black hair.⁵⁶⁶

Challenger's descent from arrogant assertions of rationality and cultivation disintegrate in this scene and, in the rending of his clothes, he performs a kind of personal degeneration before his three companions. Challenger is transformed by his expedition from 'the highest product of Western education' to 'the most desperate savage in South America'. This is further highlighted by the humorous doubling of Challenger with the chief of a tribe of ape-men who later kidnap him.⁵⁶⁷ Describing the scene of Challenger's capture to Malone, Roxton says: 'You'll smile, young fellah, but 'pon my word they might have been kinsmen [...] He had the short body, the big shoulders, the round chest, [...] the '[w]hat do *you* want, damn you!' look about the eyes [...] Summerlee was a bit hysterical, and he laughed till he cried'.⁵⁶⁸

This scene represents a kind of carnivalesque where the scientist and the savage stand equal and suggests, initially, that Doyle's work may be seen as a leavened, postmodern response to those same issues of racial confrontation that Conrad had explored a decade earlier in *Heart of Darkness*. Such thoughts evaporate as the chief is promptly shot dead by Roxton and, in the ensuing fight between the humanoids and the ape-men, the humanoids are rendered victorious by the presence of the four Englishmen and their guns. This example is just one in a long series of allegories that work to bleed between the racial and societal barriers that are

⁵⁶⁶ Doyle, *The Lost World*, pp. 84-85..

⁵⁶⁷ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 127. Later, in 'When the World Screamed', Malone would describe Challenger as 'a primitive cave-man in a lounge suit'. Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 438.

⁵⁶⁸ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 122.

commonly seen to protect the adventurers in quest romances.⁵⁶⁹ For example, frequent light-hearted comments are made that double the home and colonial space just as with Challenger and the ape-man. ‘The natives were Cucama Indians’ says Challenger to Malone at their first meeting, ‘an amiable but degraded race with mental powers hardly superior to the average Londoner’.⁵⁷⁰ When faced with Maple White’s scale sketch of the Stegosaurus, Malone says ‘Why, Charing Cross Station would hardly make a kennel for such a brute!’⁵⁷¹ These touches to the narrative are, of course, intended to be funny but they are also part of Doyle’s strategy to remould the adventure narrative for a modern readership. These ironic comparisons are coupled with a series of scientific observations that make the same comparisons. The ‘temperate’ climate of the plateau means that ‘the beech, the oak and even the birch were to be found’, ‘Ah,’ says Summerlee upon seeing them, ‘a fellow-countryman in a far land’.⁵⁷² The similarity is not just in vegetable but animal life as well; the dinosaurs that are seen on the plateau such as the Stegosaurus, Iguanodon and Megalosaurus are species whose remains have been uncovered in England.⁵⁷³ Before dealing with the consequences of these techniques it is necessary to formulate precisely why they appear at all as expressions of modernity. A possible solution can be found in Michael Saler’s understanding of the ‘ironic imagination’.⁵⁷⁴ Taken by itself, the novel’s ironic seam opens up the possibility that Doyle built a minor kind of ideology critique of the quest romance into his text. Without discounting that idea completely, a more compelling explanation can be found in Saler’s argument against the predominant view that ‘modernity’ and ‘enchantment’ were, if not antithetical, then at least antimonious in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century. Max Weber’s ‘iron cage of reason’, Saler argues, evinced a disenchantment with the

⁵⁶⁹ Variations of this argument appear in Patrick Brantlinger’s *Rule of Darkness* (Cornell University Press, 1988), Showalter’s *Sexual Anarchy* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991), Nicholas Daly’s *Modernism, Romance and the Fin-de-siecle* and Said’s *Orientalism and Culture and imperialism*.

⁵⁷⁰ Doyle, *The Lost World*, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁷¹ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 23.

⁵⁷² Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 78.

⁵⁷³ The plateau is itself part of the Brazilian rainforest that Roxton describes as ‘very near the size of Europe’. Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 45. Hans-Dieter Sues explains that the Geologist William Buckland discovered both the remains of a Megalosaurus and Iguanodon in England. M. K. Brett-Surman and James O. Farlow, eds., *The Complete Dinosaur* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), p. 13. Michael Ruse asserts that ‘the Stegosaurus lived all over the world [...] It was first discovered in the 1870s in England’. Michael Ruse, *Darwin and Design: Does Evolution Have a Purpose?* (London: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 185.

⁵⁷⁴ This idea is outlined in two published essays: ‘Modernity, Disenchantment and the Ironic Imagination’ (*Philosophy and Literature* 28-1 [April, 2004], pp. 137-149) and ‘Clap if you believe in Sherlock Holmes’: Mass Culture and the Re-Enchantment of Modernity’.

‘premodern’. Consequently ‘adherents of positivism, materialism and literary realism in the latter half of the century often presented a bleak picture of human existence’.⁵⁷⁵ One of the ways in which the schism between enchantment and modernity was bridgeable was through the ironic imagination because ‘irony provided a lucid space in which reason and imagination [could] cavort’.⁵⁷⁶ *The Lost World* occupies this lucid space and the ‘ironic imagination’ allows for a critical marriage between its two predominant, disparate elements: its overbearing irony and its repeated insistence on scientific claims to authenticity.⁵⁷⁷ These claims constitute the more obvious part of the novel’s strategy to ‘modernise’ the quest romance as a form and reinvent romance as a concept for a modern literary market. However, irony is an equally important part of this same attempt. The form of the quest romance is anchored to the grand narrative of scientific discovery and its surface is varnished both by Malone’s ironic voice and the various carnivalesque scenes described above. Both techniques are essential to Doyle’s literary strategy yet, in tandem they short circuit and undermine the traditional ideology of the quest romance in a number of ways. The ironic imagination, because it verges on comedy, is less wholeheartedly committed to the idea of fictional fantasy and this move away (however tentative and disingenuous) is a symptom of literary modernism.

The humour of *The Lost World*, as described above, is dependent upon dangerously subverting racial, national and societal hierarchies and then milking the anarchic results before re-asserting a state of normality. The ‘joke’ is that, for a fleeting second, Doyle displays an understanding of human nature that is unilateral, unchanging and, ultimately communal. A nature that transcends the divisions between nations and races and between imperial metropolis and colonial outland in a manner not dissimilar from Challenger’s central theory in 1928’s final Challenger narrative, ‘When the World Screamed’. In that story, Challenger explained his theory of an ‘echinal’ Earth, the planet as a single organism metaphorically represented by the sea-urchin. This idea was represented by Deleuze and Guattari in more florid terms in *A Thousand Plateaus*: ‘He [Challenger] explained that the earth –The

⁵⁷⁵ Saler, ‘Modernity, Disenchantment and the Ironic Imagination’, p. 138.

⁵⁷⁶ Saler, ‘Modernity, Disenchantment and the Ironic Imagination’, p. 139.

⁵⁷⁷ The novel was accompanied in *The Strand* by various photos concocted by Doyle, some featured actors ‘playing’ the principal protagonists and one, memorably, shows Doyle in a huge fake beard as Challenger. These photographs will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.

Deterritorialized , the Glacial, the giant Molecule –is a body without organs’.⁵⁷⁸ The body without organs represents a single, unified and undifferentiated whole. However, this whole is subject to a process of ‘stratification’ which builds artificial and separating levels on top of it. These artificial strata (nationality, race, education) that separate Challenger from the ape-man are momentarily peeled away to reveal the truth: that Challenger’s too, was one of the dark faces of the Earth. This idea is raised in jest and is contradicted by the internal logic of the story’s science. It is unclear whether or not, when he wrote *The Lost World*, Conan Doyle was familiar with the geological theories of continental drift as they appeared in the work of Eduard Suess and Alfred Wegener.⁵⁷⁹ Wegener delivered his first paper upon the subject in the January 1912 meeting of the *Geologischen Vereinigung* (Geological Association), four months before *The Lost World* was published so it seems unlikely.⁵⁸⁰ Suess was living in Vienna whilst Doyle was a studying there in 1890 but no biography, autobiography or published letter contains any allusions to him or his work. What is clear, however, is that Doyle was familiar with some of the proofs of a Pangaeic Earth; the common geological and zoological threads that connect the Western coast of Europe to the Eastern coast of North America and the West of South America to the East of Africa.⁵⁸¹ Isolating these scientific facts from *The Lost World* highlights a crucial contradiction between its paradigmatic and syntagmatic functions. Lyotard is one of many theorists to identify scientific advances as a key instrument of modernity and to explain that both movements (the scientific and the ‘modern’) feed into and from each other to create the machinery of modernity that disintegrates the effectiveness of grand narratives. *The Lost World*, for all its superficial simplicity, is a text rooted in the same dilemmas and historical processes as those on the other side of the culture divide in the domain of high modernism. In terms of *The Strand*, then, it represents an example of a crucial developing pattern in *The Strand*’s middle-age.

⁵⁷⁸ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 45.

⁵⁷⁹ Wegener was not the originator of the theory itself, which he credited as existing in various forms within the work of Roberto Mantovani and William Henry Pickering amongst others. However, at the time of *The Lost World* he was the most prominent populariser of the concept.

⁵⁸⁰ Martin Schwarzbach, *Alfred Wegener: The Father of Continental Drift* (Madison: Science Tech., 1986), p. 105.

⁵⁸¹ Schwarzbach quotes a letter from Wegener in which he muses: ‘Doesn’t the East coast of South America fit exactly against the west coast of Africa, as if they had once been joined. The fit is even better if you look at a map of the floor of the Atlantic [...] This is an idea I’ll have to pursue’.

Schwarzbach, *Alfred Wegener*, p. 78.

The scientific veneers of previous years were coming into more violent contact with the traditional ideologies they were supposed to replenish.

The second instability in *The Lost World's* 'modernisation' project derives from its portrait of the mass-market press. Malone, grieved at his rejection by his lover Gladys, goes to his editor to demand an adventurous assignment through which he may impress her. The editor, McArdle, echoes Doyle's speech of 1910 and talks of the shrinking romantic margins of the modern world. Whilst on this subject his mind turns instinctively to Challenger's apparent lying and fakery upon his return from South America. Romance becomes unconsciously associated with something that is false, otiose and without meaning other than as something to expose, debunk and 'make rideeculous'.⁵⁸² Fleet Street has become a machine for breaking down fantasy and exposing naked reality, a disintegration machine. It has become a tool of 'reason' against which Malone must struggle to achieve transcendence. When Summerlee is finally convinced of the veracity of Challenger's story in Maple White Land he says '[w]hat will they say in England of this?' Challenger responds that '[t]hey will say you are an infernal liar and a scientific charlatan [...] Malone and his filthy Fleet Street crew'.⁵⁸³ Whilst Fleet Street's status as resident disintegrators of ideas and denigrators of belief exists as a material fact in *The Lost World* (and in its direct sequel *The Poison Belt*) it is not discussed in depth. Both texts, however, presage the later ideological conflicts in which Doyle found himself cast as the 'infernal liar' and 'charlatan' when he began publicly championing the cause of spiritualism in *The Strand*. What is of principal interest in these two stories is that *The Strand* is betraying an awareness not just of science and modernity, but sciences and modernities. Earlier in the magazine's life, articles like 'Science in the New Century' and 'The Promise of Science' were able to posit 'science' as a cohesive (albeit polyphonic) institution; a gathering of individuals who sometimes differed but ultimately respected a bond both to each other and to particular ideological boundaries.⁵⁸⁴ The Challenger narratives show awareness of different kinds of science: it is in the name of science that Challenger travels to South America but the advances in the mechanised printing press have streamlined and modernised the very means by which his findings can be dismissed and discredited. Science, as an

⁵⁸² Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 6.

⁵⁸³ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 89.

⁵⁸⁴ These articles are discussed in depth at the start of chapter two.

institution, is described in *The Lost World* in a similar way to that of military chivalry in 'Deeds of Daring and Devotion in the War' which made reference to 'the frieze of Time's temple of valour'.⁵⁸⁵ Challenger echoes this sentiment by imaging science as a 'temple' onto which successive generations immortally inscribe themselves and their actions.⁵⁸⁶ However, science's unsuitability for this role as a grand narrative is suggested by its ideological splintering and un-cohesive, threatening presence in the stories. It might seem reductive to identify the shifting of grand historical trends in these marginal textual details. However a broader survey of the popular press shows that, from the mid 1910s, romance, science and modernity were frequently pitted as antagonistic forces. In *The Strand* the terms 'romance' and 'science' happily co-exist in numerous articles: Sir Robert Ball's history of the discovery of Neptune, for example, makes this 'chapter in the history of science [...] almost like a romance'.⁵⁸⁷ Kate Lee's series of short stories featuring 'Professor Morgan' build the connection of the two terms into the principal character sketch of a man whose apparent 'solitary [...] devotion to science' conceals the 'warm and quick' heart and 'romance' that lies beneath.⁵⁸⁸ Similarly David Pollock's article on 'Launching Big Battleships and Ocean Liners' examines the cultural function of boat launches and concludes that 'modern scientific methods, though now so much enlisted, do not supplant but supplement and enhance the romance and sentiment attaching to such proceedings'.⁵⁸⁹ In all of these cases, a difference is acknowledged between the two terms, a difference that the writer works through. Inevitably in doing this they find not simply that any difference is superficial but that the superficiality in fact conceals a deeper harmony. The critic and philosopher, Leslie Stephen, however, painted a far less flattering picture of their cohabitation in an article for *The Pall Mall Magazine* in May 1901. Stephen anticipated the modernist critiques of Victorian cultural values by his daughter Virginia Woolf and her Bloomsbury circle by suggesting that ideologies founded upon retrospective valorisation of the past were doomed to failure because they fundamentally misunderstood the human condition.

⁵⁸⁵ Story, 'Deeds of Daring and Devotion in the War', p. 158.

⁵⁸⁶ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 36.

⁵⁸⁷ Sir Robert Ball, 'Through a Telescope', *The Strand* 11 (January, 1896), p.161.

⁵⁸⁸ Kate Lee, 'Professor Morgan's Romance', *The Strand* 4 (July, 1892), p. 398.

⁵⁸⁹ David Pollock, 'Launching Big Battleships and Ocean Liners', *The Strand* 12 (July, 1896), p. 325.

Many people complain that a railway would destroy the charm of the English Lakes. They would, that is, keep people out of the district in order to preserve its beauty [...] The love of the romantic in this sense looks like one version of stolid conservatism.⁵⁹⁰

He goes on to suggest that the bad faith of the conservative romantic is that he seeks, arbitrarily, to locate the 'golden age' of his inspiration in some period that is 'dead and buried'.⁵⁹¹ Finally, he concludes by suggesting that '[s]omething in the very nature of modern progress is essentially antagonistic to poetry and romance [...] The subjugation of the whole planet has bought the daylight of plain prose into the mysterious regions where fancy could once find room'.⁵⁹² This conclusion is not sad or nostalgic but grounded in enough self-reflexivity to know that 'the present is always dull [...] life has to be made up to a lamentable extent of a trivial and wearisome round of petty activities [...] The past, in fact, was at once present'.⁵⁹³ Stephen's article is dwelt upon here for several reasons, in the first instance, *The Pall Mall Magazine* (later *Nash's and Pall Mall Magazine*) was one of the 'highbrow' literary monthlies against which Newnes defined his agenda for *The Strand Magazine*.⁵⁹⁴ As such the conflict between science and romance can be seen as a key issue in fleshing out the cultural distinctions between different classes of publication. Whilst three Doyle stories appeared in the *Pall Mall Magazine* in the early 1890s (which, for all its 'highbrow' commitments, was not as wilfully *avant garde* as the aesthetic magazines like *Yellow Book* or *Savoy*) but its attitude towards *The Strand* is suggested by a 1905 article entitled 'Some Popular Novels and Why They are Popular' which suggests that 'Doyle, in *Micah Clarke* and *The White Company*, was travelling in the right direction, but the popularity of *Sherlock Holmes* tempted him, and he fell'.⁵⁹⁵ A later article, assessing the role of periodicals in the late Victorian period suggested, patronisingly, that George Newnes' *Tit-Bits* 'supplied the want' of newly educated readers for 'light reading'.⁵⁹⁶ Similarly, the *Review of Reviews* was

⁵⁹⁰ Leslie Stephen, 'Romance and Science', *The Pall Mall Magazine* 24 (May, 1901), p.106.

⁵⁹¹ Stephen, 'Romance and Science', p. 108.

⁵⁹² Stephen, 'Romance and Science', p. 110.

⁵⁹³ Stephen, 'Romance and Science', p. 111.

⁵⁹⁴ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain*, p. 91.

⁵⁹⁵ James Douglas, 'Some Popular Novels and Why they are Popular', *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 35-143 (March, 1905), p.382.

⁵⁹⁶ Ralph D. Blumenfield, 'News', *Nash's Pall Mall Magazine* 91-484 (September, 1933), p. 84.

frequently the site of heated debate over the relationship between science and romance, with W. T. Stead himself writing that '[t]he old poets are one by one dying out. Their message has been delivered [...] The new era awaits expectant a new race of bards [...] We have yet to open our eyes to the extent to which Electricity has re-energised the world'.⁵⁹⁷ Neither the *Pall Mall Magazine* or the *Review of Reviews* represent a single, consistent view on the subject but both are open to the possibility that the sweeping changes brought about by science may necessitate cultural changes that traditional modes of appreciation and analysis could fail to adequately capture. It is this dangerous potential that *The Strand's* more traditional approach, epitomised by *The Lost World*, attempted to capture. As an anachronistic rewriting of the quest romance, it would be foolish to suggest that the novel was not a success, it was well received in numerous reviews and was popular enough to father a number of sequels in the next few years. The nature of those subsequent stories, however, suggests that those elements in *The Lost World* that appear ideologically unstable, begin to cumulatively affect their manner and delivery.

Appearing in *The Strand* in 1913, *The Poison Belt* is notable for several reasons. Like all the subsequent Challenger narratives, it eschews the globe-trotting geography of the traditional quest form and remains rooted in England. Whilst the stories (with some exceptions) retain the tone, character and voice of *The Lost World*, they display different and evolving pictures of the relationship between science and society. *The Poison Belt* is more of an invasion narrative than a quest narrative but it is the story's particular constructions of mechanical science and of the popular press that present the most interesting example of a widening sense of ideological instability. The plot begins when the Earth passes through a belt of poisonous 'ether', Challenger predicts this event and takes adequate precautions to preserve himself, his wife and his group of friends in a sealed room against whatever the ill-effects might be. They emerge to discover that the entire population has been wiped out and that the country lies in ruins around them. However, after forty-eight hours, the situation is reversed and the bewildered sleepers awake completely unharmed by their experience. The novel begins with McArdle reading a letter, published by Challenger in the popular press, in which he attempts to warn the public of the coming catastrophe. Challenger has correctly interpreted the few portents observable in

⁵⁹⁷ 'Looking Forward', *Review of Reviews* 1-3 (March, 1890), p. 230.

nature; there are reports of sickness in South East Asia but in London the only portent can be found in the blurring of Fraunhofer lines when viewing a colour spectrum. Summerlee is unconvinced and claims that '[i]t's a long cry from a blurred line in a spectrum to a sick nigger in Sumatra'.⁵⁹⁸ Challenger's attempts to publicise the coming events represent another benign portrayal of the resistant materialism of the popular press that would, in time, darken to condemnation and outrage. Challenger writes in *The Times* that he 'can hardly hope, by the use of scientific language, to convey any sense of my meaning to these ineffectual people who gather their ideas from the column of a daily newspaper'.⁵⁹⁹ The inability of scientific language to express itself within such a 'column' and the difficulty of making a subaltern voice heard and understood again acknowledges the potentially deleterious power of the press. On his visit to dead London, Challenger smugly observes a banner reading 'Is Challenger Justified? Ominous Rumours' and takes pleasure in the belated attention paid to his ideas by the mass-market readership.⁶⁰⁰ The unresponsiveness of modern mass culture to conflictual voices was, he wryly notices, stimulated only by an apocalyptic event.

The nature of science and its social function is very different from *The Lost World*, at one point Challenger remarks of the 'scientific mind' that

it is not tied down by its own conditions of time and space. It builds itself an observatory erected upon the border line of present, which separates infinite past from infinite future [...] From this sure post it makes its sallies even to the beginning and to the end of all things.⁶⁰¹

From the prehistory of *The Lost World* to the imagined end of the world, the elongated perspective of the scientist means that he must hold a fundamentally eschatological understanding of the human race and its future, long term prospects. When Challenger's genius is broadcast into the future, he indirectly predicts the end of the world and alerts it to the astronomical fragility of its security. Threats do not come from the colonies or from rival imperial powers, but from a scientifically-regarded 'nature' much larger than itself and, against which, it is insignificant. The

⁵⁹⁸ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 177.

⁵⁹⁹ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 175.

⁶⁰⁰ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 229.

⁶⁰¹ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 207.

distinction is similar to that made by Tyndall in 1884 between the ‘observer’ and the ‘experimenter’.⁶⁰² Challenger and Summerlee spend much of their time on *The Lost World*’s plateau naming the species of plants and animals that they discover and the question of ‘naming’ becomes extremely contentious:

‘An enormous blood-tick, as yet, I believe, unclassified’. ‘The first fruits of our labours,’ said Challenger in his booming, pedantic fashion. ‘We cannot do less than call it *Ixodes Maloni* [...]’⁶⁰³

‘By the way, what shall we call this place [Maple White Land]? I suppose it is up to us to give it a name?’ There were several suggestions, more or less happy, but Challenger’s decision was final.⁶⁰⁴

‘We have to bear in mind,’ remarked Summerlee, ‘that there are many prehistoric forms which have never come down to us. It would be rash to suppose that we can give a name to all that we are likely to meet’.⁶⁰⁵

The scientific project of *The Lost World* is based around the imposition of pre-existing taxonomies to incorporate the new discoveries into the symbolic network of science (or ‘the deathless roll of zoology’ as Challenger puts it).⁶⁰⁶ The problems of legitimacy that the group encounter are not because what they discover is antagonistic to existing paradigms but because the narrative of their discoveries is too fantastic. Indeed, the very ordinariness of the plant and insect life that Summerlee catalogues is used by a disbelieving scientist to attack them when they return to London: ‘Our point is that such a collection might have been made in other places than a prehistoric plateau’.⁶⁰⁷ *The Poison Belt* marks a shift of scientific perspective where grander theories about the Earth’s position in the universe come into conflict. Challenger’s

⁶⁰² Tyndall wrote that ‘[i]n the house of science are many mansions, occupied by tenants of diverse kinds. Some of them execute with painstaking fidelity the useful work of observation, recording from day to day the aspects of Nature, or the indications of instruments devised to reveal her ways. Others there are who add to this capacity for observation a power over the language of experiment, by means of which they put questions to Nature, and receive from her intelligible replies’. John Tyndall, *Fragments of Science* (Adamant Media Corporation, 2001), p. 131.

⁶⁰³ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 84.

⁶⁰⁴ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 86.

⁶⁰⁵ Doyle, *The Lost World*, pp. 97-98.

⁶⁰⁶ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 84.

⁶⁰⁷ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 163.

findings are based on experiment rather than observation and it is this kind of prolepsis that begins to destabilise science's easy ability to legitimate *The Strand's* dependence upon traditionalist models of history. With such an ideological underpinning, the story is forced to have a very different structure to *The Lost World* and also an overtly didactic moral message tacked onto its conclusion. This new, eschatological perspective has the consequence that the quest form, with its associations of travel, adventure and romance becomes redundant. Challenger is even reluctant to leave his house for London, a journey which he eventually makes in the aftermath of the tragedy. It is one of the unspoken assumptions of the quest romance that as the adventure leads into far-flung territory the domestic metropolis remains unquestioned and secure in their absence. It provides a gravitational pull that perpetually assures the transferability of the romantic currency of adventure back into domestic esteem, affluence and eminence. However, to cope with the new and dangerous possibilities of science, Doyle has to make certain stylistic and formal choices to contain them. For example, when the group arrives in London they find the fulcrum of empire 'dead'. More than the silence, it is the non-functionality of the city that is most oppressive. It affects Mrs Challenger who urges her husband 'let us go back to Rotherfield. Another hour of this dreadful silent city will drive me mad'.⁶⁰⁸ The failure of London as a machine, its roads 'choked with frozen traffic' and its river with 'blazing [...] ships' initially seems to be a kind of homage to the 'Dead London' chapter in Wells' *War of the Worlds*.⁶⁰⁹ The dead city, though, is not simply used as a device to create unease; instead it forms part of the story's modernity-critique. As the group barricade themselves in Mrs Challenger's anteroom they cast themselves as impotent observers, viewing the fabric of modern society collapse before their eyes; the obsolescence of modernity. They observe a train hurtling along, its driver insensible before it derails ('Engine and carriages piled themselves into a hill of splintered wood and twisted iron').⁶¹⁰ The worldwide devastation is measured almost

⁶⁰⁸ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 231.

⁶⁰⁹ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 228. Wells also describes London as 'choked', albeit with weeds rather than traffic and he, like Doyle, remarks on the 'profound [...] stillness' of the dead city. H. G. Wells, *War of the Worlds* (London: Penguin, 2005), pp. 163-4. Wells was just the nearest comparison, the 'dead London' trope runs back through nineteenth century literature. Richard Jefferies' 1888 novel *After London* (London: Duckworth, 1929) also used it to articulate fears of an apocalyptic catastrophe and the poet Anna Laetitia Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* (Duncan Wu ed., *Romanticism: An Anthology* [Third Edition] [London: Blackwell, 2003], pp. 44-52) imagined London's fossilised streets being visited by occupants of a future American empire.

⁶¹⁰ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 206.

exclusively in technological and mechanical failure as we see from Rountree's illustration beneath. He shows the disintegrated train, a drifting vessel and a city-conflagration in montage (4.1).

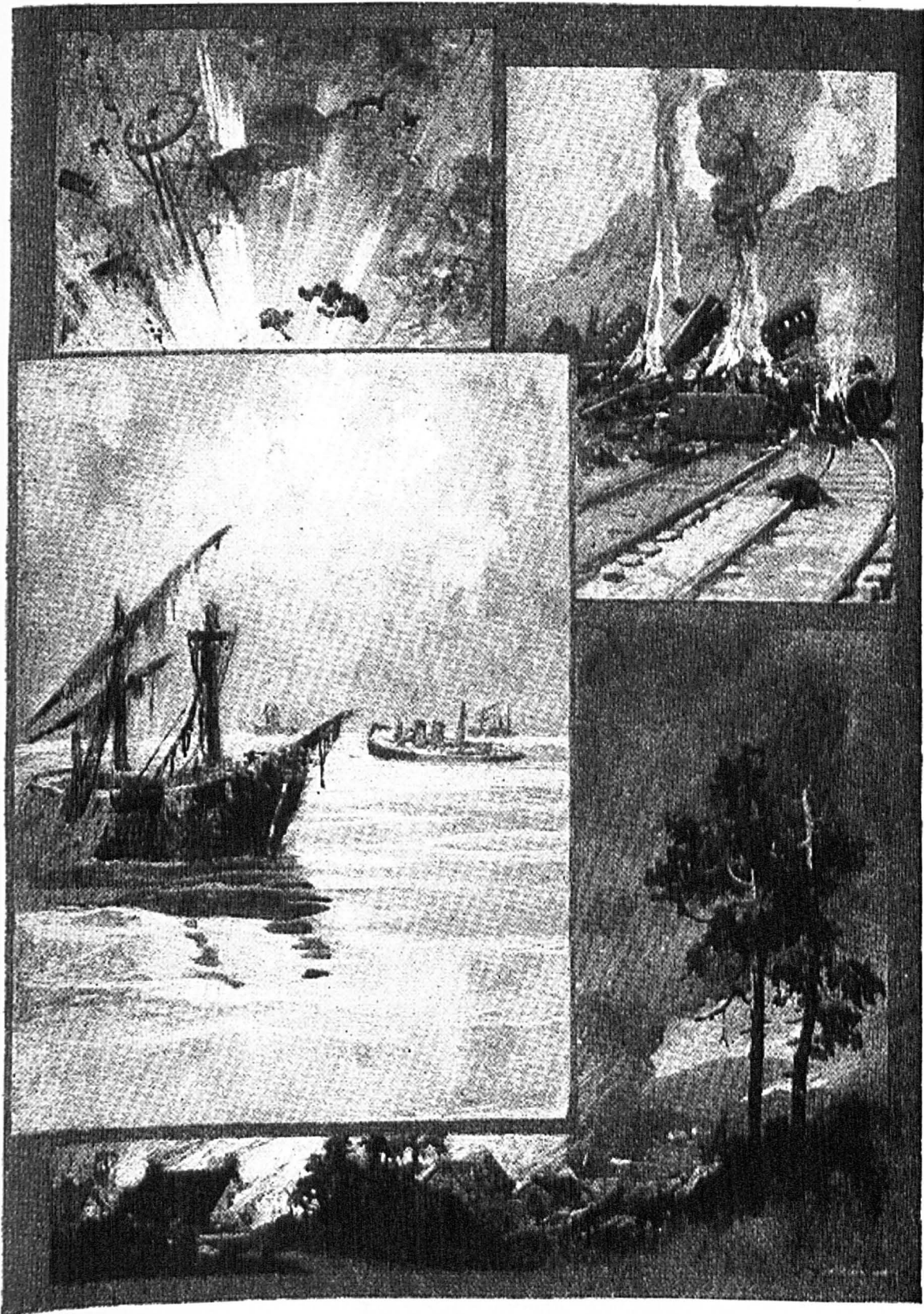
The result is that the group is isolated within a historical moment and, becalmed, re-evaluate the nature both of the (collapsing) modern world around them and their own corporeal bodies. Challenger muses that '[t]he physical body has rather been a source of pain and fatigue to us. It is the constant index of our limitations'.⁶¹¹ The two processes (the disintegration of modern society and the spiritual re-evaluations of the group) are, in this way, interdependent. Malone is forced to reconsider his life: 'What am I to do, for example? There are no newspapers, so there's an end to my vocation'.⁶¹² This is an embryonic presage of Conan Doyle's representation of spiritualism as a reaction against symptoms of modernity in 1926's *The Land of Mist*; here, though, it is a tepid dalliance rather than a whole-hearted conversion. Suspended within this moment, Malone imagines the headlines reporting the end of the world; the urge to continue the unfinished project of modernity is not lightly given up. When the world re-awakens, modernity ecstatically re-asserts its hold over the text with a flood of headlines from Malone's triumphant account of the events:

TWENTY-EIGHT HOURS' WORLD COMA
UNPRECEDENTED EXPERIENCE
CHALLENGER JUSTIFIED
OUR CORRESPONDANT ESCAPES
ENTHRALLING NARRATIVE
THE OXYGEN ROOM
WEIRD MOTOR DRIVE
DEAD LONDON
REPLACING THE MISSING PAGE
GREAT FIRES AND LOSS OF LIFE
WILL IT RECUR?⁶¹³

⁶¹¹ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 209.

⁶¹² Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 221.

⁶¹³ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 237.



A VISION OF STRANGE HAPPENINGS (p. 100).

The horror of a newspaper man with scintillating copy but no market to publish it for is thus corrected and Malone is granted 'the greatest journalistic scoop of all time, which sold no fewer than three-and-a-half million copies of the paper'.⁶¹⁴ The success of the affair is measured in capital whilst at the same time Conan Doyle seeks to turn the story into a salutary lesson or parable about the possible consequences of an untempered and unchecked modernity. He locates this desire to pull back from the modernity-precipice in relation to the imminent War, the symptoms of which Doyle shows awareness: Malone ponders upon 'the great unsolved questions [...] the Anglo-German competition, for example [...] Whoever would have guessed, when we fumed and fretted so, how they would eventually be solved?'⁶¹⁵ Doyle imagines a modern society where, after a Malthusian cataclysm, the disintegration machine of modernisation can be reset and recalibrated to grant new perspective to an age now 'chastened by the realisation of [their] own limitations and impotence'.⁶¹⁶ That these last words are printed in the wake of the catastrophe by a newspaper is interesting as Doyle's ideological conflict with the press would resurface in far more violent terms both in the Cottingley fairies debacle of 1920 and, six years later, in *The Land of Mist*. In *The Poison Belt* though, it is an organ of modernity that sounds the call for change: 'Solemnity and humility are at the base of our emotions today. May they be the foundations upon which a more earnest and reverent race may build a more worthy temple'.⁶¹⁷ Doyle, instead of aligning his story with the grand narrative of scientific advance, positions science as a lingering threat to the fabric of traditional society. Implicitly, different kinds of science are acknowledged. The inspired genius of Challenger remains unquestionably valorised but less glamorous fields of endeavour (mechanical science, technology, the modern press) become identified as potential causes of discontent. There remains, also, in the presence of newspaper quotes, an uncomfortably close relationship between modernity and the posited means of retreat from modernity. This calls into question the efficacy of Doyle's 'lesson' in the story. It seems confused reasoning to bemoan a consumer culture one page after smugly counting the number of 'copies sold'. This conflict is an apparent incongruity in the story's thematics yet, from a broader perspective, it introduces the beginnings of an ideological schism between Doyle and *The Strand*. *The Poison Belt's* critique of

⁶¹⁴ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 237.

⁶¹⁵ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 214.

⁶¹⁶ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 238.

⁶¹⁷ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 238.

mechanised modernity continues the same treatment of the popular press in *The Lost World* and articulates more fully the potential consequences. The relation is established between the dangers of modernity and a personal, spiritual re-evaluation. Mankind spiritually reinvents itself after their brush with potential extinction, Malone concludes his narration with that idea:

[H]ow long mankind may preserve the humility and reverence which this great shock has taught it, can only be shown by the future [...] It is [...] an alteration of perspective, a shifting of our sense of proportion [...] [T]he more sober and restrained pleasures of the present are deeper as well as wiser than the noisy, foolish hustle that passed for enjoyment in the days of old.⁶¹⁸

‘The empty lives’ of the ‘past’ find rehabilitation in ‘reading’, ‘music’ and ‘the family communion’.⁶¹⁹ As Malone imagines the scenes of final panic he pictures St. Paul’s Cathedral ‘packed mass of despairing humanity, grovelling at this last instant before a Power which they had so persistently ignored’.⁶²⁰ The spiritual revaluation is explicitly Christian; Malone further notes that ‘terrified people’ had over-filled ‘City churches which for generations had hardly ever held a congregation’.⁶²¹ The tone of the description seems to be informed, in this regard, by the terms of a biblical punishment for declining religiosity. So *The Poison Belt* measures the social and individual benefits of a communal near-death experience by returning to a more cohesive and socially integrated way of life. Religion is reasserted, extravagance is decried and the family becomes again promulgated as the dominant, desirable model of existence. The references to ‘Anglo-German’ tensions also seem to suggest that this re-coherence has the effect of soothing international political tensions as well.⁶²² This reversion is a clear and explicit return to the values of the ‘past’. Science, whilst providing Challenger with the means to sustain his own life in the story, also represents part of the modernity-threat to escape from. It was thirteen years until another Challenger narrative was published but the hiatus was punctuated by two key events in the history of *The Strand* and its relationship to Doyle. His public

⁶¹⁸ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, pp. 231-232.

⁶¹⁹ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 232.

⁶²⁰ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 215.

⁶²¹ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 230.

⁶²² Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 214.

declarations of faith in both spiritualism and the existence of fairies aggravated the ideological lesions surrounding the ambiguous role of science in the magazine's ideology.

FLIGHTS FROM REASON

In December 1920, Doyle famously published an article entitled 'The Coming of the Fairies' in which he discussed the possible (and heavily implied) genuineness of several photographs taken by two young girls, Elsie Wright and Frances Griffiths. A year later the article would be expanded into a book (also entitled *The Coming of the Fairies*) where Doyle discussed the events in greater detail. He was careful to claim in the book's introduction that 'this whole subject [...] has nothing to do with the larger and far more vital question of spiritualism', although his writing on the subject suggests certain striking similarities.⁶²³ The Cottingley Fairies incident is a crucial intermediary stage between *The Poison Belt* and 1926's *The Land of Mist* which marked the return of Challenger. The article retreats to the same syntax that informed the ending of *The Poison Belt* in his attempt to identify the photographs as an historic 'epoch' in human affairs.⁶²⁴ The same problem of the popular press' intransigence recurs in a more direct and antagonistic form. Doyle again suggests that 'modern' ways of life can be recalibrated to older specifications:

These little folk who appear to be our neighbours, with only some small difference of vibration to separate us, will become familiar. The thought of them, even when unseen, will add charm to every brook and valley and give romantic interest to every country walk [...R]ecognition of their existence will jolt the material twentieth-century out of its heavy ruts in the mud.⁶²⁵

In the article, Doyle never fully explains what he means by 'ruts in the mud' but a comparison with the aforementioned passage in *The Poison Belt* suggests that he is again assaulting the society of 'noisy foolish hustle' that forsakes the spiritual in favour of the modern and the novel.⁶²⁶ The contested photographs, however,

⁶²³ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Coming of the Fairies* (London: Pavilion, 1997), p. 1.

⁶²⁴ Doyle, *The Coming of the Fairies*, p. 21.

⁶²⁵ Doyle, *The Coming of the Fairies*, pp. 33-4.

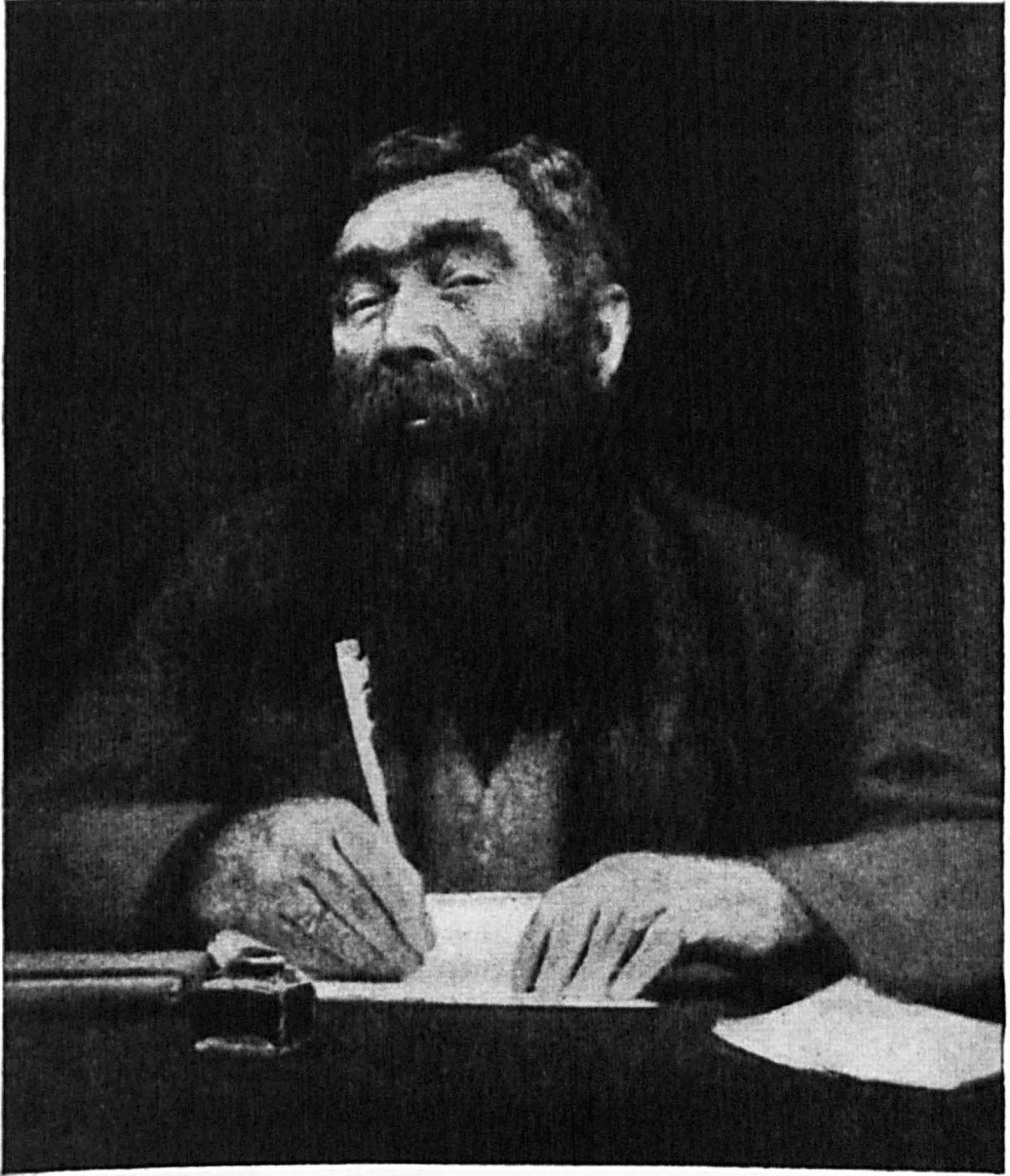
⁶²⁶ Doyle, *The Poison Belt*, p. 232.

represent a very different kind of epoch to that shown in the Challenger narratives. Michael Saler has frequently argued that critiques of modernity that consider it fundamentally opposed to 'enchantment' are flawed since they fail to acknowledge the ambiguities that have, historically, informed the use of the word. Enchantment, for Saler, means balancing 'both delight in wonderful things' against the risk of 'beguilement': 'the price of living with enchantment was the possibility of being captured by it'.⁶²⁷ It was this thin barrier that Doyle transgressed in his public proclamations of belief, the 'romantic' attractions of the quest romance can be 'wonderful' and thrilling but honest, straight-faced 'belief' in the 'romantic' charms of fairies suggests nothing short of 'beguilement'. Doyle took extreme pleasure in mocking up the faked photographs and maps that were appended to *The Lost World* upon its first appearance and wrote to his mother that he was 'very busy superintending' their production (4.2).⁶²⁸ These staged photographs represent the 'lucid space in which reason and imagination cavort' because, within the context of the story, they offer a scientifically-enforced, provable and rational route to romance.⁶²⁹ The main cause for Challenger's discredit upon his initial return from South America is that his photographic evidence has been damaged and compromised. The story is thus able to balance the idea of photographic proof as a means of legitimation with a playful self-reflexivity. This process is a neat encapsulation of how the ironic imagination works; an author in a fake beard physically appearing in his own text as a coded plea for authenticity. The reader of *The Strand* was held to be complicit in this process as is evident from an advert that trailed *The Lost World* a month before it appeared (4.3). 'The most jaded reader of fiction', the advert suggests, would be unlikely to commit fully to an old-fashioned tale of romance and enchantment. This was one of the motivations for Doyle to modernise the content and context of his story in the ways described above. The advert, in short, forecasts a reader 'jaded' or inured to the lure of enchantment. In this context, the photographic appendages constitute a plea for the reader to abandon themselves to enchantment, safe in the knowledge that the rational anchor and the ironic narration would preserve them from beguilement and potential ridiculousness. Thirteen years later, Doyle again appeared before the readers of *The Strand* presenting

⁶²⁷ Saler, 'Modernity, Disenchantment and the Ironic Imagination', p. 138.

⁶²⁸ Lellenberg, *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters*, p. 580.

⁶²⁹ Saler, 'Modernity, Disenchantment and the Ironic Imagination,' p. 139.



PROFESSOR CHALLENGER IN HIS STUDY.

From a Photograph by William Ransford, Hampstead.

In Our Next Number will commence

CONAN DOYLE'S Great New Adventure Story,

guaranteed to give a thrill to the most jaded reader of fiction :

“The Lost World”

Being an account of the recent amazing adventures of Professor George E. Challenger, Lord John Roxton, Professor Summerlee, and Mr. E. D. Malone of the *London Gazette*.

Good judges who have read this eventful chronicle are of opinion that in Professor Challenger, as in Sherlock Holmes, Conan Doyle has added a new, original, and permanent type to the portrait gallery of British fiction.

photographs he claimed to be genuine. The mistrust and antipathy that the article generated, and the language in which it was expressed, painted Doyle as someone lost to reason and, in Saler's terms, 'beguiled'.⁶³⁰ Indeed, the wider press' interest in the Cottingley events characterised Doyle in exactly this way; they were, according to Lycett, 'astounded by his credulity'.⁶³¹ *The Saturday Review* took the occasion of the appearance of a spiritualist memoir (Rev. G. Vale Owen's *Life Beyond the Veil* in July 1920) to launch a scathing attack on Doyle and the 'moral earnestness that blinds hi[s...] discriminating eyes' before concluding that 'spiritualism, fairies and 'elements generally' were unlikely to convert anyone other than those 'whom the war has left hysterical, unmanned, morbid, and unbalanced'.⁶³² Doyle's tone in 'The Coming of the Fairies' (as these commentators noticed) directly wrote against a heritage of playfulness with imagination and fantasy. By taking the photographs so seriously and by discussing their implications in terms of social change and even strange attempts at anthropology Doyle was writing himself out of *The Strand*'s established boundaries for discussing and mobilising 'enchantment' in a fictional context.⁶³³ The playfulness that marked *The Lost World*'s treatment of photographs as scientific 'evidence' evaporated and was replaced by Doyle's genuine, unmediated belief. His language in exploring the existence of fairies and the veracity of spiritualism resulted from a mixture of scientific rigour, honest curiosity, naïve commitment and common sense. All of these qualities are caught in a continuous, dialectical struggle for primacy. 'The Coming of the Fairies' establishes itself as a challenge to the 'materiality' of the twentieth-century but also incorporates repeated attempts to establish the scientific rigor of its facts.

⁶³⁰ Saler, 'Modernity, Disenchantment and the Ironic Imagination,' p. 138.

⁶³¹ Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, p. 389.

⁶³² 'Literature, Science and Art', *Saturday Review of Politics* 130 (July 10th, 1920), p. 37. Similarly unflattering treatments of the Cottingley affair and Doyle's person were quick to appear in the popular press. Stashower observes headlines such as 'Poor Sherlock Holmes' and 'Hopelessly Crazy?' (Stashower, *Teller of Tales*, p. 351). He also samples choice phrases from elsewhere including 'easily duped', 'sad spectacle' and 'what can he possibly be thinking' (p. 356). This is not to say that the book was unilaterally dismissed, *The Bookman*, as with its later review of the *Land of Mist*, proved surprisingly open to Doyle's ideas: 'Perhaps the "cold poetry" of science may enrich the faerie legend by showing that it is based on a foundation of literal truth [...] There should be a wide welcome for Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's new book'. David Gow, 'The Camera in Elfdom', *The Bookman* 62 (October, 1922), pp. 34-35.

⁶³³ In reference to an instrument seemingly held by a cavorting Gnome, Doyle infers that '[t]here is an ornamental rim to the pipe of the elves which shows that the graces of art are not unknown among them'. Doyle, *The Coming of the Fairies*, p. 32.

If I am myself asked whether I consider the case to be absolutely and finally proved, I should answer that in order to remove the last shadow of doubt I should wish to see the result repeated before a disinterested witness [...] In a matter involving so tremendous a new departure one needs overpowering evidence.⁶³⁴

Doyle goes on to offer a scientific interpretation for the human perception of fairies. He asserts that 'Victorian science would have left the world hard and clean and bare, like a landscape in the moon; but this science is in truth but a little light in the darkness, and outside the limited circle of definite knowledge we see the loom and shadow of gigantic and fantastic possibilities around us, throwing themselves continually across our consciousness'.⁶³⁵ This metaphor is key to the kind of spiritual-scientific dialectic that Doyle is propounding. By physically situating spiritual knowledge around the liminal periphery of rational thought he is able to reinvent pre-modern belief systems and cast them as a progression beyond traditional science rather than a reversion from them. Again this attitude results from a familiar mixture of the proleptic and the retrogressive. *The Poison Belt* suggested, in tantalisingly non-specific terms, the same kind of progression. In 'Further Evidence of Fairies' (published in *The Strand* later the same year) Doyle wrote that

[w]e are accustomed to the idea of amphibious creatures who may dwell unseen and unknown in the depths of the waters [...] [I]f it should so happen that some saw them more clearly than others, then a very pretty controversy would arise, for the sceptics would say, with every show of reason, 'Our experience is that only land creatures live on the land, and we utterly refuse to believe in things which slip in and out of the water; if you will demonstrate them to us we will begin to consider the question'. [...] The sceptics would hold the field.⁶³⁶

Doyle's language became increasingly territorial because, with regards to spiritualism and the existence of fairies, he found himself in the same position in which he placed

⁶³⁴ Doyle, *The Coming of the Fairies*, p. 22

⁶³⁵ Doyle, *The Coming of the Fairies*, p. 77.

⁶³⁶ Doyle, *The Coming of the Fairies*, pp. 124-125.

Challenger in *The Lost World*. He was required, by force of argument and evidence, to legitimise his findings and, more specifically, his beliefs. The military analogy hints at the violence and the acridity of the contest and ‘the field’, for Doyle, the scene of conflict, is *The Strand* itself. All of the Challenger narratives feature some kind of performative scene where characters are expected to enact their discoveries for the edification of a baying cross-section of society; however, across the narratives, what is at stake in these scenes is constantly revised and so are the terms in which they are represented. In *The Lost World* Challenger, Summerlee, Malone and Roxton made a public appearance in the Queen’s Hall to have their ‘assertions’ ‘questioned’ by the scientific *cognoscenti* of the metropolis.⁶³⁷ Before an unconvinced audience they produce a pterodactyl, brought back from South America (4.4).

In the illustration the audience is half-panicked and half-fascinated whilst the Pterodactyl hovers, suspended before them; proof that, in Summerlee’s words ‘the age of romance was not dead, and there was common ground upon which the wildest imaginings of the novelist could meet the actual scientific investigations of the searcher for truth’.⁶³⁸ We can read the brief appearance of the animal as an expression of the ephemerality of romance within the modern metropolitan space. The scientific ‘truth’ of the expedition is altogether too wonderful and exotic to be appropriately and orderly ‘enacted’ before a curious, sceptical audience. If McArdle is correct about the dwindling blank spaces on the map then this must be measured against the increasing demands of the modern metropolis complete with both organs of the mass market press and representatives of scientific institutions which are able to scrutinise, interrogate and disregard whatever they choose. This scene, in fact, actualises the process by which hegemonic consensus is formed by cultural institutions. The privileged epistemic position of scientist has become complicated by the presence of powerfully disruptive nodes on the knowledge distribution network. The path between scientific discovery and popular acceptance (or legitimation) is interrupted by the necessity to justify the knowledge for consumption in the daily press. The battery of modernity that waited to test the questors in *The Lost World* appears as an innocent part of the novel’s framework and no serious comment is made on their presence or status.

⁶³⁷ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 161.

⁶³⁸ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 158.



In March 1920, Doyle himself took part in a long debate with Joseph McCabe of the Rationalist Press Organization at the Queen's Hall in a scene heavily reminiscent of his fictional depiction in *The Lost World*. By this time, his status as a spiritualist was announced and generally accepted. Stashower reports that '[b]y December of 1920, readers of *The Strand* had grown accustomed to reading odd dispatches from Windlesham [Doyle's home from 1907]'.⁶³⁹ His readership had thus been alerted to the fact that the magazine's prize author had diverged from the decades old pattern of science and ideology that had informed his storytelling and his non-fiction. It is crucial that Doyle would only talk about spiritualism from the perspective of an ardent materialist. In his subsequent book, McCabe recalled how this attitude influenced the structure of their confrontation:

My opponent had insisted that I should open the debate; and, when it was pointed out that the critic usually follows the exponent, he had indicated that I had ample material to criticize in the statement of the case for spiritualism in his two published works.⁶⁴⁰

According to Doyle, his route to spiritualist belief had taken thirty years of reading, observation and experimentation. To him it seemed the ultimate fruition of the skills and practices he had learned as a physician and a scientist. As such, because he felt the proofs of life after death to be so legion and so convincing, it felt natural that he should pass the burden of proof onto the antagonistic materialists. It would be wrong to cast Doyle as someone who suddenly abandoned one system of thought for another, it was simply that at some point, alternate definitions and multiple possibilities became implied by words such as 'evidence', 'belief' and 'science'. These words had been foreclosed for so long in *The Strand* that they simply stood as short-hand for a straightforward mixture of religious orthodoxy and scientific functionality. Doyle, however, sought to alter these definitions. It is easy to see him as the wild-eyed fundamentalist attempting to break apart a materialist hegemony. Indeed, he frequently played up to this role such as when, in 1919, he addressed a speech to an audience in Leicester and claimed that the orthodox church should 'come in and help

⁶³⁹ Stashower, *Teller of Tales*, p. 348.

⁶⁴⁰ Joseph McCabe, *Is Spiritualism Based on Fraud?* (London: Watts and Co., 1920), p. ii.

us fight the materialism of the world'.⁶⁴¹ However, to understand the issues of science, romance and modernity at stake in Doyle's spiritualist quest, it is necessary to balance this against Doyle's self-perception as a scientifically-informed empiricist attempting to revise the dogmatic beliefs of the past.

INVERTING THE QUEST

These conflicts would resurface when the Challenger series was resurrected by Conan Doyle in the 1925 novel *The Land of Mist* in which he made his most explicit statements on the interrelation of science, spiritualism and modernity. Non-canonical but extremely Conanical, the novel was a hugely personal one for its author as he plotted the terms of Challenger, Malone and Roxton's conversion to spiritualism. Superficially, the title echoed *The Lost World* and foreshadowed the various ways in which Doyle attempted to rewrite the form, conventions and ideology of the quest romance. Both titles invoke the language of exotic exploration and they could have been swapped with no real loss of sense, but whilst the former work uses the potential of adventure as a means of counter-acting a wave of materialistic modernity, the latter uses the same form to launch an interrogation of the self. The 'land of mist' signifies not just the literal space of the spiritualist heavens but also their interrelation with the everyday world from which they are separated only by a thin, permeable barrier which renders them and their occupants obscured yet intermittently visible. Several other marginal features of the text expand upon this comparison. As well as its subtitle ('The Quest of Edward Malone') the novel seeks to position itself specifically in relation to the artificiality, the fictionality, of *The Lost World*. This sentiment is trumpeted from the first sentence of the novel which states that '[t]he great Professor Challenger has been – very improperly and imperfectly – used in fiction'.⁶⁴² Later, Challenger, upon hearing the news that a medium has channelled the spirit of a dead Professor Summerlee, roars 'Good Heavens, where are your brains? Have not the names of Summerlee and Malone been associated with my own in some peculiarly feeble fiction which attained some notoriety'.⁶⁴³ In this way Doyle's frame narrative allows for radical changes of character and theme by diegetically re-classifying the preceding works as 'fiction' against *The Land of Mist*'s 'fact'. This retreat from

⁶⁴¹ Stashower, *Teller of Tales*, p. 342.

⁶⁴² Stashower, *Teller of Tales*, p. 241.

⁶⁴³ Stashower, *Teller of Tales*, p. 262.

artifice also allows for the introduction of Challenger's daughter, Enid, whose existence is never hinted at in the two preceding (or two subsequent) narratives.⁶⁴⁴ There is something in this fiction/non-fiction divide that speaks to the naïvety of *The Lost World*. Doyle clearly wished to paint it as an amusing diversion but one that, upon a re-evaluation of the period, was ultimately invalid. The dormant danger of the symptoms of modernity, which he incorporated into the quest form, erupted and exploded the idea that they were compatible with the romance form and with 'Victorian' ideals of science and rationality. *The Land of Mist* explicitly dramatises this incompatibility through the various evolutions of its principal characters, all of whom take divergent paths towards inevitable spiritual conversion. The strains of a post-war landscape are very evident and the terms of their description seem particularly keyed towards this incipient change. Summerlee is dead; Challenger is stricken by grief after the death of his wife and 'losing something of his fire [...] his voice as monstrous as ever but less ready to roar down all opposition'.⁶⁴⁵ '[P]ost-war conditions and new world problems' have 'left their mark' upon Malone who finds his 'muscles wilted' but his 'mind [...] deeper and more active'.⁶⁴⁶ Roxton, felled by an elephant bullet whilst leading troops in East Africa during the war and bored of earthly quests, is 'seeking new worlds to conquer'.⁶⁴⁷ All find solace, motivation and respite from 'new world problems' by embracing spiritualist beliefs which variously re-energise their particular degenerations. Challenger's personal loss is directly equated with a slight lessening of his bragging, arrogant materialism which, in microcosm reflects the novel's more general equation between the loss of life in the war and the increased public appetite for spiritualism, an equation that was equally used by critics to undermine its validity.⁶⁴⁸ As a reporter, Malone represented a key conduit between the exotic adventure and the return to the quotidian, domestic scene. Thirteen years later this occupation seems to have become a source of dissatisfaction; the press (and newspapers in particular) are constantly identified as a barrier to happiness and the enforcer of a rigid and unfairly material set of hegemonic values. Roxton, the stereotypical adventurer whose rooms were filled with hunting trophies

⁶⁴⁴ Given that she is a full grown woman in *The Land of Mist* we can assume that she would have been alive during *The Poison Belt* and further presume (perhaps charitably) that Challenger would have wished to save her life from the coming catastrophe.

⁶⁴⁵ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 241.

⁶⁴⁶ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, pp. 241-242.

⁶⁴⁷ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 319.

⁶⁴⁸ 'Literature, Science and Art', *Saturday Review of Politics* 130 (July 10th, 1920), p. 37.

and weapons, finds that after his physical debilitation he has taken a surfeit of travel and adventure which has prompted a vague restlessness that he, of all the group, is least able to express. Each of these characters were particularly measured for their contributions to the questing group in *The Lost World* and those qualities are specifically inverted in *The Land of Mist*. Each of their occupations and interests have somehow disjointed from the world around them and to achieve new satisfaction and happiness, the gaze of the scientist, the reporter and the adventurer have to be inverted to re-evaluate the spiritual make-up of their own bodies.

The function of spiritualism as a post-war ideal for Doyle is monolithic and unilateral. It brings not just every living person, but every soul that ever existed on Earth into the same system of belief and thus offers a defence against the disintegration machine of modernity. It is a more benign vision of his earlier Pangaic monism, where the ultimate unity of peoples represents a heavenly re-establishment of the community. Early in the novel, a spirit named Lucille is interrogated at a medium's sitting and asked: 'What religion were you?' 'We were Roman Catholics'. 'Is that the right religion?' 'All religions are right if they make you better [...] It is what people do in daily life, not what they believe'.⁶⁴⁹ Belief, in an age of declining religiosity, has become too precious a commodity to reject because of differences of dogma. All belief, regardless of denomination, feeds into the spiritualist heaven. Through this belief, Doyle is able to re-assert the idea of community in both literal and religious terms. He displays both the willingness of what he calls 'ordinary people' to commit to this kind of belief system and also why it is attractive to them.⁶⁵⁰ Of the descent into war, he would later write 'I can never forget [...] the strange effect upon the mind which was produced by seeing the whole European fabric drifting to the edge of the chasm with absolute uncertainty as to what would happen when it toppled over'.⁶⁵¹ Spiritualism offers a means of escape from the horror of the war and from the now well-worn list of 'modern' symptoms: urbanisation, mechanisation, mass-market and popular culture, the decline of orthodox religion, contraception. Spiritualism's explicit answers to these individual problems are strategically unveiled throughout the novel. The hypothetical 'community' of souls in the spiritualist afterlife becomes physically manifested at

⁶⁴⁹ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 293.

⁶⁵⁰ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 347.

⁶⁵¹ Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, p. 331.

various points in the narrative. Malone and Enid Challenger, in their capacities as newspaper reporters, begin the novel by attending a spiritualist church and attain entry despite the huge throng outside. From the stage they gaze out at the crowd:

The hall was crammed [...] one saw line after line of upturned faces, curiously alike in type [...] The type was not distinguished nor intellectual, but it was undeniably healthy, honest and sane. Small trades-folk, [...] shopwalkers, better class artisans, lower middle class women, [...] occasional young folk in search of sensation.⁶⁵²

Doyle constructs spiritualism as a direct response to the communal dissatisfaction of these people, a dissatisfaction which echoes that described earlier within the novel's principal characters. For these people, divorced from the intellectual tussles of high modernism and, like the readers of *The Strand*, faced instead with the everyday representations of them, spiritualism seems custom-fit to meet their communal lack. It offers religious proscriptions for living that firmly limit the damaging disintegrations listed above. Spiritualism enforces the idea that every soul has its mate and that the two will inevitably be united, either on Earth or in one of the heavens. Luke, a 'high spirit from the sixth sphere' tells Malone and Enid that

"there is one man, and only one, for each woman and one woman only for each man [...] Until they meet all unions are mere accidents which have no meaning [...] Real marriage is of the soul and spirit. Sex actions are a mere external symbol which mean nothing and are foolish, or even pernicious [...]"⁶⁵³

The tenets of spiritualist romance re-assert monogamy and sexual normalcy, not as an impersonal and dogmatic article of legislation but as a beneficent natural law that is reinforced by the evidential observations of psychical science.⁶⁵⁴ The romantic

⁶⁵² Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, pp. 249-250.

⁶⁵³ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 277.

⁶⁵⁴ Doyle (in his letters to the press, his diaries and in *The Strand*) had been a vociferous challenger of British divorce law and was president of the Divorce Law Reform Association. In September, 1917 he wrote to *The Empire News* that 'all separations of three years' standing should be turned into divorces', a move which by freeing people from miserable situations and uniting new couples, could 'go far to make up for the whole wastage of the war'. Doyle, *Letters to the Press*, p. 255.

relationship between Enid and Malone is played out unobtrusively and largely unmentioned alongside their analogous joint religious conversion. There is no hint of sexual attraction between them and the courtship represents a model that Doyle describes as 'clean and honest comradeship' over the 'prim affections and sly deceits of the past'.⁶⁵⁵ This reference would appear to describe a relationship not unlike that between Malone and Gladys in *The Lost World* with its uncertain emotional foundations, open (even aggressive) sexual attraction and insincere emotional proclamations.⁶⁵⁶ In this way Doyle figures sexual promiscuity and infidelity as a particular symptom of modernity whose potential for damage can be limited and curbed by a spiritually-informed attitude. Similarly, the dangers of drink are critiqued, not uncommonly for a period where the temperance movement was still a powerful force in working class culture, as one of the main enemies of a happy family life.⁶⁵⁷ In *The Land of Mist* alcohol is grouped with sex as a parcel of 'sensation' that promises degeneration, dissipation and unhappiness for modern generations. By lessening the urgency of life and by urging its followers to focus on 'spiritual preparation', these transitory 'thrills' could also be stripped of some of their perniciousness.

One central cause and contributing factor to Doyle's belief was the First World War, to which he alludes frequently in several contexts. First he establishes a community of shared grief and suffering that is created in the aftermath of the war. Three scenes of clairvoyance hinge upon characters in mourning contacting those that died in combat and it is strongly implied that the experiences of loss and devastation has created a society more open to spiritualism in exactly the same way as the events of *The Poison Belt*. The spiritualist crowd at the start of the novel are addressed by a Mr Miromar, who, in a self-styled prophetic statement claims of the war that '[h]eaven's gift [proofs of spiritualism] had been disregarded. The blow fell. Ten million young men were lain dead upon the ground. Twice as many were mutilated.

⁶⁵⁵ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 247.

⁶⁵⁶ Malone visits Gladys at the start of the novel and attempts to seduce her: "I want my arms around you and your head on my breast, and, oh, Gladys, I want-" She had sprung from her chair as she saw signs that I proposed to demonstrate some of my wants'. Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 2. Gladys, in the end, proves inconstant and marries an insurance clerk whilst Malone is away in South America. Their opening exchanges are marked by Malone's sexual aggressivity and Gladys' coquettishness: 'How aloof [she was...] perfectly unsexual [...] Where the real sex feeling begins, timidity and distrust are its companions, heritage from old wicked days when love and violence went often hand in hand'.

Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁷ Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey and Ian R. Tyrell, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, (Abc-Clio, 2003), p. 309.

That was God's first warning to mankind. But it was in vain, the same dull materialism prevailed as before'.⁶⁵⁸ The crowd in this way is offered a belief mechanism for coping with the war, its physical losses and the ancillary depreciations of belief. The war, in this context, does not become a vast and incomparably inhumane act of man but rather the symptom of a world strongly bonded by an ethico-religious power desperate to make itself known and to prevent the world 'destroy[ing] itself' further down the line.⁶⁵⁹ In this scheme of events, the route to emancipation from anything similar happening again is to avoid 'heap[ing] up fresh loads of sin' to be 'atone[d]' for.⁶⁶⁰ That the benign tenets of spiritualism should be enforced by this threat of terrible deferred violence is not a contradiction that Doyle seems concerned with; the munificent and the tyrannical happily coexist as part of the text's religious and ideological framework. The potentially violent fault-lines between classes are also shown to dissipate under the aegis of spiritualism; the diverse audiences that gather at the many meetings and séances throughout the novel show that '[t]here is no such leveller of classes as Spiritualism, and the charwoman with psychic force is the superior of the millionaire who lacks it'.⁶⁶¹

So spiritualism is depicted, at great pains, to be a multi-faceted panacea for the ills of particular symptoms of modernity. In this depiction and in describing the rather entrenched and fragile position it occupied in the cultural field, two principal oppositions develop. The two societal forces that most threaten and undermine spiritualism are the popular press and orthodox science. Difficulties arise as a result of Doyle's claim that Spiritualism is differentiated from other faiths because it is informed by the field of psychical science which provides an objective and verifiable basis of legitimation for its strictures. This is crucial to spiritualism's relevance to the modern world. For Doyle, it negates the idea of faith as a kind of intellectual vacuum and instead figures it explicitly as, in every sense, a 'progression'.⁶⁶² Those who discount the work of psychical science are shown to be ignorant of any of its literature; instead, they repeat an uncritical and destructive 'formed opinion'.⁶⁶³ The positions of dumb pagan and cultured scientist are thus inverted; the believer is recast as possessing the subtler intelligence whilst the scientist has circumscribed his

⁶⁵⁸ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 256.

⁶⁵⁹ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 257.

⁶⁶⁰ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, pp. 256-257.

⁶⁶¹ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 288.

⁶⁶² Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 271.

⁶⁶³ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 285.

imagination and become a slave to reason. The scientific basis is also important for spiritualism because it counter-weights the pre-modernity of its central beliefs. As Doyle himself noted in *The History of Spiritualism* '[t]here has been no time in recorded history of the world when we do not find influence of preternatural interference and a tardy recognition of them from humanity'.⁶⁶⁴ The taint of regression is clearly one to be avoided and the adoption of the veneer of scientific rigour accomplishes this. In *The Land of Mist*, promulgators and representatives of orthodox science are decried as obstacles to intellectual and moral progression. The prophetic Mr Miromar proclaims that

[t]hings have now reached a climax. The very idea of progress has been made material. It is progress to go swiftly, to send swift messages, to build new machinery. All this is a diversion of real ambition [...] Mankind [...] presses on upon its false road of material science.⁶⁶⁵

This view, which is undoubtedly the view being presented by the work as a whole, is at variance with that put forward in *The Lost World* and evolved (as described earlier) in *The Poison Belt*. After Challenger is rescued from the ape-men by Malone and Roxton in the former work, he triumphantly states that 'Not only we as individuals, but European science collectively, owe you a deep debt of gratitude for what you have done [...] the disappearance of Professor Summerlee and myself would have left an appreciable gap in modern zoological history'.⁶⁶⁶ This sentiment makes manifest the idea that acts of danger and heroism are performed, at least in part, for the benefit of 'science' as an integrated social institution. No distinction is made between different kinds of science and no contradiction is recognised as existing between science as one grand narrative amongst several others including Christian doctrine and masculine chivalry. Thirteen years later, science has splintered into three distinct forms and its status as a grand narrative is hopelessly undermined. 'Mechanical' science produces 'swift messages' and 'new machinery' which exacerbate the spiritual dissatisfaction of the modern world. 'Rational' science, embodied by Challenger himself, unambitiously uses a stunted world-view to categorise the contents of the physical

⁶⁶⁴ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The History of Spiritualism* (London: Cassell and Company, 1926), p. 1.

⁶⁶⁵ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 256.

⁶⁶⁶ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 129.

world. Psychical science, the systematised and 'provable' basis of spiritualism, is separated from the other two branches and held up as a new paradigm in which a religious act of faith is reinforced by the objective, discriminating gaze of the scientist. Mechanical science is presented as a pernicious and fallacious deviation from the grandest narrative imaginable; a narrative which, if embraced by the world would utterly belie pluralism, difference and alienation. Just as the novel seeks to invert the roles and connotations of the scientist and the pagan so it inverts the concomitant development of mechanical science and social 'progress' that *The Strand's* scientific content had been articulating clearly for the preceding three decades. In the novel, Algernon Mailey, a barrister and spiritualist, suggests that

It is this scientific world which is at the bottom of much of our materialism. It has helped us in comfort - if comfort is any use to us. Otherwise it has usually been a curse to us, for it has called itself progress and given us a false impression that we are making progress, whereas we are really drifting very steadily backwards.⁶⁶⁷

This sentiment, and again the novel takes great pains to endorse this sentiment at every turn, makes the acknowledgement that the previously harmonious coexistence of ideas and ideals that made up *The Strand's* representation of science and progress has become, for Doyle unsustainable. This, along with the rest of *The Land of Mist's* ideology, leaves Doyle at odds with many of the magazine's dominant paradigms and suggests the development of a schism. It is important to remember that this schism's defining characteristic was its benignity. The mere fact that Doyle's writing on spiritualism and fairies was happily published alongside the more traditional *Strand* content suggests that even if Doyle was construed by some as a heretic or a fool, he never became a complete outsider. Indeed, in his long series of articles on the First World War Doyle continued writing uninterruptedly to the specifications laid down by his contributions on the Boer War.⁶⁶⁸ In the years 1919 to 1926 Doyle can be found railing against the modern world's perilous 'ruts of the mind' which, he suggests, prompted the First World War as a kind of biblical punishment; yet between 1914 and 1918 he also praises the 'majestic portage' of 'every possible variety of

⁶⁶⁷ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 271.

⁶⁶⁸ As discussed at length in chapter three.

man-killing engine' in that same war.⁶⁶⁹ This is not hypocrisy on Doyle's part, but is instead symptomatic of the fact that the allegorical and figurative modes of his writing in *The Strand* after 1918 had broken into two oppositional strands. Those ideological lesions that this thesis has been at such pains to read into the first twenty-five years of *The Strand* were now explicitly visible in these two disparate modes of writing.

The second dimension of this antimony and the second 'oppositional force' in *The Land of Mist* was its depiction of the popular press. In *The Lost World*, the protagonists required the assent of Fleet-street to avoid the fate that befell Challenger after his first expedition. In front of the cauldron of scientific and newspaper men in the Queen's Hall, Challenger managed a mediated success but in *The Land of Mist* the popular press begin to take on a different character. In exploring his concept of hegemony, Antonio Gramsci examined how certain ideas and stereotypes come to be focussed and predominate:

Previously germinated ideologies become 'party', come into confrontation and conflict, until only one of them, or at least a single combination of them tends to prevail, to gain the upper hand, to propagate itself through society - bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims but also intellectual and moral unity.⁶⁷⁰

In this way, the press reproduces (and readers consume) a series of social paradigms; this is a fair description of the way *The Strand* maintained several particular 'images' that captured a unity of action and meaning. Some of these images have been discussed in depth already (the chivalric soldier; the scientist as knowledge producer; the anarchist as madman and so on) but it is this hegemonic impulse of the popular press that Doyle is most noisily opposed to. *The Lost World* presented a series of characterial stereotypes and thematic ideologies that fitted neatly with the rest of the magazine's output. In 1925, however, Doyle faced a very different task: that of using his privileged status amongst *Strand* contributors to force a violent change to several dominant types: principally the psychic medium as a fraud and spiritualists as weak-minded and gullible. This is why revisiting the figure of Challenger is crucial. In *The*

⁶⁶⁹ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The British Campaign in France and Flanders 1914* (Kessinger Publisher, 2004), p. 140.

⁶⁷⁰ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), pp. 181-2.

Lost World he was a scientific avatar of the Victorian age, a knowing anachronism that Conan Doyle sought to pay *homage* to; a figure, like Sherlock Holmes, that evoked a kind of fantasy of knowledge. Challenger was a figure who was able to read the world in terms of its scientific make-up. As he strode around Maple White Land classifying everything that he saw, the reader was confronted by a snapshot representation of scientific absolutism. Whilst this is undercut by irony as noted before, there can be little question that, in the minds of *Strand* readers, Challenger existed chiefly as an expression of this tradition. Thus when he was resurrected in 1925 for the purposes of spiritual re-education, it became evident that Conan Doyle was trading both upon his established reputation but also recreating the same conflict between religious and scientific beliefs that he had rendered humorously before in *The Lost World*.

By seizing the omniscient narration from Malone, Doyle is able to assert his new series of divergent paradigms before his audience; effectively re-creating the scenes of scientific performance in the other stories, but with the validity of psychical research at stake. When Malone and Enid attend their first spiritualist service at the beginning of the novel there is no room in the audience and so they are asked to sit upon the stage, an arrangement that 'suited them well, for they could use their notebooks freely'.⁶⁷¹ The presence of reporters upon the stage reinforces the idea of the extent to which the media were participants in the public debate. Indeed, Conan Doyle frequently laid the blame for people's violent antipathy toward spiritualism at the door of a media-enforced materialism. Tom Linden, a medium, is entrapped by two policewomen posing as clients and the narrator notes of the subsequent trial and conviction that

poor Tom Linden had a bad press [...] *The Planet*, an evening paper which depended for its circulation upon the sporting forecasts [...] remarked upon the absurdity of forecasting the future. *Honest John*, a weekly journal which had been mixed up with some of the greatest frauds of the century, was under the opinion that the dishonesty of Linden was a public scandal [...] *The*

⁶⁷¹ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 249.

Churchman remarked that such incidents arose from the growing infidelity, whilst *The Freethinker* saw in them a reversion to superstition.⁶⁷²

Each of the periodicals mentioned co-opts the diegetic 'truth' of the situation. Doyle presents Linden as an honest man who 'gives away' his earnings as 'quick as [he] makes it'.⁶⁷³ Yet the press fit him into the hegemonic understanding of spiritualism and mediums in particular; he and other mediums become 'charlatans [...] advancing wicked and blasphemous claims' to 'earn a rich living' and 'trad[e] upon the finer feelings of bereaved parents'.⁶⁷⁴ Even when Malone sees what he deems undeniable proof of materialisation whilst at the *Institut Metaphysique* in Paris he is frustrated in his attempts to disseminate the story.⁶⁷⁵ He finds that the 'great London dailies' have only '[c]olumns about football', '[c]olumns about golf' and '[a] long and earnest correspondence about the habits of the lapwing'.⁶⁷⁶ Thus Malone, a strong individual who 'always look[s] up cold hard figures' is at variance with this hegemony and in one of several scenes of renunciation in the novel, retires from his position.⁶⁷⁷ His editor relays a message from Mr Cornelius, the owner of the *Daily Gazette*, that Malone must change his tone and 'poke fun' at spiritualism.⁶⁷⁸ Cornelius, the reader is sententiously informed, lives a lifestyle of luxury 'on the edge of vice' but who may occasionally 'sway public affairs by a manifesto printed in larger type upon his own front page'.⁶⁷⁹ This conflict marks the point at which the mixture of romance and modernity finally explodes and where Malone's courage and bravery is redirected towards the intellectual hegemony that frustrates him. The exigencies of a mass-market culture become unsupportable if one seeks to deviate from the hegemonic ideals that such socially formative systems enforce. In *The Lost World*, Conan Doyle sought to rewrite the Victorian quest romance by incorporating symptoms of modernity; symptoms that, at the time, he did not have a full appreciation of. When Malone resigns and, later, when Challenger is convinced as to the veracity of spiritual

⁶⁷² Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 318.

⁶⁷³ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 298.

⁶⁷⁴ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 215.

⁶⁷⁵ Dr. Maupuis at the Institut asks a materialised spirit to create a paraffin cast of his hand before dematerialising. Maupuis says 'What can they say now? Gentlemen, I appeal to you. You have seen what occurred. Can you give any rational explanation of that paraffin mould, save that it was the result of dematerialisation of the hand within it?' Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 368.

⁶⁷⁶ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 370.

⁶⁷⁷ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 243.

⁶⁷⁸ Malone replies 'I'm afraid sir, it has ceased to seem funny'. Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 396.

⁶⁷⁹ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 398.

beliefs, we see the death of Conan Doyle's 'modern' romance as his heroes have changed from avatars of orthodox science, adventure and modernity into representatives of a circumscribed and embattled minority interest.

Interestingly, Conan Doyle revisits a famous scene from *The Lost World* and his own life in *The Land of Mist* which heightens the tension that has already been established between the two works. Challenger engages in a debate on 'the psychic question' with an expert on the subject, James Smith. This public debate occurs in the Queen's Hall, the same venue in which, thirteen years before, Challenger had produced his pterodactyl to the confused delight of his audience and in which, six years before, Doyle had debated with McCabe. This time, though, he is defeated. He becomes the dissenting, uninformed voice in the crowd that he had previously swatted away. His rhetorical power remains, yet his unquestioned dependence upon materialist science renders him unable to carry the day. This connects to a trend running throughout the narratives whereby the scenes of scientific performance display signs of inversion. From the triumphant environs of The Queen's Hall where Challenger re-enchanting the metropolis in *The Lost World* to Theodor Nemor's cramped shed in 'The Disintegration Machine', a shed that occupies a small concealed corner of the same metropolis but which contains the potential for its ultimate destruction. In *The Land of Mist*, the grand performative scene in the Queen's Hall is deceptively employed because it conceals the *real* moment of a scientific performance, which occurs when Challenger attends a sitting with Tom Linden. Again, Challenger is recast as a truculent and unwelcome dissenter. The proof that he obtains enables him to begin to believe in spiritualism. It was, of course, for entirely this purpose that Conan Doyle revisited Challenger; to take an archetypal scientific gaze and force an inversion of its analytical functions to re-evaluate the spiritual construction of the body behind it. Conan Doyle investigates, indeed is primarily concerned with, questions on this subject (self-knowledge) that were suppressed and elided in *The Lost World*.

Yet again, though, Doyle resists offering the weary critic some respite from his twists and turns between rationalism and enchantment; between consumer culture and spiritual fulfilment; between romance and modernity. The final chapter of *The Land of Mist*, and the two subsequent short stories, further confuse the issues discussed here. Conan Doyle seems to compromise the non-fiction status of *The Land of Mist* by returning to the domain of fiction and resetting the ideological and mental

shifts that he had painstakingly established at such a cost to his status. With Challenger and Malone both in their altered states of spiritual awareness and with Malone in need of work after his resignation, the narrator observes the following conclusion:

Challenger [...] had long needed an active clear-headed man to manage his business interests, and to control his world-wide patents. There were many devices, the fruits of his life's work [...] were all money-makers.⁶⁸⁰

Challenger and Malone become, as it were, 'professional' scientists, profiting from the same mechanical advances that are (as discussed before) frequently decried throughout the novel as a diversion from spiritual advancement. Thus the ideas that Doyle fights for are shown to embrace, and ultimately exist within, a social framework that is explicitly antimonious to the core beliefs behind the ideas. This structure exactly mimics the status of *The Land of Mist* itself as a mass market product: a professionally printed, publicised, edited commodity that was presented in the millions for public consumption. Presented indeed, by the same presses that weekly suppressed news of spiritualist matters and even excluded them from the multi-denominational 'list of services'.⁶⁸¹ For all that *The Land of Mist* set out to correct the uneasy diffusion of romance and modernity in *The Lost World* it simply represented a work of re-ordered but equally inconsistent and self-defeating ideologies.

ARTICLES OF FAITH

Psychical science as a grand narrative in *The Land of Mist* proves as incapable of supporting or legitimising ideologies as orthodox, 'material' science in *The Lost World*. For a grand narrative to achieve some functionality, according to Lyotard (and, in less ornate terms, by Gramsci), then it cannot exist as a localised paralogy. If the function of a narrative in relation to a grand narrative is to 'recount positive or negative apprenticeships that bestow legitimacy upon social institutions', then these

⁶⁸⁰ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 411.

⁶⁸¹ Doyle, *The Land of Mist*, p. 248.

institutions must have a definite social presence anterior to the text.⁶⁸² When the work is attempting to both establish the identity and legitimacy of the institution and then deploy it itself as a means of bestowing legitimacy (as in *The Land of Mist*) then it becomes an exercise in self-legitimation or self-justification. Seen from this perspective the novel becomes the hybridised product of a desire to both establish the truth of spiritual beliefs through legitimising the particular institutions that constitute it (mediumship, psychical scientists, spiritualist churches and the movement's historical literature) and by fitting smaller localised narratives within this legitimacy (the characters who represent them). So, the conversions of Malone, Roxton and Challenger are plotted specifically to reinforce the validity of the networks through which they accomplish it and *vice versa*. *The Lost World*, in this respect, was more successful because it appealed to, and reinforced the legitimacy of, science as an institution which had a strong representational history within the magazine. Spiritualism had no such heritage and this breakthrough was one that, historically speaking, spiritualism was never able to make. The politics of its portrayal in *The Strand* over the years both establishes this and further explains the parameters of Doyle's divergence from the magazine's traditional values.

Between the years 1891 and 1930, the year of Arthur Conan Doyle's death, *The Strand* published fourteen articles specifically on the subject of spiritualism.⁶⁸³ These articles can be split into successive waves. Two pre-war articles, 1901's 'A Parlour Séance with David Devant' and 1913's 'The Mysterious Spiritualistic Séance', present the subject uncritically as a happily contrived and artificial form of family entertainment. The latter article is particularly happy for the terms 'medium' and 'illusionist' to be used interchangeably; it is headed with a promise to 'expose' 'the mystery which has baffled the greatest scientists of the day'.⁶⁸⁴ Furthermore it concludes that 'the writer positively asserts that all spiritualistic manifestations [...] are the result of trickery'.⁶⁸⁵ The fact that Doyle cannot appeal to an established institution in *The Land of Mist* is principally because of this received heritage. Its treatment is similar to that of palmistry, one 1912 article on the subject begins with an editorial note that observes that the forthcoming article is 'interesting apart from the

⁶⁸² Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 20.

⁶⁸³ Geraldine Beare, "*Strand Magazine*": *Index, 1891-1950* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982), p. 744.

⁶⁸⁴ 'The Mysterious Spiritualistic Séance', *The Strand* 45 (February, 1913), p. 232.

⁶⁸⁵ 'The Mysterious Spiritualistic Séance', p. 233.

claims of Palmistry and Astronomy of which every reader will have his own opinion, and of which, perhaps, the safest thing to say is that they are “strange if true”.⁶⁸⁶ This leader, rather like the editorial policy described in *The Land of Mist* asserts an authorial voice that contains the description of palmistry within a sceptical cloak. *The Strand* evinces a kind of pseudo-scientific spectrum where, at one end, the work of Francis Galton and Ray Lankester is presented seriously and with the same weight accorded to scientists on other issues whilst, at the other, spiritualism is grouped with other diverting, novelty pastimes.⁶⁸⁷ Other, ancillary articles such as ‘Thought Reading Tricks for Amateurs’ reinforce the artificiality of mediumship in indirect ways. Specifically this article only refers to ‘mediums’ in quotation-marks which suggests that it is a performative role rather than any sort of serious social function or a natural state of being. So whilst *The Strand* is not necessarily vicious in its depiction of spiritualism (as many publications frequently were), the catalogue of calumnies that Doyle depicts in *The Land of Mist* go much further, it still presents a series of linguistic and representational strategies that disabuse both its veracity and its seriousness. This unflattering coverage changes in 1916 with the publication of Sir Oliver Lodge’s article ‘Is it Possible to Communicate with the Dead?’ and his subsequent 1917 article ‘How I Became Convinced of the Survival of the Dead’. These two pieces appear and are granted similar privilege to other scientific pieces; there is no pointed editorial note above the frontispiece and Lodge himself is pictured sombrely. The writing of the pieces is rather bland, asinine stuff as Lodge refuses to discuss his experiences in any real depth and instead makes generalised observations about the nature of the dead (‘they are keenly susceptible to friendly feeling and affection [...] and less shy or chary of expressing their feelings than they were down here’) and vague references to experiences which he is ‘unable to refer to in detail’.⁶⁸⁸ However tepid these excursions may have been, they stimulated debate and response of a serious kind. July 1917 found two conjoined opinion pieces by Conan Doyle and Edward Clodd under the umbrella title ‘Is Sir Oliver Lodge Right?’ Doyle writes

⁶⁸⁶ ‘Palmistry’, *The Strand* 23 (February, 1912), p. 196.

⁶⁸⁷ Lankester was frequently called to bestow scientific legitimacy on ideas in *The Strand* such as during the physical culture debate, was also a fervent anti-spiritualist who famously ‘disapprove[d] of any article on Spiritualism being included in *The Outline of Science*, because it is not proved true’. J. K. C. Strain, ‘Psychic Science’, *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 133 (June 3rd, 1922), p. 578.

⁶⁸⁸ Oliver Lodge, ‘How I Became Convinced of the Survival of the Dead’, *The Strand Magazine* 52 (July, 1917), p. 567, 654.

passionately that the War was a relapse to 'the Dark Ages' and that this 'new Christianity' will be 'something definite [...] based upon tangible proof [and] combining the most advanced science with the most exalted morality'.⁶⁸⁹ Clodd, meanwhile, describes a movement whose 'inception was in fraud' and whose exponents are 'a pack of sorry rascals [...] committed to prisons as rogues and vagabonds'.⁶⁹⁰ This piece establishes the model for what would remain of *The Strand's* interest in spiritualism; across five articles in 1919-20, Doyle wrote a series entitled *The Uncharted Coast* which detailed various aspects of spiritualism's social utility (including as a way of solving or predicting crimes); stern opposition, along the same lines as that of Clodd was voiced in 1920 by two eminent writers in an article with the rather declarative title 'G. Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells Disbelieve in Spiritualism'. After these pieces the subject was not touched directly again by the magazine until 1942. Stepping back from this catalogue reveals a pattern: spiritualism was either depicted as a joke or a trick before it became an issue of pressing concern when two of *The Strand's* most prominent contributors begin to write on the subject. After that point, every appearance of a serious article in favour of spiritualism is met by an equally stern disavowal by an equally famous name. After four years the issue simply vanishes from the pages of the magazine apart from in *The Land of Mist*.

Thus Conan Doyle reaches another *impasse*. The moment of spiritualism in *The Strand* is heated and emotive but it soon fades and with it fades the prospect of affecting any serious change to its popular, hegemonic perception. Whilst Doyle would energetically devote the rest of his life to engaging in popular debate on the subject, he would do so away from *The Strand*, which proved a rather hostile environment for the reasons detailed above. That *The Land of Mist* (and much writing on spiritualism) constituted an attempt at self-legitimation was the main reason for readers and critics to be mistrustful. J. D. Carr in his biography of Doyle observed that 'many people did not like the book because they did not like its theme [...] 'Conan Doyle is preaching' exclaimed so many; and of course he was'.⁶⁹¹ This agrees with Clodd's criticism that spiritualists unduly prioritise the 'experiential' over

⁶⁸⁹ Doyle and Clodd, 'Is Sir Oliver Lodge Right?', p. 50.

⁶⁹⁰ Doyle and Clodd, 'Is Sir Oliver Lodge Right?', p. 53.

⁶⁹¹ J. D. Carr, *Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (London: Murray, 1949), p. 331.

the 'evidential' and believe the two to be basically interchangeable.⁶⁹² People were not convinced by Doyle, bearing out Keats' adage that 'we distrust literature which has an obvious design upon us', and he found himself displaced from *The Strand*.⁶⁹³ Carr further notes that

Over and over Greenhough Smith urged him to write something of more general popular appeal than his psychic articles. Here is a typical reply: 'I wish I could do as you wish but, as you know, my life is devoted to one end and at present I can't see any literature which would be of use to you on the horizon.'⁶⁹⁴

The most telling phrases in Doyle's response are 'use' and 'popular appeal' because together they suggest a concept of bounded utility, an editorial policy that attributed a use-value to particular kinds of work to which Doyle's writing on spiritualism conspicuously failed to conform. This breach between writer and magazine was observable from the first traces of modernity-unease in *The Lost World* and the subsequent revised treatments of the theme confirm that the fundamental disagreements occurred over the definition and role of science that Doyle felt strongly should be redefined. His posited inversion of material/orthodox science was too great an ideological shift and represented too violent a value shift to be adequately supported. It is a commonly repeated falsity that Conan Doyle converted to spiritualism in the wake of his tremendous personal losses in the war; this arises because the two events are linked so strongly in other ways.⁶⁹⁵ The communal grief in its aftermath lead many spiritualists (such as Doyle and Lodge) to highlight the period as a fertile one for the dissemination of spiritualist beliefs. These beliefs signified an idealistic retreat to the premodern; a defiant statement that 'new world problems' could be conquered by a grand, collective act of belief. In reality such an

⁶⁹² Doyle and Clodd, 'Is Sir Oliver Lodge Right?', p. 52.

⁶⁹³ Peter Barry, *Beginning Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 19.

⁶⁹⁴ Carr, *Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*, p. 331.

⁶⁹⁵ 'Our household suffered terribly in the war. The first to fall was my wife's brother Malcom Leckie [...] Then came the turn of Miss Loder Symonds, who lived with us [...] Three of her brothers were killed [...] Then two brave nephews, Alec Forbes and Oscar Hornung, went down [...] My gallant brother-in-law, Major Oldham, was killed [...] And then finally, just as all seemed over, I had a double blow. First it was my Kingsley, my only son by the first marriage [...] It was pneumonia which slew him in London, and the same cursed plague carried off my soldier brother Innes [...]'. Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, p. 342.

act was completely impossible because it required a violent shift in religious values. Whilst Conan Doyle was capable of instituting mass suspensions of disbelief in *The Lost World*, he was to find and display the extreme limitations of his position.

THE DILEMMA OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE

Such readings are initially challenged by the two subsequent Challenger narratives which were published in 1928 ('When the World Screamed') and 1929 ('The Disintegration Machine'). These narratives snapped back to the 'fictional' landscape of *The Lost World* and *The Poison Belt*; Malone worked for *The Daily Gazette* once more, Challenger's wife was alive and neither man made any reference to spiritualism. The characters were re-integrated into a modern environment and the nature of this re-integration correlates with many of Lyotard's observations on the nature and dissemination of knowledge in a (post)modern arena. In *The Land of Mist* Challenger and Malone both renounced their positions and specifically abdicated their roles as mass-market knowledge producers to join the enclosed network of contributors to spiritualist knowledge. The movement back towards popular acceptance and the re-entry into broader networks of knowledge production (principally the same world of orthodox science so derided in *The Land of Mist*) is highlighted by both stories' plots and by the syntagmatic details of their narration. 'When the World Screamed' is narrated by a new character called Peerless Jones, an expert in Artesian borings, who Challenger hires to build a 100ft spike. Challenger has spent several years over-seeing a project to drill through the Earth's crust and wishes to prove his 'Echinal Earth' theory by penetrating its 'glistening', 'slimy' central nervous cortex.⁶⁹⁶ 'The Disintegration Machine' has *The Gazette* send Malone and Challenger to investigate a Latvian inventor named Theodor Nemor who claims to have produced a machine that can disintegrate and re-integrate matter. Superficially the stories are not similar; the former depicts Challenger's great triumph of individual genius whereas the latter is portrayed as an incidental sketch in the lives of both men.⁶⁹⁷ However the texts are strongly linked because their plots refer to the same regulating and formative principle: a modern knowledge economy.

⁶⁹⁶ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 453.

⁶⁹⁷ 'Enough, Malone, enough' he cries at the story's conclusion, '[the events have] already disengaged my thoughts too long from matters of importance'. Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 434.

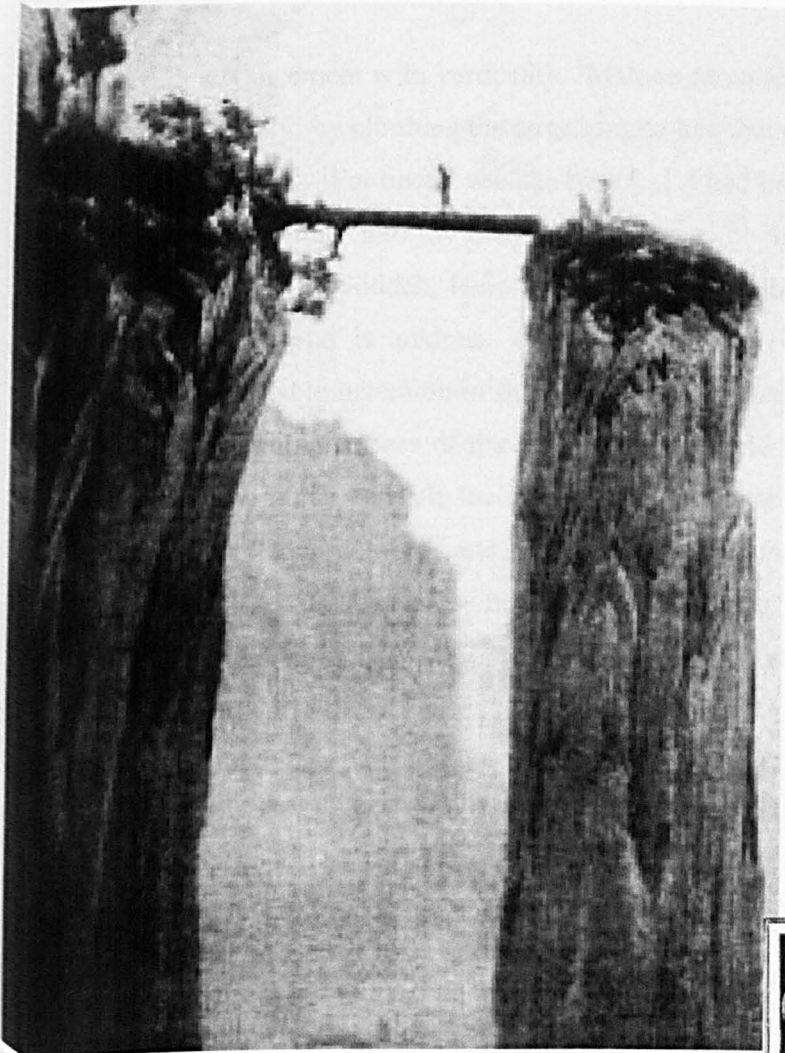
Challenger's justification for penetrating the Earth's core is to 'let the earth know that there is at least one person, George Edward Challenger, who calls for attention – who, indeed, insists upon attention'.⁶⁹⁸ The earth is portrayed as a giant, dormant, unified mass waiting to be alerted to Challenger's presence. In exhorting Jones, Challenger roars '[r]aise your mind above the base mercantile and utilitarian needs of commerce. Shake off your paltry standards of business'.⁶⁹⁹ The cry echoes that of Doyle's voice in *The Land of Mist*, where he railed against the spiritual poverty of mechanical science. Newspapers represent a conflicted space in that novel, they are the parasitic symptom of narrow-minded materialism but also a coveted tool of knowledge distribution. Time and again, the newspapers are simultaneously disparaged and courted since they contain the potential to affect dominant, hegemonic paradigms. The desire to perform a violent confrontation to the readership's spiritual complacency becomes imaginatively recast as a fantasy of violate penetration and self-abuse. The dormant, monistic mass of the earth can be read as an expression of a fantasised mass market that is actually responsive to exhortation. Challenger frequently calls attention to the receptivity of the Earth's 'sensory cortex'; it is 'all nerves and sensibility' and 'how it will react when pricked is a matter of conjecture'.⁷⁰⁰ His experiment seems to be conducted entirely without a hypothesis. His supposition of an 'echinal' Earth is adequately proved by his mining expedition; the dropping of a huge spike into what he finds is only justified in terms of knowledge, prestige and performance. Challenger plans the grand act to ordain himself as a genius to the world's media and to alert the very Earth itself to his presence. The fantasy of performing this violent, invasive, dangerous and ultimately unnecessary act recalls an inverted picture of the frustrations in *The Land of Mist*. Challenger (and Doyle) are also recast as the occupiers of privileged positions as orthodox, legitimated and venerated producers of knowledge. The image of the plunging bore recalls an inverted reflection of the phallic imagery that featured in *The Lost World* so frequently. 4.5 shows the group ascending to the plateau and 4.6 shows Jones and Malone peering anxiously at the Earth's sensory cortex. In the first image, the adventurers 'penetrate' Maple White Land by felling a protruding tree.⁷⁰¹ It is one of a series of images in the novel that associate power, intelligence and

⁶⁹⁸ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 443.

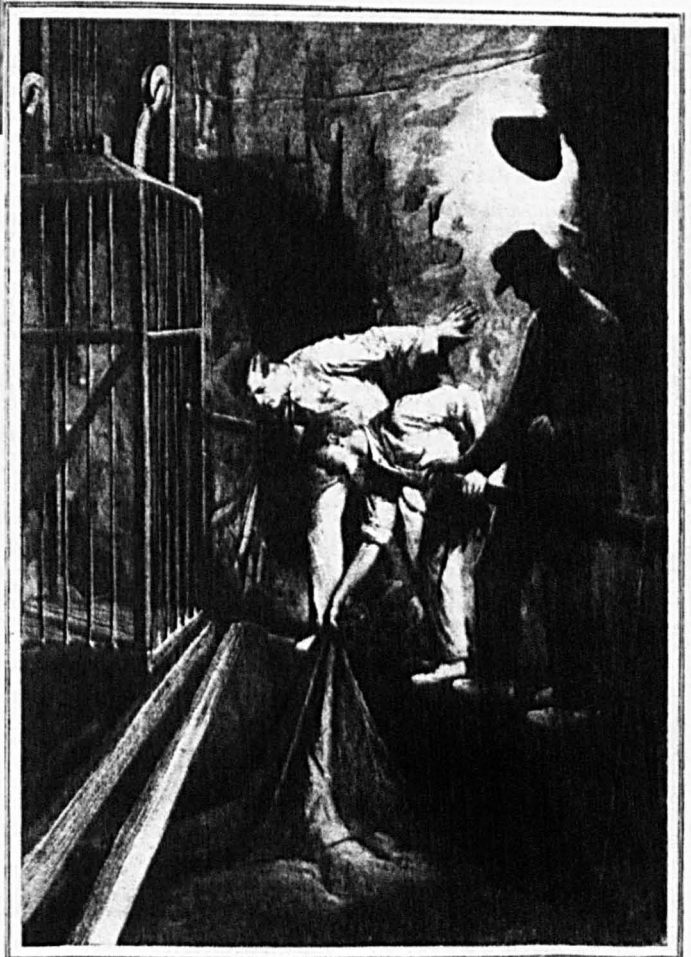
⁶⁹⁹ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 445.

⁷⁰⁰ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 443, 458.

⁷⁰¹ Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 63.



4.5



4.6

Seizing a rope which connected up with the corner of the covering, he disclosed half-a-dozen square yards of the surface beneath it.

advancement with verticality. Malone earns acceptance and provides evidence of his 'virility' by climbing the large ginkgo tree that enables him to compile a rough map of the area. 'For once I was the hero [...] I had been overshadowed at the first but now I was coming into my own' notes Malone.⁷⁰² In the second image Malone and Jones stare at the hidden, feminised core of the earth. The first illustration is adventurous; the second is anxious. 'When the World Screamed' represents a more socially acceptable inversion of the quest narrative than *The Land of Mist*. Instead of tracing the liminal spaces of the soul, Challenger and Malone are interrogating the nature of very Earth beneath their feet. The penetration has become inverted and is now directed downwards and all of the sexualised tension inherent in *The Lost World* is re-directed to that end. Instead of symbolising the manifold exotic 'penetrations' of British colonial policy, the sexual force is used to forcibly attract the attention of the Earth itself. If the nature of modern quest is that it involves a search for external knowledge that increases the knowledge of the self then we can attribute *The Lost World's* success to wilful self-deception. It discovers external truths but suppresses the self-knowledge implicit in the discoveries. In 'When the World Screamed' this is not the case. Challenger believes human kind to be analogous to an 'evolution of tiny animalcules' developing on the surface of a giant echinus; just as he believed in the existence of the dinosaurs sixteen years earlier. By proving this state of affairs he need perform no act of self-deception; unlike in the earlier expedition where his similarity to the chief ape-man combined with the Pangaeic discoveries of flora and fauna hinted at some deeper knowledge of himself. By focussing his efforts on a purely mechanical and physical level, by burrowing down into the earth beneath his feet, Challenger is able to perform an act that channels the frustrations and implicit uncertainties of modernity and science and forces them to function according to his desires.

'When the World Screamed' depicts Challenger's triumph. It is, ultimately, a beleaguered and compromised fruition of Conan Doyle's ideological struggles within the narratives. At the story's conclusion F. E. Hiley provides an illustration of Doyle's eulogistic final sentences (4.7):

⁷⁰² Doyle, *The Lost World*, pp. 105-8.



Challenger rose from his chair, his eyes half closed, a smile of conscious merit upon his face.

From every part of the field there came the cries of admiration [...] Surely, that picture will be fixed forever, for I heard the cameras clicking around me like crickets in a field [...] Challenger the super scientist.⁷⁰³

Challenger is, in this way, extended the gift of immortality through the medium of the photographic lens. We can read his experiment as a coded message of spiritualist belief, both in the descent through the earth's strata, to the shared communal nature beneath and in the rupturing of the inner surface. The violent penetrative fantasy mirrors Conan Doyle's attempt to radically alter what Gramsci called the '*Weltanschauung*' (the world-view) of the 'masses' in *The Land of Mist*. The seeds for Challenger's triumph were sown in those same tonally discordant notes that Doyle struck at the end of *The Land of Mist*. The entire Hengist Down project is made possible by the bequeathed fortune of a millionaire named Betterton who left his entire estate to Challenger on the understanding that it be used in the interests of science. Challenger is able to use his massive financial reach to recast himself as a captain of industry rather than a lone, 'expert' voice (as in *The Poison Belt*). The finest engineering, artesian borings, ballistics, mining and excavation expertise is available to him. Moreover, on his Hengist Down base, he constructs a microcosm of modern society, which Malone explains to Jones on their first visit to the site:

'there' - he pointed to a cluster of pleasant red-roofed bungalows - 'are the quarters of the men. They are a splendid lot of picked workers who are paid far above ordinary rates. They have to be bachelors and teetotallers, and under oath of secrecy [...] That field is their football ground and the detached house is their library and recreation room. The old man is some organiser, I can assure you'.⁷⁰⁴

Challenger's society conforms to the nature of modern society as laid out by F. Hamish Fraser in *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914* with some crucial alterations. Fraser relates increased urban populations with the attraction of wages

⁷⁰³ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 461.

⁷⁰⁴ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 449.

that were superior to those available for agricultural work.⁷⁰⁵ In reductive terms, this coalescence of peoples created or exacerbated existing problems (infant mortality, sanitation, illiteracy, poverty, over-crowding) and the story of the modern city has been the story of the attempt to accommodate, feed, sanitise, employ and amuse this ever-increasing body of people. Challenger's microcosm of society is exclusively homosocial and no women are invited even to the grand unveiling of his experiment. He imagined, no doubt, that the energies of his workforce would be expended upon intellectual and sporting planes in the library and on the football field (any energy, that is, not expended upon the colossal penetration in which they were all daily engaged). The bonded homosocial group that first travelled across the world in *The Lost World* and then fought for their survival in a single small room in *The Poison Belt* before forming a lobbyist group for a general religious education of the masses in *The Land of Mist*, finally and successfully became a company; a corporation.

The plot of the 'The Disintegration Machine' turns on similar issues. Theodor Nemor is, naturally, a cackling, grotesque degenerate (4.8), whose considerable intellect has been perverted by his cruelty and avarice. Malone writes

I can still see him now [...] rubbing his long, thin hands together and surveying us with his [...] cunning yellow eyes [...His appearance] was all low and repulsive'.⁷⁰⁶

His machine exerts a 'disrupting power' that breaks apart the molecular structure of any object or animal that enters its reach.⁷⁰⁷ Nemor, as the producer of scientific knowledge is in the same situation as Challenger in *The Lost World* and *The Poison Belt* and the challenge to find a means of popularly distributing his findings provides the chief narrative interest. Nemor has entered the open market with his machine and intends to sell it to whichever government is prepared to pay the highest price. Doyle (who at this stage in his career was not at his subtlest) has Malone and Challenger observe a group of gloating Russians leaving Nemor's apartment as they arrive. Nemor then seems happy to gloat over the naturally contingent outcomes of his own great wealth and the destruction of the British Empire:

⁷⁰⁵ William Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market, 1850-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 7-10.

⁷⁰⁶ Doyle, 'The Disintegration Machine', pp. 425-6.

⁷⁰⁷ Doyle, 'The Disintegration Machine', p. 428.



[Nemor] carried on an animated conversation with a group of visitors [... They gave] the passing impression of prosperous and intelligent men [...] every appearance of bourgeois well-being which the successful Communist so readily assumes.⁷⁰⁸

‘I was about to say that the British Government had lost its chance. What else it has lost it may find out later. Possibly its Empire as well [...] I could imagine the whole Thames valley being swept clean, and not one man, woman or child left of all these teeming millions’.⁷⁰⁹

London’s ‘teeming millions’ would happily be sacrificed for the ‘millions’ of pounds to be gained from selling his invention as an instrument of war.⁷¹⁰ This connection is crucial because it highlights the machine, not just as a disintegrator of molecules but traditional, nationalist ideologies. Its enormous destructive potential foreshadowed the atomic and hydrogen bombs and predicted a kind of conflict entirely divorced from the tradition of heroism and chivalry that *The Strand* subscribed to. The troops who would usually be the agents of this grand narrative (such as those depicted in the Boer War articles discussed in chapter three) would simply be vaporised. The machine’s potency is as much ideological as physical. Despite the physical existence of a prototype machine, Doyle prioritises the ‘knowledge’ over the object; Nemor has kept the power source for his machine a secret, known only to himself. He confides this to Challenger and, tapping his forehead, says ‘[t]his is the safe in which the secret is securely locked – a better safe than any of steel’.⁷¹¹ ‘The Disintegration Machine’ hardly taxes the reader to unpick its political context; the threat of continental Europe for Britain has developed from the contest of rival imperial powers to include the ideological conflict between Western capitalism and Eastern communism. The Sherlock Holmes stories that dealt with balancing these contesting powers understood that knowledge was a principal determinant. Knowledge, usually in the form of a letter, leaks from the purposely closed system of one country into another and its

⁷⁰⁸ Doyle, ‘The Disintegration Machine’, p. 425.

⁷⁰⁹ Doyle, ‘The Disintegration Machine’, pp. 426-432.

⁷¹⁰ ‘A battleship [...] would simply vanish into molecules. A column of troops likewise’. Doyle, ‘The Disintegration Machine’, p. 432.

⁷¹¹ Doyle, ‘The Disintegration Machine’, p. 426.

departure raises a potential flux of power that could re-order the delicate balance of alliances. Nemor, as a Latvian, seems purposefully divorced from this nationalism; the Holmes stories, with their trio of nationally-specific spies, show characters guided by ontological allegiances for their parent countries.⁷¹² Nemor exists entirely removed from these constraints and is happily willing to cash-in on his machine regardless of the ideology, nationality or morality of the buyer. His knowledge exists free from ideology and free from a territorialised understanding of politics which heighten both its use-value and its potential danger.

These two stories enact different versions of the same paradigm, a paradigm that Lyotard discussed as developing naturally in postmodern societies. His understanding of 'knowledge', especially scientific knowledge, is that it would become commodified; incorporated into the same economic systems that span nations and previously controlled colonial territory, the battle for raw materials and cheap labour.⁷¹³ Lyotard suggests that as two dominant models, the multinational corporation and the 'computerisation' or digital cataloguing of knowledge, emerge with the result that knowledge would become deterritorialised.

[T]he mercantilization of knowledge is bound to affect the privilege the nation-states have enjoyed, and still enjoy, with respect to the production and distribution of learning. The notion that learning falls within the purview of the state, as the brain or mind of society, will become more and more outdated with the increasing strength of the opposing principle, according to which society exists and progresses only if the messages circulating within it are rich in information and easy to decode.⁷¹⁴

Divorced from the politics of international rivalry, knowledge acquires a greater market value and the power-games between countries and ideologies become relegated to subsidiary importance. This battle for the 'knowledge commodity' is plainly visible in 'The Disintegration Machine'. The story takes place at an intermediary stage in Lyotard's scheme of events. Nemor knows perfectly well that his machine (which amounts to the 'knowledge' in his head) is a valuable commodity.

⁷¹² 'Oberstein', 'La Rothiere' and 'Eduardo Lucas' from Doyle's 1904 story 'The Second Stain', discussed in chapter two.

⁷¹³ Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 5.

⁷¹⁴ Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, p. 5.

The scramble to recompense Nemor for this knowledge is still conducted at the level of nations rather than companies but Nemor himself is a prototype figure who is able to produce knowledge independently of national or political ideology and purely, in the words of Challenger for 'the base and mercantile and utilitarian needs of commerce'.⁷¹⁵ It is precisely this license that Challenger quells by disintegrating the inventor and refusing to re-integrate him, ensuring that his knowledge cannot enter the open market and will remain, un-capitalised. In the machine's unfinished final function, Doyle again finds a fictional mechanism for halting the 'natural' progression of capitalism along the lines that Lyotard predicted. Despite this resolution, the threat that Nemor posed was representative of a world with changing systems of knowledge distribution. This is the same change portrayed in 'When the World Screamed', albeit from a different perspective. Challenger assembled a vast audience for his experiment. Jones observed that '[a]ll the world seemed to be coming to Hengist Down': 'Peers', 'members of the House of Commons', 'heads of learned societies', 'men of fame in the scientific world', 'three members of the royal family' and (assembled slightly too close to the possible danger) representatives of the press.⁷¹⁶ Challenger then delivered a speech to his audience which explained that he had burrowed through the earth's crust and intended to plunge a shaft into its 'sensory cortex', but which contains none of the theory behind his reasoning. Instead, he proclaimed that '[t]he whole matter is very fully and lucidly discussed in my forthcoming volume upon the earth, which I may describe as one of the epoch-making books of the world's history'.⁷¹⁷ What does this precisely engineered 'performance' become then if not an advertisement for a product? Challenger knows that his experiment will shake the world to its foundations (intellectually as well as literally) and that, in doing so, copy-writers across its surface will record the facts and raise the purchase-value of his commodity. Challenger, like Nemor, understood the value of knowledge in a modern, technocratic economy and his triumph is predicated solely upon his manipulation of this fact. 'When the World Screamed' depicts the frenzy of Challenger's success because he is able to provide his own incontestable means of legitimation. The actual 'science' of his experiment is more or less submerged beneath the sheer size and significance of his gesture and so the knowledge that he

⁷¹⁵ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 445.

⁷¹⁶ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 456.

⁷¹⁷ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', pp. 457-458.

seeks to distribute is free from any of the anti-hegemonic taints that coloured his work before. Its legitimacy is written into the act itself and his re-integration is articulated principally at an economic level. The seeds for his triumph were sewn with his huge inheritance and sealed when he discovers that the whole expense of the project will be 'defrayed' by the subterranean belts of coal that it uncovered.⁷¹⁸ The story, like 'The Red-Headed League' forty years earlier, is settled like a balance sheet.

Conan Doyle's questors, throughout the series, sought to perform two functions: firstly to seek out a truth (be it psychic knowledge, proof of the existence of dinosaurs or observing the break-down of human society) and secondly to alter the culturally formative hegemonic *Weltanschauung* of the popular presses to include their pertinent discoveries. Doyle's struggles with the questions of science, modernity and romance are ultimately reducible to a single problem: the smooth and unquestioned transmission of this knowledge. Knowledge becomes tainted by its association with a perceived grand narrative: *The Lost World* (for all its ironic play) with the colonial project and with the cruciality of scientific endeavour; *The Poison Belt* with its strange and unresolved dual dependence on modernity to affect a reversion to pre-modern values and, most obviously, *The Land of Mist* with spiritualism. Challenger, unlike Doyle, is successful because he disengages his ideas from the taint of grand narratives. This returns us to the problematic relationship between science and culture with which this chapter began. The Challenger narratives, although they resemble popular fictional modes (the quest romance, the invasion narrative) represented a sustained examination of the ways in which the dissemination of scientific knowledge through culture transformed at the start of the twentieth century. Doyle twisted and turned like a semiotician, trying out different shades of meaning for the terms 'science' and 'culture' but, ultimately, found success only in the abandonment of the ethical principles embodied in the commitment to grand narratives.

It is one of the great *clichés* of modernism critiques that modern science ate away at traditional ideologies. In terms of the degeneration of *The Strand's* relationship to Doyle, we see that, whilst the binary opposition is reductive, it does mask many individual struggles that were played out away from the preserved domain of high modernism. The quest romance, with its bluff and uncritical incorporation of

⁷¹⁸ Doyle, 'When the World Screamed', p. 444.

imperialist ideals and its popular appeal was one of the principal conflictual sites as literary modernism began to re-inscribe its literary heritage. *The Lost World* understood the contentiousness of its own form and the contradictory nature of 'modern romance' derived not simply from concerns about the marketability of the form, but also from the knowledge that its implicit ideology can no longer be assumed and employed without some kind of mediation. This reflexivity signalled a fundamental shift from *The Strand's* image as a propagator of culturally-transparent, uncomplicated writing. Once this shift was acknowledged by Doyle, his own fall from grace was prefigured. The ironic failure of Malone when he returns to London was an early negative apprenticeship in the inhospitableness of modern society to certain kinds of idea that are alien to its core paradigms. The cultural and social shifts that were the driving motivation behind the Challenger narratives, themselves sounded the commercial death-knell for the kind of writing that *The Strand* offered. The 'reading community', and all its associated interrelations that Newnes had been at such pains to establish in the early 1890s, had disintegrated.

CONCLUSION

THE STRAND AT THE END

THE STRAND made infrequent appearances in *The Times* throughout its lifetime. Its first issue in 1891 was not mentioned and, until Newnes began to purchase advertising space during the late 1890s, a particularly solipsistic *Times* reader could be forgiven for not knowing of the magazine's existence at all. Because of this, an examination of *The Times* during the 1930s reveals a succinct articulation of the magazine's decline. These appearances can be grafted onto the only real account of the magazine's final years, that of Reginald Pound. It is telling that most critics' interest in *The Strand* ends either with the death of Newnes in 1910 or of Doyle in 1930; their passing is generally taken to be emblematic of the magazine's fall from social relevance. Pound's anecdotal, name-dropping book is valuable but not to be totally relied upon since he frequently quotes faint remembrances as facts and seems highly invested in the myth of *The Strand* as a 'national institution'. Nevertheless, his access to the private papers of his predecessors in *The Strand*'s editorial offices proves particularly pertinent when discussing the magazine's decline.

In the June of most years (1925, 1927, 1928 and 1929 are particularly relevant), *The Times* could be relied upon to comment upon Newnes, Ltd's annual general meeting which included an overview of the company's portfolio of publications, their profits and losses and prospects for the next fiscal year. In 1925, *The Strand* is described as 'more than maintain[ing] its circulation as well as its advertising revenue, which is substantially higher than even the good figures of the previous year'. Attention is also drawn to the publication's continued association with its 'old friend, Arthur Conan Doyle' whose 'new serial [...] will arouse great interest'.⁷¹⁹ That serial would be *The Land of Mist*, a work which signalled nothing but growing ideological schisms between the magazine and its 'old friend'. Pound alludes to the 'pressure' that Doyle assumedly brought to bear upon Greenhough Smith to ensure the publication of both *The Land of Mist* and his articles on the

⁷¹⁹ 'George Newnes, Ltd.', *The Times* (19th June, 1925), p. 23.

Cottingley fairies.⁷²⁰ Similarly, he suggests that ‘most readers [...] recoiled by making fun of Conan Doyle’s latest psychic obsession. The hints grew louder that he was unbalanced by his researches and that his work ‘did nothing to repair the shaken confidence of old admirers’. Greenhough Smith was caught in an impasse between his strong ties (both emotional and commercial) to Doyle and his dependence upon advertising revenue, whose representatives ‘preferred that readers should be pre-occupied by the things of this world’.⁷²¹ Over the next few years *The Times* reports would drift away from using specific figures to indicate growth of profit, circulation or advertising revenue and instead relied upon evocations of ‘prestige’ and ‘tradition’. The 1927 report, for example, notes that ‘sundry debtors show an increase of £30,031, and, on the other hand, trade creditors and credit balances are up by £53,192, both due mostly to increased trading’.⁷²² In 1929, the gradual decline of *The Strand*’s circulation is elided by a re-assertion of its relevance in a changed periodical marketplace:

The Strand will continue to live up to its best traditions. It will continue to lead the way with new and fresh ideas; it will welcome new writers of note, and in this connexion everybody knows how many famous faces were first introduced to the public by the editor of *The Strand*. It is just because of this enterprising policy that the *Strand* steadily continues to maintain both its circulation and its advertising revenue. We have heard recently a good deal about the importance of the search for new markets for British manufactured goods. If there should be any advertiser who has not used the pages of *The Strand Magazine*, I give him his hint [...] ⁷²³

The Strand’s circulation did not enter a straightforward plummet. Whilst it had shrunk from its 1901 peak of over 300,000 to a steady 100,000 in the mid 1930s, it continued to undulate, reaching a nadir of 80,000 before Pound’s editorship began in 1941.⁷²⁴ It underwent numerous regenerations in the last twenty-five years of its life and these spikes in interest were usually precipitated by formal changes in the

⁷²⁰ Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 135.

⁷²¹ Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 136.

⁷²² ‘George Newnes, Ltd.’, *The Times* (13th June, 1927), p. 21.

⁷²³ ‘George Newnes, Ltd.’, *The Times* (27th June, 1929), p. 27.

⁷²⁴ Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 165, 166, 167, 169.

magazine's presentation. These included an increased page size in 1936 and a shift to a pocket-size format in 1941 precipitated by paper rationing. What the reports in *The Times* reveal, however, is that the climate around *The Strand* was changing in the 1930s. As Pound notes, 'popular newspapers' expanded and began 'taking over the magazine function'. At the same time, the leisurely pace of the monthly publication was proving more and more unattractive for the higher echelon of advertisers. For 'the car manufacturers, the oil companies, the food industry [and] the department stores [...] the monthly interval was no longer economically tenable'.⁷²⁵ Because of these factors, circulation by itself is no indication of health in the overall estimation of the industry. The magazine's advertising revenue stalled at the same time as harsh new government levies on industrial paper use were imposed that reduced its budget significantly. Its ability to pay high premiums for popular, established writers was severely affected and Pound suggests that Somerset Maugham stories were beyond the meagre reach of *The Strand*'s fiction budget in 1936.⁷²⁶ The vague allusions of the 1929 *Times* report to 'new writers of note' masked the fact that, unlike in 1925, there were no star authors whose names were synonymous with the magazine and who could reasonably be expected to increase circulation. As a further consequence, the number of 'unsolicited stories' by aspiring authors plummeted from 'four thousand [...] a year' to 'zero [...] Even the more yearning aspirants were no longer trying'.⁷²⁷

The Strand, then, became trapped into a vicious circle where a slump in circulation and the death of its most notable contributors coincided with a sustained period of economic hardship to rob it of its prestige within the periodical field. Moreover, a series of cultural and literary changes left it out of synch with the world around it. In January, 1947 *The Times* mentioned *The Strand* for the first time in five years to observe that specimens of the magazine from the 1890s were going to be displayed as part of an 'exhibition of Victorian fiction' in the 'rooms of the National Book League'. *The Strand* featured as one of the 'typical [...] fiction publishing magazines' alongside 'characteristic examples of the three-volume novel'.⁷²⁸ *The Strand*'s image had become fixed in the public imagination; no new authors or new approaches in the magazine's production had been able to make it keep pace with the

⁷²⁵ Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 151.

⁷²⁶ Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 169.

⁷²⁷ Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 169.

⁷²⁸ 'Victorian Fiction', *The Times* (January 22nd, 1947), p. 23.

world around it. Pound's mournful elegy to his magazine's status in a changing world encapsulates this dilemma:

We both [Pound and his friend, John Dunbar] agreed that the old pre-war uncritical, easy-going conformist line would never serve again, that for survival the magazine could no longer exist as a vehicle of passive entertainment and mere relaxation [...] Communications were swifter and more complex. World events were being reported with an immediacy that was new in human experience. Those were matters of more than editorial interest [...] *The Strand* seldom touched the deeper currents of life and thought.⁷²⁹

The Times marked the magazine's passing in December, 1949 by observing that '[a]fter the First World War the kind of intelligent, well-written adventure story with a plot ceased, for the moment at least, to be written save by a few of the older hands, and with this change *The Strand* was probably already doomed, though the fact was not then evident'.⁷³⁰ *The Times*' assessment is, of course, woefully inaccurate but presents the common understanding of *The Strand* as a publication that was somehow able to outlive the period for which it was fitted and which could now be safely ossified, classified and confined to the mausoleum of literary history.

Pound presents us with an inside view of the magazine's commercial decline and *The Times*' reports show the public image that the company was attempting to broadcast but there is another crucial plane on which the rise and fall of the magazine can be mapped, that of its content. It is from this perspective that science seems to become the determining factor in the story of *The Strand*. This is a rather less dramatic statement than it might first appear, particularly if we use the same, diffused sense of the word that the magazine itself was accustomed to wielding. George Newnes was a great believer in the emancipatory powers of science and put some of his considerable effort into making libraries of affordable scientific and technical manuals available to the public.⁷³¹ The reason *The Strand*'s management of scientific knowledge can appear much more retrogressive than, say, the project of the *Mechanics Magazine* lies in the structure of *The Strand*'s epistemology. It is very

⁷²⁹ Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, p. 152, 146.

⁷³⁰ 'Farewell to *The Strand*', *The Times* (December 14th, 1949), p. 5.

⁷³¹ Bowler, *Science For All*, pp. 79-80.

hard, perhaps impossible, to make a piece of information available without attaching some suggestion of what the recipient should do with it afterwards. The selection process that deemed material appropriate to appear in *The Strand* was exhaustive and this is something that is remarked upon by almost all contemporary accounts of Newnes and Smith's editorial process. Friedrichs, for example, noted that

For many years not a line was published which he had not read and approved. No detail was too slight to receive his personal attention, and at short intervals he made thorough inquiries as to his readers' opinion on this or that page or column, substituting new features for those which had obviously ceased to interest, and always inventing and adopting fresh ideas.⁷³²

[W]hen it came to reading stories sent in to him as editor, he considered it his duty to read them himself, and went to work, perhaps with set teeth, but also with dogged perseverance, reading through piles of MSS., to come perchance only once in a blue moon upon a real pearl of price, whilst every day hours were lost over the task of considering the work of the unfit, the incapable. How often he groaned, but how steadily he went on with it, knowing full well from an experience gathered when once in a way he ventured to delegate the work to another, that his conscience would give him no peace unless he acquainted himself with every article that went into the paper.⁷³³

With such a strong editorial model at work in the first, formative decades of the magazine, it is hardly surprising that the scientific knowledge presented in *The Strand* came coded with specific uses in mind. These uses were, for Newnes, designed for the private enrichment and self-education of his readers rather than for any revolutionary or iconoclastic project. This explains the different models of popularisation examined in this thesis and also explains why, as the new century began, science became a source of ideological conflict. 'Hobbyist' popularisation would be an appropriate term for *The Strand's* early approach to science and its heavy reliance upon narrative and context was relatively unproblematic when dealing with

⁷³² Friedrichs, *The Life of George Newnes*, p. 109.

⁷³³ Friedrichs, *The Life of George Newnes*, p. 129.

the natural sciences and their long history of amateurism.⁷³⁴ The transmission of science post-1900 became an issue because the same techniques were no longer effective. If your goal is to describe the life-cycle of the lapwing then it is relatively simply to describe in non-specialist language and to encourage your readership to follow it themselves with the readily available specimens in their back garden or local park. The thermodynamic issues surrounding the question of the energy crisis comes with no such easy avenues of explanation. Narrative can certainly help to explain the problem but, since the specifics of the problem are too technical, *The Strand* saw no benefit in inflicting them upon its readers. This growing discursive separation exacerbated a problem of 'scientism' that was always present in *The Strand*. Non-specific appeals to 'science' or 'scientific' measures became more commonplace and the idea of science's crucial role within culture seemed to spread infectiously through the magazine. *The Strand* became caught in an *impasse* where its readers had been encultured to appreciate and respond to particular kinds of scientific values that were becoming difficult to sustain. The conflict between the magazine and Doyle over spiritualism and the Cottingley fairies debate were direct consequences of *The Strand's* inability to engage properly with new science. This was a crisis of legitimation where traditional ideas could no longer be easily rearticulated with a scientific or scientific veneer. *The Strand's* unproblematic uses of science were ultimately dependent upon a kind of narrative harmony that was struck between science and tradition. As Karl Popper has argued, real scientific disciplines depend upon challenge and revision. This conflict, that Popper characterises as the perpetual, necessary struggle between rationalism and traditionalism, is exactly the one that was played out during the Boer War and the physical culture debate.⁷³⁵ Science was no longer a static object of study that could be accessed by the layperson who put himself in touch with the therapeutic paraphernalia of self-improvement, but instead threatened the very source of the traditions that would be used to explain it.

It is precisely this kind of personal, long-term relationship with science that is in danger of being written out of periodical studies due to the explosions of online databases and a new emphasis on generic transitions and intertextual links between publications. To treat *The Strand* in this way would be to elide the fact that its

⁷³⁴ See Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁷³⁵ Karl Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 161-183.

enormous popular appeal was derived from a strong editorial culture that centred around one figure, Newnes. It was his 'loathing of all that [was] mawkish, maudlin and morbid, unclean, coarse and abnormal' that precisely dictated the terms under which *The Strand* appeared before the public.⁷³⁶ As such, the forty-year story of the magazine's popularity becomes fascinating for the degree to which it enacts the disintegration of its ideology. Its specificity resided in its longevity and in its resistance to change and this is something that a chapter-length or article-length study cannot fully capture. As Peter Bowler has discussed, the exigencies of the twentieth-century's new epistemologies of science required whole new kinds of popularisation to disseminate them.⁷³⁷ The magazine's ideological baggage that had attended its popularisations in the previous century became an impediment and nowhere was this more evident than its response to the Boer War. *Strand* articles from the early 1900s had naively asked how science would change the world without considering that those changes were already afoot and would seriously undermine the grand narratives upon which the magazine itself depended. Because science in the new century was less accessible to *The Strand*, it got lost in a culture of scientism where no-one was quite clear on where the sources of legitimation resided anymore.

The Strand's history is not unique and similar stories of ideological decline could be told in other cultural contexts. Whilst it would be foolish to make *The Strand* emblematic of 'Victorian' beliefs or of the periodical genre as a whole, its narrative of decline is indissociable from the crises that attended a number of high-profile discourses at the beginning of the twentieth-century. The periodical field was on the verge of atomisation and specialisation that would undermine the popular paradigm established by *The Strand*. The magazine's problems occurred at the same time as the entire field was being drastically re-written by developments in the mass market, in printing technology, distribution and in the construction of readerships.⁷³⁸ Newnes, as a recognisable media magnate, also represented one of the last of his kind; the idea of publications specifically keyed to their editor's public image would also decline in his wake. This is perhaps why criticism is relatively sparse in dealing with twentieth-century periodicals; specialisation, the tailoring of publications for specific groups and interest, does not make for quite so rich an intertextual tapestry as in the

⁷³⁶ Friedrichs, *The Life of Sir George Newnes*, p. 56.

⁷³⁷ Bowler, *Science For All*, pp. 108-110.

⁷³⁸ Sammye Johnson and Patricia Prijatel, *The Magazine from Cover to Cover: Inside a Dynamic Industry* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp. 5-7.

previous century. Ray Eldon Hiebert observes that 'in the last decades of the nineteenth-century, as the magazine market became more horizontal, more *mass* in reach, it also became more vertical, more *specialized* in scope [...] Such specialization continued until it became the prime characteristic of the entire magazine field in the twentieth-century'.⁷³⁹ This is not to suggest that Newnes was emblematic of a golden age of periodical publishing that predated specialisation; he attempted to create a constellation of publications around *The Strand* such as the weekly, religiously-minded *Sunday Strand*, the *Million* which was targeted for children and the more serious, political weekly the *Westminster Gazette*. Newnes' position in the growth of mass culture is crucial not because he represented the last representative of an old paradigm. Instead, his business model's emphasis upon responding to his readers' desires and interests was soon to characterise the whole industry's construction of reading communities. Critics differ in their estimation of precisely when atomisation became the dominant paradigm in periodical publishing, but all agree that, as a direct consequence, the 'grandeur and scope' of 'mass appeal' publications was suffering its 'death throws'.⁷⁴⁰ As such, *The Strand* becomes hugely significant because it at once marks the realisation of the success of such mass appeal publications and also the high water mark after which the magazine form was subjected to the same kind of messy epistemic reformulation that science had been undergoing since the late nineteenth-century. It is my suggestion that *The Strand's* strange status as exemplum and exception contradicts many of the methodological practices that have come to dominate periodical studies. A quick survey of the critical literature that deals with pre and post 1900 periodicals would reveal an enormous, disproportionate difference. The lure of co-opting periodical studies into becoming a wing of Victorian studies is both understandable and hugely valuable in itself. For reasons discussed at length in the introduction, periodicals are highly attractive objects of study in an over-populated discipline. However, this predilection has evidently made material from outside the long nineteenth-century far less appealing. It has been the project of this thesis to follow these recent developments in periodical criticism and to rehabilitate the methodological emphasis of focussing on a single publication. This tension, between acknowledging the intertextual *bricolage* of the

⁷³⁹ Ray Eldon Hiebert and Sheila Jean Gibbons, *Exploring Mass Media* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 177.

⁷⁴⁰ Jill Rosen, 'Finding a Niche, From Ferrets to Tattoos', *American Journalism Review* 24 (November, 2002).

periodical field and prioritising one title, has been subject to constant re-negotiation but is one to which *The Strand's* idiosyncrasies ideally fit it.

The Sherlock Holmes stories suffer no such critical shortage and, as Michael Saler suggests, Holmes is one of those figures who can be happily re-invented by any generation according to its needs.⁷⁴¹ Periodical studies, whilst it may have shied away from *The Strand*, has had even less to say about Holmes, perhaps because his intimidating critical presence threatens the discipline's fetish for picturesque landscapes of un-analysed material. The act of critically reinserting the Holmes stories alongside their periodical co-texts is one that has not been achieved with any real consistency, to do so would have been tangential to this study's overall aim. Piece-meal attempts have been made, though. The dominant trends in recent Holmes and science criticism have focussed very closely upon Holmes' specific uses of science. This is why, 'The Norwood Builder', an otherwise run-of-the-mill story, has been the focus of so much criticism since it is the only story where Holmes analyses a fingerprint. The picture of the stories' relationship to science changes when analysed alongside representations elsewhere in the magazine. The mereological relationship between the magazine's textual constituents is complicated and never obeys any firm rule of strict synchronicity. The background of the stories might not appear especially indebted to the worlds of science or technology but, when considered as part of the magazine's textual construction of London, this proves erroneous. The images of mechanical and electrical efficiency in *The Strand's* non-fiction accord neatly with the technologically-informed backgrounds of the stories and force a more expansive approach to ideas of 'science' in the Holmesian canon.

This thesis has attempted to balance the richness of *The Strand* as a text against its historical significance; there was a constant tension to negotiate between text and context. *The Strand's* significance is not entirely due to its importance as a periodical since, entirely by accident, it represented the point at which developing trends in the organization of science and scientific knowledge were making their final breakthrough into popular culture. If it has seemed pedantic to linger so long on the hundreds of ways that *The Strand* used science in petty, domestic ways then it should be stated simply that this is precisely the point. Bowler and Morus have written, as part of their *Making Modern Science*, a succinct summary of the transitions that

⁷⁴¹ Saler, "Clap if You Believe in Sherlock Holmes", p. 347.

science underwent in the years following the discoveries of Galileo and Newton. Scientific institutions such as societies and universities began the slow processes of specialization and professionalization at the same time as socio-cultural changes after the Renaissance necessitated a move from old models of patronage towards private and public funding. As the financial demands of science grew, so it became lodged as an important arm of both industry and government; it became, in this sense, socially embedded, holding direct influence over the patterns of everyday life. This is highly generalised but, in the long view of the history of science, modern paradigms of scientific practice were established throughout the nineteenth-century:

It was in the nineteenth-century that the growing involvement of science with industry and government, coupled with the resulting expansion and specialization of the scientific community, produced the institutions we take for granted today.⁷⁴²

The Strand's depictions of science come at a significant moment because they represent the point at which a true understanding of these changes was beginning to spread throughout popular culture. The term 'popular culture' has perhaps been slightly misused by studies of 'popularisation' throughout the nineteenth-century. The work of popularisers, as redacted by Lightman and Bowler, certainly broadened awareness of science but historians have proved unwilling to follow this trend to its logical conclusion. The various bastardized forms of science that this thesis has examined are the direct result of science making the transition into a truly popular discourse. If hundreds of thousands of people are able to buy a text (and hundreds of thousands more to read it as a result of private circulation after the act of purchase) then any scientific content will be far too diffuse for any of the ingrained practices of science historians to discuss without something approaching contempt. As a result of this, it takes an approach derived from literary criticism, rather than from history, to properly appreciate the role of science in *The Strand*. As suggested in the first chapter, science historians habitually reproduce the same epistemological hierarchies of the discipline that they examine. This is not always the case, of course, but it is precisely this limitation that frustrated Cooter and Pumfrey when they attempted to

⁷⁴² Bowler and Morus, *The Making of Modern Science*, p. 329.

think about the scientific nature of 'low culture' objects. Literary criticism, by contrast, has in recent years frequently addressed itself to these objects and afforded them attention and respect far beyond all qualitative reasoning. No pamphlet is too small, no short story too gruesome or pornographic to be considered literature and to warrant inclusion in the canon. Both approaches have their self-evident deficiencies but it takes a methodology derived from both of them to properly appreciate the role that *The Strand* played in pushing science finally into the full glare of the popular culture spotlight. For these reasons, it is precisely the mundanity of *The Strand* that makes it compelling, historically relevant and critically underappreciated.

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