



Possessions and Obsessions: Fandom and the Case of Arthur Conan Doyle

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The thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Portsmouth.

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the legacy of Arthur Conan Doyle's most famous literary creation: Sherlock Holmes. This thesis examines the historical, literary, and cultural context that caused a Sherlock Holmes fandom to emerge in the 1890s-1930s. Drawing on a range of resources, including previously unworked material from the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection, Richard Lancelyn Green Bequest (Portsmouth, UK), this thesis furthers the current research being carried out on Sherlock Holmes fandom. The special edition 'Sherlock Holmes Fandom, Sherlockiana, and the Great Game' of *Transformative Works and Cultures* (2017) offers original research that traces the roots of participatory fandom to the 1890s, but there are still large gaps to be explored. This thesis therefore aims to engage with Sherlockian fandom as an 1890s phenomenon that progressed and grew from Holmes' first appearance in the *Strand*. It also examines the previously ignored role of the *Strand* in cultivating a Sherlock Holmes fandom. It does this by looking at the commercialisation of Holmes, as well as the concepts of authorship, canon, paratexts, and collections. It combines existing approaches, such as literary theory, fan studies, and thing theory, and applies it to Victorian and Edwardian culture.

This thesis argues that the *Strand* had a contradictory relationship with Sherlock Holmes fanfiction. On the one hand, the *Strand* used the idea of self-improvement to actively encourage readers to participate in authorship; on the other, they also rigorously enforced a literary hierarchy. Instead, *Tit-Bits* became the place for fans' creative output, including Sherlock Holmes pastiches and parodies. This dual approach to fan behaviours was also present in the *Strand's* attitude to collecting. They produced Sherlock Holmes postcards to be collected, yet also pathologised collectors in the magazine's content. This thesis also argues that the Sherlock Holmes Canon itself offers a self-reflexive and dual portrayal of fans and collectors.

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Introduction

Richard Lancelyn Green

World-renowned Sherlockian scholar, Richard Lancelyn Green, dedicated his life to his many hobbies and scholarly pursuits.¹ His many attributes are celebrated in the memoir *To Keep the Memory Green*, compiled by two of his friends and fellow Sherlockians, Steven Rothman and Nicholas Utechin in 2007. In the memoir, contributors explain Lancelyn Green's varied interests, which included book collecting, cinema and film, travelling, as well as Arthur Conan Doyle and Sherlock Holmes scholarship. His interest in the latter began with his recreation of 221B Baker Street in his family home when he was a boy. (C. L. Green, 2007, p. 58). Lancelyn Green was also heavily influenced by the interests of his father, Roger Lancelyn Green who was a renowned bibliophile, a scholar of Arthur Conan Doyle, and an expert on Victorian literature. Richard Lancelyn Green himself was highly educated, completing his English degree at Oxford University, and his family's wealth enabled him to spend the majority of his time in scholarly pursuits, collecting, and travelling (*To Keep the Memory Green: Reflections on the Life of Richard Lancelyn Green 1953-2004*, 2007).

In addition to the management of a few properties, Lancelyn Green's work was predominantly writing and producing over 200 publications, most of which were related to Conan Doyle or Sherlock Holmes. Fellow Sherlockians in *To Keep the Memory Green* portray a sense of wonder and awe at Lancelyn Green's capacity for knowledge. As Marina Stajic says, 'Richard held a vast store of out-of-the-way knowledge and his knowledge, in general, was practically unlimited' (2007, p. 119). Doug Wrigglesworth summarised it in these terms:

'[w]hat a legacy of scholarship and friendship he has left us all. What better motivation could we have to continue his example of sharing our enthusiasm, our knowledge and our resources among this unique community of friends with whom we share this gentle passion?' (2007, p. 81).

¹ 'Sherlockian' is the name given to the fans and scholars of Sherlock Holmes. Other alternative names include 'Holmesian' that many understand to be the British alternative to the more American 'Sherlockian', as well as 'Doylean' to differentiate those who are scholars of Arthur Conan Doyle, not Sherlock Holmes (although many study both). I have chosen to use the term 'Sherlockian' in this thesis as it has become the more often adopted term for Sherlock Holmes fan-scholars in both American and British culture.

For Sherlockians everywhere, in particular those who knew Richard Lancelyn Green personally, his death was a tragedy that stole from them a world-class scholar, generous friend, and exemplary Sherlockian.

However, the press surrounding his death portrayed him instead as obsessive, pathological, and ‘cursed’. It was publicly known that Richard Lancelyn Green strongly objected to the upcoming sale at Christie’s of a large number of Arthur Conan Doyle’s papers that had been in the possession of Dame Jean Conan Doyle (D. Smith, 2004). She had personally expressed to Lancelyn Green that she wanted them to be donated to the British Library, and he felt that they should not be separated into private collections, which prompted him to attempt to stop the sale and fulfil her wishes. However, days before the auction, Lancelyn Green was found garrotted in his home. An inquest ruled it an open verdict with suicide being the most probable cause but murder was not ruled out. The newspapers adopted the event as a kind of real-life Sherlock Holmes detective story and published such headlines as *The Telegraph*’s ‘Case of Sherlock Holmes fanatic “who killed himself but made it look like murder”’ (Day, 2004), reporting that Lancelyn Green had set up his death to resemble a Sherlock Holmes case and to implicate an American rival. *The Telegraph*’s use of the word ‘fanatic’ fulfils the specific cultural connotation of fan as ‘obsessive’ and the article uses biographical anecdotes to feed a negative slant on Lancelyn Green’s life.

The press also concentrated on the existence of a curse, as it was suggested ‘that people connected with the author [Conan Doyle], [...] seem unusually vulnerable to death or mental break down. Among them were Conan Doyle’s sons, Adrian and Denis, who [...] both died at surprisingly early ages’ (D. Smith, 2004). Friends of Lancelyn Green were manipulated into perpetuating the angle the press wished to portray. For example, Rothman and Utechin explain how the press asked friends of Lancelyn Green to comment on the ‘Curse of Conan Doyle’ to which one friend replied ‘by rubbishing the concept. The next morning, the paper duly reported that he had talked of the Curse of Conan Doyle’ (Rothman & Utechin, 2007, p. 17). The press’ pathologising of Lancelyn Green meant the conspiracy stories spread and the circumstances of his death considerably overshadowed the circumstances of his life. Richard Lancelyn Green’s death acts as a case in point to prove that the term ‘fan’ comes loaded with cultural implications and negative associations that prompt fan groups like Sherlockians to step away from the term entirely. Many prefer to be known as enthusiasts (as explained in more detail below), to define themselves as

opposed to the Other (the pathological fan). Despite this, the media will always have an impact on the way fans are presented. Media both reflects and moulds the way the term ‘fan’ is viewed in culture and this often entails entertaining two disparate and contradictory ideas simultaneously, such as fulfilling fans’ desire for their object of fandom while simultaneously condemning fan behaviours. This thesis seeks to plot the types of fan behaviours visible between 1890 and 1930, asking ‘how did a Sherlock Holmes fandom begin?’ and ‘what obstacles faced early fans?’, taking into account the role of the media in building fan culture. It reconceptualises the history of fandom.

Richard Lancelyn Green bequeathed his extensive collection of Arthur Conan Doyle and Sherlock Holmes ephemera to Portsmouth Library after his death. In 2004 members of Portsmouth City Council spent a total of fifteen days retrieving everything Conan Doyle and Holmes related from Lancelyn Green’s two homes – his house in London and the family home in Wirral where he kept his collection. The collection contains over 40,000 archival items, ranging from manuscripts to photographs to popular culture ephemera. In addition, there are an astounding 16,000 books, many of which are first editions, signed copies, rare books, and secondary criticism, including Richard Lancelyn Green’s own written work; as well as 3000 objects, such as Conan Doyle’s original manuscript for ‘The Adventure of the Creeping Man’. This brings the collection to a total of approximately 60,000 items, which took five container lorries to transport to Portsmouth in July 2005. The collection became known as The Arthur Conan Doyle Collection, Richard Lancelyn Green Bequest and was opened to the public in 2011; the collection is still being catalogued now in 2017, over ten years after taking custody of it.

This thesis predominantly concentrates on the years between 1891 when Holmes first appeared in *The Strand Magazine* and 1938 when the first Sherlock Holmes Society disbanded. It theorises fandom in a historical context, plotting the early development of fan behaviours such as collecting and the writing of fanfiction. It does not present any reasons for Sherlock Holmes’ popularity – a subject that has been extensively looked at and hypothesised, such as Ue and Cranfield’s *Fan Phenomena: Sherlock Holmes* and the special edition ‘Sherlock Holmes Fandom, Sherlockiana, and the Great Game’ in *Transformative Works and Cultures*, edited by Betsy Rosenblatt and Roberta Pearson (2017). But it explores the complex and often contradictory role of the *Strand* in encouraging and creating space for these behaviours, whilst also being disparaging of and

pathologising certain popular behaviours like autograph hunting. It presents close readings of texts such as the *Strand* advertisements, stories and articles in *Tit-Bits*, and contemporary newspaper articles found within the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection and other archives, such as the British Library, as well as digital archives. Lancelyn Green's collection lends itself to an exploration of the historical and cultural context of Sherlock Holmes' first appearance in the *Strand* and the resulting development of a Sherlock Holmes fan culture. The content of the collection extensively covers Conan Doyle's life - Lancelyn Green was building notes for a new Conan Doyle biography, which attempted to account for every day of Conan Doyle's life. The collection also covers many of Conan Doyle's contemporaries such as J M Barrie and contains many original issues of the *Strand*, some of which have retained their original covers and advertising material that are missing from the bound versions and many digital copies.

Fan Theory

This analysis is influenced by the work currently being undertaken within fan studies, which is an area of research that extends to fans of all varieties, from sports to music. Media fandom is a subsection of fan studies that has generated debates surrounding ideas of textual authority, authorship, and fanfiction as a form of resistant culture. For example, the works of John Fiske, Matt Hills, Paul Booth, Karen Hellekson and Kristina Busse, and others have all demonstrated a strong fascination amongst fans with producing content from original works, be it television, film, or literature.² Media fandom covers a whole range of modes from cinema to television to comic books, and has sparked many key theoretical frameworks such as the early ethnographic work of Henry Jenkins' *Textual Poachers* (1992) and Camille Bacon-Smith's *Enterprising Women* (1992). Approaches to media fandom have varied from ethnographic to literary to historical to psychological. I will be using a literary-historical approach to the texts examined throughout this thesis.

Cornel Sandvoss argues that fan theory has often identified fandom as being a subversive, subcultural group, made up of people who are otherwise disempowered because of their race, gender, or class (2005, p. 6). Fan theory assumes that fans are active consumers, that they purposefully interpret and interact with their object of fandom in a way that subverts

² See John Fiske, 'The Cultural Economy of Fandom' (1992); Matt Hills *Fan Cultures* (2012); Paul Booth *Playing Fans: Negotiating Fandom and Media in the Digital Age* (2015), and Karen Hellekson and Kristina Busse's *The Fan Fiction Studies Reader* (2006).

the traditional values of culture. This theory has been influenced by Bourdieu's model of cultural capital (2010), which categorises official forms of culture as legitimate. It theorises an economic model, which proposes that the accumulation of knowledge of legitimate culture will equate to greater social standing. The largest influence on Bourdieu's model is class; the model assumes that lower classes will not accumulate the same level of cultural capital. Fan studies proposes that fans put value in their own system of cultural capital that is based on popular culture, not official forms of culture. As John Fiske has pointed out, Bourdieu's model can be adjusted and extended to include "popular cultural capital" produced by subordinate social formations [...], which can serve, in the subordinate, similar functions to those of official cultural capital in the dominant context' (1992, p. 33). Fans build their own subcultural capital. Such subcultural capital is based on a hierarchy of access to knowledge of the fan object. This thesis argues that hierarchies of knowledge become visible in, and are integral to, the Sherlock Holmes fandom from its creation. However, Bourdieu's model and Fiske's extension of it, assume that fans are always active participants in the building of (sub)culture. This thesis disagrees with this older model of fandom and seeks to expand on current academic research on fans by including passive as well as active fans in a definition of fandom. As Sandvoss suggests, a wider definition of fandom is needed, one that considers the private as well as the public sphere of being a fan. He says,

'we can associate fandom with a particular form of emotional intensity or "affect". [...] The clearest indicator of a particular emotional investment in a given popular text lies in its regular, repeated consumption, regardless of who its reader is and regardless of the possible implications of this affection' (2005, p. 7).

His definition encompasses fans from all backgrounds, maintaining the focus of the relationship between fandom and subcultures, but it also widens the net of scholarship to include less subversive and more consumptive patterns of fan behaviour.³

Karen Hellekson and Kristina Busse describe the division between active and passive fandom using the terms 'affirmative fans' who 'tend to collect, view, and play, to discuss, analyse, and critique' and 'transformative fans' who 'take a creative step to make the world

³ For more on the exploration of subversive culture and fandom see: Alexander Dhoest, Steven Malliet, Barbara Segaert, and Jacques Haers (2015) or Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton (1997)

and characters their own, be it by telling stories, cosplaying the characters, creating artworks, or engaging in any of the many other forms active fan participation can take' (2006, pp. 3-4). However, in practice there is a great often overlap between the two - affirmative activities like collecting can also be transformative - and their definitions do not take into account the effect of systems of communication (such as periodicals and newspapers) on the activities of fans. This thesis therefore explores the cultivation by George Newnes Ltd of an imagined community that was an early version of fandom. Benedict Anderson's work on imagined communities highlights communal effect reading newspapers has; it creates a form of 'mass ceremony' that is:

'performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion' (2006, p. 35).

Such a community was forged by George Newnes' publications, and Sherlock Holmes fans participated in such a ceremony when reading the Canon. For example, libraries were forced to extend opening hours on the days of the *Strand*'s publication because people would queue to read the latest instalment of Sherlock Holmes (Pound, 1966, p. 92). It is demonstrable that Sherlock Holmes fandom developed out of a historical moment where the press and mass media were on the rise and ephemera were easy to come by. Henry Jenkins argues that 'fandom originates in response to specific historical conditions [...] and remains constantly in flux' (2013, p. 3), and it is this historical condition that this thesis attempts to portray and to explore.

This includes the cultural attitudes towards fans and fan behaviours that were prevalent in the 1890s-1930s, including the inconsistent and often paradoxical attitude towards fans and their activities. Such attitudes defined cultural norms and as will be explored, fans were often seen as outsiders to these norms. This thesis attempts to historicise what is 'normal' and 'pathological', while addressing the contradictory acceptance of fan behaviours in the press, alongside a condemnation of the same behaviours as being the result of mental maladies. The issue with this definition is that it requires arbitrary boundaries of 'normal' and 'pathological' behaviours and risks perpetuating the isolation of fans as Other and pathologising their behaviour. On the one hand, it is important to explore these attitudes as

they were because, as this thesis finds, modern conceptions of fandom have their origins in Late-Victorian and Edwardian attitudes. Many fans continue to be described as ‘obsessive’ in their pursuit of their passion, be it football, a television show, collecting, or Sherlock Holmes (Jensen, 1992). On the other hand, this must be done with care, for as Matt Hills discusses in *Fan Cultures* (2002), there has often been denigration of fans in academic work. Hills’ work reviews current critical theories and points to a growing critical questioning of the moral dualism that appears between academic and fan, as well as between so-called ‘good’ and ‘bad’ fan behaviour. He says:

‘[m]oral dualisms are created and sustained by systems of cultural value which defend communities against others. These moral dualisms are made to appear natural by their reliance on imagined subjectivities, so that “we” are “good” while “they” are “bad”’ (2002, p. 36).

This is visible not only between fans and academics, but also within fandom itself where there is a division between ‘good’ fans and ‘the “bad” consumer’ (2002, p. 42). In all of these dualisms, there is an assumption of an Other that is opposed to themselves. This is based upon imagined ideas of the role of the academic, the fan, and the consumer, despite the overlapping interests. Hills’ discussion on the role of the academic in producing critical work on fan theory is important. He argues that fans and academics have similar outputs but work in different systems and have a different cultural hierarchy. He says:

‘The scholar-fan and the fan-scholar are necessarily liminal in their identities (that is, they exist between and transgress the regulative norms of academic and fan imagined subjectivities). This “between-ness” is what underpins the defensiveness and anxiety of both groups, since both are marginalised within their respective primary communities. Equally, neither fan-scholars nor scholar-fans can “properly” belong to the other, secondary community unless they temporarily adopt its institutional norms of writing and practice’ (2002, p. 35).

This division has been the centre of some debate amongst critics who have struggled to delineate between the ‘respectability’ of their academic work and the ‘unrespectable’ subjectivity they have towards their object of fandom, as well as the cultural implications of this division.

As demonstrated by the example of Richard Lancelyn Green, the term ‘fan’ often carries unwelcome cultural meaning to the public. From academia to the press, the reporting of fan behaviours can often pathologise behaviours that are held in high regard by other enthusiasts. Lincoln Geraghty for example has explored the use of the fan stereotype alongside the newer nerd stereotype in modern media and how the perpetuation of these stereotypes continues to engage with and shape how we view fandom and what fans do (2014). As Geraghty says: ‘Negative stereotypes of adult fans as pathological others, who have not grown out of childhood, still form the bedrock for scholarship on contemporary fan representations’ (2014, p. 16). We will see this was also the case for the presentation of collectors in the Victorian and Edwardian era. The pathological or regressed fan image was perpetuated in the reporting of Richard Lancelyn Green’s death. Reporters chose to pathologise much of Lancelyn Green’s life, and this image did not reflect who Richard Lancelyn Green was to his family and friends.

As explained above, this is perhaps why many Sherlockians reject the term ‘fan’. As Roberta Pearson explains, most Sherlockians prefer terms such as ‘admirer’, ‘enthusiast’, ‘devotee’, ‘afficionado’ because these terms ‘disassociate them from the excessive affect and hormone-induced behaviours connoted by fan’ (2007, p. 107). Pearson asks one Sherlockian why they believe there would be this distinction, and the response was:

‘Fans don’t necessarily do “scholarship” as we do, and this was the original impetus behind the earliest SH [Sherlock Holmes] societies [...] a certain amount of knowledge combined with mental dexterity and wit was required for full membership/acceptance [into the Sherlock Holmes Society]’ (2007, p. 106).

There is a hierarchy at play here, as well as a sense of tradition that stems back to the early Sherlock Holmes societies that will be explored in the conclusion of this thesis. Many of the founding members of the Sherlock Holmes Society in London in 1934 were well-educated people including scholars, clerics, and authors. There is also a sense of fear in being grouped with others that are seen to fit the negative stereotype of being a fan. This is somewhat resolved in Matt Hills’ use of the term ‘fan-scholar’, but this term has not been accepted by fans, even if it has been used by media and fan theory academics.

In my analysis of texts outside of the Sherlock Holmes Canon, I will use the term ‘paratext’ where appropriate, as per the definition set out by critic Jonathan Gray who uses this term

to encompass corporate and fan created texts, which includes ‘hype, synergy, promos, narrative extensions, and various forms of related textuality’ (2010, p. 3). Gray argues that modern life is inundated with paratexts that influence the consumer’s choices of what to consume and how they consume it. There are countless ways we interact with a text; for example, when a film comes out we see advertisements, trailers, interviews, behind the scenes footage, sneak peaks, internet forum discussions, toys and other merchandise. We are constantly negotiating and re-negotiating how we interpret the text. Gray says,

‘Given their extended presence, any filmic or televisual text and its cultural impact, value, and meaning cannot be adequately analysed without taking into account the film or program’s many proliferations. Each proliferation, after all, holds the potential to change the meaning of the text, if even only slightly’ (2010, p. 3).

His analysis is limited to the television and film industry specifically and it is based upon the foundation of a modern understanding of the media industry and media fandom. This potentially limits the ways in which the term can be applied to a historical reading of the Sherlock Holmes franchise.

However, his terminology has literary beginnings: he has appropriated the term paratext from Gerard Genette, who first used it to describe the writing of books, including cover, paper, and the name of author. Genette uses paratext as an umbrella term for the combination of ‘peritexts’ and ‘epitexts’, which differentiates where the paratext is found: a ‘peritext’ is located ‘within the volume’ and the ‘epitexts’ are the ‘distanced elements’ (1997, p. 5) found outside of the book. However, Genette’s definition is limited to the form of the book, and I will be dealing here with the periodical, whose format is not considered in Genette’s argument. For example, Genette’s analysis of the placement of author name is based upon the form of a book, an object with a front cover where the name appears once and is not repeated. Gray’s definition of paratext in relation to media is more appropriate because it covers a wider range of texts and so widens the scope for analysis. I use ‘paratext’ to describe those texts that ran parallel to the Sherlock Holmes canon in Britain. They are literature based, which necessarily ignores the kinds of non-textual paratexts that also exist, such as iconography, as well as paratexts found in other places world-wide such as America and Europe, which would also be a profitable avenue of analysis. Due to a lack of space I have limited my research to text-based Sherlock Holmes paratexts found within

Britain before 1930. These paratexts work alongside the canon of Sherlock Holmes as forms of branding.

Collecting and Collections

One form of paratext I have chosen to explore is the collecting of ephemera, which is also an example of fan behaviour. This is firstly due to methodical reasons: there is more surviving material proof of collecting in the Late-Victorian and Edwardian era than less material behaviours, such as the existence of private reading groups. Collecting is a far more material interaction and objects often find their way into archives and museum collections, as well as in personal collections, and is therefore more easily found. If Victorian and Edwardian readers did gather their friends together to read Sherlock Holmes, there is little evidence of it other than the occasional anecdote, such as when the author M R James missed chapel with a university friend to go and read the latest instalment of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* together (James, 1926, p. 178). Anecdotes such as this are individualised examples and are not records of co-ordinated societies (although we can assume there were some forms of reading groups who included Holmes given his popularity and the practice of general reading groups at the time (Wynne, 2012)). Reliance on archives such as the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection for evidence of a historic fandom has its limitations, for although the wealth of archival material available is astounding, every collector has their own taste and their own design or vision for their collection. This limits the scope of a collection, even if the only limiter is access, money, or the span of the collector's life. It is also important to point out that much of this research relies upon periodicals, such as the *Strand*, for access to hard-to-reach ephemera such as autographs. This is not ideal as it is an extra layer of separation between the object (like a signature) and what fans did with it after it was collected. Interpretative possibilities, such as reading the collection as text become limited due to filtered access. However, despite these limitations, the research carried out has been extensive and illuminating.

Collecting is a site of interaction between current and historical fan theory. Lincoln Geraghty states that 'collecting is an active and discerning process that relies on many of the same strategies and processes fans employ in poaching and creating new texts. The collection can and should be read as a text' (2014, p. 14). It is a complex negotiation between mindless consumerism and the participatory and creative role of the fan. Geraghty

explores the relationship between fan collectors and their object of fandom, including the impact of gender on collecting; fan spaces; and the commodification of fandom. He concludes that,

‘the collecting of merchandise represents a long-term financial and emotional investment in a particular film or television series but it does not necessarily transform or change the text in ways that fandom is usually depicted as doing. However [...] I would argue that collecting as a fan practice is at the very heart of what it means to be a fan as it clearly draws “content from the commercial culture” and in the circulation of second-hand and collectible items it represents “an underground economy” that creates and ascribes new meanings to the physical objects bought, sold and traded’ (2014, p. 180).

Collecting not only commodifies a text, it also allows fans to create something from their reading experience. Geraghty’s work has limited application to the experience of fans in the 1890s-1930s, but it demonstrates that collecting is a way of creating a personal history. As he says,

‘Collecting objects, keeping them, organising them and displaying them is then by its very nature about the process of distinction and accruing cultural capital. What you have in your collection identifies your level of fandom. Yet, as I have also argued in *Cult Collectors*, the collection does not make the person – they make the collection. The investment of personal memories in the creation of a collection results in the fact that each object means something, it is given significance by the collector’ (2014, p. 181).

Much of Geraghty’s theoretical framework comes from museum studies, such as the work of Susan Pearce and Russell Belk, whose work on the history of collecting and the museum has also informed much of this thesis.

Russell W. Belk describes a brief history of collecting in *Collecting in a Consumer Society*. He argues that collecting in the way we know it today started in Ancient Greece and that the beginnings of international trade were hugely influential, as it was ‘only after Greek unification by the Macedonian Alexander the Great in the fourth century BC and the subsequent introduction of foreign objects and influences [that] collecting become a popular habit in Greece’ (2001, p. 22). Ancient Greece set a pattern that would be followed

by other countries in multiple ages. Edo Japan and Ming China; sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe all saw an increase in collecting as foreign trade became more popular and the economy strengthened. Belk describes shifts over time in the types of objects that became popular at various stages of European history; from medieval fixation with religious relics to the cabinet of curiosity that rose to popularity in the Renaissance period. The latter form of collecting was a fashion that preferred putting extreme oppositions together, like an ostrich egg with a hummingbird egg, and set the precedent for classifying groups of objects.

The nineteenth century marks the turning point in institutional collecting: the rise of the museum, which some argue began with the Great Exhibition in 1851. Susan Pearce, Rosemary Flanders, Mark Hall and Fiona Morton called it ‘a milestone in the history of collecting’ (2002, p. 3) because it was the first time anyone had attempted to bring such a global gathering of objects under one roof for the viewing of the public. The Crystal Palace became the ultimate curiosities cabinet: its huge glass structure housed a hundred thousand objects from around the world, labelled and displayed for all to see and admire, covering an expanse of ten miles (Picard, 2009). Its concept as an international enterprise was the working of Henry Cole and was propelled by Prince Albert, both of whom wanted to display the wonders of modern industrialisation and manufacturing for the world, emphasising Britain’s lead in the globalisation of trade and industry. However, Susan Pearce points out that between 1800 and 1887 the number of public museums in Britain rose from fewer than a dozen to around 240, going on to more than double to 500 by 1928 (Pearce, 1992, p. 107). This was, she argues, a translated feeling for the sacred ‘into secular and national or civic terms, and linked with the conviction of progress towards superior understanding’ (1992, p. 109). In the early 1900s this developed further with the emphasis of a ‘contextual approach’ that saw objects as passive; ‘the outcome of thoughts, feelings, and decisions which have been taken elsewhere, and of which they are deemed to be a simple mirror image’ (1992, pp. 112, 146).

On an institutional level, systems were beginning to be put into place for the holding of collections and the display of objects for the benefit of society. These systems have changed over time and demonstrate the importance of historical context in the consideration of contemporary attitudes to collecting and collections. Work by critics such as Simon Morgan have highlighted that the biography of objects can be used to analyse the wider

social, political and cultural significance of popular figures. Based upon Igor Kopytoff's work on the cultural biography of things, Morgan states that objects pass through a lifecycle 'during which their lifecycle can change dramatically' - however, in practice this biography is difficult to map and so one can instead 'trace the social history of groups of objects in order to make generalizations about their production, consumption and use' (2012, p. 129). Morgan explores the use of artefacts in the construction and promoting of the reputations of individual politicians, and concludes that objects such as figures, engravings and portraits 'did not simply *reflect* the status of their subjects as political heroes or celebrities, but played an active role in *constructing* them, through the political narratives they re-enacted and their very ubiquity' (2012, p. 145). He believes that objects can act as the 'foci of emotional attachment' (2012, p. 146) and therefore materialised politics in more lasting ways. Morgan's methodology can be applied to other social and cultural aspects of the Victorian era, and in particular this thesis will look at how the commodification of Sherlock Holmes and the ubiquity of his name, reputation, and the associated ephemera reflected a shift in society towards commercialisation and constructed a certain image of both Sherlock Holmes and his fans.

In addition, this thesis makes use of theories of collecting by Jean Baudrillard, Susan Pearce, and Susan Stewart. Jean Baudrillard takes a psychoanalytical account of the drive to collect objects. He describes objects as having two functions: 'to be put to use or to be possessed' (2009, p. 28) which dichotomises the human relationship with objects. He takes the idea of possession further, arguing that no object is singular but must be part of a series and so the drive for possession can never really be fulfilled; instead we are forced to collect objects to repeat the satisfaction of possession. The drive for satisfaction is very closely linked with childhood and sexual development: 'for children, collecting is a rudimentary way of mastering the outside world, of arranging, classifying and manipulating' and 'there is in all cases a manifest connection between collecting and sexuality, and this activity appears to provide a powerful compensation during critical stages of sexual development' (2009, p. 29). The difference between childhood collecting and adult collecting is minimal; he states that both have their root in the anal stage of psychosexual development where there is need for ordering and retention. Collecting is also a way in which collectors satisfy their need for totalization – both of the series of objects and of their construction or perception of their identity, for 'what you really collect is always yourself' (2009, p. 51).

The types of objects that are collected are therefore significant as indicators of how the collector sees themselves, as well as having cultural implications in the way others view the collection.

Yet the need to collect and create an identity is not always a positive thing: he describes it as a 'regressive characteristic' and so, by its nature, it is closely linked to perversions because 'sexual perversion is founded on the inability to apprehend the other *qua* object of desire in his or her unique totality as a person' (2009, p. 56). Therefore, the human body can become metaphorically dismembered and objectified in a sexual way by being the focus of obsession and sexual satisfaction, and is reflective of collections, which are made up of both individual and a series of objects. Baudrillard's summarising line is telling: 'if non-collectors are indeed 'nothing but morons', collectors, for their part, invariably have something impoverished and inhuman about them' (2009, p. 60). By Baudrillard's definition, collectors are not simply searching to create an identity and define themselves in the world, but are stuck in an early stage of development and so have the potential to be perverse and disturbing. The image of the collector is therefore loaded with suspicion: a theme examined later in this thesis.

Susan Pearce on the other hand divides collectors into three distinct types: souvenir, fetishistic and systematic. Souvenirs or memorabilia are 'the objects which take their collection unity only from their association with either a single person and his or her life history, or a group of people, like a married couple, a family or, say, a scout troop, who function in this regard as if they were a single person' (1992, p. 69) and by collecting them people are participating in a romantic view of the world because they create a narrative of personal history even from public events. Pearce investigates fetishistic collecting through explaining how psychoanalysis has adopted the word to mean projecting sexual desire onto an object, or objectified part of a person, as Baudrillard's definition implies. However, Pearce opens up the meaning of the word and argues that its history is in religious, not sexual, object worship. She says, 'the fetishistic nature lies in the relationship between the objects and their collector...who maintains a possessive but worshipful attitude towards his objects' (1992, p. 84). Finally, systematic collecting is, according to Pearce, 'the practice of taxonomy' and 'depends upon principles of organization, which are perceived to have an external reality beyond the specific material under consideration, and are held to derive from general principles deduced from the broad mass of kindred material through the

operation of observation and reason' (1992, pp. 84, 87). Systematic collecting concentrates on the connections between objects and records (or potentially changes) the relationship we have with objects and their history.

Susan Stewart's work *On Longing* takes an extensive look at different forms of objects and how humans interact with them as singular and collective items. In particular her look at souvenirs is of interest to this research as she explores the connection between objects as relative to experience:

'as experience is increasingly mediated and abstracted, the lived relation of the body to the phenomenological world is replaced by a nostalgic myth of contact and presence [...] In this process of distancing, memory of the body is replaced by the memory of the object' (1993, p. 133).

Souvenirs then, according to Stewart, act as substitutes for the lived experience and become a narrative of the possessor. Therefore, when someone collects souvenirs of an experience they are creating a narrative of that experience, which is characterised by nostalgia. When souvenirs become collections, however, context is removed and becomes a 'form of art as play' and a way of creating 'fiction of the individual life, a time of the individual subject both transcendent to and parallel to historical time' (1993, pp. 151, 154). Collections are intensely personal and are dictated by the collector who subsumes the outside world 'to a scenario of the personal' (1993, p. 162). Stewart's view of collecting encapsulates Geraghty's argument that the collections belonging to fans should be read as texts. They are narratives to be read and interpreted. This notion highlights that objects have meaning beyond their physical attributes and their usefulness; as collections they represent personality, memory, nostalgia, and a narrative of oneself.

The Strand and Arthur Conan Doyle

Alongside fan theory and the various approaches to collecting, this thesis uses current periodical research to understand the influence of George Newnes' publications - the *Strand* and *Tit-Bits* - on the emergent Sherlock Holmes fandom. Deborah Wynne for example has explored the development of reading practices in the nineteenth century and described how they can vary tremendously between individuals. In the first instance,

reading had a communal element, such as public readings and the reading of novels or periodicals aloud. Reading was a common weekend leisure activity that ‘could be accompanied by discussions of the plots and characters [...] and expressions of personal preferences and dislikes’ (2012, p. 31). Also common were local book clubs that ‘encouraged the exchange of opinions about the popular fiction of the day’ (2012, p. 32) and established networks of readers. Yet the reading experience for the working class and for women were different to that of middle and upper-class men; women were subject to more control and seen to be more vulnerable. This evidence of reading practices demonstrates the variety with which Victorian (and later, Edwardian) audiences read. It also shows how Victorian reading habits differed from our own and resemble fan activity, despite not being considered as such, demonstrating the need for historical and cultural awareness.

It is also necessary to consider the periodical as multiple parts that make a whole. As James Mussell writes:

‘the components of a periodical number are commodities that must be transformed from their various material forms into a single composite [...] each phase in the production process is historically contingent, and radically alters some aspects of the parts in order to make them compatible. However, this content still proclaims its independent existence, even while being subject to editorial control and constituting part of a combined object’ (2007, pp. 9-10).

An analysis that looks at the individual components of a periodical must take into consideration the historical and spatial context. It must consider the editor’s decisions, such as how an advertisement, article or story fits in with the magazine issue but also the overarching aim of the magazine, as well as the material form of the magazine, for example the placement of images. The periodical allows for the analysis of its composite parts: either page by page, article by article, advertisement by advertisement, but this analysis also considers that parts of the *Strand* in particular have, over time, fabricated a complex set of attitudes and values that were seen to be a mirror of its middle-class readers (Pound, 1966, p. 7).

The Strand Magazine was the innovation of George Newnes who began his publishing career in 1881 with the establishment of *Tit-Bits*, a weekly magazine for the working and

lower-middle classes. *Tit-Bits* specialised in short samples of news stories, popular culture, letters from the public, legal advice and many other topics that were relevant to its readers. The success was immediate and five thousand copies of *Tit-Bits* were sold in two hours (Pound, 1966). As a result of this success, Newnes became a powerhouse of popular news reading. As the *Strand* editor Reginald Pound recalls: '[b]y no reconidite design, [Newnes] had introduced into journalism a formula that allied it with the coming technological advances, showing that food for the mind could be processed like food for the body' (1966, p. 22). George Newnes continued a long, innovative and successful career in periodical publishing and it is because of this that he has come under scrutiny by critics such as Kate Jackson, Christopher Pittard, and Ruth Hoberman for being a principle figure in the wave of New Journalism in the 1890s.

After ten years of success with *Tit-Bits*, Newnes decided to engage with a higher class of readership and he subsequently created a new kind of periodical; one that was self-contained and could be classified as 'cheap, healthful literature' (Newnes, 1891). It was important to him that this new publication was edifying for the middle-class reader. With this principle in mind, the *Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly* was first published in January 1891. It was a monthly edition that first and foremost placed emphasis on the images it bore. The magazine front cover displayed an illustration of the Strand thoroughfare in London and would open to pages of advertisements, followed by a contents page that outlined the journalistic and creative content within. A typical issue would contain short stories, such as Sherlock Holmes or an instalment of *A Romance from a Detective's Case Book*; it contained articles on technological advances like photography or the microscope; as well as articles on popular figures, such as the long running 'Illustrated Interviews' and 'Celebrity Portraits at Different Times of Their Lives', which covered the lives and workings of many important figures from scientists to clergymen to artists. Other recurring articles were 'Curiosities' and 'The Queer Side of Things' that, similarly to *Tit-Bits*, would present snippets of interesting or curious facts. The magazine would end with more advertising, bookending the magazine with the selling of material goods. The intention behind keeping advertising to the front and back pages was to ensure that the flow of the main content was not interrupted by the interjection of advertising material. In addition, it made the magazine easier to collect. The advertisements could be easily removed and the creative content bound together in unofficial volumes by readers. The

layout of the *Strand* brings up questions of reading habits as well as the collecting habits of its readership. There is a clear editorial choice to distinguish the types of texts within the magazine, but this analysis does not attempt to substantiate that the readers of a periodical read their magazine in any given order; to assume that every periodical was read cover to cover in order for example, would be unfounded.

Newnes' principle aim to keep the *Strand* healthful had a significant impact on its content, and his editorial influence has been explored by Christopher Pittard who argues that the contents of the *Strand* very purposely 'reflect the interests of an aspirational middle class,' as well as Newnes' own 'concern with purity' (2011, pp. 67, 69). Pittard's analysis of the middle-class attitudes towards dirt and impurities opens up a discussion of Newnes' influence. Pittard demonstrates how detective fiction in particular attempted to address this anxiety by referencing the debates surrounding public health, vivisection, etc. whilst keeping its own contents unpolluted by potential corruptive forces. Pittard links the stories within the *Strand* with its advertisements, pointing out a magazine-wide ideology of cleanliness and purity. His historicist methodology has influenced my own, and I am in agreement with Pittard that the *Strand* had a very clear purpose, especially in its valuation of cleanliness, but I believe that there is more to the *Strand*'s ideology to consider.

Jonathan Cranfield's recent work, *Twentieth Century Victorian* has attempted to move away from looking at only the *Strand*'s most successful era of the 1890s, which he claims has been over-emphasised by the, admittedly sparse, amount critical of works on the topic; the most comprehensive being Kate Jackson's *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain 1880-1910: Culture and Profit* (2001). Cranfield states that there is 'a clear disinclination to discuss anything to do with the *Strand* much after 1901 when its cultural validity is presumed to have expired' (2016, p. 7). Jackson's work has overshadowed much of the critical response to the magazine and Cranfield's work attempts a different kind of overview of the *Strand*'s success in conjunction with Arthur Conan Doyle's career: from Sherlock Holmes, to *The Lost World*, to his later public interest in Spiritualism. Sherlock Holmes often dominates the discussion of Conan Doyle's career, but his interests were wide and he wrote on a number of subjects, both fiction and non-fiction. Cranfield attempts to give context to the later years of Conan Doyle's career and the *Strand*, for although the *Strand* and Sherlock Holmes have often been considered synonymous with the Victorian era, the desire to see them purely as such obscures 'the fact that Doyle was one of the few

Victorian populists who lived to see the dawn of the first media age and to face the knotty issues pertaining to intellectual property, royalties and new forms of piracy' (2016, p. 224).

The historical context of the *Strand* and its contents (including, but not exclusively the Sherlock Holmes stories) informs much of this thesis. Kate Jackson's claim that periodicals are 'cultural forms' (2016, p. 7) establishes that periodicals are entwined with the cultural context in which they were produced. However, Cranfield's criticism of Jackson's 'somewhat arduous theoretical legwork' (2016, p. 6) that he sees as infiltrating almost all subsequent studies into the *Strand*, sparks an interesting debate as to whether Jackson's emphasis of George Newnes' role in the interaction between editor and audience has been previously over-emphasised. Although Newnes was essential in the establishing of the *Strand*, stories like Greenhough Smith's discovery of Conan Doyle's submitted Sherlock Holmes stories serve to undermine the idea of the *Strand* being a standalone magazine. On the event of Arthur Conan Doyle's passing in 1930, Greenhough Smith recalled in the pages of the *Strand* that:

'It was in 1891 that, as Editor of *The Strand Magazine*, I received the first of these stories which were destined to become famous over all the world as "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes." I have cause to remember the occasion well. *The Strand Magazine* was in its infancy in those days; good story-writers were scarce, and here to an editor, jaded with wading through reams of impossible stuff, comes a gift from Heaven, a godsend in the shape of a story that brought a gleam of happiness into the despairing life of this weary editor. Here was a new and gifted story-writer; there was no mistaking the ingenuity of plot, the limpid clearness of style, the perfect art of telling a story. I saw the great possibilities of a fine series, and said so to Sir Arthur, who has generously written in his memoirs how encouraged he was to go ahead' (1930, p. 228).

Sherlock Holmes' sudden rise to fame was in part a serendipitous meeting of a number of factors. As Jonathan Cranfield describes:

'Had the stories been sent anywhere else first and had they appeared in a magazine not experiencing its own surge of early popularity, it is difficult to imagine their endemic popularity being repeated. They appeared just at the moment when the

name of the *Strand* was spreading dramatically through the periodical landscape and capturing a huge readership. In any case, the success of Holmes made it clear to Smith and Newnes that readers were considerably more interested in contemporary domestic fiction than in decades-old continental writing' (2016, p. 26).

The Sherlock Holmes stories met together the innovative use of the short story, the already rising popularity of the *Strand*, and the talent of Conan Doyle's story-telling to propel the name of Sherlock Holmes into the limelight and bring a generous fortune to Conan Doyle that allowed him to give up medicine altogether. Although Cranfield's *The Twentieth Century Victorian* plots the ebbs and flows of the *Strand*'s publishing history and Conan Doyle's career, this has yet to be applied to the landscape of fan theory and the relationship between the Sherlock Holmes fan and all of George Newnes' ventures, including *Tit-Bits*. It is for this reason that this thesis emphasises the work of 'George Newnes Ltd.' rather than Newnes himself. This is to differentiate between Jackson's reading of Newnes' role as editor/sole proprietor and the role of the corporation, which is made up of its partners (of which Conan Doyle was one (Kerr, 2013, p. 12)) and of its editors, like Greenhough Smith. It does so to gain an understanding of the *Strand* as a business, one that changed and fluctuated with the times. This becomes important when attempting to understand the commercialisation and commodification of literature in the later years of the *Strand*'s history and its parallels with today's fan culture.

This project aims to capture the moment in time when Sherlock Holmes entered into the homes and imaginations of Late-Victorian and Edwardian *Strand* readers. It examines the *Strand* as a cultural influence and attempts to understand how the *Strand* (and its sister magazine, *Tit-Bits*) engaged with ideas of community and writing, foregrounding fan communities. It also looks more closely at collecting as a fan behaviour, examining the evidence of early ephemera collecting and the portrayal of collectors in Victorian and Edwardian culture in the *Strand*. The project is interdisciplinary, but takes a predominantly literary-historical approach, using theories such as fan theory and applying it to periodical publications. It brings into question the contemporary issues, debates and cultural implications of certain terms and, more specifically, of certain objects. In particular it will look at the Sherlock Holmes stories, pastiches, and parodies published between 1891 and 1927. The decision to look at the texts published between these dates purposely excludes

the first two Sherlock Holmes novels, *A Study in Scarlet* and *The Sign of Four* because the heightened interest in these novels only occurred after Sherlock Holmes was published in the *Strand*. For the purposes of exploring how the *Strand* and George Newnes Ltd more widely proliferated the brand of Sherlock Holmes, these novels in their original context of *Beeton's Christmas Annual* and *Lippincott's Magazine* respectively do not apply.

Chapter One looks to the *Strand* and its cultural influence. It examines the notion of self-improvement as a way of thinking about the link between writing and career progression. It explores how the *Strand* fetishized different forms of writing, including how handwriting is presented as an insight into the writing process because it was believed that it could reveal the Romantic notion of author as natural genius. On the other hand, the *Strand* maintained that their readers could become authors themselves, which became increasingly explicit in the 1920s. The *Strand* went from publishing facsimiles of handwritten manuscripts, which demonstrated the processes of publication in the literary market of professional authors, to advertising writing courses for budding authors, journalists, and copywriters. The typewriter further complicated the *Strand's* fascination with handwriting, especially as it denoted a new freedom of professional progression for women and presented new opportunities for fraud and deception. These themes I explore through the Sherlock Holmes story 'A Case of Identity', which exemplifies many of the contradictory and complex ideas around writing, authorship, identity, and professional progression.

Chapter Two probes ideas of canon and authorship, bringing together Barthesian theory with fan studies to explore how Arthur Conan Doyle complicated these ideas when he wrote Sherlock Holmes stories that are not considered Canon. By doing so, Arthur Conan Doyle participated in the pre-history of Sherlockian fanfiction and I go on to explore how George Newnes Ltd, the editor and owner of the *Strand* and *Tit-Bits*, treated Sherlock Holmes. Following on from the themes of professional writing and authorial identity in Chapter One, this chapter questions the role of George Newnes Ltd in producing paratexts that would found the Great Game, where Sherlockians ironically believe in the existence of Sherlock Holmes and Watson as real people and the Canon as a biographical account. I use Jonathan Gray's concept of paratexts to contextualise extra-canonical texts like pastiche, parody, interviews, and articles on Holmes and Conan Doyle. The extraneous material to

the Canon of Sherlock Holmes is extensive, and this chapter necessarily restricts the content to that produced within *Tit-Bits* and the *Strand*.

Chapter Three looks at collecting as a form of paratext that can be both fan-led and corporate-led. This differentiates between the texts produced by the corporation, in this case George Newnes Ltd, and those produced by the fan of Sherlock Holmes. This chapter investigates two case studies of ephemera collecting – autographs and postcards – as historical examples of the way commodification culture and the rise in popularity of collecting established fan behaviours. The chapter historicises the collecting behaviours of modern fans and examines the examples of early Sherlock Holmes ephemera that was produced by George Newnes Ltd and other companies and collected by fans into creations of their own. It considers fan collecting as a form of text production, becoming a creative activity that is characteristic of many fandoms.

Chapter Four considers how the behaviours of fans, in the context of collecting, have historically been pathologised in the press and in fiction. It looks to the Sherlock Holmes Canon and provides an in-depth analysis of collectors within the Canon. It considers the contradiction between the *Strand*'s fetishization of things (for example, it presented objects as demonstration of class, as examined in Chapter Two) and its presentation of collectors as excessive and unrestrained. It looks at *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and 'The Illustrious Client' as examples and explores the characterisation of the collectors within them, as well as the associative links their material collections have with Otherness. This chapter has been influenced by current thing theory and looks closely at the metonymic value of Chinese pottery and butterfly collections, including the disparate and contradictory values of wealth, prestige, and connoisseurship vs death, violence, and regression. This ultimately reflects on the readers of the *Strand* in the way they are implicated in the obsessive characters of these stories.

The conclusion plots the progression of Sherlock Holmes fandom from the individualised and semi-formal behaviours examined in this thesis to the first formal British society for Sherlockians: the Sherlock Holmes Society (1934-1938). It examines the relationship between its members in the run up to the first society meeting, as well as the meeting itself. The society was predicated on a fun, ironic belief that Sherlock Holmes was real and many of its members wrote extensive pseudo-academic articles and books on the subject. They

took the thread of treating Holmes as real that was visible in periodicals like *Tit-Bits* and amplified it; they investigated Sherlock Holmes' life as if he were a historic figure and played on the traditions of contemporary historical, theological, and literary criticism. However, these published works, such as T S Blakeney's *Sherlock Holmes: Fact or Fiction?* (1932), were not always well-received by those outside of the society. Some reviewers felt that the Game was taken too seriously and was too silly for such respected members of society to participate in (many of the members were famous literary authors, as well as doctors and clerics). This negativity was a continuation and demonstration of the cultural fears of excessiveness and naivety seen in Chapter Four; it confirms that fandom and fan behaviours have been pathologised since their inception, causing fear and misunderstanding. However, the Sherlock Holmes Society of London (UK) and the Baker Street Irregulars (US) have been going strong for decades and the judgement of others has not dampened the spirit of the Game or the seriousness with which it is played.

Chapter One – Writing for Money: Writing, Self-Improvement, and the *Strand*

Introduction

The *Strand Magazine* was an illustrated magazine, first published in 1891. It was an innovation of George Newnes, who responded to the growing market for middlebrow publications and he successfully developed the *Strand* as a publication for middle classes. This market expansion of popular periodicals was shaped by the increase in literacy and changes in education in the nineteenth century, which have been well documented by scholars such as P W Musgrave. These changes came in part because of increased government involvement in education; they passed several Education Acts between 1870 and 1902. The 1870 Education Act was an important milestone in elementary education and critics such as P W Musgrave and Harold Silver have discussed the political and social issues that informed the 1870 Education Act such as collectivism, government intervention, and class.⁴ The 1870 Education Act was particularly significant for the working classes as formal elementary education replaced the voluntary system and became increasingly widespread. The Act aimed to publicly fund schools, allowing those who could not afford to pay for education the opportunity to learn; it also ensured education for all children between five and thirteen, and was a first attempt at standardising the quality of education.

However, the 1870 Education Act was not without its problems and there were concerns. One such concern was the level of government intervention, for the Act constituted an unprecedented intrusion of authority into education. The Act progressed the provision of widespread, standardised education and led to an increased demand for education (Musgrave, 2007). Education was seen by many as a means to better working positions, more money, and that therefore could potentially lead to class mobility for the working classes and lower-middle classes as they sought to improve their position. This influenced the increased interest in ‘self-improvement’, an idea I will return to in due course. Despite its potential for class mobility and increased economic success through better education, Gordon Baker has pointed out that the Act was never intended to ‘be uniform in scope, or equitable, or accessible to all’; its purpose was to ‘fill in the gaps’ (Baker, 2001, p. 220) for the working class and improve the baseline of education. The reality was that class mobility

⁴ See for example, Gordon Baker’s ‘The Romantic and Radical Nature of the 1870 Education Act’ (2001); Harold Silver’s *Education as History* (2007), and P W Musgrave’s *Society and Education in England since 1800* (2007).

was difficult and despite the Act's emphasis on increasing education levels, it also served to reassert the class system.⁵

The 1870 Education Act also contributed to a concurrent rise in the mass literature market. Raymond Williams argues that the 1870 Education Act did not open 'the floodgates of literacy' (1961, p. 166) as others have argued, but instead put pressure on the newspaper and periodical market to provide affordable literature for 'the already literate part of the population' (1961, p. 167), allowing a wider readership access to reading material. It was this market opportunity that George Newnes was quick to exploit with the publication of *Tit-Bits* in 1881, a penny periodical for the working class, which sold five thousand copies in two hours (Pound, 1966, p. 20). Following this triumph, George Newnes continued a long, innovative, and successful career in periodical publishing, establishing many new publications including *The World Wide Magazine* (1888) and *Country Life* (1897). The magazines George Newnes created and edited appealed to a middlebrow and ambitious, but as yet unaccommodated, readership. It was through these magazines that he introduced his loyal readership to new technology, commodities, and literature, whilst also keeping true to a principle of health, helpfulness, and education. His business acumen and his principled approach to journalism sparked a shift in periodical publishing. Newnes has come under scrutiny by critics such as Kate Jackson, Christopher Pittard, and Ruth Hoberman for being a leading figure in the wave of New Journalism in the 1890s and for his aim to consciously construct a framework of what it meant to be middle class.⁶

This chapter will look at Newnes' publication the *Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*. The *Strand* was an innovation in illustrated periodical publishing and it was also where the short Sherlock Holmes stories by Arthur Conan Doyle were first published.⁷ In this chapter I shall explore the *Strand's* editorial decisions surrounding the idea of writing.

⁵ Gordon Baker argues that 'The middle and upper classes had already been catered for quite separately, through the Taunton and Clarendon Commissions respectively. The education "system" was therefore national only in the sense of providing something for all, but that something was never intended to be uniform in scope, or equitable, or accessible to all. Education reform of the late 1860s, and 1870, was deliberately hierarchical, yet conciliatory' (2001, p. 220)

⁶ See Kate Jackson's *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain 1880-1910: Culture and Profit* (2001); Christopher Pittard's *Purity and Contamination in Late Victorian Detective Fiction* (2011); and Ruth Hoberman's *Constructing the Turn-of-the-Century Shopper: Narratives about Purchased Objects in the Strand Magazine 1891-1910* (2004).

⁷ There were two Sherlock Holmes novels that preceded the short stories: *A Study in Scarlet* published in *Beeton's Christmas Annual* (1887) and *The Sign of the Four* published in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* (1890). UK publications later dropped the second 'the' from the title to become *The Sign of Four*.

Here, I seek to address how the physical act of writing was presented by the *Strand* from 1891-1930 by looking at articles, advertisements, and stories that involve handwriting samples (often with an accompanying analysis) and writing tools such as pens and typewriters. I will explore how writing was seen in a variety of ways beyond the physical text, such as handwriting, which acted as a physical representation of celebrities' lives, or as a meaningful gesture suggesting personality traits; as well as how writing in its various forms (advertising, journalism, as well as authorship) were increasingly presented as new professions to be aspired to. As Margaret Beetham argues, 'New Journalism not only provided the journalist/writer with the material basis for his recognition as a professional, it produced him discursively as a public figure' (1996, p. 123). The forms of writing featured in the *Strand* fed into an overall message of self-improvement and altered in significant ways over time. As Jonathan Cranfield has stated, many critical studies of the *Strand* fail to 'discuss anything to do with the *Strand* much after 1901 when its cultural validity is presumed to have expired' (2016, p. 7). This chapter will therefore also highlight the 1920s as an important period of change in the *Strand*'s approach to their editorial message. Throughout the 1890s-1920s, the *Strand* assumed an active readership, one that shopped, worked, and wrote, as well as read, and it is through these forms of active engagement that the *Strand* aimed to show readers how to become economically successful.⁸ This encouragement towards writing as a profession coincided with a developing Sherlock Holmes fandom and it creates an interesting tension between fanfiction and authorship. It raises questions of legitimacy in the formation of Canon and what it means to be an author as the *Strand* on the one hand encouraged writing in all forms, but on the other hand they held the writing public at arm's length and did not publish any unofficial Sherlock Holmes stories or articles. These are questions and ideas that will be addressed further in Chapter Two.

Self-Improvement and Economic Gains

At the end of the nineteenth century the middle class were being shown by means of text and pictures that economic and social success was a combination of factors that stemmed from the presentation of themselves and the things they owned. From the time of the Great

⁸ I will be using the word 'writing' (verb) in this chapter to mean the activity itself. For writing in the sense of the graphic sequence of words (noun) I will use whatever form it is written in (type or handwriting). I will use the word 'content' or 'narrative' to differentiate the subject of a written document from the act of writing.

Exhibition in 1851, materiality became increasingly important to the presentation of class. The *Strand* constructed a specific and idealised view of the middle class. Jonathan Cranfield argues that the *Strand's* 'multifaceted image of England' was a:

'beautiful, languorous mixture of wilful ignorance, wishful thinking and skilful fantasy. While purporting to give its readers and intimate sense of their environment and of their role within it, the *Strand* instead told them the lies that they wished to hear' (2016, p. 39).

Cranfield's assessment of the *Strand* in the 1890s is starkly more critical than Reginald Pound's, whose analysis supposes the *Strand* readership was a community of middle-class families with fixed values. Pound says:

'the middle-classes of England never cast a clearer image of themselves in print than they did in the *Strand Magazine*. Confirming their preference for mental as well as physical comfort, for more than half a century it faithfully mirrored their tastes, prejudices, and intellectual limitations' (Pound, 1966, p. 7).

Pound perpetuates the view that the magazine's ideal values were simultaneously constructed and reflected. His assessment also relies upon an idealised readership who were desirous of the qualities of health and comfort that came with material goods and a wage to support a comfortable lifestyle. These qualities, according to Pound, are synonymous with the middle class. What both analyses have in common is that the *Strand* responded to and constructed an ideal middle-class reader/consumer.

However, the readership was far more complex and far-reaching than Pound sets it out to be. To begin with, 'middle class' covered a whole range of different occupations, income and lifestyles, from periodical owners like Newnes, to doctors like Conan Doyle, to lower level clerks. The term 'middle class' can be defined in a variety of ways: culturally (such as values), socially (behaviour, one's social circles), and/or economically (salary or type of work), but there are areas of overlap that make definitive demarcations near impossible. The divide between working and lower-middle class, for example, was not always precise or wide. Geoffrey Spurr claims that 'the primary attribute which separated the lower-middle-class clerk from the working classes was his work, which relied solely on the clerk's mental power, as opposed to the physical power of the manual labourer' (Spurr, 2002, p. 277). His definition is economic: a middle class family could afford servants,

public schooling, and respectable housing (Spurr, 2002). A clerk was also paid a salary rather than a wage. Spurr argues that the lower-middle classes were keen to keep up appearances through lifestyle and the show of material goods and were therefore often searching for ways to improve their station and become more financially secure in order to sustain such living. This put pressure on clerks to ‘find self-improving agencies to further their goals of middle-class respectability’ (Spurr, 2002, p. 275) and so, Spurr says, they looked to agencies such as the YMCA.

The *Strand*, with its principled, idealistic outlook on middle-class life, and relatively cheap price, allowed a lower-middle class reader to enjoy its contents without fear of reading something immoral or too sensational.⁹ The ‘lies that they wished to hear’ (Cranfield, 2016, p. 39) included not only how to live an idealistic middle-class lifestyle, but also the promise that it was attainable. The *Strand*, through its presentation of exemplary professionals and celebrities, and through its advertisement of education materials, promoted the principles of self-help, which was an individualistic ideal that emphasised reaching one’s fullest potential physically, mentally, and morally. Self-help was popularised through texts such as Samuel Smiles’ *Self-Help* (1859) in which there was an emphasis on activity being the predominant way to improve oneself. One such method was through education, which as Raymond Williams describes, developed ‘the required social character – habits of regularity, “self-discipline”, obedience, and trained effort’ (Raymond Williams, 1961, p. 141). In *Self-Help*, Samuel Smiles uses anecdotal evidence to teach his methods. He presents stories of people who implemented the ideals of self-help and subsequently achieved the success he sets out as being possible. It is through these examples that readers learn that, “strenuous application was the price paid for distinction [...] It is the diligent hand and head alone that maketh rich – in self-culture, growth in wisdom, and in business’ (1859, p. 15). Smiles’ definition of the aims of self-help were more than economic, but economic success was an outward sign of inward improvement. He presents success in

⁹ It should, however, be noted that not everyone agreed that Newnes’ literature was edifying: instead believing it was undesirably populist (Pound, 1966, p. 11). The literary community debated fiercely the quality and safety of popular publications like the *Strand*. George Gissing for example attacks Newnes’ publication *Tit-Bits* in *New Grub Street* (1891). Publishing giants like Newnes were bringing to the world a new brand and a new class of authors whose writing were central to the quality debate: the industry was being inundated with populist writers, who were seen to be a direct consequence of the rise of education and the propaganda that self-improvement was the gateway to professionalisation and social mobility. See for example, Peter D McDonald’s *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice, 1880-1914* (1997) pp. 123-126.

business as the natural conclusion of a moral, educated man; the inward change was rewarded by an elevated social standing. George Newnes himself represented the Victorian archetype of the self-made man. As his business succeeded, his economic and social standing increased: he went from being a lower middle-class clerk to a high middle-class editor, businessman, and owner, achieving a high level of income and fame. Kate Jackson argues that Newnes ‘combined business and benevolence with great success’ (2001, p. 25) and he invested his wealth into many beneficial community schemes such as the Cliff Railway between Lynmouth and Lynton. Newnes’ reputation acted as an example to his readers.

The *Strand*, too, uses anecdotal evidence to present how hard work and good character could equate to economic success. This was particularly true of authors. Take for example, the story of Arthur Conan Doyle’s rise to fame in the ‘How I “Broke Into Print”’ series in February 1915. These ‘personal statements of well-known authors’ (“How I “Broke Into Print”,” 1915, p. 155) encapsulate a few the *Strand*’s contradictory messages about success and authorship. Conan Doyle’s recollection of his humble beginnings begin in his childhood where he captured the attention of his classmates with stories in exchange for pastries. It was, he says, demonstrative of his being ‘born to be a member of the Authors’ Society’ (“How I “Broke Into Print”,” 1915, p. 155). Conan Doyle believes that his literary talent was inherent and although he suffered through some parochial, unsuccessful juvenilia, his ability to tell stories was inborn. This, however, did not ensure his success and the ‘good old harsh-faced schoolmistress, Hard Time’ (“How I “Broke Into Print”,” 1915, p. 155) taught him lessons in patience and cultivating his craft. As he states, ‘during ten years of hard work I averaged less than fifty pounds a year from my pen’ (“How I “Broke Into Print”,” 1915, p. 155). There is no secret to success, claims Conan Doyle, there is no ‘back-door by which one may creep into literature’ (“How I “Broke Into Print”,” 1915, p. 155), success comes from hard toil, repeated efforts in the face of rejection, and unwavering faith. His reward came in the form of *Micah Clarke*, which was published (after multiple rejections from other firms) by Messrs. Longmans, and Conan Doyle was relieved to find that he was ‘spared that keenest sting of ill-success, that those who had believed in your work should suffer pecuniarily for their belief’ (“How I “Broke Into Print”,” 1915, p. 155).

Conan Doyle's statement of his oscillating success as an author is an interesting insight into the traditional Romantic notion that authors were born geniuses juxtaposed with the increasing commercialisation of authorship.

On the one hand, Conan Doyle's autobiographical story is a lesson in how to get published; the article series itself is an explanation of how various authors 'broke into' print. Its aim is to provide anecdotal evidence of successful authors that could be replicated, but also merits the interest of the casual reader. Conan Doyle's story demonstrates the hard work and dedication it takes to break into the publishing business, showing him to have an industrious character. Success was not handed to him; it was earned. There is an assumption too that Conan Doyle's work as an author before *Micah Clarke* did not constitute that breakthrough, despite having works published before. Conan Doyle instead suggests that one cannot call oneself an 'author' simply because one has published, there is also an unspoken level of economic reward that comes with 'breaking through' and is a mark that one must hit before being called a success. This he has achieved through resilience and painstaking writing. On the other hand, there is also an intimation in Conan Doyle's language that the quality of his adult work was never in question, for 'in time they all lodged somewhere' ("How I "Broke Into Print", 1915, p. 155). The failure was in finding somewhere for his work to be published. Conan Doyle makes explicit that the publishing industry is not always quick to recognise good quality literary works, or else they refuse to take the risk that quality will not equate to commercial success (as was the case initially with *Micah Clarke*). He believes that it takes perseverance to get a piece published, but once you have created a commercial success, the door 'into the temple of the Muses' is open and you only have to 'find something that was worthy of being borne through it' ("How I "Broke Into Print", 1915, p. 155). This final metaphor is a fascinating one: it implies that success incurs success, but also fashions the Romantic idea of authorship as inspired. Conan Doyle was, he paradoxically claims, both born to be an author and yet created one by his financial success with *Micah Clarke*.

This inconsistent logic of authorship was typical of the *Strand*'s treatment of authors as celebrities. The *Strand*, particularly throughout the 1890s, published numerous articles and interviews with celebrities. Running features such as 'Illustrated Interviews' were filled with content about the lives of public figures such as religious men and scientists, as well as

actresses and singers. Richard Salmon notes that the celebrity interview was ‘a medium through which both the journalist and the reader might hope to discover the authentic “nature” of famous individuals’ (1997, p. 162). This desire to gaze upon the spectacle of the celebrity led to an increasing number of interviews being carried out at celebrity’s homes. The conversation between celebrity and journalist in ‘Illustrated Interviews’ was often accompanied by a description of the celebrity’s home and photographs of various rooms. Harry How’s interview with Edmund Yates for example includes Yates’ personal reminiscences of Charles Dickens, but also a description of his dining room (with accompanying photograph), which ‘savours of hospitality and excellent company’ (1893, p. 82). Much of the house, How states, is ‘rather suggestive of the host’ (1893, p. 82). How indicates that the interview provides privileged access not only Yates’ person, but also the materiality of his home, which acts as a readable sign of his character. The effect of the celebrity interview is, as Richard Salmon states, ‘not so much to dispel the aura of fame as to produce and reinforce it’ (1997, p. 166). The notion of the Romantic genius has much in common with celebrities, particularly in the way the periodical press treated them as innately worthy of attention. For authors, such as Conan Doyle, it also reinforced the Romantic idea of author as genius, ‘creative rather than imitative; innate rather than learned; exalted; original; and *rare*’ (Higgins, 2009, p. 42). Higgins describes elsewhere that the attributes of the genius author were believed to be discoverable ‘and comprehended through examining appearance, personal habits, and private manners of authors’ (2005, p. 46). The Romantic genius and celebrity were treated similarly; they both were presented as having innate qualities that made them special and from the time of Edmund Yates’ series ‘Celebrities at Home’ in *The World* (1877-79) there was an increased demand for more personal accounts of celebrity authors from readers.¹⁰

The treatment of celebrities changed over the course of years from the 1890s to the 1930s. Jonathan Cranfield describes how the rise of film and radio stars generated an entirely new industry by the 1920s; magazines were becoming more specialised in content, often with a focus on celebrity such as *Cosmopolitan*, which meant that ‘the *Strand*’s model of celebrity reportage (built upon esteem, success and achievement rather than good looks or cultural prominence) was made to appear suddenly dreary and significantly out of date’ (2016, p.

¹⁰ According to Richard Salmon, Yates ‘pioneered many of the rhetorical strategies that came to distinguish the interview as a discursive form’ (1997, p. 166).

193). Cranfield argues that this ‘represented a death knell for one of the *Strand*’s key cultural objectives: to build a community and consensus through a kind of *leitkultur* that blended fiction with commentaries on other aspects of culture, politics and science’ (2016, p. 195). However, there was a shift in the advertising in the *Strand* from the 1910s that increasingly geared itself towards a writing audience; they shifted the weight of their advertising content from pens and typewriters to a significant increase in the offer of courses for key business skills such as writing, drawing, and foreign languages. Readers were increasingly and more explicitly encouraged to participate in a writing culture for economic success, which erased the aura of celebrity that was created through the celebrity interviews.

Celebrities, Authors, and their Handwriting

The *Strand* emphasised images as part of their editorial message. Its full title, *The Strand Magazine: an Illustrated Monthly* set out its aim to be a magazine full of illustrations, photographs, and images. Christopher Pittard demonstrates through his analysis of the Sherlock Holmes illustrations that pictures were just as controlled by the values of the *Strand* as its written content (Pittard, 2007). He establishes that the editorial aim of the *Strand* was to construct a visual magazine that placed text and pictures together in a co-operative way and that the ability to interpret images became an essential skill for readers (2007). Graphics in the *Strand* imposed themselves on almost every page, which sometimes included one hundred pages of advertising material to 120 pages of editorial content, separated into two distinct sections. Sara Thornton calls the implementation of pictures in advertisements a new multi-media format, stating that ‘text becomes in some measure pictorial [and] image also becomes textual’ (2009, p. 13). Images created what Stuart Sillars calls a ‘single mixed discourse’ (1995, p. 76) that worked towards a common understanding when read alongside the text.¹¹

In articles on celebrities, and particularly those that involved authors, the *Strand* often included facsimiles of handwriting from letters and manuscripts. Take for example the article ‘The Centenary of Robert Burns’ (1896): here Alexander Cargill writes a

¹¹ For further critical discussion of the workings of illustration see: Lorraine Kooistra’s *The Artist as Critic: Bitextuality in Fin de Siècle Illustrated Books* (1995); J Hillis Miller’s *Illustration* (1992); Gerard Curtis’ *Visual Words: Art and the Material Book in Victorian England* (2002), and Stuart Sillars’ *Visualisation in Popular Fiction 1860-1960* (1995).

biographical account of Robert Burns' life, his rise from impoverished beginnings to poet of wide renown. Cargill comments that Burns moved freely among the higher class despite his humble background, saying:

‘What Burns himself thought of it all is, however, left on record in numerous letters to his friends and correspondents, and an excerpt from one of the most interesting of these, showing a facsimile of the poet’s characteristic handwriting is reproduced on this page’ (1896, p. 54).

This facsimile allows the reader to interrogate Cargill’s claims (see Figure 1). It acts as evidence for the biographical information provided and allows the fantasy of a more intimate engagement with the author. The *Strand* did this elsewhere such as in the ‘Captain Scott’s Own Story: Told From His Journey’ series in 1913 that set out the story of the fatal British Antarctic Expedition of 1910-13 where extracts from Captain Scott’s diary were included as proof of the textual account. Elsewhere, such as in the *Strand*’s ‘The Mary Celeste: The True Solution?’ (1913), it performs the same function as the extra textual material included in tales such as Rider Haggard’s *She* (1887) to evidence the ‘truthfulness’ of the fictional story being told.¹² Michael Saler has commented how Haggard facilitated ‘imaginative immersion while encouraging ironic detachment’, which would create such an imaginary world that it ‘assumed a virtual life of its own’ (2012, pp. 71, 73) in much the same way as it did for Conan Doyle. Nevertheless, the presence of handwriting as ‘evidential proof’ demonstrates the power of handwriting as an insight into biography.

The facsimile of Burns’ handwriting was seen as a voyeuristic insight into Burns’ psychology at the time of writing.¹³ Handwriting was believed to allow the reader to gaze

¹² The Mary Celeste was a ship that was found abandoned out at sea in 1872, in perfect condition. No one knows what happened. The *Strand*’s article ‘The Mary Celeste The True Solution of the Mystery?’ (1913) offered ‘Abel Fosdyk’s story. Told in his own words’ (“The Mary Celeste: The True Solution of the Mystery?,” 1913, p. 487) through his manuscript. The story was told as a true account but its accuracy has since been brought into question and has more in common with *She* than with the factual accounts of Captain Scott. For a greater explanation of the case see Paul Begg’s *Mary Celeste: The Greatest Mystery of the Sea* (2005). Begg explains the many factual inaccuracies of the *Strand*’s story that proved the article to be a fabrication.

¹³ Jean-Hippolyte Michon coined the phrase ‘graphology’ to describe the branch of handwriting analysis that believed handwriting revealed person’s soul, mind, and personality (Schäfer, 2016, p. 308). For further reading see Helmut Ploog’s *Handwriting Psychology: Personality Reflected in Handwriting* (2013) and Armin Schäfer’s ‘Graphology in German psychiatry (1870-1930)’ (2016).

For my own affairs I am in a fair way of becoming
as eminent as Thomas a Kempis or John Bunyan.
and you may expect henceforth to see my birthday inserted
among the wonderful events, in the poor Robin's and Aberdeen
Almanacks, along with the black Monday, & the battle
of Bothwell bridge. — My lord Glencairn & the Dean
of Faculty, M^r J. Erskine have taken me under
their wing; and by all probability I shall soon be the
tenth Worthy, and the eighth Wise Man, of the world.
Through my Lord's influence it is inserted in the records
of the Saledonian Hunt that they universally, one & all,
subscribe for the 2^d Edition —

FACSIMILE OF BURNS'S HANDWRITING.

Figure 1 (Cargill, 1896)

upon the qualities of the author and so such facsimiles were believed to give privileged access to celebrities and people of note so that their greatness could be seen and appreciated. J H Schooling laid out the methodology for this form of analysis in the article 'Written Gesture' (1895) for the *Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* where he puts in no uncertain terms that human gesture, of which handwriting is part, is completely observable to an expert eye. He says,

'it is quite permissible to regard handwriting as a series of gestures which do bear a true relation to various mental conditions, and which may be brought into line with many other peculiarities of physical movement that common experience has taught all of us in various degrees to be expressive of individual character [... consequently] any fairly experienced man could habitually read the mind of another like an open book' (1895, p. 479).

The *Strand* readers were aware of Schooling's system of analysis as the *Strand* published numerous articles by him analyzing handwriting, manuscripts, and signatures of famous figures (notably Charles Dickens, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Napoleon Bonaparte, and Thomas Carlyle). By including samples of handwriting and manuscript facsimiles, the *Strand* fetishized handwriting as an object of value, making the content of the letter less valued than the handwriting itself as an insight into the personality of the author.

Through Schooling's articles for the *Strand*, loyal readers were versed in how to read handwriting for signs of personality. For example, consider his article 'The Handwriting of Thomas Carlyle' published in the *Strand* in 1894: his approach, here, is to give readers an insight into the personal life and biography of Thomas Carlyle through extracts of letters and samples of reproduced handwriting. Through 'scientific' and 'expert' observation, Schooling demonstrates how he believes handwriting could reveal character; for example the 'small, strongly-compressed, and simple gestures' Thomas Carlyle makes are proof of his 'dogged grit' and determination (1894, p. 362). Schooling uses handwriting as a medium to unveil the nature of Carlyle; his approach replicates the growing art of the celebrity interview, which Richard Salmon argues was a 'hermeneutic practice' designed to 'discover the authentic "nature" of famous individuals' (1997, p. 162). According to Armin Schäfer, graphology was both 'a hermeneutics and a science of

handwriting' (2016, p. 308). Sherlock Holmes makes a similar connection between interpretation and science in *The Sign of Four*, stating that 'men of character always differentiate their long letters, however illegibly they may write. There is vacillation in his k's and self-esteem in his capitals' (Doyle, 2009s, p. 96). Holmes uses a system of interpretation that equates handwriting to certain behavioural characteristics; it is a scientifically observable gesture that is inextricably connected to the respectability of the writer.

Schooling displays authorial handwriting and signatures in a way that is reminiscent of taxonomical practices (see Figure 2); it puts before the reader an assembly of reproduced graphics of texts that assert themselves as being characteristic of this person's handwriting (sometimes over a period of years). According to Susan Pearce, the practice of taxonomy:

'depends upon principles of organization, which are perceived to have an external reality beyond the specific material under consideration, and are held to derive from general principles deduced from the broad mass of kindred material through the operation of observation and reason' (1992, p. 87).

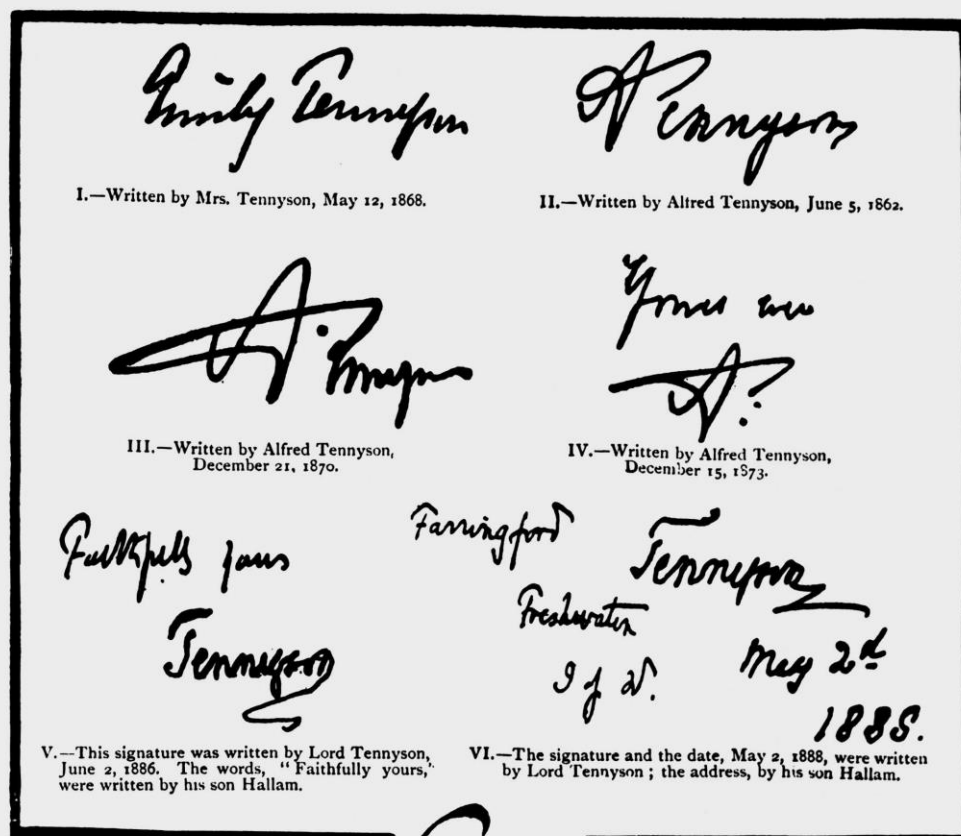
The handwriting samples delineate the measure of respectability that is expected from celebrities. As an exhibition, these articles are meant for the spectator, presenting a series of exemplary objects for observation. However, it also introduces a physical distance between the observer and the object. In a museum this would often be a glass case to prevent the onlooker touching the object. In this instance, the object (handwriting sample) is reproduced in the *Strand*'s pages making the original untouchable. Schooling makes the significance of this is clear in his description of his experience of seeing the handwriting of Alfred Lord Tennyson in person:

'So perfect are the plates lent to me that but a slight effort of imagination is needed to believe that in possessing one of these "large paper" copies of the Poems, one also possesses a selection of leaves from the original manuscript – each page is a veritable work of art' (1894, p. 599).

The tactility of the object is lost in its reproduction.

The veritable distance between the object and its reproduction creates a physical boundary for the metaphorical one that supposedly separates normal people from the genius author. Its physically separates the celebrity from the reader and in doing so, protects the celebrity author from prying eyes. Charlotte Boyce has pointed out, for example, that there was a common ‘underlying hypocrisy’ when dealing with Tennyson, as articles wanted to cater for curiosity but Tennyson’s dislike of fame was so well known that they had to set out ‘legitimising techniques designed to intimate authority and authenticity’ (2013, p. 23). There was a need for articles such as Schooling’s to establish a tone of respectability; to give privileged access without seeming intrusive. This is why all of the samples of Tennyson’s handwriting have come from legitimate collections and are not from autograph hunters who reportedly hounded Tennyson’s home. This also serves to elevate the status of the celebrity as a person with extraordinary talent and characteristics, making the observation of their life all the more appealing as a glimpse into the inner workings of their supposedly inherent talent. Tennyson, for example, is a man whom ‘Nature coined great’ (1894, p. 608). To observe an author’s handwriting is to look upon the mind of a genius, but also serves as a reminder that their talent is irreproducible by those who are not inherently and characteristically talented. It separates the reader from the author.

Authors like Thomas Carlyle and Alfred Lord Tennyson were held in high regard and there was a paradoxical treatment of them as both natural geniuses and hard-working professionals. This paradox was particularly evident in the Strand’s treatment of the manuscript as a transitional object: it is inscribed as the boundary between writing process and reproduction. We see this in the article ‘How Novelists Write for the Press’ (1891), written in the first year of the magazine’s history, which sets the tone for the treatment of manuscripts in the Strand in the following years. The article is predominantly composed of reproduced manuscripts, preceded by a very short introduction. It claims the manuscripts demonstrate ‘what methods are peculiar to each individual’ in preparing a manuscript for print (“How Novelists Write for the Press,” p. 295). This preface dictates that manuscripts



No. 11.—A comparison of signatures, etc., handwritings of his wife and his son Hallam. may be seen to exist in these three handwritings, letters, genuine and otherwise, of the Poet

fulfilment of her duties in answering these worthless letters to her husband.

In No. 11 we have perhaps what is the most interesting illustration of this paper, and one that I hope will be useful. It is a comparison of three handwritings: Alfred Tennyson's, his wife's, and that of his son Hallam. The wife and the son frequently wrote in the name of the husband or of the father, and mistakes about Lord Tennyson's letters are common even amongst those who have some knowledge of autographs. When one sees a portrait of Lord Tennyson with a signature of his son facsimiled underneath, and letters facsimiled in widely-circulated journals as being those of Lord Tennyson, but which were not written by him, it is then time to set right the mistake—not to deal with the aspect of the case which arises when

written by Alfred Lord Tennyson, with the Despite the many points of difference which mistakes frequently occur in connection with Laureate.

we note that a genuine signature is worth from £1 10s. to £2.

If any observant person will take the trouble to compare, for example, the "Tennyson" of I. and II. in No. 11, the signatures

of VI. and VII., etc., he will see that they could not possibly have been written by the same hand. There is a certain general likeness between some of these specimens, but there remains no real likeness when we come to compare the movements which formed the letters of each of these signatures, etc.

No. 12 relates to a malignant attack upon Tennyson's reputation as a poet: "Make him out a third-rate poet," wrote the man who, in a disclosed letter, instigated the attack—a "slashing" attack was also advised by this gentleman. We see here how Alfred Tennyson quietly ignored the attack and refused the offer of his correspondent to defend him.

are as individualised as the handwriting that makes them and emphasises the authorial process as just that: a process, a method of writing. It strips away the Romantic notion that texts are the product of free, creative writing; instead they are subjected to editing and the manuscripts exhibit these mistakes, as well exhibiting the process of turning handwriting into print.

The reproduction of Grant Allen's manuscript for 'Jerry Stokes' in 'How Novelists Write for the Press' sparks particular interest because it preceded the printed version of the story itself (1891) (see Figure 3). Readers could compare the first page of the manuscript to the publication, looking for alterations and similarities, and were immediately aware of the trajectory from manuscript to the full typeset version. The immediacy of the relationship between author, manuscript, and story brings the reader closer to the publication process. The layout of the double spread, with the manuscript on the left and the printed page on the right, recreates the movement from manuscript to printed page. It also requires the reader to turn the page ninety degrees to read one and then the other, making the reader work to compare the two. Allen's manuscript acts as a behind the scenes glimpse into the process of publishing. The story before the reader has demonstrably been through a process.

'Jerry Stokes' is a liberal critique of capital punishment; the story is based around Stokes who in the course of his work as a hangman, becomes convinced that a convicted man is actually innocent. It causes Stokes to question the decency of his profession and the proficiency of the law to carry out true justice. The first line of the story introduces the title character, Jerry Stokes, but the difference between the opening lines of the manuscript compared to the print is marked. In its original form the opening line reads 'Jerry Stokes was the provincial hangman' ('How Novelists Write for the Press,' 1891, p. 298), but the manuscript has been amended to what becomes the print version, stating, 'Jerry Stokes was a member of Her Majesty's civil service. To put it more plainly, he was the provincial hangman' (1891, p. 299). The two beginnings place the emphasis on different aspects of Stokes' character: the former introduces his job role, an essential piece of the story given its central theme is the critique of capital punishment; the latter emphasises instead his position as a servant of the Queen and his moral standing as an upright citizen, contributing to the function of society. This reasoning is reflected in Stokes' choice to not attend court: 'he was a kind-hearted man his friends averred, and he knew that his presence in court

Jerry Stokes
The Provincial Hangman
=

a reader of his despatches and notes. To put it more plainly, he was
Jerry Stokes was the provincial hangman. Not a man in all Canada, he used
to boast with pardonable professional pride, had turned off as many famous murder-
ers as he had. He was a pillar of the constitution, was Jerry Stokes. He represented
the Executive. And he wasn't ashamed of his ^{office, either} post, quite on the contrary, zeal for his
vocation more visible in his face. If it were not for him and his utensils, he had
to say to the ^{that stood him that} ~~gaping~~ crowd, in the saloons, no man's life would be safe for a day
in the Province. He was a practical philanthropist, a public benefactor. It is not good
that foul crime should stalk ^{in his way} unpunished ^{through} the land: and he, Jerry Stokes, was
the chosen instrument for its salutary repression. Executions performed with punctu-
ality and despatch for terms apply to ^{himself} ~~Stokes~~, Port Hope, Ontario.
Not that philanthropy was the most ^{salient} ~~striking~~ characteristic in Jerry's outer

He called it a unfair,
a respectable, and a
necessary calling.

Facsimile of a page of the MS. of Mr. GRANT ALLEN'S story, *Jerry Stokes*
(see next page).

Jerry Stokes. BY GRANT ALLEN.

JERRY STOKES was a mem-
ber of Her Majesty's civil
service. To put it more
plainly, he was the provincial
hangman. Not a man in all
Canada, he used to boast with
pardonable professional pride, had turned
off as many famous murderers as he had. He
was a pillar of the constitution, was Jerry
Stokes. He represented the Executive.
And he wasn't ashamed of his office, either.
Quite on the contrary, zeal for his vocation
shone visible in his face. He called it a
useful, a respectable, and a necessary call-
ing. If it were not for
him and his utensils, he
loved to say to the
gaping crowd that stood

through the land: and he, Jerry Stokes,
was there to prevent it. He was the
chosen instrument for its salutary re-
pression. Executions performed with
punctuality and despatch: for terms, apply
to Jeremiah Stokes, Port Hope, Ontario.
Not that philanthropy was the most
salient characteristic in Jerry's outer man.
He was a short and thick-set person, very
burly and dogged-looking; he had a massive,
square head, and a powerful lower jaw, and
a coarse, bull neck, and a pair of stout arms,



"HE WAS A PUBLIC BENEFCTOR."

acquired in the lumber
trade, but forcibly suggestive
of a prize-fighter's occu-
pation. Except on the
subject of the Executive, he
was a taciturn soul: he had nothing to say,
and he said it briefly. Silence, solidity,
and a marked capacity for the absorption of
liquids without detriment to his centre or
gravity, physical or mental, were the lead-

Figure 3 ("How Novelists Write for the Press," 1891) copyright: ProQuest LLC 2007

might be distasteful to the prisoner and the prisoner's relations' (Allen, 1891, p. 300). His services could be viewed as morbid or callous, but Allen is careful to present Stokes as a 'straight man' (1891, p. 300), doing his job under the assumption that 'the law was always in the right, and that the men on whom he operated were invariably malefactors' (1891, p. 303). It is this distinction, set out in the edited first line that sets the tone for the rest of the story. Other additions include Stokes' belief that it was a 'useful, respectable, and a necessary calling' and he was 'there to prevent' (1891, p. 299) the deaths of innocent lives. The *Strand* readers could see how Allen shifted the tone between manuscript and print and established a forgiving, respectable lead character, despite his occupation. The persuasiveness of Stokes' convictions and questions of capital punishment rely on the strength and respectability of Stokes' character and Allen establishes this quickly and with purpose.

Writing Tools as Means to Authorship

The *Strand* was also aware that their educated, middle-class readers were likely to be writers themselves, from letters to clerical work. The *Strand's* construction of how a middle-class person should live, including how they should stay healthy, the commodities they should buy, and what literature they should read, included not only the editorial pages, but their advertisement pages as well. According to Ruth Hoberman, advertisements 'played a vital role' in defining "'respectable" consumption' (2004, pp. 1-2) for the middle-class. She observes that advertisements and editorial content worked together to encourage '*Strand* readers to feel that buy buying objects they became part of the same world as those they read about' (2004, p. 8). Advertising is a fruitful way of looking into the types of objects readers valued. Yet it is worth noting here that the structure of the *Strand* separated advertisements from the central content of the magazine; advertisements were found at the front and the back of the *Strand* but rarely in the middle. The intention was to ensure that the flow of the main content was not interrupted by the interjection of advertising material and this speaks of an editorial choice to distinguish the types of texts within the magazine. This separation was an attempt to produce a 'softening effect' as readers could 'have easily felt threatened by advertisements telling them what to desire' (Hoberman, 2004, p. 8). People felt that advertising sought the attention of readers and therefore readers could feel 'chosen as a target, pursued and even physically assaulted' (Thornton, 2009, p. 32) by

advertisements. There is a violence to advertising that the *Strand* clearly wanted to avoid. However, articles such as 'What Is a Good Advertisement?' (1904) reassured readers of the quality of the advertisements included within the cover of the *Strand*. It guaranteed the readers that its advertisements met the requirements of 'good' advertising, such as brevity and interest. The *Strand* therefore maintained that the advertisements included in their own magazine would serve the reader and that their advertising was strictly controlled for its content.

The *Strand* created a 'coterie canon of consumption' (J. Wicke, as quoted in Hoberman, 2004, p. 8) and there is an observable pattern in the selling of writing tools within the advertising pages of the *Strand* that offers an insight into the priorities of the magazine and its readers. Purchasable objects ranged from desks to perfumed writing paper and each one claimed to improve the writing or reading experience and thereby make the process easier. Writing tools, such as pens, were practical and necessary for work for most readers of the *Strand*. Advertisers utilised the professionalisation of writing (such as use of short-hand; clerical work, but later also authorship and journalism) in order to sell their products as tools for economic success. These products were seen to add something to the ease, cleanliness, functionality, and productivity of the middle-class consumer and would therefore allow the consumer to meet their optimum potential. As Samuel Smiles states, 'the most distinguished inventors, artists, thinkers, and workers of all sorts, owe their success, in a great measure, to their indefatigable industry and application' (1859, p. 50). Advertisers used the valuation of hard work to sell their products as aids for productivity and, by association, economic success.


Burge, Warren and Ridgley, a London based company, ran several advertisements in the *Strand* over the years, advertising various models of pen, including the Stylographic and the Neptune pen (see Figures 4 and 5). Their pens were universal, for as one advertisement claimed, these pens were 'good for every class of work' ("Burge Warren and Ridgley Advertisement," 1898). This inclusivity cast a wide net for potential consumers who were educated and discerning, who only wanted a pen like the British Stylographic Pen that 'stood the test of public opinion' and was 'a perfect luxury to write with' ("Burge Warren and Ridgley Advertisement," 1899). The product is seen as universal, helping with every form of writing a consumer might need. However, this realistically did not include all

work or all people; it was intended for the ideal consumer: a middle-class professional whose needs justified spending the money and whose income meant they could afford it. After all, these pens were not cheap and neither were they meant to be; their motto was quality. Spending a large amount of money was presented as an investment; 'it will pay you better' the advertisement says, 'to give 5/- for a pen that will please you and do you good service for years than to give half the money for a thing you will throw aside in disgust after a few days' or weeks' use' ("Burge Warren and Ridgley Advertisement," 1899). The casual writer would have less interest in investing in a quality pen; this was for the serious worker who was serious about the quality and ease with which they could do their job. Advertisers were therefore promoting the value of pens as predominantly occupational, associating writing with professionalism, improvement, and reaching optimum potential.

The advertisements assume that the physical act of writing is a laborious process and so the purchase of a luxurious tool makes the process easier: these pens could accomplish 'a day's incessant writing' with only one fill of ink, reducing the need for messy refilling and generally saving time ("Burge Warren and Ridgley Advertisement," 1898). The imagery of incessant writing connotes not only a machine-like work-ethic, but is also reminiscent of hard-working popular authors like Conan Doyle and Charles Garvice whose frequent publication of content earned them an affluent salary. In his autobiography, Conan Doyle comments how his 'simple style' caused people to underestimate the amount of work and research that goes into his novels, particularly his historical novels, which require 'notebooks full of all sorts of lore' (1989, p. 81). Writing novels requires a huge amount of work, much of which is unseen, but requires good quality tools. The advertisement positions the pen as the tool to achieve this potential. Of course, advertisers such as Burge, Warren, and Ridgely maximise sales, so to make these pens even more appealing and to encourage the purchase of more than one type of pen there were various models adapted to different kinds of writing, accommodating the many different needs of the *Strand* readers. For those with more specialised needs, such as clerks, the Neptune Fountain Pen was sold as being fit for purpose: 'nothing can surpass' the Neptune Pen for shorthand, which will 'assist in reaching the full potential of quality work a person is able to produce': language which utilises the rhetoric of self-help ("Burge Warren and Ridgley Advertisement," 1898). No matter the profession, there was a pen available to be utilised as a tool for self-improvement.

HAVE STOOD THE TEST of public opinion for over ten years, and are more popular now than ever. Testimonials come to us from all parts of the world and all classes of people, praising the usefulness, reliability and fine workmanship of

THE BRITISH STYLOGRAPHIC PENS.




Plain (as this) 5/-, Gold-Mounted, 7/- each. Extra large and super quality, the "Special," 8/- Plain and 12/6 Mounted. Obtain of your Stationer, or send P.O. direct to us and pen will be sent post free. In spite of all imitations these pens still remain the standard articles. It will pay you better to give 5/- for a pen that will please you and do you good service for years, than to give half the money for a thing you will throw aside in disgust after a few days' or weeks' use. We stand behind our goods with a definite offer to refund money in full if pen is returned within seven days from purchase. We cannot do more than that—you should not do less than try them.

We make also a complete range of Fountain Pens with Nibs. 2/6 to 16/6. Write for Illustrated Catalogue.

BURGE, WARREN & RIDGLEY, 91 & 92, Great Saffron Hill, London, E.C.

Figure 4 ("Burge Warren and Ridgley Advertisement," 1898) copyright: ProQuest LLC 2007



HERE'S A POINT

worth remembering. It is the "business" end of one of our

5/-

'BRITISH' STYLOGRAPHIC PENS,

which are acknowledged on all hands to be the most useful pens made. A perfect luxury to write with, they glide over the paper like a superfine lead pencil, and hold enough ink for a day's incessant writing.

MADE IN 3 QUALITIES—

5/-, 7/- & 12/6,

post free. Money returned in full if pen is not liked.

Good for every class of work except shorthand, for that nothing can surpass our

NEPTUNE FOUNTAIN PENS,

2/6 to 10/6 each.

Send for Free Illustrated Catalogue.

BURGE, WARREN & RIDGLEY

91 & 92, Great Saffron Hill,

LONDON. E.C.

Figure 5 ("Burge Warren and Ridgley Advertisement," 1899) copyright: ProQuest LLC 2007

The rhetoric of self-improvement in the advertisements for pens is clear but the benefits of such improvement are only implied. The advertisements of the 1890s-1910s anticipate the change of emphasis in the 1920s where advertisements in the *Strand* shifted toward a more explicit model of self-improvement as the means to economic success, specifically. There was an increase in the number of advertisements offering correspondence courses that would allow the reader to acquire professional skills at home, in their spare time. The advertisements for courses were in addition to the advertisements for writing tools like pens, and courses spanned from quantity surveying to engineering, to window dressing to advertising. All of these required a basic level of education that could be built upon by the reader for their professional development.¹⁴ In addition, many of these advertisements were about learning to write content for articles, fiction (including short stories), and advertisements. A preliminary look at the ‘Index to Strand Magazine Advertisements’ demonstrates a shift between 1910 and the 1920s. (The index was a list of all of the advertisements in the magazine, usually found at the back of the magazine, and divided advertisements into categories by content.) In February 1915, for example, there were only three advertisements for ‘Education’ compared to the nineteen for ‘Medical’. In November 1917, ‘Education’ came to equal ‘Provisions’ at seventeen, compared to ‘Medical’ at thirty-four. However, by October 1926, ‘Education’ almost equalled ‘Medicine’ at twenty-two advertisements to twenty-six respectively. There was always some variation in the number of advertisements in each category but the upward trajectory of the number of ‘Education’ advertisements from 1910 into the 1920s illustrates the shift in emphasis onto education in the *Strand* advertisements, which became almost as prominent as the healthful, medical advertisements that Christopher Pittard demonstrates to be central to the *Strand*’s concerns.¹⁵

The advertisements for writing courses juxtapose self-improvement, writing, and economic success. They make explicit what the writing tool advertisements imply: *Strand* readers have the potential to be economically successful authors should they invest in (buy) the

¹⁴ Examples include the International Correspondence Schools Ltd. who advertised numerous courses such as mining, building, business training, and advertising (*Strand*, 1921) and The Bennett College who advertised courses under the categories of Commercial, such as book-keeping and accountancy, and Technical including civil engineering and shipbuilding (*Strand*, 1924).

¹⁵ In *Purity and Contamination in Late Victorian Detective Fiction*, Pittard links the stories within the *Strand* with its advertisements, pointing out a magazine-wide ideology of cleanliness and purity, which reflected Newnes’ own ‘concern with purity’ (2011, p. 69) that came to be a central concern for the middle class.

product the advertisement is selling. There is, as one advertisement claims, a ‘great field for new writers’ and so ‘if you have the faculty for writing you can make very profitable use of this field’ ("London Correspondence College Advertisement," 1921). The London Correspondence College promise that fiscal success will come easily and the lucrativeness is illustrated through a mixed visual and textual wordplay (see Figure 6). The headline ‘Turn notes into NOTES!’ is superimposed onto an image composed of notebooks and manuscript pages in the background, and a pile of one pound notes in the foreground ("London Correspondence College Advertisement," 1921). The use of the homonym ‘notes’ implies that the two meanings are interchangeable; pages of written notes can be transformed into one pound notes and the image serves to reinforce this claim as the two types are layered on top of each other, visually emphasising the ease of transition between the two types of notes.

Textually, the advertisement treats writing in the same paradoxical Romantic way the *Strand* does famous authors: you must have a ‘faculty for writing’ but ‘*this faculty must be trained*’ ("London Correspondence College Advertisement," 1921 [original emphasis]) to become economically successful. As we have seen, *Strand* articles such as the ‘Illustrated Interviews’, treated authors as geniuses whose talents were inherent, yet their writing also takes craft and training to be successful. This was a common trope in advertisements for writing courses. Advertisers wanted to appeal to a wide audience and so their courses could not appear to be too difficult for the average person, but they also wanted to perpetuate the idea that success is hard-earned and predominantly achieved by inherently talented people. These contradictory values are presented simultaneously. Take for example The Regent Institute’s advertisement ‘Learn the Secrets of Successful Writers’ (see Figure 7), which claims that journalistic contributions are in ‘keen demand at good rates’ and their course provides a ‘short cut to success’ ("The Regent Institute Advertisement," 1920). It emphasises the ease with which anyone can achieve economic success, but success is also paradoxically subject to the hard work needed to become a ‘trained writer’ who has mastered ‘the essentials of effective writing’ ("The Regent Institute Advertisement," 1920). Elsewhere, the British School of Advertising (see Figure 8) implied that a ‘young man with a reasonably good education, common sense, and energy’ could earn up to five hundred pounds a year (notably using a salary, rather than a wage, which aside from the amount indicates it is middle class work) ("British School of Advertising Advertisement," 1920).


The professional production of content was explicitly referred to, as some advertisers chose to include the names of publications successful students had been published in, including *Punch*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and others. These advertisements applied the paradoxical logic that successful authorship was both the result of natural talent and hard work, and explicitly told the *Strand* readers that they too could become financially successful, middle-class authors.

It is also interesting to note the subtler comparisons between the main content of the *Strand* and its advertisements. An advertisement by the Premier School of Journalism entitled 'My Literary Career' (1926) has much in common with the style of author interviews found within the *Strand*'s editorial pages (see Figure 9). It replicates the *Strand*'s treatment of authors by including a photograph of Christine Douglas and a facsimile Douglas' signature. The advertisement is numbered as No. II, which indicates it is one interview as part of a series and recalls such editorial series as 'How I "Broke" Into Print', which included an interview with Conan Doyle. Indeed, the language used by Douglas' story of success uses many of the same tropes as Conan Doyle's interview in 1915. She states: 'In nine cases out of ten, Necessity, by the mother of all Invention, lays the foundation of a literary career' ("Premier School of Journalism Advertisement," 1926), echoing Conan Doyle's use of the schoolmistress 'Hard Time' in his interview. She, too, had years of failure before success and blamed editors for not publishing her work. She worked hard and, with thanks to the Premier School of Journalism, finally mastered the craft. By adopting the interview style and replicating the editorial language, the advertisement attempts to break down the material divide between the editorial and the advertising content of the *Strand*.

We see this in other forms of advertising within the *Strand* where advertisers have imitated the editorial style of the magazine for advertising purposes. Take for example the advertisement for Mother Seigel's Curative Syrup printed in January 1892: it is a full-page advertisement of block text in the style of an article. It has a title 'Snake Poison and Human Poison', as well as a historiated initial in the style of the articles in the *Strand*. Aside from the page title 'Advertisements' at the top, it is visually strikingly similar to the editorial content. The tone of the advertisement is also similar to the tone of the factual articles printed by the *Strand*, as it describes facts on snake poison and refers to snake poison expert, Dr. Mitchell. This doctor reinforces the advertisement's claim that 'man is poisoned

by the products of his own body' and this, according to the advertisement, is 'more noxious, or, in the end, surely fatal' ("Mother Siegel's Curative Syrup Advertisement," 1892) than any poisonous reptile. It goes on to describe the experiences of an 'eminent London physician' ("Mother Siegel's Curative Syrup Advertisement," 1892), Mr Welfare, who explains how he was cured by Mother Siegel's Curative Syrup in the reportage style of the illustrated interviews by Harry How. The article-style advertisement is deliberately set up to replicate the reassuring, 'factual' rhetoric of the *Strand*'s factual articles and interviews in order to persuade the reader of its own authenticity and reliability.

The increase of advertised educational courses made explicit the notion that self-improvement could be used for economic gain and that many of the *Strand* readers had the potential to turn their writing skills into profitable contributions to leading magazines and newspapers. This reiterated the *Strand*'s presentation of authors as being a mix of natural talent and craft. It also exemplifies how the *Strand* fetishized the material processes of writing. From facsimile manuscripts to courses teaching forms of writing, the *Strand* made the writing process accessible to its readers. As Margaret Beetham observes, periodicals of the 1890s 'invited readers to become writers' (2006, p. 238) through letters and competitions, but I argue that the manner of that invitation shifted over time, becoming more explicitly about editorial content and storytelling. This invitation was taken up by many readers who chose to write pastiches and parodies, including those incorporating the character of Sherlock Holmes, which will be explored further in Chapter Two. As the *Strand* varied its method of inviting readers to become writers, its fetishization of writing remained, just in changing ways. One such change follows the technological progression of writing tools: the typewriter. As Margaret Beetham observes, New Journalism was characterised by newness; periodicals were always presenting what was new (2006, p. 235). The typewriter was a new and significant change to the way people wrote. Yet, too, 'changes in women's social and sexual role became identified with what was most radically new' (Beetham, 2006, p. 235). The introduction of the typewriter shifted the way the *Strand* fetishized writing and Arthur Conan Doyle's 'A Case of Identity' is a useful case study for examining how the *Strand* chose to invite readers, and women in particular, into the role of professional writer using new technology and the tension this caused.

Turn notes

into NOTES!

THERE is a great field for new writers on every conceivable subject in the newspapers and magazines of to-day.

If you have a faculty for writing you can make very profitable use of this field.

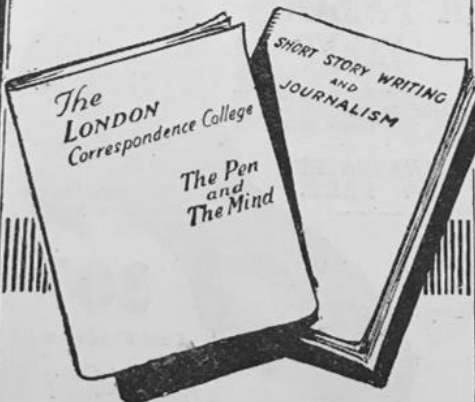
But—*this faculty must be trained* if you are not to receive more rejection slips than cheques.

The London Correspondence College (founded by T. P. O'Connor, M.P.) shows you how to acquire the literary training and technique you must possess in order to become a successful writer.

The College Courses in Journalism, Short Story Writing, English Composition, Advanced Literary Training, Verse Writing, and Mental Culture have enabled hundreds of men and women to achieve literary success.

They are directed through the post by experienced writers, and the tuition given is comprehensive, thorough, and individual to each student.

WRITE TO-DAY FOR



These interesting books, with full particulars of the above-mentioned Courses, will be sent you gratis and post free on application to-day to the

LONDON
CORRESPONDENCE COLLEGE
 1, ALBION HOUSE,
 NEW OXFORD STREET, LONDON, W.C.

Figure 6 ("London Correspondence College Advertisement," 1921)

Learn the Secrets of Successful Writers!

HOW TO WRITE SALEABLE MSS.

Wanted—New Writers!

Journalism is enjoying something like a boom. Scores of new periodicals and newspapers have been started, with a corresponding increase in the demand for contributions. There is a dearth of talent. The trained writer, who has overcome the difficulties of subject and treatment, finds his work in keen demand at good rates. And there is a charm about writing which never loses its spell. Has not someone called it "the world's most fascinating hobby"?

Make writing *your* hobby. Wherever you live you can earn money by your pen. You can master the essentials of effective writing—how to write, what to write about, and where to sell—by study of the unique postal course of the Regent Institute. Learn the secrets of successful writers.

Many promising writers have found success delayed because of misdirected efforts and the lack of expert counsel in the early stages of their career. The Regent Course furnishes this essential counsel, combined with all-round practical training, from the composition of a paragraph to the writing of fiction and general literature. In fact, the course is a real short cut to success.

One of the many notable features of the course is the special attention given to the development of the creative powers. The training equips the student with the invaluable faculty of being able to create a constant flow of ideas, and makes clear how the writer can invest articles, short stories, etc., with unfailing originality and the charm of freshness and spontaneity.

Among the journals to which our students have recently

contributed are the *National Review*, *The Spectator*, *Chambers's Journal*, *The Field*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Daily News*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Evening Standard*, and other daily and periodical publications.

Every student receives individual attention, and is enabled—thanks to expert guidance—to avoid the errors and wasted effort which beset the path of the beginner. This course shows definitely and practically how to achieve success. The special aim is to develop the individual genius of the student.

You can master this course in your leisure hours, with personal guidance at every stage of the instruction. The first step towards success in this delightful pursuit is to send for a free copy of our interesting booklet, which describes the openings for new writers, the unique advantages of the Regent Course, and the moderate terms. Use the form given below, or write a simple request for the booklet.

THE REGENT INSTITUTE,

(Dept. 129D) 22, Bedford Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.
Without obligation on my part, please send me a copy of "How to Succeed as a Writer," free and post free.

Name

Address

.....

Figure 7 ("The Regent Institute Advertisement," 1920)

£500 A YEAR

Do you earn it?

IF NOT—

Learn to Write Advertisement

The Advertising Profession is one which is open to every young man with a reasonably good education, common sense, and energy.

If he possesses these qualifications we can teach him the rest and qualify him to take a position among the well-paid ranks of advertisement writers.

Prospectus post free.

Dept. 7,
51, New Oxford St., London, W.C.1.

Established 1912

**BRITISH
SCHOOL OF ADVERTISING**

Figure 8 ("British School of Advertising Advertisement," 1920)

MY LITERARY CAREER.

No. II. By CHRISTINE DOUGLAS.

It is not often that a young writer succeeds in placing a series of stories about one character with a leading magazine. That is what Miss Douglas did within a few months of commencing the Premier School's Fiction Course, although for four years previously she had been writing stories without any success whatever.

IN nine cases out of ten, Necessity, being the mother of Invention, lays the foundation of a literary career. A year ago I had a closer acquaintance with the old hag than was pleasant, but to-day—thanks to the Premier School of Journalism—I can venture to snap my fingers at her.

At the end of four years of perpetual failure I had reached a state of mind in which I wanted to go mad and bite things! I was sure that the fault was not my own, and I shuddered when I thought of the after-death prospects of editors! And then—just when my need was the most desperate—the incredible happened. Into my life there came the gracious presence of a Fairy Godmother; a Fairy Godmother who had heard of the miracles worked by Mr. Meggy and who ordained that he should guide me. I decided to fall in with her wishes and try a last desperate effort to make good. If I failed I vowed I would never try to write again.

The first lessons came as a bomb-shell, and I thought that I could never, never survive such discipline. Later, after a careful study of them, the fog in my brain cleared and I began to see daylight. I went through my stack of unwanted manuscripts and it seemed that I had been given a new pair of eyes. By the time I got to the last one I found myself actually extending my sympathy to the editors who had received them!

And then Mr. Meggy's criticisms of my exercises began to arrive; each one more kind and helpful than the last. He wrote as a friend might write, and although he picked on my faults unerringly, it was in such a kindly spirit that it made me feel that my future was almost more important to him than it was to myself. Although editors' "Regrets" still peppered the front-door mat I ceased to worry about them; Mr. Meggy told me to "peg away," and I "pegged away." Before the Fiction Course was over I was selling stories, and my four years' wrestle with an untrained imagination, and a belief that editors were monsters of iniquity, had faded like a nightmare into the background. *Christine Douglas*



Christine Douglas.

SUCCESSES DURING TUITION.

Extracts from letters all dated July, 1926, from pupils actually undergoing instruction. Over 50 other letters are omitted owing to lack of space.

"I had a short story accepted by the Northern Newspaper Syndicate."—(London.)

"Punch has taken a sketch of mine. Also two 'Office Window' paragraphs in the Daily Chronicle."—(London.)

"I wonder if you saw '—' in the Evening News on the 15th? That is my second success with that paper."—(London.)

"I received a cheque from the Daily Graphic for '—'."—(Billingshurst.)

"Evening News have retained '—'."—(Wallington.)

"The Daily Mail are using my article."—(Rugby.)

PREMIER SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

Founded and personally conducted
—by MR. GORDON MEGGY.—

Separate courses are conducted in SHORT STORY WRITING and ARTICLE WRITING by Correspondence. Oral tuition is also given by the Principal, either privately or in classes. The teaching of the School is on practical lines throughout. Every detail that should be known to the new writer is covered either in the lessons or in the Principal's letters. Many of the exercises set take the shape of actual efforts at contribution—a feature that has helped pupils to sell thousands of MSS. during instruction.

It is the aim of the School to lay sound foundations that will enable pupils to make of their writing a permanent source of income.

SAMPLE LESSON, SUBJECT CHART and full details will be sent free on application to the "Supervisor,"

PREMIER SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM,
4 & 5, Adam St., Adelphi, London, W.C.2.

Figure 9 ("Premier School of Journalism Advertisement," 1926)

Typewriters and Female Professionalisation

Typewriters began as a tool for the blind to be able to write; it was not mass produced for the business market until 1874 and uptake by was initially slow (Stevens, 1897). It took years for companies to recognise the need for a more efficient means of transcribing and handling documents (Keep, 2002). Up until the typewriter became standard, companies predominantly relied on shorthand clerks for speed and efficiency; these were men who were a highly-trained set of individuals who could transcribe meetings and dictated letters faster and more effectually than their untrained colleagues. Productivity relied on these men being able to keep up with the demand, utilising their time-saving skill; but their training meant that they were seen to be 'mere letter-writing machines whose chances of advancement were slim' (G. Anderson, 1976, p. 103). This was not ideal as it reduced a clerk's mobility within the workplace. Typewriting became more common within business and machines became more standardised, and it was soon clear that it superseded the pen and shorthand in both legibility and in speed.

Kittler argues that the uptake of typewriting by businesses was slow because middle-class male workers 'had invested so much pride in their laboriously trained handwriting' (1999, p. 193) they did not see the typewriter's benefit for business, and he observes that women were much faster at seeing the possibilities for professionalisation and skill and consequently a great number of women chose to train as typists (Kittler, 1999, p. 193). This, Kittler argues, 'reversed the handicap of their education' and 'sexual innovation followed technological innovation almost immediately' (1999, p. 193). Women took the opportunity of the new technology to learn a new skill and improve their education, which ultimately led to an increase in income, more social mobility, and offered a good alternative to being a governess or teaching, which were more traditional, domestic, but also overcrowded, professions (Keep, 1997). From the 1890s onwards, women flooded the clerical world: the employment of women clerks in the commercial business went from nineteen in 1851 to 17,859 in 1891; growing to 55,784 in 1901, until 1911 when they represented a third of the clerical workforce (177,057) and this put pressure on the male professionals whose pay was being undercut by the women (G. Anderson, 1976). Gender and profession were coming together in an unprecedented way, and the typewriter was central to the argument. The influx of female typists and secretaries represented the change in women's roles within society and the need for women to have respectable work.

Politically this was a contentious topic as some felt that employment abandoned the female function of motherhood. Emma Liggins disagrees and argues that:

‘as it gradually became more acceptable for young women to refuse or at least postpone marriage, the late-Victorian periodical press had to cater to a growing number of female readers who were perhaps more interested in work and education than household management and family life. This partly explains the unprecedented launch of a number of new women’s magazines, some with female editors, throughout the 1890s. Such publications helped to shift periodical debates around the figure of the working woman away from virulent attacks on the asexuality and mannishness of the “unnatural” female towards a muted admiration for the modern woman’s greater freedom of movement in public and the choices available to her’ (2007, p. 216).

It was, however, a gradual change and stereotypes still abounded. Christopher Keep explores in his article ‘The Cultural Work of the Type-Writer Girl’ how the presence of women in the male-dominated workplace disrupted the conventional notions of femininity and female roles, which were often stereotyped in media images of female typists. Type-writer girls in the media typically embodied contradictory ideals: they were both the ‘acceptable face of the “New Woman”’ (1997, p. 404), yet also excessively sexual and threatening in their independence, masculinity, and assumed promiscuity. Keep notes that ‘an entire industry in pornographic novelettes and photos soon emerged in which “typewriter” became a code word for titillating tales of moral misdeed between employers and their female employees’ (1997, p. 417). The progress of women came at the expense of a certain amount of stigma and became ‘a site of cultural contestation and resistance’ (Keep, 1997, p. 423) as women continued to improve their education and position outside of the domestic sphere, and subjected to scrutiny over what this meant for their morality and sexuality.

With the rapid increase of women in the workplace it became hard to ignore the gendered aspect of the typewriter entirely and at the end of the nineteenth century. There is a shift in the *Strand*’s approach to women’s mobility outside of the home through the period of 1890 to 1930, which is epitomised by the introduction of the typewriter into use. The typewriter’s link with female professionalisation is epitomised in the word itself:

‘typewriter’ was considered a homonym that could mean both female typist and machine, to the point that the two were often confused. As Michael H. Adler describes it, if someone ‘ordered a typewriter for his office he might easily open the door to a liberated young lady toting an enormous box. She was the ‘typewriter’ and the onus was on her to provide her own “type writer”’ (Adler, 1973, p. 26). Women typists became inextricably linked to the machine they used and their position in business was valuable. The typewriter provides a fruitful look into the *Strand*’s presentation of writing as it was a symbol of professionalisation, technological advancement, self-improvement, and the female typist all in one. The *Strand* did all it could to avoid controversy by reassigning the typewriter’s value, advocating its use in a professional setting and ensuring that the complexities of the typewriter, such as women’s roles and fraud, were side-stepped in its advertising, fiction, and articles such as C L McCluer Stevens’ article ‘The Evolution of the Typewriter’ (1897). The consistency between these forms within the *Strand* demonstrate a purposeful aversion to upsetting the idyllic form of middle-class life the *Strand* was cultivating. As Jonathan Cranfield states,

‘unlike its near relation, the *Review of Reviews*, the *Strand* was too middlebrow and had too rigorous a sense of decorum to become seriously involved in many of the heated debates which the openness and scale of the periodical form seemed to encourage’ (2016, p. 5).

The *Strand* worked to stabilise a worldview of domesticity, familial roles, and class and avoided anything too sensational. As Kate Jackson states, they ‘continued to confirm the familiar’ and provided ‘the kind of security that readers sought’ (2001, p. 116). It is not until the 1910s that Jonathan Cranfield argues the *Strand*’s popular fiction began to show signs of a less secure ‘middle-class lifestyle idyll [...] under the strain of feminist critique and reform in the fields of women’s employment, enfranchisement and birth control’ (2016, p. 114). The *Strand* began to be less fearful of controversy, which is reflected in the advertising pages actively encouraging women into work and away from the traditional, domestic sphere.

The *Strand* suppressed the potentially politically fraught issues surrounding the typewriter, such as women’s increasing presence in the workplace, by anticipating the anxieties the typewriter caused its readers and attempting to subdue those fears through readdressing the

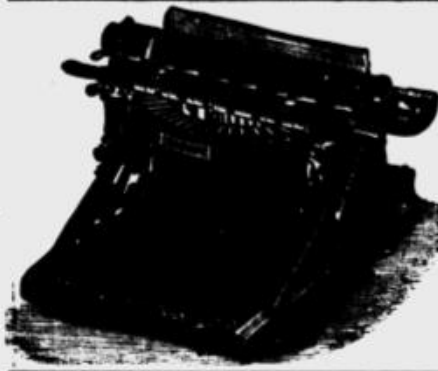
issue. For example, a significant proportion of typewriter advertisements in the 1890s attempted to keep their content free of gendered nouns, addressing the reader as ‘you’ or their customers as ‘they’, thereby side-stepping the need to explicitly denote who their product was for. As I argued above, although this reflects the advertiser’s decision, the *Strand* promised in articles such as ‘What Makes a Good Advertisement?’ that its advertising content would be tightly controlled. The lack of women in the advertisement seems uncoincidental when we consider that this was unusual; typewriter advertisements were often explicitly aimed at a female consumer. Michael H Adler’s book, for example, features an advertisement for a Bar-Lock typewriter from his own collection which features a respectable gentleman with a top hat in an office with a well-dressed woman at her typewriter (1973, p. 28). As Christopher Keep observes, feminine virtues, such as delicacy of touch and nimbleness of the fingers were strongly associated with the typewriter and reinforced by typewriter companies such as Remington who decorated the ‘Sholes and Glidden’ typewriter with ‘feminine details’ (2001, p. 154). In the *Strand*, this was not the case. The Densmore Typewriter Company advertisement in July 1892 is typical of the erasure of femininity from the presentation of typewriters; it is completely free of all intimation of gender.

Instead, the Densmore Typewriter Company’s target audience is implied through the placement of the advertisement (see Figure 10). It is the first of three advertisements on the page and it is followed by an advert for *The Young Gentlewoman*, an illustrated magazine for young women ‘devoted to art, literature, music and all good works,’ (“The Young Gentlewoman Advertisement,” 1892, p. vi). The anticipated readership of *The Young Gentlewoman* is young women who had a lot in common with the potential customers of the typewriter because they were educated and desirous of self-improvement. The advertisement offers the chance for young, respectable women to learn new skills. This too, is then followed by an advertisement for a bicycle, a common trope associated with the New Woman.¹⁶ The association of the Densmore Typewriter advertisement with the other advertisements on the page has gendered implications. Although not always, there is a pattern to the advertisements found in the *Strand* and their placement that supposes a unified editorial approach. For example, in June 1922, an advertisement for training on how

¹⁶ For more on the New Woman see Patricia Marks’ *Bicycle, Bangs, and Bloomers* (2015), of particular interest is her chapter on bicycles and the popular mythology surrounding women’s athletics pp. 174-203.

to draw is followed by an advertisement for Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen; Waite & Son platinum rings, and Bailey's Elastic Stockings. Although seemingly disparate, the page assumes a female reader who has significant income for buying pens and rings, as well as someone who sits for long periods of time as the stockings boast to be 'for varicose veins' and can be bought from the 'special department for ladies' ("Bailey's Elastic Stockings Advertisement," 1922, p. 37). This pattern of gendered advertising is subtle but evident.

The *Strand* made efforts to include female professionals as consumers but did so through more subtle means, allowing for both traditional gender roles and the rising number of female professionals, without having to directly address the issue. The typewriter advertisements employ the same strategies for female self-improvement and professional advancement as the pen advertisements do for men. The Densmore Typewriting Company even provided free tuition, offering an early example of the educational courses that would become common in later years. The typewriter presented an unprecedented opportunity for women, but this advertisement promises very little in terms of career, stating instead that it works on 'modern principles' ("Densmore Typewriter Company Advertisement," 1892), merely hinting at its female consumers. The reality of women's position in the professional world was not as radical as one might assume. Women were paid very little and were paid significantly less than their male counterparts, which meant that their earning potential was low. Authors like Grant Allen (*The Type-Writer Girl*, 1897) and George Gissing (*The Odd Women*, 1893) gave an erroneous impression of typewriter girls' earning potential in their fictional stories. Grant Allen's protagonist Juliet in *The Type-writer Girl* (1897) lives alone, with money to spare, yet this was almost impossible for most female typists (Keep, 1997). Jessica Gray argues that at the turn of the century 'there was a greater demand for advanced clerks; however, there was not a corresponding number of management positions. Inherently, then, there was little chance of improving one's position and climbing the ranks' (2015, p. 491). It was assumed that women were ideal for clerical work because their role was seen as a temporary position between being single and marriage. The lack of career progression was therefore not seen as an issue. Despite the educational opportunities afforded to women and the number of clerical jobs available, the domestic sphere was also reinforced.



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The WORLD'S GREATEST TYPEWRITER.

Throw your pens to the winds and conduct your correspondence on **Modern Principles**. A fortnight's trial will convince you of the superiority of the **Typewriter** over the **Pen**, and of the **"DENSMORE"** over all other **Typewriters**. Free tuition given at this office.

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will be conducted with that care and conscientiousness which will ensure its being a fit companion for the children of the cultured classes. Although a series of prizes will be regularly offered for competition, the winning of these prizes is regarded merely as a means of securing excellence in the work produced, and of engaging the minds of the young in pure and pleasurable pursuits.

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FOR
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**ARE THE BEST
IN THE WORLD.**



**SEND FOR
LIST**

TO

Rudge Cycle Co., Ltd.

**Works:
COVENTRY.**

Figure 10 ("Densmore Typewriter Company Advertisement," 1892)

'A Case of Identity' and the Power of Type

Arthur Conan Doyle's 'A Case of Identity' was the third Sherlock Holmes short story to be published in the *Strand*. Its central theme revolves around the typewriter and fraud, which serves the exploration of discourses of writing, technology, and female identity. This story exemplifies the *Strand*'s wider fetishization of writing and the tension women's writing caused by drawing on ideas of authorship, editing, manuscripts, and of storytelling in a self-referential way. The case presented to Holmes is the story of Mary Sutherland who is a single woman living at home with her mother and step-father, a man who is very close to her in age. Mary is a typewriter who earns her money through her profession. She is also in receipt of one hundred pounds a year earned from the interest of an inheritance left to her by an uncle, but she explains that this income goes straight to her mother and step-father. Mary attends a gasfitter's ball and here she meets Hosmer Angel, a man with distinct features and a soft voice, and they get engaged while her step-father is away. Mary and Hosmer exchange letters and they agree to get married as soon as possible, making promises of love and fidelity, but on the day of the wedding Mary is left mysteriously at the altar and she believes something bad has occurred to prevent Angel from marrying her. Holmes quickly deduces the mystery, stating that the case is 'rather elementary' (Doyle, 2009a, p. 197): the step-father, James Windibank, has disguised himself and through the means of the typewriter disguised his writing in order to woo his step-daughter into never loving another man, leaving her dependent on the family home and ensuring his access to her inheritance money.

'A Case of Identity' is a prime example of how Conan Doyle facilitated a nonfictional paradigm within the stories by drawing attention to the act of writing. It makes the reader aware of the duplicitousness of the narrative as it is itself a text made up of type. This thematical emphasis is foregrounded in the introduction to 'A Case of Identity' where Holmes begins by claiming that 'life is infinitely stranger than anything which the mind of man could invent' (2009a, p. 191).¹⁷ Holmes juxtaposes fiction and nonfiction and insinuates that the work he does is stranger than fiction, thus it is real life. It establishes a trend that continues throughout the Canon of a delicate balance between reality and fiction

¹⁷ Holmes' phrase was later reflected in the catch line of Newnes' later publication *The World Wide Magazine* (1898) as it reads 'Truth is Stranger Than Fiction' (Vol 3. May-Oct 1899), retroactively further relating 'A Case of Identity' with the publishing industry.

and it blurs those lines. The reader is aware that this is Holmes' world, not the reader's real world, and that Conan Doyle is the author. This self-reflexive nod to Conan Doyle's artistry paradoxically emphasises both the fictionality of the case as a created narrative and the reality of Holmes' existence through his maintenance of both imagination and fiction, or as Michael Saler calls it, 'animistic reason' (2012, p. 119). In *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, Holmes calls it the 'scientific use of the imagination' (Doyle, 2009n, p. 687). He states that although his methods look like guesswork there is always 'some material basis on which to start our speculation' (Doyle, 2009n, p. 687). Holmes here draws attention to the materiality of evidence, which in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* is a disguised letter. Someone has written a warning message to Sir Henry Baskerville using words from various newspapers, but handwritten the envelope. Holmes recognises the type used by various newspapers and identifies the text as being from *The Times*; he also analyses the handwriting. It is the materiality of the letter, the interpretation of print, that allows Holmes to follow lines of enquiry. 'A Case of Identity' constantly refers to the physicality of type and of printing, such as when Watson points to the 'half column of print' (Doyle, 2009a, p. 191) in the newspaper. The newspaper here, as it is in *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, is the start point for investigation as Watson attempts to guess the story from the headline and Holmes reveals it is a case he has worked and has aspects that would not 'occur to the imagination of the average story-teller' (Doyle, 2009a, p. 191). This interaction pre-empted the typewritten letters that will be given to Holmes that he says present 'some features of interest' (Doyle, 2009a, p. 191). The title 'A Case of Identity' also pre-empted the convergence of Holmes and the printed word, as it plays on the word 'case', which is a homonym meaning both an incident under investigation and refers to the forms the letter of the alphabet may be written or printed, e.g. lower case. The latter is suggestive of old printing techniques where the printer used a compositor's frame to hold printing type. At every move, the story refers to itself as a piece of printed type to be interpreted.

This actively encourages readers to emulate Holmes; to interpret the print before them and to construct their own text. The Canon's self-referential style became central to Sherlockian fandom in later years. Kate Donley argues that 'two elements of Conan Doyle's stories supported Sherlockian scholarship: their disorganized narrative arc and their pretence of nonfiction' (2017). 'A Case of Identity' as a text actively encourages Sherlock Holmes fans to write and they subsequently chose to write Sherlock Holmes pastiches, parodies, and

developed a whole new genre of Sherlockian criticism. The latter takes on the idea of interpreting print through using scientific methods (or literary criticism) and the imagination, and takes it beyond the pages of the Canon to explain, reveal, expand, and theorise about their own ‘cases’. Since Frank Sidgwick’s letter to Dr Watson in the *Cambridge Review* in 1902, Sherlockians have discussed the Canon in biographical terms, as true stories recalling the life of Sherlock Holmes and Dr Watson, and not the fictional short stories they are. They debate explanations for such plot-holes as Watson’s wound moving from his shoulder to his leg, or they theorise what university Holmes went to, and work to place the stories in chronological order (despite clear lapses in continuity caused by Conan Doyle). This ironic treatment of Holmes as real is the foundation of Sherlockian fandom and has become known as the Great Game.

When Holmes says things like it is ‘selection and discretion’ (or in other words, a mixture of imagination and truth) that produces ‘a realistic effect’ (Doyle, 2009a, p. 194), the Canon gives readers material to work from to start their speculation. Selection and discretion is an important part of Watson’s process of his writing up of the stories. Holmes says in ‘The Adventure of the Abbey Grange’ that Watson has ‘some power of selection which atones for much [he] deplore[s]’ in Watson’s narratives (Doyle, 2009h, p. 636). Yet Holmes too displays some method of selection. Holmes states, for example, that he has ‘some ten or twelve’ cases in hand but ‘none which present any feature of interest’ (Doyle, 2009a, p. 194) and therefore Watson does not write about them. This selection process demonstrates an awareness of a readership who must be kept interested, but also allows Sherlockians room to manoeuvre creatively in their speculations. If everything is not written down, then that gives fans space to write it themselves. As Henry Jenkins argues, ‘fan critics pull characters and narrative issues from the margins; they focus on details that are excessive or peripheral to the primary plots but gain significance within the fans’ own conception of the series’ (2013, p. 155). Interestingly, the self-referential style of the story brings attention to ‘A Case of Identity’ as part of the emerging Canon (at this point the third of a set of five commissioned stories), but implies the canon of Holmes’ cases to be far larger than really exists. This shifts the readers’ conception of the series, which allows additional gaps within which to write.

The typewriter, however, presents its own points of interest as a tool to encourage female readers to become female (type)writers. ‘A Case of Identity’ tends to be overlooked when

considering female typewriters in fiction. Critics like Christopher Keep, Jessica Gray, and Ya-Ju Yeh concentrate predominantly on stories such as Grant Allen's 'The Type-Writer Girl' when discussing the image of the type-writer girl in turn-of-the-century texts, but only mention 'A Case of Identity' in passing, if at all.¹⁸ However, most of the contradictory ideologies identified by these critics as being characteristic of the type-writer girl are present in the portrayal of Mary Sutherland. Perhaps this is because, on the surface, 'A Case of Identity' does very little to stand out politically in terms of women's roles, as Jill Galvan states it marks a return 'to a conservative ideology of relative mental abilities between the sexes, one that forcefully corrects the personal and gender disruption connoted in [Holmes'] defeat [in 'A Scandal in Bohemia'] (2010, p. 140). However, what it does very successfully is demonstrate the power of type in its various forms: typewriting, stereotypes, genre. The typewriter and the type it produces have the potential to alter a person (physically and educatively), to increase economic wealth, and wield influence over the reader, both within the narrative and without. Typewriting, like handwriting, can be subjected to interpretation, and as Ronald R Thomas comments, 'a person's "real" identity is also a matter of effect, then, a construction that can be penetrated only by the detective as scientific expert' (1999, p. 84). At this point, such an interpretive theory or system did not exist for typewriters and originated with Holmes in 'A Case of Identity'. According to David A Crown, 'A Case of Identity' is the 'earliest known reference to the identification potential of typewriting' (1967, p. 105) and is also remarkably accurate. However, it was not long until there were real-life cases involving typewriting analysis. 'A Case of Identity' acts in a similar way to the opening pages of 'Jerry Stokes' discussed above in that both call attention to the material conditions of textual production. It is a perfect example of how, in the context of the *Strand* more widely, it presents the female client as a producer of text and how the pursuit of writing can equate to the pursuit of economic gain, even if in this case it has a negative impact.

The typewriter (object) is first presented to the reader as a tool for regular, everyday business use. Mary uses it to replicate text onto sheets of paper for payment to subsidise the inheritance she shares with her family and so, in the first instance, the typewriter is just an

¹⁸ See: Christopher Keep 'The Cultural Work of the Type-Writer Girl' (1997) and 'Technology and Information: Accelerating Developments' (2002); Jessica Gray 'Typewriter Girls in Turn-of-the-Century Fiction: Feminism, Labor, and Modernity' (2015), and Ya-Ju Yeh '*The Typewriter Girl*: Body, Labor, and the Workplace in Fin-de-siecle London' (2010).

object to be acted upon; a tool to produce text and thereby make money. This allows Mary a certain amount of freedom and independence. Her financial situation is key, both in terms of the plot and in defining her character, and the typewriter is a tool for economic gain that has the potential to be abused. In this way, she fits into the 'pin-money' girl stereotype, where women were assumed to be reliant on their parents or husband and used their income only for entertainment.¹⁹ In some ways, Mary fits this stereotype perfectly: she lives with her parents and she earns enough to keep herself in the latest fashion. She has used the typewriter for her own financial gain and Holmes assumes she must 'indulge [...] in every way' (Doyle, 2009a, p. 193). However, this is somewhat appeased through the explanation that her income from typing is modest and is her only form of income as her inheritance goes to her family.²⁰

Watson finds Mary unnerving. She is, for example, described as being particularly masculine, despite her fashionable appearance. She is 'large' and looms over the boy in buttons 'like a full-sailed merchantman behind a tiny pilot boat' (2009a, p. 192). The masculinity of type-writer girls (and New Women more generally) was a common trope and Mary conforms to the stereotype of the masculine female typist 'yearning for the love of a good man' (Keep, 1997, p. 414). She poses a threat to hegemonic gender expression, yet also contradictorily desires the feminine outcome of a patriarchal marriage. This contradiction is reflected in Watson's understanding of Mary's character: '[f]or all the preposterous hat and vacuous face, there was something noble in the simple faith of our visitor' (Doyle, 2009a, p. 196). Watson's judgement of Mary is rife with negative connotations that are undermined by opposing descriptions, such as being both vacuous and noble. He finds her presence uncomfortable, as if she does not really fit neatly into his expectations of a woman, and this makes her suspect. Mary, as a stereotypical typewriter-girl, is an atypical woman and it for this reason that Holmes, a man who relies upon types to solve crimes, states that Mary is 'an interesting study [...] more interesting than her little problem' (Doyle, 2009a, p. 196).

¹⁹ G Anderson explains in *Victorian Clerks* that 'to those male clerks struggling on small incomes the existence of such 'pin money' girl clerks must have appeared frivolous and even offensive' (1976, p. 57). However, evidence suggests women earned far less than implied due to the pay gap between men and women.

²⁰ Christopher Keep points out that in reality 'most typists [...] neither lived alone nor could afford to indulge in sartorial extravagance' (1997, p. 410).

Sherlock Holmes relies on discrepancies of type to solve crimes in a new and interesting way. Rosemary Jann argues that ‘the “individuality” of clients and criminals is equally subject to specifying codes, codes that assume the existence of fixed behavioural type’ (1990, p. 687). Her argument is that Holmes relies on typified behaviours and where there is something unique, creates his own system of codes that allow him to codify the person anyway. We see this first in the way Holmes identifies the type of case ‘A Case of Identity’ is before Mary enters Baker Street. As she oscillates on the pavement nearby, Holmes observes that this ‘always means an *affaire de coeur* [...] the maiden is not so much angry as perplexed, or grieved’ (2009a, p. 192). Mary is a typical, grieved woman in love. As she enters 221B, she is soon revealed to be a type-writer girl. Holmes deduces this from her sleeve:

‘the double line a little above the wrist, where the typewritist presses against the table, was beautifully defined. The sewing-machine, of the hand type, leaves a similar mark, but only on the left arm, and on the side of it farthest from the thumb, instead of being right across the broadest part, as this was’ (2009a, p. 197).

It is interesting to note that by referencing the sewing machine, Holmes is, from the beginning, attempting to rationalise the potential sexual and sensational aspects of Mary’s personality. He associates her with the ‘feminine’ attributes that were seen to be ‘natural’ in women that supposedly made them good typists. As Christopher Keep points out, ‘other instruments conventionally defined as “female” served to domesticate the typewriter’ (1997, p. 405). This feminine association with sewing softens Mary’s masculine size and the assumed promiscuity that comes with her profession. The typewriter literally imprints itself onto her clothing replicating the idea that Mary is herself a type that is written upon and also made part of an identifiable set (a type-writer girl). Despite being the client, Mary is a problem to be read and solved.

Mary’s ability to make money by means of the typewriter is a source of anxiety. The typewriter allows Mary to deviate from conventional gender expectations because it expands her independence away from the home, something she takes advantage of. When her step-father forbids her from attending the gas-fitter’s ball, she defies him and goes anyway. She also employs Holmes to investigate Hosmer Angel’s disappearance at Windibank’s express prohibition. Mary has a rebellious streak that overrides her usual

submissiveness to traditional family life (such as yielding her income to support her parents) and whether the typewriter is the cause or a symptom of this rebelliousness, the typewriter is a tool for breaking the rules of convention by playing the central role in financial gain that is unconventional. This is compounded through Windibank's abuse of the typewriter in his plot against Mary. James Windibank deceives his step-daughter, taking advantage of her wealth and her weakness for love. Although he also physically disguises himself and relies on her bad eyesight to defend him against discovery, it is the typewriter that really helps to guarantee the fraud. He realised that 'his handwriting was so familiar to [Mary] that she would recognise even the smallest sample of it' (2009a, p. 201) and so typed all his letters, including his own name. He uses the typewriter to wield power over Mary that goes beyond his role as the patriarch in her life. He ensures that she never loves another, for his sole financial benefit. Mary's form of money making through employment may make her an uncomfortable character, but Windibank's dishonest money making is shown to be far worse. It is not illegal but neither is it moral and it demonstrates how self-improvement without moral improvement leads to a corrupt personality.

Windibank's abuse plays on the cultural fear that the typewriter would replace the intimacy of handwriting because it concealed the handwriting 'and thereby the character' (Heidegger, 1999, p. 199) of its writer, which made it impersonal. This reiterates for the reader the ideology that handwriting equated to character (an ideology that we have seen was widely used in reference to authors). It fetishizes handwriting as a personal form of writing by demonstrating how easily typewriters could be used for fraud. When Mary offers to typewrite her letters to Windibank (as Hosmer Angel), he confirms handwriting is a more personal method of communication. Mary is told to handwrite her letters because 'when they were typewritten he always felt that the machine had come between us' (2009a, p. 194). Typewriting puts a machine in the way of personal contact in a way that handwriting does not and the concern that the typewriter hid the identity of the writer is realised. By handwriting her letters, Mary disassociates herself from the business of writing and at the same time proves that 'typed love letters [...] aren't love letters' (Kittler, 1999, p. 214). Typewriting distances the typist from the recipient, and by extension, handwriting brings someone closer to the author. This distinguishes typewriting from handwriting, demonstrating the same fetishization of handwriting and manuscripts that the *Strand* exercised elsewhere.

Holmes makes much of identifiable types: Mary in particular is a type that can be read and understood. The case is typical of the typewriter fraud Holmes is familiar with, and most of all, the identity of the writer is sought after. The comfort in 'A Case of Identity' comes in the form of Holmes' ability to interpret type as well as handwriting: 'the typewriter has really as much individuality as a man's handwriting' (2009a, p. 199). However, this only shifts the question of identity, rather than resolving it. For most people, identifying the typewriter (object) does not mean you can identify the typist. The typewriter hides the identity of its user and undermines the whole system of identification that people had come to rely upon with handwriting. Although, as J H Schooling says, the ability to interpret handwriting required training, (1895) the perception of it as common sense still permeated and therefore acted as a comfort.

'A Case of Identity' is, according to Holmes, only one among his many cases connecting crime and typewriters; it is also one among many other contemporary fictional narratives. For example, in Tom Gallon's *Girl Behind the Keys* (1903), Bella Thorn accidentally participates in two crimes that explicitly involve her male employer abusing his power and using her typewriter to perpetrate fraud. In 'The Diamonds of Danseuse' stolen diamonds are hidden in Bella's typewriter without her knowledge (Gallon, 2006). In 'The Spirit of Sarah Keech' Bella is tasked with typing messages dictated by her employer on a typewriter, unaware that her typewriter is rigged to another typewriter in an adjoining room. In this other room is a woman fraudulently pretending to be a medium speaking to her client's dead mother. The dead mother appears to be communicating with the medium through the means of the typewriter and the typed messages are used to defraud the client out of his inheritance money (2006). What these stories have in common is the narrative of men abusing the power of type for their own financial gain. Mary Sutherland, like other literary portrayals of female typists, such as Laura Lyons in *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, Mina Harker in *Dracula*, and Bella Thorn in *The Girl Behind the Keys*, becomes victim to male power.²¹ The abuse of the typewriter (woman and object) emphasises the potential power the typewriter holds as a tool for patriarchal abuse and for immoral economic gains.

The narrative resolves the problem of Mary's independent streak by reinforcing Windibank's power. Holmes insists 'it is just as well that we should do business with the

²¹ It is interesting to note that Mary Sutherland lives on 'Lyon Street' a foreshadowing and doubling of herself and Laura Lyons from *The Hound of the Baskervilles*.

male relatives' and from this point on, Windibank becomes the client, not Mary. Holmes deposes Mary's autonomy and reinforces Windibank's power as the step-father. On the one hand, Holmes' extended invitation to Windibank to visit 221B is a trick to lure him in, but on the other, the ending leaves Windibank's patriarchal power intact. 'There was never a man who deserved punishment more' (2009a, p. 201) Holmes says of Windibank, and yet there are no legal ramifications because there was no money stolen. The close of the story gives no significant resolution: the resolution lies in Holmes discovering the culprit and confronting him in a comical scene where Holmes chases Windibank out of 221B with a whip, although we are told he will probably one day end up hanged (2009a, p. 201). Yet there is no mention of the consequences for his client, Mary. Holmes resolves not to tell Mary Sutherland the truth because he fears she would be unable to cope with it: 'there is danger for him who taketh the tiger cub, and danger also for whoso snatches a delusion from a woman' (2009a, p. 201). There is no indication that the confrontation with Windibank has changed anything, except to prove that Holmes has solved the case.

Arthur Conan Doyle in many ways makes explicit what was implicit in the *Strand* in the 1890s. Where advertisements at this time allowed room for women to function as typewriters by not mentioning them explicitly, the portrayal of Mary as a typewriter demands a response to the political issue that has been raised. However, the potential for deviance that comes with the stereotypical type-writer girl is surpassed by the more overt deviance of the male perpetrator and is therefore overshadowed and ignored in the conclusion of the story. Mary is victimised as her step-father takes advantage. However, the narrative does not domesticate Mary through marriage or motherhood as other narratives did elsewhere, such as in *Dracula* and *The Girl Behind the Keys*. Instead, Mary continues to be a type-writer girl: masculine, strong-willed, and financially independent, and her position is unchanged. Holmes' inertia extends to Mary's employment too. It seems that while Conan Doyle pushes the potential for sensationalism, he also draws it back. Mary's continuing profession allows her some room for independence, but the story ultimately reinforces gender norms. In this way, we see how politically charged some writing tools were and how they were seen as tools for change, prosperity, and self-improvement, which in a woman functioned as a challenge to her gendered role and in men could be abused if morality also did not follow.

The uncomfortable ending of 'A Case of Identity' only serves to prove how powerful the idea of self-improvement for economic gain was. The typewriter as a new technology had the power to allow women a greater position outside of the home; it enabled them to have their own income, which although smaller than many thought, allowed them an increased independence. 'A Case of Identity' also demonstrates how men could abuse the power of their influence through type-written word. The words Windibank types to Mary carry weight with her, they influence her, and they ensure his economic stability. It is a testament to the temptation of pursuing self-improvement and economic gain at any cost, and it undermines the moral value of such an endeavour. After all, there was a close link between religion and respectability. G Anderson argues that the difference between them predominantly lies in that respectability also required the spending of money:

In the sense that respectability simply meant sober habits, cleanliness and Christianity, any man, rich or poor, could in theory be respectable. In fact most Victorians – and this was particularly true of the lower middle class- wished not merely to be respectable but to be seen to be. Only by acquiring certain material trappings could the respectable classes declare their social distance from those below them. (1976, p. 68)

Anderson labels these material trappings the 'paraphernalia of gentility' (1976, p. 68) and it is this capitalist system of respectability that the *Strand* fed into; they sold the idea that things portrayed class. The necessity of having money for respectability is why so many pursued the idea of self-improvement. However, 'A Case of Identity' demonstrates the underbelly of such ideals.

Conclusion

The *Strand* was concerned with the social codes of what a body should be and do. It dictated (or as Reginald Pound claims, 'reflected' (Pound, 1966)) how a middle-class person should live, including how they should stay healthy; which commodities they should buy; and what literature they should read. Throughout the years between 1891 and 1930 the *Strand* sought to create an idealised vision of middle-class life and help its readers to aspire to this ideal. A large part of this was establishing how education, authorship, and self-improvement could lead to economic gain. This, in turn, would allow readers to more

comfortably afford the commodities that represented middle-class culture, lifestyle, and ease.

The *Strand* had a purposeful editorial outlook that permeated its advertising pages. Objects and materiality became entangled with the middle-class ideal of respectability and self-help, and writing tools held value as signs of, and devices for, economic success. Advertisers aimed to avoid the political issues that were associated with the typewriter through persuasive language that dismissed concerns and celebrated the rise of the typewriter as a technological advance. However, Conan Doyle's 'A Case of Identity' embraces these controversies as plot devices and refuses to give a resolute ending that would pacify the reader. Yet what it does do in the wider context of the canon is show how mechanisation leads to imprinting and the typing of character: a method Holmes uses successfully to solve his cases. It reflects the *Strand*'s message of writing as an influential force. So much so that the Sherlock Holmes Canon sought to advertise its other stories within its narrative, encouraging readers to look elsewhere for more cases of Sherlock Holmes. What is left to explore is how the encouragement of writing as a professional opportunity for middle-class readers impacted on the writing of fans of Sherlock Holmes.

Chapter Two: Escaping the *Strand*: The Paratextual Sherlock Holmes

Introduction

Sherlock Holmes was, and continues to be, one of the most written-about fictional characters in history; he is at the centre of countless adaptations, pastiches, parodies, (pseudo-)academic criticism, and more. Sherlock Holmes had a strong influence on the content and success of the *Strand*, but his reach went far beyond the pages of official publications.²² For as Jonathan Cranfield argues, ‘those famous stories cannot claim to have solely precipitated [the *Strand*’s] enduring success. Nevertheless, they certainly raised it from a notable publishing success to a fully fledged cultural phenomenon’ (2016, p. 22). Many of the early fan writings are well-known among Sherlockian fandom; stories like J M Barrie’s *The Two Collaborators*, a parodic Sherlock Holmes story written for Conan Doyle as a ‘gay gesture of resignation over the failure which we encountered with a comic opera’ (Doyle, 1989, p. 102).²³ An important example is Frank Sidgwick’s letter to Dr Watson published in the *Cambridge Review* in 1902, in which he accuses Dr Watson of a number of inaccuracies in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* - this tongue-in-cheek article is significant as it one of the earliest examples of what Sherlockians call playing ‘the Game’ or ‘the Great Game’. It demonstrates how the readers of Sherlock Holmes took the stories into their own hands and created their own narratives, from solving the inconsistencies and giving alternative solutions, (such as suggesting Watson had up to six wives throughout the Canon to solve his inconsistent references to his wife) to writing pastiches and parodies. This chapter will look at just some of these texts found within and outside of the pages of the *Strand*, in particular looking at the *Strand*’s sister publication *Tit-Bits*, and the way official texts were separated from derivatives, pastiches, parodies, and ultimately, fanfiction.

This chapter places fandom in a historical context, beyond that currently being used by fan and media theorists such as Francesca Coppa (2006) who argue that fandom started in the 1960s. It can be demonstrated that from the 1890s there were many paratextual materials that exhibit an extraordinary level of enthusiasm for the Canon, including texts that play the Game. From the 1930s groups such as The Sherlock Holmes Society (UK) (R. L. Green,

²² Holmes was also published in *Beeton’s Christmas Annual*, *Lippincott’s*, and the US magazine *Collier’s*, but I have chosen to concentrate here on the relationship between Holmes and George Newnes Ltd (the *Strand* and *Tit-Bits*).

²³ This story was not published until Conan Doyle included it in his memoir *Memories and Adventures* (originally published 1924, 1989)

1994) and The Baker Street Irregulars (US) were established (Lellenberg, 1990), and the creation of these pseudo-academic gatherings of Holmes enthusiasts coincided with the prevalence of the word 'fan' to describe a 'keen follower of a specified hobby' that originated in the late nineteenth century in the US to describe baseball supporters (OED). I believe the term 'fan' to be an appropriate description of these enthusiastic readers because the activities they engage in coincide with current definitions of fandom as described in the introduction.

Although fan theory informs this chapter, I want to distinguish between the terms fanfiction and paratext. Using the term fanfiction for texts that historically pre-date the term itself has been argued to be appropriate by critics such as Elizabeth F Judge whose exploration of eighteenth-century fanfiction has made connections between the way people interacted with texts, the ideology of originality in the eighteenth century, and today's current academic work on media fandom. She says she uses the term fanfiction to:

'denote the enthusiasts' homages as well as the critics' parodies [...Which] could be challenged as embracing too many mere readerly interpretations or criticisms of novels under the rubric of "fan fiction." However, the distinctions between reader and critic, and indeed author and critic, are always subtle' (2009, p. 8).

Furthermore, I would argue that the distinctions between reader and author is also subtle. Fanfiction is a personal response to a reading of a canon. Barthes claims that text is 'a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash' (1977, p. 146). Fans, as well as critics, interpret this multi-dimensional space and construct meaning from their readings; they apply their own experiences and knowledge, and with that they blend their own interpretation with the original canon to create a new text - fanfiction. It is their attempt to portray what they perceive as the true meaning. In theory this means, as Judge has argued, that critics as well as enthusiasts participate in fanfiction. However, as Cornel Sandvoss argues, conceptualising fandom as 'a form of audienceship' neglects to consider 'reading as the interface between micro (reader) and macro (the text and its systems of production)' (2014, p. 72). I therefore agree with Judge that the term fanfiction needs to be expanded, but I find her definition too broad. It does not fully capture the nuanced interaction between canon and outside texts (paratexts) or systems of textual production. For example, using the term 'fanfiction' in the way Judge

does fail to capture the complexity of texts that are paid-for submissions to a periodical (such as *Tit-Bits*) by professional authors and journalists, who may be fans but also have secondary (pecuniary) motivations. Anne Jamison argues that fanfiction is writing that ‘continues, interrupts, reimagines, or just riffs on stories and characters other people have already written about’, such as the texts analysed in this chapter. However, Jamison also points out that ‘if we call a piece of writing fanfiction, we usually (though not always) understand that it wasn’t published for profit’ (2013, p. 17). This is a significant differentiation because whoever the author is, (fan/author/anonymous contributor) they were paid for their contribution. Indeed, the content may be new, or resistant to the usual Sherlock Holmes style, or it may reimagine the usual pastiche or parody, but economic motivations complicate the theorisation of fanfiction as a resistant practice.

Many critics, like Henry Jenkins (1992) have positioned fanfiction as a resistant practice, arguing that it fights against the commodification of the original text. John Fiske explores this idea further in the context of Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital. Fiske argues that there is a cultural economy of fandom, which relies on three types of productive behaviours: ‘semiotic productivity, enunciative productivity, and textual productivity’ (1992, p. 37). He says that

‘[f]ans produce and circulate among themselves texts which are often crafted with production values as high as any official culture. The key differences between the two are economic rather than ones of competence, for fans do not write or produce their texts for money; indeed, their productivity typically costs them money’ (1992, p. 39).

He goes on to say that ‘[t]here is a strong distrust of making a profit in fandom’ and yet, ‘there is a constant struggle between fans and the industry, in which the industry attempts to incorporate the tastes of the fans, and the fans to “excorporate” the products of the industry’ (1992, pp. 40, 47). Fanfiction is a creative cultural capital that is written by fans, for fans. Its value is in what it means to fans, not in its economic value. The texts in this chapter demonstrate a level of participatory culture that was increasingly prevalent in the heightened media of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century and could be considered fanfiction in this way, but their position as for-profit complicates this. They do, however, foreground how later fans engaged with the text in forms of true fanfiction

created by fans and circulated to fans. It is also possible that they mirror the types of fanfiction that were being circulated contemporarily among friends or family, but as I explained in my introduction, these more ephemeral forms of fandom are inaccessible. The texts in this chapter are, in addition, published texts. They therefore do not fit easily within many definitions of fanfiction and are consequently underutilised in academic criticism of early-Sherlockian fandom, yet they have a lot to offer in terms of understanding the dynamic between George Newnes Ltd, Conan Doyle and the early Sherlock Holmes fans.

When a text is for-profit I will not use the term fanfiction, but will instead use Jonathan Gray's definition of 'paratext' to describe those texts that ran parallel to the Sherlock Holmes Canon in Britain. As Gray argues in his introduction:

'my attraction to [the terms paratext and paratextuality] stems from the meaning of the prefix "para-," defined by the OED both as "beside, adjacent to," and "beyond or distinct from, but analogous to." A "paratext" is both "distinct from" and alike—or, I will argue, intrinsically part of—the text' (2010, p. 6).

He differentiates further between 'producer-created' paratexts, which are those paratexts created by the industry, such as posters, reviews, and merchandise, and 'fan-created' paratexts that are creative products made by fans. He states that '[p]roducts of fan creativity can challenge a text's industry-preferred meanings by posing their own alternate readings and interpretive strategies' (2010, p. 144). Gray's definition of fan-created paratexts goes beyond fanfiction alone: he also includes discussion, criticism, reviews, filk (fan song), fan art, spoilers, fan film, videos, and more. Due to my chosen methodology the paratexts I have used are literature-based, which necessarily ignores the kinds of non-textual paratexts that also existed, such as iconography, which would also be a profitable avenue of analysis. I have also limited my research to text-based Sherlock Holmes paratexts found within Britain before 1930.²⁴

This chapter will consider ideas of authorship, textual authority, and canon formation in relation to the Sherlock Holmes Canon and its paratexts. It seeks to understand the proliferation of Sherlock Holmes beyond his home in the *Strand*, as well as the complex, contradictory ways George Newnes Ltd attempted to perpetuate Holmes using *Tit-Bits* as

²⁴ This is the year Arthur Conan Doyle died and is a good cut-off point because it is in the 1930s that we see a formal Sherlockian fandom taking place.

an outlet for unofficial Holmes paratexts. It considers closely texts from between the ‘The Final Problem’ (December 1893) where Sherlock Holmes was thought dead, to when he was discovered alive in ‘The Adventure of the Empty House’ (September 1903). Texts from this time especially demonstrate the impact of Holmes’ death on fan creativity, as well as the industry’s need to keep up public interest after Holmes was gone.

Arthur Conan Doyle and Defining the Canon

To understand how paratexts and fanfiction arise out of the Sherlock Holmes Canon, we first need to understand what is meant by canon in a general sense and how the Sherlock Holmes Canon is defined. In *The Western Canon*, Harold Bloom discusses how works have historically and contemporarily been defined as canonical (1994). He identifies canon as ‘the relation of an individual reader and writer to what has been preserved out of what has been written’ (1994, p. 17). Joan Brown accords with this argument, stating that:

‘at its most basic level, any canon is a subset of the best and most important, culled from a larger set of all possible choices. And since “the best” is tantamount to what is worth keeping, this abstraction will always have huge practical consequences [...] a canon determines what ultimately is preserved in the culture’ (2010, p. 13).

The purpose of canon-formation is ‘to impose limits, to set a standard of measurement that is anything but political or moral’ (Bloom, 1994, p. 35). The Western canon is essentially a catalogue of approved texts and authors that are ‘objectively’ chosen for their aesthetic value. The literature studied in schools and universities are primarily based on what is considered to be canon, i.e. of most worth to study (Bloom, 1994, p. 17). But questions still arise around who decides what constitutes canon, and what rationale is behind the inclusion and exclusion of certain texts? The answers to these questions have shifted and changed over the years (1994, p. 20). Consequently, Bloom argues that the canon is elitist and is ‘anything but a unity or stable structure’ (Bloom, 1994, p. 37); it is fraught with debate that is influenced by a variety of critical motivations, including feminist, political, religious, and socioeconomic. Bloom presents his own argument for a Western canon, including authors such as Shakespeare, Goethe, Austen, Ibsen, Joyce, and Woolf. Yet even his canon-formation is influenced by an ideological belief in objective aestheticism; as he concludes ‘I turn to my lists, hoping that literate survivors will find some authors and books among them that they have not yet encountered and will garner the rewards that only canonical

literature affords' (1994, p. 528). For Bloom, the canon presents a unique set of works to be appreciated for their originality and aesthetic worth, yet this is a problematic definition because it is necessarily based upon structures of class and exclusivity.

The concept of a canon is essential to fan studies. Henry Jenkins claims that 'organised fandom, is, perhaps first and foremost, an institution of theory and criticism, a semistructured space where competing interpretations and evaluations of common texts are proposed, debated, negotiated' (2013, p. 86). As the conclusion of this thesis will demonstrate, the early Sherlock Holmes Society was predicated on such a structure of critical debate. For fans to relate to their chosen object of fandom, they must read the object as a text. Fans need a canon, or a set of texts, as foundation for their fandom because it is from the idea of canon that other forms of text emerge, like fanfiction. Sheenagh Pugh argues that 'one thing all fanfic has in common is the idea of a "canon", the source material accepted as authentic and, within the fandom, known by all readers in the same way that myth or folk-tale were once commonly known' (2005, p. 26). As will be demonstrated later in this chapter, an open or closed canon affects the response of the fan in their writing.

However, the formation of a canon is complicated, not least by the wide variety of texts with which fans interact. Sandvoss calls for a 'broad definition of texts that is not based on authorship', but as he points out, this removes authorship 'as the essence of textuality' and so 'the notion of the single text that can be distinguished from other texts becomes impossible to maintain, as it is now not by the producer but by the reader that the boundaries are set' (2014, p. 64). A canon as a single text becomes difficult to define the more we understand the breadth of texts that influence the reading and understanding of a fan object. These peripheral texts have been defined by Jonathan Gray as 'paratexts' (2010), including written and visual/aural texts like videos and songs. However, if all these texts are considered equal, then the definition of canon becomes so wide that there is no understanding of the core aesthetic judgements fans make in forming their canon.²⁵ Fans make choices about what constitutes canon and, as will be discussed in relation to the Sherlock Holmes Canon, this is usually done through wide and ongoing discussions between fans where often some form of consensus is met. Terms like 'paratext' are helpful

²⁵ Sandvoss points out that fan studies have typically dismissed the possibility of a universal aesthetic and that literary studies have advocated aesthetic as an objective category, but neither definition is fully satisfactory. (2014, pp. 73-74)

in delineating between the text (or canon) and surrounding material, but is not always a sufficient definition, especially when considering what has influenced the inclusion or exclusion of one text or another as canon. Instead, Sandvoss argues that it is in ‘the process of interaction between [author, text, and reader] that aesthetic value is manifested’ (2014, p. 70). It is through this process that a canon is mutually formed within fandom; fans define canon as the core set of texts that define their fandom.

The Sherlock Holmes Canon is generally understood to be the 56 short stories as published in the *Strand* (and then as books in *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes*, *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, *His Last Bow*, and *The Case Book of Sherlock Holmes*), and the four novels (*A Study in Scarlet*, *The Sign of Four*, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, and *The Valley of Fear*).²⁶ This has been formed by a consensus and is one that the Sherlockian fandom takes seriously in their re-working of the Canon for fanfiction, fan-scholarship, and adaptations. Yet the formation of what is known as ‘the Canon’ in Sherlockian circles is fascinating. In David Leslie Murray’s review of *Baker-Street Studies* (1934), a group of essays written by members of the Sherlock Holmes Society in the style of the Game, he comments that ‘except for questioning a date or a name here and there [the writers] accept the Murray Revised Version in two volumes as apparently a canon not to be questioned’ (1934a, p. 523). These editions were published by London publisher John Murray as the *Sherlock Holmes Complete Short Stories* (1928) and *Sherlock Holmes Complete Long Stories* (1929), which defines the Canon as described above and each is inscribed with a preface written by Conan Doyle offering conciliatory words about the quality of the Canon. Conan Doyle describes, for example, how the surprise plot twists of the short stories suffered ‘as [Holmes’] methods and character became familiar to the public’ (1928, p. v), making them predictable. He says, ‘I hope, however, that the reader who can now take them in any order will not find that the end shows any conspicuous falling off from the modest merits of the beginning’ (1928, p. v). His comments echo his words in his autobiography: ‘though the general average [of the stories] may not be conspicuously high, still the last one is as good as the first’ (1989, p. 98). Conan Doyle was concerned that the quality of the Canon would not withstand the test of time because he

²⁶ It is generally accepted in Sherlockian fandom that when referring to the Canon as described, the ‘c’ is capitalised. I have therefore followed this tradition and capitalised when I have referred specifically to the Sherlock Holmes Canon. In all other instances, I have maintained a lower-case ‘c’.

believed the Canon was a 'lower stratum of literary achievement' (1989, p. 99). Yet there is no doubt that there was some control for quality in the formation of the Canon and that many found enjoyment from the stories. His trust 'that the younger public may find these romances of interest, and that here and there one of the older generation may recapture an ancient thrill' (1929, p. vi) were fulfilled, for the dedication to and enthusiasm for Holmes continues on into the twenty-first century. Despite Conan Doyle's concerns about Holmes' place in the literary stratum, there was some control over what was included as Canon and what was excluded that was predicated on perceived quality.

What makes a Sherlock Holmes story is not always clear-cut, as Conan Doyle complicated the notion of the Sherlock Holmes Canon by writing stories that contained Sherlock Holmes, but are not considered Canon. Jack Tracy's edited collection *Sherlock Holmes: The Published Apocrypha by Arthur Conan Doyle and Associated Hands* is an alternative Canon. It highlights texts that were published by Conan Doyle or by the Conan Doyle estate as attributed to the author's hand, but that have not been accepted into the Canon. One such example is Conan Doyle's 'The Field Bazaar', published in Edinburgh University's magazine *The Student* in November 1896. Tracy points out, 'Conventional wisdom has it that [Conan Doyle] finally relented [about writing Holmes again] with *The Hound of the Baskervilles* [...] In truth his resolve failed much earlier, if only fleetingly, when he wrote "The Field Bazaar"' (1980, p. 3). Tracy's claim is that Conan Doyle could not resist filling the gap left by Sherlock Holmes' death. When Sherlock Holmes died, people filled the gap with Sherlock Holmes paratexts; some were fan-created, some were commissioned pieces from newspapers and periodicals, and some, it seems, were written by Conan Doyle. Conan Doyle's own pastiches and parodies of his famous detective raises the question: what separates these texts from the Canon? The Sherlockian fandom have labelled these texts 'The Apocrypha' and Tracy's collection only covers those published for the public. Tracy says of this decision:

'there are still the *unpublished* Apocrypha – two tantalising works in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's own hand – which remain suppressed [...] So the *unpublished* Apocrypha remain so. "My father did not wish it published, nor did my brothers, and nor do I," Dame Jean Conan Doyle, the last surviving direct descendent, has written to us' (1980, p. x [original emphasis]).

Tracy purposefully left out the unpublished material out of respect for Conan Doyle's wishes and that of his descendants. This decision speaks of how the Canon has been formed based on conjecture of what Conan Doyle wished to be considered Canon and what he wished to suppress or have separated from the 'official stories'.

For example, when Conan Doyle wrote stories for the *Round the Fire* series in 1898 he included a Sherlock Holmes character, without using Holmes' name, but using the recognisable tropes as seen in other paratexts published by *Tit-Bits*, described below. In two of the *Round the Fire* stories, 'The Man with the Watches' and 'The Lost Special', an unnamed 'amateur reasoner of some celebrity' wrote letters to the press presenting (erroneous) solutions to mysteries (Tracy, 1980, p. 17). Edgar W Smith, an early member of the Baker Street Irregulars, publicly argued that the stories were so clearly about Holmes that they should be accepted as Canon, but many felt that because they were collected by Doyle as part of the *Round the Fire* series and not part of the Sherlock Holmes series, they could not be Canon (Tracy, 1980, p. 17). This indicates that there has been discussion over time about what constitutes as Canon, establishing the Sherlock Holmes Canon as what Joan Lipman Brown calls a 'consensus canon' where negotiation has been held and 'agreement among experts as to what constitutes the best' (2010, p. 52). Tracy suggests that experts (Sherlockians) have a general philosophy behind what is and is not Canon, which is based on Conan Doyle's decision over what should be considered Canon, giving him authorial control over the Sherlock Holmes identity.

By writing a Holmes-like story, without the character of Holmes, Conan Doyle participated in an extracanonial body of texts to which fans also contribute. Writers of fanfiction therefore join a tradition, alongside the original author, of using the character of Sherlock Holmes in new, uncanonical, and creative ways. Conan Doyle's participation in this creative enterprise allows us to see what he valued in his own stories. After all, as Roberta Pearson argues,

'the most basic signifiers of the Holmes character can serve to link paratexts into the Holmes franchise's intertextual network [...] just the name of the globally recognised cultural icon [...] points audiences from paratext to paratext and across media platforms' (2015, p. 192).

If Holmes is so easy to recognise and use, do Conan Doyle's unofficial texts offer us anything more? Take for example, 'How Watson Learned the Trick'. This very short story was written in 1922 as a miniature book and was included in the miniature library for the doll's house created for Queen Mary's birthday (Royal-Collection-Trust, 2014). The doll's house was a:

'miniature mansion, 39 inches in height, [and] had working electric lights and running water. Postage-stamp-sized paintings were done by British masters, and, in the library, were tiny books written by the greatest British authors of the day, including Rudyard Kipling, Thomas Hardy, and Joseph Conrad' (Riley & McAllister, 2001, p. 143).

Conan Doyle wrote this parody by request of Princess Marie Louise and Jack Tracy calls it a 'pleasant spoof of those powers of observation and deduction which had by then become universally famous' (1980, p. 5). Conan Doyle uses many of the same techniques in his parody 'How Watson Learned the Trick' as other authors used in parodies for *Tit-Bits*, such as 'The Man Who "Bested" Sherlock Holmes' (1894) and 'Sherlock's Rival' (1903). 'How Watson Learned the Trick' begins with a reference to Holmes' popularity and the predictability of detective fiction, as Watson says to Holmes: 'I was thinking how superficial are these tricks of yours, and how wonderful it is that the public should continue to show interest in them' (Doyle, 2014, location 3061). As with other contemporary parodies, Conan Doyle draws attention to the fictionality of Holmes and the unexpected depth of public adoration for the character. Watson, like the fans of Holmes, undertakes to replicate Holmes' methods and fails in yet another demonstration of the foolishness of attempting it.

The parody works because it plays on the Canon and it reverses the roles of Watson and Holmes. Watson believes Holmes' abilities are 'really easily acquired' (2014, loc 3061) and so rattles off a list of deductions while Holmes appears to be dumbfounded, saying things like 'Dear me! How very clever!' (2014, loc 3068) just as his clients do, such as in 'The "Gloria Scott"' where Mr Trevor is so surprised by Holmes' deduction that he faints (Doyle, 2009f). However, in the end Holmes reveals that Watson's 'deductions have not been so happy as I should have wished' (2014, loc 3078). Watson has, in fact, deduced nothing correctly and Holmes gloats, 'but go on, Watson, go on! It's a very superficial

trick, and no doubt you will soon acquire it' (2014, loc 3087). Far from reinforcing the simplicity of Holmes' methods, Conan Doyle points out that imitating Holmes looks far easier than it is in reality. This point is made in the Canon as well; there are several occasions where Holmes asks Watson to attempt to make deductions. In the opening of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* for example, Watson makes a series of deductions about the walking stick left by James Mortimer, only for Holmes to say 'I am afraid, my dear Watson, that most of your conclusions are erroneous' (Doyle, 2009n, p. 670). By juxtaposing Holmes directly against Watson, the Canonical Holmes and his methods are reinforced as being true and requiring great intelligence, a capacity which it seems only the true Holmes possesses, parodic and paratextual Holmes do not compare. His methods may give the appearance of being superficial, but, Conan Doyle implies, they require more finesse than many people expect. The story thwarts the expectations of parody by maintaining Holmes' canonical position as a superior detective.

Conan Doyle sets himself as the authority on Sherlock Holmes and reinforces his position as the authority on the Canon. He conveys a judgement on works that are derivative of his own. 'How Watson Learned the Trick' mocks writers' attempts to compete with Holmes. It delivers a commentary on the hierarchy of texts by implying that the Canon is more than just an accumulation of superficial tricks and so his success is cannot be replicated easily. Holmes admits in 'How Watson Learned the Trick' that 'there are a few' (2014, loc 3078) who are as clever as he is, which appears to be Conan Doyle conceding that are some imitations that live up to his high standards, but the majority do not. It demonstrates what Foucault describes as one of the functions of an author, that 'the author is a particular source of expression who, in more or less finished forms, is manifested equally well' (1998, p. 215). It is somewhat ironic then that 'How Watson Learned the Trick' is separated from the narrative arc of the Canon because of its lesser quality and because it does not ascribe to 'a principle of unity' (Foucault, 1998, p. 215). This implies that Conan Doyle's work can be extracanonical, working as a paratext alongside the Canon, rather than within it. The larger works determine and alter Conan Doyle's function as the author as he produced 'the possibility and the rules of formation of other texts' (Foucault, 1998, p. 215), including Detective Fiction, Sherlock Holmes fanfiction, and Sherlockian criticism.²⁷ Paratexts were

²⁷ Stephen Knight calls Sherlock Holmes an 'apotheosis'; 'the full development of the detective' (2003, pp. 55, 67).

inevitable from the moment Conan Doyle forged the Canon, but he also actively participated in the creation of paratexts, creating content that was not Canonical but worked within a network of texts surrounding the Canon. He established the lines between Canon and paratext, which have subsequently been debated but mostly sustained.

Sherlock Holmes Paratexts in the Strand

The *Strand* also established a hierarchical relationship between Canon and paratext and kept their pages free from unofficial Sherlock Holmes themed material, which raises questions of how the *Strand* selected their material and what constituted quality. In Chapter One I outlined how the *Strand* used writing tools and the language of self-improvement to encourage communal participation in writing with an aim towards the professionalisation of its readers as authors. As a testament to the *Strand*'s seemingly inclusive policy, Reginald Pound recalls that, '*The Strand* did not make a fetish of 'big names' as a circulation lure' (1966, p. 37). The *Strand* often took literary submissions from little-known authors and it seems that so long as the stories were of good quality, were healthful, and would entertain the readers, they were considered for publication alongside the more prolific writers.

However, although the *Strand* did not rely only big names to draw a large readership, they did depend on literary agents to field submissions from lesser-known contributors. The relationship between the *Strand* and its authors was, at least initially, indirect. For example, Conan Doyle's literary agent, A P Watt, was responsible for sending Herbert Greenhough Smith, the *Strand*'s managing editor, the manuscript for 'A Scandal in Bohemia' in 1891 (P. D. McDonald, 1997). Watt 'negotiated a rate of £4 per thousand words for the British serial rights of the entire first series' (P. D. McDonald, 1997, p. 140). At this point in time, Conan Doyle was still working as a doctor, looking to utilise his new specialism in ophthalmology in London, but he decided in August 1891 that his only income would come from his written work (Kerr, 2013, p. 8). His close and continued relationship with the *Strand* helped establish a new career for him, but it was done through official channels. The *Strand* reinforced the system of writer to literary agent to publication and while their readers may have been encouraged to pursue writing as a career, they were also directed into this system since the *Strand* did not, overall, print anything directly from its readers.

The *Strand* especially did not publish any Sherlock Holmes parodies or pastiches. It did, however, use the name of Sherlock Holmes as a shorthand for a set of skills that were

ubiquitously associated with the character. The *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the use of the name Sherlock Holmes as a noun for ‘a person resembling Sherlock Holmes’ to 1896 (OED). From 1903, the word Sherlock alone meant ‘a person who investigates mysteries or shows great perceptiveness’ (OED). A number of derivatives also came into use, including ‘sherlocking’ and ‘sherlock holmesing’, meaning to engage in detective work. From the mid-1890s Sherlock Holmes entered language as a noun and a verb with widely known characteristics. Most of the references to Sherlock Holmes in the *Strand* were of this nature (unless they were the stories themselves, biographical articles by Conan Doyle, or official paratexts such as advertisements for the stories). For example, the article “‘Sherlock Holmes’ in Egypt: The Methods of the Bedouin Trackers’ by Greville H Palmer (1914) is not about Sherlock Holmes at all, but about detective methods in Egypt. A similar article appeared later the same year entitled ‘Black “Sherlocks”: The Native Trackers of Australia’ by D J McNamara (1914), discussing how Aborigines in Australia have similar traits to Holmes. Both articles assume the name of Sherlock Holmes in their titles to bait the reader into reading the article, despite their tenuous link to the character.

Tracking and ‘Sherlock Holmes’, it seems, were synonymous. Using Sherlock Holmes’ name in this way frames the stories so that it is more than just intertextuality, it affects how readers (re)approach the Canonical Holmes. As Jonathan Gray discusses in the context of television shows:

‘Paratextuality is in fact a subset of intertextuality. What distinguishes the two terms is that intertextuality often refers to the instance wherein one or more bona fide [television] shows frame another show, whereas paratextuality refers to the instance wherein a textual fragment or “peripheral” frames a show’ (2010, p. 117).

In a similar way, paratexts affect the way readers return to the original text. If a reader comprehends that Sherlock Holmes means detecting, tracking, and an unparalleled ability to read character, they will expect these same characteristics to be in the Canon. For those who had not read Sherlock Holmes, it establishes his character before reading the stories and it foregrounds their expectations, and for those that had read the Canon, it re-establishes or alters the emphasis on certain characteristics, changing the way one may return to reading the Canon.

The use of Sherlock Holmes' name in this way assumes, for example, that the methods of Sherlock Holmes were real and imitable. Articles such as the *Strand's* 'Sherlock Holmes in Real Life' (1922) and 'Forerunners of Sherlock Holmes' (1906) reinforced this. The latter article states:

'Sherlock Holmes has achieved that rarest of all reputations in literature, for he has become a 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. Sherlock Holmes is for all the world to understand that he is an individual gifted with an extraordinary sense of logical deduction, the ability to reason clearly from cause to effect, or from effect back again to cause, and to arrange a series of given facts in their ordered sequence for the elucidation of a mystery' ("Forerunners of Sherlock Holmes," 1906, p. 50).

Holmes' method is accepted without question, despite its problematic applications.

Rosemary Jann discusses how Sherlock Holmes uses ideologies of positivistic science to solve mysteries and how the Canon 'faced with increasing evidence of the disruptive power of the irrational and the unconscious [...] could soothe such anxieties by rendering natural and self-evident the social order that generated them' (1990, p. 705) such as physiognomy, scientific determinism, and ideologies of class. She argues that 'Doyle helped create the tradition of the detective distinguished by his skill at reading the signs the body involuntarily leaves behind' (1990, p. 690). Such ability is seemingly apparent in trackers such as those featured in "'Sherlock Holmes" in Egypt: The Methods of the Bedouin Trackers' and 'Black "Sherlocks": The Native Trackers of Australia'. These set Sherlock Holmes up as a cultural figure admired by all the world and as a figure to be imitated.

The imitation of Sherlock Holmes led to the development of a Sherlockian scholarship, where fans plot the inconsistencies of the Canon, debate the possible solutions, as well as the chronology of the Canon and biographical details such as where Sherlock Holmes went to university. This type of creative output blended fact with fiction, and it perpetuated the Great Game where fans reject Sherlock Holmes' fictionality by affecting to believe in Holmes' existence. As Michael Saler has pointed out, from 1891 'many either believed Holmes existed or at least claimed that they did' (2003, p. 600) and what followed in later years were countless articles, books, and stories that treated Holmes as real. Readers wanted Sherlock Holmes to be real and their engagement with the character was on a level

that goes beyond fiction. Saler argues that Sherlockian devotion is ‘a departure from preceding public infatuations with fictional characters, and a template for succeeding public infatuations for the characters and worlds of J. R. R. Tolkien, Star Trek, Star Wars, and so on’ (2003, pp. 601-602). It was truly unique, but was cultivated through a symbiotic relationship between the middle-class *Strand* and its lower-class sister publication, *Tit-Bits*. The latter engaged with the reality of Sherlock Holmes through anecdotes of ‘real-life’ Sherlock Holmeses (using his name as a shorthand for certain characteristics as discussed above), but also more directly through their correspondence column. The question of Sherlock Holmes’ existence was a puzzle to many and as early as January 1892 the Editor of *Tit-Bits* responded to the query: ‘Buttons wishes to know whether Mr. Sherlock Holmes, the detective genius, whose doings as recorded in the *Strand Magazine* by Mr. Conan Doyle have caused so much interest, is or is not an actual living person’ (Editor, 1892, p. 283). The answer given was that:

‘We cannot positively say. As a matter of fact we have not made the personal acquaintance of Mr. Sherlock Holmes, but we have read so much of his doings that we have made up our minds that if ever there is a mystery in connection with this office we shall endeavour to find out the whereabouts of Mr. Sherlock Holmes and employ him to investigate it, and if when that time comes we should find that no such person is in existence we shall then be very much disappointed indeed’ (Editor, 1892, p. 283).

Tit-Bits here reinforced the myth that Sherlock Holmes was real by refusing to confirm his fictionality and Conan Doyle’s authorship is not mentioned. The wording indicates that they want Holmes to be real more than they believe he truly is. They haven’t met Holmes, but they’ve read about his adventures (as many readers had) and they would want Holmes to solve their case, but there’s no guarantee of finding him. They are playing the Game. Supposing Holmes to be real all the while knowing full well that he is fictional. It demonstrates that as early as 1892, the Game was widely understood by a community of readers.

The detailed explanations of Holmes’ deductions, although based on fallacious systems of interpretation, encouraged the application of his methods to the Canon itself in a playful, yet serious way. That the publishing industry adopted this idea of Holmes’ existence and

his methods as imitable demonstrates how Holmes and his fans impacted significantly upon publishing culture in an unprecedented way. However, the *Strand*'s role in the production of fanfiction and fan-created paratexts is surprisingly small given that most of the Canon was first published in the *Strand*. The magazine purposely kept itself away from fan-produced paratexts and instead met demand for additional Holmes texts through publishing official paratexts about Sherlock Holmes written by Conan Doyle. In 'Some Personalia About Mr. Sherlock Holmes' (1917) Conan Doyle states, 'At the request of the Editor I have spent some days in looking over a old letter-box in which from time to time I have placed letters referring directly or indirectly to the notorious Mr. Holmes' (1917, p. 531). There was a demand for paratexts about Sherlock Holmes, which Conan Doyle provided at the request of the Editor. The *Strand* was in a difficult position where they wanted to perpetuate interest in Holmes but they did not want to disrupt the Holmes brand with fan-produced paratexts, and so they published only authorised material that controlled how Sherlock Holmes was viewed and so associated the *Strand* with the 'real' Sherlock Holmes.

While the *Strand* did not allow space for such fanfiction, its sister publication, *Tit-Bits* did. Ann McClellan comments that 'Because the more upscale *Strand* did not publish letters to the editor or inquiry columns, readers were forced to turn to *Tit-Bits* for answers, thus reinforcing the synergistic relationship between Holmes's publication "home" and its cross-promotional companion' (2017). Fans turned to *Tit-Bits* when Holmes died to find answers and to find a continued Sherlock Holmes narrative, which opened a line of communication between the two magazines. McClellan argues that '[b]y integrally linking the publication and advertising strategies of his two major periodicals, proprietor and editor George Newnes manufactured one of the most vibrant literary fandoms in history' (McClellan, 2017). *Tit-Bits* filled in the gaps with stories using the name of Sherlock Holmes and provided 'an alternative transmedia model in which the publisher and fans worked together to expand and promote the transmedia world' (McClellan, 2017). Where the *Strand* held itself in reserve for official texts, Newnes Ltd as a corporation used *Tit-Bits* in concert to promote Holmes and fill the gap in the hiatus.

Paratextual Sherlock Holmes and Tit-Bits

Like the *Strand*, *Tit-Bits* celebrated writing and encouraged the participation of its readers. The two magazines had a similar attitude towards writing as a new form of

professionalisation and *Tit-Bits* actively encouraged the submission of manuscripts for publication, including any kind of miscellaneous writing that would be suitable for their readers. Christopher Pittard argues that:

‘the establishment of a community of readers was a key feature of all Newnes’s publications. By the time the first issue of the *Strand* appeared, then, the idea that a George Newnes periodical would offer a self-consciously communal reading experience was fully established’ (2011, p. 63).

Pittard further defines the idea of community as the curated relationship between reader and editor, George Newnes, which was ‘notably expressed in the *Tit-Bits* Railway Insurance scheme launched in 1885’; the success of which was seen in the number of claims made, but also ‘in the way it caught the popular imagination’ (2011, p. 65). *Tit-Bits* was Newnes’ first venture into publishing and its aim was to be good, light reading. The two magazines, *Tit-Bits* and the *Strand*, had different emphases, but were under the editorship of one man whose reputation fused the magazines together as a means to establish a reading community. Newnes was a paternal figure and he curated a relationship with his readers through articles, letters and comments ‘from The Editor’, which occurred most frequently in *Tit-Bits*.

Tit-Bits, or to give it its full title: *Tit-Bits from all the Most Interesting Books, Periodicals and Contributors in the World* was a miscellany of articles, jokes, anecdotes, competitions, fictions, correspondence, and advice. A typical issue would contain an instalment of a fictional narrative written by an established author; an advertisement for the insurance policy; an inquiry column; a correspondence page; answers to correspondence; general information, and advertisements. Foremost to the concerns of this chapter is the inclusion of the Prize Tit-Bit, which was a continuous competition judging the best piece of fiction sent in by a reader, offering a monetary reward. The layout of *Tit-Bits* changed somewhat over the years, with features coming and going, such as a personals page, football tit-bits, continental tit-bits, and a premium page where submissions would receive higher pay for the quality of the content. However, what remained consistent was the miscellaneous nature of the magazine, acquiring content from its readers, as well as journalists, authors, and other publications. There is an ideology inherent in its subtitle that indicates *Tit-Bits* had a panoptic perspective on all the information the world and could cast judgement on what

was of interest and of quality. The suggestion that they review ‘all’ the books gives weight to the sense of intellectual judgement that the articles are the most ‘interesting’.

Kate Jackson comments that ‘*Tit-Bits* reduced the complexities of modern life, distilling and synthesising information relevant to its readers’ (2001, p. 59). *Tit-Bits* was comprised of a textual dialogue between reader and editor: it allowed space for readers’ questions on all kinds of topics to be answered from medicine, to the law, to general advice. An exemplary regular feature was the ‘Tit Bits of Legal Information’, introduced in 1881, which answered reader’s questions about the law and their rights, and were answered by a lawyer so that the accuracy of the answers could be assured. Kate Jackson describes the column as a ‘legal, journalistic version of the talkback radio programme’ (2001, p. 76). Columns such as this were essential in building a community and the ‘Answers to Correspondents’ column in particular, Jackson argues was ‘the linchpin of the interactive posture that Newnes adopted in *Tit-Bits*’ because it was one of the most popular and was where Newnes most clearly established a ‘personalised reader-editor interaction’ (2001, p. 62) through his purposeful and vigilant answering of correspondence. *Tit-Bits* was a collaborative magazine made up of texts from the editors, authors, journalists and its readership. Both Pittard and Jackson emphasise the role of competitions and the insurance scheme as ways in which *Tit-Bits* encouraged a feeling of community and commitment to the magazine.

One aspect that has been mostly overlooked by these critics is how fiction was published in the magazines and how this impacted on Sherlock Holmes fanfiction. Ann McClellan has fruitfully begun such an investigation (2017), but I want to look more closely at the pieces from external sources (those not created by George Newnes Ltd), such as the anonymous submissions and the prize sections of *Tit-Bits*. From the 1890s onwards *Tit-Bits*’ front page carried the words, ‘One Guinea per column is paid for original contributions to this paper’ (“*Tit-Bits* advertisement,” 1893) and thus readers were encouraged to submit original text for consideration. The phrasing indicates that authorship was valued as a profession, for as Jackson observes that:

‘competition prizes and contribution payments offered in *Tit-Bits* were expressed in guineas, a fact which implied a class of reader in possession of a salary (middle

class or professional) as opposed to a wage (always expressed in pounds, shillings and pence)' (2001, p. 57).

The decision to express the payment in terms of a salary speaks of not only of the intended middle-class readership, but of the wider design to see writing as a middle-class profession. It aimed its call for content to all professional people, judging submissions on their individual value and not the position, career, or prestige of the author submitting it. *Tit-Bits* encouraged the professionalisation of authors in the early stages of their literary career by publishing unknown or almost unknown authors and it was from this promotion of original contribution that 'began a tradition which was to lead Newnes to establish the highly successful *Strand Magazine* in 1890' (K. Jackson, 2001, p. 205).

Tit-Bits' attitude to authorship differed from the *Strand*'s because it did not develop an author's career through the association of names. The anonymity of texts was the usual custom of many periodicals of the time, but throughout the nineteenth century authors gradually began to be able to make a career from writing, using various publishing streams to generate income and so publishing author's names alongside their work became more common (Patten, 2012). In *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Gerard Genette includes authors' names as an example of paratext. He argues that it is both a peritext and an epitext because it is included in the work (peritext), as well as outside (epitext) in texts such as advertising. He says:

'[to] sign a work with one's real name is a choice like any other, and nothing authorizes us to regard this choice as insignificant [...] it is, instead, the way to put an identity, or rather a "personality," as the media call it, at the service of the book: "This book is the work of the illustrious So-and-So"' (1997, p. 40).

The association between name and text is important. *Tit-Bits* published authors' names if they were a big draw for readers or next to prize entries such as 'The Prize Tit-Bit'. This consequently linked authorship with quality and was important in developing fame and renown. The customary eradication of the author's name enabled *Tit-Bits* to have a coherent voice, despite its many contributors, but it also enabled early-career authors to develop a writing style while earning, without fear that it would harm their reputation if new works were not well-received. Many writers began their literary careers by publishing for *Tit-Bits*; for example, P.G. Wodehouse had his first comic piece published in *Tit-Bits* in November

1900 and later became a regular contributor for the *Strand* from 1910, having written three individual pieces for them between 1905 and 1906. The appearance of a name announced to the reader that the content is of literary worth, albeit still within a populist periodical, and divides it from other contributions as a more legitimate publishing format.

A distinction was maintained between the *Strand* as the place for official, author-led, texts that would then become the Canon of Sherlock Holmes, and *Tit-Bits*, the place for readers to interact with the text. By re-printing the Holmes stories alongside the many pastiches and parodies of the stories, *Tit-Bits* foregrounded future fandom communities where reader-created fiction, reader discussion, and corporate advertising mix. Like the *Strand*, *Tit-Bits* used the name of Sherlock Holmes as a form of shorthand. It published several stories under titles that included the name ‘Sherlock Holmes’, such as ‘Sherlock Holmes at the Bar’ in 1903, which is a short anecdote about a lawyer who came to the shrewd conclusion that the witness had memorised his evidence. As with the *Strand*, the title of the story misleads the reader and the content has very little to do with Holmes, but using his name informed the readers’ perception of what it meant to be Sherlock Holmes without having read the Canon itself. It created a synergy between the two magazines that associated Holmes with specific characteristics.

However, *Tit-Bits* also exhibited innovation and play with Sherlock Holmes’ character. In October 1903, *Tit-Bits* published an anonymous short story entitled ‘Burlesque Conversations. Sherlock Holmes and Brigadier Gerard’, which is a parody of Arthur Conan Doyle’s two major characters. Brigadier Gerard is the Napoleonic hussar protagonist from *The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard* and *The Adventures of Brigadier Gerard* who is obsessed with honour and vain tales of his gallant exploits. In ‘Burlesque Conversations’ the two main characters have a conversation at Holmes’ home at 221B Baker Street. Holmes makes several deductions about Gerard and the two men bicker about how Gerard has been ousted from the *Strand* in favour of Holmes and they compare the measure of their characters. It is an amusing story that puts two of Conan Doyle’s characters together in an unprecedented way. There are narrative elements taken from both Holmes’ and Gerard’s stories, including their rhetoric. ‘Burlesque Conversations’ therefore relies on the readers’ knowledge of both literary series. Janice McDonald argues that ‘detective fiction creates the context necessary for audience recognition of parody. Readers of detective fiction often read widely within the genre [...] This preknowledge is necessary to the appreciation of parody’ (1997, p. 63).

Intertextuality allows readers to make the connection between the parodic text and the original.

The opening of the 'Burlesque Conversations', for example, revises the familiar opening scene of many Canonical stories that begin with a client visiting 221B Baker Street where Holmes makes deductions about them (to them directly or to Watson), impressing the hearer. Holmes makes several deductions about Gerard saying:

'let me see now. You left the Gare du Nord at 3 p.m. yesterday, caught the night packet at Dieppe, had a rough passage and a stiff dose of mal-de-mer, travelled up to London Bridge with a pretty brunette [...]' ("Burlesque Conversations. Sherlock Holmes and Brigadier Gerard.," 1903).

Gerard bristles at Holmes' exercise in arrogance, snapping: 'you cannot astonish Etienne Gerard with your inferential synthesis. Are we not both threads from the same 'Strand'?' ("Burlesque Conversations. Sherlock Holmes and Brigadier Gerard.," 1903). 'Burlesque Conversations' riffs on this usual opening in a similar way to Conan Doyle's 'How Watson Learned the Trick', using familiar tropes from the Canon (such as Holmes wearing a dressing-gown and smoking shag tobacco) and mixing this with elements from the Brigadier Gerard stories. For example, Holmes' deduction that Gerard was seen with an attractive woman plays upon Gerard's reputation as a womaniser. The mix is made glaringly obvious with Gerard's comment 'are we not both from the same 'Strand'?' ("Burlesque Conversations. Sherlock Holmes and Brigadier Gerard.," 1903), which is a self-referential joke, pointing to the *Strand* as the home of both literary series.

There was a real life context for Gerard's fury at being 'cut off thus abrupt' ("Burlesque Conversations. Sherlock Holmes and Brigadier Gerard.," 1903). 'Burlesque Conversations' appeared after Conan Doyle had revealed Holmes' survival of the Reichenbach Falls in 'The Adventure of the Empty House' earlier that year. It had been confirmed that Conan Doyle would continue to write another series of Sherlock Holmes short stories, but this meant that the series of Brigadier Gerard stories he had been writing for the *Strand* in the mean-time, stopped abruptly and so in May 1903 the last Brigadier Gerard story appeared. Gerard rails at Holmes for continuing on when he should be 'as dead as a stone' ("Burlesque Conversations. Sherlock Holmes and Brigadier Gerard.," 1903), which predicts Conan Doyle's own sentiments in the later-published preface to *The Case Book of Sherlock*

Holmes, where he wrote ‘I fear that Sherlock Holmes may become like one of these popular tenors who, having outlived their time, are still tempted to make repeated farewell bows to their indulgent audiences’ (Doyle, 2009d, p. 983). The story makes clear that Holmes’ return and the subsequent ousting of Etienne Gerard is Conan Doyle’s fault. Holmes makes reference to his life being ‘in the hands of the doctor’ and that it is the doctor (Conan Doyle) who has decided ‘a change would be beneficial’ (“Burlesque Conversations. Sherlock Holmes and Brigadier Gerard.,” 1903). The story ends with a ridiculous, yet wonderfully metaphoric chasing of Gerard out of 221B and thus off the page. Sherlock Holmes knocks over a tumbler with a pellet of ancient Gorgonzola cheese underneath it and Gerard running from the room, spluttering. ‘Sherlock, with a wink, replaced the tumbler and threw open the windows’ (“Burlesque Conversations. Sherlock Holmes and Brigadier Gerard.,” 1903). Sherlock Holmes has simultaneously rid the story of Gerard and replaced Gerard in the pages of the *Strand*. If the reader were not to understand the double meaning, Holmes clarifies Gerard’s removal by playing the Funeral March on the fiddle. Brigadier Gerard is gone. The story is an effective paratext – it runs in parallel to the Sherlock Holmes Canon and it acts as both an advertisement for, and a form of sneak-peek into, the new series, using the stand-off between the characters to comically suggest that characters, even those by the same author, are in competition with each other.

What is also striking about ‘Burlesque Conversations’ is that it has some comparable elements to crossover fanfiction. Henry Jenkins defines crossover stories in the following way:

““Cross-over” stories break down not only the boundaries between texts but also those between genres, suggesting how familiar characters might function in radically different environments. “Cross-overs” also allow fans to consider how characters from different series might interact’ (2013, p. 171).

‘Burlesque Conversations’ does just this. It uses two characters from the same author and places them in conversation with each other, despite the settings for each story being radically different. Etienne Gerard is from the Napoleonic era; Sherlock Holmes from the latter end of the nineteenth century. There is near a hundred years between the settings of the two stories. Not to mention their very different locations. Although the crossing over of story elements and characters is not a new phenomenon in 1903, it is an important

development in Sherlock Holmes fanfiction. It demonstrates that before there was a coherent fandom with definable characteristics and behaviours, there were writers who were willing to play with the genre and to mix Conan Doyle's characters for amusing effect. It is entertaining, innovative, and reveals a good knowledge of the characters, narrative tropes, and of the processes of publishing. 'Burlesque Conversations' parodically mocks the tropes from the Sherlock Holmes and Brigadier Gerard series. It points out the fickle nature of the publishing industry and does so under anonymity. The author's anonymity allows them freedom to play with Holmesian tropes in a humorous, silly way, making the text appear inconsequential and not a 'proper' Holmes text while at the same time encouraging an intertextual reading which relies upon a knowledge of the Canonical texts. Gerard is a foolish character, comically parading around, telling his swashbuckling stories of war, tight scrapes, and women falling at his feet while Holmes matches Gerard's arrogance in his exaggerated deductions. The jokes about publishing schedules and Holmes' death only work when the reader is in on the joke. As cross-over fiction, it reveals that readers of *Tit-Bits* had a demonstrable level of knowledge of the Canon and Conan Doyle's other works.

Literary Competitions in Tit-Bits

Tit-Bits also published some Sherlock Holmes themed fiction under authors' names. Notably, Sherlock Holmes paratexts were published through columns such as the 'Prize Tit-Bit'. This feature was usually found in the middle of the magazine and included a variety of genres. What is so interesting about 'The Prize Tit-Bit' is the interplay between publishing hierarchies. Each 'Prize Tit-Bit' was prefaced with the statement (or some slight variation of): 'The following has been judged by the Arbitrators to be the best story sent in, and has therefore gained the prize. Payment at the rate of One Guinea per column has been sent to the author,' (Rayment, 1903) followed by the name and address of the author, which emphasised the quality of the work through the allowed association of a name, much like the *Strand*. The use of the word 'Arbitrators' implies that the competition was judged by an anonymous panel of people. Readers were therefore encouraged to feel that they had a fair chance of winning and that the competition was open to all, not just professional writers. The purpose of this statement is part of what Jackson notes as Newnes' 'legal and moral obligations' (2001, p. 72) that he felt towards his readers. Contributors were reassured that the judges of the competition were judging the stories on their own merits and therefore any

story of good quality had the potential to win, whether or not the author was an established writer.

I have found five examples of ‘Prize Tit-Bit’ winners who used the name ‘Sherlock Holmes’ in their titles, as well as two examples of a Sherlock Holmes text winning the two guinea Christmas prize in 1897. Research into the winners of the ‘Prize Tit-Bit’ entries (Ernest Bamforth, Joseph Baron, William Raynor, C Randolph Lichfield, and J Dale Rayment) revealed that some of these names have associations with the wider literary world.²⁸ C Randolph Lichfield and William Raynor both went on to write fiction in the early 1900s for other magazines like *The Idler*, *Macmillan’s Magazine*, and *The London Journal*.²⁹ It is not clear whether either were working as authors before the time of their *Tit-Bits* competition win (1 Jan 1898 and 29 December 1894, respectively) but what is clear is that they later became published authors through proper avenues of publishing, i.e. not through a competition. Bamforth and Rayment do not appear to have been professional authors, which leaves their stories open for the possibility of being considered fanfiction and their fiction utilises Sherlock Holmes tropes such as his dramatic deductions.

The first story I wish to investigate here is by Joseph Baron, who won with a story called ‘The Man Who “Bested” Sherlock Holmes’ (1894). Sherlock Holmes is a secondary character, which enables a direct comparison between him and the protagonist, a private detective called Anderson. The story is told from the perspective of the Watson figure, the nameless narrator, who faithfully reports Anderson’s account of his investigation into a brooch that has gone missing from the McDonald’s home. The McDonalds bring in both Anderson and Holmes to solve the mysterious case. While Holmes makes wild and unfounded accusations, Anderson patiently listens to the McDonald’s talking parrot, whom he is convinced will help with the case. The parrot repeats phrases and eventually repeats McDonald’s voice stating he would put the brooch in the billiard table pocket, an act he did not remember because he was asleep. Anderson reveals the brooch’s location, much to the shame of Holmes and appears to be the more intelligent of the two, despite having done very little in the way of investigative work or deductive reasoning (1894).

²⁸ I used several databases for my search including The British Newspaper Archive, Proquest, and Victoria Listserv.

²⁹ These include titles ‘A Matter of Brass’ (Lichfield, 1909); ‘How It Ended’ (Lichfield, 1906), and ‘Enduring Love of Kaomao’ (Raynor, 1911), among others.

Joseph Baron is a curious winner of the ‘Prize Tit-Bit’ because ‘The Man Who “Bested” Sherlock Holmes’ is not an original piece for *Tit-Bits*. It was written by Baron, but had been published first in *The Burnley Express* on 27 December 1892, almost two years before he won the *Tit-Bits* prize on 27 October 1894.³⁰ The paratextual power of the story varies between the two publications because its relationship to the Canon as an open or closed text changed; Sherlock Holmes was still alive when Baron’s story was first published and dead when it was published in *Tit-Bits* and so its narrative can be read in two distinct ways. Jonathan Gray discusses how paratexts work in *media res*, i.e. after a person has encountered a text and how paratexts affect the re-entry into these texts. He states:

‘Television shows give us significant time between episodes to interpret them, and so we will often make sense of them away from the work itself, in the moments between exhibition. As we have seen, though, these moments or what Iser would call “gaps”, are often filled with paratexts’ (2010, p. 42).

This could apply to the serialisation of the Sherlock Holmes Canon. When ‘The Man Who “Bested” Sherlock Holmes’ was initially published in the *Burnley Express*, ‘The Final Problem’ (in which Holmes was supposedly killed) had not been written and therefore as a paratext, the story adds to an open canon, i.e. one that had not finished yet. It was published in the same month as ‘The Adventure of Silver Blaze’ (December 1892). Its original intention was to jovially mock the formulaic nature of the Canon, such as Holmes looking on the floor for footprints, but parodies it by having him use a microscope (Baron, 1894, p. 65). As an open text, we could interpret this as a parodic slight, it makes the reader aware of the predictability of the Canon in an amusing way.

However, when the story was published again in 1894 in the pages of *Tit-Bits*, Sherlock Holmes was assumed dead, never to be resurrected. The Canon was considered closed and the story has added value as a paratext in this context. The comment that Sherlock Holmes would be a ‘favourite of posterity’ (1894, p. 65) takes on a whole new meaning: just by being published at a different time in the Canon’s evolution it has transformed from being a comment on Holmes’ continuing success into a comment on his ability to live on after

³⁰ According to a footnote by Mattias Boström and Matt Laffey, ‘Joseph Baron (1859–1924) was a British journalist living in Blackburn. He wrote poems and plays, but was primarily a Lancashire dialect writer under the pen name “Tom o’ Dick o’ Bobs.” [...] He also wrote non-dialect fiction for local newspapers, e.g. *Burnley Express*’ (2015, p. 253). Baron was established in his journalism career by 1894 when his story was published in *Tit-Bits*, so it is unclear why Joseph Baron decided to submit his story for the prize.

death. Holmes' death not only affected how the Canon was interpreted, but also how paratexts could be construed. The death of Sherlock Holmes had a huge impact on readers as well as on George Newnes Ltd who had a vested interest in keeping readers concerned with Sherlock Holmes. When Sherlock Holmes was killed, the *Strand* lost 20,000 subscribers overnight and so it was in the company's interest to provide material for readers to read about Holmes. As Reginald Pound reports: 'Reporting to the shareholders of his private company, of whom Conan Doyle himself was one, Newnes referred to the dispatch of Holmes as "a dreadful event"' (1966, p. 45). The demand for Holmes did not just come from George Newnes' publications: the readers themselves were calling out for more Sherlock Holmes. The influx of letters to the *Tit-Bits* offices led George Newnes to respond on 6 January 1894, stating that:

'The news of the death of Sherlock Holmes has been received with most widespread regret, and readers have implored us to use our influence with Mr. Conan Doyle to prevent the tragedy being consummated. We can only reply that we pleaded for his life in the most urgent, earnest, and constant manner. Like hundreds of correspondents we feel as if we had lost an old friend whom we could ill spare. [...]
He has, however, promised us that he will, at some future date, if opportunity may occur, give us the offer of some posthumous histories of the great detective, which offer we shall readily accept' (Editor, 1894, p. 247).

The response from readers was candid and emotional, as this extract from a letter written in *The Graphic* shows: 'everybody I meet is lamenting the tragedy [...] a great cry of chagrin and disappointment has gone up in the world of light literature lovers at Sherlock's death' (Traill, 1893, p. 806). There was a sense of communal mourning at Sherlock Holmes' death and this has been emphasised in later years with Reginald Pound's claim that, '[i]f in protest rather than in sorrow, young City men that month put mourning crepe on their silk hats, there were others for whom the death of a myth was akin to a national bereavement' (1966, p. 45). This claim that men wore mourning crepe has transformed over time into the claim that men wore mourning bands at the death of Holmes. It is often reported when speaking of Sherlock Holmes fandom, but without reference, or else referring to another article that is unreferenced. This rumour has been investigated by members of the Baker Street Irregulars and Philip Bergem states that to his knowledge, there are no contemporary

references to this event (Bergem, 2006), but the fact the myth exists is proof that there was enough of an emotional reaction from the public to warrant exaggeration.³¹

The reaction from the readers of the *Strand* and *Tit-Bits* has much in common with the theory of post-object fanfiction. Rebecca Williams has written on this subject in *Post-Object Fandom: Television, Identity and Self-narrative*, looking at how modern fans respond when their object of fandom comes to an end. She makes a distinction between when a series ends unexpectedly and when a series finale is expected: ‘the different ways in which television shows end necessarily impact upon how fan audiences respond to them’ (2015, p. 31). Williams explores what fans expect from an ending and how they continue to engage with their object of fandom when it has finished. Although speaking of television fandom specifically, there are parallels to be drawn. Holmes’ death left a gap for fanfiction and the emotional impact of Holmes’ death prompted a creative outpouring of fan-produced paratexts. Williams argues that fanfiction is a ‘way of dealing with an unsatisfactory ending and also [is] a form of continuation of a beloved narrative world’ (2015, p. 168). The disinclination of fans to let go of their object of fandom is reminiscent of Freud’s exploration of the mourning process in *Mourning and Melancholia* (1917). Freud argues that mourning is the ‘reaction to the loss of a loved object’ and he observes that the reality of the loss can result in ‘a turning away from reality’ and so mourning requires the repeating of memories and hopes in order to prolong the existence of the lost object in the mind and eventually reconcile oneself with the loss (1957, pp. 245, 244).

In a similar way, Williams notes that ‘transmedia continuations of favourite characters and narrative worlds can encourage fan attachment’ (2015, p. 195), but the reconciliation with the loss may never occur in fandom and instead the prolonging of the lost object carries on indefinitely. Given that mourning the loss of a character can have a similar impact on the psychology of the reader as real loss and can cause them to desire an alternate reality where their character continues, it is no surprise that ‘The Man Who “Bested” Sherlock Holmes’ won the prize Tit-Bit in 1894, less than a year after the Reichenbach Falls. Its publication is a sign of George Newnes’ awareness of the continuing demand for Sherlock Holmes. Gaps had to be filled. There was an influx of Holmes pastiches published in *Tit-Bits* after

³¹ Bergem states that the first mention of this occurrence is in John Dickson Carr’s *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* and in Bergem’s opinion: ‘this does sound like one more example of Adrian’s [Conan Doyle’s son] influence on Carr’s biography and his propagation of the ACD myth’ (2006, p.58).

Holmes' death, such as 'Sherlock in Love' (17 October 1896), 'A Rural Sherlock Holmes' (11 March 1899) and 'Sherlock's Rival' (24 October 1903), the latter of which will be discussed in more detail below. *Tit-Bits* enabled fans to continue the Canon in an unofficial capacity, for as Sheenagh Pugh says, 'Whenever a canon closes, someone somewhere will mourn it enough to reopen it [...] if we liked the story we may still not be ready for it to end' (2005, p. 47). Pugh, like Williams, argues that fanfiction allows fans to deal with their grief at their object of fandom ending, and it allowed fans to reassure themselves that Holmes was still alive. It is about continuation, not closure.

It is interesting to note that when 'The Man Who "Bested" Sherlock Holmes' was originally published, it was claimed that Conan Doyle had personally approved of the story, raising questions about the author's role in paratexts. A week before its publication in *The Burnley Express*, the newspaper comments on the upcoming title, stating that, 'Conan Doyle has described as "emphatically good" 'The Man Who "Bested" Sherlock Holmes'' (Sabden, 1892, p. 6). How the newspaper came to get Conan Doyle's opinion on the pastiche is uncertain and Conan Doyle rarely publicly made a comment on pastiches other than that written by J M Barrie, whose short story Conan Doyle included in his autobiography, *Memories and Adventures*.³² If genuine, this seal of approval could be read as Conan Doyle having a favourable view of pastiches and of the Sherlock Holmes fandom more generally. It could be seen as an invitation for creativity. However, if the approval is fabricated, this leads us to question the integrity of reporting and whether the newspaper intended to parody Conan Doyle's voice as the story parodies his creation, or if they are upsetting the authorial hierarchy. In either case, Arthur Conan Doyle's endorsement was not mentioned in *Tit-Bits*' reprinting of the story. The reprint of 'The Man Who "Bested" Sherlock Holmes' separates the author from the paratext and in a Barthesian way enacts the death of the author because 'to give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing' (Barthes & Heath, 1977, p. 147). *Tit-Bits* purposefully opens up the possibilities of the (then closed) Canon and acts as the dialogical place for readers, journalists, and George Newnes Ltd to communicate with each other about Sherlock Holmes.

³² Another notable exception is that Conan Doyle wrote to the Danish and Swedish press to protest the publication of German dime novels about Sherlock Holmes. For more detail see Mattias Boström, *From Holmes to Sherlock* (2017, pp. 135-138)

Indeed, 'The Man Who "Bested" Sherlock Holmes' is a conversation between two friends about the greatness of Holmes, which mirrors fan behaviour. The narrator of and his friend Anderson debate whether Holmes is the best detective, mirroring how many fans choose to discuss the Canon in a variety of ways, covering topics from their favourite story or characters to chronological problems. It is this person-to-person interaction that instigated the establishment of official fan communities with meetings and dinners. In their discussion, Anderson mocks Holmes as the lesser of the two detectives, he takes great pleasure in besting Holmes and he 'roared at the sight of [Holmes'] perplexity' (1894, p. 66). Anderson is not a fan of Holmes and derides Holmes' methods as drama rather than science, such as when Holmes claims there is a 'gorgeous simplicity' (1894, p. 65) about the case and mistakenly accuses the McDonalds' daughter of stealing the brooch. The narrator, on the other hand, is a Sherlock Holmes fan. Holmes is a 'great favourite', which causes Anderson to set out to disprove Holmes' greatness, quipping: 'Unique and wonderful - fiddle-de-dee!' (1894, p. 65). Yet the narrator does not give up his position, stating at the end, 'I would not alter my previous estimate of the reception posterity would accord to the chronicled exploits of Sherlock Holmes' (1894, p. 66). Sherlock Holmes fans, it seems, will not be persuaded otherwise.

What stands out about 'The Man Who "Bested" Sherlock Holmes' is the way that the narrative uses intertextuality to further its satire of the whole detective genre. Not only is Anderson compared directly to Holmes, but the narrative also contains elements of other detective stories. The narrator first draws this comparison when he says, 'Sherlock Holmes will be as great a favourite with posterity as Pickwick or Count Fosco, or anybody else you can name in fiction' (1894, p. 65). Both Pickwick (from Charles Dickens' *The Pickwick Papers* (1836)) and Count Fosco (from Wilkie Collins' *The Woman In White* (1859)) consider themselves intelligent; they have a flair for the dramatic, and they were widely well-liked by the reading public; all qualities they have in common with Holmes. Ronald R Thomas posits that 'the "exact science of detection" as it was invented and implemented by the famous literary duo of Sherlock Holmes and Doctor Watson, two decades after *The Woman in White* appeared, is the fruit of that juridical-medical collaboration' (1999, p. 74). There is influence and intertextuality between Holmes and *The Woman in White* (1860) to which 'The Man Who "Bested" Sherlock Holmes' draws attention. Simon Dentith argues that 'parody forms part of a range of cultural practices, which allude, with deliberate

evaluating intonation, to precursor texts' (2000, p. 6). The deliberate allusion to pre-cursor detective texts places Sherlock Holmes in comparison and contrast: it voices the narrator's (or fan's) high esteem of Sherlock Holmes as comparable to other great and lasting characters. Yet as the narrative mocks Holmes and his methods, this intertextuality works to contrast Holmes with great characters and heightens the mockery of his predictability.

'The Man Who "Bested" Sherlock Holmes' makes use of several detective fiction tropes and is similar in plot to Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone* (1868), another prototype for the detective novel. In *The Moonstone*, it is revealed that Franklin Blake is the thief of the moonstone diamond. Blake is unaware of his crime because in an anxious and drugged state, he stole the diamond to hide it for safe keeping and while sleepwalking, gave the diamond to the cousin, Godfrey Ablewhite. 'The Man Who "Bested" Sherlock Holmes' also features a sleepwalking member of the family who hides something of value because they were concerned about theft. This is mixed with elements of Arthur Morrison's 'Martin Hewitt Investigator: The Lenton Croft Robberies' (1894) where a parrot is the perpetrator of a stolen brooch. This story was also published in the *Strand*, further linking the intertextual references to the Holmes Canon. By invoking *The Moonstone* and 'The Lenton Croft Robberies', Baron establishes his narrative within a wider framework of detective fiction. The unlikelihood of the storyline adds to the comic effect as Baron promotes sleepwalking as something amusing, which is reinforced when Anderson references Henry Cockton's *Sylvester Sound, the Somnambulist* (1844), advising Mr McDonald:

"the next time you think of going in for a little sleep-walking, I would advise you take the same precaution as Sylvester did in attaching himself to his bedfellow," and we all laughed at the recollection of the somnambulist's ruse and its result' (1894, p. 66).³³

The event they are most likely referring to is when the protagonist Sylvester chains himself to Judkins overnight and, in his sleep, asks for the key to unchain himself. Sylvester goes out walking, free from the chain, but Judkins follows with the chain still attached to his wrist. Judkins is subsequently arrested as an escaped convict in a humorous scene that takes a while to be resolved (Cockton, 1844).

³³ Henry Cockton's *Sylvester Sound the Somnambulist* is a comic novel about a man who sleepwalks without realising it and gets into a series of scrapes and exploits while asleep.

Neither *The Moonstone* nor *Sylvester Sound, the Somnambulist* are directly mentioned in the Sherlock Holmes Canon, yet Baron chose to evoke elements from the various different stories to create comedy. Janice McDonald argues that because detective fiction was so formulaic, authors became self-conscious of its predictability and therefore references to fictional works in detective fiction worked as a double negative to ‘enhance rather than deny the reality of the given novel’ (1997, p. 69) because it creates distance between the formula and the events in hand. She argues that intertextuality is not just for comedy, it adds to the reality effect of the narrative (1997). ‘The Man Who “Bested” Sherlock Holmes’ is certainly aware of detective fiction’s formulaic approach. The solution to the mystery does not rely upon the usual formula because it thwarts the usual deduction by having a parrot solve the mystery that produces dramatic irony. At the end, there is big dramatic revelation of the brooch where Anderson parades his detective prowess and asks McDonald to check the pockets of the billiard table for the brooch, knowing that is where it is hidden. The reader is aware that the intention is to upstage Sherlock Holmes, but is also aware that Anderson is misleading the client about how he came to the conclusion. He has not deduced it; he has been told (1894). Therefore, contrary to Janice McDonald’s claim, when the narrative does point to the verisimilitude of itself through intertextuality, it does so ironically, knowing that the text reinforces the comic effect. It uses the tropes of detective fiction parodically and for humour, simultaneously poking fun at Anderson, who solves the mystery by accident, and Holmes in his hyperbolic characterisation, and the fans of Sherlock Holmes in their determination to love Sherlock Holmes no matter how ridiculous or unrealistic his methods are.

Parody offers a useful insight into contemporary understanding and values. By looking at what the parody is mocking, we can grasp the norms that it is othering. We can see just that in another example of a Tit-Bits Prize Winner, J Dale Rayment, who wrote a story called ‘Sherlock’s Rival’ (1903). It is an amusing tale with parodic elements about a man who believes himself to be the next Sherlock Holmes, blessed with a natural brain for analysis and deduction. In a first-person account that is narrated very differently to the Sherlock Holmes Canon, he explains his story: he sees fishermen examining a rock with a rope tied around it and immediately believes the rock to be linked to the dead body washed up earlier that day. After some investigation and deduction, he believes the villain to be the same man who found the body. He invites the perpetrator to his home, gets him drunk, and confronts

him. The narrator promptly gets punched in the nose. The story pokes fun at the narrator's arrogance at believing himself to be Sherlock Holmes' rival. The narrator consistently compares himself to Holmes, stating they have 'strong points in common' and advises Holmes: 'look to thy laurels; a new star rises in the firmament of fame, and thou must suffer eclipse!' (1903, p. 109). Beneath the mocking of narrator, the narrative extends the mocking to the readership of Sherlock Holmes. The narrator is a fan of the Sherlock Holmes Canon, as he reveals in the opening line: 'I have read – who hasn't? – the exploits of Sherlock Holmes' (1903, p. 109) and he is concerned with how he compares to Holmes. The narrator embodies the Sherlock Holmes fans who imagined themselves to be an intellectual counterpart to Holmes. As demonstrated above, the Canon purposefully establishes that Holmes' methods are imitable, for as Holmes says to Watson in 'A Scandal in Bohemia', 'you see, but you do not observe' (Doyle, 2009b, p. 162). He encourages Watson to look beyond the obvious and his training of Watson also trains the reader in his methods. This was taken literally (yet playfully) in the development of Sherlockian criticism, but in 'Sherlock's Rival', this pitting of the reader against Holmes (which is actually Conan Doyle), is something to be mocked.

Despite his arrogance, the narrator of 'Sherlock's Rival' is not very good at detective work. Everyone, he assumes, has read the Canon, but not everyone has 'those organs whereby man analyses, compares, deducts' with which Nature has 'liberally endowed' him (1903, p. 109). The narrator attempts to create a narrative of his own where he is elevated over other Sherlock Holmes readers because he has a superior intellect. As Henrik and Sara Linden comment:

'it is common for most fan communities to create and encourage some sort of hierarchy within the group or community. Higher status can for example be gained through greater knowledge about the subject, or through better access to it, or through a larger collection of memorabilia' (2016, p. 26).

The narrator's attempts to imitate Holmes' methods demonstrate an in-depth knowledge of the Canon and associates him from the beginning with other Sherlock Holmes fans who did the same. Yet most of his information comes from Mrs Cummins, his landlady, who has 'encyclopaedic knowledge of other people's affairs' (1903, p. 109) and his attempts at target practice with a gun fail miserably.

The narrative self-reflexively criticises Sherlock Holmes fandom. Fans like the narrator do not just read the stories, they imitate Holmes because they believe they have ‘strong points in common’ that they do not ‘go off and brag’ (1903, p. 109) about, but brood over like Holmes does (such as in ‘Silver Blaze’ where Watson says, ‘silent as he was, I knew perfectly well what it was over which he was brooding’ (Doyle, 2009e, p. 335)). Detectives supposedly can spot a case, even while thinking about something else. The narrator describes how this happens to him, stating:

‘One sultry afternoon, with my back against a boulder and my feet a few strides from the sea, I was meditating over this very thing when my attention was attracted by a coble which was trawling along shore [...] In the net were fish and something else, and the something else interested me more than the fish’ (1903, p. 109).

The narrator has learnt from Holmes’ method to notice things and to link together chains of events, such as associating the rock caught by the fisherman with the body brought to land earlier in the day. The narrator even imitates Holmes’ ‘scientific use of the imagination’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 687) where the stone ‘conjured up in my brain gruesome images, which, associating themselves with that look [on the man who found the body], produced me a thought that made me shudder’ (1903, p. 109). As Holmes says in *A Study in Scarlet* ‘where there is no imagination there is no horror’ (Doyle, 2009c, p. 37). However, although the narrator is close to being the real thing, he lacks the robust quality of the original. This all culminates in the ‘final act’ (1903, p. 109), which is a parody of the confessional ending of detective fiction. He states, ‘criminals who, being suddenly confronted with some instrument or evidence of their crime, had, in the uncontrollable terror of the moment, betrayed their guilt’ (1903, p. 109) and so he sets up a party with the suspect as the guest of honour. Here he ‘delivered a trim little speech, in which eulogy was blended with moral reflections’ and reveals the stone to the suspect, who promptly punches him in the nose, assuming it to be a joke in poor taste (1903, p. 109). The confessional ending is thwarted in a comical way and the narrator is revealed to be far less of a threat to Sherlock Holmes as he claims. It is a cold dash of reality as the narrator’s expectations are undermined by the unreliable logic of the detective story.

However, the story not only points out the flaws in the narrator’s ability, making him seem a foolish character, but it also mocks the foundation of deductions in the Canon. Rayment’s

narrative brings into question the premise that reality (albeit still a fictional reality) can replicate fiction. The narrator, for example, believes he is phrenologically predestined to be a detective because ‘an authority on bumps’ (Rayment, 1903, p. 109) told him so and he bases many of his theories and deductions on similarly shaky, popular, scientific frameworks.³⁴ Moments like when the narrator deduces murder from the rock demonstrate that Sherlock Holmes’ methods work because they are designed by a talented author, not because they are real. As Frank Lawrence describes:

‘Like the geologist or the paleontologist, the detective explains a fact or an event by placing it within a chronological series; he then imaginatively transforms it into a chain of natural causes and effects, leading backward in time to some posited originating moment. Such a moment is arbitrary and hypothetical’ (2009, p. 15).

Holmes’ method relies upon a contradiction, for as Merrick Burrow explores, Conan Doyle’s writing demonstrates a ‘discrepancy between the strictures of empirical science and Doyle’s own leanings towards pseudo-scientific movements such as the SPR and Spiritualism’ (2013, p. 321). This allows Conan Doyle to rely on pseudoscientific theory such as atavism because the solution is pre-determined and therefore Holmes will always be right. ‘Sherlock’s Rival’ illustrates this perfectly through the narrator who fumbles his way through the usual detective fiction tropes such as coincidence (he happens upon the case), the confrontation of the criminal, and the examination of evidence in a (parodically) clever way such as when he says, ‘this is the epidermis – human epidermis – with a portion of the true skin adhering’ (Rayment, 1903, p. 109).

‘Sherlock’s Rival’ thereby reflects negatively upon the Great Game in the way it criticises fans for believing in the reality of Holmes’ methods. The narrator believes himself to be correct, assuming that the ‘criminal’ will confess, but ‘then it came – not the confession – his fist’ (1903, p. 109). The man punches the narrator in the nose, angered at the accusations in the ‘trim little speech, in which eulogy was blended with moral reflections’ (1903, p. 109). Yet to the end, the narrator has faith in his deduction and state that, ‘in unequivocal terms I pointed out that it was no joking matter, and insisted that all Neptune’s ocean couldn’t wash his hands white again’ (Rayment, 1903, p. 109). He replicates the

³⁴ Stephen Tomlinson describes phrenology as being ‘first formulated by Franz-Joseph Gall as a physiological theory of brain structure in which character and abilities could be determined from the size of mental organs (revealed by the contours of the cranium)’ (Tomlinson, 2014, p. xiii)

stereotypical arrogance of Holmes, even when his case has failed. This reflects upon Sherlock Holmes fans as obstinate, even in the face of contrary evidence, such as when they participate in the Great Game, knowing that Holmes was not real or that his methods are applicable, but choose to believe anyway. It parodies this obstinacy as comical arrogance.

Conclusion

Arthur Conan Doyle had some control over his reputation as an author and his opinion on what constitutes Canon still holds a lot of sway. The surrounding texts are paratextual pastiches or parodies, using the characters and tropes that negotiate and renegotiate how people interact with the Canon. Drawing a line between Canon and pastiche can be difficult and arbitrary in many ways because not everything Arthur Conan Doyle wrote was considered Canonical, which undermines the idea that the Canon is the complete set of works of Sherlock Holmes stories. Paratexts escaped Conan Doyle and overflowed from the pages of the *Strand* as authors took the characters and the stories and made them their own. Arthur Conan Doyle's name as the author of Sherlock Holmes is often confused in its meaning. As Michel Foucault describes, the function of an author's name 'is more than a gesture, a finger pointed at someone; it is, to a certain extent, the equivalent of a description' (1998, p. 209). Arthur Conan Doyle was often mistakenly misattributed the characteristics of Sherlock Holmes. Michael Saler states that 'many of the early readers of the Sherlock Holmes stories assumed that the author must share those attributes that made Holmes so quintessentially modern: his secularism, his rationalism, his scepticism' (2003, p. 607). Conan Doyle reveals in 'Some Personalia on Mr. Sherlock Holmes' in the *Strand* that letters to Sherlock Holmes were often sent to Conan Doyle's home as many mistook Holmes for a real person (Doyle, 1917). Conan Doyle also received requests to take on real detective cases, which he occasionally did as an amateur offering 'some assistance to people in distress' (1917, p. 533). One such case was that of George Edalji, who was convicted of cattle maiming and served three years of his seven-year sentence (Doyle, 1907). In 1907 Edalji received a pardon, in part because of Conan Doyle's public involvement in the case (Doyle, 1907). Conan Doyle later said of it:

'[f]or the case of Mr. Edalji I can claim little credit, for it did not take any elaborate deduction to come to the conclusion that a man who is practically blind did not

make a journey at night which involved crossing a main line of railway [...] The man was obviously innocent' (1917, p. 533).

However, Conan Doyle did maintain a very public campaign for Edalji's case to be reconsidered; he believed Edalji deserved compensation for the time he was falsely imprisoned (Doyle, 1907).³⁵ The confusion between the real Conan Doyle and the fictional Sherlock Holmes permeated the texts that surrounded the Canon, including in *Tit-Bits* who proudly gave real answers to many correspondence questions and left the reality of Holmes in the balance because they assumed most readers would understand it to be a joke; an ironic belief. Michael Saler separates the readers of Sherlock Holmes into categories, stating that some 'less sophisticated readers' (2003, p. 611) may have been taken in by the mass media surrounding Holmes and misunderstood Holmes' reality, and these he calls the 'naïve believer', but there were also those who were 'ironic believers' (2003, p. 609) who understood Holmes as fictional but chose to participate in the ongoing dialogue in the press of treating Holmes as if he was real.

There are many paratexts involving Sherlock Holmes outside the pages of *Tit-Bits* and the *Strand*, the analysis of which is beyond the remit of this chapter but would also be fruitful in terms of gaining an understanding of just how much control Arthur Conan Doyle and George Newnes Ltd had over the name of Sherlock Holmes. The proliferation of his name was not just controlled by these two entities and the parody of Holmes was far-reaching, becoming a shorthand within culture, not just within the pages of these two publications. It was a cultural phenomenon and as such was found in all kinds of unexpected places. Matt Hills argues that modern adaptations are *de facto* transmedia because there is:

'no guiding (corporate) hand compelling any unity across media and across narrative iterations, precisely because there is no singular franchise, but rather a network of intertextualities – some disavowed, others privileged – which contingently coalesce into the reinventions and extensions of cultural myth' (2012, p. 38).

The interview with Sherlock Holmes in *The National Observer* in 1891 is one such example of outside publications taking hold of the Sherlock Holmes reality myth and

³⁵ In recent years this has become a paratext in itself with Julian Barnes' biographical/detection novel *Arthur & George* (2005) based on the Edalji case. This was adapted into a television series for ITV in 2015.

turning it into something of their own.³⁶ The article purports to be a privileged interview with Sherlock Holmes, which criticises his author Arthur Conan Doyle for using his name for cheap entertainment. They accommodate the myth and by doing so, they create a simulacrum, which as Baudrillard describes in *Simulacra and Simulation* is ‘never exchanged for the real, but exchanged for itself, in an uninterrupted circuit without reference or circumference’ (1994, p. 6).³⁷ In the process of making the interview seem real (simulating an interview), the *National Observer* creates a form of reality that is neither fully real nor fully fiction, for ‘the network of artificial signs [...] become inextricably mixed up with real elements’ (Jean Baudrillard, 1994, p. 20). The interview plays with the divide between real and fiction, which became a central tenet of the Sherlockian fandom as discussed in more detail in the conclusion of this thesis. *Tit-Bits* and the *Strand* had a role in creating a formalised fandom. They introduced a hierarchy of texts and paratexts that were authorised and had a purpose beyond using Sherlock Holmes as a trope; the purpose of these texts was to include their reading communities into a community of Holmes fans. Those fans began to demonstrate their enthusiasm not only through texts - reading and writing them - but also through collecting ephemera like postcards and autographs, as discussed further in the next chapter.

³⁶ The way the *National Observer* purposely confuses the author and character to form fictional history or pseudo-biography has its roots in the rise of the novel. See for example Ian Watt’s *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (2000), especially his discussion of *Moll Flanders* pp. 93-134.

³⁷ For an alternative view on how the systems of reality and experience work, see the works of Jacques Derrida, such as *Specters of Marx* (1994). Derrida argues that the experience of reality is not self-referential but is bound with the figure of the haunting spectre.

Chapter Three: Collecting Sherlock Holmes: Autographs and Postcards

Introduction

When Sherlock Holmes first appeared in the pages of the *Strand*, the immediacy of his popularity with readers prompted a number of visible consequences: the circulation of the *Strand* grew as a result and libraries were forced to stay open longer on publication days to meet the demand of readers (Pound, 1966, p. 92). As Chapter Two showed, writings about Holmes began to appear in newspapers and periodicals from all kinds of sources. Fans were invested in the life of Sherlock Holmes and consumed all manner of texts about him, interacting with them in a variety of ways, such as collecting postcards, writing letters, and reading pastiches and parodies. These are historic instances of actions we recognise as being fan activity, which Cornel Sandvoss defines as ‘regular, emotionally involved consumption of a given popular narrative or text in the form of books, television shows, films or music, as well as popular texts in the broader sense’ (2005, p. 8). The fans of Sherlock Holmes of the 1890s demonstrated a high level of emotional involvement in the text—most famously, the outcry at Holmes' death led many to write to Conan Doyle to plead for his return (Doyle, 1989). However, a Sherlock Holmes fandom did not emerge fully formed and so it is important to bear in mind the historical context in which it developed.

As far as we know, Sherlock Holmes fans in the 1890s interacted with the Canon as individuals rather than in formal communities or groups, and readers showed much of the same enthusiasm and behaviour toward Holmes as other readers did for texts such as *Trilby* (1894) by George du Maurier, writing letters to the author and buying *Trilby* merchandise (Ormond, 1969). However, unlike the readers of *Trilby*, fans of Sherlock Holmes became more coordinated over time, forming official organisations such as the Sherlock Holmes Society. The fans of Sherlock Holmes in the 1890s were not a cohesive community, but there is evidence of a community that echoes Benedict Anderson's conception of imagined communities (2006). Sandvoss has further applied Anderson's theory to fandom and describes fan communities as being ‘imagined in terms not only of *structure* but also of *content*, not only in terms of who the other members of such communities are, but also in terms of what such communities stand for’ (2005, p. 57 [original emphasis]). We see this in the way that fan letters place their authors as part of an imagined community and in the way

that the editor of the *Strand*, George Newnes, cultivated a community among readers (K. Jackson, 2001, p. 95). What the Sherlock Holmes fans stood for in its early conception was based upon immersion in the Canon as theorised by Michael Saler (2003, p. 603). This would later become known as the Great Game, where fans of Sherlock Holmes maintain a knowing belief that Holmes was (or is) real and Arthur Conan Doyle was Watson's literary agent.

This chapter explores the history of Sherlock Holmes fans in Britain through the example of collecting as a form of fan practice. As Lincoln Geraghty argues, 'collecting is an active and discerning process that relies on many of the same strategies and processes fans employ in poaching and creating new texts. The collection can and should be read as a text' (2014, p. 14). This chapter will look at the collecting of autographs and postcards as a historically transitional activity, which was founded on an increased interest in collecting (Belk, 2001). The focus will be on the behaviour of the fans as collectors, why these paratexts were important, and what influence these paratexts had on the reading or re-reading of the original text, as well as the social attitudes towards different types of collecting in the latter part of the nineteenth century, through to the early 1930s. I argue that Sherlock Holmes' popularity was heavily influenced by a wider interest in collecting where fans had a unique access to a plethora of merchandise, which negotiated and re-negotiated their interaction with the primary text.

Collecting in the Nineteenth Century

Collecting was not a nineteenth century invention. Russell W Belk argues that collecting in the way we know it today started in Ancient Greece (2001). The collecting culture of the eighteenth century divided collectors into two categories: the connoisseur and the amateur collector and these definitions, Belk argues, continued in use:

'[s]ince the Enlightenment, being a connoisseur has meant specialized knowledge about an area of collecting and the corresponding abilities to classify collectibles according to acceptable taxonomies, to possess and exercise taste and judgement, and to assess authenticity and value. In other words, the amateur collector is a passionate subjective consumer, while the connoisseur is a rational objective expert' (2001, p. 45).

This vital shift became increasingly pronounced in the nineteenth century as the industrial reproduction of desirable products reduced the price of many collectible items, meaning a lower class of collector became prevalent. The distinction between the connoisseur and the amateur became even more important: it was a distinction of class, education and aesthetic taste.

This being so, collectors were often pathologised. In Walter Hamilton's 'The Collecting Mania: From the Note-Book of a Mad Doctor' in *The Bookworm* (1894), Hamilton perpetuates the image of collecting as sickly. He claims the middle class are 'threatened with annihilation' and demonstrate 'serious continual deterioration' of brain power because all they do is 'take their ideas from the daily papers they read, absorbing the distorted views of men' (1894, p. 41).³⁸ This critique reinforces what David C Hanson calls 'the narrative of the Victorian collector as a passive dupe of fashion' (2015, p. 789), which remained even as the landscape of collecting began to change in the twentieth century. Hamilton's article follows these stereotypical critiques, affirming collecting as the disease called 'collector's mania', which is a dangerous malady that spreads 'ruin, dismay and even boredom, amongst the friends and relatives of the poor demented victims' (1894, p. 41); it is also 'highly infectious' (1894, p. 44) and is an affliction that needs to be cured, or even better, prevented.

Hamilton's article is written light-heartedly, using humour and satire to emphasise his points. In this self-reflexive and playful critique Hamilton uses the subtitle the 'mad doctor' to reveal his satiric intentions. It establishes the tone of the piece in which he describes how collectors, and in particular book collectors, function and states that the only way to eradicate the disease is to 'close the shops of all dealers in second-hand books, prints, furniture, &c., on every day but Sunday, as on that day the educated classes never leave home, unless it is to go to church' (1894, p. 46). He satirically blames second-hand businesses as the sole source of infection of the 'historical' branch of collecting mania that is 'exceeding painful' and 'often completely ruins the weak minded individuals inflicted

³⁸ *The Bookworm* was edited William Roberts, who was one of the central figures of the controversy that broke out around the "first edition mania", which David C Hanson describes in 'Sentiment and Materiality in Late Victorian Book Collecting' (2015). William Roberts had very specific ideas about the business and economics of book collecting, he believed that 'steeply rising dealer's prices and auction competition for first editions were not justified by the books' value' (2015, p. 791). The ideology of collecting was a subjective thing and Roberts' editorial decisions demonstrate some of the public debates that were circulating about collectors and their mental competency.

with it' (1894, pp. 45-46). This implies that collectors are completely incapable of having control over their own bodies. It also cynically points to the capitalist nature of the obsession – shops will never close while the market is strong and while they can charge 'exorbitant prices' for items that will only be sold on 'for about one-tenth of what they cost' (1894, p. 64). It seems inevitable to Hamilton that collecting will self-perpetuate and will remain popular. After all, the *Bookworm* itself was a publication for book collectors and its success was proof of the popularity of collecting in the middle classes. Hamilton knew the readers of the *Bookworm* would be familiar with the stigma surrounding collecting and although his article is a satiric take on the 'disease' of 'collecting mania' (1894, p. 42), it is a useful insight into the popular fears and debates surrounding the mental competency of collectors as it reiterates these arguments.

Magazines like the *Strand* sought to perpetuate the interest in popular things and in commodities, such as celebrities' autographs, but also portrayed collectors as pathological or diseased. See, for example, Harry Furniss's article 'The Autograph Hunter' for the *Strand* in 1902, where he calls autograph collecting 'autograph fever' and a 'disease,' yet finds the request for his autograph 'flattering' (1902, p. 542) and presents facsimiles of autographs for viewing. Others also perpetuated the image of collecting as pathological, including collectors themselves, whom Belk reports as using 'the medical vocabulary of disease' in order to 'justify the self-indulgence of collecting' (2001, p. 80), as in Hamilton's article. The imagery of mental degeneracy and the fears that collectors collected in bad taste foregrounds the pathology that later came to be seen in academic and popular theorising of fans more widely. Lincoln Geraghty writes that:

'collecting still contributes a major part to the creation of a fan identity and various fan communities. Within those, we see both male and female fans having an input and contributing to the ongoing and changing discourses around fandom as forms of cultural capital, distinction, fan ownership and material consumption' (2014, p. 56).

Geraghty argues that collecting, despite its consumerism, is an integral part of the fan experience. The way fans consume paratexts (which can be objects, as well as texts) and create their own collections or fanfiction help them form an identity through the variety of productive and consumptive interactions with the text. Both production and consumption

are necessary and to consider one without the other means one does not get a full sense of the (often contradictory) dynamic of being a fan.

Geraghty's analysis attempts to avoid the pitfalls pointed out by Matt Hills in *Fan Cultures* (2002), where he explores how the cultural identity of the fan is tied up within dichotomies of 'us' and 'them,' which 'imply different moral dualisms' (2002, p. 42) and argues that 'academic practice [...] typically transforms fandom into an absolute Other' (2002, p. 21). Fans have been subject to readings that see their behaviour as childish or pathological. As Joli Jensen has pointed out:

'dark assumptions underlie the two images of fan pathology [obsessed loner and frenzied fan in a crowd], and they haunt the literature on fans and fandom [...] Fans are seen as displaying symptoms of a wider social dysfunction—modernity—that threatens all of “us”' (1992, pp. 15-16).

Her analysis is of late twentieth-century fandom, but bears a striking resemblance to the social commentary surrounding collecting in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Hills notes that many scholars have sought to 'construct a sustainable opposition between the “fan” and the “consumer”' by arguing that fans are producers, which creates a false moral dualism between consumerism and fan; by doing so, a scholar 'falsifies the fan's experience by positioning fan and consumer as separable cultural identities' (2002, p. 5). Instead, scholars must accept 'the fan experience as inherently contradictory: fans are both commodity-completists and they express anti-commercial beliefs or “ideologies”' (2002, p. 19).

It is necessary to consider both the consumptive behaviours and the productive behaviours of contemporary Sherlock Holmes fans. It can be appreciated that there were many competing ideologies at play during this time and although pathologisation played a role, it is not the only narrative. As we shall see, autographs encapsulate a historic fascination with the mark and the imprint of personality on writing, which was influenced by the Romantic notion of the genius, and it is also a well-established fan practice that has survived to the modern day. The hunt for Sherlock Holmes' autograph in particular is a unique example of how familiar collecting practices were played upon by early Sherlock Holmes fans through their ironic belief in his reality and their pursuit of immersion in the world of the text. The Sherlock Holmes postcards exemplify how the intentions of the corporation can be altered

by the consumer through the ways they interact with objects and collect and share their collections. The postcards also demonstrate how different contexts affect interpretation, how paratextual objects can introduce or re-introduce the Canon, and have the potential to give rise to innumerable alternative narratives, such as collections and fanfiction.

Handwriting as sign

Autograph collecting was a popular activity in the late nineteenth century (Morgan, 2012), and Arthur Conan Doyle received requests from fans for Sherlock Holmes' signature. Autograph collecting had its roots in the idea that handwriting was a sign of character. Gerard Curtis calls it the 'sense of a hand' (2002, p. 26), and asserts that:

‘the increase in autograph collecting provides further evidence of the value placed on the “original” line in the nineteenth century [...] Autograph albums became the popular register of a homeowner's guests, while children had their own special volumes, all in a celebration of the fixity of the line over the transience of life’ (2002, p. 24).

The permanent nature of the written line allowed a person's character to be kept as a souvenir beyond the existence of the person, which as Susan Stewart argues, ‘temporally [...] moves history into private time’ (1993, p. 138). Collecting autographs was a personal endeavour, and most of the autographs collected at this time were of friends and family, not celebrities, in order to demonstrate the reach of one's social circle (Morgan, 2011). Autograph books temporally encapsulated an account of a person's life through the collecting of a series of souvenirs; thus, they had a greater meaning to the collector than the handwriting alone; they represented memory and nostalgia.

Although autograph collecting has its origins in personal circles, by the Victorian era there were many who were collecting the autographs of celebrities; some of the collectors did so to show an association with renowned circles, but others requested autographs with no prior connection (Morgan, 2011). This behaviour was a sign of the commodification of well-known figures, as the collecting of all kind of ephemera relating to celebrities became popular to own. Publications were closing the gap between the private and public lives of famous people through a surge of interviews, photographs, and features investigating how they lived. These included articles such as the *Tit-Bits* feature ‘Recreations of Great Authors’ in 1897, which divulged the various sports famous authors played, including

Arthur Conan Doyle's interest in cycling. In the pursuit of biographical information on celebrities, the handwriting of public figures became a popular image to sample, present, and write about in the periodical press in the 1890s, fulfilling the fascination with the sense of hand through reproductions of manuscripts, letters, and signatures. Such articles included Marie Corelli's 'My First Book' in *The Idler* (Vol. 4, 1894), which exhibited a facsimile of Corelli's manuscript, and 'The Handwriting of Our Kings and Queens' by W J Hardy in *The Leisure Hour* (1891) that presented facsimiles of letters and signatures written by royals.

It was claimed by people like J H Schooling that handwriting could reveal character through a particular kind of reading based upon a mode of scientific enquiry similar to that of phrenology, another rising pseudoscience in the study of personality. J H Schooling, for example, wrote an article called 'Written Gesture' for *The Nineteenth Century*, which argued that gesture, of which handwriting is a part, could be subjected to accurate analysis to reveal character because 'all expression of mental conditions manifests itself only by physical movement' (1895, p. 475), and so the body, gesture, and handwriting could be read for evidence of these mental conditions. Schooling brought this analysis to several articles for the *Strand*, presenting reproductions of the handwriting of past and present public figures such as Napoleon and Tennyson. In these articles, Schooling predominately works on the assumption that his readers can read the characteristics of handwriting as easily as text because the genius and originality displayed is obvious to everyone. For example, in 'The Handwriting of Alfred Lord Tennyson' Schooling's language is rife with value-based assumptions, such as 'note how pretty a specimen is No. 4—which gives its mute evidence against the popular and mistaken notion that talented men write in a bad "hand"' (1894, p. 600). The article concentrates on Tennyson's qualities, such as his talent, which are assumed to be read from his handwriting, but the reader is not given any particular methodology or explicit explanation. Articles such as this, which presented handwriting with little commentary, demonstrated through pictorial representation the belief that handwriting had a hieroglyphic function, as it was ostensibly text but also presented a graphic image that signified a person's character and mental state.

The article implicitly emphasises the Romantic belief that genius could be 'discovered and comprehended through examining appearance, personal habits, and private manners of authors' (Higgins, 2005, p. 46). It presents handwriting as an original line that allows the

onlooker to peer into the creative process, which is purportedly inspired, and suppresses the reality of the writing process, such as editing and revision, by honouring handwriting as an ideal form that forcibly reveals the genius of the author. However, there is an internal contradiction in Schooling's reliance on the Romantic notion of genius, because it is clear that even within the framework of handwriting analysis, handwriting is affected by the fluctuations in personality over time. This is exemplified in Schooling's article 'Signatures of Napoleon' (1895), where he tracks the changes in handwriting throughout Napoleon's life. Despite presenting these samples as archetypal, it becomes clear that the desire for a person's autograph can never truly be fulfilled, as no single autograph is truly representative of the totality of a person. This was rarely acknowledged in the description of celebrities' handwriting, which was offered as fully representational of their character and relied upon the Romantic notion that their nature was inspired and therefore constant. Articles such as Schooling's do, however, encourage the collecting of handwriting samples as a form of biographical record or souvenirs of a point in time. Susan Stewart argues that all souvenirs are objects that serve as 'traces of authentic experience' (1993, p. 135) and evoke memories, either of the collector's personal history or of a historical moment they wish to encapsulate, and through these collections:

'the past is constructed from a set of presently existing pieces. There is no continuous identity between these objects and their referents. Only the act of memory constitutes their resemblance. And it is in this gap between resemblance and identity that nostalgic desire arises' (1993, p. 145).

Nostalgia is evoked through separating an object from the time or place it belongs and placing it into a personal collection. Autographs allowed collectors to capture a moment in time that could never be regained, both in terms of their own biography and that of the celebrity whose autograph they collected, which made the autographs of famous people a desirable thing to collect.

Additionally, by collecting the autographs of famous people, collectors could establish a hierarchy of collecting through the rarity of certain signatures. For example, Tennyson's autograph was notoriously hard to obtain, as he disliked the custom and therefore rarely responded to requests; nor did he write many letters (John Holt Schooling, 1894, pp. 599-600). Being able to attain autographs that were scarce demonstrated a collector's influence,

showing off who they knew and who they were socially connected to. Schooling, for example, shows off his privileged access by stating that the accumulation of the samples for the article 'The Handwriting of Alfred Lord Tennyson' was difficult and often thwarted by other collectors who were reluctant to share their collection. He was successful only due to 'valuable assistance' (1894, p. 599) from those who were willing to help him. The article establishes that autograph collecting was a competitive activity, as some collectors desired to keep their valued objects private, unwilling to share information and therefore protecting their status. Schooling proves his status as a collector, overcoming such obstacles, and eventually building his own collection in the form of an article.

There are two disparate, yet overlapping, branches of fandom at work here. On the one hand, Belk points out that competitiveness is an important characteristic of collecting: it 'brings the collector heightened status [...] and feelings of pride and accomplishment' (2001, p. 68). Competition establishes a form of hierarchy within a community of collectors, where the rarity of a signature and the status of the celebrity make certain autographs more desirable, and the acquisition of such items establishes dominance. It is a 'shallower,' more commercialised and social fan practice. On the other hand, hierarchy can also be dependent on the acquisition of knowledge as theorised by Jancovich (2002) and Hills (2002). Hills argues that 'any given fan culture [should be viewed] not simply as a community but also as a social hierarchy where fans share a common interest while also competing over fan knowledge, access to the object of fandom, and status' (2002, p. 20). The way in which fans compete for knowledge and access echoes the kinds of competitive behaviours seen amongst autograph collectors. The pursuit of Sherlock Holmes' autograph, the rarest of autographs because of its nonexistence, established some fans as more dedicated to their object of fandom and to the fantasy of Holmes' reality.

Arthur Conan Doyle versus Sherlock Holmes

In 1899, the *Strand* published an article by Gertrude Bacon called 'Pigs of Celebrities'. This article displayed numerous drawings of pigs sketched by various public figures, alongside their autograph. It was a light-hearted attempt to replicate the 'old drawing-room game' (1899, p. 338) where individuals were tasked to draw a pig while blindfolded. The title 'Pigs of Celebrities' plays on the name of the regular feature of the *Strand* called 'Portraits of Celebrities at Different Times of their Lives', a biographical commentary that

exhibited photographs of celebrities as children or young adults alongside a more recent photograph. The feature was popular and ran continuously for the first seven years of the magazine's publication. 'Pigs of Celebrities', on the other hand, represented renowned figures through their drawings of a pig. The publication of drawings and autographs combined the pictorial and textual in an entertaining way to engage what Bacon calls the public 'fascination in collections' which was part of the late-Victorian 'essentially collecting age' and these drawings are, Bacon argues, demonstrative of the 'genius and strong personality' of the celebrities as 'every action, however slight [...] will bear the unmistakable imprint of his great characteristic' (1899, p. 338). The juxtaposition of drawing and autograph emphasises how handwriting supposedly revealed the celebrity's genius, and the similarities between the titles of the two features reinforces the biographical nature of autograph collecting and the desire for privileged access.

Many celebrities complied with Bacon's 'audacious request' (1899, p. 338) for their participation, including Arthur Conan Doyle. The example given by Arthur Conan Doyle is a notable case study in the development of the ironic belief in Sherlock Holmes: Bacon treats the drawing of a pig by Conan Doyle as an indexical representation of Sherlock Holmes, not his creator. She says of the drawing:

'he must be wanting in imagination indeed who fails to trace in Dr. Conan Doyle's spirited little sketch the resemblance to the immortal Sherlock Holmes. That pig is evidently "on the scent" of some baffling mystery. Note the quick and penetrating snout, the alert ears, thrown back in the act of listening, the nervous, sensitive tail, and the expectant, eager attitude. The spirit of the great detective breathes in every line and animates the whole' (1899, p. 341).

She suppresses Conan Doyle's biography in favour of Holmes, and in doing so implies an ironic belief in Holmes' existence. Her claim that Conan Doyle is the sum of his creation markedly contradicts her treatment of the handwriting of the other celebrities whose writing reveals their own character, not that of their inventions. Despite himself, it seems that Conan Doyle could only reveal his creation, and lacked a personality of his own. Holmes, on the other hand, ostensibly could not help but appear through Conan Doyle, and so Holmes became, of a fashion, more real than the author.

For those readers who were familiar with the Sherlock Holmes Canon, Bacon's description provided additional evidence of Holmes' presence through her purposeful echoing of Holmesian tropes. Compare her statement to Watson's description of Holmes in *A Study in Scarlet*: Holmes appears like 'a pure-blooded, well-trained foxhound, as it dashes backwards and forward through the covert, whining in its eagerness, until it comes across the lost scent' (Doyle, 2009c, p. 31). It is unknown whether Bacon here is drawing on her own Sherlock Holmes knowledge or on the popular characteristics associated with Holmes, but more knowing fans would have made a direct connection between her analysis and the Canon. By referencing *A Study in Scarlet*, which had never appeared in the pages of the *Strand* (though it was published serially in its sister magazine *Tit-Bits* in 1893), her words nod to the Sherlock Holmes fan and call upon wider knowledge of the Canon. When it was published in 1887, *A Study in Scarlet* was not an immediately popular book; it had little commercial success compared to other detective fiction published in the same year, such as *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab* by Fergus Hume (Pittard, 2011, p. 28); and so the relative obscurity of *A Study in Scarlet* therefore meant that only the more studious of readers would have understood the intertextual implications of Bacon's explanation. As Jonathan Gray argues, 'intertextuality becomes a communal game, played in the realm of the paratext' (2010, p. 119). As a paratext, Bacon's commentary of Arthur Conan Doyle's pig drawing marked a re-return by fans to the original story of Sherlock Holmes and allowed fans to demonstrate a hierarchy: those who had knowledge of and access to *A Study in Scarlet* and those who did not. Bourdieu's theory of the field of cultural production allows us to consider how fans build up their status within a fan hierarchy. Bourdieu's economically focused theory of cultural production proposes that people invest in cultural and social capital - i.e. they accumulate knowledge, as well as networks, through which to share this knowledge (2010). Fans who demonstrate extensive knowledge (of 'improper' culture) prove a high degree of investment in and access to specialist information. This defines a person within a hierarchy of cultural capital and gives more legitimacy and power to those with more knowledge.³⁹

³⁹ Matt Hills argues that Bourdieu's model of cultural production creates a moral dualism; he argues that 'Applying Bourdieu's model means treating popular culture and media fandom as a "scandalous category" which opposes notions of "proper" cultural capital and "proper" aesthetic distance or appreciation' (2002, pp. 22-23). For more on this see Matt Hills, *Fan Cultures* (2002, pp. 20-36).

Fans build their own networks and Bacon's gesture to the fans of Sherlock Holmes hints that she was aware of a communal tradition of treating Holmes as real, and contributes to it, fuelling the game as well as responding to it by purposefully writing to appeal to the dedicated reader. By doing so, she evidences Michael Saler's claim that a belief in Holmes and his methods allowed imagination and reason to come together in such a way that one could 'actively believe, albeit ironically, in fictions' (2003, p. 606). Her article serves to continue the blurring of the line between fiction and reality, between Holmes and his creator. It also provides evidence of a Sherlockian readership who were desirous of additional texts outside of the Canon, had an in-depth knowledge of the Canon, and who ironically believed in Holmes' existence. It demonstrates the way the manifestations of fandom overlap, drawing on the commercial interest in autographs (autographs are a commodity to be sold), but also on fans' immersion in the Canon.

As explained above, commodification and fan behaviours cannot be readily divided. Bacon demonstrates that she understands autographs are a commodity to be sold in the way that she places value on some autographs over others. She says:

‘the palm of collections is universally accorded to those of personal relics of the great, and the fact that these are hard to come by only enhances their value; which value too is immensely increased on the death of the original owners’ (1899, p. 338).

Autographs, as ‘personal relics of the great’, increase in value when they are rare and they become rare after the person has died. It becomes a form of antique, which in Susan Stewart’s terms is a ‘souvenir of the dead which is the mere material remains of what had possessed human significance’ (1993, p. 140). This has implications for Sherlock Holmes’ autograph because his was the rarest of all, being that it did not exist in the first place. He did, however, possess human significance, because for those who participated in the Great Game he felt real. It is also uncoincidental that in 1899, when Bacon’s article was written, Sherlock Holmes was assumed to be dead. He had died in ‘The Adventure of the Final Problem’ six years before. Within the confines of the Great Game, Holmes’ autograph would, by Bacon’s own admission, have had greater value because he was dead. Despite Arthur Conan Doyle being alive and well, the interpretation of his drawing being synonymous with the supposedly-dead Sherlock Holmes increases the value of the picture

and it commodifies the pig drawing as a Sherlock Holmes souvenir, aimed at Sherlock Holmes fans who were in nostalgic for their hero and in search of a continuing Holmesian narrative. The article acts as a paratext in the same vein as the Sherlock Holmes pastiches and parodies that appeared in other publications because they attempt to continue the life of Holmes beyond the Canon.

There is, however, a paradox at play in Bacon's article: she invests in the logic of the original and authentic object, emphasising the original as characteristic - Walter Benjamin calls this phenomenon 'aura', he says: 'the authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced' (2006, p. 116). Yet, the samples exhibited in Bacon's article are reproductions, printed in thousands of copies of the *Strand*. As Walter Benjamin describes it: 'that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art' (2006, p. 116). Bacon, however, completely ignores that there may be any diminished value in the reproduction compared to the original. She says: 'the following pages are intended to show yet another variety that the [autograph] collection may assume, and which, among other advantages, may, at least, claim for itself a share of novelty and originality' (1899, p. 338). The commodification of Holmes' autograph is therefore undermined by its mass reproduction.

However, despite the lack of value the individual pig drawing may have because of its mass-produced nature, as a paratext it achieved in participating in the Great Game. The article does much in a very small passage of text; after all, Arthur Conan Doyle's pig drawing was not the only one to be analysed in this article. There are twelve other examples exhibited, such as Henry Irving and Walter Besant (Bacon, 1899). Bacon's reference to Holmes is but a fleeting comment in among others that were also of interest to the readers of the *Strand*. Yet this is what makes her handling of it all the more significant: it shows that the treatment of Holmes as real had, as early as 1899, permeated all kinds of writing, including periodicals. It had become common to discuss Holmes in a knowing way, talking of him as if he were real, yet also acknowledging an author. It demonstrates how paratexts can be created through intertextual references, for as Jonathan Gray describes it, '[i]ntertextuality can play a determinative role in textual reception, and paratexts frequently conjure up and summon intertexts' (2010, p. 141). Bacon's analysis benefits from a

knowledge of the Canon and exhibits Sherlock Holmes fans' methods of picking up on trivial links to the Canon, demonstrating how they were creating a tradition of 'treating the ephemeral with the utmost seriousness' (Cranfield, 2014, p. 68).

Asking for Sherlock Holmes' Autograph

The ironic belief Bacon exhibits in her writing is one of the many ways corporations used paratexts to encourage fan behaviour and as such, allows us to see the ways in which Sherlock Holmes fans were visible in the late-nineteenth century. Another way fans were visible was through fan letters, which have been theorised by such critics as Jonathan Cranfield in his chapter 'Sherlock Holmes, Fan Culture and Fan Letters' (2014) and uses the example of letters to Holmes as a case study of early fandom. These letters are an example of fan-created paratext in the way that they pose a challenge to 'industry-preferred meanings by posing their own alternate readings and interpretive strategies' (Geraghty, 2015, p. 145). These alternative interpretive strategies include the Great Game. Cranfield places the tradition of an ironic belief in Holmes within a historical context and points to letter writing as an example of early Sherlock Holmes fan culture that 'established a basic pattern for the ways in which later phenomena would function in the future' (2014, p. 75). Cranfield's work on fan letters is influential here as fan letters and autograph collecting are closely related because it was a common practice within fan letters to ask for Holmes' autograph.

It was in these requests for Holmes' autograph that the ironic belief in his reality and autograph collecting converged and imposed the fan's desire for immersion in the text onto the recipient (who was often Conan Doyle) in the full knowledge that the request was futile because the 'true' autograph of Holmes was unobtainable. Some, of course, may have been naïve believers in Holmes who misunderstood Holmes' fictionality, but many were double-minded: knowing that Holmes could never reply, but choosing to write nevertheless. Cranfield argues that even while using the most ironic of language, 'the intimate phantasies, dreams and fears of the players are still at stake' (2014, p. 73). So, one has to wonder, what is at stake for early fans in asking Holmes for his autograph? Did senders want a response or would they have been disappointed if Conan Doyle had provided Holmes' autograph for them? After all, as Bacon's description of Conan Doyle's pig drawing shows, the personality of Holmes was supposedly revealed through the writing of

Conan Doyle, indicating that his autograph may have been acceptable; but we must also consider that the requests for Holmes' autograph are addressed to Holmes directly, not to Conan Doyle, and are therefore predicated on Holmes' reality.

One such letter of request is reproduced in Richard Lancelyn Green's book *Letters to Sherlock Holmes*:

9 Erswell Road, Worthing

18 November 1904

Dear Sir,

I trust I am not trespassing too much on your time and kindness by asking for the favour of your autograph to add to my collection.

I have derived very much pleasure from reading your Memoirs, and should very highly value the possession of your famous signature.

Trusting that you will see your way to thus honour me, and venturing to thank you very much in anticipation.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant.

Charles Wright

P.S. Not being aware of your present address, I am taking the liberty of sending this letter to Sir A. Conan Doyle, asking him to be good enough to forward it to you.

Sherlock Holmes Esq.

(*Letters to Sherlock Holmes*, 1985, p. 16)

Charles Wright is professedly a collector of autographs, and it is his intention to attain Holmes' signature to 'add to my collection' (*Letters to Sherlock Holmes*, 1985, p. 16). His identification of himself as a collector is significant because it discloses that Holmes' signature is not the only one he wants to possess—he wants the autograph to be placed alongside others (in what form is unknown, although scrapbooks and illustrated volumes were common); these other autographs may have included other public figures, celebrities,

and people of note, which depletes the significance of Holmes' autograph as a singular object. Possession is important to him, yet knowing that his request is impossible to fulfil, raises questions about what Wright hoped to achieve and what he did achieve through writing to Holmes.

Wright's collecting habits appear to fulfil two of the three types of collecting Susan Pearce identifies: he collects autographs as souvenirs but also in fetishistic way (1992). Pearce argues that souvenirs are 'intrinsic parts of a past experience' (1992, p. 72), which Wright demonstrates when he says: 'I have derived very much pleasure from reading your Memoirs, and should very highly value the possession of your famous signature' (*Letters to Sherlock Holmes*, 1985, p. 16). The possession of the autograph would be a physical representation of his desire for proximity to a text that is not his own. He is playing out a similar nostalgic desire to that which Lincoln Geraghty argues can be seen at fan conventions: 'fans bought things because they meant something, it brought them closer to that very text they were remembering and celebrating' (2014, pp. 93-94). The act of requesting Holmes' autograph brings Wright closer to the text he enjoys, despite the physical commodity being impossible to obtain. Geraghty refers to tangible commodities; and for Wright, it appears that the closest he can get to Holmes' autograph is an autograph from Conan Doyle. However, the reference to Conan Doyle in the postscript suggests that Wright is aware of the author's role and is writing ironically, in a double-minded state, simultaneously confirming and denying Holmes as a creation of Conan Doyle. As Wright maintains an ironic belief in Holmes, it indicates that only Holmes' signature will do; it is Holmes' signature he wants.

One possible motivation for Wright's letter is that he is more concerned with the thrill of the 'hunt' than with the actual acquisition of the autograph. Belk suggests that the hunt is as important to the collector as the object itself; for example, he states that one collector, Mickey, 'finds some dilution of her pleasure when she receives nutcrackers as gifts rather than finding them herself' (2001, p. 93). The joy of collecting comes from tracking down the object and overcoming challenges along the way, reinforcing the satisfaction of possession with feelings of accomplishment. As we saw, this was also played out in Schooling's article 'The Handwriting of Alfred Lord Tennyson' where he describes the difficulty of attaining the sample for the feature and he establishes his superiority as a collector through overcoming such obstacles. For Wright, by writing his letter to Holmes he

is engaging in the hunt, and the rarity of Holmes' signature (because it does not exist) makes the hunt even more enjoyable.

Were Wright able to attain the autograph, it would establish his superiority as a collector, and so Wright's collecting becomes a means to define his identity, which makes his collecting fetishistic. As Pearce says: 'the collection plays the crucial role in defining the personality of the collector, who maintains a possessive but worshipful attitude towards his objects' (Pearce, 1992, p. 84). Wright's identity is entangled in the way he pursues Holmes' autograph; he seems to want Conan Doyle's affirmation of Holmes' reality and for Conan Doyle to engage in the ironic belief he is exhibiting. This anticipates the behaviour of recipients in later years, as fans 'increasingly found willing recipients [...] who were ready to "play" along and reinforce the security of the fantasy' (Cranfield, 2014, p. 70). Wright is seeking the security of his fantasy and a confirmation that his world view, albeit ironic, is acceptable. By creating his own paratext, it allows him to interact with the Canon on his own terms.

There is something especially personal about the request for an autograph in the building of the collector's identity, for as Simon Morgan states: 'as handwriting could be seen as both expressive of character and a physical trace of the author's presence, letters and autographs carried an emotional charge far beyond the person to whom they were actually addressed' (2012, p. 143) and could 'act to facilitate real or imagine relationships with politicians and other public figures' (2012, p. 145). By creating a collection (paratext) Wright is facilitating not only his relationship with the text, but also his imagined relationship with Holmes. Wright's collecting is an exercise in playfulness: he writes the letter with an ironic belief in Holmes, but collecting itself is also an exercise in 'indulgence and playfulness' (Belk, 2001, p. 76). Paul Booth defines play as an action that occurs within a structure and is a reaction to rules put in place within that structure; it is through play that humans (and fans) can 'enact imaginative freedom' (2015, p. 16). Wright's pursuit of Holmes' autograph is an acting out of a fantasy; it is a futile effort that will have no physical reward, as Holmes' autograph can never be given.

Instead, Wright seeks the reassurance of his fantasy that will allow him to continue to play with the conventions of belief systems and systems of collecting. It may be that Wright's letter acts as an invitation for Conan Doyle to join in the fantasy, and is an homage to

Conan Doyle's talent that he has created such a real character. The wealth of paratexts that encouraged the belief in Holmes as real, such as Bacon's article, as well as articles like the *Strand*'s 'Sherlock Holmes in Real Life' (1922) and 'Forerunners of Sherlock Holmes' (1906), and *Tit-Bits*' anecdotes of 'real' Sherlock Holmeses; they extend an invitation to play. As Jonathan Gray describes it, paratexts encourage play because they have 'contributed to the text with their own suggested meanings, and have offered consumers opportunities to contribute further to the text themselves' (2010, p. 187). By imagining Holmes to be real and pursuing Holmes' autograph despite that, Wright contributes to the furthering of the characterisation of Holmes outside of the Canon through his request for an autograph to add to his collection. Through writing to Holmes, Wright is playfully fantasising a relationship that is based upon what he has read of Holmes' character; but in doing so, he appears to reinforce Cranfield's observation that these kinds of letters were seen by contemporaries as 'psychological curiosities that largely conformed to the Freudian theory of underdevelopment, or worse, plain imbecility' (2014, p. 70).

However, though there was a popular belief that treating Holmes as real was a regressive characteristic, it is important to bear in mind that Sherlock Holmes fans were not the only group of people to be dismissed in this way. Wright also classifies himself as a collector, a category of society whose members were also subject to much mistrust and judgment for what Adrian H Joline calls their 'underdevelopment' (1902). Adrian H Joline was an American autograph collector. In *Mediations of an Autograph Collector* (1902) he examines the process of collecting, its issues and strengths, the stigma, and recalls various tales of interest about collecting and those he has collected. His book is an interesting insight into the psychology of collecting and demonstrates how every collector is different. Although there are similarities, such as Sherlock Holmes autograph collectors all playing the Great Game, their motivations can vary. Joline, for example, is proud of his collection, priding himself on rare acquisitions, but what he does with them agitates him, he states:

'I am wholly unable to decide whether or not it is a good plan to assemble my treasures in what are known as "extra illustrated books". When they are scattered about in casual portfolios and wrappers, they seem to appeal to me to combine

them, but after I have made the combination they appear to lose a large measure of their attractiveness' (1902, p. 36).⁴⁰

Jean Baudrillard argues that the feeling of possession is based on intimacy with the object and 'on searching, ordering, playing and assembling' (2009, p. 50), which Joline demonstrates through his constant ordering of his collection. Joline also fits Baudrillard's theory that collecting 'constitutes a regression to the anal stage' (2009, p. 50) of psycho-sexual development in the way that he finds his extra-illustrated books 'full of comfort' (Joline, 1902, p. 37), fulfilling Baudrillard's assertion that 'the sphere of objects, consisting of successive and homologous terms, reassures' (J Baudrillard, 2009, p. 50). It is interesting to note, however, that Joline finds his collection beautiful in its seriality, but for him to serialise it in any meaningful way obscures the meaning. For him, it seems the unrealised organisation of the collection keeps the collection pure and unadulterated. It privileges each item as a singular object, rather than within a defined set. This reflects his identity as a person and as a collector as he chooses to collect for himself and not for display or taxonomical reasons. It demonstrates how even within autograph collecting there was a variation in motivation and those who wanted Sherlock Holmes' autograph may have had a variety of purposes and intended to possess the autograph for all kinds of collections, from creating extra-illustrated books to autograph books to display cabinets.

Autograph collecting represented a very different kind of collecting that was based upon the collecting of things more mundane in their physicality. They were mementoes of personal history and often demonstrated a desire to establish the limits of one's social circle. All collectors who pursued Holmes' autograph had in common that they were pursuing something that could never be attained. Pearce argues that 'collections lend themselves to make-believe and the construction of fantasies' (1992, p. 51) and those who pursued Sherlock Holmes' autograph did so on a number of levels: they immersed themselves in the world of the text through the ironic belief in Holmes' reality and attempted to 'make other times and other places open' (Pearce, 1992, p. 51) to them by collecting the hand of Holmes. Yet they did so in the knowledge that this was not possible, and as such, fans played on the conventions of collecting, pursuing an object for the thrill of the hunt, and

⁴⁰ Extra-illustrated books are books that have been published but are added to by the owner with significant mementos, such as autographs, postcards, and portraits. They are personalised and embellished versions of a mass-produced text.

they established themselves within a hierarchy of ironic believers, actively demonstrating how far they were willing to go to live out the fantasy.

Postcard Collecting

Autograph collecting is an example of fan-created paratext because it is an activity pursued by the fan, however this is complicated by the commodification of autographs in publications like the *Strand*, who attempted to use the public's interest in the mark to sell copies of the magazine. This form of merchandising became even more explicit in later years as other collecting activities, such as postcard collecting, became increasingly popular. It is in merchandise that the objectives and pursuits of the corporation and of the fan intertwine as companies attempt to sell memorabilia to the fan and the fan consumes objects for their own purposes. As Jonathan Gray comments, 'too often we in media studies do not bother to look beyond paratexts as instances of crass consumerism that detract from a business that could and should be about art, not industry' (2010, p. 82). Lincoln Geraghty agrees and expands on Gray's example of *Star Wars* toys, arguing that 'their mass-market nature does not detract from or destabilise the meanings inscribed by the fan onto their collection' (2014, p. 124). Instead, through a form of nostalgia 'that connects them with periods of their own lives' (2014, p. 124), *Star Wars* fans use toy collecting as a way to construct and re-construct their ideas of self-hood and identity. Just because some paratexts like postcards or toys are intended to be sold and engage the fan in consumerism, does not mean that they are void of value.

How fans use these objects (for example for display) and how they feel towards these objects (such as nostalgia) shapes how we might interpret their effect on the identity construction of the fan. As André Malraux theorises, when one collects reproductions like postcards, one attempts to recreate the ideal collection: a 'museum without walls' (1974, p. 21) (or sometimes translated to 'imaginary museum'), that is a boundless collection within the mind. An imaginary museum encapsulates the whole, beyond what the physical museum can hold and so has the ability to designate pieces within a much wider 'family' (1974, p. 21). A physical collection made of reproductions miniaturises this imaginary museum and furthers the intellectualisation of how meaning is applied to the works collected (1974, p. 21). Commercialised paratexts are still paratexts and therefore affect the way collectors create or apply meaning to text.

When the new series of Sherlock Holmes short stories, *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, was published in the *Strand* in 1903 after an almost ten-year hiatus, George Newnes Ltd. released a set of six postcards to commemorate the event (see Figures 11-16).⁴¹ The postcards feature six Sidney Paget illustrations from four different stories: ‘The Adventure of the Final Problem’ (Figure 11), *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (Figures 12, 13), ‘The Adventure of the Empty House’ (Figures 14, 15), and ‘The Adventure of the Norwood Builder’ (Figure 16). These paratextual postcards offer an insight into contemporary 1900s Sherlock Holmes fandom. Through an understanding of how postcards were used and kept, and by interpreting these postcards as paratexts, we can answer many unanswered questions: what does this set of postcards tell about the Canon beyond the context of the *Strand*? What do they reveal about the consumer they were aimed at? There are limitations to what we can extrapolate as there are no sale records, which means we cannot know exactly who bought these cards, how many were sold, and what was done with them, which would give us a greater grasp into the popularity of memorabilia, telling us how widespread the Sherlock Holmes fandom was before the official societies in the 1930s, and whether fan behaviours changed over this course of time. There is still much to discover, but the presence of these six postcards offers some fruitful opportunities for analysis and insight.

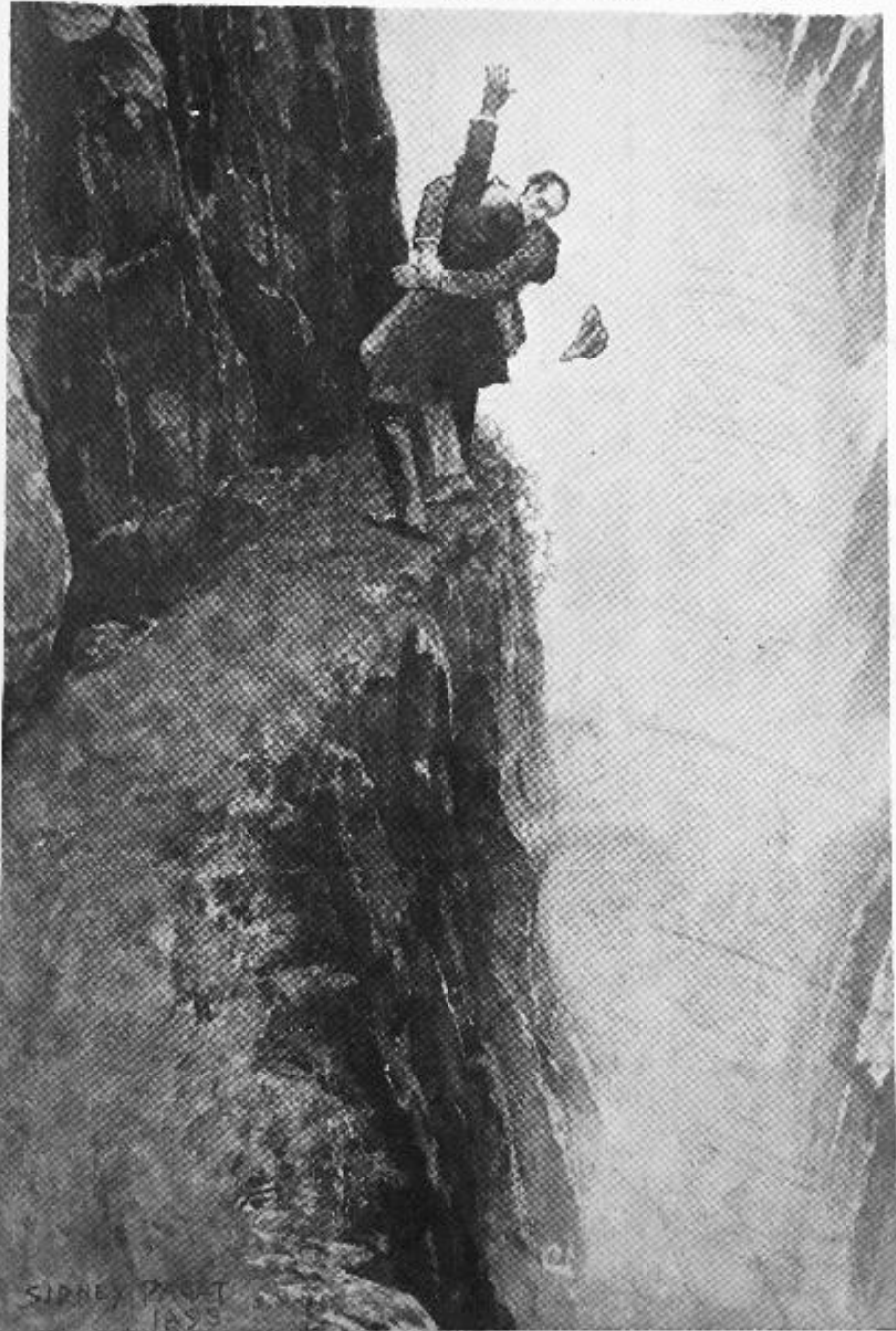
A postcard is a small piece of card, generally used for short communications, that does not require an envelope to be sent through the post. J Gillen and N Hall describe how the postcard came to be a popular medium for communication, stating that:

‘by 1902 Britain had experienced almost 30 years of compulsory education, and while literacy levels may not have necessarily been high, the postcard did not make huge demands on writers. Everyone could use postcards; they were cheap and attractive objects’ (2010, p. 169).

This usefulness meant that by the end of the Edwardian period, postcards were ubiquitous with almost six billion sent during the nine years of King Edward’s reign (1901-1910) (Gillen & Hall, 2010). Communication was the postcard’s foremost function. *Macmillan’s Magazine* argued in 1904 that the initial aim of the postcard was to ‘transmit to our friends

⁴¹ Sherlock Holmes had already returned in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1901-2) but this was a retrospective narrative. *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* was the first time new narratives continued chronologically after his death.

THE RETURN OF SHERLOCK HOLMES.



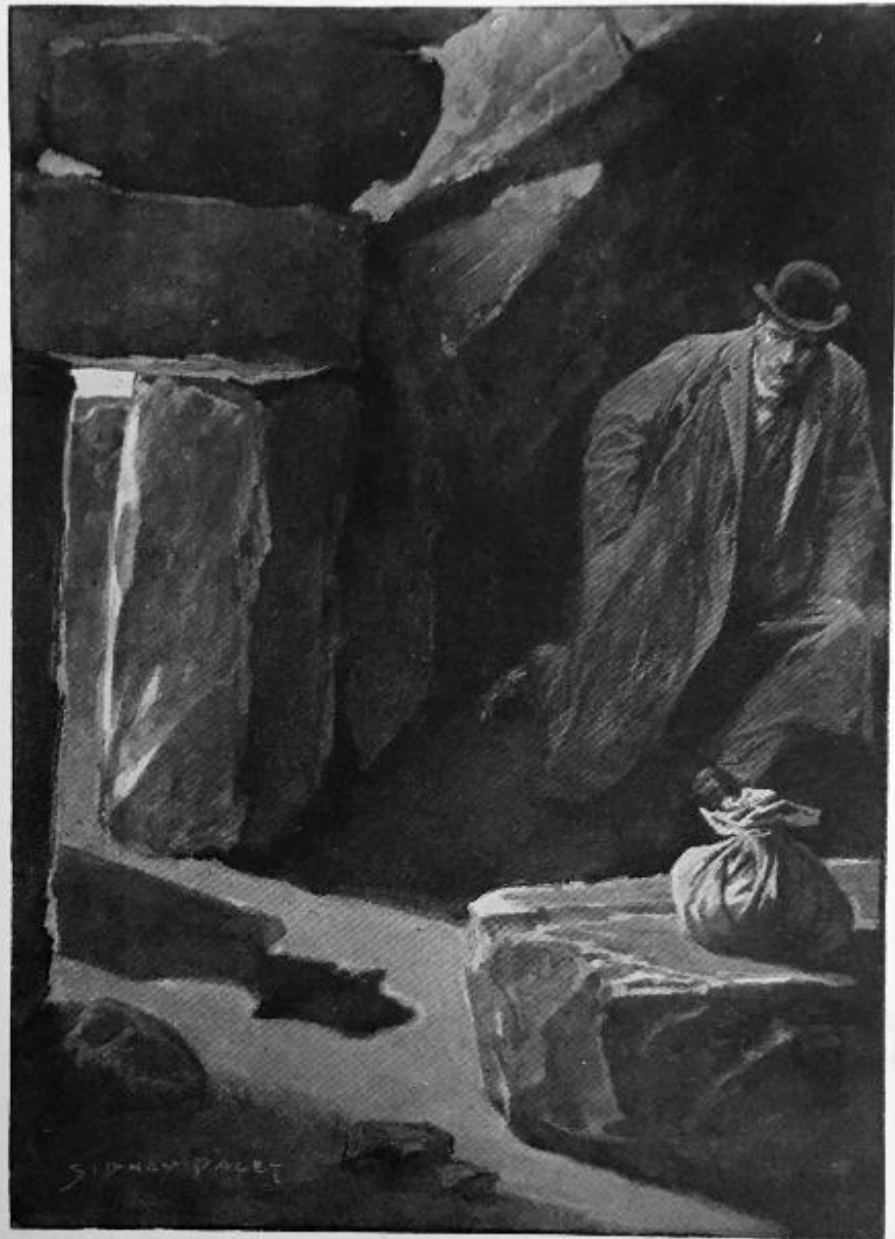
Drawn by Sidney Paget.

THE REICHENBACH FALLS.

Where it was thought that SHERLOCK HOLMES had met
with an untimely death.

Figure 11 (Paget, 1903e)

THE RETURN OF SHERLOCK HOLMES.



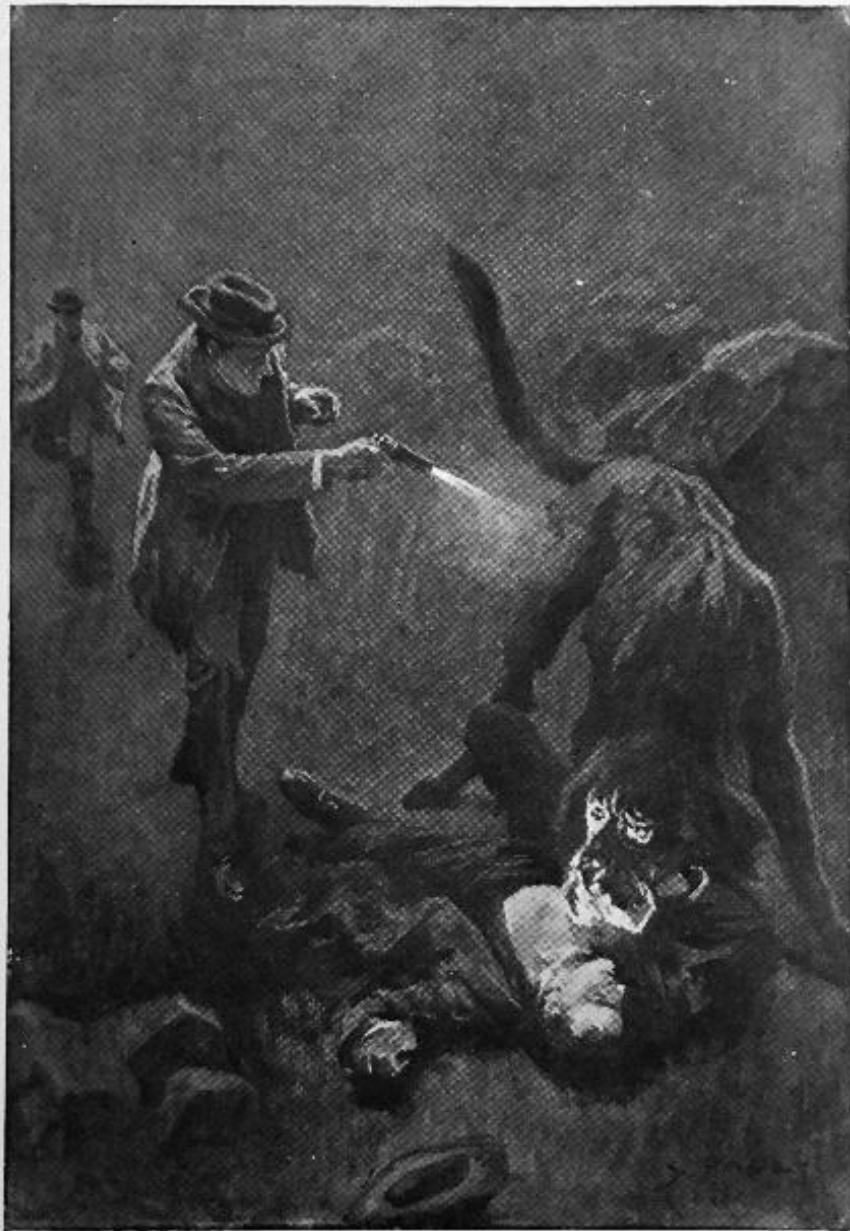
Drawn by Sidney Paget.

Dr. WATSON:—"It was the shadow of SHERLOCK HOLMES."

(Extract from The Strand Magazine.)

Figure 12 (Paget, 1903a)

THE HOUND OF THE BASKERVILLES.



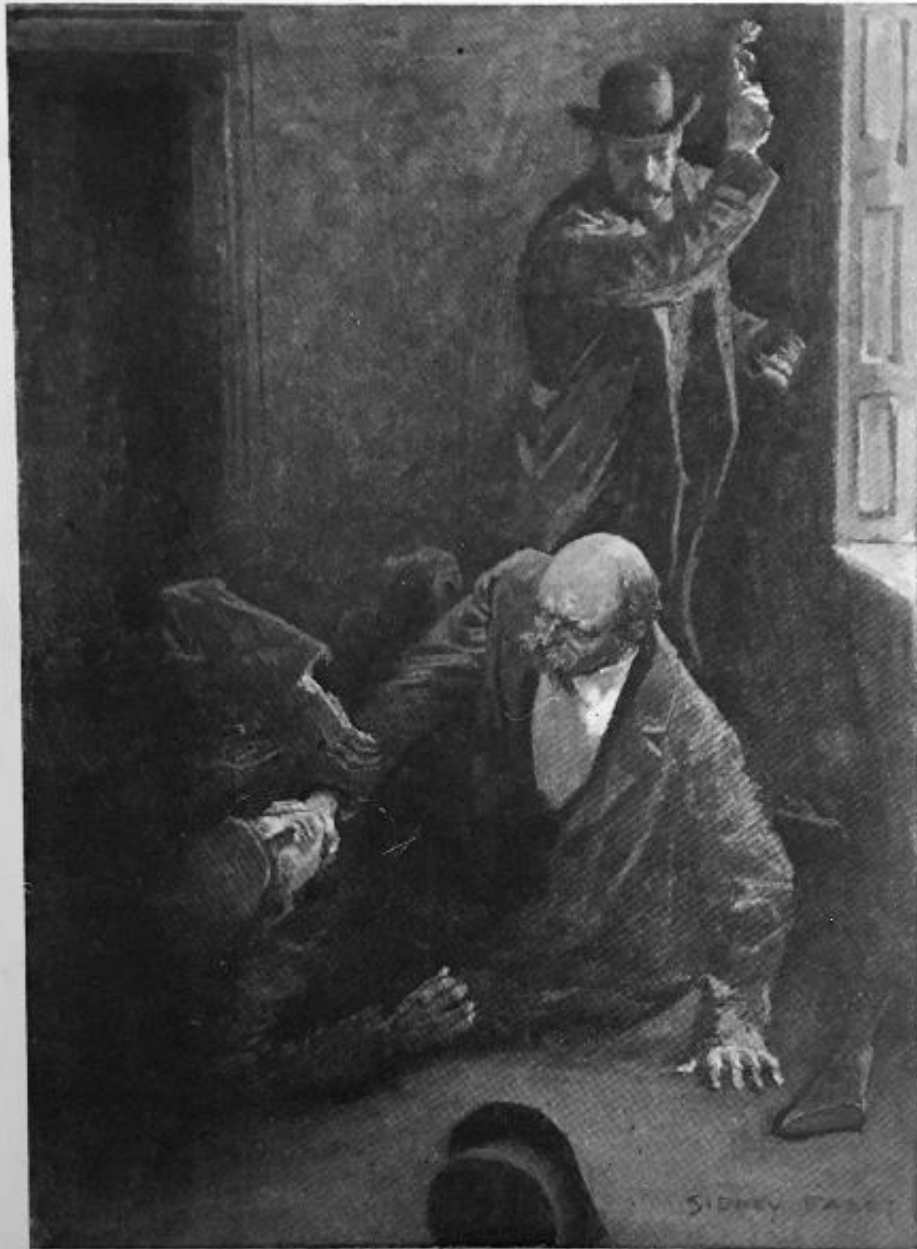
Drawn by Sidney Paget.

"Holmes emptied five barrels of his revolver into the creature's flank."

Extract from The Strand Magazine.

Figure 13 (Paget, 1903c)

THE RETURN OF SHERLOCK HOLMES.



Drawn by Sidney Paget.

"The man seized SHERLOCK HOLMES by the throat."

(Extract from *The Strand Magazine*.)

Figure 14 (Paget, 1903d)

THE RETURN OF SHERLOCK HOLMES.



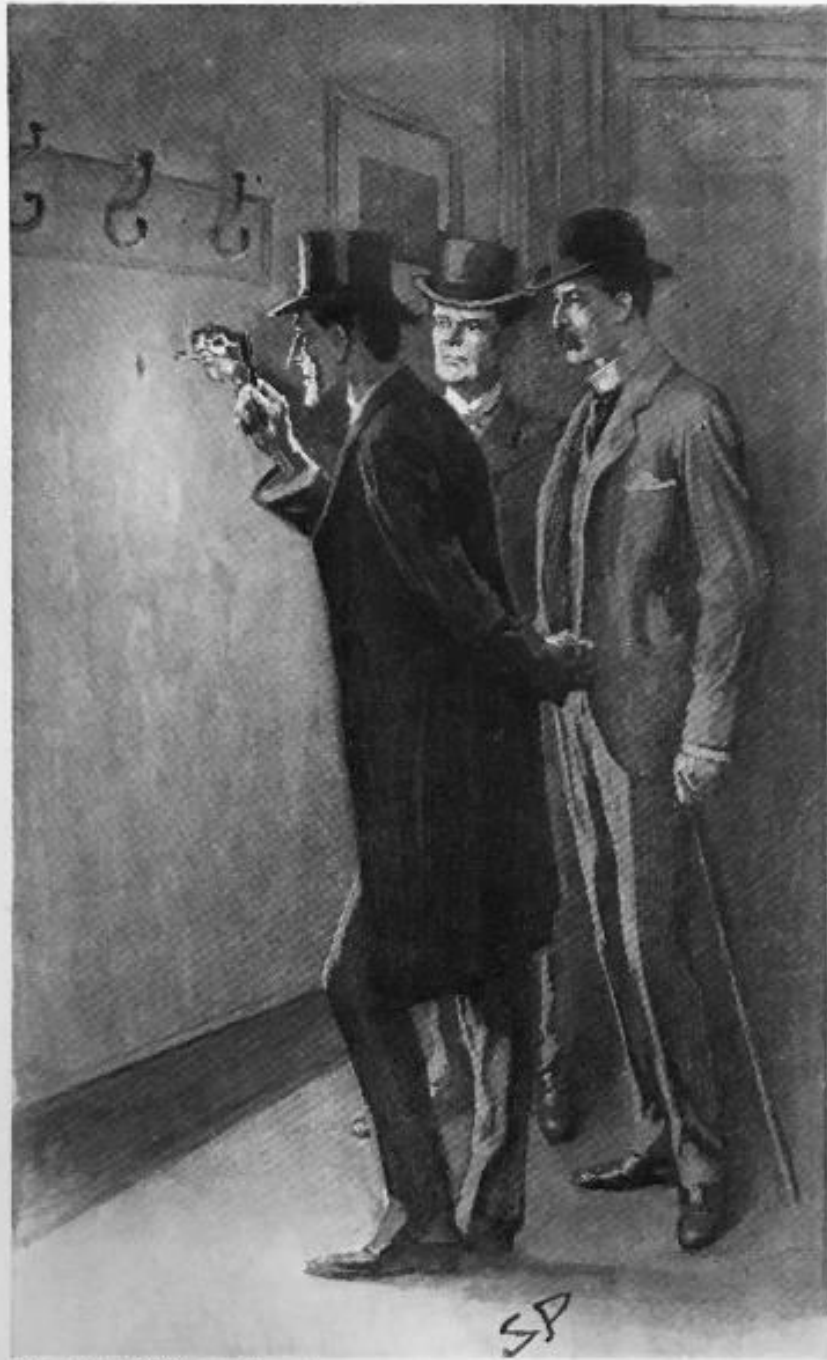
Drawn by Sidney Paget.

“The Silhouette on the Blind was a perfect reproduction of HOLMES.”

Extract from The Strand Magazine.

Figure 15 (Paget, 1903f)

THE RETURN OF SHERLOCK HOLMES.



Drawn by Sidney Paget.

“Look at that with your Magnifying Glass,
Mr. HOLMES.”

(Extract from The Strand Magazine.)

Figure 16 (Paget, 1903b)

from us who are busy travelling', but over time this developed and it 'opened the eye of the world to the sense of beauty in pictures' ("The Picture Post-card," 1904, p. 138). Postcards therefore came to have more than one functionality: they could be used for their practical purpose of writing a message to a friend, but also demonstrate beauty and art. The communicative purpose of the postcard was often superseded by its aesthetic quality. For example, postcard collecting overtook the *carte de visite* as the popular medium for collecting photographs because of the development in roll film and Kodak cameras (Hill, 1999). Julia Gillen identifies 1902 as the turning point of interest in postcards due to the development in design, allowing one whole side to be taken up by an illustration or photograph; she states that 'the possibility for combining a short but meaningful message with a picture was tremendously appealing' (2013, pp. 489-490). The ratio between the space taken up by the picture and the space for a message had changed, altering with it the emphasis on aesthetics over communication.

Postcards featured many kinds of photography, including portraiture of famous people. Simon Morgan argues that the photograph became more fashionable than collecting a lock of hair as representation of 'the actual physical presence of the absent other' (2012, p. 143). Hair and photographic portraits alike were imbued with the physical characteristics of the absent person, acting as an indexical artefact of the person (2012, p. 143). It is for this reason that many people asked for signed photographs. By combining autographs with mass-produced photographs, it made the photograph more personalised and enhanced its significance as a 'verifiable personal connection with the object of desire' (2012, p. 143). Postcards were a cheap way of collecting this form of photography and, like autograph collecting, postcard collections became a common feature in the home as collectors gathered them into albums. J Kennedy Maclean claimed in 1906 that the practice of the picture postcard album had become so common that it had 'taken the place so long held by the album of family photographs' (1906, p. 168), indicating that postcards had usurped the family photograph as a way of portraying the self.

For fans, the Sherlock Holmes Picture Post-cards are souvenirs of a particular event: the return of Sherlock Holmes, which for many was a nostalgic return to their childhood or younger years. These stories were the first after the death of Sherlock Holmes that explained his survival and continued the relationship between Holmes, Watson, and their clients. The death of Sherlock Holmes had caused quite the furore, so his return was a

significant event, both for the readers and for the *Strand* itself. These postcards acted as a way for readers to commemorate this moment and savour it in much the same way as Susan Stewart describes a souvenir photograph, it is a 'preservation of an instant in time through a reduction of physical dimensions and a corresponding increase in significance supplied by the means of narrative' (1993, p. 138). Lincoln Geraghty similarly argues that men and women look for objects that bring with them nostalgic memories. He says:

'[f]rom one generation to the next, nostalgia becomes a means through which people can communicate what it was like growing up and share experiences of different forms of popular culture. As a consequence, new media technologies and platforms for media entertainment become sites for nostalgic recollection' (2014, p. 64).

Souvenirs bought as part of a wider, communal feeling have added sentimental value because they not only encapsulate the moment in time, as Susan Stewart argues, but they represent an emotional response to the past (Stewart, 1993). *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* was a significant publishing event and the public response was one of joy: as Reginald Pound chronicles, on release of 'The Adventure of the Empty House' 'readers rushed to the bookstalls with the fierce resolve of shoppers at the January sales' (1966, p. 91). It was an event that readers celebrated and one way of doing so was through the purchase of these celebratory postcards.

George Newnes Ltd took full advantage of the wide interest in Sherlock Holmes' return and further commercialised the event through the creation of this set. However, because of their miniaturised size and their cheap nature, postcards are ephemeral and are therefore easy to get hold of but also liable not to last. As Lisa Sigel argues '[p]ostcards became popular because they were inexpensive to produce, sell, and buy. They could be bought "seven of the cards for sixpence," twopence a piece, and three pence a card. They were easy to market and more durable than other ephemera as they were printed on heavier paper' (2000, p. 874). The improved durability of postcards compared to other ephemera may go some way to answering why they were so popular to collect, but even still, as a product they are easily lost or damaged. This is compounded by the fact that postcards were often sent through the post, putting them at risk of getting lost in transit, ending up in the wrong

place or in the dead letter department. George Newnes Ltd were clearly aware of this and as a result took steps to address this in their advertising of the Sherlock Holmes Postcards.

On 3rd October 1903 *Tit-Bits* featured an advertisement under the title ‘The “Sherlock Holmes” Picture Post-Cards’. The postcards, they claim, ‘form an interesting collection of six beautifully printed pictures of Sherlock Holmes pursuing his marvellous investigations’ (“The “Sherlock Holmes” Picture Post-cards,” 1903).⁴² The ephemeral nature of the postcards is made clear in the assurance that the postcards would be ‘mailed in a specially-designed envelope’ (“The “Sherlock Holmes” Picture Post-cards,” 1903). It identifies that the postcards need special care because they are fragile and susceptible to damage in the post. The envelope acts as protection for the special contents, but the way that it is ‘specially-designed’ makes the envelope part of the merchandising, including it as part of the collecting experience. The specially designed envelope also indicates that although the postcards could have been addressed and sent individually they would come as a set, in a clean condition, ready to be used. This implies that despite the cards being collectibles (as a souvenir or miniature artwork), they still retained their communicative function. What the recipient chose to do with the postcards, however, is unknown. Potentially, they may have been conserved and displayed as aesthetic pieces in a book, but they also may have been separated up and sent on to interested friends as messages or as collectibles. After all, the suggestion that the postcards ‘will interest you and your friends’ (“The “Sherlock Holmes” Picture Post-cards,” 1903) indicates that the postcards were intended to be shared.

How this sharing occurred is unknown, however the set of postcards in the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection, Richard Lancelyn Green Bequest give some indication of at least one form of sharing. Three of the six postcards in the collection carry a contemporary Edwardian stamp and postmark, addressed to a Miss Smith of Little Bedwyn Vicarage. These were the two from *Hound of the Baskervilles* (Figures 12, 13) and one from ‘The Adventure of the Empty House’ (Figure 15). It is curious the sender decided to send at least three of the postcards to the same person. Why these three? Or did they send all of them and the cards became separated over time? Given that the postcards were sold as a set, it is unlikely that Miss Smith wanted the cards to complete an incomplete set (unless she had

⁴² This advertisement was repeated on 17th October 1903, as reprinted in Richard Lancelyn Green’s book *Sherlock Holmes Letters* (1986)

THE "SHERLOCK HOLMES"
PICTURE POST-CARDS
 HAVE BECOME THE FASHIONABLE CRAZE.

They form an interesting collection of six beautifully printed pictures of Sherlock Holmes pursuing his marvellous investigations.
Drawn by Mr. SIDNEY PAGET.

These Picture Post-Cards will interest you and your friends in connection with "**THE RETURN OF SHERLOCK HOLMES,**" a new series of remarkable stories commencing in the October issue of

THE STRAND MAGAZINE

Post Free, 7d.—the Set of Six—Post Free, 7d.
 Each Set will be mailed in a specially-designed envelope.


GEORGE NEWNES, LTD., Southampton Street, Strand, London, W.C.

Figure 17 ("The "Sherlock Holmes" Picture Post-cards," 1903)

ACD 1/F/2/137

POST CARD.

CORRESPONDENCE. ADDRESS ONLY.



N.F.S.

Miss Smith.
Little Bedwyn.
Vicarage.
Hungerford.
Berks.




Figure 18 (Paget, 1903f)

damaged them). It seems more likely that the sender felt that Miss Smith would find them of interest.

It does not seem that they were used for personal communication, as each card carries the same message, which is the acronym: 'N.F.S' (Figure 18). It is uncertain what this stands for, but commonly N.F.S stands for 'not for sale', which if so, indicates that the sender intended the card to have aesthetic value to Miss Smith over it being a way to communicate with her. It also indicates that the sender wanted Miss Smith to keep the postcards; they were for Miss Smith's collection and not for re-selling. This is interesting because in 'The Picture Postcard' in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1904 the author claims: 'the humble collectors [of postcards] have not even the quasi-materialism of the stamp-collector, since there is not the slightest prospect that their little collection will ultimately be of priceless worth' ("The Picture Post-card," 1904, p. 137). Postcards did not have a great re-sale value, so it seems odd that the sender would be bothered about the re-selling of them. What is certain however is that the cards were shared as a (partial) collection and the collection became a shared practice. This act of sharing seems to be in contradiction with Belk's claim that 'collecting is usually a competitive activity' (2001, p. 68) and Geraghty's claim that 'second-hand collectors clearly display their fandom through the skills they have as shoppers' (2014, p. 148); something different is occurring in this exchange. These two people shared their experience of the Canon through the giving of the postcards, demonstrating an early form of fan-exchange.

The fact that only three of the cards in the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection are addressed in this way also demonstrates the mutable nature of sets of postcards. Even those designed as a collection could be kept together or separated, which brings into question ideas of context. The postcards all feature illustrations from the Canon as published in the *Strand*. As Derrida discusses in *The Post Card*, the structure of the postcard allows any part of it to be interpreted. He says:

'What I prefer, about post cards, is that one does not know what is in front or what is in back, here or there, near or far, the Plato or the Socrates, recto or verso. Nor what is the most important, the picture or the text, and in the text, the message or the caption, or the address' (Derrida, 1987, p. 13).

There are some points of interest about the message side of Sherlock Holmes postcards, such as the inscription described above. Another is that the front page of the *Strand* has been used as a stamp-like image on the opposite side to where a stamp would be affixed (see Figure 18), which juxtaposes the magazine's image with the King's. This implies that the *Strand* is, as Reginald Pound claimed, a 'national institution' and was 'as much a symbol of immutable British order as Bank Holidays and the Changing of the Guard' (1966, p. 9), or perhaps even King Edward. It certainly attempts to elevate the *Strand*'s position, as well as stamp their brand on the card so that its association with the magazine is not lost in translation as the cards are separated.

However, I would argue that in the context of this collection of cards, the side of the card with the image and the caption takes prominence over the side for the message. As a set of six images, they represent the connection between the old stories and the new, acting as an introduction to the Canon and its themes, yet they also disassociate the images from the Canon, giving them a new context and new meaning as a paratext. Each image was purposefully selected to tell a story of its own that could be read out of the framework of the collection itself, the *Strand*, and the original stories the images come from. As David Wills argues, 'in its relationships to literature, the postcard also defines a series of counter-effects. It may be sparse, indigent, insignificant; anecdotic, fragmentary, elliptic' (1984, p. 24). On their own, each image has a lot to say, but what it says is fragmented; it is elliptic as each card leads on to the other, but there is no given order. I have placed the cards in chronological order, but separated from the context of the *Strand* there is no indication what order these images belong in. All but one postcard, which contains an image from *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, is labelled 'Return of Sherlock Holmes', despite the fact they also contain illustrations from *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* and a second image from *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. The headers group five of the six cards together, leaving one separate. The reason for this is unclear. There are some inconsistencies in design in these postcards, ranging from the titles, to whether the postcard has the words 'Extract from *The Strand Magazine*' encased in parentheses or not. The lack of consistency between the designs of the postcards shows that they are cheaply produced and have not been rigorously proofread and are therefore not the 'beautifully printed Sidney Paget pictures' ('The "Sherlock Holmes" Picture Post-cards,' 1903) the advertisement claimed. But more significantly, the inconsistencies mean that in the context of the collection, the postcards do

not give any instruction about the ordering of the cards and they therefore could be placed in any order. Someone with no prior knowledge of the Canon might assume, for example, that the image showing the Death of Sherlock Holmes might be the last chronologically and not the first. Alternatively, they may be separated completely, demonstrating that out of the context of the *Strand*, these images are at once individual and a collection of six and they cannot rely on the context of the narrative text.

The illustrations for the most part remain unchanged from the originals in the *Strand*, except that they are miniaturised.⁴³ However, George Newnes Ltd appreciated that the images must speak for themselves outside of the context of the *Strand* and chose them for that reason. The illustrations that have been selected for this purpose all use chiaroscuro to draw attention to the central concern of the image. They effectively communicate without words what the onlooker should be looking at: Figure 11 illuminates Holmes' face and the Reichenbach Falls, emphasising the dramatic drop. Figures 13 and 14 use the light shining through darkness to emphasise the faces of Holmes, the Hound, and Colonel Moran. Both Figures 13 and 14 depict a battle between Holmes and various dangerous threats, which are highlighted through the light shining protruding from Holmes' gun onto the face of the Hound and the light from the window lighting up the struggle between Holmes and Moran, respectively. These highlights showcase action over portraiture. In addition, all three cards (Figures 11, 13, 14) focus on the violence of the scene, depicting intense clashes between good and evil, accentuated by the contrast in light and dark.

The remaining three images on the other hand, (Figures 12, 15, 16) illustrate the contrasting, pensive side to the Sherlock Holmes stories. They convey Holmes' ratiocination through a focus on observation. Figures 12 and 15 emphasise the use of shadow to disguise the true appearance of Holmes (an idea I shall soon return to) and Figure 16 shows Holmes, Watson, and Lestrade examining a lit-up thumbprint on the wall. Using chiaroscuro, the images allow the onlooker to focus their attention on the most important part of the scene, such as where the action is or where Holmes and Watson are

⁴³ The only exception is the illustration from 'The Adventure of the Final Problem' (Figure 11) that is slightly altered from the version in the *Strand* due to the use of two different copying techniques. The illustration printed in the *Strand* was reproduced using engraving plates and was therefore changed slightly by the engraver. White scratches and added detail is visible in the *Strand*'s reproduction and it also has a line through the middle where the engraver used two engraving plates to copy the image. The postcard reproduction, however, was done through a photographic process, which makes it closer to the original drawn by Paget. It has added horizontal grey lines in the Falls that are not visible in the *Strand* version and it is very slightly cropped. My thanks go to Randall Stock for assisting me to identify the cause of these changes.

looking. As a set of six, they present a representative sample of what the Canon is about and what to expect, which enables collectors with no prior knowledge of the Canon to gain an overview. For those collectors who had read the Canon, it was an opportunity to remind themselves of the Canon's finale and the main plot points of *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, and to commemorate the new beginning of *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* with images from the first two latest stories.

That the postcards were designed for Sherlock Holmes fans and novices alike is clear from the change in captioning between the *Strand's* version and the postcards. The changes give the postcard more context outside of the framework of the story and signals an attempt to separate the illustrations from their original context to make them texts in their own right. For example, Figure 12 was originally captioned 'The Shadow of Sherlock Holmes' (Doyle, 1902, p. 2), but this was changed to 'Dr. Watson: - "It was the shadow of Sherlock Holmes"' (Figure 12). The addition of Dr Watson's name gives context to the man in the illustration. Without it, one may assume that the unknown figure is lying in wait for the shadowy man, waiting to attack. By adding Watson's name, you only have to know that Sherlock Holmes has a friend called Watson (a relatively ubiquitously known fact, although not guaranteed) to know that there is no animosity illustrated. However, without the context of the story, the illustration is mysterious and prompts more questions than it answers. Why is Watson hiding in the shadows away from Sherlock Holmes? Why is he in a cave? It is not even clear that the postcard is from *The Hound of the Baskervilles* as it is titled 'The Return of Sherlock Holmes'. The postcard is fragmented. The change in caption therefore attempts to control the possibilities of interpretation but fails to give an entire picture. It is one example of how George Newnes Ltd attempted to create a new text from the illustrations that relate to the original context but also stand alone as an individual, offering new possibilities. It is this gap that, as we saw in the previous chapter, potentially allows creativity to flow and for new stories to be created through such creative acts as displaying collections or fanfiction.

Figure 11 is another example of the way the postcards as paratexts allow reinterpretation of the Canon. The change in caption reflects how the context for the illustration changed between its publication in the *Strand* and its reproduction as a postcard. The original is captioned 'The Death of Sherlock Holmes' (Doyle, 1893, p. 558); the postcard reads 'Where it was thought that Sherlock Holmes had met with an untimely death' (Figure 11).

Paratexts like this altered in meaning after Sherlock Holmes was resurrected because knowing whether Holmes survives changes how one approaches the Canon.⁴⁴ To newcomers it explains that the man in the picture is Holmes and that his precarious position is not mortal. To fans, the Reichenbach Falls is no longer where Holmes died but where it was *thought* he died. Approaching ‘The Final Problem’ after discovering that Holmes was resurrected lessens its impact. It is not the ‘Final Problem’ but where Holmes deals with another problem (Moriarty) in a final battle that was not final at all except for Moriarty dies. Reading the story post-Sherlock Holmes’ return, it may seem as if Arthur Conan Doyle played a trick on Holmes fans, making them believe that he was dead when he was not. But this is the benefit of hindsight - at the time of writing ‘The Final Problem’ Conan Doyle believed as much as anyone that Holmes was truly dead. In the preface of *The Case Book of Sherlock Holmes*, Conan Doyle states:

‘I had fully determined at the end of *Memoirs* to bring Holmes to an end [...] I did the deed, but fortunately no coroner had pronounced upon the remains, and so, after a long interval, it was not difficult for me to respond to the flattering demand and to explain my rash act away’ (Penguin Edition, p. 983).

Retrospectively, the fact that Holmes’ body was not found changes from being a happenstance to being a clue of his survival. By changing the caption to communicate that Holmes’ death was a trick, as well as ‘untimely’, demonstrating the fans’ unwillingness to let go of him, it acts as an inside joke between author, publisher, and fans – the fans’ upset that Holmes was gone forever was what brought Holmes back to life; Conan Doyle continued the Canon and Sherlock Holmes lived on (ironically) in the minds of his fans. Yet this joke must be explained to the outside world, and the caption, along with the postcard’s title ‘The Return of Sherlock Holmes’, explains that Holmes lives on (even if the specifics are not given).

Another significant change in captioning is on Figure 15. The *Strand* version read: ‘I crept forward and looked across at the familiar window’ (Doyle, 1903, p. 369). The postcard instead reads: ‘The Silhouette on the Blind was a perfect reproduction of Holmes’ (Figure 5). The illustration alone, out of the context of the *Strand*, means it is unclear who is who; those with only basic visual knowledge of Holmes might get confused about who the real

⁴⁴ See for example my analysis of ‘The Man Who “Bested” Sherlock Holmes’ in the previous chapter.

Holmes is in the picture: is it the shadow or is it the man looking through the window? The altered caption therefore identifies the shadow as being a reproduction of Holmes, but its isolation from the narrative gives this no context. What is causing the silhouette? Why is there a reproduction of Holmes? Whose window are they looking into? The postcard only offers a fragment of the story. The feeling of confusion while looking at the two versions of Holmes – the ‘real’ and the ‘reproduction’ – is a mirror of the confusion naïve readers felt when reading the Canon. Michael Saler explains that some naïve readers believed in Holmes because,

‘Holmes became a media celebrity in his own right, in a period when the culture of celebrity was new and not yet fully understood. The synergistic effect of all this attention devoted to Holmes may have encouraged less sophisticated readers to approach the stories as non-fictional rather than fictional’ (2003, p. 611).

As a paratext, the postcard self-reflexively points out the duplicity of Holmes’ image. As it is not immediately obvious how to tell them apart, it replicates those feelings of confusion over Holmes’ reality, which is ironic given that both images of Holmes are in fact reproductions. In a self-referential way, it points out that the postcard as a paratext is an object that is purchasable, moveable, and is a reproduction of an original, just like the bust of Holmes. Yet for those aware of the Canon and who actively participated in the Great Game, there is an alternative meaning to the doubling found in this illustration: the bust is the ‘perfect reproduction of Holmes’ and is therefore juxtaposed as opposite to the real Holmes. It mirrors the difference between the paratextual Holmes and the canonical Holmes, demonstrating one to be superior to the other, and uses the shadow as a metaphor, for the reproduction is but a shadow of the real Holmes.

What is striking about this illustration is the way it uses framing to emphasise the various layers of reality. Wills comments that the structure of a postcard ‘by virtue of its being open’ raises several issues, ‘issues relating essentially to the matter of the frame, the limits of the text, the delineation of its inside from its outside’ (1984, p. 24). In its original form in the *Strand* the illustration from ‘The Adventure of the Empty House’ is framed by text.⁴⁵ However, in postcard format, the edges of the postcard act as the outermost frame. In this

⁴⁵ In their original contexts, Figures 11-14 are full page illustrations. Only Figures 15 and 16, from ‘The Adventure of the Empty House’ and ‘The Adventure of the Norwood Builder’ are approximately half page illustrations, surrounded on two or three sides (respectively) by text.

postcard, there are a number of frames in play starting in the centre window of 221B where Holmes' silhouette is visible, to the window Holmes and Watson are looking through; to the outer edge of the image; all the way to the outer edge of the postcard. The use of chiaroscuro draws the eye to the bust, but the framing emphasises the regression of the frame. The onlooker is looking at a reproduction of Holmes and Watson looking at a reproduction of Holmes. The various frames of vision represent the multiple layers of reality. It requires a suspension of disbelief that the Holmes looking at his reproduction is real. For fans, this was an extension of playing the Game. Yet even for those new to the Canon, the illustration and caption encourage the onlooker to passively accept the Holmes looking through the window as the real Holmes. Thomas A Sebeok and Harriet Margolis have commented that 'Holmes uses a Baker Street window shade as a projection screen in "The Empty House" (EMPT), [so] we should perhaps also consider the window as a small cinema theater' (1982, p. 115). They further comment that, '[t]here are, of course, differences for the audience watching a film and a live presentation, centered primarily around the greater passivity and suspension of disbelief involved in watching a film' (1982, p. 115). The use of the window shade as a frame for the reproduction of Holmes heightens the onlooker's ability to suspend their disbelief. This is, of course, even though the illustration is out of the context of the *Strand*. As a paratext, it reproduces the reality-effect of the Canon and allows room for the ironic belief in Holmes' reality.

It is here that the line between corporate-created consumerism and fan-led paratext blurs. The corporation encourages certain interpretations, but when collectors collect postcards and put them into their own order, display or preserve them in their own way, and attach value to them in ways that is unique to the collector, the paratext alters. For example, three of the postcards in the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection, Richard Lancelyn Green Bequest are completely clean. This indicates that the buyer(s) valued the postcards in a way that had nothing to do with their communicative function. The postcards are part of the Canon because they depict the illustrations from the publications, but they also break down the experience of reading into miniatures that can be transported, kept, displayed, and collected as part of a series. The *Tit-Bits* advertisement (Figure 17) successfully pitches the postcards as fulfilling all of the categories Bjarne Rogan identifies as being factors in the popularity of postcards: aesthetic, souvenir, collectible, and means of communication (2005). The aesthetic appeal of the postcard comes from the artwork depicted on them, they are

souvenirs of the return of Sherlock Holmes as discussed above, and the postcards are intended to be a collection because they were sold as a set. Susan Stewart argues that the collection has quite a different motivation to the souvenir because collecting takes objects out of context: 'the collection is a form of art as play, a form involving the reframing of objects within a world of attention and manipulation of context' (1993, p. 151). These cards are out of context because the illustrations are taken out of the framework of the stories, but their context is changed again through manipulation by the collector.

The meanings of paratexts vary as time goes on and depending on the context they are found in. For these postcards, the context varies from the pages of the *Strand* to the card. For collectors and owners, the meaning of the cards varies depending on the depth of knowledge the onlooker has of the Canon. George Newnes Ltd attempted to control for some of the interpretations through changing the captions, but even this did not guarantee the postcards' metonymic value to the onlooker. For example, the illustration from 'The Adventure of the Norwood Builder' (Figure 6) was published in November's edition of the *Strand*. The postcards were advertised in October's edition of *Tit-Bits*, which means that at the time of production as a postcard, this illustration had not yet been published anywhere else, including in the *Strand*. This meant that for a short time the postcard was a unique publication of that image. It acted as an introductory paratext for the upcoming story that informed how the reader would approach the text. As Jonathan Gray says, 'in preparing us for the text and offering us our first encounters with it, entryway paratexts hold considerable power to direct our initial interpretations, telling us what to expect and establishing genre, gender, style, attitude, and characterization' (Jonathan Gray, 2010, p. 79). This image holds several hints and clues about the story's plot: the thumbprint, which is the primary clue in the solving of the case, is visible on the wall as Holmes examines it with a magnifying glass. The image prepares the reader for the reading of the text and tells them what to expect. Although this is true after its publication in the *Strand*, for a time, as a singular card, it had value as a unique item for fans. Interestingly, the illustration also shows one of the few times Sherlock Holmes is seen with a magnifying glass, which would go on to become an iconic object in its close association with Holmes and detectives more widely, which means that as a paratext it also reinforced iconography associated with Holmes. These postcards were corporate-created paratexts in that they were produced for consumption, but the way in which Late-Victorians and Edwardians turned every day and

ubiquitous objects to create something new through their collections also makes them a fan-created paratext. These postcards were pursued and had sentimental value as a reminder of the return of Sherlock Holmes, bringing a sense of community amongst fans, and helping to introduce the new stories as part of a coherent Canon, despite the large gap in time between the stories.

Conclusion

The various methods fans used to engaged with Holmes outside of the Canon itself is an interesting dynamic that is ruled by the idea of play, as theorised by Paul Booth, and the Great Game as described by Michael Saler (2003) and more recently Jonathan Cranfield in his article on Sherlock Holmes letters (2014). The motivation to collect ephemera was not limited to this idea, but it is evident that many fans did engage in this way, creating their own collections of objects and adding Holmes into an already existing collection and by doing so collectors demonstrated aspects of their personality. These examples of ephemera are important because they act as paratexts, advertising the canon and directing the reader back to the text. When a reader does so, they are influenced by what they have read and collected, establishing a personal connection to the stories through their actions.

Contemporary Sherlock Holmes readers had access to a new, wide range of media. As time went on, George Newnes Ltd sold more merchandise like the postcards, as well as special editions of the books. Even unofficial merchandise began to appear, such as cigarette cards, another example of cheap, illustrated ephemera, increasing the commodification of Sherlock Holmes over time. Maurice Rickards claims that ‘cigarette cards were among the first items of ephemera to be produced specifically for collecting’ (2000, p. 96); their practical purpose was to stiffen paper cigarette packets but they soon took on a value of their own and ‘by the 1920s and 1930s the [tobacco] companies (who in many cases were printers) were retaining artists, writers, and editors to generate a steady flow of informative miniatures’ (2000, p. 96). Cigarette cards, like postcards, portrayed innumerable different subjects. In 1923 Turf Cigarettes sold a set of 25 cards entitled ‘Conan Doyle Characters’, which were later reproduced by Card Promotions in 1996. The cards were produced in London by Alexander Boguslavsky Ltd and depict illustrations of twenty-five of Conan Doyle’s characters, nineteen of which are from the stories of Sherlock Holmes; others include the Brigadier Gerard series, *Rodney Stone* and *Sir Nigel*. The presence of the

cigarette cards on the market demonstrates the breadth of media consumers were interested in. Throughout Conan Doyle's career, as he continued to write Sherlock Holmes stories but far more sporadically than he had done during the earlier series, paratextual ephemera continued to be created in official and unofficial capacities. The desire for Sherlock Holmes paratexts continued to grow and although only part of a set of Conan Doyle cigarette cards, the prominence of Sherlock Holmes characters to the others (nineteen out of twenty-five cards and two of Holmes himself), demonstrates how Holmes dominated Conan Doyle's career and the interest of his readers. Interest in Holmes and the paratexts surrounding the Canon was sustained and eventually led to official societies like the Sherlock Holmes Society of London.

What is interesting about these cards, too, is that their presence in the market inhabits several of the contemporary concerns around consumption. Matthew Hilton notes that when cigarettes were introduced they were seen to be for passive users, compared to the connoisseurs of cigars and pipe tobacco. The collecting of cigarette cards became 'a major hobby of a substantial proportion of Britain's youth' (2000, p. 167). Hilton discusses this in relation to the public response to juvenile smoking and the fears that it was morally damaging. The introduction of cigarette cards upset some contemporaries because it was felt that they encouraged juveniles to smoke and the cards often contained images that were corrupting, such as indecent photographs of actresses (Hilton, 2000). The fears of the decline in morality contributed to the passing of the 1908 Children's Act, which prohibited the sale of cigarettes to those under sixteen years of age (Hilton, 2000). It was therefore assumed that the largest market for cigarette card collecting was children, but the true gender or age of consumers of cigarette cards is difficult to quantify accurately.

Newspapers such as the *Luton News and Bedfordshire Chronicle* in 1939 indicate that there was a cross-section of the population who enjoyed the pastime; it states: '[a] light has gone out of the lives of all small boys, for cigarette cards are now to be discontinued. It was always an interesting and instructive hobby to grown-ups as well as children' ("Cigarette Cards," 1939). The cross section of real collectors and the assumption that children were the predominant audience reveals the contemporary fears that consumption was a childish pastime and that adults should have more control over their interests.

It is interesting to note that the character of Sherlock Holmes often smokes throughout the Canon and this has implications on his influence on the readership, not only as a smoker,

but as a consumer. Matthew Hilton argues that Holmes' smoking habit has 'public purpose' (2000, p. 19) because it is a tool to help him focus his mind and therefore solve his cases, and as such feeds into a wider culture of smoking as a 'rationalisation of an act of masculine consumption' (2000, p. 20). Susan Zieger, in her article 'Holmes' Pipe, Tobacco Papers and the Nineteenth-century Origins of Media Addiction', takes the view that Holmes' smoking self-reflexively portrays the media consumption of the reader. She argues that cigarette cards, along with other smoking ephemera such as booklets, converged smoking with media:

'[i]ts cultural effect was to compress the leisurely bourgeois and media consumption - two compulsive habits that increasingly went well together. In addition to metamorphosing from a social activity to a simulated conversation carried out in print, smoking also shifted from an emblem of expansive literary leisure to brief, self-administered doses of print. In this way, the paired activities of smoking and reading generated a mass aesthetic and formed a mode of self-medication. (2014, p. 29).

Holmes' smoking embodies the cultural link between smoking and print in his methods. His simultaneous acts of sitting, smoking and deducing, reflected the male, smoking reader in their habits of smoking and media addiction. Holmes' pipe is an 'emblem of his characteristic mixture of intellectual creativity and compulsive dependency' (2014, p. 24). Zieger is pointing out here that Holmes' consumptive habits are conversations that indicate a relationship with the reader based on consumption. The Arthur Conan Doyle cigarette cards, and in particular the Sherlock Holmes themed cards, thereby act as an extension of the Canon; they are a paratext that has been created with the view of consumption and as such reflect the media addiction Holmes fans demonstrated through their reading of texts related to the Canon.

Collecting was therefore not without its critics and especially the collecting of ephemera was seen to be a mania and a sign of a weakness of mind. Collecting as a pathological trait is a theme that will be explored more fully in the next chapter, but what I have demonstrated in this chapter is that the critique of collectors in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century foreshadows the types of critiques modern fans have become used to: being led by emotions, unable to control themselves, and being crazed (Hills, 2002).

These critiques have progressed from a cultural dialogue that has been prevalent before the 1960s, where fan studies have generally believed fandom to originate. The popularity of Sherlock Holmes coincided with a wider interest in collecting and as such the kinds of media available for Holmes fans was unprecedented, particularly in the way it has lasted for so many years. Other popular fictional characters had been subject to various mediums, however the longevity of Holmes ephemera and merchandise sets Holmes apart from his predecessors, as well as the way it engaged in the sense of play.

Chapter Four – Sherlock Holmes, Fandom and the Pathological Collector

Introduction

On Monday 24th August 1891, the *Daily Telegraph* printed an untitled article on the pursuit of collecting. It begins:

‘There are few human pursuits, not directly inspired by love, ambition, or revenge, more absorbing than that of the collector [...] With some it is a life-long mania; with others an ardent but not inextinguishable passion; with others, again, a mere temporary fad’ (1891).

The article disparages collecting as a maniacal male trait. These male collectors are ‘not mad enough to be dangerous’ but they are neglectful of all else; they have no ‘paternal tenderness’, and ‘no friends, for other men, to him, are either rivals [...] or nonentities’ (1891). This echoes Russell Belk’s claim that ‘collecting is usually a competitive activity’ (2001, p. 68). However, this article argues that there is an underlying mental flaw in the minds of collectors. For specialists, for example, this is a spiritual issue: they are ‘possessed by the demon of specialism’ (1891). At best, ‘typical collectors’ have the benefit of ‘intellectual culture, pecuniary plenty, and abundance of spare time’ that disposes them to ‘vagaries’ of collecting (1891). The article identifies collecting as an upper-class pastime which, as we saw with the example of postcards, was not always the case. As manufacturing methods became better at reproducing collectibles, the lower classes became increasingly interested in collecting (Belk, 2001). What the article makes clear is that typical collectors follow the changing fashions of ‘collecting mania’; ‘every fad, like every dog, has its day, while collecting is a sort of draft upon human folly, of long standing and ever renewable’ (1891). The ideology that collecting was a form of mental malady that varied somewhat in its form and its severity but in all cases was an example of human folly was prevalent in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

In the last chapter, I explored how the desires of the consumer and the corporation intersect when it comes to fan consumption and how the commodification of fandom has been discussed negatively in early academic work on fandom and in the press throughout the twentieth century, creating a moral dualism of good and bad consumption, as described by Matt Hills (2002). In this chapter, I wish to investigate further the relationship the *Strand*

had with its fans as consumers and explore how the Sherlock Holmes Canon simultaneously pathologised and encouraged fan behaviours. I will apply Thing Theory and theories of collecting to the examples of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1901-2) and ‘The Adventure of the Illustrious Client’ (1924) to demonstrate that by looking at the collections of various characters we can appreciate more fully the portrayal of collectors within the Sherlock Holmes Canon. As the *Daily Telegraph* article above points out, collections have cultural value that is period specific as fashions change, and by reading texts in the context of Thing Theory and theories of collections, we can explore how the fashions of collecting impact upon the wider meaning of objects and how this reflects on a collector’s identity. The portrayal of collectors in the Canon parodies the fans of Sherlock Holmes as a consumer, and both challenge and reinforce certain tropes associated with collecting, such as madness.

Collecting and Thing Theory

Collecting is the act of putting objects together in a purposeful way. Collections of objects can be read as individual items or as a series, both of which have interpretive possibilities. There are cultural connotations that may be lost in the present because we do not live in the same age and so we have different anxieties, interests, and cultural cues. In ‘Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting’ Mieke Bal argues that: ‘cultural objects must signify through common codes, conventions of meaning-making that both producer and reader understand’ (1994, p. 98). Her argument is that objects found within literature constitute more than their functional use; they are signifiers of a meaning that is subjective and is yet also understood by multiple readers. They have ‘inter-subjective’ (1994, p. 98) meaning. She also illustrates how narrative can simultaneously establish the meaning of objects within itself, but also use objects as ready-made signals that require no lingual explanation. This dual purpose of objects, according to Bal, creates a ‘tension between socially accessible objecthood and the characteristic subjectivity of narratives’ (1994, p. 98) because we may assume that an object means one thing, but within the context of a narrative this may change or be influenced by ‘an agent of vision whose view of the events will influence our interpretation of them’ (1994, p. 1998). It is therefore imperative that an analysis of objects takes a balanced view of their historical and textual contexts.

Elaine Freedgood also argues for a deeper consideration of the intersubjective meaning of things. Freedgood, however, does this through the application of Thing Theory to the Victorian novel, which she says, ‘showers us with things [...] cavalcades of objects threaten to crowd the narrative right off the page’ (2006, p. 1). Freedgood argues that objects in novels often go uninterpreted in academic work, but she believes that ‘critical cultural archives have been preserved, unsuspected, in the things of realism’ (2006, p. 1). Her methodology is to take ‘a novelistic thing materially or literally and then following it beyond the covers of the text through a mode of research that proceeds according to the many dictates of a strong form of metonymic reading’ (Freedgood, 2006, p. 12). She does this through the examples of the Mahogany furniture in *Jane Eyre* arguing that ‘the nameless inhabitants of the Caribbean’ in the novel are ‘recovered through reading the properties and relations of objects like mahogany furniture’ (2006, p. 53). Freedgood also demonstrates how George Eliot controls metonymic readings in *Middlemarch*, stating that:

‘meaning is stabilized [...] so that metonymic relations (which, strictly speaking, stop nowhere) can stop just when they should, a moment that requires the acuity of Eliot’s narrator to discern. Metonymy [...] is narrated to the point of exhaustion’ (2006, p. 115).⁴⁶

Freedgood’s analysis demonstrates the dual purpose of objects that Bal relates. By expanding on the metonymic possibilities of these objects for a Victorian audience Freedgood establishes that intersubjective meanings can be found but also controlled through narrative structure and textual context.

Freedgood briefly mentions Sherlock Holmes in her coda, stating that Holmes and Watson demonstrate the difference between commodification culture and thing culture. Commodification culture is, according to Freedgood, when objects are meaningless.⁴⁷ As she says, ‘We live with Dr. Watson in commodity culture, and think we understand common things well enough’ but Holmes shows us ‘intense metonymic connections’, which means that ‘commodification is undone [...] a mass-produced object becomes entirely individual’ and Holmes therefore ‘inhabits thing culture’ where all objects, no

⁴⁶ One such example, as argued by Freedgood, is when Dorothea chooses an emerald ring from among her dead mother’s jewellery: ‘Dorothea’s true heirloom, the novel suggests, is her plain dress. The correct assignment of ideas to thing is hinted at’ and prescribed for the reader by Eliot (2006, pp. 115, 131).

⁴⁷ As we have seen in the previous chapter, this is not the case. Even the most mass-produced objects can have personal meaning to a collector.

matter how commodified, can have meaning (Freedgood, 2006, pp. 150-151 [original emphasis]). She establishes that Holmes' readings of objects give set metonymic values that, within this idealised world, cannot be disputed.⁴⁸ This means the interpretive value of these objects is restricted in possibilities by Holmes' dictated coding. Through Watson's narration, Holmes controls how we view objects, leaving no room for the reader's subjective or intersubjective readings. However, I would argue that Freedgood has missed the opportunity to apply her method to the objects not explicitly read by Holmes but that are mentioned by Watson and do lend themselves to a metonymic reading. There is purpose in what Watson mentions and contemporary readers brought their own knowledge and expectations to these objects, such as Baron Gruner's Chinese pottery discussed below.

Freedgood's approach allows us to see how, within a narrative, individual objects can have far greater meaning than what may first be assumed. This is also true of collections, especially in relation to the creation of a collector's identity. Museum curators, for example, have come to realise that they must understand 'the history and nature of our collections and the reasons behind their formation, so that we can better appreciate the assumptions of knowledge and value which they embody' (Pearce, 1994, p. 194). As Pearce says, 'The collections, in their acquisition, valuation and organization, are an important part of our effort to construct the world' (1994, p. 194). Mieke Bal, however, argues that collecting should be analysed as a narrative with a beginning, middle, and end. For example, she believes that collecting starts as a form of fetishism that requires both the Freudian and Marxist model of the fetish to be fully understood. She argues that 'the impulse to collect within a cultural situation [...] is itself hybridic: a mixture of capitalism and individualism enmeshed with alternative modes of historical and psychological existence' (1994, p. 110). Collections develop over time and become metaphoric, as collectors make objects representative of other objects. We have seen in the previous chapter how Sherlock Holmes fans used their collection of Sherlock Holmes ephemera to construct an identity and to (re-)engage with the Canon. This chapter looks at how the characters of Stapleton in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and Baron Gruner in 'The Adventure of the Illustrious Client' curate and display their collections to present their

⁴⁸ For a more detailed analysis of the values Holmes both creates and reinforces in the narrative see: Rosemary Jann's 'Sherlock Holmes Codes the Social Body' (1990). Jann's reading is explicitly Foucauldian and does not use Thing Theory, but her analysis of the way Holmes relies on external (and fictional) methodologies of reading intersects in interesting ways with Freedgood's reading of Holmes' control over the metonymic value of objects.

identity to the wider world and how this intersects with ideas of pathology. There is an underlying assumption in these texts that violence is a natural outcome of collecting. The narrative encourages an ideology where collecting implies (though does not equate to) pathology. As *The Country Life Illustrated* says in 1899:

‘it is a matter of common knowledge that grown-up people who have caught the collecting mania badly, whatever be its object, are liable to a kind of moral twist which makes them irreclaimable where the indulgence of their hobby is concerned’ (“The "Collector"... Nuisance,” 1899, p. 738).

In my view, *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and ‘The Adventure of the Illustrious Client’ suggest just that.

Stapleton and Naturalism

There are many collectors in the Canon who demonstrate many of the stereotypical characteristics of someone with collecting mania, including Nathan Garrideb in ‘The Adventure of the Three Garridebs’ who is ‘eccentric’, never leaves his house (that is more like a miniature museum) and is devastated by the loss of five million dollars to build up his collection, which ‘cost [him] his reason’ (Doyle, 2009k, p. 1044). However, there are no stories that depict as many collectors together as *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. In this novel, there are a total of four collectors mentioned: Stapleton, Frankland, Mortimer, and Sherlock Holmes. The presentation of these collectors varies from the obsessive but innocent Mortimer to the murderous Stapleton, which makes it a fruitful story to compare with ‘The Adventure of the Illustrious Client’, which features the villainous collector, Baron Gruner. The principle collector in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* is Stapleton, as it is his interest in naturalism and his collection of butterflies, with its metonymic values of death, childhood, taxonomy, and otherness to human life, which underpin the presentation of the other collectors and ultimately indicate his villainy. In particular, Stapleton’s interest in naturalism hints at a history of taxonomical practices that reflect on *The Hound of the Baskervilles*’ presentation of types of collector.

Stapleton is referred to as ‘the naturalist’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 678) by his neighbours and by Watson; it is his defining feature. Even before Watson meets him, Stapleton is observably a naturalist, as Watson observes:

‘[a] tin box for botanical specimens hung over his shoulder and he carried a green butterfly net in one of his hands [...] “I am Stapleton, of Merripit House.” “Your net and box would have told me as much,” said I, “for I knew that Mr. Stapleton was a naturalist”’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 706).

Naturalism is central to Stapleton’s identity. From what he wears to how he acts, his reputation is built upon the public knowledge that he is ‘the naturalist’ and it is unsurprising that his collection offers a number of metonymic meanings that are connected to his interest in the natural world, and more specifically, in the collecting of butterflies. What is curious about Stapleton as a collector is that although the metonymic values of his collection are there to be read in the materiality of the collection, Watson in his narration does not concentrate on this, only on Stapleton’s behaviour in attaining it. The narrative focuses on the complexity and the dangerousness of the collector and his pathological and violent tendencies, not on the collection itself. The material Stapleton wears allows Watson to garner through context who Stapleton is, but even this is not the collection itself, only the tools needed to collect.

Naturalism is a subject that is integrally focussed on objects and is associated with the collecting of natural objects. As Carla Yanni explains, historically, collecting natural objects:

‘contributed to the development and legitimization of the discipline, because Enlightenment thinkers could present their collections systematically, and thus distinguish themselves from the courtiers who compiled supposedly disorderly “curiosity cabinets” in Renaissance and Baroque Europe. Taxonomy, one of the essential practices of natural history, was made manifest in the museum’ (2005, p. 3).

Stapleton is therefore not just defined by what he owns, his collection of natural objects, but also the system of that ownership. John Clark argues that butterfly collecting became popular in the nineteenth to early-twentieth century because urbanisation made people nostalgic for nature. As he describes:

‘The proportion of the British population living in cities increased from 20 to 80 per cent between 1801 and 1911. As more people left the countryside, they showed an

increasing propensity to collect bugs, to place beetles and butterflies under glass. Insect collecting was part of a nostalgic bid to capture lost nature in an increasingly urban Victorian Britain' (2009, p. 10).

Indeed, the natural surroundings were enticing for naturalists and a lure for collectors.

Anderson Graham states in *Longman's Magazine* in 1891:

'The collection of natural objects has advantages over every other form of the same passion. Who would gather china or curios, books or pictures, is doomed to wander in dingy streets, to rummage ancient shop and stall, to frequent stuffy auction-rooms, and with the enthusiasm for his hobby to cultivate also the astuteness of a horse-coper and the close-fistedness of a retail grocer. But Nature loads with unsought gifts those who seek her treasures' (1891, pp. 287-288).

The engagement with natural surroundings contributed to Naturalism's popularity as a pastime for collectors whose interests took them outside of the home and into the countryside.

The setting of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and Stapleton's home, the Devonshire Moors, is uncoincidentally a setting full of natural and historically cultivated space, far removed from urban London. As Lawrence Frank comments, 'the railway journey that has carried Dr. Watson, Dr. Mortimer, Sir Henry Baskerville and, later, Holmes from London to Devon has become a journey both in space and in time' (2009, p. 188). There is a definite distinction between the compact, busy, and urban setting of London and the vast, heath-clad landscape of the Devonshire moors, which Frank argues becomes an anachronistic space as Dartmoor represents a prehistoric place. However, far from celebrating his arrival in the beautiful countryside, Watson is struck by 'a tinge of melancholy' about the countryside as autumn has set in and 'drifts of rotting vegetation' are 'sad gifts [...] for Nature to throw before the carriage' (Doyle, 2009n, pp. 700-701). Here, Anderson Graham's description of nature's treasures in *Longman's* is replaced by 'sad gifts' that are unwelcoming at best and at worst is part of the 'desolate plain' (2009n, p. 701) that is hiding the fiendish Notting Hill murderer, Selden. From Watson's first description of the countryside, there is a menacing, gothic atmosphere that threatens to conceal dark and violent beings, from Selden, to the suspicious man on the tor (that is later discovered to be Holmes), to the

potentially demonic beast. This menacing natural landscape is more than a gothic setting: it visually displays the cycle of life in that summer has turned to autumn; the reader is reminded that nature also must include death. Death pervades *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and does so especially through its connection with nature and Stapleton's fascination with naturalism. Merrick Burrow sees this as a development in Conan Doyle's writing towards what he calls 'gothic materialism' that explores the 'contradictions between naturalism and spiritualism [...] by way of a primitive Other' (2013, p. 310).⁴⁹ For despite Clark's statement that butterfly collecting stemmed from a nostalgic recapturing of the natural world, there was a tension arising between naturalists' celebration of the natural world and their uncivilised behaviour as they sought to literally capture nature and, in their attempts to preserve natural life, kill plants and animals.

There was therefore an association between naturalists and death that hints at Stapleton's violent tendencies. The *Aberdeen Evening Express* (19 February, 1891) quotes Henry Labouchère's belief that naturalists:

'are the worst foes of the brute creation. They catch butterflies and drown them in benzene. They waylay beetles and stick pins through them [...] They are only happy, so far as I have seen, when they are killing, unless it is when they are dissecting or embalming what they have killed' ("Truth" On Naturalists," 1891).

The behaviour of naturalists concerned Labouchère, especially when they were responsible for the destruction of large numbers of animals such as the 20,000 eggs taken from a bird breeding ground in the Shetland Islands for their collections. His claim that, '[n]o naturalist, I should imagine, will be able to resist such an opportunity as this of improving his collection' ("Truth" On Naturalists," 1891) implies that naturalists are so overcome with their need to collect that they lack the self-control to keep themselves from destroying what they love. For Labouchère, the behaviour of naturalists is inherently violent because they seek the death of animals for the benefit of their own collection. Their collecting habits are irrepressible and therefore the collectors are threateningly unbridled, and it was feared that

⁴⁹ As Burrow points out, Conan Doyle was increasingly interested in Spiritualism and became a very public advocate for Spiritualism in his later years. Burrow argues that the gothic influences in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* 'served chiefly to highlight how far the rationalist materialist detective [Holmes] refused to take the possibility of ghosts seriously', which Conan Doyle saw as being negatively 'unscientific and dogmatic' (2013, p. 309). This negativity towards naturalism as a science contributes to the negative portrayal of it as a collecting hobby.

this violent tendency would be directed toward other humans. Indeed, in ‘Pity the Poor Birds!’ in *The Nineteenth Century* (1891), Augustus Jessopp describes an encounter with a young boy, a theoretical naturalist, whose knowledge of birds outdoes his own. Jessopp is so surprised at the boy’s level of knowledge, he exclaims, ‘I hope that boy will not take to vivisection one day in his thirst for knowledge!’ (1891, p. 285). Vivisection was a widely debated subject in the 1890s and in particular there were claims of human vivisections being carried out in hospitals, which scared the general public.⁵⁰ Animal vivisection was also considered by some to be immoral, but more pertinently the anti-vivisection campaign used ‘a moral argument that animal experimentation deadened the sensibilities of physiologists, and would therefore encourage more serious crimes against society’ (Pittard, 2011, p. 159). The connection Jessopp makes between vivisectionists and naturalists associates the violent natures of the two occupations and insinuates that this violence will lead to more serious crimes. We see this jump from experimenting with death to the crime of murder in the behaviour of Stapleton.

As narrator, Watson never questions Stapleton’s innocence, even after his outburst at Sir Henry Baskerville when Sir Henry claims that Stapleton ‘ought to be in a straight-jacket’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 719) and that he ‘can’t forget the look in [Stapleton’s] eyes’ that reveals Stapleton to be ‘crazy’ (2009n, p. 720). Watson ignores this evidence of mental instability. On a plot level, this serves to keep the reader in the dark until Holmes’ entrance, when he clarifies Stapleton’s position as villain. At which point Stapleton’s appearance, including the straw hat and butterfly net, become the focal point of Watson’s vexation. James Krasner argues that Watson deflects his ‘mental states onto the material world’, allowing the material to reflect his frustration at being excluded from Holmes’ thoughts and usually this ‘exclusion from the case coincides with a descriptive passage emphasizing the visible’ (1997, p. 429). We see this in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* when Watson says:

‘all my unspoken instincts, my vague suspicions, suddenly took shape and centred upon the naturalist. In that impassive colourless man, with his straw hat and his butterfly-net, I seemed to see something terrible – a creature of infinite patience and craft, with a smiling face and a murderous heart’ (2009n, p. 742).

⁵⁰ For further discussion on the late-Victorian anxieties of human vivisection and its relationship with the medical profession see Claire Brock’s article ‘Risk, Responsibility and Surgery in the 1890s and Early 1900s’ (2013) pp. 317-337.

The revelation that Stapleton is a villain puts pieces together that Watson could not see, and centres on Stapleton's position as a collector. It reveals that Watson had not fully appreciated that Stapleton's costume, his clothes needed for his collecting, were a physical manifestation of his pathology, until Holmes makes the information available.

Holmes makes explicit what was implicit in Watson's description of Stapleton's physicality. Watson sees him as a figurative moth:

‘my acquaintance never paused for an instant, bounding from tuft to tuft behind it, his green net waving in the air. His gray clothes and jerky, zigzag, irregular progress made him not unlike some huge moth himself’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 709).

Watson's knowledge of Stapleton's collection has impacted upon Stapleton's appearance and affects how Watson interprets his visual aspect. John Clark states that ‘by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries [...] insects became attractive subjects precisely because of their apparent distance from humanity’ (2009, p. 7). The interpretation of Stapleton as an insect therefore has implications on his humanity. It dehumanises him and as a result makes his callous and violent nature less surprising because the narrative portrays him as baser than his neighbours. Interestingly, Stapleton is not the only collector to be described by Watson as being particularly insectile. The villain, Baron Gruner, in ‘The Illustrious Client’ also has an insect-like quality: his ‘little waxed tips of hair under his nose, like the short antennae of an insect. These quivered in amusement as he listened’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 988). More surprisingly, the description of Dr Mortimer is also appearingly entomoid: ‘He had long, quivering fingers as agile and restless as the antennae of an insect’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 672). This description of Dr Mortimer has several possible reasons: firstly, it positions him as a collector; secondly, it heightens the uncertainty surrounding the identity of the villain in the novel as the similarities between the neighbours around Baskerville Hall complicate Watson's notions of whom he may trust, and demonstrates that all collectors, whether villainous or harmless, have an otherness to them.⁵¹

⁵¹ As I discuss later in this chapter, Dr Mortimer is a collector with anthropological interests. His entomoid appearance parallels him with the other insect-like collectors like Stapleton.

Even still, this focus on Stapleton's appearance and behaviour as a collector leaves a gap for the collection itself, which is under-described in the text. We understand more fully the materiality of Stapleton's collection at the end of the novel when Holmes and Watson go into his house and Watson describes the physical layout of Stapleton's collection:

'[it] had been fashioned into a small museum, and the walls were lined by a number of glass-topped cases full of that collection of butterflies and moths of which had been the relaxation of this complex and dangerous man' (Doyle, 2009n, p. 758).

The way the collection is displayed is telling of Stapleton's style as a collector; the museum-like layout fits Susan Pearce's description of a 'systematic collection' that:

'depends on principles of organization, which are perceived to have an external reality beyond the specific material under consideration, and are held to derive from general principles deduced from the broad mass of kindred material through the operation of observation and reason' (1992, p. 87).

Visually, Stapleton is demonstrating through display that everything he owns has logic and objective reasoning behind it. As Pearce says, 'Systematics draw a viewer into their frame. They presuppose a two-way relationship between the collection, which has something public (not private) to say, and the audience' (1992, p. 87). Through the museum metaphor, the collection is positioned outward, for a public audience, despite the collection being contained within Stapleton's home. Scholars such as Krzysztof Pomian have pointed out that 'some collections are built up with a purely speculative end in mind' (2003, p. 161) and many end up as a museum in their own right. Stapleton's display of his collection indicates an intention towards setting up a museum and as such predicts his eventual death, emphasising again the connection between naturalism and death. The museum-like layout extends the association, for as John Elsner writes, 'the museum is a kind of entombment, a display of once lived activity' (1994, p. 155). The entombment of the butterflies is a stand-in for Stapleton's own life as he seeks to extend his legacy beyond his demise. It is fitting then that Watson and Holmes only see Stapleton's collection after Stapleton has disappeared and is later assumed to be deceased. The collection he leaves behind is exposed, revealing what he perceives as his authentic self – a collector of death. The

association of death between Stapleton and his naturalist interests is finally and ultimately achieved in his death at the end of the novel.

Stapleton's death in the bog and his butterfly-like appearance duplicates the behaviour of naturalists, with Sherlock Holmes playing the role of naturalist. As Holmes says to Watson:

‘We have him, Watson, we have him, and I dare swear that before tomorrow night he will be fluttering in our net as helpless as one of his own butterflies. A pin, a cork, and a card, and we add him to the Baker Street collection!’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 750).

Holmes here is Stapleton's double, collecting his own metaphorical butterflies for his collection of cases that are physically collected and bound into books. Holmes thereby becomes one of the collectors found within *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and the narrative duplicates Stapleton's habit of pursuing his prey, killing it, and displaying it. Stapleton, as the butterfly, is pursued, killed (buried ‘in the heart of the Grimpen Mire’ (2009n, p. 760)), and is displayed in the text of the novel. This complicates the idea of villainy in the novel as even Holmes, in his desire to solve the case, endangers Sir Henry Baskerville's life when he exposes him to the hound, reinforcing the death/naturalism parallel. Holmes humbly says to Sir Henry, “‘we owe you a deep apology, Sir Henry, for having exposed you to this fright [...]” “You have saved my life” “Having first endangered it” (Doyle, 2009n, p. 757). As R B H Goh has pointed out, by the end of the novel, ‘Holmes has not only defeated the illegitimate Baskerville, but also rendered the legitimate one, his own client, “delirious” and with “shattered . . . nerves” as a result of being used as bait in Holmes’ plan’ (Goh, 2006, p. 102). The lack of forethought for Sir Henry's safety and Holmes' obsessive, compulsive need to solve the case, echo Stapleton's own compulsions. We see this also in ‘The Illustrious Client’ when Holmes fails to see that Kitty has planned an attack on Gruner. He admits: ‘I gathered the girl [Kitty] up at the last moment. How could I guess what the little packet was that she carried so carefully under her cloak? I thought she had some altogether on my business’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 999).⁵² Holmes, who is supposedly

⁵² In addition, Kitty is an example of Holmes' inability to read women in the Canon. As Elizabeth Miller has pointed out, ‘[t]hroughout the series, Conan Doyle suggests that women present a challenge to conventional Western conceptions of truth as associated with public space, visibility, and transparency’ (2008, p. 49). It is one of the failings in Holmes' prescriptive ideology that he cannot fully comprehend women. He is

highly observant and tactical, cannot see past his own obsession with the case to see that he is putting others (even if they are villains) in danger. Gruner's face is horrendously disfigured and Sir Henry takes months to emotionally recover from Holmes' lack of foresight.

This has implications on Holmes' role as the moral authority in the Canon. Rosemary Jann argues that Holmes is a 'resonant symbol of the late Victorian faith in the power of logic and rationality to insure order' (1990, p. 685). Yet his rationality leads him to make choices based on a passionate need to capture the criminal that subsequently put people in danger. It does not even work very well, as Stapleton gets away from Holmes and meets his end at the hands of nature rather than Holmes' 'net'. One explanation is that Holmes has what Mikhail Epstein and Jeffrey M Perl call 'hyperrationality' - they claim that:

'[e]veryone knows about the delirium of irrationality, but there is a delirium of rationality as well. Both deviation from reason and too strict an insistence on it can be madness. We could call the latter hyperrationality, the prefix in this case meaning not a robust but an excessive degree of rationality [...] By overstepping a fuzzy and therefore disregarded boundary, rationality regularly turns into its opposite. Not method-in-madness but madness-in-method, hyperrationality is a mania over clarity, distinctions, rules, principles, and unquestionable truths' (2013, pp. 220-221).

Holmes' constructed hyperrationality is an indicator of a form of mental disturbance, which emphasises the collector/pathological relationship but undermines the pathological/villain parallel.

The villainous association is, therefore, held in *what* Stapleton collects. The self-reflexive quality of the novel is played out through the other metonymic associations of naturalism – in particular through its association with taxonomic practices. Naturalism was a popular area of study in the eighteenth century and was studied increasingly by scientists and hobbyists alike throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. As T R New argues: 'these interests induced production of increasingly complete and sophisticated

completely unable to predict Kitty's actions, despite being able to see she was hiding something under her cloak.

illustrated handbooks that enabled hobbyists to identify their study objects with reasonable certainty and summarise biological and distributional information' (2013, pp. 1-2). The illustrated handbook offers an alternative way of looking at the form of *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, for it is itself an illustrated (serialised) novel. It can therefore be read as a form of illustrated handbook of collectors and demonstrates the variety and complexity of the portrayal of collectors in the early-twentieth century. In this way collectors in the novel are presented in a manner that is reminiscent of taxonomic practice. It would be expected that the serialised, magazine form of the *Strand* would complicate the idea of an illustrated handbook. However, the serialised format helps to sequence the collectors Mortimer, Frankland, and Stapleton as individuals to be examined closely, as the collectors of the novel (excluding Holmes) are mostly illustrated exclusively in their own issue of the magazine. When put together, as in a book, they accumulate into a study of collectors.

The *Strand* was an illustrated magazine and as such, the illustrations are key to the identification of the collectors. Mortimer features in nine illustrations in the first three instalments of *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, usually alongside Holmes and Watson. The next to appear is Stapleton, who is the first collector Watson investigates alone. Stapleton features four times in November's instalment and there is one crossover illustration that features both Stapleton and Mortimer together alongside Beryl, Watson, and Sir Henry Baskerville; this is the only other time Mortimer is illustrated. Stapleton is then featured again in one illustration in December's issue. Frankland appears twice in January's instalment, which comes just before Watson discovery of Holmes on the Tor when Holmes resumes his position as lead investigator. Except for the one illustration of Mortimer and Stapleton together, the collectors are presented individually. This occurs concurrently with the narrative as Watson investigates each collector separately, examining their motives, and observing their behaviour. They each share visual qualities, such as wearing suits and similar shoes. However, they also have distinctive features, such as wearing different styles of hat: Mortimer wears a top hat, Stapleton a straw hat, and Frankland a fedora (see Figures 19-21).



"HE SCRIBBLED THE APPOINTMENT ON HIS SHIRT CUFF."

Figure 19 (Paget, 1901b)



Figure 20 (Paget, 1901c)



" "GOOD-DAY, DR. WATSON," HE CRIED."

Figure 21 (Paget, 1901a)

The visual variances allow the reader to differentiate the different types of collector. Alongside the narrative, the reader is also able to distinguish the behavioural distinctions between them. The novel compares the other two collectors to Stapleton as taxonomies of different types of collector that share certain qualities, such as the theme of natural collections. As a set, the collectors in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (Mortimer, Stapleton, Holmes, and Frankland) cover a range of different personality traits and degrees of violent or pathological tendencies, whilst also having overlapping similarities in their single-mindedness. Susan Pearce states that ‘specimens are selected for collections on the strength of their supposed “typicality” or “their departure from the norm” so that they may act as referents, a process which is clearly circular and self-supporting’ (1992, p. 85). In this sense, the collectors found in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* represent both of these categories, demonstrating similarities and differences to each other. The novel itself is like a handbook on the various types of collectors, illustrated with drawings by Sidney Paget. Each collector represents a variety on the next, allowing the reader to identify each of them by the biographical information provided.

The first collector we are introduced to is Dr Mortimer, who is described as being a ‘dabbler in science’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 672) and has an apparent interest in physiology, or more specifically, the anthropomorphic aspects of nature. He has written a number of essays about human pathology, which as Frank Lawrence comments, suggests he is ‘of a Galtonesque, Lombrosion persuasion’ (2009, p. 177).⁵³ Mortimer wants to collect Holmes’ skull for the use in an anthropological museum and spends his days of ‘pure amusement’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 699) pursuing his interests by visiting places like the Museum of the College of Surgeons. This museum was known for its variety of natural history. As Professor W H Flower describes in 1881, the composition of The Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England was a ‘very miscellaneous collection’ donated by one collector, John Hunter, and it was predominantly biological, covering many aspects including: ‘human anatomy, invertebrate zoology, and pathology’ (1881, p. 4). The wide variety of specimens and collections in the museum Mortimer visits testifies to the width

⁵³ Francis Galton was a pioneer in heredity studies and developed a statistical theory of heredity, which led to his invention of ‘the techniques of regression and correlation and culminated in the law of ancestral inheritance’ (Bulmer, 2003, pp. xv-xvii). Cesare Lombroso developed a theory of biological determinism based on his study of the human body in his seminal work, *Criminal Man* (1876) that understood criminals to be atavistic throwbacks (Gibson, 2002, p. 2).

and uncertainty of terms like ‘natural history’ or ‘naturalism’ in the nineteenth century, which saw the study of natural history in flux. Men like Herbert Spencer and Thomas Henry Huxley were trying to define naturalism, for example, in terms of scientific naturalism in opposition to the old, religious and theological style of study (Lightman, 2015). Stapleton and Mortimer therefore both come under the umbrella of having interests in ‘naturalism’ but it is only Stapleton who is known as the ‘naturalist’, distinguishing himself from the pursuits of Dr Mortimer. The way the two men are presented together is reminiscent of taxonomical practices, showing two similar but distinct types of collector.

For the most part, collectors in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and other Sherlock Holmes stories appear to have a degree of abnormality about them. Dr Mortimer it seems is the exception to the rule, for although he is unorthodox for a doctor, being ‘amiable, unambitious, and absent-minded’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 671), he is, however, wholly unlike Baron Gruner or Stapleton in the way that he is harmless and ‘entirely honest’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 699). The typical portrayal of collectors in Sherlock Holmes predominantly falls into two camps: the harmless but eccentric collector, or violent and pathological villain. Even Frankland has a distinct viciousness and voraciousness when it comes to his collecting. As Watson describes it: ‘[h]is passion is for the British law, and he has spent a large fortune in litigation.’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 714). Frankland collects lawsuits, mostly to do with ‘old manorial and communal rights’, but is also an ‘amateur astronomer’, which Watson says ‘if he would confine his energies to this all would be well’ (Doyle, 2009n, pp. 714-715). Frankland’s obsession with fighting lawsuits ‘gives a little comic relief’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 715), which indicates that Watson gives little credence to his habits being anything particularly villainous. Frankland is treated by Watson as a ridiculous character, he is a ‘spiteful old busybody’ whom Watson either avoids or attempts to manipulate for information, knowing ‘incredulity and indifference were evidently my strongest cards’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 737). As soon as he can, Watson forgets about Frankland and concentrates on more important things.

The result of Frankland’s behaviour on his reputation is clear: Frankland is not very well liked. The neighbouring villagers often burn his effigy out of anger at his obsessive and oppressive lawsuits, and even Watson admits that his ‘feelings towards him were far from being friendly after what I had heard of his treatment of his daughter’ (Doyle, 2009n, p.

736). Indeed Frankland is also referred to as ‘Old Frankland the crank’ and ‘the old sinner’ (2009n, pp. 730, 737); he is an eccentric old man who is derided by Watson for his harsh treatment of his daughter and his bad temperedness. He fulfils contemporary negative stereotypes, such as that which Kristin Mahoney calls ‘the caricature of the misanthropic and alienated collector’ (2012, p. 175) through his rejection of family and his lack of friends in the neighbourhood (unless he wins a case for them). He adds to the ‘regressive, narcissistic discourse associated with collecting’ (Mahoney, 2012, p. 176) through his obsession with cases that are fought ‘for the mere pleasure of fighting and is equally ready to take up either side of a question, so that it is no wonder that he has found it a costly amusement for his pleasure’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 715). These cases are the pointless extravagance of a man with too much money and they are not for the greater good. It is rumoured, for example that Frankland wants to ‘prosecute Dr. Mortimer for opening a grave without the consent of the next of kin because he dug up the Neolithic skull in the barrow on Long Down’ (Doyle, 2009n, p. 715). These types of futile cases point to Frankland being one of the ‘leisured, tasteful but useless upper class’ (Hoberman, 2004, p. 1). Ruth Hoberman describes, and associates him with the butterfly collectors who, T R New claims, ‘reflected the rise of an affluent leisure class with time and resources to pursue such hobbies’ (2013, p. 18). Butterfly collecting was ‘considered hobbyist “luxury” pursuits’ (New, 2013, p. 18). Frankland then, demonstrates a number of the same characteristics as the other collectors: he has wealth and intelligence that predispose him to extravagance and has an abnormal obsession with building his collection of lawsuits, to the point of being destructive. He is self-destructive in that the lawsuits are unprofitable, meaning his money is running out, and he is destroying his reputation within the local community. He is also destructive towards his daughter, keeping her at arm’s length and making only minimal gestures to ensure her safety and happiness. His collecting habits mirror Holmes’ in the way that his need to collect supersedes his self-preservation and the protection of those around him.

Frankland, like Holmes, Mortimer, and Stapleton demonstrates the stereotype that constructs collecting as an uncontrollable malady – a ‘mania’. As the *Daily Telegraph* says in 1891:

‘when a person, not mad enough to be dangerous, or to keep his relative in constant fear for their lives, takes to amassing button-moulds, boot-heels, tea-cosies, or any other special class of relatively insignificant articles, he usually applies the whole power and persistency of his nature to the realisation of his “fixed idea,” seldom keeping in reserve any appreciable measure of energy or attentiveness to be devoted to the relaxations or avocations of every-day life’ (1891).

These collectors are consumed by their collecting. *The Hound of the Baskervilles* utilises the link between naturalism, collecting, and villainy. It creates and reinforces collectors as reclusive, obsessive, violent, and subject to mental abnormalities, despite intelligence or class. The metonymic possibilities of naturalism, and within that entomology, bring to the fore ideas of death and taxonomy, and by doing so emphasises the negative consequences of being a collector of natural science. The differences between the collectors complicates the notion that collecting equates to evil, even if it does appear to equate to some form of abnormality or pathology that extends even to Holmes himself.

Baron Gruner and the Orientalised Other

The pathologising of collectors continues throughout Conan Doyle’s career. Over twenty years later, Conan Doyle published ‘The Adventure of the Illustrious Client’ (1925).⁵⁴ The story begins with Holmes and Watson in a Turkish bath drying-room together where Holmes shows a letter from Colonel Damery to Watson. Damery wants an audience with Holmes (and Watson) at Baker Street. When he arrives, he states that he wants Holmes to persuade Violet De Merville, the daughter of his friend General De Merville, that the man she loves and is engaged to, Baron Gruner, is a villainous man. ‘It is this daughter, this lovely, innocent girl, whom we are endeavouring to save from the clutches of a fiend’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 986). Gruner has been at the centre of a number of ‘unsavoury public scandal[s]’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 986), including a criminal case surrounding the so-called accidental death of his wife. Violet is convinced Baron Gruner is innocent because ‘the cunning devil has told her every unsavoury scandal [...] but always in such a way as to make himself out to be the innocent martyr’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 986). Violet is therefore

⁵⁴ ‘The Adventure of the Illustrious Client’ was published first in *Collier’s* in the US in November 1924. It was then published in *The Strand Magazine* in February and March 1925. Because I will be discussing British intersubjective readings and not American responses, I refer to the story as being published in 1925.

certain that the accusation of murder and other suspicious activities are mere ‘unjust aspersions’ (2009o, p. 992). However Holmes knows that Gruner was only exonerated by the courts due to a ‘purely technical legal point’ (2009o, p. 985) and is guilty of many things, including murder. Holmes therefore agrees to help Colonel Damery (who is interceding on behalf of a mysterious illustrious client) to free Violet from Gruner’s hold over her, ‘the hold of love’ (2009o, p. 986).

Holmes’ conviction that Gruner has murderous intentions immediately identifies Gruner as the villain of the story. Gruner’s position as a powerful enemy is reinforced when Holmes tells Violet ‘the awful position of the woman who only wakes to a man’s character after she is his wife—a woman who has to submit to be caressed by bloody hands and lecherous lips’ but it seems Violet is under some kind of ‘post-hypnotic influence’ that not even the flaming passion of Kitty, Gruner’s ex-lover, can excite anything from him but ‘icy cool[ness]’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 992). Gruner has mystical power, reminiscent of Svengali in George Du Maurier’s *Trilby* (1895) or Miss Penclosa in Conan Doyle’s *The Parasite* (1894).⁵⁵ It establishes him as a powerful and controlling man. Yet Gruner’s wealth and sophistication allow him to mask his criminality under the guise of politeness, for as Holmes comments, ‘Some people’s affability is more deadly than the violence of coarser souls’ (2009o, p. 988). Baron Gruner, Holmes suggests, is an eminent foe and even more dangerous for his ambivalent and dual nature. Baron Gruner has good breeding, he is ‘an aristocrat of crime, with a superficial suggestion of afternoon tea and all the cruelty of the grave behind it’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 988). As we will see, these two contrasting sides of his personality come together in a contradictory and defining way through his interest in collecting. Baron Gruner’s status as a collector of, and ‘recognised authority’ (2009o, p. 987) on, Chinese pottery gives ample opportunity to explore the metonymic value of his collection for the readers of *The Strand Magazine*. Through a historical understanding of

⁵⁵ Gruner’s interest in hypnotism holds some relation to the Oriental otherness he emanates. The *London Daily News* (February 1906), for example, comments that the Chinese relied on hypnotism in warfare. It states the Chinese ‘invested entirely in a sort of hypnotism exercised by the Buddhist and Taoist priests, which made the people invulnerable, as they thought, to the keen edge of the sword’ (1906). The article points out the ridiculousness of the suggestion, yet also states that ‘our hypnotism is at present only a kind of child’s play’ in comparison. Gruner’s hypnotic power therefore holds some metonymic meaning with Chinese culture. However, given Arthur Conan Doyle’s interest in Spiritualism and hypnotism, especially at this time, when he was writing far more Spiritualist articles and fiction based upon Spiritualist beliefs than in his early career, it seems unlikely that he intended hypnotism as an Oriental trope. It is more likely a plot device to explain why a lovely girl, who is loyal to her father, would ignore her family values for a clearly evil man. It emphasises Violet’s innocence and Gruner’s abuse of power.

the interpretable possibilities of Chinese pottery, such as Britain's tense and violent relationship with China, we can reflect on the ways in which this collection potentially affected the early-twentieth century readers' understanding of Baron Gruner's character. It is this written history, within a 1920s context and expressed through strong metonymic associations, that I will explore through the example of Baron Gruner's Chinese pottery.

The presence of Chinese pottery in 'The Illustrious Client' stems in part from the British fascination with, and proliferation of, Chinese culture in Britain nicknamed 'Chinamania', which began in the eighteenth century (Cheang, 2007) and sparked a huge interest in the collecting and possession of Chinese wares, including art and pottery. In addition to this, the Chinese pottery in 'The Illustrious Client' has associations with the tumultuous political relationship between Britain and China that was prominent in the minds of politicians and the press throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Beyond these objects' functional use as plates, cups, vases, etc. there were many other metonymic readings available for the readers of the *Strand* in the 1920s. As Stacey Pierson argues:

'considering Chinese ceramics simply as commodities is somewhat one-dimensional as it does not recognise another fundamental aspect of both the circulation and consumption of these goods, which is that they were traded in bulk but consumed by individuals, thus they were experienced as objects or "material culture"' (2012, p. 12).

The various, and sometimes contradictory, metonymic possibilities of Chinese pottery in the early-twentieth century, such as wealth and violence, underlies the character of Baron Gruner. His malicious personality is deepened through the portrayal of him as a pathological or deviant collector. His Oriental collection is a pre-cursor to his more sinister collection, a book of women, which is ultimately what convinces Violet De Merville of his immoral character.

During the nineteenth century, the relationship between Britain and China was fraught with tension and difficulties on both sides. David Curtis Wright describes how the control of commerce between the two countries shifted as China's power wavered and Britain's empire flourished allowing Britain to make demands of China that previously had been refused (2001). This was predominantly caused through the Opium War of 1839-1842

when China eventually had to sign the Treaty of Nanking that forced them surrender ownership of Hong Kong and allow trade via five ports around the country – a significant increase in trade, but the treaty was short-lived and a second Opium War broke out in 1857-1860 (2001). By 1925 when ‘The Illustrious Client’ was written these wars were not contemporary history, but the Opium Wars had been hugely influential in the Boxer Uprising of 1900 where the people of China rose up against their government because of the influx of British foreigners and attacked foreign traders. The Chinese took a particular dislike to Christian missionaries who they felt were a threat to traditional Chinese culture. The Boxer Uprising damaged China’s reputation in Britain and talk of the ‘yellow peril’ was common, sparking what Fiske calls a ‘rampant sinophobia in sensationalist literature’ (S. Fiske, 2011, p. 216) throughout the early-twentieth century. There are no direct references to the Boxer Rebellion in ‘The Illustrious Client’, but it seems uncoincidental that the story begins on 3rd September 1902, almost exactly one year after the Boxer Protocol (the terms of surrender) was laid down on 7th September 1901.⁵⁶ This is significant as it is one of the few Sherlock Holmes stories that gives an exact date for the case. Most of the Canon is undated or else has obscured references to other cases or seasons, such as in ‘The Adventure of the Second Stain’ where Watson says, ‘It was, then, in a year, and even in a decade that shall be nameless, that upon one Tuesday morning in autumn’ (Doyle, 2009j, p. 650). In other stories, Watson refers to specific months but not the year as in ‘the Adventure of the Beryl Coronet’: ‘It was a bright, crisp February morning’ (Doyle, 2009i, p. 301). That ‘The Illustrious Client’ refers to day, month, and year, speaks of its significance to the story.

In addition to the story being set immediately after Boxer Rebellion, the contemporary Sino-British relationship in 1925 was also tense and prominently featured in newspapers and literature. Robert Bickers argues that the 1920s was one of the most significant decades of Britain’s presence in China because it was a decade of renegotiation through the ‘reordering and regulating [of] Sino-British commercial relations’ (1999, p. 18) as Britain’s empire waned and struggled to retain the little control it had. The influx of Chinese immigrants in Britain and the ‘power vacuum’ (Wright, 2001, p. 123) in China as several warlords competed for control meant that China was also attempting to re-establish its political and social ideals in the midst of increasing Western influence. British popular

⁵⁶ For more details on the Boxer Protocol, see Paul Unschild’s *The Fall and Rise of China* (2013) pp. 84-5

culture of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, on the other hand, ‘was steeped in China and the Chinese’ (Bickers, 1999, p. 23) and ‘Yellow Peril thrillers’ were rife with representations of the Chinese as cruel and wicked people, as well as violent, drug-addled, and regressed. We see this in the opening of Conan Doyle’s ‘The Man With The Twisted Lip’ where Holmes is found in an Oriental opium den. The idea of the yellow peril is epitomised in Sax Rohmer’s series featuring the murderous Dr Fu-Manchu in *The Mystery of Dr Fu Manchu* and *The Return of Dr Fu Manchu*. *The Bookman* in 1913 calls Dr-Fu Manchu ‘the Yellow Peril incarnate’ (“The Mystery of Dr. Fu-Manchu,” p. 224). Fu-Manchu’s villainy embodies the fears perpetuated by the press and literature as he reveals he is ‘sworn to the extermination of the entire white race’ (“The Mystery of Dr. Fu-Manchu,” p. 224). His violence towards Britain played on the paranoia of Sino-British relations.

The notion of Chinese violence towards Britain was disseminated through the press as well as fiction: in 1927 *The Western Morning News* reported on the January Memorandum stating that:

‘a marked characteristic of the situation, though not a new one, is the promotion of enmity against us and not against foreigners in general’ and the article expresses exasperation at the impossibility of finding a treaty ‘which will satisfy the Chinese in their present anti-British temper’ (“The Chinese Peril,” 1927).⁵⁷

As this article demonstrates, there was a widespread belief of what David Curtis Wright calls the ‘implacable hostility of the “yellow race” for the “white race”’ (2001, p. 118). It was felt that the Chinese were impossible to reason with and were purposely antagonistic towards British sensibilities and in particular to Britain’s commercial aims, which threatened Britain’s ability to rule. Articles such as this one create an image of the Chinese as Other to British imperial identity. The Chinese were seen as regressive and prone to violence because of what were considered to be their baser instincts. The article elevates British imperialism as an ideal that the Chinese are too undeveloped to comprehend, and

⁵⁷ This memorandum was a political move by the British government to recognise the growing Nationalist ideology in China and to address the unequal treaties through negotiation rather than force. However, on 3 January 1927 agitation broke out at Hankou, leading to Britain’s retreat and the evacuation of British citizens from the area. The British government returned concessions in Hankou and Jiujiang in February of the same year, which was seen as a defeat (Knüsel, 2012, p. 94).

the fear was that the decline of British influence in China would ‘weaken our powers of resistance to even more fantastic demands’ and so, the article claims, ‘we must maintain such rights as it is possible to hold’ (“The Chinese Peril,” 1927).

The attempt to establish British identity as opposed to China and Chinese culture was inextricably tied up in the fear of Britain’s waning colonial powers and so contributed the increased proliferation of the Chinese as hostile in literature of the 1920s. This sudden need to create an inter-subjective understanding of British identity is, Elaine Freedgood argues, because Otherness threatens nationalist identity: ‘Nationalism comes after the empire [...] a “normative” identity is often constructed on the run, after the need for it is realized because of the presence of something alien or something that needs to be *made* alien’ (Freedgood, 2006, p. 45). Imperialism had an association with violence that could not be controlled. Sarah Cheang explores the presentation of Orientalism in department stores between 1890-1940, and argues that violence was one of many connotations of Chinese objects because: ‘interests in Chinese objects were spurred by fresh opportunities of acquisition produced by warfare and imperial expansion and by an early-twentieth century interest in eighteenth century design’ (2007, p. 2). She argues that department stores attempted to suppress violent associations between the wares and imperialism but that the association was maintained because the influx of Chinese pottery and other wares in the nineteenth and twentieth century were the result of warfare carried out by British forces. Because of this, department stores attempted to control in some way the associative power of the objects they were selling to mask ‘the political, economic and social injustices inherent in imperialistic relationships’ (2007, p. 4). It follows then that Baron Gruner’s collection of Chinese pottery has a metonymic association with violence that is subsumed in his (semi-) colonial commodities.

With the press and Yellow Thrillers perpetuating the theme of Chinese violence towards the British, it is no surprise that Baron Gruner in ‘The Illustrious Client’, an avid collector of Chinese pottery, has an entrenched violent nature. There is a strong implication that Baron Gruner has not only killed his wife, but has also been the co-ordinator of many other deaths and he co-ordinates a vicious (and almost deadly) attack on Holmes. He suggests to Holmes that the last man who had tried to stop him had ‘by a curious coincidence’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 989) been inquiring into him and was later beaten by Apaches, and Gruner is,

Holmes says, ‘the sort of man who says rather less than he means’ (2009o, p. 989). His thinly veiled threat reveals that he is connected to networks that allow him to carry out violent acts without detection. These networks are cross-continental, emphasising Gruner’s global connections and the fact that Gruner is not British. The association between his collection and his moral Otherness is apparent and purposeful: Gruner is a villain and a murderer and is comparable to other villains of the Yellow Peril stories. His collection provides the context for his Otherness. As Stacey Pierson argues, ‘ceramics would have been a form of cultural as well as economic exchange enabling individuals to experience another culture and to become aware of it, in the process developing notions of self-identity and “otherness” or alterity’ (2012, p. 12). Through the metonymy of the collection, the reader experiences Gruner’s Otherness.

When Holmes asks Watson to go to Gruner and pretend to be a collector himself, Holmes reveals a piece from the illustrious client’s collection; a piece that Gruner could not resist looking at to add to his collection. Watson narrates:

‘He opened the lid and took out a small object most carefully wrapped in some fine Eastern silk. This he unfolded, and disclosed a delicate little saucer of the most beautiful deep-blue colour. “It needs careful handling, Watson. This is the real egg-shell pottery of the Ming dynasty. No finer piece ever passed through Christie’s. A complete set of this would be worth a king’s ransom—in fact, it is doubtful if there is a complete set outside the imperial palace of Peking. The sight of this would drive a real connoisseur wild.”’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 995).

This scene abounds with exotic imagery, from the Eastern silk, with connotations of richness and Otherness, and the iconic blue china from the Ming dynasty, to the delicacy of the pottery that requires such careful handling. Even men like Holmes and Watson, who are not connoisseurs of Chinese pottery, appreciate its beauty. There is also something distinctly visual about this scene and the narrative of ‘The Illustrious Client’ directs the readers’ attention to Gruner’s collection more generally. There are parallels between Watson’s view of Baron Gruner and the display of Chinese pottery in a glass case in Gruner’s study: ‘he was standing at the open front of a great case which stood between the windows and which contained part of his Chinese collection’ (2009o, p. 996). The displaying of pottery in this manner is reminiscent of ‘the way that [the artistic] eye could

both transform and be transformed by surrounding commodities' (Chang, 2010, p. 107). It brings to the fore the importance of displaying, seeing, and viewing the collection as an articulation of Gruner's personality.

For example, the narrative draws attention to Gruner's appearance in such a way that implicates his method of collecting and displaying his Chinese pottery. Elizabeth Chang argues that:

'we cannot understand what [...] writers were writing about unless we also understand what they were looking at: in ways both globally encompassing and individually specific, vision, viewed object, and text were complicit in the writing of histories both aesthetic and political' (2010, p. 3).

When Watson meets Gruner, he is standing before his display cabinet of china, holding a piece in his hand, and although Gruner is Austrian and not Chinese, there is a strong association between Baron Gruner's visible aspect and his collection of pottery in the way Watson describes him: 'His European reputation for beauty was fully deserved [...] his face was swarthy, *almost Oriental*, with large, dark, languorous eyes' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 996 [emphasis added]). Although Baron Gruner's eyes are wide and his beauty obvious, the tone of his skin reveals a visible Orientalism, possessing 'regular characteristics' associated with Orientalism, which is predicated, as Edward Said describes, on 'a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them")' (2003, pp. 42, 43). The reader is supposed to understand this othering of Gruner because of the way he looks. Chang argues, 'China made sense to nineteenth-century British viewers through form and context as much as content' (Chang, 2010, p. 2). She argues that figures in art and literature could be identified as Oriental from the context of their Orientalised surroundings, even if, to our modern eye, there is little about their physical appearance that would identify them racially as Chinese. It transforms the way Gruner is perceived by others, as Watson's description opens debate as to whether he was describing Baron Gruner's true appearance or whether the cabinet full of Chinese pottery effectively interpreted Gruner's skin colour for him. This assumptive description is emphasised by Watson's use of the word 'almost' to qualify his statement. As Merrick Burrow describes, '[the] non-European, thus conceived, is a

primitive type whose intellectual framework is to be extirpated and whose characteristics, when replicated in a European, are interpreted as regressive, atavistic and degenerate' (2013, p. 321). The objects Baron Gruner collects and the collector himself become amalgamated into an Oriental object-subject hybrid. His otherness in physical appearance, in violent nature, and in ethnicity is hinted at through the Chinese pottery (and the associated violence of the Chinese people); it is an extension of himself.

However, despite the clear violent associations between Gruner, the Chinese pottery, and the Orient, the presence of the porcelain has numerous metonymic possibilities. In the context of 'The Illustrious Client', the narrative allows for the representation of two conflicting ideas to be portrayed simultaneously: on the one hand, the pottery connotes the Yellow Peril associated with China, but on the other, also represents the high level of interest in collecting Chinese pottery and the commercial fascination with Chinese culture. Although British-Sino relations were tense throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, the fear of the Yellow Peril was not Britain's only perception of China and Chinese culture; the reality was far more variable. Gruner is both a sophisticated and violent man, and to maintain his outer sophisticated image, he conceals his involvement in violent acts. Just as the men who attack Holmes 'appear to have been respectably dressed men' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 993), Gruner hides behind a façade of respectability that his collection of Chinese pottery affords him. This is especially true when it came to the valuation of Chinese material goods, as they also had connotations of wealth and the refinement of taste. In the seventeenth century it was popular to own Chinese commodities, including ceramics, art and silks (Cheang, 2007) and in the eighteenth century such a collection was used as a demonstration of wealth (Chang, 2010, p. 104). Britain had a paradoxical attitude towards China, for as Nicholas Clifford argues:

'For all its dirt, smells, and incomprehensible manners China could be seen as the home of an ancient and highly literate civilization and a complex and a sophisticated polity. Not a Western polity, to be sure, but still one deserving of Western respect and from which the West might even have something to learn' (2001, p. 16).

The sophisticated reputation Gruner has earned is in part due to his expertise on Chinese pottery. In the nineteenth century there was a huge increase in the copying and

manufacturing of pottery and these pieces of forged Chinese goods were often sold as luxuries in places such as department stores (Cheang, 2007). The proliferation of cheaper (although still expensive) forgeries meant that the ability to differentiate between genuine Chinese goods and replicas distinguished a connoisseur from a collector (Chang, 2010, p. 104). As M H Spielmann comments in 1903, copies of Chinese porcelain ‘of extraordinary merit are constantly produced’ (1903, p. 444). He goes on to say that even those who sell reproductions honestly, ‘at such a price [...] that no one could be misled as to their character’, he finds that, ‘tricksters often buy them, grind off the marks, and palm them off [...] upon unsuspecting purchasers in other parts’ (1903, p. 444). As Michelle Ying-Ling Huang has pointed out, knowing the difference between a genuine and forged piece could be difficult - collections such as the Wegener collection of Chinese paintings in the British Museum were full of inaccurate attributions to well-known artists or were forgeries (2010). Other galleries struggled to deal with collectors who had mistakenly identified forgeries as genuine pieces. In 1926, the *Manchester Guardian* reported that there was some debate between the Manchester Art Gallery Committee and a collector of Chinese wares, Mr J Hilditch about the scope, value, and genuineness of (some of) Hilditch’s collection, which impinged on the Committee’s willingness to exhibit some of the pieces (“Chinese Works,” 1926). Examples such as this demonstrate that it took a great deal of specialised knowledge and expertise to amass a ‘good’ collection of Chinese commodities. Gruner’s taste for Chinese pottery is therefore an unmistakable choice in his pursuit to appear respectable and show intellectual superiority.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the distinction between connoisseur and collector was, and still is, an important one for collectors as it is the difference between ‘a rational objective expert’ and a ‘passionate subjective consumer’ (Belk, 2001, p. 45). The rational expert is characteristic of Baron Gruner’s public image, he is a ‘recognised authority upon Chinese pottery’ and has written a book about it; even Holmes admits that Gruner has a ‘complex mind’ that is typical of ‘great criminals’ (Doyle, 2009o, p. 987). Gruner presents himself as a man of taste and wealth, using his collection as a self-portrait, for as Baudrillard says, ‘what you really collect is always yourself’ (2009, p. 51). His connoisseurship is an exercise in parading his wealth, but more importantly, the potency of his intellect, proving himself superior and therefore more powerful than others. In his exchange with Watson, when Watson poses as a fellow connoisseur, Gruner is aggressive in his examination of

Watson's claims to knowledge. The use of terminology is important to him, as he says to Watson: 'you are a connoisseur and a collector [...] and yet you have never troubled to consult the one book which would have told you of the real meaning and value of what you held' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 997). Gruner challenges Watson's claim that he is a connoisseur by indicating that there are certain behaviours and qualities he expects from a specialist and Watson does not appear to live up to such an elevated term. This interaction demonstrates that Gruner values the term connoisseur in the way Belk defines it, as a person who has: 'specialized knowledge about an area of collecting and the corresponding abilities to classify collectibles according to acceptable taxonomies, to possess and exercise taste, and to assess authenticity and value' (Belk, 2001, p. 45). The first sign of Watson's deception is that Watson is in possession of a piece of Chinese pottery Gruner knows to be genuine, unique, and highly valuable, but Watson has no awareness of its value. On its surface, this scene is a device designed by Holmes to distract Gruner while he burgles Gruner's study, but in its details, the narrative confirms that Gruner cultivates a public image. He portrays himself as a rational expert; he values it as part of his identity and the qualities he possesses as a connoisseur are closely linked to his view of his own intelligence. His intellectualism makes him a successful criminal – he masterminds crimes to prevent legal repercussions, such as that he threatens Holmes with. His violent nature and his ability to manipulate and avoid punishment increases the jeopardy Violet will be placed in if she decides to marry Gruner and so Holmes' challenge is to out-smart him in order to protect her.

The Chinese pottery and all its associated characteristics are reflected in Baron Gruner; it makes up his public image – that of a sophisticated connoisseur, whose dark side is metonymically there but craftily controlled, yet is also uncontainable in its violent associations with Britain's imperial relationship with China. What is more, the Chinese pottery acts pre-cursor to Baron Gruner's excessive personality (in his collecting and his delight in violence), for there is more to Gruner's immoral character than even Holmes first suspects: Baron Gruner has 'collection mania in its most acute form' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 995). This was a phrase used most particularly in the nineteenth century to describe collecting as a type of disease that affects the reasoning facilities. See for example, in *Bow Bells* (1886) the writer comments, 'Strange passions seize upon mankind, at times. At certain periods hundreds of people are employed in collecting bits of paper with autographs of great or little men on them [...] All these freaks of human nature are taken advantage of

by shrewd individuals of a speculative turn of mind who desire to turn a penny' ("MANIAS," 1866). In the *Bournemouth Daily Echo* (1905), the writer there comments that 'it is extraordinary what mania the human animal has for collecting things [...] as a mania [collecting] is to be deplored, because the time spent could be devoted to far better purposes' ("The Collecting Mania," 1905). Both examples, although twenty years apart, depict collecting mania as an affliction that is passionate, subjective, and uncontrollable, and connotes animalistic derangement. Walter Hamilton in 1894 dismisses the claim that collectors with collecting mania suffer from impaired cognitive function and instead argues that 'in the majority of instances the patients cunningly hide their symptoms from those they suspect may be unsympathetic' (1894, p. 42). This is certainly true of Baron Gruner who hides his most disturbing collection from the public, for not only does he have a collection of Oriental porcelain, but he is discovered to have an entirely different collection in his private possession: his book of women.

The book he possesses is a 'brown leather book with a lock, and his arms in gold on the outside' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 990) (which seems to deliberately mirror the 'small brown vase' from his pottery collection that he is holding when Watson first meets him). The book contains photographs and descriptions of all the women he has 'destroyed' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 990). Kitty, one of Gruner's victims, tells Holmes and Watson just what the book contains. We are told that there are 'snapshot photographs' and it is a 'beastly book – a book no man, even if he had come from the gutter could have put together' (2009o, p. 990). Kitty's impassioned words are influenced by her experience of Gruner; she was 'one of a hundred that he has tempted and used and ruined and thrown into the refuse heap' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 992). It is this that causes Kitty to throw vitriol in Gruner's face and is the extenuating circumstance that allows her to receive the lowest possible sentence for doing so. But Holmes appreciates that there is enough truth in her words to know the book would be a 'tremendous weapon' against Gruner, for 'no self-respecting woman could stand it' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 998). These vague descriptions indicate that the book's deviance extend to the photographs being at the very least inappropriate, and at worst pornographic. H G Cocks argues that writing on sex after 1918 turned 'towards a consideration of how sexuality contributed to social adjustment and psychological health' and therefore various modes of science were used by criminologists 'to examine how hidden "complexes" or perverted instincts might contribute to all kinds of crime and disorder' (2004, pp. 472-473).

This focus on conduct in sexual and psychological health is played out in ‘The Illustrious Client’ through Gruner’s modes of collecting; the Chinese pottery has associations of violence and excess, but it is the sexual perversion of the book of women that overtly demonstrates Gruner’s sinister traits. Both indicate that Gruner’s perverted instincts contribute to his portrayal as a villain.

Sherlockian Christopher Redmond argues that Baron Gruner is a ‘patron of exclusive brothels’ (1984, p. 19) and comes to this conclusion by working through the references Kitty Winter makes to her own downfall: she calls herself a mistress, but also a fallen woman; she is what Baron Gruner has made her. Redmond interprets this as evidence that Baron Gruner is more likely to be a manager or a procurer of prostitutes. He goes on to argue that Gruner’s book of women would be kept by his bed if they were his own sexual conquests, not in his work study. However, though he may be right that Kitty’s language hints at there being more to the story than merely being dismissed as his mistress, it does not follow that Baron Gruner’s meticulous labelling of his collection, or the location of the collection, indicates a purely professional interest. As Belk says, ‘the taxonomic inclination even struck collectors of pornography in Victorian England. While theirs was a private and publicly forbidden arena of collecting, their habits were otherwise indistinguishable from those other bibliophiles of the day’ (2001, p. 46). Gruner’s taxonomic approach towards the women in his book is a symptom of his collecting mania and is influenced by the behaviour he demonstrates in his expert interest in Chinese pottery. As with pornography, he attempts to hide the illicit aspects of his collecting habits that are subjective and passionate rather than objective and emotionally detached. Indeed, where Baron Gruner exhibits his collections brings to the fore the sexual deviancy of the book through the invasion of private space. In one of the final scenes in ‘The Illustrious Client’, Holmes with the help of Kitty, breaks into Gruner’s study where the book of women is hidden. Watson reports:

‘the window leading out to the garden was wide open. Beside it, looking like some terrible ghost, his head girt with bloody bandages, his face drawn and white, stood Sherlock Holmes. The next instant he was through the gap, and I heard the crash of his body among the laurel bushes outside. With a howl of rage the master of the house rushed after him to the open window’ (Doyle, 2009o, pp. 997-998).

Baron Gruner catches Holmes in the act of burglarising his study and Holmes successfully steals Gruner's 'lust diary' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 998) to use as a tool to convince Violet not to marry him. On a plot level, Holmes literally throws open the windows to Gruner's private space, revealing Gruner's dark secret. The window acts as a barrier to the outside world and Holmes physically breaks through it (twice – going in and going out) in order to gain access to the devious book that is the key to the case.

However, the illustration does not reflect the same illuminating revelation of Gruner's private debauchery (see Figure 22). The illustration associated with this final section depicts Gruner running to find Holmes standing in his private study. However, the revelation the reader hopes for is obscured as Holmes stands in the dark and the study behind him is not visible. It denies the reader the opportunity to see what Holmes sees and purposefully obscures the book from sight. On a metafictional level, the illustration does not invade Gruner's private space in the same way as Holmes does. This emphasises the visual nature of the book's deviancy and the need to obscure its content from the reader. In a similar way to Christopher Pittard's reading of the Sidney Paget image in 'The Stockbroker's Clerk', the artist, Howard K Elcock, creates 'a kind of caesura in the text' (2011, p. 99) by depicting the space between two events (Holmes breaking in to find the book and Kitty throwing acid in Gruner's face), which protects the reader from the most graphic and gruesome parts of the story. This leaves the exact content of the photographic book to the imagination, because although it is described as a 'lust diary' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 998) by Holmes, the content is not revealed in any detail and it is impossible to know what exactly Conan Doyle had in mind.

However, Gruner's collection of women does not have to be pornographic to be sexual. As Baudrillard argues, all collecting is a:



Figure 22 (Elcock, 1925)

'tempered mode of sexual perversion. Indeed, just as possession depends on the discontinuity of the series (real or virtual) and on the choice of a privileged term within it, so sexual perversion is founded on the inability to apprehend the other *qua* object of desire in his or her unique totality as a person, to grasp the other in any but a discontinuous way' (2009, p. 56 [original emphasis]).

In Baudrillard's psychosexual definition, there is a link between sexual perversion and the nature of collecting: both are regressions to the anal stage of psychosexual development and involve the drive to possess something in its totality but can only be perceived in parts (J Baudrillard, 2009). Baron Gruner's book of women is made up of snapshots of individuals, which capture indefinitely their identity and objectifies them, placing them into a system of sexual perversion. It is therefore not so much the sexual content of the photographs that matters, but the objectification of women and the enacted dominance: sexually, symbolically, and literally, which makes Baron Gruner's book of women a sexual perversion.

Gruner attempts to own these women through the ownership and manipulation of their photographs for his pleasure. It is reminiscent of McClintock's discussion of the fetish object, where she says, '[b]y displacing power onto the fetish, then manipulating the fetish, the individual gains symbolic control over what might otherwise be terrifying ambiguities. For this reason, the fetish can be called an impassioned object' (2013, p. 183). The manipulation of and dominance over an object excites the onlooker and simultaneously disempowers the subject, for as McClintock says in Lacan's schema, women 'can be the *objects* of fetishism but never the *subjects*' because they are assigned a 'position of victim, cipher, empty set – disempowered, tongueless, unsexed' (2013, p. 193 [original emphasis]).⁵⁸ The visual representation of women victimises them by reducing them to parts. Gruner's collection of women are literally objectified through the process of photography: the woman is turned into a photograph that cannot speak, cannot exercise control, and is subject to and the subject of Gruner's passion. Gruner's collection is therefore an exercise in dominance as he emotionally manipulates women into loving him and physically manipulates their photographs by placing them into a book, making

⁵⁸ Lacan developed a schema to articulate the dimensions of psychical subjectivity: the imaginary, real, and symbolic. He did this through developing diagrams and algebraic equations to illustrate his theories. See for example, *On Feminine Sexuality, Limits of Love and Knowledge, 1972-1973* (1998).

decisions about how best to display the woman-object. This dominance is a trait that he begins to show in his collecting of Chinese pottery. He dominates Watson as a connoisseur and he dominates the hierarchy of collectors through his expertise. Gruner likes to demonstrate his superiority, and his book of women is, the story suggests, the most morally reprehensible demonstration of his power for it is this that coerces Violet to call off the wedding. As Holmes says, 'It is his moral side, not his physical, which we have to destroy' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 999) and this is what Holmes succeeds in doing by showing Violet the book.

Gruner's domination and manipulation of objects, whether they are Chinese pots or photographs of women, indicates an excess that others him. He is opposed to British sensibilities, to morality, to the law, and to sexual norms. However, there is an uncomfortable doubling here between Gruner and Sherlock Holmes that deserves attention. I have argued that 'The Illustrious Client' assumes that Gruner's collection of Chinese ceramics is a visual precursor to his private collection of photographed women. However, Holmes too owns a photograph of a woman: Irene Adler. In 'A Scandal in Bohemia' Holmes is tasked by the King of Bohemia to retrieve a photograph of the King and Adler that indicates a romantic entanglement between them. This photograph has the potential to cast 'a shadow of doubt as to my conduct' (Doyle, 2009b, p. 166) which would bring the King's engagement to an end. There are several plot doublings between 'A Scandal in Bohemia' and 'The Illustrious Client': a disguised client; an indiscreet photograph that has the power to break an engagement, Holmes breaks into a person's home to retrieve the photograph, and the ownership of the photograph is equated to the ownership of the person.

There are however, some significant differences between 'A Scandal in Bohemia' and 'The Illustrious Client' that signifies a change in attitude. It seems that 'A Scandal in Bohemia' (1891), which is the first story of the short stories in the Canon, is re-written in 'The Illustrious Client' (1925). Holmes, rather than working to cover up for the indiscreet male (protecting the King of Bohemia from an embarrassing break up with Clotilde Lothman von Saxe-Meningen), is working toward helping the engaged female (Violet De Merville) escape from the villainous Baron Gruner. The position of the male has changed from client to villain, and the action of the male is treated differently, no longer a slight indiscretion but a form of devious womanising. This is an oversimplification, for we know that Gruner is

also guilty of murder, but in terms of the value of the photograph, Holmes' opinion seems to have completely reversed. In 'A Scandal in Bohemia' Holmes requests 'something which I would value even more highly' (Doyle, 2009b, p. 175) than an emerald ring: the photograph of Irene Adler. Her photograph is his reward for bringing the case to a satisfactory end (this is despite his failure to retrieve the photograph, as it is Adler who willingly sends it to him). As Elizabeth Miller comments:

'There is no separation between Adler the woman and Adler the image here, as though by acquiring her photograph Holmes somehow acquires her. Since Adler outwits and eludes Holmes in this case, his possession of her image can be viewed as a surrogate means of "apprehending" her' (2008, p. 45). Miller argues that Holmes treats photography 'as a fetishized or idealized form of reality and an utterly transparent window into history' (2008, p. 42).

In this case, he becomes the collector through his fetishization of the photograph. He, like Gruner, attempts to own women through the possession of their image. However, when Gruner attempts to do the same, the possession of such a trophy is treated not as a 'love diary' as Watson suggests, but a 'lust diary', a book that Watson calls an 'incriminating book' and Holmes a 'compromising document' (Doyle, 2009o, pp. 998, 999).

One solution to this is that it is the seriality of the photograph that Holmes objects to. After all, it is only a collection if there is a series of objects. However, Holmes shares many characteristics with the collectors of the Canon such as collecting cases, his intelligence, and his obsessiveness, which complicates the idea that Gruner's identity as a collector equates him to a villain. For example, Holmes has boxes of papers full of old cases that he has solved, of which Watson admits having recorded only a few. In 'The Musgrave Ritual' Watson comments that '[e]very corner of the room was stacked with bundles of manuscripts', which create 'a curious collection' (Doyle, 2009q, p. 386). That Holmes is not fully in control of himself while on a case is evident from Watson's description of Holmes in 'The Boscombe Valley Mystery':

'Sherlock Holmes was transformed when he was hot upon such a scent as this. Men who had only known the quiet thinker and logician of Baker Street would have failed to recognise him. His face flushed and darkened. His brows were drawn into

two hard black lines, while his eyes shone out from beneath them with a steely glitter [...] His nostrils seemed to dilate with a purely animal lust for the chase, and his mind was so absolutely concentrated upon the matter before him that a question or remark fell unheeded upon his ears, or, at the most, only provoked a quick, impatient snarl in reply' (Doyle, 2009l, p. 211).

Sherlock Holmes is a paradox of rationality and obsession. As Brenda Danet and Tamar Katriel have commented, '[l]ike many forms of play, collecting is fraught with paradox. One of these paradoxes is the tension between rationality and passion' (2003, p. 222). Holmes is both the quiet thinker and the animalistic detective, obsessed with solving the case. This doubles him with the villainous Baron Gruner who also has a paradoxical ability to be a rational expert of Chinese pottery, yet incapable of controlling his passion for collecting women. Conan Doyle's justification of Holmes as a passionate collector of cases is that he benefits society. As Watson describes in 'A Scandal in Bohemia', despite Holmes' loathing of 'every from of society' and his 'fierce energy', the occupation of his 'immense faculties and extraordinary powers of observation' allow him to clear 'up those mysteries which had been abandoned by the official police' (Doyle, 2009b, p. 160). This is a significant contrast to Baron Gruner whose collecting habits hide a malicious and violent spirit. The distinction is in *what* they collect. For although Holmes in 'A Scandal in Bohemia' keeps a photograph of Irene Adler, his possession does no real harm. For Baron Gruner, the book is a demonstration of all the women whose 'Souls I have ruined' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 990).

Conclusion

Both 'The Illustrious Client' and *The Hound of the Baskervilles* self-reflexively use the form of illustrative books to recall the form of the *Strand*. *The Hound of the Baskervilles* uses the narrative form of an illustrated serialised story to taxonomically present several different types of collector, and in doing so aligns its form with the late-nineteenth century illustrated handbooks for collectors. The theme of naturalism recurs therefore in the form of reading. In 'The Illustrious Client', Baron Gruner's pathology is heavily suggested in the photographic book of women he owns. Kitty describes it in these terms: 'this man collects women, and take a pride in his collection, as some men collect moth or butterflies. He had it all in that book. Snapshot photographs, names, details, everything about them' (Doyle,

2009o, p. 990). Not only does Kitty's description recall Stapleton and his butterfly collecting, but it also recalls the format of the *Strand* and the celebrity features such as 'Portraits of Celebrities at Different Times of Their Lives' and celebrity interviews. These features presented photographs of celebrities alongside biographical information – 'snapshot photographs, names, details, everything' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 990). There is a distinct similarity between what the *Strand* readers were experiencing in their reading and the way the two illustrated books are presented. This characterisation of these illustrated books as something devious is entirely converse to the *Strand*'s aim to be a source of 'cheap, healthful literature' (Newnes, 1891). Perhaps this is why Kitty describes the book's outer covering in such detail: 'a brown leather book with a lock, and his arms in gold on the outside' (Doyle, 2009o, p. 990). The covering differentiates it from the *Strand*'s more ephemeral nature.

Even still, the stories reflect on their own status as a text and as such reflect the status of the *Strand* as an object to be consumed and collected. Readers were consumers and collectors of the Sherlock Holmes stories, which is emphasised through the form of the Canon. The stories are designed as collectables for the reader and are collected together in groupings under headers such as *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* or *The Case Book of Sherlock Holmes*. Jean Baudrillard claims that in collecting, no object is singular but must be part of a series and so the drive for possession can never really be fulfilled; instead we are forced to collect objects to repeat the satisfaction of possession:

'in both cases gratification flows from the fact that possession depends, on the one hand, on the absolute singularity of each item [...] and, on the other hand, on the possibility of a series, and hence an infinite play of substitutions' (2009, p. 50).

It is not to be dismissed then that the Sherlock Holmes narrative fits perfectly into this description: the stories are singular objects that can be torn out of the *Strand* and kept, but are also part of an ongoing narrative, which allows the stories to be bound together into a collection, both physically and as a defined canon, making the reader a collector of Sherlock Holmes and linking consumers to other collectors in the Canon, like Baron Gruner and Stapleton.

This seeming confirmation of the abnormality of collectors has implications for readers of the *Strand*. ‘The Illustrious Client’ and *The Hound of the Baskervilles* act as a metatextual commentary on collecting as a pathological activity. It is significant that both of these texts were written after Holmes’ death in 1895 when Arthur Conan Doyle killed off Holmes’ character because he was worried that he would be defined by Holmes and not his historical fiction. They are themselves a result of mounting commercial pressure on Conan Doyle to write more Sherlock Holmes stories. Conan Doyle feared that ‘Sherlock Holmes may become like one of these popular tenors who, having outlived their time, are still tempted to make repeated farewell bows to their indulgent audiences’ (Doyle, 2009d, p. 983). As described in Chapter Two, Sherlock Holmes was being used in swathes of unofficial texts alongside the official ones and so Conan Doyle’s fear that Holmes had gone on too long perhaps also reflects a concern that Holmes was over-commercialised. Jonathan Cranfield argues that Conan Doyle’s work often criticised capitalism in subtle ways, but this became more explicit in his work in the 1920s (2016, p. 207). Cranfield argues that:

‘[w]hile later postmodernists like Lyotard were keen to announce the effective demise of the nation-state once its epistemic and ideological powers had begun to be challenged, Doyle saw its rehabilitation as the only way to mitigate the depreciating effect of consumerism and unfettered capitalism’ (2016, p. 211).

Even in the more domestic of Conan Doyle’s final works of fiction, ‘they prioritise the eccentric and specific characteristics of Englishness that can be articulated against the tendencies towards the international, the cosmopolitan, the American and the global’ (2016, p. 222). We see this in the Orientalised depiction of Gruner: ‘The Illustrious Client’ is a struggle between English values represented by the illustrious client (most likely one of the British royals) and the European/Chinese otherness of Gruner. These stories can therefore be read as a growing sign of Conan Doyle’s discomfort with the commercialisation of Holmes and the unfettered demand for Holmes.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there was a wealth of Sherlock Holmes material for fans to collect from postcards to cigarette cards to autographs. The Canon’s use of stereotypes therefore has the potential to isolate fans from the text because as consumers,

they are implicated in the negative stereotypes of collectors. However, Lincoln Geraghty argues that:

‘stereotypes may be harmful, often degrading, offensive and simplistic in their representation of the other but they are important components in the process of social identification [... and although media can] “trade in stereotypes” [it] points to the fact that they are engaging with and depicting elements of how individuals are adapting to a changing multimedia society’ (2014, pp. 15-16).

The way that the Canon moves uncomfortably and paradoxically between collector as villain, and collector as harmless (or in the case of Holmes, collector as hero), means that there is no one sure way to read a collector. The typology shifts according to what is collected and who is collecting it. It demonstrates the ‘myth of rationality’ Rosemary Jann points to and the ‘instabilities in the classification of class and gender’ (1990, pp. 686-687). For example, Jann argues that:

‘where the lower classes are classified indelibly by their collision with the world of objects, higher classes are marked from the inside out, not by what they have done but what they “are.” The essence of their moral and intellectual identities is inscribed in their faces, heads, and the bearing of their bodies’ (1990, p. 691).

In the context of the depiction of collectors specifically, I agree with Jann to a certain extent – the collectors we have looked at in this chapter are higher class and their bodies do demonstrate their moral character (Stapleton is an atavistic throwback to his villainous ancestor, for example). However, objects are not superfluous to their identity or the social code Holmes uses to identify them. Their collections are a projection of their identity and are therefore an extension of their bodies. They do not ‘collide’ with these objects - they are not marked like Mary Sutherland’s wrist by her typewriter in ‘A Case of Identity’ as discussed in Chapter One, but they do utilise these objects to cultivate a self-image that is there to be read.

Holmes uses collecting and collections to read the characters of Gruner and Stapleton, but the positivistic code he uses is flawed. This enables Sherlock Holmes fans to use the

Canon's stereotyped, simplistic view of collectors to form their own position as a fan. As Geraghty concludes:

'stereotypes that focus on differences between a marked fan identity and that of the perceived mainstream are important clues as to where fans might lie in the wider contexts of society and the power relations between individuals and groups within that culture' (2014, pp. 30-31).

The concentration on the dangers of consumption and the potential for deviousness is balanced somewhat by Holmes' utilisation of his collecting mania to solve cases and punish bad people (although not always, which further complicates Holmes' moral superiority in the Canon).⁵⁹ The Canon demonstrates more than one side of consumption and therefore allows room for the fan to negotiate where they are in relation to the stereotype of the maniacal collector. Indeed, this balance may also represent Conan Doyle's paradoxical relationship with commercialisation, for although he became more critical of globalisation and capitalism in his later years, Cranfield also argues that Conan Doyle's '*laissez-faire* attitude towards many of these issues [intellectual property, piracy, and copyright] early on was replaced by a keen desire to capitalise upon the commodification of his literary ideas' (2016, p. 224). The Canon therefore does not allow for an easy pathologisation of collecting and, by reflecting on itself as a text, it allows Sherlock Holmes fans to reflect on their own position in relation to the Canon.

⁵⁹ There are times in the Canon when Holmes does not report or punish the perpetrator of a crime. For example, in 'The Adventure of Charles Augustus Milverton' Holmes and Watson witness the murder of a notorious blackmailer and Holmes, although he knows the identity of the murderer, chooses not to reveal her identity because he believes that some crimes are justified when the legal recourse is ineffective or impossible (Doyle, 2009g).

Conclusion

What this thesis has attempted to demonstrate is how a Sherlockian fandom emerged in the 1890s. It evidences that fandom began at an earlier historical stage than it has often been given credit for, as well as how the Canon dramatises fan activity and is implicated in discourses of pathologising fans. I have argued that the *Strand* facilitated fandom but their relationship with their Holmes readership was convoluted and duplicitous. On the one hand, they encouraged their readership in their attachment to Holmes through the continuous publication of the stories, as well as other detective stories in a similar style. They paid Arthur Conan Doyle an unprecedented amount of money to bring Holmes back and they produced merchandise such as the Sherlock Holmes postcards to further encourage Holmes fans to return to being readers of the magazine with the release of *Hound of the Baskervilles*.⁶⁰ These strategies played on the loyalty of the *Strand* readers and purposefully attempted to keep the Holmes fans as the magazine's popularity waned in later years. On the other hand, the *Strand*'s production of material that degraded the mass popularity of fan behaviours (such as collecting) flew in the face of everything they were attempting to cultivate. There was a paradox in their treatment of fan behaviour and their attempts to keep a loyal readership of Sherlock Holmes who would also remain loyal to the magazine.

Tit-Bits, on the other hand, cultivated more explicitly the editor/reader/character relationship through their publication of Sherlock Holmes themed stories written by 'readers' (who were often up and coming writers), as well as letters to the editor. The question of Holmes' realness had so infiltrated the magazines that *Tit-Bits* were forced to respond directly to the question, as they also did when Holmes was killed. As demonstrated by Chapter Two, their role was to be the intermediary between reader and Sherlock Holmes. They positioned themselves as the authority on Holmes and the place for fans to interact and get official news, publications, and answers from the publishers of Holmes. As this thesis has demonstrated, the ironic belief in Holmes was far more ubiquitous than previously appreciated. Through articles such as Gertrude Bacon's analysis of Arthur

⁶⁰ Reginald Pound comments that Conan Doyle was paid between £480-600 per instalment for *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1966, p. 74). It was the US magazine *Collier's Weekly* who persuaded Conan Doyle to continue writing the short stories by offering him '\$25,000 for six, \$30,000 for eight, or \$45,000 for thirteen, regardless of length' (Boström, 2017, p. 119).

Conan Doyle's drawing of a pig for the *Strand Magazine*, it can be seen that even before the Game became an official game there was also a practice of suppressing Conan Doyle's involvement in the creation of Holmes and treating Holmes as real. This ironic belief permeated the established press alongside contributions from writers who would later become part of the Sherlock Holmes Society.

The 1930s was a pivotal decade in the development of a Sherlockian fandom. The 1890s-1910s had been a period of predominantly individual fans, brought together by an imagined community, aided by paratexts and the literary communities of the *Strand* and *Tit-Bits*. The latter end of the 1920s ushered in a new wave of Sherlockian criticism, such as S C Roberts' 'Note on the Watson Problem' (*The Cambridge Review*, 1929) and A G Macdonell's 'The Truth About Professor Moriarty' (*The New Statesman*, 1929), as well as the re-print of Ronald Knox's essay 'Studies in the Literature of Sherlock Holmes' in *Essays in Satire* (1928).⁶¹ These texts are prehistory for the formalised fan communities of the Sherlock Holmes Society (UK) and the Baker Street Irregulars (US), both established in 1934. These 1930s groups determined a fandom that would span many lifetimes. Up until the late 1920s, there was only an un-coordinated and individualistic version of a Sherlock Holmes fandom. Fans exhibited behaviours like collecting books, autographs, and postcards; writing fan letters to publications, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Holmes; reading and writing paratexts, parodies, and pastiches – all of these are ephemeral evidence of there being many individual, dedicated fans of Sherlock Holmes.

There were the signs, too, of communal celebrations of Holmes. M R James, for example, recalled in his memoir how he and a friend snuck away from Chapel to James' room to read the latest instalment of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and his friend was 'a little disappointed to find that his latest anticipations about the plot were not borne out as they should have been' (1926, p. 178). Ronald Knox also gave a speech (later turned essay) called 'Studies in the Literature of Sherlock Holmes' that was given on 10 March 1911 to the Bodley Club of Merton College. What both of these examples demonstrate is the most common form of what Jonathan Gray calls 'audience paratextuality' (2010, p. 141). These discussions can, and did, change how fans approached the Canon. In particular, many agree

⁶¹ 'Studies in the Literature of Sherlock Holmes' was originally a speech in 1911. It was later published in 1920 in *Blackfriar's* in a limited run, but did not become well-known until it was re-published in a larger run within *Essays in Satire* (1928).

that Knox's speech was the formal beginning of 'the Great Game'.⁶² The Game continued to be perpetuated by external texts such as *The New Statesman*, *Tit-Bits*, and others through articles treating Holmes as real and through letters between enthusiasts who critiqued and commented on the Canon. But there was a notable influx of Sherlockian criticism on both sides of the Atlantic after Arthur Conan Doyle died in July 1930, which treated the Canon as biographical fact; most notably T S Blakeney's *Sherlock Holmes: Fact or Fiction?* (1932, UK) and Vincent Starrett's *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (1933, US) (see Figure 1). The 1930s was the decade that saw readers' enthusiasm for all things Sherlock Holmes solidify into a formalised community.

This conclusion will explore how the findings of this thesis - the way George Newnes Ltd cultivated a fan community through the *Strand* and *Tit-Bits* in tandem with external sources - affected and foreshadowed the Sherlock Holmes Society that existed between 1934-1938. It will look at what the society did and how this compares to our modern understanding of fandom and fan clubs. The early Sherlock Holmes Society demonstrates the progression from the pre-society fandom that was based upon enthusiastic individuals, to the established longevity of the Sherlock Holmes Society of London (SHSL) that has represented British Sherlock Holmes fandom since it was (re-) established in 1951.⁶³ The Sherlock Holmes Society will therefore be the subject of this concluding chapter, for it is with this early-formed group that we see how the various elements of fandom courted by George Newnes Ltd, Arthur Conan Doyle, and other avenues of press, converged to create a formal appreciation society that continued in the ironic belief in Sherlock Holmes, the scholarly pursuits of Sherlockian criticism, and informed the traditions of the SHSL.

This thesis has explored British Sherlockian fandom because the *Strand* had a predominantly British readership.⁶⁴ However, there was also a notable fandom developing

⁶² This is a point of contention among Sherlockians and as this thesis has demonstrated, there is evidence of the Great Game being played much earlier.

⁶³ It is worth noting here that the SHSL is also not the only version of Sherlockian fandom out there. In particular, the advent of the Internet and the rise of online fan sites has dramatically changed the way fans interact from this style of club. There have been a number of studies carried out on this phenomenon, both generally and for Sherlock Holmes fans more specifically. See for example: Francesca Coppa's 'Pop Culture Fans and Social Media' (2014); K Hellekson and K Busse's edited collection: *Fan Fiction and Fan Communities in the Age of the Internet* (2006), and Louisa Ellen Stein and K Busse's edited collection, *Sherlock and Transmedia Fandom* (2012).

⁶⁴ The *Strand* also had an overseas readership, but this was mostly in the British colonies. Reginald Pound comments that the *Strand* was 'as much a symbol of immutable British order as Bank Holidays and the Changing of the Guard' and that 'for the exiles in many lands the monthly arrival of *The Strand* was

in America. Indeed, the beginnings of the Baker Street Irregulars, established by Christopher Morley in 1934, has been well-documented in texts such as Jon Lellenberg's *Irregular Memories of the 'Thirties* (1990) and more recently in George Mills' article 'The Scholarly Rebellion of the early Baker Street Irregulars' (2017). The Baker Street Irregulars has been given substantial credit by Sherlockians and academics alike for the early establishment of a Sherlockian fandom. For one, the Baker Street Irregulars boast that their society is the earliest in the world, as Christopher Morley established a Sherlock Holmes club in his youth in 1902 with three other of his schoolboy friends (Lellenberg, 1990, p. 1). It was Morley who went on to create the Baker Street Irregulars, which unlike the Sherlock Holmes Society, has met continuously since their formal founding in 1934.

Secondly, the creation of the *Baker Street Journal* (*BSJ*) by Edgar W Smith in 1946 was a marked moment in the continuing development of the voice of the Sherlockian fandom more widely and of the society more locally, as the journal became its mouthpiece and method of communication between national and international groups. The journal's critical, intellectual, and Game-playing content, George Mills argues, 'helped unify the growing community of Irregular scionists around the country who aspired to be part of this elite community of Sherlockians' (Mills, 2017). Traditions established by the Baker Street Irregulars, such as the *BSJ*, were replicated elsewhere, including in Britain. The Sherlock Holmes Society of London established the *Sherlock Holmes Journal* in May 1951, mere months after their first meeting in January having recognised the *BSJ*'s success.⁶⁵ There is no doubt that the American Sherlockian fandom had a durable influence on the British and *vice versa*. Men like Christopher Morley, Vincent Starrett, and others continued developing the British-born Sherlockian criticism throughout the late-1930s to early-50s, making it their own and establishing their own traditions, without a British equivalent. The British and American societies were intimately related from their origin and to fully appreciate the early Sherlock Holmes Society in Britain, its American sibling cannot be completely ignored. So, although this chapter will refer predominantly to the establishment of the

reassurance of abiding values' (p. 9, 63). It was assumed that the readership of the *Strand* was British, even overseas.

⁶⁵ I do not here mean financial success. The *Baker Street Journal* was (and still is) intended as a communication device for scholarship and not intended for profit. Mills argues that '[Edgar W.] Smith positioned financial gain against pure scholarship' (2017), emphasising its utility rather than its fiscal potential. The *BSJ* and *SHJ* are currently subscription based, but both societies are clear that this is to cover the costs of editing, printing, and postage only.

Sherlock Holmes Society in Britain, key American figures will unavoidably be intertwined with the British.

The Creation of the Sherlock Holmes Society

The Sherlock Holmes Society began unofficially in April 1934 when A G Macdonell, the Scottish writer and journalist, had an informal sherry party to which he invited several Sherlock Holmes enthusiasts. At this party, ‘those present declared themselves to be the Sherlock Holmes Society. No one seemed very clear about the objects or activities of the Society except that we should hold an annual dinner on, or near, the date of Derby Day’ (S C Roberts as quoted in R. L. Green, 1994, p. 6). The society was undefined and new, although there were some precedents for literature-based societies, like the Detection Club established in 1928 by Anthony Berkeley. The Detection Club had some influence on the Sherlock Holmes Society, not least because there were some cross-over members, such as founder Anthony Berkeley, as well as Dorothy L Sayers, Ianthe Jerrold, E R Pushon and Gladys Mitchell. By 1932, the Detection Club had a constitution, rules, a strict membership policy, as well as an initiation ceremony (Edwards, 2016, p. 82). These formalities, especially the latter, would come to influence the first meeting of the Sherlock Holmes Society but, at this point in April 1934, the Sherlock Holmes Society did not know yet what it would be or what its activities would include. However, it very quickly used game-playing as its foundation. Between Macdonell’s party in April and the official Sherlock Holmes Society dinner in June there were references to the Society in *The Guardian* (17 – 23 April) and the *Bystander* (24 April).

The letters sent to the editor of *The Guardian* were from members of the Sherlock Holmes Society regarding Ivor Brown’s article ‘Permanent Lodgers’ (14th August 1934). This interaction sparks interest for the way that it sets the tone for the Sherlock Holmes Society meetings. The letters demonstrate that before the official society, there was a pre-existing ironic, humorous tone among Sherlock Holmes enthusiasts that mixed academic rigour and jest. Brown’s article argues that ‘on considering the names that have endured as permanent lodgers in the English mind one has to admit that luck has been responsible for much’ (I. Brown, 1934a). Brown names several characters he considers will endure in the public mind, including Nicholas Rowe’s Gay Lothario and Thomas Hardy’s Tess, and what would dictate their survival. He says: ‘Of our own time I have hopes for Mr. Priestley’s Mr.

Oakroyd, a creation vital enough to live as long as Yorkshire itself, but the name is not in the title, nor is it altogether easy to assimilate' (I. Brown, 1934a). Brown hints here that to be an influence on the English language, the name of the character must have a ubiquitously understood meaning; as with Hardy's Tess, 'if one described a country girl as a Tess there would be a fairly general understanding among people of ordinary reading, but [Hardy] has not grafted any name upon our common speech' (I. Brown, 1934a). The name Tess has a widely understood meaning, but it is not ubiquitous enough for Brown, who argues that even she fails to achieve permanence.

The noticeable absence in Brown's article is Sherlock Holmes. As Chapter Two of this thesis demonstrated, after 1903 the name of 'Sherlock Holmes' became a shorthand for certain characteristics, such as astute observational powers. The name was in popular use throughout the early-twentieth century in newspapers and periodicals, including both the *Strand* and *Tit-Bits*, and was used outside of Canonical contexts. It had the very impact upon language that Brown states is necessary for a so-called permanent lodger. This oversight was pointed out to Brown by A G Macdonell, 'Hon. Secretary of the Sherlock Holmes Society', in the Letters to the Editor section two days later. Macdonell expressed that he was 'surprised that Mr. Ivor Brown, in his delightful essay [...], should have omitted two of the greatest of all – Mr. S. Holmes and Dr. J. H. Watson' (A. G. Macdonell, 1934). Macdonell's response indicates how naturally Sherlock Holmes came to his mind when considering such a topic. This is unsurprising given his role as Honorary Secretary of the Sherlock Holmes Society, but many scholars, writers, and fans alike have since claimed that Sherlock Holmes is, among other things, 'one of literature's greatest and most recognizable characters' (Kuhns, 2014, p. 53). This recognisability is essential to Sherlock Holmes' impact upon language and although the phrase a 'Sherlock Holmes' has fallen out of favour in recent years, the iconography of a magnifying glass and deerstalker hat still has the same connotations of sleuthing and observational skills today.⁶⁶

Interestingly, Macdonell includes both Holmes and Watson as permanent lodgers, believing Watson to be just as key a figure as Holmes. A search of the *Oxford English Dictionary* shows that 'Watson' has its own meaning. The *OED* defines 'Watson' as a noun 'used allusively of one who acts as a foil or audience, esp. for a detective' (OED). Compared to

⁶⁶ For a wider explanation of Sherlock Holmes iconography, see Amanda J. Field's 'The Case of the Multiplying Millions: Sherlock Holmes in Advertising' (2013).

Holmes whose defined characteristics were being used as early as 1903, this definition came into use far later; the Oxford English Dictionary identifies it as originating in 1927 with Ronald Knox's mystery story *The Three Taps: A Detective Story Without a Moral*. However, there is an earlier example in A A Milne's *The Red House Mystery* (1922) where Antony asks Bill:

‘are you prepared to be the complete Watson? [...] Are you prepared to have quite obvious things explained to you, to ask futile questions, to give me chances of scoring off you, to make brilliant discoveries of your own two or three days after I have made them myself’ (1998, p. 50).

This definition of Watson as a fool recurred in the constitutional rules of the Detection Club in the early 1930s. They believed that in all detective fiction there should be ‘a stupid friend of the detective, the Watson, [who] must not conceal any thoughts which pass through his mind; his intelligence must be slightly, but very slightly, below that of the average reader’ (as reproduced in Pittard, 2011, p. 212).⁶⁷ Watson's stupidity is a narratorial tool to hide things from the audience, but more accurately prevents the reader from discovering the solution too soon. As I argued in Chapter Four, we can see this at work clearly in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* when the revelation of Stapleton's villainy astounds Watson despite all of the signs being there. It seems clear that by 1930 ‘Watson’ as a detective sidekick and a purposefully foolish narratorial foil had entered the English language, which gives legitimacy to Macdonell's objection, outside of his own interest in the Canon, that Brown omitted Watson from the list of permanent lodgers. Especially considering that we can now see the terms ‘Sherlock Holmes’ and ‘Watson’ have, empirically speaking, retained some level of use in language comparable to Lothario whom Brown mentions.⁶⁸

In a published reply to Macdonell's review, Ivor Brown admitted the exclusion had been a mistake and made an apology ‘to the Sherlock Holmes Society’, stating that it was an ‘absurd omission’ and ‘I had realised my crime before I saw his letter and was deeply

⁶⁷ The Detection Club's constitution was made up of ten rules for how detective fiction should be written, which were printed in a little booklet. Most of the members broke one or more of the rules at some point, but the general idea was to establish detective fiction as a game that would be fair to the reader and to make good-quality detective fiction. Other rules include ‘All supernatural or preternatural agencies are ruled out as a matter of course’ and ‘No accident must ever help the detective, not must he ever have an unaccountable intuition which proves to be right’ (as quoted in Worsley, 2014, p. 259).

⁶⁸ The *OED* puts Lothario and Watson in ‘Band 3’ of current use in language, which is a frequency of 0.01-0.099 times per million words. Sherlock Holmes is in Band 2 (<0.0099 per million words) (*OED*).

grieved at the mistake' (I. Brown, 1934b). Macdonell's critique is an intellectual exercise and Brown's acceptance of the critique is a demonstration of their intellectual respect. However, the academic rigour of Macdonell's review is undermined by Brown's second statement, where he jests, 'I propose, by way of penance, to walk with peas in my shoes (and no cocaine) to Upper Baker Street and there prostrate myself' (I. Brown, 1934b). The joke was taken up in the following days by Milward Kennedy, another member of the Sherlock Holmes Society, who added that:

'it is very gratifying to the members of the Sherlock Holmes Society [...] that we have so vigilant an honorary secretary as Mr. Macdonell [...]. I feel, however that Mr. Brown ought not to be permitted to decide his penance for himself, and I hope that instead of walking to Baker Street with peas in his shoes he will be required to attend the society's next dinner [...] and there, with peas in his mouth and with or without cocaine, make his public confession' (Kennedy, 1934).

These latter additions to an otherwise intellectual exercise is demonstrable of the witty repartee the Sherlock Holmes Society was based upon, mixed with academic rigour that can be confusing to the uninitiated.

The public correspondence is overtly tongue-in-cheek. To a casual reader, the ridiculousness of the suggested punishment is enough to make it apparent that these men are writing in jest. Yet there is more to unpack here. The overt and obscure references to the Canon and other literary works add layers of erudite meaning that require foreknowledge; some references would be ubiquitously known and others more obscure. Brown and Kennedy refer, for example, to Baker Street, which makes the obvious connection between the punishment and the Canon. The reference to cocaine would also most likely be understood by a wide variety of readers – Sherlock Holmes' use of cocaine is mentioned in several stories: *The Sign of Four*, 'A Scandal in Bohemia', 'The Five Orange Pips', 'The Man with The Twisted Lip', and 'The Yellow Face', and so some basic knowledge of the Canon or its adaptations would allow the connection to be made.⁶⁹ The

⁶⁹ Sherlock Holmes is often remembered for his drug use because it has often been emphasised by adaptations, such as William Gillette's play *Sherlock Holmes*, which made his drug use more ubiquitously known. This is true even though in 'The Missing Three-Quarter' Watson suggests that Holmes has given up drugs: 'For years I had gradually weaned him from that drug mania which had threatened once to check his remarkable career' (Doyle, 2009p, p. 622). Even still, the reference to cocaine would have been recognisable as a turn on the Canon.

reference to peas in the shoes is more obscure reference and most likely refers to John Wolcot's aka Peter Pindar's, 'The Pilgrims and the Peas' (1801). It is a satirical poem wherein two men take on a pilgrimage with peas in their shoes, but one cleverly decides to boil the peas to make his journey far easier. For such short letters, the correspondence between Brown, Macdonell, and Kennedy are surprisingly full of intertextual references that invite analysis. This is an important development in Sherlock Holmes fandom.

As explored in Chapter Three with Geraldine Bacon's canonical references in her article 'Pigs of Celebrities' (1899), intertextuality becomes a form of 'communal game' (Jonathan Gray, 2010, p. 119). Where Bacon's article was a professional writer speaking to general *Strand* readers, some of whom were fans, these letters are between fans, put into a public context. Brown, Macdonell, and Kennedy engage themselves in a joke, but one that is potentially accessible by other Sherlock Holmes fans. These three members of the Sherlock Holmes Society established the witty and self-aware exuberance that was characteristic of the society itself, but it was not just representative of the way they joked with each other, jovially criticising each other's academic rigour with references to the Canon and emphasising Sherlock Holmes' literary prominence; it also hints at the playfulness with which they interacted with the Canon. This prelude to the official meetings of the Sherlock Holmes Society continued the tradition of interacting with other Sherlock Holmes enthusiasts through the means of letters in newspapers such as *Tit-Bits* but most significantly, they did so under the umbrella of the Society – a new and unique venture for British fans. The tone of the letters, such as Kennedy's comment that 'it is very gratifying to the members of the Sherlock Holmes Society [...] that we have so vigilant an honorary secretary as Mr. Macdonell' (1934), creates the illusion of an established group who has a set leadership, membership, and intersubjective values that Macdonell is upholding. These things were yet to come, but they soon did. The values Kennedy applauds were based upon the elevation of Sherlock Holmes and a mutual respect for intellectual pursuits; these have been central to the Sherlock Holmes Society since its inception.

The Sherlock Holmes Society Meetings (1934-1938)

The first dinner of the Sherlock Holmes Society was held on Derby Day (6th June 1934) at Canuto's Restaurant on Baker Street. The minutes of the meeting appeared as a report in the *British Medical Journal* written by Ivor Gunn on 11th August the same year. Gunn

reported that the meeting was attended by twenty-four members, including the Reverend H R L ‘Dick’ Sheppard whose work in the pacifist movement had gained national attention; S C Roberts, Secretary to Cambridge University Press; Helen Simpson, author and wife to fellow member, Denis Browne, a pioneer of paediatric surgery at Great Ormond Street; as well as Frank Morley, co-director of Faber and Faber, editor, and writer.⁷⁰ Some members, such as Ronald Knox and Desmond MacCarthy, were reportedly unable to attend. The society dinner was notable for its jovial spirit and its scattered references to the Canon. For example, H W Bell and another member arrived at the dinner in a hansom cab and others drank Baume ‘because it was Dr. Watson’s choice on a notable occasion’ (Gunn, 1934). After dinner, Sheppard was officially elected as President and messages from absent members were read, including from American journalist Vincent Starrett (member of the Baker Street Irregulars) and British critic and journalist Desmond MacCarthy. Various members stood up to talk, including Ivor Back who read a letter from ‘Doctor Watson’ and Frank Morley read a ‘cryptic telegram of greeting’ from the Baker Street Irregulars. Others spoke on canonical topics. Finally, it was decided that the next meeting would be held in November because it ‘would give the Society the best chance of meeting in a thick yellow fog, or, failing that, in a high autumnal wind’ (Gunn, 1934).

Much like the letters between Brown, Macdonell, and Kennedy, the first Sherlock Holmes Society meeting was marked for its game-playing. Take for example Ivor Back’s contribution to the evening: Gunn reports that:

‘Mr. Ivor Back was then asked to speak on Dr. Watson’s medical qualifications, and responded by reading a letter which he had received from him. It appears that the doctor is now eighty-two years of age, but still has a few patients, one of whom, suffering from the loss of a big toe, he proposed to send to Mr. Back for examination. Advancing years, however, have shaken Dr. Watson’s confidence in his professional powers, and he frankly admitted to his correspondent that he felt that he was now an even greater danger to the public than when he recommended strychnine in large doses as a sedative’ (Gunn, 1934).

Back displays what Michael Saler calls an ‘ironic belief’ in the Canon (M. Saler, 2003) by pretending a letter he has written is really from Watson. In Chapter Three, I argued that

⁷⁰ Frank Morley was the brother of Christopher Morley, the founder of the Baker Street Irregulars in New York.

autograph hunters furthered the characterisation of Holmes by creating their own paratexts, such as through requesting autographs, and in doing so they add their own meaning to the character. Here, Back mimics this behaviour, using canonical references to develop Watson's character beyond the Canon. For example, Watson is an aging doctor. Back has taken the chronology worked on by others, such as Desmond MacCarthy and S C Roberts, and extended it beyond the years described by the Canon. Watson's age, although not specified, is in keeping with what would be expected of a man who worked with Sherlock Holmes from the mid-1880s to the early 1900s as a young professional.

At this point in time Back was an elected surgeon to St George's and four years from his retirement at the age of 59 (B. Jackson & Taylor, 2013), so like Watson he was an experienced doctor coming toward the end of his career. Watson is reportedly concerned that old age is affecting his ability to work. Watson recalls, for example, the time he 'recommended strychnine in large doses as a sedative' (Gunn, 1934).⁷¹ Even after the event, Watson is surprisingly flippant about his dangerous suggestion. However, Back's letter from Dr Watson implies that Watson, with years more experience, understands the gravity of the mistake he made, adding some developed remorse in Watson's aging character. With a dual intention, Back draws attention to the absurdity of Watson's disregarded mishap. On the one hand, this knowingly laughs at Conan Doyle's flippancy, but on the other attributes it all to Watson. As I demonstrated in Chapter One, Arthur Conan Doyle wrote 'A Case of Identity' with a similar dual awareness, referring to writing as a created object that produces a realistic effect. The effect allows readers to believe it, if only in an ironic way. In the same way, Back's letter from Watson creates an afterlife for Watson, one that is both real and fiction. Watson can write letters, has knowledge of current doctors and their specialisms (Back), and is based on a chronology that has continued beyond the Canon, which contributes to the growing Sherlockian literature of the 1930s. Benoit Guilielmo argues that 'early Sherlockian criticism is a character-based criticism with emphasis on the problems of internal chronology, and the authenticity of the stories' (2013). Back draws on each of these elements by creating his own paratext, which sits

⁷¹ This is a reference to his medical oversight in *Sign of Four* (1890) where Watson is so consumed by thoughts of Mary Morstan (who would later become his wife) that he admits to being only 'dreamily conscious' (Doyle, 2009s, p. 105) and recommends large doses of strychnine to Thaddeus Sholto as a sedative. Strychnine, however, is a stimulant and poisonous in large doses.

closer to fanfiction than to those scholarly pursuits of members like Sayers that followed in the first meeting.

Sherlockian Scholarship and the first Sherlock Holmes Society Meeting

The more scholarly discussions during the evening certainly emphasised the internal chronology and authenticity of the Canon. Dorothy L Sayers' argument that Holmes went to Cambridge was based on her essay 'Holmes' College Career' in *Baker-Street Studies* (1934). This essay argues the case that Holmes attended Cambridge University; as well as how long he was at college, when he matriculated, what year he was born, the subject he studied, the college he attended, and what he did after. It is based primarily on two extracts from the Canon, one from 'The Gloria Scott' and the other from 'The Musgrave Ritual'. Every point is addressed sequentially and the argument for the next is predicated on the conclusions drawn from the one that precedes it. For example, the subjects that would have been available to Holmes are based upon the conclusions Sayers draws: first, that he went to Cambridge and secondly, that he attended in the early 1870s. At this time, the principal Triposes Cambridge offered were 'Moral Sciences; Natural Sciences; Law and History; Theology; Mathematics; and Classics' (1934, p. 19). Sayers concludes that the Natural Sciences would have suited Holmes best.

Sayers' essay plays the Game. She walks the line between the serious and the ridiculous. Like Knox, she plays on traditional literary criticism and applies the theory to Holmes' statements about his college education. She refers to other scholarly works (although hers are real, rather than the fictional scholars made up by Knox). For example, when it comes to the date of Holmes' birth, she supports her position by mentioning Blakeney's *Sherlock Holmes: Fact or Fiction?* (1932) and H W Bell's *Sherlock Holmes and Doctor Watson: The Chronology of Their Adventures* (1932), arguing that 'this calculation agrees sufficiently well with that of Blakeney, who offers 1852-1853, with a slight preference for 1852; Bell's date of 1854 is probably a trifle too late. We may adopt 1853 as a *via media*' (1934, p. 17). Sayers, along with Blakeney, Bell, and others, had begun to build a scholarly tradition of their own. It was based upon the rigorous contemporary literary criticism of universities and academics, but subverted it and mocked it by applying it to the Canon. Essays like Knox's also mocked biblical literary criticism or what Rzepka calls the 'nit-picking empiricists of continental theology' (2016, p. 296). These writers took something

serious and made it into a game, which established one of the most recognisable aspects of the Sherlockian fandom, that of the 'fan-scholar'. As Matt Hills has pointed out, academia, like fandom, is based upon systems of value and it contains within it a moral dualism of 'good' and 'bad' subjectivity; an academic should ideally be 'a resolutely rational subject, devoted to argumentation and persuasion' (2002, p. 20). This is, however, in contradiction with the reality that academic theories are taken on faith and 'consistently fail[...] to measure up to the "good" imagined subjectivity of the rational self' (2002, p. 21). Sayers knowingly and self-consciously mocks this dualism by using the myth of the rational scholar to exercise the (ironically held) irrational belief in the Canon as real.

Sayers is an example of ironic believers Saler describes, who were 'not so much willingly suspending their disbelief in a fictional character as willingly believing in him with the double-minded awareness that they were engaged in pretense' (2003, p. 603). 'Holmes' College Career' contributes to a new value system of 'institutionally-supported ways of reading and writing' (Hills, 2002, p. 36) which characterises the Sherlockian fandom. The Sherlock Holmes Society was the institution that supported Sherlockian criticism through extensive discussion, creating a strong paratext (Jonathan Gray, 2010, p. 145). Sayers' essay and the subsequent debate at the Sherlock Holmes Society meeting establishes Sherlockian criticism as a paratext and it changed how future Sherlockians discussed the Canon. Karen Hellekson and Kristina Busse have considered how fans add to the canon, creating a 'fanon', which are the 'events created by the fan community in a particular fandom and repeated pervasively throughout the fantext. Fanon often creates particular details or character readings even though the canon does not fully support it – or, at times, outright contradicts it. Complete agreement on what comprises canon is rarely possible' (2006, p. 9). Sayers' essay contributes to an emerging fanon. One that was based on the chronology and authenticity of the Canon. Sayers raised topics that are still vehemently debated among Sherlockians today. The Cambridge/Oxford (or indeed, Edinburgh) debate is one that is still being discussed. Many accept Sayers' argument of Cambridge over any other university and her essay has been repeatedly used as evidence in the continuing debate.

Her ironic belief goes so far as to examine the actual Cambridge History of Triposes for Holmes' name. When, as is expected, it does not appear, she concludes that 'either that some accident prevented him from actually sitting for his Tripos, or that the lists were

compiled with a lack of accuracy very far from consonant with the dignity of the Academic body' (1934, p. 28). This is followed up by a footnote that reads:

'It is not pleasant to suppose that the malignant influence of Professor Moriarty extended as far as Cambridge, or that he could have brought an extensive and retrospective falsification of the published lists. It is better to presume carelessness than venality' (1934, p. 28).

Sayers has fun with the topic, pushing the boundaries of believability. Not only does she blur the line between reality and fiction in the seemingly pointless task of looking up Holmes' name in the Cambridge History of Triposes, but she also begins to tread onto conspiracy theory territory with the idea that Moriarty may have interfered with recorded history. Benjamin Poore argues that Holmes also does this in the Canon: Holmes states in 'The Final Problem' that Moriarty is 'the organizer of half that is evil and nearly all that is undetected in this great city' (Doyle, 2009m, p. 471). Poore argues that Holmes 'is following classic inductive conspiracy-theory logic that the lack of evidence for a hypothesis, assumed a priori to be correct, is due to a ruthlessly efficient cover-up, rather than the hypothesis being wrong' (2014, p. 137). Sayers is here doing the same; the lack of evidence of Holmes' graduation leads her to ironically speculate some shadowy interference from the equally fictional Moriarty. It is a knowing nod to the Canon and to the unbelievability of Moriarty's character, whose existence was debated among Sherlock Holmes Society members. A G Macdonell claims Moriarty was invented by Holmes, but based upon a real Mathematics scholar in his essay 'Mr. Moriarty' in the same volume of *Baker-Street Studies* that Sayers' essay appears in (1934, pp. 167, 171). The discrepancies around Moriarty's characterisation in 'The Final Problem' were also discussed at the Sherlock Holmes Society meeting by Gerald Kelly, who pointed out Holmes' flawed conclusion about the Greuze painting presupposing villainous income (Gunn, 1934).

The Organisation of the Sherlock Holmes Society

What remains obscured from Gunn's report of the first Sherlock Holmes Society meeting is how the meeting agenda was organised, which reveals the extent of external influences on the formation of the society. Were the papers given in a pre-arranged order or was the meeting more spontaneous? On the one hand, Maurice Campbell recalled in 1967 that 'there were no set papers at these dinners but lively informal discussions' (1967, p. 38). Yet

the *Bystander* reported on 24th April 1934, before the first meeting, that ‘members will discuss at these dinners such abstruse points as [...] whether Holmes was at Oxford or Cambridge [...], did Moriarty actually exist?’ (as reproduced in R. L. Green, 1994, p. 6) indicating that as early as April it had been decided how the meeting would operate and the discussions that would occur throughout the evening. It seems that at least the first meeting had some structure to it, even if it this was somewhat loose and relaxed. The agenda for discussion also seems to have been directed and influenced by the writings and interests of its members, such as those in *Baker-Street Studies*, the collection of Sherlockian scholarship put together in 1933 and published in 1934. It was therefore natural that these topics would be used as a springboard for further discussion and debate among society members.

The meeting was a little ad hoc and disorganised. This was the first Sherlock Holmes Society of its kind and it was a trailblazer in Sherlockian fandom. However, they did have the precedent of the Detection Club to go by and there are signs that the layout of the Detection Club meetings influenced the Sherlock Holmes Society significantly, particularly with its own influences from secret societies. G K Chesterton wrote an article called ‘The Detection Club’ for the *Strand* in 1933, which described the club, its aims, and its tongue-in-cheek initiation ceremony. Chesterton evokes the idea of secret societies, ones based on systems of knowledge, and in particular, hidden knowledge that heavily influence the Detection Club’s initiation ceremony. This ceremonious act was, in a lesser way, replicated by the Sherlock Holmes Society. In Chesterton’s introduction to the description of the Detection Club’s initiation ceremony, he comments:

‘I take a pride in setting out these conditions of membership in their actual form; thereby setting a good example to the Mafia, the Ku-Klux-Klan, the Freemasons, the Illuminati, the Rosicrucians, the Red-Badgers, the Blue-Buffaloes, the Green-Gorillas, the League of Left-handed Haberdashery, the Association of Agnostic Albinos, and all the other secret societies which now govern the greater part of public life’ (1933, p. 463).

The list of secret societies is reminiscent of Knox’s list of fictional academics, an ironic turn on a recognisable system. Chesterton mixes real life secret societies, like the Mafia, the Freemasons, and the Rosicrucians, with the fictional, like the Association of Agnostic

Albinos. What he evokes is the idea of secrecy, mystery, and hidden meanings. Movements like Rosicrucianism were based on what Karl Bell calls ‘alternative knowledge systems’, such as ‘elite occultist societies such as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in the 1890s’ (2012, pp. 153-154). The Golden Dawn was heavily influenced by the Rosicrucianism movement.⁷²

Such systems were based on hierarchies of knowledge and were particularly literature based, promising to reveal new meaning in religious texts like the Bible and Torah. It was believed these texts were encrypted with special knowledge. As Alex Owen states, students of the occult were drawn in by the ‘promise of privileged access to secret knowledge and a hidden realm of alternative spiritual wisdom’ (1997, p. 101). It therefore makes sense these kinds of hierarchical, elitist, secret societies appealed to the Detection Club, as their chosen genre of writing was based upon mystery, intrigue, and finding hidden meaning. For example, Simon During argues that ‘historically, cipher-making was a Hermetic practice: a famous ninth-century esoteric text, *The Book of the Secret of Creation*, was written in cryptograms. But since the early modern period, cryptograms had been associated with “mathematical recreations,” a branch of natural magic’ (2009, p. 180). Ciphers have been used in many Detection fiction stories, including Conan Doyle’s ‘The Adventure of the Dancing Men’. In the Sherlock Holmes Society’s first meeting, the Baker Street Irregulars sent them a ‘cryptic telegram of greeting’ (Gunn, 1934). Detection fiction is all about unveiling hidden meaning.

Yet, at the same time, the secrecy of the Detection Club was intended to keep meaning hidden from outsiders. The initiation ceremony, devised by Dorothy L. Sayers (Edwards, 2016, p. 92), protected the secrets of the club. Members had to swear to keep secret everything they heard and it was threatened that ‘if you fail to keep your promise, may other writers anticipate your plots, may your publishers do you down in your contracts, may strangers sue you for libel, may your pages swarm with misprints and may your sales continually diminish. Amen.’ (Chesterton, 1933, p. 465). This, of course, was not a serious threat, but ensured secrecy between the members. Similar punishments were threatened in

⁷² The Golden Dawn was also influenced by other forms of esotericism such as Tarot, kabbalah, geomancy, and ritual magic. As Henrik Bogdan explains ‘the rituals of the Inner Order were written by Mathers, and their central leitmotif was the legend of Rosenkreutz, the legendary founder of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood [...] However, the Inner Order did not only differ in emphasis on Rosicrucianism, but also in the important fact that its members were expected to put their theoretical magical knowledge into practice’ (2007, pp. 125-126).

the Sherlock Holmes Society: aside from Brown being threatened with peas in his shoes in the *Guardian*, at the third Society meeting it was announced that Ivor Gunn would no longer produce written reports of the meetings and members were uproarious crying ‘Set the pips on him’ and five orange pips were given to Gunn in an envelope (R. L. Green, 1994, p. 13).⁷³ Secrets, access to those secrets, and punishment for revealing secrets to outsiders formed the foundation of the Detection Club and heavily influenced the Sherlock Holmes Society.

Matt Hills argues that ‘any given fan culture [should be viewed] not simply as a community but also as a social hierarchy where fans share a common interest while also competing over fan knowledge, access to the object of fandom, and status’ (2002, p. 20). Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital (2010) has been influential on fan theory as it helps conceptualise how fans assess fan status and hierarchies through the establishment of distinctions of taste and knowledge, which in turn are used to control who has access. We see these same values reflected in the secret societies mentioned by Chesterton, the Detection Club, and within the Sherlock Holmes Society. The first Sherlock Holmes Society meeting had its own form of ceremony, built upon a hierarchy of foreknowledge. Gunn describes how Gerald Kelly was inspired to bring in ‘a dish with a large metal cover, the removal of which by the Chairman, temporarily inveigled into the role of “Tadpole” Phelps, disclosed a facsimile of the Naval Treaty. This was followed by the presentation to the Chairman of copper beech leaves and orange pips by Miss Simpson and of an ear-flapped travelling cap by Mr. Spring-Rice. These unexpected and ingenious touches of local colour put the company in the best of humour’ (Gunn, 1934). Each of these tokens had canonical context: the copper beech leaves because of ‘The Adventure of the Copper Beeches’, the orange pips in reference to ‘the Five Orange Pips’, and the ear-flapped travelling cap a reference to Sherlock Holmes’ hat in ‘Silver Blaze’. As with the letters in the newspaper and Geraldine Bacon’s article in the *Strand*, knowledge of the Canon strengthens the experience. Understanding the references demonstrates a level of participation and status within the Sherlockian community. It also reinforces how, as I have argued throughout, the presence of objects not analysed specifically by Holmes hold significant meaning in fandom.

⁷³ This was, of course, a reference to the conspiratorial story of ‘The Five Orange Pips’ where the KKK send five orange pips to those they will murder – yet another secretive club mentioned by Chesterton.

By presenting the Naval Treaty to the chairman, Gerald Kelly reinforces the theme of a secret society, even though the Sherlock Holmes Society was not secret about its presence or its meetings. It is a reference to the Canonical story of the same name ‘The Adventure of the Naval Treaty’. In this story a ‘secret treaty between England and Italy’, which is ‘of enormous importance that nothing [...] should leak out’ (Doyle, 2009r, p. 450), is stolen. “Tadpole” Phelps explains that, ‘without going into details’ (2009r, p. 450), the treaty outlined how the British navy would protect Italy and Great Britain against French invasion. It is a highly confidential document. Only Phelps and his boss (also his uncle) know that Phelps is transcribing the document. The whole case is shrouded in mystery. Who stole it? Where is it? How did the thief know of it and how did they get into the office? Why did they ring the servant’s bell and alert others to their presence? Why, nine weeks later, did a man make an attempt on Phelps’ life? All these events cause Phelps to exclaim ‘I begin to believe that I am the unconscious centre of some monstrous conspiracy’ (2009r, p. 461). The secretive, conspiratorial story is resolved by Holmes and it is revealed that Phelps’ soon to be brother-in-law stole the papers to sell to clear stock market debts, but hid the Treaty in the room where Phelps was ill with brain fever, and so was unable to go through with the sale. Holmes, who claims ‘I can never resist a touch of the dramatic’ (2009r, p. 468), chooses to reveal the missing Naval Treaty by bringing Phelps a silver covered dish for breakfast that underneath contains the Treaty. The Sherlock Holmes Society replicated this event by bringing out a silver dish with a replica Naval Treaty. By doing so, they allude to the same quasi-religious/occult/secret society underpinnings as the Detection Club. To appreciate the inner-workings properly you have to be part of the secret. “Tadpole” Phelps knew the secrets of the Treaty, as did Holmes, but the reader is excluded from this knowledge. To reveal the Treaty in this way, gives the members the sense that they have de-mystified parts of the Canon. It gives privileged access to those within the Sherlockian circle, establishing a hierarchy between fans with access to the society and those who do not. Although never before performed, the ritualistic presentation gives the sense that society members were carrying out an established tradition, as emphasised by Gunn’s turn of phrase ‘a happy inspiration’ (Gunn, 1934) that caused Mr. Kelly to bring the dish.

Aside from the ritualistic aspects of the meetings, there was a clear aim to replicate the stories in some fashion at the society meetings: from turning up in a hansom cab, to

drinking Beaune because that was what Watson drank in *The Sign of Four*, to arranging a meeting when there would be fog or autumnal wind – recurring motifs that Watson typically describes in the opening of such stories as ‘The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans’ and ‘The Adventure of the Nobel Bachelor’. These actions immersed the members in the world of Sherlock Holmes through a spatial and physical experience and allowed them a deeper connection to the text, as well as entertainment and fun at the gathering. By meeting together and performing activities that imitated Sherlock Holmes and the Canon, the members were able to express an emotional connection to the Canon. It is an extension of the Great Game they played with the Sherlockian scholarship and chronological/historical pieces members wrote about the Canon. Members immersed themselves in the world of the Canon, which has religious connotations. Michael Jindra explains that the experience felt by Star Trek fans at conventions re-creates the immersive experience of religious rituals (2005, p. 171). The predilection to act out moments from the Canon within the society meeting enables an emotional connection to the Canon to be forged through the physical immersion in the world of the text. Jindra sees this in religious terms because the ritualistic way in which ironic belief is played out is connotative of religious ceremonies and follows his definition of religion as an ‘ongoing experience, lived out and taken for granted’ (2005, p. 168). The understanding of the rules of the Game is seemingly taken for granted by the members of the Sherlock Holmes Society and is, according to Jindra, a form of cultural religious experience. It is also another form of privileged access to the world of Sherlockian fandom.

However, Matt Hills has pointed out that Jindra’s assumption that religion and fandom are similarly liminal and therefore the same is flawed: instead, religious or ritualistic aspects of the Sherlockian fandom borrow from religious discourse in ways that benefit their pursuit of play and entertainment. Hills argues that:

‘religious discourses are more transparently based on expressions of communal faith which do not allow notions of “proof” or “evidence” to come into play [...] Religious discourses therefore allow for a particular relaxation of “rationalisations” and “justifications” which fans may otherwise be called upon to produce, converting the fans’ lack of a response to the “why?” question into a positive expression of faith and attachment rather than a lack of fan rationality’ (2002).

The interaction between fans and religion is a complex, often contradictory one and I agree with Hills that the religious discourses in fandom cannot be separated from fandom, but neither do they fully define it. I suggest that in addition to the ritualistic and religious aspect to the presentation of the Naval Treaty and other Canon-related objects, ‘play’ or ‘affective play’ is a useful and meaningful way of understanding fans’ interaction with the text using imagination, creativity, and performance. Paul Booth argues that play ultimately allows ‘imaginative freedom to interact with media texts in ways unanticipated by either producers of fans’ and within this there is also a performative aspect that is ‘ritualized behaviour conditioned/permeated by play’ (2015, p. 16). Booth defines play as being freeing, yet also bound by demarcations of the text and of the media industry (2015); this thesis has demonstrated that Sherlockians played with the Canon and that George Newnes Ltd also participated in this play while defining the limits of where play was appropriate and the line of excess.

However, the naval treaty takes play from being on the page into a physical spectacle. The naval treaty was an added ‘touch of the dramatic’ that performs the Canon by imitating Holmes. This is an interpretation of the Canon through movement rather than the textual production hitherto discussed and it enacts fandom as fans play at being fans. It establishes a prism through which the Sherlock Holmes Society acted that brought them together as a fandom, as well as closer to the text. Its value is as a creative way to express enjoyment in the Canon and to connect the moments from the text to a personal and meaningful physical experience that is often motivated by nostalgia, a recapturing of youth and childhood when they first read the Canon. The immersive experience is religious in some respects, but it is also about bringing the text alive. As Saler argues, ‘fictive creations became even more ‘alive’ when individuals joined together in groups to share in a communal fantasy’ (2003). The presentation demonstrates an understanding of the membership as the type of coterie that would welcome such action and not frown upon it as juvenile. The forethought to bring orange pips and copper beech leaves to the meeting indicates pre-knowledge of the Society’s acceptance of jollity among its members and indicates that there was some form of community established before the official society was founded. This form of community was born out of George Newnes’ and the periodical press’ cultivation of an imagined community around Sherlock Holmes as real.

The Reach of the Great Game

The Sherlock Holmes Society heightened what started as a frivolous joke. As discussed in Chapter Three, many newspapers and periodicals played the Game; hundreds of letters for Sherlock Holmes and Watson were sent to the offices of the *Strand* and to Arthur Conan Doyle; people requested Holmes' autograph and photograph in an attempt to get others to participate in the Game. It is easy to over-estimate the effect of such a joke on culture, but its ubiquity is proven by the fact that in the 1930s many did not see the Game as being new or revolutionary. Indeed, by 1934 writers and scholars wondered if the Game seemed to be tired out and had been played long enough. David Leslie Murray comments in his review of *Baker-Street Studies* for the *Times Literary Supplement* that the number of books coming out on Sherlock Holmes' life have led him to conclude that 'the joke may really be thought to be wearing a little thin' (1934a).⁷⁴ (Although he still enters 'into the spirit of the game' (1934a) in the rest of the review.) These books are what we now see as the rising proliferation of the Great Game and the start of many years of a Sherlockian scholarship. Where there had been hundreds of parody and pastiches of Sherlock Holmes before and very few mock-scholarly articles, the balance began to tip, and Sherlockiana was fully established. With the benefit of hindsight, it is surprising that there was a belief that the joke was becoming old, worn out, and overly laboured when it really had only just begun.

Sherlockians were clearly not bored of the Game. In another of Murray's reviews, this time of Starrett's *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes*, he comments that 'though it may seem to some that the joke has now been worked out to its fullest, it is evident that there are many for whom it will never lose its freshness' (1934b). He identifies Starrett's work as 'joining in the fooling' and that 'Holmes remains none the less a real man' (1934b). Starrett was participating in a grand new tradition, and if anything, the Game was gaining traction among a certain group of men and women on both sides of the Atlantic. There were increasingly more articles and books written on Canon-related topics, all of which conveyed Holmes as a real man. If it is not the willingness to play the Game that is the problem, Murray's comments hint that the real issue was with how seriously the Game was being played and it was this that caused readers weariness with the genre of mock-

⁷⁴ David Leslie Murray was at Oxford University with Ronald Knox. He wrote at least three articles for the *Times Literary Supplement* reviewing books about Sherlock Holmes. He is not listed in the Sherlock Holmes Society list of members, although he is considered by Benoit Guilielmo to be an early and underappreciated early Sherlockian (private correspondence).

scholarship. Reviewers saw the treatment of Holmes in this superiorly earnest (though still ironic) manner as taking the Game too far and too seriously. Saler argues that ‘Sherlockian studies tended to adhere to [Sayers’] cardinal rule. Many of them were analytical and carefully documented, epitomizing sober scholarship’ (2012, p. 116). Sayers’ rule was that the Game ‘must be played as solemnly as a county cricket match at Lord’s: the slightest touch of extravagance or burlesque ruins the atmosphere’ (1946, p. 7). It was (and is) part of the fun, for though critics like Rzepka (2016) and Donley (2017) have pointed out that early Sherlockian criticism varied in tone and seriousness, Saler is right that all of them played the Game to one extent or another.

As the Game developed from being a joke in letters and articles in newspapers to extended, book-length studies of Sherlock Holmes’ life and in-depth scholarly papers whose methodology mimicked academia, people began to misunderstand its objectives and the Game became lost. Readers became increasingly confused about whether or not it was a joke. Did Sherlock Holmes really exist? Jonathan Cranfield comments that:

‘no seminar on the Sherlock Holmes stories is complete without one ill-prepared student asking, in halting terms, “so, was he *real*, then?” At first glance, the distinction between “fiction” and “reality” seems insultingly simple; yet any readers’ consumption of literature has always entailed a creative and subjective treatment of that distinction’ (2014, p. 67 [original emphasis]).

This becomes particularly disorientating when someone who is uninitiated or unaware of the Game reads Sherlockian scholarship. Reading works like Sayers’, Macdonell’s, or Morley’s, without knowledge of the Game, one may be forgiven for mistaking Holmes for being real, or at least being confused about why these eminent figures treat him as such. In recent years, Sherlockians have chosen to frame their work to explain to general readers or fans the concept of the Game so that readers can participate as ironic believers and not naïvely believe what they read is true. However, contemporary commentators took the view that the Sherlockians themselves had lost sight of it being a game. G K Chesterton’s remarks in his article “Sherlock Holmes The God” in *G. K. Weekly* (1935) that the trouble taken by Sherlockians in their false histories is astonishing. He says:

‘They may not really regard it as real history, but they take as much trouble as the greatest scholar would take about real history, unrewarded by a smile. It may be a

grim joke; but it is the sort of joke that conceals the joke. But I think myself it is getting beyond a joke. The hobby is hardening into a delusion' (Chesterton, 1965).

Chesterton was a member of the Detection Club and was no stranger to 'eccentric' behaviours of societies, but even he did not understand the increase in interest in the Game or how solemnly it was being played.

The fear that the Game was no longer a joke but a delusion is reminiscent of the stereotypes Henry Jenkins identifies in *Textual Poachers*. He says:

'the fan still constitutes a scandalous category in contemporary culture, one alternately the target of ridicule and anxiety, of dread and desire. Whether viewed as a religious fanatic, a psychopathic killer, a neurotic fantasist, or a lust-crazed groupie, the fan remains a "fanatic" or false worshiper, whose interests are fundamentally alien to the realm of "normal" cultural experience and whose mentality is dangerously out of touch with reality' (2013, p. 15).

As Chapter Four demonstrated, throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, fan behaviours have often been pathologised. Hobbies like collecting had an association with mental malady.

From the outside, the behaviour of the Sherlock Holmes Society was seen to be at best odd or eccentric and at worst, deluded. Sherlockians were acutely aware of the marginalisation of their hobby. Desmond MacCarthy, a member of the Sherlock Holmes Society (although he did not attend the dinners), wrote in August 1934 that 'there are, alas, signs that public patience on this subject is nearly exhausted. Any day a cry may start, "Let us rid the country of these Holmes-cum-Watson bores who are sapping the common-sense of our race."' (1934). MacCarthy knew that people were not just bored of it, they considered it ill-judged and damaging. The perceived attitude of the public feeds into the continued cultural belief that fans are/were delusional and have/had the power to influence others who were vulnerable. As Joli Jensen argues, 'Fans are seen as displaying symptoms of a wider social dysfunction—modernity—that threatens all of "us"' (1992, pp. 15-16).⁷⁵ Fans are often seen as a threat to rationality and Sherlockians were believed to be just that. For although,

⁷⁵ Jensen argues that scholars and 'everyday people' see modernity as having brought 'technological progress but social, cultural and moral decay' (1992, p. 14). In particular, the decline of community and the rise of mass media in the early-twentieth century was seen as a concern because it made the individual vulnerable and therefore 'open to irrational appeals' (1992, p. 15).

as Mills reminds us, these are men ‘educated at the best British and American universities’ and therefore contradict the stereotype of the vulnerable fan, they had also ‘publicly declared that they considered these questions equal to the literary analysis of works by luminaries such as Chaucer or Shakespeare’ (2017), which was not universally approved. The reality is that Sherlockians have been subject to misunderstanding and mockery from their inception, on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, Mills writes of the Baker Street Irregulars that:

‘Alexander Woolcott wrote an acerbic takedown of the Irregulars in the *New Yorker*. He called their dinner a "befuddled hope" and mocked the Irregulars' early forays into Sherlockian scholarship by placing sardonic quotes around the word "paper" when describing a thesis read by Davis. Perhaps most cruelly, Woolcott implied that William Gillette, the star of Broadway's theatrical Sherlock Holmes and the Irregulars' guest of honor, thought the Irregulars to be ridiculous and was embarrassed to attend (Woolcott 1943, 173)’ (Mills, 2017).

The early Sherlockians were shamed for their participation in the Game.

Michael Saler argues that although ‘not everyone was amused by the spectacle of seemingly responsible adults devoting their leisure to the fiction that Holmes was not fiction’ (2012, p. 120), within Sherlockian circles, the Game was empowering. He states that to Sherlockians, Holmes demonstrated that ‘modern experience could be holistic and legible, while remaining wonderfully variable’ (2012, p. 118). The Sherlock Holmes Society imitated their hero, Sherlock Holmes, and where he combined imagination and reason in his cases, they applied this to the Canon, which ‘helped to legitimate the idea that Western adults could indulge their imaginations without losing their reason’ (2012, p. 120). The members of the Sherlock Holmes Society were, after all, professionals with good educations. They had not lost their senses, but took joy in the Game. As Rzepka argues, it is the nature of all games that ‘the pleasure they provide is strictly autotelic and in direct proportion to the seriousness with which they are pursued’ (2016, p. 304). This seriousness, and coordinating enjoyment has only increased over time. Campbell, for example, says of the Sherlock Holmes Society of London: ‘The members of our older society would, I am sure, enjoy our meetings but might sometimes be surprised at the trouble taken and the erudition shown in many of the papers we hear’ (Campbell, 1967, p. 38). His opinion was

that even the early Sherlockians, whose works were vilified for being so serious they were delusional, would find the new society remarkably erudite. Despite persecution, the Great Game has only strengthened, both in terms of the number of people playing it, and in terms of the seriousness with which it is played. Rzepka argues that ‘the Game is what counts, more than adjudicating Holmes spin-offs, more than literary tourism, or any of the other standard rituals of fandom [...] without the Game it would be just another fan club’ (Rzepka, 2016, p. 313). Rzepka’s comment highlights the elitism that is often present between different fandoms, as he establishes the Game as the pinnacle of knowledge of Sherlock Holmes fandom and dismisses other fandoms who do not participate in similar ironic playfulness.

However, the Sherlock Holmes Society of the 1930s was not sustainable. They had three meetings in total and the last meeting was held on 3rd June 1936. The President of the Society, ‘Dick’ Sheppard, died on 31st October 1937 and the members of the society received a postcard on 28th March 1938 stating ‘The Sherlock Holmes Society- Like the Red-Headed League- Is Dissolved’ (Campbell, 1967, p. 38). From here, there was no Sherlock Holmes Society until 1951 when the Sherlock Holmes Society of London was established. It is still going over sixty years later. The society is made up of Sherlock Holmes enthusiasts from all over the world who have ‘a willingness to play the game’ (SHSL, 2015). The SHSL was so called in order to differentiate it from the earlier Sherlock Holmes Society of the 1930s ‘from which it can nevertheless claim direct descent’ (SHSL, 2015). Many of the traditions that are kept up by SHSL were formulated by this early version of the society. Yet in many ways the SHSL has also moved on from its predecessors. To begin with, the SHSL have far outlived the Sherlock Holmes Society which only survived four years from 1934-1938. In the SHSL’s early days many anticipated the renewed society going much the same way: ‘when the Society was founded in 1951 there were not lacking those who had predicted a life of only two or three years’ (C.G.P, 1965). Yet the SHSL has flourished, continued, and multiplied, boasting that ‘the Society’s membership embraces people from all walks of life and from every part of the globe’ (SHSL, 2015).

The Great Game’s presence in literature, particularly in the 1920s-30s, was influential on the activities of the Sherlock Holmes Society. It fashioned a framework literary analysis that obeyed the unwritten rules of the Game that was entrenched through the formation of

an official society. Jonathan Gray's exploration of paratexts helps explain how texts that are beside and adjacent to canonical texts, including fanfiction, can have the power to change and influence the way in which people read the original text. As Gray says, 'the power to create paratexts is the power to contribute to, augment, and personalize a textual world' (2010, p. 165). The Sherlock Holmes Society created paratexts in a very particular way through playing the Game and creating speeches and books that treated Sherlock Holmes as real. This style of this writing is hard to analyse because it is both scholarly and fictional. It is an entirely new genre and the current terminology within fan studies does not seem to wholly encompass the nuances of the Sherlockian so-called 'Writings on the Writings'. As Kate Donley rightly expresses:

'In the nearly 70 years since Sayers first referred to this "thing," not much progress has been made in identifying the genre of Sherlockian scholarship. Applying a label is challenging because its prose seems simultaneously fictional and nonfictional, making Sherlockian scholarship difficult to place in the usual taxonomy of literary species' (2017).

Donley prefers the term mock-scholarship, but even this carries the moralistic connotations Matt Hills warns against (2002). This genre is neither fully fiction nor fully nonfiction and so is difficult to pin down. Richard Lancelyn Green argues that 'the origins of the [Sherlock Holmes] society lay with the scholars' (1994, p. 6). Despite its ironic tones, he felt that the members of the society, who were respected businessmen, authors, clerics, doctors, should be respected as any other scholar, academic or non, for their enthusiastic engagement with the Canon.

This thesis has predominantly concentrated on the textual and paratextual lead up to the society that included both unintentional and intentional paratexts, as well as the specific fan-behaviour of collecting, looking also to the cultural attitudes surrounding these activities. There were of course a wide range of other fan behaviours and activities in the build up to an official society that for the sake of space this thesis has been unable to address. Things like films, plays, fanfiction/paratexts in publications other than those of George Newnes Ltd; interviews, advertisements; the wealth of interaction with Sherlock Holmes seems almost endless, even in its publishing infancy. But much more was compounded in the bringing together of Sherlock Holmes fans than a literary genre, it

established a pretence that allowed members to partake in a form of playfulness. To reiterate Rzepka's words: 'the Game is what counts, more than adjudicating Holmes spin-offs, more than literary tourism, or any of the other standard rituals of fandom [...] without the Game it would be just another fan club' (Rzepka, 2016, p. 313).

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Certificate of Ethics Review

Project Title:	Possession and Obsession: Fandom and the Case of Arthur Conan Doyle
User ID:	713931
Name:	Katharine Brombley
Application Date:	22/01/2016 15:56:15

You must download your certificate, print a copy and keep it as a record of this review.

It is your responsibility to adhere to the University Ethics Policy and any Department/School or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study including relevant guidelines regarding health and safety of researchers and University Health and Safety Policy.

It is also your responsibility to follow University guidance on Data Protection Policy:

- General guidance for all data protection issues
- University Data Protection Policy

You are reminded that as a University of Portsmouth Researcher you are bound by the UKRIO Code of Practice for Research; any breach of this code could lead to action being taken following the University's Procedure for the Investigation of Allegations of Misconduct in Research.

Any changes in the answers to the questions reflecting the design, management or conduct of the research over the course of the project must be notified to the Faculty Ethics Committee. **Any changes that affect the answers given in the questionnaire, not reported to the Faculty Ethics Committee, will invalidate this certificate.**

This ethical review should not be used to infer any comment on the academic merits or methodology of the project. If you have not already done so, you are advised to develop a clear protocol/proposal and ensure that it is independently reviewed by peers or others of appropriate standing. A favourable ethical opinion should not be perceived as permission to proceed with the research; there might be other matters of governance which require further consideration including the agreement of any organisation hosting the research.

Governance Checklist

A1-Brief Description Of Project: A theoretical and historical examination into late nineteenth and early twentieth fan culture of Sherlock Holmes using available periodicals and literature, as well as archive material and objects that will be accessed through Portsmouth City Council

A2-Faculty: FHSS

A3-VoluntarilyReferToFEC: No
A5-AlreadyExternallyReviewed: No
B1-HumanParticipants: No

Certificate Code: 4136-5E91-7F2B-BAC2-61C0-C809-17BD-E6F3 Page 1

HumanParticipantsDefinition

B2-HumanParticipantsConfirmation: Yes

C6-SafetyRisksBeyondAssessment: No

SafetyRisksBeyondAssessmentWarning

D2-PhysicalEcologicalDamage: No

D4-HistoricalOrCulturalDamage: No

E1-ContentiousOrIllegal: No

E2-SociallySensitiveIssues: No

F1-InvolvesAnimals: No

InvolvesAnimalsWarning

F2-HarmfulToThirdParties: No

HarmfulToThirdPartiesWarning

G1-ConfirmReadEthicsPolicy: Confirmed

G2-ConfirmReadUKRIOCodeOfPractice: Confirmed

G3-ConfirmReadConcordatToSupportResearchIntegrity: Confirmed

G4-ConfirmedCorrectInformation: Confirmed **Certificate Code:** 4136-5E91-7F2B-BAC2-61C0-C809-17BD-E6F3

FORM UPR16
Research Ethics Review Checklist



Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the Postgraduate Research Student Handbook for more information)

Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information		Student ID:	713931
PGRS Name:	Katharine Grace Brombley		
Department:	Centre for Studies in Literature	First Supervisor:	Dr Christopher Pittard
Start Date: (or progression date for Prof Doc students)	October 2013		
Study Mode and Route:	Part-time <input type="checkbox"/> Full-time <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MPhil <input type="checkbox"/> PhD <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MD <input type="checkbox"/> Professional Doctorate <input type="checkbox"/>

Title of Thesis:	Possessions and Obsessions: Fandom and the Case of Arthur Conan Doyle
Thesis Word Count: (excluding ancillary data)	78,766

If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study

Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:

(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at: <http://www.ukrio.org/what-we-do/code-of-practice-for-research/>)

a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

Candidate Statement:

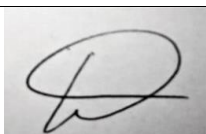
I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)

Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC):

4136-5E91-7F2B-BAC2
61C0-C809-17BD-E6F3

If you have *not* submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered 'No' to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so:

Signed (PGRS):



Date: 24/07/2017