

Illustrated Everyman: Sherlock Holmes and Professional Class Identity in the Strand Magazine

Dana Sly Grinnell College

Using first editions of the Strand Magazine from the Newberry Library's C.F. Kittle Collection of Doyleana, Sherlock Holmes and Professional Class Identity in the Strand Magazine'reexamines the visual and written characterization of Sherlock Holmes within the physical context of the Strand Magazine itself. Through a comparative analysis of the Strand Magazine's treatment of true-tolife celebrities from within the professional class and the fictional celebrity of Sherlock Holmes, a pattern emerges in written and visual similarities. These similarities enabled the Strand Magazine to identify cultivated skill and expertise as the defining traits of professional-class identity and membership. These similarities also establish the character of Sherlock Holmes as a representative, identifiable symbol of the social group who shares traits and qualities with every professional field or subgroup. This understanding of Holmes' character as a symbol of class ideology and identity is grounded both in the physical context of the Strand Magazine's pages and in the social and cultural context of contemporary, late-Victorian London. By interpreting Holmes through this contextual lens, we reach a new view of Holmes at the very heart of the professional-class group identity.

"So accustomed was I to his invariable success that the very possibility of his failing had ceased to enter into my head," explains Dr. John Watson in the opening pages of "A Scandal in Bohemia," the first installment in *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*. The character of Sherlock Holmes has, since his turn-of-the-twentieth-century debut, enjoyed a reputation of remarkable, reliable infallibility. To a modern reader, Holmes' ability to observe, infer, act, and resolve most conflicts can strongly resemble the concept of the "lone genius" – scientists and Nobel Prize winners physically and socially detached from society. Holmes, from his removed Baker Street study, aided only by his friend and colleague, Dr. John Watson, solves the crimes and puzzles of urban, late-Victorian London through his superior sense of reason and versatile, almost endless list of physical and dramatic skills. While a modern understanding of Holmes places him at the outskirts of society, a different understanding of Holmes' character emerges when considered through a culturally contextual and historical lens. This lens reveals another facet of Holmes' character — as a

professional in the very heart of London and its changing social and economic landscape.

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes first appeared in the Strand Magazine in the magazine's first year of publication. When the short story series appeared in 1891 London, the city and the nation were in the midst of a social reorganization, as a new class of educated professionals gained in number and influence, transforming the upper-middle class into a distinct social force. This group, in the midst of establishing its own space and identity, included members of the publishing industry and the Strand Magazine's staff. In an attempt to target this professional class with a publication intended solely for them, those involved with the Strand Magazine embarked on a cycle of self-representation and class construction. The magazine's professional-class producers identified the cultivation of expertise as the critical and defining trait and qualification of membership in London's rising professional class. After doing so, the magazine emphasized specialized skills in the Strand's representations of celebrities. These celebrities were profiled in journalist Harry How's popular "Illustrated Interviews" series.

These traits were also shared by a different kind of celebrity – a fictional celebrity, who would go on to outstrip any living man or woman in fame or popular interest. The traits and qualities associated with professionalism – regardless of profession type – were all combined into the character of Sherlock Holmes. The changes that Doyle made in Holmes' characterization upon partnering with the *Strand Magazine* indicate cooperation between author and publisher and suggest that the magazine had an agenda of its own for the character.

Through visual and textual similarities in the representation of nonfictional professional class celebrities and the fictional celebrity of Sherlock Holmes in the magazine, the *Strand* first identifies cultivated skill and expertise as the defining traits of professional class identity, and second, by choosing to characterize Sherlock Holmes as possessing all such characteristics, positions Holmes as a representative, identifiable symbol of the social group. By possessing every type of expertise, he became a celebrity in which every professional-class reader of the *Strand* would have been able to find something with which to connect and identity personally. This understanding of Holmes' character – as a symbol of class ideology and identity – is different than one that might be held today and is entirely dependent on a historical understanding of contemporary cultural context.

This culturally contextual and historical lens can be applied to any of the Holmes stories in order to utilize them as primary sources when studying class identity. "A Scandal in Bohemia" is a prime case study. This story is compelling for two reasons. First, it explicitly deals with class and society. In the story, the King of Bohemia asks Holmes to retrieve a compromising photograph for him. The aristocrat's request points to the superiority of professional skill over inherited aristocratic privilege. Secondly, "A Scandal In Bohemia" was the first of Holmes' "Adventures" to appear in the *Strand Magazine*. The characterization of Holmes as ideological class symbol from the very begin-

ning of the series speaks to the deliberate, focused direction the magazine intended Sherlock Holmes to take as a character.

Late Victorian London and the professional class

A complete contemporary understanding of Holmes' role as class symbol can neither be reached without first grasping its context within the pages of the Strand Magazine nor without the knowledge of the magazine's place within London's changing social fabric. At the turn of the twentieth century, a rapid wave of upward mobility swept England. Largely through national efforts in public education, a wave of rising, white-collar professionals emerged. This created a new class in the social fabric of London, one that did not reach the aristocracy, but was certainly more elevated than the working and even the middle classes. Political movements, too, provided a means of upward social mobility. For instance, celebrity sanitarian Robert Rawlinson received his start in the field from the passing of the 1848 Public Health Act and the creation of new professional opportunities.³ All those with the time, money, and connections to education and other advancing opportunities to pursue specialized expertise could reach this upper-middle class of professionals. A boom in physicians, trained artists, authors, journalists, editors, magistrates, and attorneys made London a drastically different city than it had been at the start of the century and created entirely new markets and needs to be filled.

This rise in the professional class was not the only new aspect of late-Victorian London. Rapid technological increases created a world that was faster and more efficient than ever before. The police force took up bicycles, 4 organized labor gained in momentum,⁵ and mass printing created a sensational market for news. 6 In 1880 there were ten daily newspapers available, and by 1900 a journalist was known to submit work to twenty-four daily papers. The impressive quantity of print resources even appears within the text of The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. In an attempt to track down the owner of a hat, Holmes instructs that advertisements be taken out in the evening newspapers. When asked which newspapers, he rattles off a lengthy list, and alludes to more: "In which, sir." "Oh, in the Globe, Star, Pall Mall, St. James's, Evening News, Standard, Echo, and any others that occur to you."8 That such variety of time-specific newspapers is woven into contemporary social experience is notable. The technology boom not only contributed to London's rapid social pace but it also created an entirely new job market. In his *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson identifies the increased availability, production, and consumption of periodical news media, resulting in a national print-language, as an integral element in establishing national group identities. ⁹ The mass production and publication of periodical media intended for a smaller, more specific audience logically yields similar results.

Andrew Thacker observes that the number of independent presses and periodical publications such as *The Yellow Book* and *The New Age* appearing simultaneously in late-Victorian London both speaks to the oppressive force of mainstream publishing and proves its influence. Had mainstream popular pub-

lishing left space for dissenting views or alternate perspectives within its pages, there would have been no need for independent, modernist presses. ¹⁰ The fact that there were so many suggests that the popular press' limitations were extremely focused and narrow. This conclusion logically situates itself in the cycle of professional self-representation and social ordering. Anything material that did not directly further the ultimate goal of defining and establishing professional class identity would naturally prove unnecessary. Therefore, modernists, such as Morris, Wilde, Beardsley, and others took to the Kelmscott Press and *The Yellow Book*, while the staff at the *Strand Magazine* continued to rule the popular newsstands.

The job market created by the late-nineteenth-century print revolution created positions that required specialized skill: authors, editors, printers, engravers, photographers, and journalists were just some of the positions necessary to produce such a prolific amount of news media. Consequently, those fulfilling these roles had first to receive training and become specialists in their own fields. The necessity of expertise resulted in the publishing industry becoming largely controlled by members of the professional class – having obtained the expertise necessary for the industry's success.

The Strand Magazine

With this cultural context in mind, the Strand Magazine becomes not only a wildly successful collection of popular materials but can also be read as a self-representational microcosm produced by London's professional class and for London's professional class. Headed by self-made editing tycoon George Newnes, the magazine set out to fill the niche created by the newly ubiquitous professional class - providing a monthly-illustrated magazine addressing current events, technology, adventure, art, and contemporary, mainstream "high" culture. Newnes intended his publication to be an "elevating" source for his readership. In a world where "penny dreadfuls" were found in abundance, Newnes wanted to create a magazine that was a cut above the others, so that upper-middle class professionals could look forward to and consume a regular publication that was neither crass nor cheap. 11 Targeting the intended audience was done by pricing the magazine at sixpence, considerably steeper than Newnes' weekly *Tit-Bits*, which targeted a working-class audience. ¹² A great deal of the new magazine's sale took place in railway newsstands, targeting a new class of commuters now capable of affording a home outside of the city. 13 The Strand was also set apart from other magazines by the sheer number of illustrations that filled its pages. Newnes was quoted as saying that he wanted an "illustration on every page" in order to showcase the recent innovations in printing that made such extravagances possible. But although illustration was much more accessible, the quality and quantity of prints were still heavily and directly dependent upon price – and the level of skill possessed by the artists, printers, and engravers involved in their productions. Purchase, possession, and consumption of the Strand Magazine consequently became a performative act of establishing and asserting membership in this new class of professionals.

Newnes was well aware of the rapidity with which London's social and economic scene was being transformed. Himself a self-made man, he created his role as editing tycoon through his own steady cultivation and manipulation of progressive printing. Newnes founded and edited *Tit-Bits*, a cheap, illustrated weekly aimed at working-class men. The magazine was frequently coarse, poor in print quality, and treated current events with irreverent humor. It proved such a success and garnered such a devoted following that Newnes gained enough capital to expand his business to seek to conquer new audiences.

Interestingly, it was money earned from targeting the working class in Tit-Bits that cemented Newnes' membership in the professional class. With the capital and relative financial security recently secured through professional expertise. Newnes sought to provide for his peers the same cyclical anticipation and consumptive satisfaction that *Tit-Bits* provided the working class. without having to sacrifice the "dignity" of the new, genteel class of readers. Newnes' awareness of the precarious novelty of his peer group's place in society as well as the simultaneous change in technology, economy, and social order is reflected in his original choice for the magazine's title: the New Magazine. The title choice was later abandoned in favor of the Strand Magazine, named after the London street home to Newnes' and a host of other printing offices. 14 This second title further defined the magazine's place: not only was it for this new group, it was for this new group in London. The geographic specificity speaks to the magazine's ultimate goal of making sense of and asserting membership in London's class phenomenon. So although the magazine was marketed and consumed throughout England (and later the United States), it was most closely associated with London life as experienced by professionals - and informed by the professionals who produced it.

Newnes and contributing authors like Doyle both were new professionals, but the *Strand Magazine* relied on a range of necessary skills. H. Greenhough Smith was taken on as the *Strand's* chief literary editor. ¹⁵

In order to fulfill Newnes' thirst for illustration, artists such as Sidney Paget were hired to provide illustration. Many of these artists had received Royal Academy training (like Paget) and relied on the use and sale of their skill to make a living. Artists such as Paget and his brother, Walter, found work both as more traditional artists exhibiting at the Academy¹⁶ and as illustrators for news journalism and magazines. In fact, pen-and-ink illustration became a specialization in itself in England's turn-of-the-twentieth-century art community.¹⁷ Etchers, such as "J. Swain" and "W & S," and technical printers possessed similarly specialized skills that were essential to the successful production of the magazine.¹⁸ The collaboration of all these men into a project intended to be the source for new professionals would naturally result in an incorporation of their own experiences. The novelty of the new social group would also necessitate that the publication help to establish and define exactly what it meant to be a professional.

Establishing a professional space through skillful manipulation of content and aesthetics, the *Strand Magazine* created a community within itself

that resembled that of "the club" – open only to privileged, approved, likeminded members able to pay regular dues. But instead of paying annual dues, the *Strand Magazine* club was accessed through a mere sixpence per issue; and rather than a nomination or application process, entry came through self-identification with and the financial ability to purchase the magazine. ¹⁹

Kate Jackson first identified this creation of a club-like atmosphere. She observes that the magazine not only printed material it believed to be of interest to its readers, but that it also profiled celebrities who themselves were members of the professional class. Popular stage actors, artists, authors, military officers, and magistrates filled the pages of the Strand Magazine - men and women who had all earned their fame through the cultivation of specialized expertise. Readers belonging to these professions themselves were then able to find comforting recognition and identification within the covers of the Strand Magazine – a space devoted to their own unique interests, anxieties, and values. The Strand as a meeting space for like-minded professionals was further established by inserting the magazine itself as a celebrity character equal in importance to any politician or scientist. The magazine ran features giving tours of the Strand Magazine's headquarters. Newnes was profiled and characterized as a benevolent father figure, and public events and auctions were held for the most notable professionals at the Strand St. address. 20 This marketing technique established and asserted the Strand Magazine's identity as the collective voice of the new social group. Through focused content, pulling celebrities from the ranks of the readership, and hosting events for professionals, the magazine created for itself and the professional class an air of exclusivity that became so essential to the definition and situation of class rank.

The strategies involved in creating the *Strand Magazine* as representative and supportive meeting group for rising professionals certainly created a sense of exclusivity for the new social group. But beyond financial ability to purchase the magazine, how was membership into this new, exclusive group defined? The consensus the *Strand Magazine* producers seem to have reached was that in order to become a member of the professional class, it was necessary to earn a place through the cultivation of specialized skill and expertise.

Defining Professionalism

The cyclical definition and redefinition of what it means to be a member of the professional class resembles the "mirror-dance" phenomenon identified by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes*. Her study of how European depictions of cannibals from the New World were later published and recycled back to the New World resulted in indigenous peoples adopting characteristics ascribed to them by their European viewers. This cycle of representation and self re-imaging reinforced European stereotypes about the New World, which further influenced indigenous groups' understanding of what it meant to be part of their groups. Like two mirrors facing one another, the cycle continues endlessly. A similar ideological pattern forms in the *Strand Magazine*. The magazine's professional-class producers defined and represented what it meant

to be a member of the professional class, which was then read by a professional-class audience. This understanding of their group's place, informed by the *Strand Magazine*, could then become further cemented as the class' identity by ascribing to the identified characteristics, and recycled back through the *Strand Magazine*'s pages as all the more concrete definitions of class identity.

The magazine's cyclical pattern of self-imaging and re-imaging can also be understood through the communications cycle outlined by Robert Darnton in his "What Is the History of Books?" Darnton explains that an understanding of any publication is reliant on the contextual impact of all those involved in its production. Authors, illustrators, editors, printers, booksellers, and readers all have equal agency and impact on the historical meaning and impact of a written work. Economic and social issues pertaining to one group have an intrinsically lasting and significant effect on the overall meaning of the publication. He Strand Magazine is a particularly interesting publication in this regard, because the artists, illustrators, editors, publishers, and readers all belonged to the same social and economic circle. Therefore, the communications cycle serves as a means of further reestablishment of self-identity, making the Strand Magazine a microcosm of professional-class London – the source for what it means to be a part of the social group.

Sherlock Holmes the Phenomenon

In understanding the *Strand Magazine* and its body of articles as performative products of self-representation created by members of the very class it sought to target, each article, series, or recurring feature takes on a new layer of social significance. It is with this lens that the *Strand Magazine*'s bestremembered and most-enduring feature, the Sherlock Holmes short story series, can be further understood in terms of self-identification and the establishment of social order.

Sherlock Holmes' 1891 debut in the Strand Magazine was not his first appearance in print. Previously, he had appeared in the serialized novel, A Study In Scarlet in Beeton's Christmas Annual. 25 The story, however, failed to reach the skyrocketing success that the later short stories achieved in the Strand. A number of factors could be responsible. First, the novel was lengthy and introspective – reading it was neither quick nor direct, as the short story series proved to be. 26 In fact, it was Doyle who approached the Strand Magazine after the commercial failure of the previous novels. With this in mind, Dovle proposed a recurring series of individual short stories starring a continuous character as a marketing idea first and foremost. Without the burden of always keeping up with current and back issues in order to know what was going on with the story, readers could take up this series of related stories at any point in time.²⁷ Considering Doyle's willingness to modify the format of his Holmes stories in favor of financial success, it should come as little surprise that his partnership with the Strand yielded new directions for the representation of Sherlock Holmes himself. The Scarlet Sherlock was a moreviolent and controversially "Bohemian" character than the Holmes who appeared in the *Strand Magazine*. Although both characters shared sensational traits such as cocaine addictions and feminine physical characteristics, the *Strand*'s Holmes counterbalanced these traits with firm moral conviction, with an emphasis on skill, and a universally recognized role as criminal detection expert.²⁸ The dramatic taming of Holmes as soon as he appeared in the *Strand Magazine* indicates an understanding cooperation between magazine and author.

Finally, and perhaps most immediately apparent, was the *Strand*'s pairing of the Sherlock Holmes series with the illustrations of Sidney Paget. Whereas The Study In Scarlet was forced to accept any illustrator who was available at the time of each installment, resulting in a variety of inconsistent representations of Holmes, the Strand Magazine paired the series with a continuous aesthetic provided by a single artist. ²⁹ What is more, Paget was trained at the Royal Academy and did a number of celebrity illustrations in addition to the Holmes series. 30 By pairing the series with an already-popular illustration style associated with nonfictional celebrities, the Strand helped to cultivate a single, continuous look for Holmes. The visual continuity throughout the series would help to establish the standard of what Holmes was to look like, and began the process of establishing Sherlock Holmes as the representative celebrity of the professional class.³¹ The visual similarities in illustration style between Holmes and real, professional-class celebrities is just one of the ways in which the Strand Magazine placed Holmes in the center of London's professionalclass social circle.

It is worth noting that Arthur Conan Doyle was just as steeped in the new professional-class experience as were his readers, editors, and fellow authors. Doyle received his education largely thanks to a wealthy uncle, his own father struggling with extreme alcoholism. After attending medical school and becoming a physician, Doyle took up writing as a supplementary source of income that could someday fund his dream of becoming an eye specialist.³² After the wild success of the Holmes short stories, he abandoned his practice and became a full-time writer. But the immense popularity of Holmes repeatedly crushed Doyle's attempts at more "serious" writing. After Doyle had fulfilled his contract for The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes with the Strand Magazine, he attempted to dissuade the magazine from persuading him to write a second series by asking for twice the amount he had been paid for the previous set. Seeing what a popular draw the stories were for the *Strand*, Newnes happily paid the sum, resulting in the second series, the *Memoirs of* Sherlock Holmes. Frustrated, Dovle killed his leading man by plunging him over a cliff while wrestling with master criminal Moriarty in "The Adventure of the Final Problem."33

This fictional death was met with public outcry across England and even into New York City. "Save Sherlock" clubs formed, protesting letters were sent, and early predecessors of fan fiction were written by readers unwilling to accept the fact that Holmes was dead. After enough public outrage and editorial persuasion, Doyle was forced to resurrect Holmes and continued to write installments for the remainder of his life. 35

Such a strong reaction speaks to the cultural importance of Holmes' character. Although the marketability of the short story series and the visual continuity provided by Paget's illustrations certainly played into the character's popularity, it does not seem enough to warrant such impassioned and widespread protest at the character's death. It is unlikely that the character's death would have caused so much upset had Holmes' contemporary, late-Victorian readers interpreted him as a lone figure on the fringes of society. The violent opposition to Holmes' removal from the *Strand Magazine* indicates that the character was far more relevant and central to professional-class daily life

Sherlock Holmes the Celebrity

The Holmes short story series was not the only regularly occurring feature in the *Strand Magazine*. Alongside the stories, the magazine ran current events stories, adventure tales, articles on technology, and celebrity profiles – all material the producers (themselves professional-class men) felt would be of interest to their intended audience of professional-class men. The magazine ran two celebrity features in each issue: "Portraits of Celebrities" and "Illustrated Interviews." "Portraits" was a fairly straightforward feature that ran brief histories of celebrities' success stories along with a series of mechanically printed copies of painted or photographed portraits depicting them at various stages in their lives. "Illustrated Interviews" gave a more complete look at a single celebrity each month. In "Interviews," Harry How, a journalist for the *Strand Magazine*, would visit the celebrities in their homes. A number of illustrations accompanied the interviewees' anecdotes and opinions – many of which depicted the celebrities and their homes – and provided illustrations for the more active portions of the narratives.

By taking a close look at the "Illustrated Interviews" published during the 1891-1894 run of The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes, a set of patterns in celebrity representation emerges. The types of professional-class celebrities represented in the interview series can be categorized into one of three groups. defined by type of specialized skill: artists, intellectuals, and adventurers. In a class where the cultivation of expertise is the defining characteristic, the type of skill becomes a natural and logical means of identifying subgroups. Skills such as empathy, justice, and an ability to perform many tasks simultaneously. were constructed as hallmarks of professional success in the fields of art, intellect, and action. When these three categories of celebrity and their accompanying traits and skills are compared directly with the Sherlock Holmes series, it becomes clear that Holmes happens to possess all three skills, which, in representations of nonfictional celebrities, were separated and restricted to a professional field. Holmes, then, has been constructed as an everyman of the professional class. He is not only skilled, he has every skill. Holmes transcends all fields. This enabled any professional-class reader of the Strand Magazine to find something with which to identify in the literary celebrity. These similarities can be traced in more than one medium. The similarities appear both in the text of the works and as in the accompanying sets of visual illustration. The patterns are strong and clearly defined even before *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* appeared as a sequel. From the magazine's 1891 start, the *Strand* identified and ensured that Sherlock Holmes was to become *the* celebrity-hero of *fin-de-siècle* English professionalism.

The Universal Professional Class Experience

Throughout the original 1891-1894 run of the Adventures of Sherlock Holmes, a number of parallels emerge between the representation of Holmes and the representations of current celebrities from within the ranks of the professional class. These celebrities, profiled by *Strand Magazine* journalist Harry How in the "Illustrated Interviews" series, outlined and defined a clear set of universal themes necessary to earn and prove membership into the exclusive club space the Strand portrayed the professional class to be. Among these qualities and traits were a firm insistence that their space was neither working nor aristocratic, but between the two. An importance was further placed on impressing the working classes with proof of achievement and expertise – as well as harboring a scorn for the "weak" aristocracy. Great stress is placed on the essential role hard work plays in obtaining expertise, and an obsession with monetary and material wealth is used as a means of outwardly expressing professional-class membership. These elements of the Strand Magazine's professional class identity manifest themselves in both the nonfictional profiles by How as well as in Doyle's fictional creation of Holmes. That these elements are found in both points to Holmes' eventual role as professional-class celebritv-hero.

Occupation of a Space that is neither Aristocratic nor Working Class

In order to establish a class identity successfully, it is essential to firmly establish a social sphere for the group in question to inhabit. In turn-of-the-century London, it was clear that the professional class had not inherited economic and social privilege through aristocratic tradition. Preceding the professional class' rise in number and influence, efforts were made by non-aristocratic members of society to understand their place in society using aristocratic conventions. For instance, Arthur Conan Doyle's mother devoted a great deal of her time to heraldic research, tracing the family's lineage back as far as possible in order to make distant claims to noble lines. She was just one of many seeking to understand her social position with respect to aristocratic conventions. ³⁷ But as the professional class grew into a group of its own, the need to understand class and place became less reliant on situational comparison with the aristocracy and more focused on individual class identities.

In fact, an underlying attitude of disdain runs throughout the *Strand Magazine*'s relationship with the aristocracy. Although the magazine highlights professionals who have become favorites of the nation's nobility and details photographs and gifts given by this class, the magazine always stresses

that the professional celebrities finding such fame and prestige do so through their own merit. Sir Morell Mackenzie, M.D. was a favorite of Frederick the Emperor through his medical brilliance, and princesses borrowed Madame Albani's stage costumes in order to imitate her skillful personification of ideals.³⁸ By emphasizing the upper class' use of and dependence on professionals, their helplessness and lack of skill implicitly comes to light. Sherlock Holmes more explicitly expresses professional superiority in "A Scandal In Bohemia." After the actress Irene Adler outwits both the King of Bohemia and Holmes, the King expresses his admiration for her and laments the fact that she was beneath him socially, as she would have made a fine queen. Holmes frostily responds, "From what I have seen of the lady, she seems, indeed, to be on a very different level to your Majesty." His cutting comment underlines the King's lack of wit as well as his moral inferiority in direct contrast to the clever aptitude and honorable nobility that is found in Adler and Holmes – both professionals.

In addition to being less reliant on the legacy of the upper classes, the professional class was also distinctly different from the working class. Obtaining specialized skills in medicine, art, entertainment, and law required not only dedication and talent, but also educational opportunity. Although some were able successfully to join the professional class with little formal schooling, ⁴⁰ the majority of professional-class members were the products of Eton, Harrow, or the public school system.

A professional insistence on the distinction between professionalism and workmanship is clearly apparent in How's interview with Henry Stacey Marks, an artist belonging to the Royal Academy. Marks obtained his membership to the Royal Academy through years of submission, testing, and study at the prestigious, exclusive school. Marks displayed all of his artistic diplomas at the entrance to his studio. He explains his motives to How, saying, "You see, when the tradespeople catch sight of those things, when the door is open, it inspires their confidence. Not a bad idea, is it?" By exhibiting his material symbols of educational accomplishment and public recognition of his skill, Marks asserts his own superiority over the tradesmen entering his studio. Sir Henry Halford takes part in a similar assertion of skill by prominently displaying his athletic trophies in his home. This further solidifies their social position, and the hanging diplomas and shining trophies symbolically ensure that the new social order remains in place.

In addition to actively asserting his position above the working class through cultivated, educated skill, Marks also expresses distaste for being mistaken for a tradesman himself. His interview concludes with his telling How an "amusing" anecdote. He had been sketching one day at the zoo and gathered his things to leave. After explaining to the guard that he intended on going to town for the remainder of the day, the guard replied, "'Oh, yes, sir, of course. I have heard as most tradespeople like to take their half-holiday on Saturday." "⁴³ Marks' retelling this story as an "amusing" anecdote employs humor as a means of reducing the truth in his similarities to a tradesman. By presenting the incident as farcical, Marks underlines the absurdity with which he could be

mistaken for a tradesman – his Royal Academy diploma is, after all, signed by the Oueen herself. ⁴⁴

Holmes, too, expresses discomfort at being compared to a non-specialized worker. After being confronted by a man demanding that Holmes and Scotland Yard keep out of his family's mysterious affairs in "The Adventure of the Speckled Band," Holmes forcefully shoves a poker into his fire-place, exclaiming, "Fancy his having the insolence to confound me with the official detective force!" To Holmes, an ominous threat is not half so upsetting as having his independent identity as a crime specialist mistaken for a faceless member of an organized group.

The representative celebrity-professionals found in How's "Illustrated Interviews" in many cases express an understanding of their societal place between working-class men and the aristocracy. Popular dramatist, W.S. Gilbert, explains to How in his 1891 interview that he aims to write material that is the literary equivalent to "rump steak and onions" – a dish that is at once sophisticated enough to appeal to a refined gentleman and simple enough to remain palatable to a working man. ⁴⁶ This statement reflects an understanding of the professional-class man's reliance on both social sets surrounding his own. In order to successfully keep his professional status, his services must be of universal need and appeal.

Sir Augustus, too, explained how his line of work as a show producer blended aspects from both low and high culture to create a distinctly professional identity for himself. According to Augustus, the secret to a successful show lay in translating "low" art forms into universally appealing entertainment through generous investment. "I consider my great success in pantomime has been through trying to elevate the taste of the public, for I cannot see why an endeavor should not be made to make pantomime a work of art, such as I have always tried to make it," he explains. "Augustus Harris' willingness to develop the working-class tradition of pantomime into something bigger reflects his entrepreneurial confidence and practical recognition of an art form that sells. His combined willingness to take risks in elevating art forms previously considered crass as well as his skillful management of capital casts him solidly in the role of businessman. Although practically based, his business is a gamble in an arena that necessarily exists in the gap created between the upper and lower classes.

Obtaining Entry into the Professional Class through Hard Work

Strong emphasis on hard work runs throughout the *Strand Magazine*'s *Interview* features and Holmes series. No matter what type of professional he or she may be, each celebrity exhibits a strong sense of determination and meticulousness when it comes to cultivating their expertise.

The *Strand's* celebrities all possess a remarkable level of devotion and determination to excel in their fields. When Sir Robert Harris' family was financially incapable of providing him with a regular education, he took it upon himself to become skilled in every trade that would prove relevant to the engi-

neering field – a dream he was determined to realize. After working as a brick-layer, carpenter, stone-mason, and several other trades as a very young man, Harris achieved his goal at the age of twenty-one. ⁴⁸ Such remarkable determination and dedication to a goal vividly underscores the importance of these traits.

Magistrate Montagu Williams exhibited similar dedication. Having exhausted his voice from frequent courtroom addresses, he was required to undergo a rarely successful neck operation in order to regain use of his voice. Not only did he recover and go on to have a brilliant career but also his first words were, "Gentlemen of the jury." Professional determination was such an explicit theme throughout the *Strand Magazine* that it was even incorporated into the physical description of author W.S. Gilbert. 50

Sherlock Holmes' determination and dedication to each case seldom results in failure. However, he regards the sole person to best him with the greatest respect. Irene Adler, a stage actress in "A Scandal in Bohemia," manages to outwit his attempts to retrieve a compromising photograph from her for his client. Watson remarks that Holmes refers to her not by name, but as "The Woman" out of respect and admiration. That the possibility of his own failure is real drives Holmes' dedication and determination. His respect for the cause of his own failure surely only increases his own commitment to success.

The professional class' bootstraps mentality also prizes meticulous focus and attention to monotonous detail. Madame Albani explains that as a young girl of four or five, she vocally rehearsed upwards of fifty pages of music each day for six hours. 51 Such extreme, repetitive discipline required intense focus. By highlighting her acquisition of such self-discipline and control so early in life, the *Strand Magazine* underlines the essential nature of this quality. Playwrights, too, receive recognition for their attention to detail in the *Strand*. Gilbert spent hours blocking out each act of every play he wrote before attending rehearsals with the cast in order to clearly communicate his vision. 52

But perhaps the most famous practitioner of meticulous attention to detail is celebrity-hero Sherlock Holmes himself. In nearly every story, Holmes amazes Watson at least once with his accurate inductions stemming from small, close observation of his surroundings. When Watson first expresses his amazement in "A Scandal in Bohemia," Holmes chastises him, insisting that although Watson *sees* his surroundings, he does not take the time or effort to truly *observe* or comprehend them. ⁵³ By contrasting Holmes' aptitude for observation and detail with Watson's passive acceptance of his surroundings, the importance of detail and attention solidifies. By giving Holmes these universal traits and qualities of the professional class, his situation in the center of the professional class group solidifies.

Proof of Membership through Social Connection and Materialism

Although dedication and discipline are essential components of entering the professional class, they do not serve as visible proof of this. Just as Henry Stacey Marks needed to assert his position above the working class by

hanging his diplomas, made the outward assertion of their occupation of a social sphere became essential to the professional class' cycle of self-representation and identification. Without a means of marking themselves as professional, how would others accept their social ordering? For the readers and producers of the *Strand Magazine*, those symbols of professionalism came in the accumulation of wealth and prestige. These acquisitions manifested themselves in photographs and valuables – both visible means of asserting the social conformity and economic success of bourgeoisie identity.

The *Strand Magazine* constructs the professional class as an exclusive, club-like space of hardworking experts. The interconnectedness of the profiled celebrities in How's interviews further speaks to the *Strand*'s construction of their own group as an exceptional group of men and women. Repeated trips to neighborhoods seeming to consist of solely famous professionals warrant comment from How. He wrote:

This is the third time our note-book and pencil have been busily employed in this very pleasant corner of Kensington. At No. 16, Madame Albani has chatted over five o'clock tea and deliciously thin bread and butter; at No. 27, Mr. F.C. Burnand once frankly declared that to become a successful humorist one must needs possess a serious turn of mind, and refuse to yield to it! I remember this as I cross to the opposite side of The Boltons to No. 11. ⁵⁴

The physical proximity of these profiled celebrities turns their geographic location into a symbol of exclusivity. By stressing the connectedness of those within the group, the *Strand Magazine* underlines the desirability of entering into the group. The neighborhood becomes a symbol of prestige and social connection.

Other such symbols of social connection come in the form of autographed photographs and extravagant gifts given by equally eminent peers and, in some cases, aristocrats. How begins nearly every interview with an inventory of their homes' interior decorations – his interview subjects pointing out and explaining their most impressive possessions as the home tours proceed. Portraits and autographed photographs are by far the most common. How's interview subjects almost always casually refer to their vast collection of celebrity photographs, all given as personal gifts by the subject, and share an anecdote or two about their equally or in some cases, more-famous friends.⁵⁵ Visual representations of friends are not the only status symbols littering the houses of "Illustrated Interviews" subjects; extravagant gifts share the space. 56 Madame Albani's house is so full of gifts that How declares that her house serves as a "store" for her gifts rather than commenting on the home-like merits of the space. In another visit, How is proudly shown an elaborate snuffbox, a gift from the German Emperor. 57 In this way, social interaction and placement becomes a status symbol, and a key piece in asserting the recently constructed professional identity.

The celebrity himself sometimes creates symbolic proof of achievement and connection. For instance, Dr. Barnardo, founder of a prominent foundling home, proudly showed How his photographic album depicting every

child to enter his establishment. His attentive record keeping not only created a visual record of good works but also became a useful tool in reestablishing familial connection. It was with the help of his photographic album that he was able to help a wealthy woman recover her kidnapped daughter. ⁵⁸ His ability to use and display his own record of social interaction and accomplishment is yet another means of asserting professional achievement and constructing identity.

Sherlock Holmes also created his own social reference source. In his very first adventure in the *Strand Magazine*, "A Scandal in Bohemia," Watson explains that Homes created an index of information about nearly every influential person, saying, "For many years he had adopted a system of docketing all paragraphs concerning men and things, so that it was difficult to name a subject or a person on which he could not at once furnish information." Holmes' index does two things: first, updating and referring to his index provides a means of remaining sharp and updated on current events – essential skills for an expert in detection. Second, his index enables him to "know" everyone – the ultimate symbol of professional social connection. Holmes' index highlights both his meticulous attention to detail as well as his materialistic collecting of objects (in this case newspapers) as symbols of social prestige and influence.

Simply obtaining an education and cultivating an education do not guarantee access into the social group; success is measured financially. An awareness of this requirement is apparent in the professional-class experience. In an interview with How, W.S. Gilbert acknowledged that every show he submitted brought the risk of financial success or disaster. After mailing one such show on the day of How's visit, he explains, "There goes something that will either bring me in twenty thousand pounds or twenty thousand pence." This awareness grounds the professional-class experience; it is not simply a parade of famous friends, lavish gifts, and hours of practice. After earning a place in the group, one must constantly fight to maintain it. Holmes is also aware of his dependence on others for his ability to maintain his lifestyle. "There's money in this case, at any rate," he tells Watson at the start of a "A Scandal in Bohemia."61 This understanding of the professional's need for exterior financial support completes the image of professional experience. It involves endless hard work and a reliance on other classes of people in order to create and maintain an exclusive group space of like-minded and skilled experts.

Professional Subgroups Created by the Classification of Expertise

This set of shared values and means of self-identification such as hard work, financial dependence, and social prestige running throughout the professional class' sense of self established social connections between professionals regardless of skill type. But the emphasis and value placed on individual skill and achievement necessitates that each type of professional has his or her own set of qualities and means of representation. Three distinct groups of celebrity emerge within the *Strand Magazine*'s cast of characters: the Artists, the Intellectuals, and the Adventurers.

Fascinatingly, the distinct sets of qualities and representational conventions created for each celebrity type in the "Illustrated Interviews" series also translates itself to the Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. These thematic similarities manifest themselves both in descriptive textual similarity and in visual resemblance between the "Interviews" illustrations and Sidney Paget's Holmes prints. By echoing the skills and identities of every type of professional-class celebrity, Sherlock Holmes becomes the fictional everyman of the professional class. In this way, every professional-class reader of the *Strand* would have been able to identify with at least some quality in Holmes' character, be it his universal attention to detail, or the more specific visual posing akin to a professional artist, or his wholehearted commitment to restoring justice – a quality found in representations of great thinkers. These similarities created a multi-layered system of association; not only was Holmes like his real-life celebrity peers in written quality and characteristic, but he also looked like every single one of them as well through the echoing of artistic conventions. In this way, his role as literary celebrity and professional-class poster-image could be firmly established. It is no wonder that Doyle's attempts to do away with his hero were met with such opposition. Every type of reader could identify with him through textual and visual similarity, regardless of interest or selfclassification

Artists

A large portion of the professional class' membership was composed of singers and actors and Royal Academy-trained artists. The skillful, dramatic interpretation of ideas and dynamic storytelling were essential to the ultimate success in the artistic field. In order to do this successfully, a complete understanding of the art's subject is essential. In his "Illustrated Interviews" with artistic celebrities, How stressed how expertly - and essentially - these professionals were able empathetically to channel and fully to realize the ideas and characters they strived to animate. Madame Albani explains that merely singing her lines well did not make her a success. She threw herself completely into each role she played upon the stage, memorizing lines, studying Shakespeare, and even designing her own costumes. 62 Painter Henry Stacey Marks' intense understanding of and relationship with the birds he famously represented required so many trips to the zoo that there was not a single bird in the facility who did not trust him completely. His talents at intense personal understanding and clear emotional communication also translated to his skill in anecdotal storytelling. "You would at once admit that the stage has lost a good man," remarked Harry How after spending an afternoon with Marks. 63

Sherlock Holmes shares these skills. Although often brusque and to the point, Holmes has something of a flair for the dramatic. He frequently assumes disguises throughout the course of his investigations. He does this so successfully, that his friend and former flat mate, Watson, confesses to having to take several subsequent looks at Holmes to make sure that he really is Holmes in disguise and not his assumed role. 64 Changes in dress, posture,

speech, and attitude transform Holmes into whatever disguise he assumes. Such complete understanding and projection of a differing identity is easily categorized as an artistic skill. Holmes also possesses startling empathetic traits. When faced with hysterical clients, Holmes identifies the cause of their grief and sets about reassuring them. In "The Speckled Band," he correctly induces that his female client has suffered physical abuse from her father and reassuringly promises to remedy the situation. Emotional intelligence and complete immersion into characters and roles are artistic traits that, through their association with Holmes, become an even more universal aspect of professional success.

The "Illustrated Interviews" celebrities and Sherlock Holmes also share these traits visually. This is clearly seen in representations of artists in the process of embodying ideas or characters and Sherlock Holmes assuming disguise. When Holmes transforms into "A Simple-Minded Clergymen" in "A Scandal in Bohemia," he does more than merely assume a clergyman's dress (Figure 1). He is said to adopt the entire demeanor of his subject in the text, and Paget conveys this through the pious expression on Holmes' face, the silly flip of his hair, and his meekly clasped hands. The nondescript, stage-like background offsets the dynamic character representation. These qualities, along with the open, head-on view of the subject, share the visual conventions used when portraying stage actors. Walter Klinefelter, in his Sherlock Holmes in Portrait and Profile, notes that Holmes is never seen face-on unless he is in disguise. 66 This clear distinction ensures that all Holmes compositions resembling contemporary depictions of artistic celebrities have a true thematic connection and reasoning behind the decision. Stage actress Ellen Terry's "Illustrated Interview" includes an image of her as *Hamlet*'s Ophelia. She too stands before a plain, stage-like background. Her gaze darts wildly into the distance, embodying the character's madness. She appears in stage costume, and she clasps her long plait of hair nervously. Ellen Terry's Ophelia portrait involves a similar level of character assumption as Holmes' turn as a clergyman. Both are posed openly and use their arms suggestively in order to convey their intended character. Appropriate dress, facial expression, and a stark background are also incorporated in order to focus on the performativity of their profession.⁶⁷

Intellectuals

Intellectuals were another group of professionals. These men of thought were authors, magistrates, religious leaders, and those committed to improving their surroundings through measured contemplation and problem solving. A strong sense of justice characterized this group, as well as a total commitment to their cause – often to the point of personal exhaustion.

Both the celebrities in the "Interviews" series and Holmes take it upon themselves to ensure that justice is achieved. Montagu Williams, "the poor man's magistrate," is praised by How for deciding his cases on a person-byperson basis. Although faced with similar crimes, How notes that Williams decided consequences depending on each criminal's ability to pay or carry out the sentence. "This is to be commended," is How's rather explicit construction of desirable qualities in this field. Holmes, too, takes it upon himself to decide which means of punishment are most appropriate. In "The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle," Holmes decides to let the criminal flee rather than handing him over to the authorities. He explains to Watson that, "Send him to gaol now, and you make him a gaol-bird for life. Besides, it is the season of forgiveness." By assuming responsibility for distributing justice, both fictional and nonfictional celebrity-thinkers exhibit an understanding and trusting in their own judgment and wisdom.

The Strand Magazine also highlights the celebrities of thought's ability to give full attention to a project until its completion. This complete and utter devotion to a task often results in physical exhaustion, and a recovery period is needed directly following. For instance, after completing a work, W.S. Gilbert tells How that he must rest for a few days, feeling, "quite 'written out."70 His intense focus upon his written composition is presented as particularly exhaustive effort - underlining the prestigious skill it requires. Public school headmaster J.E.C. Welldon's skills are similarly elevated. How praises him for understanding the essential need of holidays and breaks from work and school.⁷¹ The contrast of necessary holidays with intense, intellectual achievement makes the achievements appear all the more significant. Holmes, too, participates in this cycle of action and rest. On the first page of "A Scandal in Bohemia," and consequently the first page of Holmes' Strand Magazine's career, Watson notes that Holmes oscillates between manic periods of intense focus and drive to solve a case and languid, cocaine-assisted stupors. 72 This upfront acknowledgement that Holmes also works himself to the point of exhaustion in the pursuit of serving society through intellectual effort is vet another means of establishing Holmes' membership in this professional subgroup.

Visual representations of these thinkers were naturally more abstract; since intellectual activity is not a physical action, showing subjects looking pensive in studious surroundings made up the majority of "thought" depictions. Nonetheless, similarities in posture and composure add further layers of similarity. W.S. Gilbert's accompanying "Interviews" illustration, based on a photograph by Elliot and Frye, shows him leaning back in a deep armchair (Figure 2). His feet rest on a footstool, his back rests against a pillow, a tablet of paper is balanced on his lap, and his pencil is poised at the ready. He gazes into the distance, his face an image of composed contemplation and calm. These conventions provide a comfortable, distraction-free environment enabling successful intellectual activity. The Rev. J.E.C. Welldon also leans back in an armchair. A book rests in his lap, he rests his chin in his right hand pensively, and his face calmly and contemplatively gazes into the distance. His depiction perpetuates the genre of thinker-portrait. Finally, Sherlock Holmes is frequently represented in a study solving problems. In "Is There Any Other Point Which I Can Make Clear?" Holmes leans deeply back into an armchair, his head resting completely as well (Figure 3). He holds a pipe in his left hand, and faces his companions at left in profile with assured confidence and calm composure.

From the very beginning of the series, in "A Scandal in Bohemia," Holmes is depicted as at home in this studious setting. By playing upon conventional settings and visual manifestations of intellectual traits, Paget ensures that any casual reader of the *Strand Magazine* flipping through the pages would be able to identify Holmes immediately as belonging to those professionals engaged in thought and intellectual activity.⁷³

Adventurers

The final category of professional celebrity represented in the *Strand* Magazine is that of the active adventurer. These men are bold, forceful, and busy. In the "Interviews" features, the adventurous, active men frequently perform many tasks and take risks. How begins his interview with Augustus Harris, a producer, by noting how difficult it was to get in touch with him, as he is such a busy man. How marvels, "He seems to revel in trans-acting a dozen things at once and the same time, and comes through all successfully."⁷⁴ This skill at processing multiple tasks is echoed in Sir Robert Rawlinson's diverse career and How's description of him as the personification of Industry, always moving forward through varied, honest efforts. 75 Sir Henry, a sportsman, spends his free time conducting experiments – a pastime that speaks to his diversity and ability to balance and control a host of forces. 76 Holmes' ability to process information from his entire surrounding area, often to the amazement of his friend and companion, Watson, places him among the ranks of multitasking, active men. 77 Their collective ability to remain in control and manage stimuli from every direction sets the adventurous, active man apart.

The active adventurer is also forceful and not afraid to take risks. Dr. Barnardo, a social activist, is described as looking physically severe and powerful. How vividly conveys his forceful nature with the lines, "He sets his heart on having a thing done. It is done." The power and force with which these decisions can be made speaks to the active nature of these professionals. They do not wait around for things to be accomplished; they ensure that the task is completed. Holmes can also be a force to be reckoned with. He sternly and cuttingly rebukes criminals and orders those around him to remain seated. His forceful nature is necessary for the accomplishment of his task, and he exhibits the traits necessary for such adventuresome actions to be realized just as naturally as the real celebrity adventurers do in the "Interviews" series. Stephen Knight points out in *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction* that this combination of action and force turned Sherlock Holmes into the idea male authority figure in Victorian society.

Visually, the sportsmen, adventurers, and military men profiled in the *Strand Magazine* are shown in the midst of action. This makes for a clear break from the more conventionally posed artists and intellectuals – and makes this type of professional easy to spot for the casual *Strand* reader. In "Sighting A Shot," expert gunman Sir Henry is shown reclining on the ground in the process of executing his task well (Figure 8). He is completely engrossed in his task, paying no attention to the man and tent behind him. He cradles his gun in

his right arm, his left above his head in full concentration upon his task. Paget echoes both this posture and this focus in "For A Long Time He Remained There" (Figure 4). Holmes lies face down on a patch of grass. He props himself up with his elbows and examines the ground. Like Sir Henry, he pays no attention to his surroundings and is completely involved in completing his active task. Holmes is similarly immersed in his work in "Holmes Was Working Hard Over a Chemical Investigation," (Figure 5). Rather than leaving chemical analysis to another, Holmes takes it upon himself to complete this task, sitting up for long hours with his chemistry set clad in a dressing gown.

Another visual convention when representing active men shows the subjects fearlessly taking heroic action. In his "Illustrated Interviews" feature, Mr. H. Rider Haggard, a military man, is shown rescuing his company from a stick of dynamite. He is the only figure in the crowd to take action, setting him apart from the others as fearless and brave. In "A Scandal in Bohemia," Holmes is similarly shown taking heroic action—this time in order to rescue a photograph for a would-be blackmail victim. The activeness of these men among a crowd of inactive onlookers further emphasizes this group's adventuresome qualities. By representing active adventurers as focused and fearless men, Paget and the *Strand Magazine* identify these qualities as essential components of a professional identity. By giving Holmes these traits both within the text and visually, it is ensured that any reader — regardless of interest or background — will find in him something familiar and admirable.⁸¹

Conclusion

In The Strand Magazine, Arthur Conan Doyle constructed Sherlock Holmes as the literary embodiment of the professional class that had recently arisen in late-Victorian London. By considering Holmes' character within this cultural and historical context, a different understanding of Holmes is unearthed: he is not the lone genius solving problems from afar, but is the very center and heart of a vibrant, growing social stratum. Holmes' textual and visual similarities with true-to-life celebrities from every type of professional subgroup appearing within the pages of the same magazine ensured that his character became a representative symbol of the Strand's brand of class ideology and values with which all contemporary, professional-class readers could identify. Doyle's characterization of Holmes as professional-class everyman contributed to the Strand Magazine's larger mission to define professional-class identity as the possession of specialized skill and to create a social space for the new economic group of specialized professionals. Produced by professional-class members, The Strand Magazine constructed class identity, contributing to Holmes' character. Rooted firmly in context, Holmes becomes a window through which to view professional, late-Victorian, English notions of selfidentity.

Sly 35

Figure 1



Sidney Paget

A Simple Minded Clergyman.

In "A Scandal in Bohemia," The Strand Magazine II (1891): 70.

Figure 2



From a photograph by Elliot & Fry

At Work

In "Illustrated Interviews: No. 1V. - Mr. W.S. Gilbert." *The Strand Magazine*, II (1891): 336.

Figure 3



Sidney Paget
Is There Any Other Point Which I Can Make Clear?
In ""The Adventure of the Naval Treaty," *The Strand Magazine* VI (1893): 468.

Figure 4



From a photograph by W & A.H. FrySighting A Shot In "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXVIII – Sir Henry Halford, Bart., C.B." *The Strand Magazine*, VI (1893): 540.

Sly 37

Figure 5



Sidney Paget "For A Long Time He Remained There." In "The Boscombe Valley Mystery." *The Strand Magazine* II (1891): 411.

Notes

- 1.) Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: I. A Scandal in Bohemia," The Strand Magazine II (1891): 67.
- 2.) Some have pointed to Doyle's Scottish background as evidence of the series' intended role as social satire of London life. Even if interpreted in this way, Holmes' role as symbol of London's professional class is not diminished, as the very success of satire rests on the representation of universally recognized tropes.
- 3.) Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXII Sir Robert Rawlinson, K.C.B.," The Strand Magazine, V (1893): 521.
- 4.) "A Regiment on Wheels," The Strand Magazine II (1891).
- 5.) Stephen Arata, Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin De Siècle. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 18.
- 6.) Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, (London: Verso, 2006), 33.
- 7.) Andrew Thacker, "London: Rhymers, Imagists, and Vorticists," in The Oxford Handbook of Modernisms, ed., Peter Brooker et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 694.
- 8.) Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: VII. The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle," The Strand Magazine III (1892): 78.
- 9.) Anderson, Imagined Communities, 42.
- 10.) Thacker, "London: Rhymers, Imagists, and Vorticists," 702.
- 11.) Christopher Pittard, "2006 VanArsdel Prize Essay "Cheap, Healthful Literature": "The Strand Magazine", Fictions of Crime, and Purified Reading Communities," Victorian Periodicals Review, 40, No. 1 (Spring, 2007): 19.
- 12.) Stephen Knight, Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction, (London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1980), 70.
- 13.) Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, The Artist as Critic: Bitextuality in Fin-de-Siècle Illustrated Books, (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995), 60.
- 14.) Hulda Friederichs, The Life of Sir George Newnes, (London: Hodder and Stoughton: 1911).
- 15.) Kate Jackson, "A National Institution: The Strand Magazine (1891)," in George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880-1910: Culture and Profit, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 100.
- 16.) In fact, a poster print of Sidney Paget's Lancelot, done for the Royal Academy, was included as a special insert in the first edition of the Strand Magazine. See Winifred Paget, "The Artist Who Made Holmes Real," in A Sherlock Holmes Compendium, ed. Peter Haining, (London: W.H. Allen, 1980), 42.
- 17.) Walter Klinefelter, Sherlock Holmes in Portrait and Profile, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963), 16.
- 18.) Ibid., 19.
- 19.) Kooistra, The Artist as Critic, 60.
- 20.) Jackson, "A National Institution: The Strand Magazine (1891)," 102.
- 21.) Mary Louise Pratt, "Alexander von Humboldt and the reinvention of America, in Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1992), 111-143.
- 22.) Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 125.
- 23.) Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?" Daedalus 111, no. 3, Representations and Realities (Summer, 1982): 71.
- 24.) Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?" 79.

Sly 39

25.) Peter D. McDonald, "Light Reading and the Dignity of Letters: George Newnes, Ltd. and the Making of Arthur Conan Doyle," in British Literary Culture and Publishing, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 132.

- 26.) McDonald, "Light Reading and the Dignity of Letters," 130.
- 27.) Ibid., 138.
- 28.) Knight, Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction,72.
- 29.) In fact, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's father was the first to depict Holmes visually. But by the time Hound of the Baskervilles was published, Doyle specifically requested Paget as his illustrator. See Charles Higham, The Adventures of Conan Doyle: The Life of the Creator of Sherlock Holmes, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976) and Winifred Paget, "The Artist Who Made Holmes Real," in A Sherlock Holmes Compendium, ed. Peter Haining (London: W.H. Allen, 1980), 41-45.
- 30.) Interestingly, the Strand Magazine had intended to offer the job to Sidney's brother, Walter Paget. Walter was a successful news illustrator. When Sidney took the job, he too assumed the journalistic style. Paget, "The Artist Who Made Holmes Real," 1980.
- 31.) James Montgomery, A Study in Pictures, (Philadelphia: International Printing Company, 1954), 2.
- 32.) McDonald, "Light Reading and the Dignity of Letters: George Newnes, Ltd. and the Making of Arthur Conan Doyle," 137.
- 33.) Knight, Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction, 99.
- 34.) Jackson, "A National Institution: The Strand Magazine (1891)," 101.
- 35.) Doyle's final Holmes story, "The Adventure of Shoscombe Old Place," appeared in the Strand Magazine in 1927, and Doyle died in 1930.
- 36.) Kooistra, The Artist as Critic, 62.
- 37.) Higham, The Adventures of Conan Doyle, 28.
- 38.) Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. III Madame Albani," The Strand Magazine, II (1891): 219.
- 39.) Arthur Conan Doyle, "A Scandal in Bohemia," 61.
- 40.) Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. VI Sir Augustus Harris," The Strand Magazine, II (1891): 520.
- 41.) How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. II. Henry Stacey Marks, R.A.," The Strand Magazine, II (1891): 112.
- 42.) How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXVIII Sir Henry Halford, Bart., C.B.." The Strand Magazine, VI (1893): 531.
- 43.) How, "Henry Stacey Marks, R.A.," The Strand Magazine, II, 120.
- 44.) Ibid., 112.
- 45.) Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: VIII. The Adventure of the Speckled Band," The Strand Magazine III (1892): 78.
- 46.) Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. 1V. Mr. W.S. Gilbert," The Strand Magazine, II (1891): 333.
- 47.) Harry How, "Sir Augustus Harris," 562.
- 48.) How, "Harris," 520.
- 49.) Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. V. Mr. Montagu Williams, Q.C.," The Strand Magazine, II (1891): 533-534.
- 50.) How, "Mr. W.S. Gilbert," 332.
- 51.) How, "Madame Albani," 223.
- 52.) How, "Mr. W.S. Gilbert," 341.
- 53.) Doyle, "A Scandal in Bohemia," 75.
- 54.) See Harry How, "Sir Robert Rawlinson, K.C.B.," 513 and "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXVI Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, R.A." The Strand Magazine, VI (1893): 267.

- 55.) Harry How, "Sir Augustus Harris," 554.
- 56.) How, "Madame Albani," 219.
- 57.) How, "Sir Augustus Harris," 555.
- 58.) Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. XX –Dr. Barnardo, F.R.C.s.Ed.," The Strand Magazine, V (1893): 176.
- 59.) Doyle, "A Scandal in Bohemia," 66.
- 60.) How, "Mr. W.S. Gilbert," 337.
- 61.) Doyle, "A Scandal in Bohemia," 61.
- 62.) How, "Madame Albani," 226-227.
- 63.) How, "Henry Stacey Marks, R.A.," 111.
- 64.) Doyle, "A Scandal in Bohemia," 61.
- 65.) Doyle, "The Adventure of the Speckled Band," 143.
- 66.) Walter Klinefelter, Sherlock Holmes in Portrait and Profile, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963).
- 67.) For additional images of artists, see Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. II. Henry Stacey Marks, R.A." The Strand Magazine, II (1891): 119; "Illustrated Interviews: No. XIII Mr. Geo. Augustus Sala." The Strand Magazine, IV (1892): 67; "Illustrated Interviews: No. XIV Sir Frederick Leighton, P.R.A." The Strand Magazine, IV (1892): 126; "Illustrated Interviews: No. XV Mr. Henry Irving." The Strand Magazine, IV (1892): 280; "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXV Mr. Luke Fildes, R.A." The Strand Magazine, VI (1893): 111; "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXVI Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, R.A." The Strand Magazine, VI (1893): 267. See also Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: XXIII. The Adventure of the Naval Treaty." The Strand Magazine VI (1893): 392.
- 68.) How, "Mr. Montagu Williams, Q.C.," 530.
- 69.) Doyle, "The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle," 85.
- 70.) How, "Mr. W.S. Gilbert," 337.
- 71.) Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. XVI The Rev. J.E.C. Welldon, Head Master of Harrow." The Strand Magazine, IV (1892): 415.
- 72.) Doyle, "A Scandal in Bohemia," 61.
- 73.) For additional images of thinkers, see Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXIV Mr. Edmund Yates." The Strand Magazine, VI (1893): 80; "Illustrated Interviews: No. V. Mr. Montagu Williams, Q.C.." The Strand Magazine, II (1891): 527. See also Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: VII. The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle." The Strand Magazine III (1892): 73; "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: XX. The Adventure of the Crooked Man." The Strand Magazine VI (1893): 22; "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: XXII. The Adventure of the Greek Interpreter." The Strand Magazine VI (1893): 296.
- 74.) How, "Sir Augustus Harris," 553.
- 75.) Harry How, "Sir Robert Rawlinson, K.C.B.," The Strand Magazine, V (1893): 520.
- 76.) How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXVIII Sir Henry Halford, Bart., C.B.," 532.
- 77.) Doyle, "The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle," 75.
- 78.) How, "Dr. Barnardo, F.R.C.s.Ed.," 173.
- 79.) Doyle, "The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle," 84.
- 80.) Joseph Kestner supports Knight's claim with his cultural study of Victorian masculinity. See Joesph A. Kestner, Sherlock's Men: Masculinity, Conan Doyle, and Cultural History, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).
- 81.) For additional images of adventurers, see Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews: No. XX –Dr. Barnardo, F.R.C.s.Ed." The Strand Magazine, V (1893): 173; "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXII Sir Robert Rawlinson, K.C.B." The Strand Magazine, V (1893): 513; "Illustrated Interviews: No. XXVIII Sir Henry Halford, Bart., C.B." The Strand

Magazine, VI (1893): 531. See also Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: XXII. – The Adventure of the Greek Interpreter," The Strand Magazine VI (1893): 296; "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: XXIV. – The Adventure of the Final Problem," The Strand Magazine VI (1893): 559.

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