

Notes

1 Correspondence Culture

1. Godfrey Frank Singer's and Frank Gees Black's bibliographical studies of the epistolary novel show that the nineteenth-century literary marketplace was not conducive to the epistolary novel; see Godfrey Frank Singer, *The Epistolary Novel: Its Origin, Development, Decline, and Residuary Influence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933) and Frank Gees Black, *The Epistolary Novel in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1940). James Raven offers a table charting the quick rise and decline of epistolary fiction between 1750 and 1799; see James Raven, 'The Market for Novels – Some Statistical Profiles: Britain, 1750–1830', in *The Novel*, ed. Franco Moretti, vol. 1 (Princeton University Press, 2006), 429–54, 437–3. The common critical explanation of the epistolary novel's loss of influence is that it was no longer a symbol of a new type of fiction, and it had been stripped of its revolutionary sexual and political power. *Postal Plots* shows that the nineteenth-century novel was still enlivened by letters. I argue that the function of Victorian fictional correspondence, while still politically and socially engaged, focuses on the possibility and practicality of reform, not revolution.
2. Nicola J. Watson, *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel 1790–1825: Intercepted Letters, Interrupted Seductions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 193.
3. Richard Menke, *Telegraphic Realism: Victorian Fiction and Other Information Systems* (Stanford University Press, 2008), 250.
4. Kate Thomas, *Postal Pleasures: Sex, Scandal, and Victorian Letters* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 2.
5. Amanda Anderson, 'The Temptations of Aggrandized Agency: Feminist Histories and the Horizon of Modernity', *Victorian Studies* 43.1 (Autumn 2000): 43–65, 50.
6. Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), 9.
7. Anna Maria Jones, *Problem Novels: Victorian Fiction Theorizes the Sensational Self* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), 6.
8. A *Fraser's Magazine* correspondent suggested a solution to the influx of money-seekers into the literary world, asserting that literature 'should be a profession, just lucrative enough to furnish a decent subsistence to its members, but in no way lucrative enough to tempt speculators'; 'The Condition of Authors in England, Germany, and France', *Fraser's Magazine* 35 (March 1847): 285–95, 285. This writer offers no specific monetary limits to flesh out this 'plan'.
9. Richard R. John, 'The Political Economy of Postal Reform in the Victorian Age', in *The Winton M. Blount Postal History Symposia: Select Papers, 2006–2009*, ed. Thomas Lera (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2010), *Columbia Journalism School*, 3–12, 4 (accessed 3 December 2010).
10. John, 'Political Economy', 7.

11. Howard Robinson, *The British Post Office: A History* (1948, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970), 157.
12. Qtd in F. E. Baines, *Forty Years at the Post-Office: A Personal Narrative*, 2 vols (London: Bentley, 1895), vol. 1: 118–19.
13. Qtd in Brian Austen, *British Mail-Coach Services: 1784–1850* (New York: Garland, 1986), 354.
14. F. George Kay, *Royal Mail: The Story of the Posts in England from the Time of Edward IVth to the Present Day* (London: Rockliff Publishing, 1951), 68.
15. Robinson, *British Post Office*, 284. The Coleridge story is found in almost all histories of the British Post Office. Though sometimes the actors within the story are different – a woman and her beloved or husband, a brother and sister, etc. – the focus remains on the innovative measures poor correspondents took to circumvent the postal system. Supporters of penny postage frequently used these stories to substantiate the need for radical reform; Rowland Hill himself included the Coleridge story in an appendix to his famous 1837 pamphlet *Post Office Reform: Its Importance and Practicability*, 3rd edn (London: Charles Knight, 1837), 86.
16. Duncan Campbell-Smith offers a fine explanation of the general social and political as well as Post Office specific conditions that helped the 1840 postal reforms to become a reality; see Campbell-Smith's *Masters of the Post: The Authorized History of The Royal Mail* (London: Penguin, 2011), 113–23.
17. Penny postage existed in many locales throughout Britain before 1840. The pre-1840 penny posts, however, were limited to correspondence carried within the limits of a specific city or town.
18. Rowland Hill, *Results of the New Postage Arrangements* (London: Henry Hooper, 1841), 7.
19. Qtd in David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750–1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 39.
20. David Allam, *Social and Economic Importance of Postal Reform in 1840* (Leeds: Arthur Wigley and Sons, 1976), 27.
21. Nigel Hall, 'The Materiality of Letter Writing: A Nineteenth-Century Perspective', in *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, ed. David Barton and Nigel Hall (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), 83–108, 104. See Hall, 'Materiality', 91–107, for further insight into the products that penny postage helped to popularize. See Catherine J. Golden's *Posting It: The Victorian Revolution in Letter Writing* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2009) for readings of how these epistolary consumer items entered the literature of the time and can provide insights into Victorians' ideals and anxieties.
22. Hill, *Post Office Reform*, 6.
23. Vincent, *Literacy*, 42.
24. J. Lawrence Hammond, 'A Liberal View of Education', in *Essays in Liberalism by Six Oxford Men* (London: Cassell and Co., 1897), 175–217, 215.
25. W. H. Ashurst, *Facts and Reasons in Support of Mr. Rowland Hill's Plea for a Universal Penny Postage*, 2nd edn (London: Henry Hooper, 1838), 67.
26. Ashurst, *Facts*, 67.
27. James Fitzjames Stephen, 'Liberalism', *Cornhill Magazine* 5.25 (January 1862): 70–83, *ProQuest British Periodicals*, 82 (accessed 1 July 2011).
28. Richard A. Altick, *The English Common Reader* (University of Chicago Press, 1967), 290, 291, 292.

29. 'The Death of P. F. Tytler', *The Morning Chronicle*, 3 January 1850: 4, *British Newspapers 1600–1900*, 4 (accessed 31 March 2011).
30. Male 'invasion' into the female-dominated field of novel writing, especially between 1840 and 1879, and the male redefinition of the novel as 'manly literature' between 1880 and 1899 are central subjects of Gaye Tuchman's (with Nina E. Fortin) *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). *Postal Plots* covers a similar time period and focuses on prominent male writers' explorations of literary professionalism. Without actively supporting Tuchman's findings in my book, I show these male novelists using an often feminized form of writing – the letter – to register their hopes for and frustrations with professionalism.
31. 'Death', 4.
32. William Makepeace Thackeray, 'The Dignity of Literature', *The Morning Chronicle*, 12 January 1850: 4, *British Newspapers 1600–1900*, 4 (accessed 11 May 2011).
33. 'Death', 4.
34. 'Death', 4.
35. The 3 March 1864 *Daily Telegraph*, commenting on Rowland Hill's resignation, described penny postage as 'the marvellous "Utopian" gift to the world'; Gavin Fryer and Clive Akerman, eds, *The Reform of the Post Office in the Victorian Era and Its Impact on Economic and Social Activity: Documentary History 1837 to 1864 Based on Sir Rowland Hill's 'Journal' and Ancillary Papers, With Glossary, Bibliography and Comprehensive Index*, vols I and II (London: Royal Philatelic Society, 2000), vol. 1: 600.
36. Hill, *Post Office Reform*, 77.
37. Ashurst, *Facts*, 1–2. Even Queen Victoria gave up her franking privileges. Kate Thomas defines the significance of this act: 'By stripping her signature of the power to circulate her correspondence freely in her own dominion, she relinquished her royal privilege and symbolically joined the "poorer and more numerous classes". From this point on, cheap communication was to be the right of a nation of citizens, not of a royal household'; Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 14. Thomas pinpoints penny postage's power to make egalitarian ideals a reality.
38. Hill, *Post Office Reform*, 47.
39. Hammond, 'Liberal', 216.
40. Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 19 (Thomas's emphasis).
41. *The Art of Letter-Writing Simplified; by Precept and Example: Embracing Practical Illustrations of Epistolary Correspondence, of Every Age, in Every Station and Degree, and Under Every Circumstance of Life: with a Wide Variety of Useful and Essential Information* (London: Cradock and Co., c. 1847), 19–20.
42. Ashurst, *Facts*, 107.
43. Anne Brontë, *Agnes Grey and Poems* (1847, London: Everyman's Library, 1985), 60.
44. David Vincent stresses that, with the exception of the Anti-Corn Law League, which was able to 'pioneer the use of the mail for mass communication with the electorate', few nineteenth-century reform organizations, like the Chartists, for instance, benefited from penny postage; 'Communication, Community and the State', in *Artisans, Peasants and Proletarians 1760–1860: Essays Presented*

- to Gwyn A. Williams, ed. Clive Emsley and James Walvin (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 166–86, 179. However, do see Vincent, ‘Communication’, 177–9 for more discussion of reform organizations’ use of the mail and Menke, *Telegraphic Realism*, 39, for further insight into discussions concerning the social reform and control achievable through penny postage.
45. Qtd in Robinson, *British Post Office*, 302. Golden, *Posting*, 169–70, provides an extended story of Cobden’s interchange with Hill and others’ less positive responses.
 46. John Wilson Croker, Review of *Post-office Reform: Its Importance and Practicability*, by Rowland Hill, *Quarterly Review* 64.128 (October 1839): 513–74, *ProQuest British Periodicals*, 532 (Croker’s emphasis; accessed 20 August 2011).
 47. Vincent, ‘Communication’, 169.
 48. Ashurst, *Facts*, 128.
 49. Elaine Hadley, *Living Liberalism: Practical Citizenship in Mid-Victorian Britain* (University of Chicago Press, 2010), 4.
 50. Qtd in Fryer and Akerman, *Reform*, vol. 1: 620.
 51. Stephen, ‘Liberalism’, 73.
 52. For the most comprehensive histories of pre-nineteenth-century British letter-writing manuals see Martin Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 17–28, in which he examines medieval letter manuals, and Katherine Gee Hornbeak, *The Complete Letter Writer in English, 1568–1800* (Northampton, MA, 1934), whose study of the manual tradition opens in 1568, the year in which the first truly British letter-writing manual appeared.
 53. Hornbeak identifies 171 manuals published between 1741 and 1920 ‘which borrow from Richardson’s letter-writer [manual]’; Hornbeak, *Complete*, xii. Such borrowing was extensive. Her research finds that, of *Familiar Letters*’ 173 letters, ‘one hundred and forty-two, or eighty-two percent, [were] reprinted in various complete letter-writers [manuals]’; Hornbeak, *Complete*, 123.
 54. A smallpox letter – a testament to friendship and a discussion of the virtue of all kinds of beauty – can be found in *The Complete Letter-Writer, Containing Familiar-Letters on the Most Common Occasions in Life. Also, a Variety of Elegant Letters for the Direction and Embellishment of Style, on Business, Duty, Amusement, Love, Courtship, Marriage, Friendship, and other Subjects. To which is Prefixed, a Plain and Compendious Grammar of the English Language* (London: T. Wilson and R. Spence, 1801), 177–8.
 55. *Complete Letter-Writer*, title page. As did a host of its 1820s and 1830s progenitors, Reverend Thomas Cooke’s 1841 text, in a manner followed by other contemporary manuals, advertised its grammar instruction in its title; see Reverend Thomas Cooke, *The Universal Letter Writer; or, New Art of Polite Correspondence; To Which Are Added the Complete Petitioner, Forms of Law, etc.; Also A New English Grammar* (Edinburgh: T. Nelson, 1841). Both Cooke’s text and the c. 1847 *Art of Letter-Writing Simplified* include grammar sections that are placed prominently before any letter examples are given.
 56. William Kingdom’s text was republished in 1850 and again in the 1880s, suggesting how valuable the nineteenth-century public found these manuals. It was also common for mid-to-late-century manuals to provide information on the orders of knighthood and the line of succession, as well as guides for preparing letters directed to Members of Parliament; see William

- Kingdom, *The Secretary's Assistant; Exhibiting the Various and Most Correct Modes of Superscription, Commencement, and Conclusion of Letters to Persons at Every Degree of Rank, Including the Diplomatic, Clerical, & Judicial Dignitaries: with the Lists of Foreign Ambassadors & Consuls, also the Forms Necessary to be Used in Applications or Petitions to the Queen in Council, Houses of Lords & Commons, Government Offices & Public Companies, with a Table of Precedency and the Abbreviations of Several British & Foreign Orders of Knighthood*, 8th edn (London: Whittaker and Co., 1842).
57. Cooke, *Universal*, 16, 141–6, 54–5.
 58. In a sense, Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* offers proof of the assertion of letters' moral powers. This novel developed from letters contained in *Familiar Letters*, specifically letters nos 138–9, and the manual itself promised to 'mend the heart, and improve the understanding' of its users; Samuel Richardson, *Familiar Letters on Important Occasions*, 1741, ed. J. Isaacs (London: Routledge and Sons, 1928), xxvii (Richardson's emphasis).
 59. John Forster, 'Encouragement of Literatuer [sic] by the State', *The Examiner*, 5 January 1850: 2, *ProQuest British Periodicals* 2, 2 (accessed 2 April 2011).
 60. Forster, 'Encouragement', 2.
 61. 'The Dignity of Literature', *The Examiner*, 19 January 1850: 35, *British Newspapers 1600–1900*, 35 (accessed 9 May 2011).
 62. 'Condition of Authors', 295.
 63. 'The Copyright Question', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 51.315 (January 1842): 107–21, *ProQuest British Periodicals* 2, 109 (accessed 31 March 2011).
 64. 'Copyright', 121 (my emphasis).
 65. Catherine Hall, 'Macaulay: A Liberal Historian?', in *The Peculiarities of Liberal Modernity in Imperial Britain*, ed. Simon Gunn and James Vernon (Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive, 2011), 19–36, *eScholarship*, 26 (accessed 27 June 2011).
 66. 'The Profession of Literature', *Westminster Review* 58 (October 1852): 507–31, 519.
 67. Thackeray, 'Dignity', 4. See Ian Bradley, *The Optimists: Themes and Personalities in Victorian Liberalism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), 29–30, for an account of Thackeray's involvement in the Liberal Party.
 68. Thackeray, 'Dignity', 4.
 69. Vincent, 'Communication', 169.
 70. Wilkie Collins, *Basil*, ed. Dorothy Goldman (1852, 1862, Oxford University Press, 2008), 5.
 71. Collins, *Basil*, 5.
 72. Charles Dickens, 'Prospectus for the Guild of Literature and Art, April 1851', in *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson, and Nina Burgis, vol. 6: 1850–2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 852–7, 855.
 73. Dickens, 'Prospectus', 853.
 74. Dickens, 'Prospectus', 857.
 75. Altick, *Common Reader*, 287.
 76. M. J. Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840* (London: Athlone Press, 1985), 46.
 77. See Hadley, *Living Liberalism*, 121–4, for a summary of her discussion of Trollope's Liberal Party affiliation and his exploration of liberal thought in his novels.

78. Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography* (1883, London: Fontana Library, 1962), 90.
79. Robinson, *British Post Office*, 357.
80. See Robinson, *British Post Office*, 355–6, and Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 55–7, for further information concerning the complicated rate system for newspapers between 1850 and 1870.
81. Bradley, *Optimists*, 30.
82. Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 169.
83. In June 1844, MP Thomas Duncombe, speaking on behalf of Joseph Mazzini and several other correspondents, revealed to the House of Commons that these petitioners' 'letters had been detained by the Post Office, their seals broken, and that they had been opened and read'; Robinson, *British Post Office*, 337. Duncombe stressed that these letters were sent 'for no political purpose, and contained no libellous matter or treasonable comments upon the Government or country'; qtd in Robinson, *British Post Office*, 337. Ultimately it was confirmed that 'since the beginning of March [1844] sixty or seventy letters addressed to me [Mazzini] have been opened, . . . every care being taken to avert suspicion, impressions of the seals taken, the cut sometimes so delicate that it almost required a magnifying glass to follow its trace'; qtd in Robinson, *British Post Office*, 340. In 'Post-Office Espionage', the *North British Review* offered shocking details concerning Mazzini's discovery that his letters had been tampered with; 'Post-Office Espionage', *North British Review* 2 (1844–45): 257–95, 258. Compounding the shock was the fact that the intrusions into Mazzini's correspondence were not the acts of errant postmen, but ones sanctioned by Home Secretary Sir James Graham. Though there had been previous denunciations of the Post Office's practice of opening letters, this 1844 scandal incited massive public indignation. However, the committees investigating the scandal judged that a dedication to the 'safety of the State' inspired the Post Office's letter-reading practices; William Lewins, *Her Majesty's Mails: History of the Post-Office and an Industrial Account of its Present Condition*, 2nd edn, revised, corrected, and enlarged (London: Sampson, 1865), 216. They arrived at this benign conclusion: 'the power [of opening and detaining letters] should not be abolished, "though it is more requisite in time of war than in our present state of peace"'; qtd in Robinson, *British Post Office*, 346. Conveniently then, many could read the Mazzini affair as the Post's overzealousness, its officials' exaggerated dedication to duty and to the United Kingdom, which would now be tempered. Some newspaper articles cynically captured that sentiment; again from the *North British Review*: 'we venture to hope, that as the security of Great Britain has not been impaired by soldiers walking about without bayonets, so her honour will not be diminished if her Ministers be forbidden to forge seals, and turn informers'; 'Post-Office Espionage', 294. The inviolability of Victorian letters did not become absolute quickly. The Consolidation Act of 1908 permitted the opening, detaining, or delaying of postal packets under sanction of a warrant from the Secretary of State; see Robinson, *British Post Office*, 351.
84. Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *The Doctor's Wife*, ed. Lyn Pykett (1864, Oxford University Press, 1998), 226.

85. Stefanie Markovits, 'Rushing into Print: "Participatory Journalism" in the Crimean War', *Victorian Studies* 50.4 (Summer 2008): 559–86, 561.
86. See Markovits, 'Rushing', 578–9.
87. Markovits, 'Rushing', 568–9.
88. Markovits, 'Rushing', 561.
89. George Seton, *Gossip about Letters and Letter-Writers* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1870), 160.
90. Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, ed. Harvey Peter Sucksmith (1855–57, Oxford University Press, 2008), 279.
91. Begging letters brought in enough money that, in 1867, the Mendicity Society conducted an investigation that concluded that in 'upwards of 2000 begging-letters . . . more than one half were found to be undeserving of notice'; Seton, *Gossip*, 160.
92. 'Begging Letters and Their Writers', *Macmillian's Magazine* (May 1894): 52–9, 54.
93. Charles Dickens, 'The Begging-Letter Writer', *Household Words* 1 (18 May 1850): 169–72, 170.
94. Seton, *Gossip*, 161.
95. Madeleine Smith's letters continued to be discussed long after questions of class bias and easy access to poison – issues central to her case – fell silent. In 1896, 39 years after Smith's trial, J. B. Atlay would still write: 'her letters showed as extraordinary a frame of mind and as unhallowed a passion as ever appeared in a court of justice'; J. B. Atlay, 'Famous Trials: The Queen Against Madeleine Smith', *Cornhill* 1.5 (1896): 639–53, 641.
96. Ginger S. Frost, *Promises Broken: Courtship, Class, and Gender in Victorian England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 120.
97. See Frost, *Promises*, 120–1, for a discussion of the lingering doubts surrounding this case, specifically the possibility that Mary Elizabeth Smith's letters may have been original.
98. Topics of the Week, *Civil Service Gazette*, 30 March 1878: 1875.
99. Bradley, *Optimists*, 42.
100. 'Post Office Types: The Indignant Applicant (A Study from the Rude)', *St. Martin's le Grand, The Post Office Magazine* 11 (January 1901): 46–51, POST 92/1130, British Postal Museum & Archive, 48.
101. See the chapter 'Financial Services: Profit or Welfare' in Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 82–116, for one of the most complete discussions of the Post Office's history with public finance.
102. Campbell-Smith, *Masters*, 187.
103. Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 91.
104. See Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 105–6.
105. Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 98, 104.
106. Qtd in Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 106.
107. P. H. J. H. Gosden, *Self-Help: Voluntary Associations in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Batsford, 1973), 239.
108. Walter Besant, *London in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1909), 310. Beyond the humanitarian concerns, another motivation driving Post Office Savings Banks was to infuse competition – of a more free-market kind – into the financially insecure system of trustee savings banks; see Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 92–102. The result was a sound financial

- footing for trustee savings banks, for the Post Office Savings Banks did force them to reform their practices.
109. Robinson, *British Post Office*, 358.
 110. Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 40.
 111. John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty and The Subjection of Women*, ed. Alan Ryan (London: Penguin, 2006), 15.
 112. David Thomas, *Cultivating Victorians: Liberal Culture and the Aesthetic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 94.
 113. Thomas, *Cultivating Victorians*, 94.
 114. K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation: 1846–1886* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 266.
 115. Altick, *Common Reader*, 306. Rowland Hill fought for parcel post services so that books could get to more people; see Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 55.
 116. Bradley Deane, *The Making of the Victorian Novelist: Anxieties of Authorship in the Mass Market* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 30.
 117. See Jane Jordan, 'Ouida: How Perceptions of the Popular Reader Contributed to the Making of a Popular Novelist', in *A Return to the Common Reader: Print Culture and the Novel, 1850–1900*, ed. Beth Palmer and Adelene Buckland (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 37–54, *Ebook Library*, especially 48–54 (accessed 30 June 2012), in which she discusses Ouida and Chatto's partnership that offered Victorian readers cheap literature but in which the partners had opposed motives driving their support of the lower prices.
 118. See Altick, *Common Reader*, 310.
 119. See Campbell-Smith for an explanation of how the nationalization of the telegraph system was in keeping with 'classical economists' prescription for a liberal economic policy'; Campbell-Smith, *Masters*, 176.
 120. The rather remarkable number of women employed by the Post Office was aided by the savings they provided the institution because of their lower wages; see Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 217–20.
 121. Robinson, *British Post Office*, 368.
 122. As early as the 1850s, telegraph services had been available to the British public, but the rates were prohibitive. Evelyn Murray concisely reviews the telegraph's use before 1870 and the circumstances surrounding the Post Office's takeover; see Evelyn Murray, *The Post Office* (London: Putnam's, 1927), 67–72. Consult F. E. Baines for more extensive information concerning the rationale given and measures taken to transfer the telegraph from private companies to the Post Office; see Baines, *Forty Years*, especially the chapter 'Schemes', I: 299–317.
 123. The telegraph was renowned for its promotion of the press and its part in the dissemination of news – quickly and accurately – throughout the kingdom. F. E. Baines, who became the Post Office's Surveyor-General of the Telegraphs in 1875 and Assistant Secretary in 1881, goes into great and effusive detail about the telegraph's ability to make possible newspapers' verbatim reports of, for instance, the Prime Minister's speeches or announcements of electoral results; see Baines, *Forty Years*, II: 69–72. The Post Office's and specifically the telegraph's support of the press even 'led to the creation of such agencies as the Press Association and the Central News, to which', as a writer in an 1895 *Gentleman's Magazine* stresses, 'the public, and especially the provincial public, owe so much';

- 'The Semi-Jubilee of State Telegraphy', *Gentleman's Magazine* 278 (1895): 522–33, 525.
124. 'Semi-Jubilee', 523 (emphasis in original).
 125. Bradley, *Optimists*, 192. Bradley then continues to explain Gladstone's work for the Post Office Savings Bank as well as his support of the Post Office life assurance business.
 126. See Frank Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680–1918* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964), 126–40, for his overview of the long process undertaken to convince the nations of the British Empire and Britain itself of the necessity of imperial penny postage.
 127. Robinson, *British Post Office*, 396–7.
 128. 'Colonial Penny Postage', *Journal of the Society of Arts* 1 (November 1852–53): 90, *Chadwyck PAO*, 90 (accessed 4 May 2006).
 129. Qtd in Mrs Adrian Porter, *The Life and Letters of Sir John Henniker Heaton* (London: John Lane, 1916), *Internet Archive*, 178 (accessed 31 March 2011).
 130. Eileen Cleere, *Avuncularism: Capital, Patriarchy, and Nineteenth-Century English Culture* (Stanford University Press, 2004), 190.
 131. J. Henniker Heaton, 'Postal Utopia', *Nineteenth Century* (1898): 764–79, 770.
 132. The date 25 December 1898 marks the day that all nations of the Empire except Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape Colony finalized their participation in imperial penny postage. The offer to be part of this plan had been extended to these nations; in 1898, however, debates concerning how to implement this scheme continued in these countries. The problems were eventually worked out. In 1900, the Cape Colony, and, in 1901, New Zealand, instituted imperial penny postage. By 1905 letters traveled to Australia for one penny, and the two penny rate for letters from Australia was lowered to one penny in 1911; see Kay, *Royal Mail*, 111.
 133. Civil Service Gazette News, *Civil Service Gazette*, 20 August 1898: 10.
 134. See Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 244.
 135. The Scudamore scandal was 'spoken of as the greatest administrative scandal since the Crimean War, two decades earlier'; Campbell-Smith, *Masters*, 181. Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 318–24, offers a fine overview of the 'Scudamore scandal'. An 1876 *Edinburgh Review* article not only examines this scandal but also discusses the financial mismanagement occurring in the mid-1870s Post Office; see 'Post Office Telegraphs', *Edinburgh Review* 143.291 (January 1876): 90–6. And Sir Arthur Blackwood examines the consequences of the postal employee dismissals because of intemperance; Sir Arthur Blackwood, 'For the Good of the Service', *Blackfriars: The Post Office Magazine* 9 (November 1889): 193–202, POST 92/1118, British Postal Museum & Archive.
 136. H. Montgomery Hyde's books offer definitive explorations of this postal scandal, its effects on the Post Office, and its reflection of Victorian Britain's political and social temperament; see his *The Cleveland Street Scandal* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1976) and *The Love that Dared Not Speak Its Name: A Candid History of Homosexuality in Britain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970).
 137. See Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 203.
 138. T. A. Jenkins, *The Liberal Ascendancy, 1830–1886* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 130.
 139. Jenkins, *Liberal Ascendancy*, 130.

140. Campbell-Smith, *Masters*, 170.
141. See Campbell-Smith, *Masters*, 171.
142. See Campbell-Smith, *Masters*, 170–3, for a detailed description of the bureaucratic overhaul that started in the Post Office in the 1850s and continued throughout the rest of the century.
143. J. A. J. Housden, 'Civil Service Institutions: The Post Office Library and Literary Institution', *Blackfriars: The Post Office Magazine* 5 (September 1887): 91–100, POST 92/1114, British Postal Museum & Archive, 91.
144. See W. F. Lovell, 'Civil Service Institutions: The Post Office Building Societies', *Blackfriars: The Post Office Magazine* 4 (April 1887): 49–60, POST 92/1113, British Postal Museum & Archive, 60.
145. A. Belcher, 'Civil Service Institutions: The United Kingdom Postal and Telegraph Service Benevolent Society', *Blackfriars: The Post Office Magazine* 4 (June 1887): 145–51, POST 92/1113, British Postal Museum & Archive explains the workings of the Benevolent Societies and offers information about the number of persons who enrolled in and benefited from the project.
146. See Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 108.
147. 'The Popular Novels of the Year', *Fraser's* 67 (August 1863): 253–69, 263.
148. Walter Montagu Gattie, 'What English People Read', *Fortnightly* 46 (September 1889): 307–21, *ProQuest British Periodicals*, 319 (accessed 21 June 2012).
149. Edmund Gosse, 'The Decay of Literature', *North American Review* 161 (July 1895): 109–18, 115.
150. Ouida, 'The Tendencies of English Fiction', *The North American Review* 141.346 (September 1885): 213–25, *JSTOR*, 214 (accessed 21 June 2012).
151. M. M., 'Novels of the Day: Their Writers and Readers', *Fraser's* (August 1860): 205–17, 210 (M. M.'s emphasis).
152. Dickens, 'Prospectus', 855.
153. Dickens, 'Prospectus', 856.
154. Dickens, 'Prospectus', 855.
155. Daniel Hack, *The Material Interests of the Victorian Novel* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 88–100, analyzes the conflicted ideology of the Guild of Literature and Art, thereby capturing mid-century writers' entangled market, aesthetic, and professional responsibilities. Nigel Cross's initial chapter details the history of the Royal Literary Fund, an organization to which the Guild opposed itself; see Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth-Century Grub Street* (Cambridge University Press, 1985). The Royal Literary Fund's emphasis on charity, without specific attention to skill or requirement of work, and its inability to represent authors as professionals inspired the creation of the Guild of Literature and Art. See also Clare Pettitt's chapter "'The Spirit of Craft and Money-Making": The Indignities of Literature in the 1850s', specifically the section "'The dignity of literature": Thackeray vs. Dickens and Forster?', 154–72, for further discussion of the Guild's conflicted ideology; Clare Pettitt, *Patent Inventions: Intellectual Property and the Victorian Novel* (Oxford University Press, 2004).
156. Victor Bonham-Carter, *Authors by Profession*, vol. 1 (London: Society of Authors, 1978), 168–9.
157. Topics of the Week, *Civil Service Gazette*, 2 December 1871: 756.
158. A. Arthur Reade, 'Brain-Tapping', *Gentleman's Magazine* 274 (July 1898): 362–7, 363.
159. Seton, *Gossip*, 131, 151–2.

160. Seton, *Gossip*, 124–5.
161. F. C. H., 'The Penny Post', *Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser., 9 (13 January 1866): 33.
162. Sheila E. Braine, 'The Complete Letter Writer', *Littell's Living Age* 210 (1896): 58–61, 58.
163. Edith Sichel, 'Women as Letter-Writers', *Cornhill* 6 (January 1899): 53–67, 67.
164. Sometimes the space provided was even more constricted. In 1893, John Henniker Heaton denounced the Post Office's 'clipping' of postcards, that is, the practice by which the Post Office physically decreased the size of postcards destined for foreign outposts. This act obviously undercut the usefulness of this cheap form of correspondence, which, as Heaton stressed, might be 'the poor man's only vehicle of communication with his friends in the colonies'; J. Henniker Heaton, 'Post-Office Plundering and Blundering', *Nineteenth Century* 33 (1893): 994–1008, 996.
165. Kay, *Royal Mail*, 84.
166. Staff, *Penny Post*, 132.
167. 'St Dunstan's House, EC', *The Publishers' Circular*, 1 October 1890: 1164–5, *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition*, 1164 (accessed 1 April 2011).
168. 'Popular', 262.
169. James Payn, 'Penny Fiction', *Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review* 9.47 (January 1881): 145–54, *ProQuest British Periodicals*, 145 (accessed 21 June 2011).
170. Gosse, 'Decay', 112, 117.
171. Parry, *Rise*, 223.
172. See Campbell-Smith, *Masters*, 192–6, for a description of the late-century Post Office's dealings with telephone companies.
173. Campbell-Smith, *Masters*, 197, 196.
174. Stephen, 'Liberalism', 77.
175. Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (University of Chicago Press, 1999), 29. Stephen, 'Liberalism', 78–9. See Patricia O'Hara, 'Knowing Hodge: The Third Reform Bill and the Victorian Periodical Press', *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers*, ed. Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 103–16, for a discussion of the 'Hodge' character frequently found in late-century literature. O'Hara explores the various manifestations of this male agricultural laborer, one version of the idealized workingman about whom Stephen writes so fervently.
176. Stephen, 'Liberalism', 79, 80.
177. Mill, *On Liberty*, 10.
178. Jenkins, *Liberal Ascendancy*, 202.
179. Mill, *On Liberty*, 129.
180. Gosse, 'Decay', 112.

2 Mr Micawber, Letter-Writing Manuals, and Charles Dickens's Literary Professionals

1. Hoppen, *Mid-Victorian Generation*, 371.
2. George Gissing, *Collected Works of George Gissing on Charles Dickens*, ed. Simon J. James, vol. 2 (Grayswood, Surrey: Grayswood Press, 2004), 62.

3. Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, ed. Nina Burgis (1849–50, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 664. Further page references will appear in parentheses in the text.
4. 'Post-Office Panic', *Punch* 9 (1845): 159.
5. James Kincaid and J. B. Priestley assert that Micawber and his letters embody the comic, almost Edenic world to which David and those of the commercial world cannot return; see James R. Kincaid, *Dickens and the Rhetoric of Laughter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 165, 179–88 and J. B. Priestley, *The English Comic Characters* (New York: Dutton, 1966), 221–3, 230. J. Hillis Miller goes a step further, suggesting that Micawber's letters 'even if they assert his acceptance of his doom . . . effectually escape from reality by transcending it linguistically'; J. Hillis Miller, *Charles Dickens: The World of His Novels* (1958, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 151. These and other critics stress that David's superior literary skills instill his writing with an order and self-assuredness that accord with his actions, as opposed to the disparity between Micawber's careworn letters and carefree life. Even when attributing David's love of language to Micawber, critics emphasize that David does not imitate Micawber's style but rather sees its excesses as that which his writing must and does overcome.
6. Though other characters write letters, the only other character, not of the Micawber clan, whose letters are printed *in toto* for readers' perusal are Emily's. These letters, the first explaining and apologizing for her departure, the second detailing her situation but pleading for assurance that her family is healthy, and the third expressing her gratefulness for her friends' continued love, stand as variations upon letters such as Samuel Richardson's 'From a Daughter to her Father, pleading for her Sister, who had married without his Consent' and 'From a young Maiden, abandoned by her Lover for the sake of a Greater Fortune'; Richardson, *Familiar*, 84–5, 155–7. In reproducing such letters, Dickens introduces the one typical, manual-popularized letter-writing role that he cannot fulfill through Micawber: the dutiful female correspondent.
7. The fact that Micawber shares so many similarities with Dickens's father also helps to explain why Dickens might allow this character unrealistic success.
8. *Complete Letter-Writer*, v.
9. Seton, *Gossip*, 166.
10. Approaching the critique of letter-writing manuals from a different angle, Mary Favret and Barbara Maria Zaczek, historians of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British epistle, assert that letter-writers instituted something akin to sexual and political censorship. Favret accuses letter-writers of seeking 'to "socialize" what was a potentially volatile form of expression', privileging decorum over content; Mary A. Favret, *Romantic Correspondence: Women, Politics and the Fiction of Letters* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 24. Zaczek more incisively describes the letter-writers' authoritarian stance, stressing that these works caution that 'a letter . . . is a signed document, and as such may be prone to all sort of mishap. . . . To avoid such risks, [the manual] suggests . . . a number of "safe topics" whose disclosure would not cause any harm' and delineates who qualifies as suitable correspondents; Barbara Maria Zaczek, *Censored Sentiments: Letters and Censorship in Epistolary*

- Novels and Conduct Materials* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), 33. According to Favret's and Zaczek's findings then, the manuals' goal was social conformity, not necessarily moral improvement.
11. Caroline Bowles Southey, 'Thoughts on Letter-Writing', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 60.11 (March 1822): 301–4, 301.
 12. Southey, 'Thoughts', 303–4.
 13. Seton, *Gossip*, 166.
 14. Braddon, *Doctor's Wife*, 164.
 15. 'Letter-Writing and Letter-Writers', *Bentley's Miscellany* 40 (1856): 422–40, 430.
 16. Richard M. Kelly, ed., 'Selections from "Punch's Complete Letter Writer"', in *The Best of Mr. Punch: The Humorous Writings of Douglas Jerrold* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1970), 148–98, 197–8.
 17. William Roberts, *History of Letter-Writing from the Earliest Period to the Fifth Century* (London: William Pickering, 1843), viii–ix.
 18. Southey, 'Thoughts', 301.
 19. According to the inventory of Devonshire Terrace, Dickens had 19 volumes of Richardson's works; see Kathleen Tillotson, ed., *The Pilgrim Edition of The Letters of Charles Dickens: 1844–1846*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 718. J. H. Stonehouse's catalogue of Dickens's library accounts for these 19 volumes, revealing that they include eight volumes of *Clarissa*, seven of *Sir Charles Grandison*, and four of *Pamela*; see J. H. Stonehouse, ed., *Reprints of the Catalogues of the Libraries of Charles Dickens and W. M. Thackeray* (London: Piccadilly Fountain Press, 1935), 97. In a letter of 1847, Dickens admits, 'Richardson is no great favourite of mine, and never seems to take his top-boots off, whatever he does'; see Graham Storey and K. J. Fielding, eds, *The Pilgrim Edition of The Letters of Charles Dickens: 1847–1849*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 20. Perhaps through Micawber, Dickens felt able to loosen Richardson's boots.
- Dickens's fascination with and knowledge of the Post Office often manifested itself in his writings in *Household Words*. In an 1850 issue, his (and W. H. Will's) 'Valentine's Day at the Post-Office' offers detailed descriptions of postal sorting processes and statistics concerning how many paid, unpaid, and stamped letters traveled through the Post Office. An 1852 issue contained 'Post-Office Money-Orders' that provided similarly detailed statistics and descriptions of this postal service, attributing its greatly increased use to penny postage, and his 1857 'Curious Misprint in the *Edinburgh Review*' chronicles the career of Rowland Hill, with whom Dickens dined when planning and researching his Valentine's Day article; Menke, *Telegraphic Realism*, 50. Dickens also denounced the misuse of the post. In a May 1850 *Household Words* article, 'The Begging-Letter Writer', he wrote against begging letters and their writers. Christopher Keirstead provides an insightful reading of Dickens's interest in postal matters, see particularly 93–4, asserting that it was driven by his 'growing anxiety about the unforeseen side effects of Britain's expanded postal system'; Christopher Keirstead, 'Going Postal: Mail and Mass Culture in *Bleak House*', *Nineteenth-Century Studies* 17 (2003): 91–106, 93. My chapter claims that such anxiety extended to Dickens's vision of Victorian fiction's future.
20. *Every-Body's Letter Writer, and Complete Guide to Correspondence; Containing a Variety of Elegant Letters & Answers on Love, Courtship, Marriage, Friendship,*

- Business, and Every Branch of Useful and Polite Correspondence. Together with Original Observations on the Art of Letter Writing; The Various Styles of Addressing, Concluding, and Subscribing Letters; and Complete Directions for the Correct Mode of Addressing Persons of Rank* (London: T. Richardson, c. 1830–39), 15.
21. Seton, *Gossip*, 162–3. Seton includes this example in his discussion of letters requesting loans, noting that ‘very elaborate examples [of such letters] are quoted in the public prints’; Seton, *Gossip*, 160. He attests, writing in 1869, that this letter was composed ‘upwards of twenty years ago’ but offers no further publication information; Seton, *Gossip*, 162.
 22. *The Universal Letter Writer; or, Complete Art of Polite Correspondence: Containing a Course of Interesting Letters on the Most Important and Interesting Subjects, which May Serve as Copies for Inditing Letters on the Various Occurrences in Life; to which is Prefixed, Directions for Writing Letters* (Haddington: James Miller, 1821), 17.
 23. *Complete Letter-Writer*, 75.
 24. Reverend George Brown, *The English Letter-Writer; Or, The Whole Art of General Correspondence* (London: Alexander Hogg, 1790), 60.
 25. *Every-Body’s*, 13.
 26. Hall, ‘Macaulay’, 26.
 27. Hornbeak, *Complete*, 123 n. 24.
 28. Richardson, *Familiar*, 7, 6.
 29. Richardson, *Familiar*, 8.
 30. *Art of Letter-Writing Simplified*, 22.
 31. Christopher Keirstead and Daniel Hack offer provocative readings of the links between Dickens’s work as a popular novelist and that of begging-letter writers, illuminating the similarities between the ways both types of writers attempted to appeal to their readers. Hack analyzes Dickens’s methods for disassociating himself from begging-letter writers, such as his caustic condemnations of them in *Household Words*; see especially Hack, *Material Interests*, 123–6. Likewise, Keirstead describes Dickens’s work to ‘distinguish mass appeal from the commercial one’ and to confront ‘the question of how a mass-produced document could still be addressed to an individual reader’; Keirstead, ‘Going Postal’, 98. He describes an attempt to maintain professional popularity/success and social responsibility and respectability. While neither focus on *David Copperfield* as a significant text in respect to Dickens’s engagement with the begging-letter genre, I assert that this novel paved the way for the examinations of begging-letter writers found in *Bleak House* and *Our Mutual Friend*, which Keirstead and Hack respectively read. *David Copperfield* delineates the differences between a begging letter and a letter that simply concerns the correspondent’s debt, thereby refining the definition of begging-letter writers.
 32. *Universal Letter Writer*, 50.
 33. *Universal Letter Writer*, 50.
 34. David’s initial introduction to Micawber’s writing stands as the potential exception to Micawber’s deference to social rules, for he is writing ‘a petition to the House of Commons, praying for an alteration in the law of imprisonment for debt’; Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 144. Yet even in this capacity, his composition is socially conventional and undeniably socially

- conscious. Considering just its conventionality, this letter nods to the fact that contemporaneous letter-writing manuals included extensive sections on such petitions. The c. 1847 *Art of Letter-Writing Simplified* includes instructions for addressing petitions to 'the Queen in Council, to the Houses of Lords and Commons'; *Art of Letter-Writing Simplified*, 49. Reverend Thomas Cooke's 1841 *Universal Letter Writer* promoted itself by noting that added to its 'polite' letters was the *Complete Petitioner*, a 32-page section that includes petitions not just from the impoverished in want of loans or legal interventions on their behalf but also 'From a Person under Sentence of Death for Murder' and 'From a Person Afflicted with the Venereal Disease, to be admitted into the Locke-Hospital'; Cooke, *Universal*, 188–9, 205.
35. Jon Lawrence, 'Paternalism, Class, and the British Path to Modernity', in *The Peculiarities of Liberal Modernity in Imperial Britain*, ed. Simon Gunn and James Vernon (Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive, 2011), 147–64, *eScholarship*, 153 (accessed 27 August 2011).
 36. James Kincaid emphasizes the dichotomous nature of Heep's and Micawber's worlds, positioning Heep in 'the threatening and hostile world of practical or commercial "reality"' and Micawber in 'the comic world of the imagination'; Kincaid, *Dickens*, 165. J. B. Priestley asserts: 'Uriah Heep would never have dreamed of employing such a person; Micawber would never have remained in the office a week; and even supposing that both actions were possible, he would never have been able to conceal his knowledge of Uriah's shady transactions'; Priestley, *English*, 240. I assert that both Heep and Micawber exercise more social savvy, at least until their disagreement reaches its climax.
 37. 'Confessions of a Begging Letter-Writer', *Punch* 5 (1843): 68–71, 68.
 38. Kelly, 'Selections', 153–4.
 39. *Universal Letter Writer*, 6.
 40. Echoing in argument yet embodying in example the target of *David Copperfield's* critique of the manuals is *Every-Body's Letter Writer*, that, in its 'Preliminary Observations on the Art of Letter-Writing', claims that 'perspicuity and conciseness are the chief merits of the letter'; *Every-Body's*, 3–4, and, in its opening letter, highlights this line: 'I have beheld you, unobserved, with the profoundest attention, till, at last, I was led to behold you with admiration: and discovering such amiability in your countenance, was induced by the sensibility, which it indicated, to flatter myself your mind is susceptible of impression, and would not deny encouragement, where truth, honor, and sincerity are advocates'; *Every-Body's*, 5. This manual preaches brevity but models verbosity that rivals Micawber's.
 41. Charles Dickens and Caroline Chisholm, 'A Bundle of Emigrants' Letters', *Household Words* 1 (30 March 1850): 19–24, 20.
 42. Qtd in Cleere, *Avuncularism*, 189.
 43. Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?: England 1783–1846* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 621.
 44. Bonham-Carter, *Authors*, 168.
 45. Jennifer Ruth also acknowledges the importance of the division between invention and copying. She explains that 'David's power of invention, the richness of his soil qualifies him for a higher professional sphere than might be attainable otherwise', whereas copying is 'a manual form of mental labor',

- in Dickens's novel; Jennifer Ruth, *Novel Professions: Interested Disinterest and the Making of the Professional in the Victorian Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006), 67. She, however, focuses on Mr Dick and Traddles as the novel's central copyists. Taking on the subject of mechanical invention more globally, Trey Philpotts asserts that Dickens made absolutely clear distinctions between mechanical and literary invention. Philpotts's arguments are built largely on articles published in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* during the mid-century debates over copyright reform. Philpotts qualifies his argument about Dickens's adamant distinction between mechanical and literary creations, by stressing that articles published in Dickens's periodicals applauded mechanical inventors for their demonstration of 'the virtues of self-help, and sustained application . . . theoretical intelligence . . . merge[d] with practical know-how' and because 'they stimulated the imagination and changed the fabric of contemporary life'; Trey Philpotts, 'Dickens, Invention, and Literary Property in the 1850s', *Dickens Quarterly* 24.1 (2007): 18–26, *Literature Online*, 26 (accessed 6 June 2008). While Philpotts's argument does not touch on the type of 'mechanical' writing Micawber undertakes, his enumeration of the reasons one might laud a mechanical worker matches the ways I assert *David Copperfield* allows readers to admire Micawber, especially after he makes his home in Australia.
46. Exploring David's struggles with shorthand, a language taught by inexpensive handbooks similar to letter-writers, Ivan Kreilkamp suggests that Dickens's novel works to temper, if not dispel, the illusions of literary and political power linked with shorthand and propagated by shorthand handbooks; see Ivan Kreilkamp, *Voice and the Victorian Storyteller* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 81–6. My chapter illustrates similar work against letter-writers.
 47. Ruth, *Novel Professions*, 59, 72.
 48. Ruth, *Novel Professions*, 73.
 49. Richard Salmon, 'Professions of Labour: *David Copperfield* and the "Dignity of Literature"', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 29.1 (2007): 35–52, 48.
 50. Salmon, 'Professions', 49.
 51. John Sturrock, *The Language of Autobiography: Studies in the First Person Singular* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 14.
 52. Similarly describing the 'autobiographical act', John Sturrock claims that 'the writer must first turn away from society, . . . subsequently to turn back toward society qua autobiographer, who offers to the world, or it may be to posterity, a text that will be the means of his recuperation by the community'; Sturrock, *Language*, 290. Failing to do this, David chooses solitude over society.
 53. J. W. Kaye, 'Pendennis – The Literary Profession', *North British Review* 13 (August 1850): 335–72, 369–70.
 54. 'Profession', 525. The nineteenth-century British *Künstlerroman*, of which *David Copperfield* is a prime example, was also fluent in this egalitarian discourse. In these novels, artists could come from humble beginnings, and, to an extent, they could derive strength from their position within the 'mass' population. As Maurice Beebe writes, the nineteenth-century *Künstlerroman* hero 'instead of separating himself from mankind, . . . feels that his mission is that of the prophet who leads his neighbors out of the wilderness. . . . [T]he

- goal of these books is to bring the “I” of the artist into harmony with the “others” of society’; Maurice Beebe, *Ivory Towers and Sacred Founts: The Artist as Hero in Fiction from Goethe to Joyce* (New York University Press, 1964), 80. Or, in Mary Poovey’s words, ‘the individual writer was represented as unique and the new incarnation of the self-made, self-sufficient man (if not always a “prophet” or “genius”) by virtue of the fact that he was like – not different from – the other men with whom he was free to compete’; Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (University of Chicago Press, 1988), 108 (Poovey’s emphasis). Artistic strength here arises from a writer’s willingness to immerse him or herself in the world. After that, one might be distinguished, but only through one’s words.
55. Mary Poovey asserts that the lack of detail concerning David’s writing conveys ‘the twin impressions that some kinds of work are less “degrading” and less alienating than others and that some laborers are so selfless and skilled that to them work is simultaneously an expression of self and a gift to others’; Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, 101. Similarly, Alexander Welsh reads David’s silence concerning his novels as ‘confidence’ and ‘the confusion and redundancy of nearly every other producer of writing [in the novel]’ as characteristic of their inadequacies; Alexander Welsh, *From Copyright to Copperfield: The Identity of Dickens* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 116. For both Poovey and Welsh, David’s silence signals his sense of superiority. Provocatively extending this claim, Richard Salmon suggests that David focuses on his diligent work habits, subtly intimating that his literary creations ‘magically’ appear; that is, Salmon reads David’s limited discussions of his writing as attempts to represent ‘a type of labour without alienation’; Salmon, ‘Professions’, 43. On the other hand, Irène Simon posits that David ‘does not speak of his artistic powers . . . because he has no wish to single himself out as a man different from his fellow-men’; Irène Simon, ‘*David Copperfield: A Künstlerroman?*’, *Review of English Studies* 43 (1992): 40–56, 55. In this autobiography in which so many of his fellow men – Micawber, Mr Dick, and Dr Strong – are authors and do speak of their writings, however, David’s silence achieves important separation. This separation, I argue, is David’s goal, as it allows him to become a writer above all others: in his own words, one formed by ‘nature and accident’, not by his slavish attention to the general readership’s desires; Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 589.
56. Matthew Titolo, ‘The Clerks’ Tale: Liberalism, Accountability, and Mimesis in *David Copperfield*’, *ELH* 70 (2003): 171–95, *Project Muse*, 178 (accessed 24 July 2007).
57. David’s separation of himself from formulaic writing can be read as an early manifestation of disdain for mass-produced objects. With this claim, I counter Jennifer Ruth’s explorations of Victorian connections of mind and machine. Ruth stresses that ‘While this “concern” [about blurring boundaries of man, mind, and machine] certainly escalated as the century neared its end, as modernism began to dismiss mass-produced cultural objects as mindless, at mid-century the machine represented in fact a kind of ideal for the laborer . . . [and] for the professional mind’; Ruth, *Novel Professions*, 75. I claim that *David Copperfield* registers the modern concern with mechanical reproducibility,

- for as much as David connects himself with manual labor – its punctuality, precision, etc. – the connections cease when he evaluates the products that that labor produces. In Richard Salmon's words, David performs a 'precarious balancing-act . . . in this simultaneous identification with, and repulsion from, the labour of writing'; Salmon, 'Professions', 46. In my words, David wants his creations to be recognized as one of a kind, but he fears that they may be seen as ones of many. With this fear, he is turning from the professional's social duty, focusing almost exclusively on the professional's personal fame. This lack of balance tarnishes his standing as a potentially ideal literary professional.
58. Sheldon Rothblatt, *Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education: An Essay in History and Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 184–5.
 59. Rachel Ablow's provocative reading of David's exaltation of Agnes argues that 'Agnes's upward-pointing finger indicates a narrative of endless progress and self-improvement'; Rachel Ablow, *The Marriage of the Minds: Reading Sympathy in the Victorian Marriage Plot* (Stanford University Press, 2007), 44. David's and Dickens's readers are cast as those who will follow Agnes's and the novel's example. I am convinced by Ablow's reading of Agnes as an ideal that spurs David to self-improvement as a person, but I do not see this improvement as necessarily translating into an enhancement of his talents as a professional writer. I tend instead to follow Lynn Cain's psychoanalytic approach that reads David's emphasis on mortality here as stressing authorship's capacity to transcend death; see Lynn Cain, *Dickens, Family, Authorship: Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Kinship and Creativity* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 117 and 122–4. Cain's interpretation underscores the fact that David's idea of 'Literature' is focused on visions of genius rather than satisfied with (or even concerned with) contemporary impact.
 60. *Universal Letter Writer*, 6.
 61. Grant Allen, *The Type-Writer Girl*, ed. Clarissa J. Suranyi (1897, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 2004), 37–8.
 62. 'Condition of Authors', 294.
 63. Alan P. Barr identifies similar hesitancy in *David Copperfield's* presentation of middle-class ideals as a whole. His article's conclusion focuses that argument through the lens of David's authorial career: Dickens 'is tentatively hopeful that from David's artistic achievements and modest, orderly domicile progress may be made toward greater civility and emotional expansiveness. Granted, the balance is left tilted toward the side of skepticism'; Alan P. Barr, 'Matters of Class and the Middle-Class Artist in *David Copperfield*', *Dickens Studies Annual* 38 (2007): 55–67, 66. My claim is that tentative hopefulness arises from an appreciation of both David's and Micawber's writings.
 64. Cain, *Dickens*, 91. See also Cain, *Dickens*, 93–8, for a description of Dickens's commercial popularity around the time of *David Copperfield's* publication. This popularity was maintained through campaigns that were heavily commercial yet simultaneously designed to create a feeling of intimacy between Dickens and his readership. I assert that attaining just such a balance is another reason why Victorian novelists used the letter – made both a commodity and an intimate possession by the British Post Office – so frequently in their fiction.

3 Feminized Correspondence, the Unknown Public, and the Egalitarian Professional of Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White*

1. James Grant, *Sketches in London*, 1838, *Victorian Dictionary*, ed. Lee Jackson, par. 43 (accessed 10 September 2002).
2. Bradley Deane likens Collins's use of characters' writings throughout the novel to the crime and trial reportage found in the contemporary penny press and other Victorian periodicals; see Deane, *Making of the Victorian Novelist*, 65–6. This connection reemphasizes how Collins's novel underscores the lower-class status of its characters/writers and the suspicions so often surrounding them.
3. Wilkie Collins, 'The Unknown Public', *Household Words* (21 August 1858): 217–22, *E-Texts of Work by Wilkie Collins*, ed. Paul Lewis, par. 4 (accessed 28 June 2009).
4. Collins, 'Unknown', par. 38.
5. Collins, 'Unknown', par. 38.
6. Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White*, ed. John Sutherland (1859–60, Oxford University Press, 1996), 69. Further page references will appear in parentheses in the text.
7. Tamar Heller, picking up on the wealth of biblical references – ones especially apocalyptic – as well as the letter's anonymity, links Anne's letter with the anonymous letters associated with the radical dissenting political movements of nineteenth-century Britain; see Tamar Heller, *Dead Secrets: Wilkie Collins and the Female Gothic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 124–5. Heller identifies an historical precedent that attests to the strength this type of letter could possess. She goes on to explain the essential failure of Anne's letter as indicative of Collins's ambivalence to revolution. Collins's ambivalence may have had less influence than Heller suggests. Writing anonymous incendiary letters in nineteenth-century Britain was a serious offence. Until 1823 such a letter writer could face a capital sentence; after 1823 the maximum sentence could still be transportation for life; see E. P. Thompson, 'The Crime of Anonymity', in *The Essential E. P. Thompson*, ed. Dorothy Thompson (New York: New Press, 2001), 378–431, 401–3.
8. Henry James, 'Miss Braddon', *Nation*, 9 November 1865: 593–5, repr. in *Wilkie Collins: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Norman Page (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 122–4, 122.
9. *Punch's* 'A Curious Fact in Letter Writing' explores the question of why women 'rarely write to the newspapers'; the claim that 'women do not fritter away their time so absurdly as men do' is quickly overshadowed by a more popularly supported explanation: 'ladies' letters are invariably so long, that no newspaper of the present small size could possibly find room for one! Why, the Postscripts alone would fill a Supplement!'; 'A Curious Fact in Letter Writing', *Punch* 17 (1849): 194. The philosophy was that unrestrained emotion led to letters that simply did not stop. So while, on the one hand, Marian's letter would be a welcome relief from 'typical' feminine verbosity, on the other, it would be seen as 'un-femininely' short.
10. Alison Case's chapter on *The Woman in White* and *Dracula*, in *Plotting Women: Gender and Narration in the Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century British*

Novel (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999) offers an illuminating reading of how nineteenth-century fiction privileged women's passive reporting over active plotting of their stories. This literary preference influenced correspondence customs as well and therefore again emphasizes Marian's bucking of convention.

11. William Wills, *The Theory and Practice of the Law of Evidence* (London: Stevens and Sons, 1894), 105.
12. Wills, *Theory*, 105.
13. While not focusing on the use of disdained epistolary genres, John Kucich focuses on Collins's characters' use of transgressive actions and, particularly, their 'movement between aesthetic privilege and hackwork . . . [their] location between high and low culture' to forward socially ameliorative projects; John Kucich, *The Power of Lies: Transgression in Victorian Fiction* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 111. Kucich comes to a conclusion similar to my own: Collins's novels celebrate 'those who could negotiate the moral gap between honesty and lying in ways that seem to advance the administration of social justice'; Kucich, *Power of Lies*, 85.
14. Walter M. Kendrick, 'The Sensationalism of *The Woman in White*', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 32 (1977–78), repr. in *Wilkie Collins*, ed. Lyn Pykett (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 70–87, 79–80.
15. Marlene Tromp, *The Private Rod: Marital Violence, Sensation, and the Law in Victorian Britain* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 97.
16. William R. McKelvy, 'The Woman in White and Graphic Sex', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 35 (2007): 287–308, 288.
17. McKelvy, 'The Woman', 296.
18. McKelvy, 'The Woman', 296.
19. McKelvy, 'The Woman', 298.
20. See McKelvy, 'The Woman', 289. McKelvy's study of reproduction leads him to assert that thorough knowledge of this type of artistic practice colors Collins's narrative structure as well: '*The Woman in White* thus includes . . . a succession of episodes featuring copying of some kind that ultimately endorse a commercial context for reproduction over an alternative one that links limited circulation to systems of patronage and the criminal prerogatives of so-called "gentlemen"'; McKelvy, 'The Woman', 297. Translating McKelvy's words into my focus on Collins's approach to professionalization: *The Woman in White* acknowledges that artistic and social merit could accrue from commercial and thus ostensibly 'lower' forms of art.
21. See Tromp, *Private Rod*, 89–91, for a reading that suggests Walter is a murderer.
22. At an early point in the composition of *The Woman in White*, Collins positioned himself to confirm the positive evidentiary power of letters. A manuscript survives to show that Collins planned that Mrs Michelson's, the housekeeper's, letters would prove that Glyde and Fosco not only faked Laura's death but also secretly incarcerated her in a mental asylum. Letters could have been the *deus ex machina* which wrapped up this sensational plot. Collins, however, rejected this plot line. John Sutherland pragmatically explains this rejection: 'The disadvantage of this scheme seems to have struck Collins almost immediately; it was too efficient. He still had over a third of his novel to spin out. These letters would not permit the kind of postponement and winding up of suspense he required'; John Sutherland, 'Two Emergencies

- in the Writing of *The Woman in White*, *Yearbook of English Studies* 7 (1977): 148–56, 154. I argue that the exclusion of the housekeeper's letters allows not just a literal continuation of the plot; it allows Collins to continue a theme consistent throughout the novel: the failure of letters to insure truth or justice, the failure of marginalized writers' texts to be read seriously. See footnote 404 in *The Woman in White*, edited by Sutherland, for the excised material describing the housekeeper's letters; Collins, *The Woman in White*, 688–9. Sutherland provides an extended discussion of Collins's removal of this plot line, see especially Sutherland, 'Two Emergencies', 152–6.
23. Daniel Hack links Collins's writing characters with novelists as well. Exploring Captain Wragge – Collins's 'extended and exuberant portrayal of a fraudulent begging-letter writer' in *No Name* (1862) – Hack argues that this novel 'invite[s] the reader to identify its begging-letter writer with novelists, indeed with Collins himself'; Hack, *Material Interests*, 133. Hack emphasizes that Wragge 'defend[s] the active cultivation of sympathy' and exudes with energy and 'entrepreneurial drive'; Hack, *Material Interests*, 135; Hack's emphasis. In another writer's hands, such characteristics could be seen as excessive, even manipulative; they could be drawn as an emotional and a presumptuous grab at position and power. This distinction suggests that Collins's portrait of this begging-letter writer argues for the truth and serious discussion that could arise from a consideration of this writer's work. However, Wragge remains on the margins of 'polite' society. Hack describes his final entry in the novel as 'triumphant[]' though 'unchanged in character'; Hack, *Material Interests*, 141. Wragge's lack of change undercuts the power of any truth or serious discussion that he or his writings can offer. The fact that *No Name* appeared as Collins's next major serialized novel after *The Woman in White* fosters my confidence in the assertion that the link between begging-letter writers and popular novelists is latent within *The Woman in White*. It appears through the character of Anne Catherick, for, though hardly competent as a writer, Anne does act in ways that introduce important social issues into the story and forward the plot line.
 24. Jonathan Loesberg, 'The Ideology of Narrative Form in Sensation Fiction', *Representations* 13 (Winter 1986): 115–38, 120 (my emphasis).
 25. Seton, *Gossip*, 160.
 26. Dickens, 'Begging-Letter', 172.
 27. Dickens, 'Begging-Letter', 171.
 28. Dickens, 'Begging-Letter', 172.
 29. Kendrick, 'Sensationalism', 81.
 30. Ellen Wood, *East Lynne*, ed. Andrew Maunder (1861, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002), 304.
 31. Frost, *Promises*, 121–2.
 32. Positioning Marian within the detective rather than the legal or criminal tradition, Nina Auerbach enthusiastically asserts that Marian 'must be fiction's first female detective', but also writes, 'she stands out as that Victorian anomaly, the strong woman whose nature finds its substance in extremity'; Nina Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon: The Life of Victorian Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 138, 135. Such strength, as Auerbach admits and Marian's letters show, does not insure security or happiness. It is just as likely to cast her as unnatural, if not deviant.

33. Douglas MacGowan, *Murder in Victorian Scotland: The Trial of Madeleine Smith* (Westport: Praeger, 1999), 13. MacGowan devotes three chapters to the three years of Smith's correspondence.
34. Lynne Marie DeCicco, 'Uneasy Alliances: Women and Lawyers in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century English Novel' (Dissertation, Columbia University, 1992), 146–7.
35. Lisa SurrIDGE (*Bleak Houses: Marital Violence in Victorian Fiction* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005)) acknowledges her debt to Marlene Tromp's chapter 'Brutality and Propriety' that links *The Woman in White* with Parliamentary debates concerning the 1857 Divorce Act; Tromp, *Private Rod*. The addition SurrIDGE offers to this discussion is the focus on the newspaper coverage that fueled and followed those official debates and, I would stress, that revealed in correspondence evidence.
36. SurrIDGE, *Bleak Houses*, 140–1.
37. SurrIDGE, *Bleak Houses*, 141 (my emphasis).
38. Anne Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, ed. Herbert Rosengarten and Margaret Smith (1848, Oxford University Press, 1993), 471.
39. Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. Glennis Byron (1897, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1998), 419.
40. Stoker, *Dracula*, 419.
41. Wood, *East Lynne*, 304.
42. SurrIDGE, *Bleak Houses*, 161 (SurrIDGE's emphasis).
43. SurrIDGE, *Bleak Houses*, 161.
44. Lyn Pykett, *The 'Improper' Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992), 8.
45. Edmund Yates, 'The Novels of Wilkie Collins', *Temple Bar* (August 1890): 528–32, repr. as 'Plot, Character and Purpose in Wilkie Collins', in *Wilkie Collins: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Norman Page (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 273–7, 277.
46. Yates, 'Novels', 277.
47. Ann Gaylin, 'The Madwoman Outside the Attic: Eavesdropping and Narrative Agency in *The Woman in White*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 43 (Fall 2001): 303–33, 315.
48. Kucich, *Power of Lies*, 108.
49. Kucich, *Power of Lies*, 83.
50. Bradley Deane asserts that an author's social class did not solely determine the author's ranking in the Victorian literary world. He identifies a 'taxonomy [of novelist classes] that had less to do with the social strata into which writers were born than with the extent to which they prioritized the tastes of a broad public or incorporated themes and discursive forms associated with mass-market production'; Deane, *Making of the Victorian Novelist*, 66. Seeing a writing's popular appeal and genre as more powerful than a writer's social class reemphasizes a central point of this chapter: the fact that Collins's cast of writers, though their social class varies, would meet with equal disrespect because of the types of writings they compose.
51. Hoppen, *Mid-Victorian Generation*, 239.
52. Hilton, *Mad, Bad*, 365.
53. 'The License of Modern Novelists', *Edinburgh Review* 106 (July 1857): 124–56, 125.

54. Justin MacCarthy, 'Novels with a Purpose', *Westminster Review* 26.1 (July 1864): 24–49, *ProQuest British Periodicals*, 45 (accessed 1 July 2012).
55. Collins, 'Unknown', par. 40.
56. Collins, 'Unknown', par. 41.

4 From Postmarks to Literary Professionalism in Anthony Trollope's *John Caldigate*

1. Anthony Trollope, 'The Civil Service', *Dublin University Magazine* (October 1855): 409–26, 410; repr. in N. John Hall, ed., *Miscellaneous Essays and Reviews* (New York: Arno Press, 1981), n.pag.
2. Anthony Trollope, 'The Civil Service', *Fortnightly Review* (15 October 1865): 613–26, 616; repr. in Hall, ed., *Miscellaneous*, n.pag.
3. Anthony Trollope, *John Caldigate*, ed. N. John Hall (1878–79, Oxford University Press, 1993), 499. Further page references will appear in parentheses in the text. See Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 86–7, where she explains exactly what is wrong with Euphemia Smith's envelope, stamp, and postmark.
4. David Pearson and Ellen Moody both offer examinations of Trollope's use of letters in his novels; see David Pearson, "'The Letter Killeth": Epistolary Purposes and Techniques in *Sir Harry Hotspur of Humblethwaite*', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 37.3 (December 1982): 396–418, *JSTOR* (accessed 16 December 2005), and Ellen Moody, 'Partly Told in Letters: Trollope's Story-Telling Art', *Trollopiana* (February 2000), repr. online with notes, *Anthony Trollope, British Novelist*, ed. Jim Moody (accessed 8 May 2000). Beyond offering his own insight on 'the most epistolary of non-epistolary novelists', Pearson offers an overview of other critics who have looked at letters in Trollope's works. These critics focus most attention on the letters' effects on character development rather than link them to political and professional issues as I do.
5. Anthony Trollope, 'To John Blackwood', 6 February 1879, in *The Letters of Anthony Trollope*, ed. N. John Hall, vol. 2 (Stanford University Press, 1983), 815.
6. Michael Sadleir, *Trollope: A Commentary* (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Co., 1947), 420 (Sadleir's emphasis). Coral Lansbury pursues a more global postal-fictional intersection in respect to Trollope when observing that '[t]he Post Office under Francis Freeling and Rowland Hill was noted for its speed, efficiency, and handsome annual profits. When Trollope spoke of his virtues as a novelist he used the same terms in his own praise'; Coral Lansbury, *The Reasonable Man: Trollope's Legal Fiction* (Princeton University Press, 1981), x. Moving from this observation to an examination of the writing Trollope did for the Post Office – 'It has always been overlooked that Trollope wrote as much for the Post Office as he did for the reading public' – Lansbury argues that: 'The seven years in the general office before he accepted a position as a postal surveyor's clerk in Ireland were to provide the structure for all Trollope's fiction. It was the conjunction and the conflict between the official and factual report and the realm of fiction that created the novels'; Lansbury, *Reasonable*, 21, 10. She asserts that his postal reports shaped the form and themes of his fiction. Her argument pivots on the balance between the imaginative and the highly detailed, exacting, and even legalistic language

- and form that pervades Trollope's novels. Her analysis of the effects of specific incidents at the Post Office on Trollope's writing occurs in her first two chapters, and the rest of her book examines writings that exhibit the influence of such incidents. Richard Mullen offers a much condensed examination of the effects that Trollope's postal-writing career had on his literary career; see Richard Mullen, *Anthony Trollope: A Victorian in his World* (London: Duckworth, 1990), 87–8 and 186. Balancing a focused reading of Bagwax with such global explorations of Trollope's visions of the Victorian Post Office and Victorian literary marketplace, my chapter asserts that Trollope's association with the Post Office and his use of this institution in *John Caldigate* lead to provocative statements about the professionalization of literature.
7. James R. Kincaid, *The Novels of Anthony Trollope* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 244.
 8. See R. H. Super, *Trollope in the Post Office* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), 18–19, for stories about Trollope's detective-like actions during his own work at the Post Office, another link between him and Bagwax.
 9. 'The Polite Guide to the Civil Service', *Punch*, 3 November 1894: 207, *Hathi Trust*, 207 (accessed 11 June 2012).
 10. The question of whether one allows outside work to conflict with official duties may be read as Trollope's most important differentiation between himself and Bagwax, at least according to Trollope himself. Trollope repeatedly stressed that he did not allow his writing to interfere with his postal duties. In *An Autobiography*, he emphasizes the following line in John Tilley's letter upon Trollope's retirement and written in his capacity as past Under-Secretary to the Postmaster General: 'notwithstanding the many calls upon your time, you have never permitted your other avocations to interfere with your Post Office work, which has been always faithfully and indeed energetically performed'; qtd in Trollope, *Autobiography*, 223. Trollope goes on to punctuate that sentiment with this attestation: 'I did not allow my literary enterprises to interfere with my official work. A man who takes public money without earning it is to me so odious that I can find no pardon for him in my heart'; Trollope, *Autobiography*, 224. Such lines define the strict standards to which Trollope held professionals.
 11. See Trollope, *John Caldigate*, 456, 458, 459–60, 497, 505, and 507, for descriptions of Bagwax's yearning for money, travel, and reputation.
 12. Editorial, *Civil Service Gazette*, 21 July 1855: 454–6, 456.
 13. Some form of 'zeal' is used to describe Bagwax in *John Caldigate*: 458, 461, 462, 463, 465 (twice), 481, 497, 498, and 512. Not all uses of 'zeal' are unequivocally positive.
 14. John Roach, *Public Examinations in England 1850–1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), 213.
 15. Qtd in Roach, *Public Examinations*, 227.
 16. Roach, *Public Examinations*, 225, 228.
 17. Roach, *Public Examinations*, 277.
 18. 'How to Prepare', *The Civil Service Competitor* (October 1884): 3.
 19. British Correspondence Classes, Advertisement, *Home Study: A Journal for Private Students* (December 1896): 9.
 20. Some read nationalistic overtones in Bagwax's pursuit of justice. Kate Thomas stresses that the problem with the stamp, which features the

Queen's head, taints Smith and her accomplice's actions with anti-nationalism directed at both the Post Office, a symbol of national strength, and the Queen herself; see Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 87. Bagwax is thus read by such critics as not just vindicating John Caldigate but exalting Queen and country.

21. Cleere, *Avuncularism*, 201.
22. In Trollope's *Three Clerks* he portrays a civil servant who literally becomes a novelist. *The Three Clerks'* writer composes bad fiction for cheap periodicals; his ascension, if it may be so called, is unheroic. The link between heroic Bagwax, who does not become a writer, and successful novelist Trollope is much more revealing of the type of cautious optimism with which *John Caldigate* approaches issues of professionalism in general and literary professionalism in particular.
23. Trollope more than matches Bagwax in postal successes. By the end of Trollope's 33-year career in 1867, John Tilley, Under-Secretary to the Postmaster General, described him as 'rank[ing] among the most conspicuous servants of the Post Office'; Trollope, *Autobiography*, 223. The description was well earned. Robert Mullen encapsulates Trollope's postal work this way: 'Trollope had made a considerable contribution . . . in an improved service in Ireland, England, Wales and Scotland, in better conditions of employment for letter-carriers, in a more efficient international post and in those pillar boxes which were fast becoming a British "institution"'; Mullen, *Anthony Trollope*, 499. Notably, debate surrounds Trollope's 'invention' of the pillar box; see Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 40–1, Robinson, *British Post Office*, 333–4, and Super, *Trollope*, 27. However, Trollope admitted to taking the idea from France. Correspondingly, debate does not surround the fact that Trollope was responsible for *introducing* pillar boxes into many British towns.
24. Kaye, 'Pendennis', 369–70.
25. Bonham-Carter, *Authors*, 114–15.
26. Trollope, *Autobiography*, 252. Trollope wrote the majority of *An Autobiography* between the latter part of 1875 and April 1876; see Trollope, *Autobiography*, 18. He added a conclusion in 1878. The composition of *An Autobiography* was thus generally contemporary with that of *John Caldigate*. This chapter therefore relies heavily on *An Autobiography*, using it as a reflection of Trollope's ideas about the literary professions that could influence the 1878–79 novel.
27. Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 58 (Larson's emphasis).
28. W. J. Reader, *Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Cox & Wyman, 1966), 203.
29. Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1880* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 117.
30. Trollope, *Autobiography*, 98.
31. See Trollope, *Autobiography*, 281–2.
32. Ruth, *Novel Professions*, 99, 98. Ruth discusses Trollope's merging of financial, artistic, and social priorities in his definition of the literary professional. I focus on how *John Caldigate* celebrates the fact that such mergers demand that one does not settle for just passable work but rather that one strives for the highest quality productions possible.
33. Trollope, *Autobiography*, 177.

34. Anthony Trollope, 'Novel-Reading', *Nineteenth Century* 5.23 (January 1879): 24–43, 38.
35. Trollope, *Autobiography*, 127.
36. Trollope, *Autobiography*, 127.
37. Trollope, *Autobiography*, 179.
38. Trollope, *Autobiography*, 180.
39. Trollope's Australia-inspired writings were accused of celebrating his own moral and political ideals and himself rather than giving a fair view of Australia. Jill Felicity Durey counters such criticism, asserting that these novels explored issues of extreme import for modern Australia, specifically 'equal opportunities; social relations; gender; race; and political independence'; Jill Felicity Durey, 'Modern Issues: Anthony Trollope and Australia', *Antipodes* 21.2 (2007): 170–6, *ProQuest British Periodicals*, 171 (accessed 5 June 2009). Britain itself was debating these issues, and optimistic Liberal politicians were making promises linked to them. I assert that *John Caldigate's* letters are infused with that very optimism.
40. Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 97.
41. LeeAnne M. Richardson, *New Woman and Colonial Adventure Fiction in Victorian Britain: Gender, Genre, and Empire* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 1.
42. Nicholas Birns, 'The Empire Turned Upside Down: The Colonial Fictions of Anthony Trollope', *Ariel* 27.3 (1996): 7–23, 11.
43. Many contemporary readers would have linked this novel's plot to one of the era's most sensationalized cases, the Tichborne case. That infamous scandal included its own imposter from Australia eager to seize another's inheritance, and who, like Euphemia, inspired heated legal proceedings – in fact, multiple trials in 1871 and 1873 – that ultimately did not find in his favor. R. C. Terry and Kate Thomas discuss the connections between *John Caldigate* and the Tichborne case; see R. C. Terry, Introduction, *John Caldigate* by Anthony Trollope (London: Trollope Society, 1995), ix–xvi, xii–xiii, and Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 83 n. 27. Richard Mullen cites an instance of Trollope's reaction to the Tichborne case, quoting a letter between Trollope and his sister-in-law: 'I hope the English-reading public may now return to the reading of fiction. . . . We poor novelists had not, amongst us, the wit to invent such a grand plot as that!'; qtd in Mullen, *Anthony Trollope*, 594. Reading the letter callously, one could claim that one 'poor' literary professional just implicitly made plans to pander to the public by recycling this plot. Reading more generously, one could conclude that Trollope here showed himself aware of the public's interests, and *John Caldigate* shows how he worked to elevate them.
44. Gattie, 'What English', 321.
45. Trollope, 'Novel-Reading', 42; the same sentiment is found in Trollope, *Autobiography*, 184.
46. Qtd in N. John Hall, Introduction, *John Caldigate*, by Anthony Trollope (Oxford University Press, 1993), vii–xix, xvi.
47. Trollope defines his political affiliation as 'advanced conservative liberal' in *Autobiography*, 232.
48. Amanda Anderson also links a pivotal letter within *The Way We Live Now* to ameliorative social power: 'the letter actualizes a kind of truthful

communication that is not only inherently efficacious . . . but also productive of a kind of social consciousness. . . . [I]t stands as a liberal moment that relies not only on the characterological sincerity of Breghter but on the possibility of a communicative practice that at once disarms prejudice and privileges the principles of autonomy and respect'; Amanda Anderson, 'Trollope's Modernity', *ELH* 74 (2007): 509–34, *Project Muse*, 528 (accessed 30 March 2008). *John Caldigate's* letters do not promise such boldly liberal gains. *John Caldigate's* letters are conservatively liberal in that they give some power to persons like Bagwax, a junior civil servant, and John Caldigate, whose early actions undermine his highborn status. This novel allows these characters more success than their real-life counterparts most likely would win, but it is a far step from 'disarming' prejudice and inaugurating universal respect.

49. See Ruth, *Novel Professions*, 30 and 103, for her explanation of how Trollope 'reclaimed' the term 'hack'.
50. Ruth, *Novel Professions*, 104.
51. Trollope, 'Novel-Reading', 25.
52. 'Mr. Trollope on Novel-Reading', *Literary World*, 1 February 1879: 40.
53. 'Mr. Trollope', 40.
54. Thomas, *Cultivating Victorians*, 94.
55. Thomas, *Cultivating Victorians*, 102.
56. Lauren M. E. Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Government in a Liberal Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 157.
57. Goodlad, *Victorian Literature*, 154.
58. Arnold Bennett, *Books and Persons: Being Comments on a Past Epoch, 1908–1911* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1917), *Google Books*, 148 (accessed 12 April 2011).
59. George Gissing, *George Gissing's Commonplace Book: A Manuscript in the Berg Collection of The New York Public Library*, ed. Jacob Korg (New York Public Library, 1962), 67.
60. 'Anthony Trollope', *Macmillan's Magazine* 49 (November 1883–April 1884): 47–56, *Chadwyck's Periodicals Archive Online*, 47 (accessed 12 April 2011).
61. Bonham-Carter, *Authors*, 116.

5 Telegraphing Literature in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Sign of Four*

1. Anthony Trollope, *The Way We Live Now* (1874–75, Ware: Wordsworth Classics, 1995), 380–1.
2. Braddon, *Doctor's Wife*, 403.
3. Menke, *Telegraphic Realism*, 123.
4. M. E. Grant Duff, 'Letters', *Cornhill* 1.4 (October 1896): 464–83, 464.
5. "'Telegraphese", Report Expressing Concern that the Use of Abbreviations in Telegraphs May Contribute to the "Linguistic Loss which the Quicker Pace of the Nineteenth Century is Causing"', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 September 1885: 179, POST 111/22, British Postal Museum & Archive.
6. 'Post-Office Parcels and Telegraphs', *English Illustrated Magazine* 5 (1887–88): 738–51, 747–8.

7. Stephen Knight, *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction* (London: Macmillan Press, 1980), 67.
8. Ian Ousby, *Bloodhounds of Heaven: The Detective in English Fiction from Godwin to Doyle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 172.
9. Frederick L. DeNaples, 'Unearthing Holmes: 1890s Interpretations of the Great Detective', in *Transforming Genres: New Approaches to British Fiction of the 1890s*, ed. Nikki Lee Manos and Meri-Jane Rochelson (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 215–35, 216.
10. Peter Thoms, *Detection and Its Designs: Narrative and Power in 19th-Century Detective Fiction* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998); Jaya Mehta, 'English Romance; Indian Violence', *Centennial Review* 39.3 (1995): 611–57, 647.
11. Joseph W. Childers, 'Foreign Matter: Imperial Filth', in *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, ed. William A. Cohen and Ryan Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 201–21, 216.
12. DeNaples, 'Unearthing', 217.
13. DeNaples, 'Unearthing', 217.
14. Staff, *Penny Post*, 199.
15. Baines, *Forty Years*, II: 87.
16. James Wilson Hyde, *The Royal Mail: Its Curiosities and Romance*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885), 249. Analyzing *A Study in Scarlet*, Kate Thomas similarly remarks upon Holmes's 'command of communication systems', stressing his telegraph usage; Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 167. She also cites this notable line from 'The Adventure of the Devil's Foot' that links Holmes with telegraphy: Holmes 'has never been known to write where a telegram would serve'; Doyle qtd in Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 168. *The Sign of Four* itself underscores Holmes's dependence on the telegraph. He sends a telegram to the Baker Street Irregulars; he is concerned that Watson will not be able to wire him when he is forced to investigate the happenings on the river, and he wires Jones about the case's progress. In each of these instances, the telegrams are associated with the forward movement of the plot or a concern that it will not move forward. Holmes thus shows himself as viewing the telegraph as a catalyzing instrument. The novel ultimately interrogates that vision or at least questions what is catalyzed.
17. Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Sign of Four* (1890, London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 16. Further page references will appear in parentheses in the text.
18. Lewins, *Her Majesty's Mails*, 270–1.
19. Andrew J. Moody, "'The Harmless Pleasure of Knowing": Privacy in the Telegraph Office and Henry James's "In the Cage"', *Henry James Review* 16.1 (1995): 53–65, 58.
20. Lewins, *Her Majesty's Mails*, 243.
21. Moody, "'Harmless Pleasure'", 58.
22. Hyde, *Royal Mail*, 314.
23. Peter D. McDonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice 1880–1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 125.
24. By the late nineteenth century, the British public generally believed (and apparently rightly so) in the almost patriotic devotion of telegraph operators to their duties. Anthony Trollope's 'The Young Women at the London Telegraph Office' ends with testimony to the fact that the utmost secrecy and professionalism is maintained in these offices. Such attestations can also be

- found in the *English Illustrated Magazine's* 'Post-Office Parcels and Telegraphs' and the *Gentleman's Magazine's* 'The Semi-Jubilee of State Telegraphy'.
25. 'Post-Office Parcels', 742.
 26. Charles Lee Lewes, 'Freaks of the Telegraph', *Blackwood's Magazine* 129 (1881): 468–78, 469.
 27. W. J. Johnston's *Lightning Flashes and Electric Dashes* (1877) – a collection of fiction written by American and British telegraph operators – concludes with numerous pages of advertisements for similar book collections and journals carrying tales of and by telegraphists; W. J. Johnston, ed., *Lightning Flashes and Electric Dashes: A Volume of Choice Telegraphic Literature, Humor, Fun, Wit, and Wisdom* (New York: Johnston, 1877).
 28. Johnston, ed., *Lightning Flashes*, 3.
 29. Baines, *Forty Years*, I: 311.
 30. See Tom Standage, *The Victorian Internet: The Remarkable Story of the Telegraph and the Nineteenth Century's On-Line Pioneers* (New York: Walker and Company, 1998), 50.
 31. Robert N. Brodie, "'Take a Wire, Like a Good Fellow": The Telegraph in the Canon', *Baker Street Journal* 41.3 (1991): 148–52, 151.
 32. Menke, *Telegraphic Realism*, 73.
 33. Iwan Rhys Morus, 'The Electric Ariel: Telegraphy and Commercial Culture in Early Victorian England', *Victorian Studies* 39 (Spring 1996): 339–78, *ProQuest British Periodicals*, 376 (accessed 25 May 2006).
 34. Qtd in Morus, 'Electric Ariel', 376.
 35. Charles F. Briggs and Augustus Maverick, *The Story of the Telegraph and a History of the Great Atlantic Cable* (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1858), *Google Books*, 22 (accessed 13 April 2011).
 36. J. Henniker Heaton, 'An Imperial Telegraph System', *Nineteenth Century* 45 (1899): 906–14, 910.
 37. J. Henniker Heaton, 'Postal and Telegraphic Communication of the Empire', *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Trust* 19 (1888): 171–221, *Google Books*, 172 (accessed 1 April 2011).
 38. Lewes, 'Freaks', 468.
 39. Hyde, *Royal Mail*, 250.
 40. On first glance, KyoungMin Han appears to counter my claim. Han's article, like my discussion here, focuses on Holmes's refusal of emotional and ideological involvement in the Morstan case; it turns at the end to assert that 'in spite of the inhuman aspect of his "scientific" methods and his utter contempt for any kind of emotional attachment Holmes himself can be seen as an object of emotional engagement'; KyoungMin Han, 'Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Sign of Four*: More than a Story about a Machine?', *Nineteenth-Century Literature in English* 12.2 (2008): 155–69, 165. Han bases this claim on Victorian readers' celebration of this figure that manifested itself in ways including letters written to Holmes. Such 'interaction' with Holmes, however, does not attest to his or readers' capacity for emotional, much less ideological, engagement. In fact, readers who write to Holmes could be read as retreating from engagement with their real worlds and advancing toward dependence on fiction. Moreover, the letters actual readers composed most often celebrated Holmes's ability to bring order and sometimes sought his aid. Holmes remained a tool, not someone to join with or even emulate

- in his defense of the British way of life. See *The Sherlock Holmes Letters*, ed. Richard Lancelyn Green (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986), for examples of readers' letters to Holmes.
41. See Robinson, *British Post Office*, 425–6, and Daunton, *Royal Mail*, 259–68, for discussions of an 1890 postal strike, the issues precipitating it, and its consequences. H. G. Swift devotes three chapters to the discontent among telegraph workers during the 1870s through the early 1890s when they suffered from low and unevenly distributed salaries, long work hours, and excessive punishment for menial errors; see chs 12, 13, and 17 in H. G. Swift, *A History of Postal Agitation: From Eighty Years Ago Till the Present Day*, Book 1, new, rev. edn (Manchester: Percy Brothers, 1929). Alan Clinton explores how unions formed and acted from 1840 to 1919; his work corrects some of Swift's, see especially chs 1–7 of Alan Clinton, *Post Office Workers: A Trade Union and Social History* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984).
 42. Moody, "Harmless Pleasure", 58. Kate Thomas discusses the Telegraph Act of 1868 that 'legislated against workers revealing or tampering with the contents of telegrams'; see Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 115. She notes a clause that allows telegraph clerks to 'publish' libelous communication to the courts, another way telegraph clerks ostensibly bring order to chaos, like the detective.
 43. Moody, "Harmless Pleasure", 59.
 44. See Simon Potter, 'Communication and Integration: The British Dominions Press and the British World, c. 1876–1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 30 (2003): 190–206, 195–6.
 45. 'The Electric Story-Teller', *Punch* 27 (1854): 143, *Hathi Trust*, 9–12 (accessed 8 March 2011).
 46. Christopher Clausen, *The Moral Imagination: Essays of Literature and Ethics* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986), 64.
 47. Focusing on Holmes's interaction, or lack thereof, with the police and the Holmes stories' liberal defense of individuals against the power of the state, Christopher Clausen's chapter on Doyle also stresses the less conservative side of the Holmes fiction. My chapter also argues that *The Sign of Four* is liberal at its core; it, however, predicts that liberal ideals are doomed because there seems no one willing to fight for them.
 48. Laura Otis, *Networking: Communicating with Bodies and Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 147.
 49. Otis, *Networking*, 137.
 50. Otis, *Networking*, 139.
 51. Otis, *Networking*, 136.
 52. Otis, *Networking*, 136, 138, 144.
 53. Jay Clayton, *Charles Dickens in Cyberspace: The Afterlife of the Nineteenth Century in Postmodern Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 76.
 54. Miss Morstan makes it clear that she is not motivated by a desire for her father's ill-gotten treasure. Her aim is to learn of her father's life and death. Her 'calm[]' pronouncement that 'The treasure is lost' seems to resound with a sense of relief that this episode of her life has concluded; Doyle, *Sign of Four*, 93. That Holmes is unable to save her 'inheritance' thus is in accord with her wishes. It is still not, however, necessarily satisfying to readers, and, more importantly, it facilitates the story's abrupt turn from the discussion of

- the Indian Mutiny, another unsatisfying – because not fully debated – story. Such points in *The Sign of Four* could be read as sites at which the novel attempts to incite readers' discontent so as to fight their apathy.
55. Clausen, *Moral Imagination*, 64–5 (my emphasis).
 56. Ronald R. Thomas, *Detective Fiction and the Rise of Forensic Science* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 224.
 57. Otis, *Networking*, 210.
 58. Mortimer Menpes's 1901 autobiography recounts a conversation with Doyle in which Doyle reportedly said 'Sherlock Holmes was merely a mechanical creature, not a man of flesh and blood, – and easy to create because he was soulless'; Mortimer Menpes, *War Impressions: Being a Record in Colour* (London: Charles Black, 1901), 123–4, repr. in *Sir Arthur Conan Doyle: Interviews and Recollections*, ed. Harold Orel (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), 75–6, 75. This line shows Doyle's recognition and condemnation of Holmes's mechanical nature.
 59. Thoms, *Detection*, 123.
 60. Thoms, *Detection*, 139.
 61. Arthur Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1924), 103.
 62. See Joseph W. Childers's discussion that asserts that Small's story 'plainly incriminates him and all English'; see Childers, 'Foreign Matter', 209–11 for a full discussion. In the face of these accusations, it is even more difficult to accept Holmes's silence.
 63. Mehta, 'English Romance', 635.
 64. Mehta describes a similar precariousness in Doyle's story construction: 'in *The Sign of Four* both mystery and the mysterious are supposedly penetrated and dispersed by the detective's totalizing knowledge. As this effort is betrayed at critical moments, however, Doyle's narrative is always in the process of sealing off its fissures. . . . Thus the project of detection oscillates unstably between tracking and erasing, a process of discovering what has to be promptly suppressed, remembering what must be forgotten'; Mehta, 'English Romance' (648). My argument is that *The Sign of Four* is fraught with the anxiety that suppression and forgetting will be all too complete.
 65. M. M., 'Novels of the Day', 212.
 66. Thoms, *Detection*, 1 (my emphasis).
 67. Arthur Conan Doyle, 'My First Book', *McClure's Magazine* 3.3 (August 1894): 225–8, 228.
 68. See Doyle, *Memories*, 70–5.
 69. 'Crime in Current Literature', *Westminster Review* 147 (April 1897): 429–38, 437, 436.
 70. Ed Wiltse, "'So Constant an Expectation": Sherlock Holmes and Seriality', *Narrative* 6.2 (May 1998): 105–22, 111.
 71. Mehta, 'English Romance', 643.
 72. Stephen, 'Liberalism', 83.
 73. McDonald, *British Literary Culture*, 161.
 74. Qtd in Hesketh Pearson, *Conan Doyle: His Life and Art* (London: Methuen, 1943), 96.
 75. Qtd in Herbert Greenhough Smith, 'Some Letters of Conan Doyle', *Strand*, October 1930: 390–5, 393.

76. Doyle, *Memories*, 93.
77. Doyle, *Memories*, 93–4.
78. 'St Dunstan's', 1164.
79. 'St Dunstan's', 1165.
80. Doyle, *Memories*, 103.
81. Stoker's *Dracula* takes Doyle's analogy between literary professional and telegraph operator a step further with Mina, a central writer within Stoker's novel. When under hypnosis to channel Dracula's thoughts, Mina becomes like the telegraph machine itself, simply a medium through which ideas flow.
82. Potter, 'Communication', 196.
83. Topics of the Week, *Civil Service Gazette*, 19 November 1870: 739.
84. Standage, *Victorian Internet*, 145.
85. Duncan S. A. Bell, 'Dissolving Distance: Technology, Space, and Empire in British Political Thought, 1770–1900', *Journal of Modern History* 77.3 (2005): 523–62, 559.
86. Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 1, 6.
87. Recognizing interconnections between domestic and international issues but failing to put that knowledge to use is the problem that Caroline Reitz asserts that detective fiction, like that of Doyle, was attempting to overcome. Claiming that Holmes's entries into foreign territories are not the aberrations most critics deem them, Reitz posits that these tales forward 'an argument for the necessity of better authority through a centralized system of local knowledge. The systematization of knowledge requires constant forays into the domain of the local and peripheral, not an insulated surveillance from the center'; Caroline Reitz, *Detecting the Nation: Fictions of Detection and the Imperial Venture* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004), 76. I argue that *The Sign of Four* reveals the consequences of having the necessary knowledge and skill but failing to systematize it by acknowledging and debating different points of view. *The Sign of Four* thus suggests, forebodingly, that Holmes's insulated surveillance will prevail.
88. Considering Doyle's exploration of political issues, see John McBratney, especially 153 and 157–8, who suggests Doyle's language mimics many contemporary imperial narratives based on nineteenth-century work on the 'criminal type', census materials, and 'Indian gazetteers [that] were vast, alphabetized summaries of geographical, historical, and ethnographic information about the subcontinent'; John McBratney, 'Racial and Criminal Types: Indian Ethnography and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Sign of Four*', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 33 (2005): 149–67, 154. Such narratives were used in ways that did not allow for debate about, for instance, the causes of social and political disorder in India. If one rather literally reads McBratney's emphasis on the directive influence that these writings have on Doyle, one can begin to see a loss of Doyle's personal, individual voice. McBratney's analysis does, however, differ from mine by suggesting that Doyle had already acquiesced to 'telegraphing' the message of the majority.
89. Menke, *Telegraphic Realism*, 95.
90. Arthur Conan Doyle, *The White Company* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1903), vii–ix.

91. G. R. Searle, *A New England?: Peace and War 1886–1918* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 282.
92. Searle, *A New England?*, 251.
93. Bradley, *Optimists*, 243.
94. Pettitt, *Patent Inventions*, 262 (Pettitt's emphasis).
95. "'Yours A. C. D'", *The Academy and Literature* 65 (October 1903): 444.
96. "'Yours'", 444.
97. Dickens used a similar personal signature on the *Nicholas Nickleby* portrait engraving; see Cain, *Dickens*, 96. This signature was used at a high point of Dickens's popularity when he saw himself as maintaining a much more successful balance between artist, businessman, and social advocate than Doyle would ever seem to achieve.
98. John Michael Gibson and Richard Lancelyn Green have edited a collection of Doyle's 1879 to 1930 'Letters to the Press'. Their categorized index of the letters includes Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Literary, Military, Religion and Spiritualism – hardly the subjects of one who has lost faith in epistolary power in moral, social, and political debate; Arthur Conan Doyle, *Letters to the Press*, ed. John Michael Gibson and Richard Lancelyn Green (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986). Jon Lellenberg, Daniel Stashower, and Charles Foley's *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters* (New York: Penguin, 2007) further attests to a prolific and politically engaged correspondent.

Conclusion: Undelivered

1. Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, 106.
2. Bonham-Carter, *Authors*, 114.
3. Walter Besant, 'News and Notes', *The Author* 1.7 (15 November 1890): 164, *Google Books*, 164 (accessed 30 July 2012).
4. Ruth, *Novel Professions*, 51.
5. Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, 112 (Poovey's emphasis).
6. Chris R. Vanden Bossche, 'The Value of Literature: Representations of Print Culture in the Copyright Debate of 1837–1842', *Victorian Studies* 38.1 (Autumn 1994): 41–68, *JSTOR*, 62 (accessed 17 February 2011).
7. Forster, 'Encouragement', 2.
8. Dickens, 'Prospectus', 855.
9. Dickens, 'Prospectus', 853.
10. Dickens, 'Prospectus', 853.
11. George Eliot, 'The Natural History of German Life', *Westminster Review*, ns X (July 1856): 51–79, *Literature Online*, 54 (accessed 10 March 2011).
12. George Eliot did not give Dickens such a glowing review. In 'The Natural History of German Life' from which the previous quote is extracted, she says this of Dickens: 'We have one great novelist who is gifted with the utmost power of rendering the external traits of our town [as opposed to country] population; and if he could give us their psychological character – their conceptions of life, and their emotions – with the same truth as their idiom and manners, his books would be the greatest contribution Art has ever made to the awakening of social sympathies. But . . . he scarcely ever passes from the humorous and external to the emotional and tragic, without becoming

as transcendent in his unreality as he was a moment before in his artistic truthfulness'; Eliot, 'Natural History', 55. My reading of Micawber argues that Dickens's abrupt shifts between unreality and truthfulness can be a form of social criticism, specifically showing what Victorian reality is unable to bring to pass.

13. 'Charles Dickens and David Copperfield', *Fraser's Magazine* 42.252 (December 1850): 698–710, *ProQuest British Periodicals* 2, 700 (accessed 2 April 2011).
14. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 147.
15. Collini, *Public Moralists*, 361.
16. Collini, *Public Moralists*, 365.
17. George Gissing, *New Grub Street*, ed. John Goode (1891, Oxford University Press, 1993), 398.

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