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Introduction: Reassessing the *Strand Magazine*, 1891–1918

EMMA LIGGINS AND MINNA VUOHELAINEN

A “National Institution”

“The Strand, to some extent, revolutionized Magazines in this country,” the hundredth issue of the *Strand Magazine* (1891–1950) boldly declared in 1899.¹ Since its inception in January 1891, George Newnes’s heavily illustrated sixpenny monthly had offered its half-a-million readers outstanding value for money. The magazine’s satisfying mix of short fiction, serialised novels, illustrated interviews, puzzles, scientific curiosities, articles about celebrities and the Royal Family, and travel writing ensured it a continued popularity well into the twentieth century. In 1966, the *Strand*’s final editor and biographer Reginald Pound would describe the monthly as a British “national institution” that was “as much a symbol of immutable British order as Bank Holidays and the Changing of the Guard.”²

Yet this leading British fiction monthly that endured for six decades has received relatively little sustained scholarly attention. This special issue of *Victorian Periodicals Review* looks back at, and reassesses, the significance of the *Strand* in the British cultural imaginary from the 1890s to the end of the First World War. The essays collected here explore the heterogeneity and cultural “readability” of this key periodical, including its editorial policies, its use of illustration, the intertextual mixture of fictional, factual, and human-interest material in its pages, its participation in socio-cultural debates, and its construction of reader communities and of readerly identities. The essays collected here seek to shed light on some of the forgotten contributors, artists, and personalities who helped to establish the *Strand*’s leading position in the periodical market in the first half of its sixty-year run. Together, the essays suggest that the monthly offered a significant contribution to

British middlebrow culture of this period in a number of fields, including the short story form, genre fiction, continental fiction in translation, illustration, celebrity culture, science and communications technology, spiritualism, and responses to conflict.

A somewhat nebulous term, the “middlebrow” carries largely negative associations with mainstream, unambitious, and undemanding popular culture aimed at a broad, culturally conservative audience in search of social respectability and inexpensive, unintellectual leisure pursuits.³ Middlebrow culture is seen to track, rather than set, cultural trends, and reflect, rather than shape, contemporary debates and events, its consumers perceived as conservative followers rather than radical modernisers. In an academic culture that valorises novelty, experimentation, transgression, and rupture, the middlebrow is often dismissed as unworthy of serious scholarship. As Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor note, the illustrated press, which commonly targeted newly literate and middlebrow readers, has also until relatively recently been neglected by scholars as reflective and passive rather than as active and innovative.⁴ By reassessing the *Strand*’s contribution to British culture at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, the essays in this special issue seek to examine and extend current critical understandings of middlebrow culture. While the essays identify instances in which the *Strand* conformed to middlebrow tastes and confirmed existing notions of respectability, in other cases the magazine is seen to shape readerly identities, contribute to artistic developments, and influence or question current debates.

Readership Communities

Founded in 1891 by the enterprising publisher George Newnes (1855–1910), who had made his fortune from the penny weekly *Tit-Bits* (1881–1984), the *Strand Magazine* was launched as a British alternative to the American *Scribner’s* and *Harper’s*.⁵ At sixpence, the *Strand*

offered its readers outstanding value for money: 112, later 120, heavily illustrated two-columned pages of “cheap, healthful literature” per month, consisting of a varied diet of “stories and articles by the best British writers, and special translations from the first foreign authors ... illustrated by eminent artists.”⁶ Its readership had reached approximately 400,000 by 1896, and would remain at this level through the early twentieth century and the First World War.⁷

The *Strand* relied on the commercial acumen of Newnes, who famously claimed to be “the average man” and thus to know his leisure needs.⁸ “Few firms,” the *Literary Year-Book* observed of Newnes’s publishing empire in 1897, “can boast the attention of so wide a circle of general readers.”⁹ The *Strand* enjoyed a remarkable degree of editorial continuity with Herbert Greenhough Smith’s (1855–1935) tenure as its literary editor from 1891 to 1930. The Cambridge-educated son of an engineer, Smith, “both a professional and an educated man,” was eminently suited to this role.¹⁰ His credentials are characteristic of some of the social changes, aspirations, and anxieties that the *Strand* was poised to address during the “critical historical matrix” of the *fin de siècle*, “an epoch of endings and beginnings.”¹¹ The extent to which Newnes and Smith had their finger on the pulse of the times is suggested by the initial choice of title for the proposed magazine: the *New Magazine*.¹² While always closer to the New Journalism than the Modernist magazine, the *Strand* nonetheless responded to the conflict between “declining Victorianism and rising Modernism” by assuming a middlebrow position at a time that witnessed an increasing separation of high and popular cultural forms and expressions.¹³

The *Strand* constructed itself as a family paper that sought primarily to appeal to men but that also printed material for female and child readers.¹⁴ Its New Journalistic fostering of loyal middlebrow readership communities has been, and remains, a key area of investigation for periodical scholars. In 2001 Kate Jackson’s trail-blazing study of Newnes and his

entrepreneurial strategies related the “readability” of the *Strand* to “the way in which it offered a synthesis of continuity and change, consolidating the experiences of a generation caught in flux.”¹⁵ Christopher Pittard’s work on detective fiction in the *Strand* and James Mussell’s exploration of science, time, and space in the nineteenth-century press have placed the *Strand* within 1890s periodical communities. Pittard and Mussell take up rather different positions in relation to the readability of the magazine, respectively stressing the “reassuring” and the “strange” as the monthly’s chief attractions to a readership experiencing significant and rapid social change.¹⁶ For Pittard, the *Strand*’s commitment to providing wholesome reading matter led it to sanitise stories and illustrations of crime.¹⁷ For Mussell, by contrast, the attractions of the “strange” within the context of the spectacular outcomes of scientific and technical endeavour had much to do with the *Strand*’s success: “The *Strand* continually presents its readers with exotic contexts that can be made subject to middle-class reading strategies. It is only by recognizing the strange that buttresses this stubbornly familiar text that we can understand why its readers returned, month after month, in such impressive numbers.”¹⁸ More recently, Jonathan Cranfield’s meticulous study of Arthur Conan Doyle’s forty-year involvement with the *Strand* pays welcome attention to the magazine after 1900, showing that Victorian readers were “addressed directly as transitional subjects” as they were shepherded into the new media age.¹⁹

Critics have tended to read the *Strand* as conservative rather than innovative in its contents, as reflective rather than formative in its responses to contemporary events, as aimed at male rather than female readers, and as quintessentially Victorian in its values. Pound, for example, remarks that “the middle-classes of England never cast a clearer image of themselves in print than they did in *The Strand Magazine*. Confirming their preference for mental as well as physical comfort, for more than half a century it faithfully mirrored their tastes, prejudices, and intellectual limitations.”²⁰ For Cranfield, “the *Strand* was too

middlebrow and had too rigorous a sense of decorum to become seriously involved in many of the heated debates which the openness and scale of the periodical form seemed to encourage,” and its readership remained “determinedly Victorian.”²¹ And for Jackson, “*The Strand* serves to demonstrate that some periodicals are more representative of ‘reflection’ than others which, actively engaging with or challenging their readers, are deliberately interactive, radical or creative.”²² Cranfield and Jackson both point to the *Strand*’s reconciliation of the reassuring and the strange, its “harmonious balance between novelty and familiarity, between luxury and affordability,” and its “compromise between artistic quality and journalistic innovation, a combination of commercialism and professionalism,” as the secret of its success.²³

One reader community that the *Strand* actively cultivated was the commuting Londoner, to whose fragmented leisure patterns the monthly was particularly well-suited. As Pittard remarks, “to read the *Strand* itself was also to experience the city.”²⁴ The magazine’s iconic light blue front cover, designed by George Charles Haité (figure 1), positioned the reader in the busy London thoroughfare after which the monthly was named and which, significantly, connects London’s commercial, entertainment, and professional districts. A placard points towards the magazine’s offices in Burleigh Street, while the pavement is busy with all sorts and conditions of people: a paper boy with a stack of *Tit-Bits*, gentlemen in top hats, a policeman, a lone woman carrying an umbrella. A newsboy runs across the street, dodging between cabs and omnibuses. Indeed, in 1911, an article in the magazine proclaimed that “THE STRAND has always evinced a particular interest in London and Londoners, as its very name might imply, and it has always been glad to reflect any new aspect of life and effort in the capital of the British Empire.”²⁵ These urban interests are evident in the monthly’s investment in detective fiction and the many factual articles it printed on urban issues and infrastructure.

This focus on the city, the Empire, and modernity has recently generated more scholarship on the monthly's urban and imperial contexts. Ruth Hoberman's work on consumer culture and "the magic of objects" in the magazine reminds us of the relationship between advertising and the ways in which certain *Strand* stories "dramatize the anxieties of middle-class shoppers about their class position and agency."²⁶ However, the *Strand*'s editor also noted that readers "from every quarter of the globe" had sent in numerous and varied photographs for inclusion in the magazine's long-running "Curiosities" series.²⁷ Sustained critical attention to the *Strand*'s British middle-class male readership has, however, tended to divert attention away from the global reach of the magazine, the world readership of which was estimated at three million.²⁸ More work remains to be done, too, on the monthly's female and child readers.

A Short Story Magazine

Initially designed as a short-story magazine "organically complete each month," the *Strand* was instrumental in promoting the production of short fiction in Britain. The magazine valued readability in its contributors, whom Pound somewhat dismissively characterises as "gaily proficient providers of serials and short stories ... content with the sur[e] profits to be earned by toiling" in the middlebrow ranks of the literary marketplace.²⁹ Jackson, taking her cue from Pound, terms them "some of the most talented, if conventionally respectable, authors and illustrators of the period."³⁰ Quickly becoming renowned for its short stories, the *Strand* is now synonymous with *fin-de-siècle* detective fiction, particularly Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories, which ran in the monthly from July 1891, with illustrations by Sidney Paget (1860–1908), in the pioneering serial short story format. The serial format with its recurring characters allowed readers to complete each story in one sitting, suiting the

fragmented leisure patterns of urban commuters, while maintaining continuity and reader interest and therefore encouraging readers to return month after month. Critics such as Pittard and Jackson have read the narrative closure and serial format of detective fiction as essentially indicative of the *Strand*'s conservative agenda and "project of providing readers with a sense of security."³¹ However, although the adventures of Holmes and Watson constituted a vital part of the magazine's appeal, it is misleading to conceptualise the *Strand* as solely a vehicle for ideologically conservative detective fiction. As Roger Luckhurst has argued, the *fin-de-siècle* period was not only anxious but also profoundly excited by the possibilities of new technologies and discoveries, and the *Strand*, with its investment in popular science and technology, shared in this excitement.³² Its revolutionary commitment to the short story form, championed by Smith, meant that it provided space for a wide range of genres, including supernatural stories, imperial adventures, children's fantastic fiction, science fiction, medical fiction, sea stories, war stories, spy fiction, comic fiction, and continental fiction in translation. The critical tendency to read other *Strand* contributors and contributions in relation to Doyle and late-Victorian criminality has overshadowed important themes, figures, and genres that appeared in the same issues and later in the periodical run.

In his contribution to this special issue, Christopher Pittard examines the very first detective story, Grant Allen's "Jerry Stokes," to appear in the third issue of the monthly in March 1891. Allen's story, Pittard argues, is exceptional in its investment in the contentious issue of the state's right to carry out capital punishment. The story's protagonist, a Canadian hangman, draws on his understanding of criminal anthropology in refusing to execute a convict whom he believes to be innocent, turning into a detective figure in his search for the real murderer. While Stokes does solve the crime, the story uncomfortably concludes with the conviction that capital punishment is itself only a legalised form of murder, and the story's detective figure himself therefore a mass murderer. This early story consequently suggests

some of the alternative paths that the *Strand*'s interest in crime and detection might have taken.

The contributions by Mercedes Sheldon and Maria Krivosheina focus on translated continental fiction, an aspect of the *Strand*'s short story repertoire that has been critically neglected despite its importance to Newnes's cosmopolitan vision. In her essay, Mercedes Sheldon examines Smith's initial heavy investment in fiction in translation, arguing that the literary editor sought to introduce middle-class readers to short stories by continental masters of the form with whom they were likely previously unfamiliar. Editorial strategies sought both to familiarise and to exoticise these stories. However, it appears that the translated stories failed to capture audience imagination, and the *Strand* as a commercial vehicle soon moved towards genre fiction by British authors. Maria Krivosheina's discussion of the presence and appropriation of Russian literature in the *Strand* considers changes in the British reception of Russian authors between the 1890s and the Modernist "Russian craze" of the 1910s in the context of the troubled Anglo-Russian relations of this period. She argues that archetypes present in the fiction by dead authors such as Pushkin and Lermontov printed in the early volumes were reworked in later "Russianised" tales by British authors, at the same time as the magazine played a role in introducing and integrating Russian story-tellers into middlebrow culture. The *Strand* therefore emerges as an important promoter of the short story form and as a populariser of foreign fiction.

An Illustrated Miscellany

The *Strand* also printed a significant amount of nonfiction. Among its contents are educational and investigative articles on a wide range of subjects from popular science to criminality, from travel to art.³³ It also made a significant contribution to the development of

New Journalism by printing human interest features such as illustrated interviews of celebrities, pages of “Curiosities,” and brain teasers, puzzles, and competitions designed to encourage reader bonding. Its pages were profusely illustrated, with Newnes’s initial ambition of placing an image on every page soon giving way to a rule of a picture per opening.³⁴ The magazine kept twenty black-and-white artists constantly engaged and, as Jackson notes, these “[g]raphic artists were prominent members of the *Strand* circle, their work remarkably innovative, their field increasingly professionalised, and their contributions crucial to the success of the illustrated magazine” to such an extent that in some cases, most notably with Paget’s Holmes illustrations, the artist’s name would become “synonymous with the series” he or she illustrated.³⁵ The artists were often able to sign their work and many had their own by-line. Half-tone photographs became a regular feature from 1893, and colour, sparingly used, was introduced just before the First World War.³⁶

As Cranfield states, “the phenomenon of the illustrated monthly magazine had ... been in full swing for some years” before the 1890s, as indicated by publications such as the bestselling *English Illustrated Magazine* (1883–1913).³⁷ With its sophisticated and cutting-edge reproductions of photographs and images, its plentiful advertisements, and its decorated covers, the illustrated monthly was the visual embodiment of a technologically advanced, visually attuned age. Catering to new audiences receptive to the visual allure of New Journalism, middlebrow illustrated monthlies of the 1890s were published simultaneously with *avant-garde* aestheticist and decadent publications such as Henry Harland’s *Yellow Book* (1894–97), the short-lived *Savoy* (1896), and the *Studio* (1893–1964), a specialist art journal linked to the Arts and Crafts Movement. Where these elite “Little Magazines” labelled their contents “Literature” and “Art,” the *Strand* and its sixpenny rivals targeted a mass middle-class readership in search of entertaining stories, articles, and illustrations.

The *Strand* was merely the most successful and the most long-lived of a number of mainstream sixpenny illustrated monthlies to emerge in the final decade of the century. Jerome K. Jerome's *Idler Magazine* (1892–1911), a “mixture of irreverence, facetiousness, and knowledge,” sought to appeal through its lively appearance, plentiful illustration, and promotion of short, often humorous fiction by well-known and entertaining authors.³⁸ The *Windsor Magazine* (1895–1939), Ward, Lock's answer to the *Strand*, was a firmly middle-class “family magazine designed to entertain” that as an “Illustrated Monthly for Men and Women” targeted a mixed-gender mass market.³⁹ With a circulation in excess of 100,000 monthly copies, the royalist *Windsor* presented its readers with “a judicious blend of fiction and informative articles” by “many of the best-known names of the day” and prided itself on “its illustrations and its clear type.”⁴⁰ C. Arthur Pearson's *Pearson's Magazine* (1896–1925) was aimed at a patriotic and royalist lower-middle-class family readership and carried extensively illustrated romantic and adventure fiction.⁴¹ Alfred Harmsworth's *Harmsworth Magazine*, later *London Magazine* (1898–1915), advertised a print run of one million monthly copies.⁴² The market for illustrated monthlies was, therefore, crowded, and the magazines often shared contributors. The long-running *Windsor Magazine*, for example, printed stories by E. Nesbit, L. T. Meade, Richard Marsh, and Arthur Morrison, all of whom also contributed to the *Strand*.

The essays in this special issue by Alyssa Mackenzie and Caroline Dakers engage with the *Strand*'s human-interest features. Alyssa Mackenzie's essay focuses on the *Strand*'s depiction of domestic masculinity in the era of the New Imperialism and moral panics over decadence and homosexuality. In her analysis of depictions of masculinity in the *Strand*'s series of “Illustrated Interviews,” Mackenzie observes that while the *Strand* appeared immersed in modern professional, urban, and imperial spheres, it simultaneously prioritised middle-class, aspirational notions of domesticity. The “Illustrated Interviews,” Mackenzie

argues, present domesticity as central to British constructions of masculinity, reconceptualising notions of the public and the private. Caroline Dakers's essay spotlights the centrality of illustration to the *Strand* by exploring the kind of publicity afforded to late-Victorian artists, particularly the professional, London-based, predominantly male artists featured in the *Strand*'s "Portraits of Celebrities" and "Illustrated Interviews," in the first dozen years of the magazine's existence. While readers were, according to Dakers, assumed to have some prior knowledge of the art world, the series also provided entertaining and instructive middlebrow "peeps" into the studios, homes, and private lives of respectable and established members of the art world, with the few female artists who appeared in the series positioned carefully within the family.

In her discussion of communications in the September 1896 issue, Alison Hedley demonstrates how the *Strand* engaged with and promoted readers' understanding of modernity through its exploration of the uses and significance of both print and new media at the *fin de siècle*. Through a close examination of a range of texts including fiction, factual investigation, and illustrated "Curiosities" on new technologies and knowledge exchange, she argues that the *Strand* positioned itself in a rapidly changing media landscape by foregrounding the importance of communication to the lives of its readers through innovative data visualisation techniques. Hedley's essay therefore cautions against reading the magazine selectively and emphasises the intertextual nature of its verbal and visual contents.

The Post-Victorian *Strand*

As Cranfield notes, the *Strand* is often viewed as quintessentially Victorian, belonging forever to the 1890s when Sherlock Holmes appeared in its pages, and providing "a kind of shorthand for 'Victorian' taste, attitudes and habits of mind."⁴³ Paradoxically, Cranfield

observes, “it is seldom seen as belonging to the twentieth century in any meaningful way despite spending only a single decade of its sixty years under the reign of Victoria.”⁴⁴ Whilst the *Strand* of the 1890s fits neatly into discussions of the New Journalism, this privileging of its Victorian credentials has resulted in an incomplete picture of the *Strand*’s identity within the marketplace and its relationship to its competitors, since the monthly in fact continued until 1950, outlasting the other British illustrated sixpenny monthlies that had flourished at the turn of the century. In order more fully to assess the scope and dimensions of the *Strand* within the periodical culture of the period, it is therefore important to look beyond the death of Queen Victoria and reconsider the magazine’s political and cultural significance in the build-up to the First World War and beyond.

The essays by Emma Liggins and Minna Vuohelainen in this issue explore some of the ways in which text and image interacted in the pages of the monthly, the innovative ways in which the *Strand* used illustrations to structure the opening, and the magazine’s engagement with topical debates and events up to the end of the First World War. Representations of the supernatural are reconsidered in Emma Liggins’s essay, which analyses a range of ghost stories by authors such as H. G. Wells, E. Nesbit and L. G. Moberly in the context of an uneasy scepticism about spiritualism and spectrality from the 1890s to 1917. Drawing on debates about illustration in periodical studies, Liggins explores the difficulties of representing the unseen and the unknown in an age of scientific enquiry, and considers the disturbing images of the uncanny that accompanied supernatural fiction. Far from reassuring middle-class readers, she argues, such images contributed to the magazine’s coverage of the “strange” and the “inexplicable,” becoming increasingly uncanny after 1900. Women writers and illustrators, whose contributions to the magazine have sometimes been downplayed, were very much part of this coverage.

In her essay, Minna Vuohelainen examines the ways in which the *Strand* responded to and adapted during the First World War, when it claimed to be soldiers' favourite reading.⁴⁵ She argues that while the monthly did not react to the war with the irony and anger characteristic of canonical war literature, particularly Modernist war poetry, its wartime contents nonetheless represent a significant response to a situation that challenged its generally upbeat view of the modern world. Vuohelainen identifies four instances of substantial adjustment in the wartime *Strand*: the generic mutation of the magazine's contents to acknowledge the war, the use of illustration for propagandistic purposes, a lukewarm willingness to afford women a greater role in the war effort, and a turn to humour to maintain a sense of home-front community. Together, she argues, these adjustments represent a multiplicity of middlebrow home-front patriotisms that provide an alternative view of the British war experience.

Overall, the essays in this special issue suggest that the *Strand*'s middlebrow rhetoric and aesthetic demand nuanced reassessment. The *Strand* did adapt to changing circumstances, whether the anxieties and excitements of the 1890s or the turmoil of a world war, demonstrating "the durability and adaptability of the British middlebrow sensibility."⁴⁶ Over its first three decades, the *Strand* fostered the careers of an enormous number of talented writers and artists, and influenced and shaped the values and perceptions of millions of readers. It safeguarded one of the most recognisable literary brands of all time in Sherlock Holmes but also printed snippets of curious, ephemeral information; promoted the short story at a time of the rapid rise of genre fiction but also introduced many foreign masters of the form to British readers; contributed to the rise of celebrity culture but also attempted to educate and instruct its readers; gave employment to many now canonical writers and artists but also to a much larger number of forgotten contributors; valued a lively appearance but also used illustration in remarkably innovative ways. While, therefore, there is a recognisable

Strand brand, the chief mark of that brand should perhaps be seen to be the magazine's heterogeneity and rich variety rather than its perceived sameness and safety.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

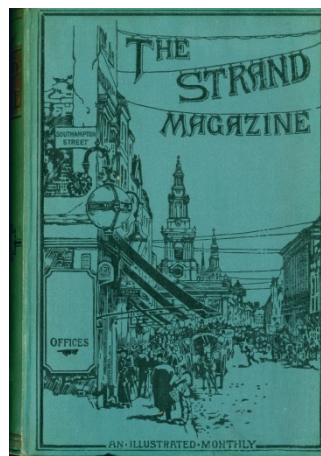


Figure 1. The cover of the *Strand Magazine*.

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¹ Newnes, "One Hundredth Number," 363.

² Pound, *Strand Magazine*, 9.

³ See Macdonald, "Identifying the Middlebrow"; MacDonald and Singer, "Introduction."

⁴ Brake and Demoor, "Introduction," 8.

⁵ Parry, "George Newnes Limited," 228.

⁶ [Newnes], "Introduction," 3.

⁷ Jackson, *George Newnes*, 95. Savory and Pound estimate the circulation at half a million ("Strand Magazine," 399; *Strand Magazine*, 53) and Altick at 392,000 (*English Common Reader*, 396).

⁸ Pound, *Strand Magazine*, 25.

⁹ "Directory of Publishers," 238.

¹⁰ Jackson, *George Newnes*, 103.

¹¹ Ledger and Luckhurst, "Introduction," xx, xiii.

¹² Jackson, *George Newnes*, 90.

¹³ Jackson, *George Newnes*, 90, 92.

¹⁴ Savory, "Strand Magazine," 399.

¹⁵ Jackson, *George Newnes*, 87, 90.

¹⁶ Pittard, *Purity and Contamination*; Mussell, *Science, Time and Space*.

¹⁷ Pittard, *Purity and Contamination*, 88–89.

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- ¹⁸ Mussell, *Science, Time and Space*, 62.
- ¹⁹ Cranfield, *Twentieth-Century Victorian*, 43.
- ²⁰ Pound, *Strand Magazine*, 7.
- ²¹ Cranfield, *Twentieth-Century Victorian*, 5, 1.
- ²² Jackson, *George Newnes*, 88–89.
- ²³ Cranfield, *Twentieth-Century Victorian*, 19; Jackson, *George Newnes*, 117.
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- ²⁵ [Newnes], “Twenty-First Birthday,” 620.
- ²⁶ Hoberman, “Constructing the Turn-of-the-Century Shopper,” 4.
- ²⁷ [Newnes], “Twenty-First Birthday,” 619.
- ²⁸ McDonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice*, 156.
- ²⁹ Pound, *Strand Magazine*, 37, 57, 105.
- ³⁰ Jackson, *George Newnes*, 87.
- ³¹ Jackson, *George Newnes*, 91.
- ³² Luckhurst, *Invention of Telepathy*, 5.
- ³³ Pound, *Strand Magazine*, 30.
- ³⁴ Pound, *Strand Magazine*, 30.
- ³⁵ Pound, *Strand Magazine*, 36; Jackson, *George Newnes*, 108, 111.
- ³⁶ Pound, *Strand Magazine*, 34, 113.
- ³⁷ Cranfield, *Twentieth-Century Victorian*, 18.
- ³⁸ Dunlap, “Idler,” 178. See also North and Nelson, *Waterloo Directory*, VI, 6–7.
- ³⁹ Schmidt, “Windsor Magazine,” 452–53; Living, *Adventure in Publishing*, 71. See also North and Nelson, *Waterloo Directory*, XII, 240–42.
- ⁴⁰ Living, *Adventure in Publishing*, 73. Altick estimates the *Windsor*’s circulation at 200–400,000 copies in 1898 (*English Common Reader*, 396). According to Living, the monthly

sales were 110–115,000 copies, with Christmas numbers selling 150,000 copies (*Adventure in Publishing*, 74).

⁴¹ *Pearson's Magazine* reached a circulation of 200–400,000 monthly copies in 1898 (Altick, *English Common Reader*, 396). See also North and Nelson, *Waterloo Directory*, IX, 96–97; Schmidt, “*Pearson's Magazine*,” 310–12.

⁴² Altick, *English Common Reader*, 396. See also North and Nelson, *Waterloo Directory*, V, 559–60.

⁴³ Cranfield, *Twentieth-Century Victorian*, 4.

⁴⁴ Cranfield, *Twentieth-Century Victorian*, 5.

⁴⁵ “Tommy's Taste in Literature,” 481.

⁴⁶ Cranfield, *Twentieth-Century Victorian*, 7.