Arthur Conan Doyle

A Study in Scarlet

OXFORD WORLD'S CLASSICS

THE OXFORD SHERLOCK HOLMES

General Editor: DARRYL JONES

A STUDY IN SCARLET

SIR ARTHUR IGNATIUS CONAN DOYLE was born in Edinburgh in 1859, to the Irish-born Mary Doyle, née Foley, and Charles Altamont Doyle, an artist and draughtsman who was the grandson of the famous Irish political caricaturist, John Doyle ('H.B.'), and brother of Richard 'Dicky' Doyle, the illustrator. Conan Doyle studied at the Jesuit school, Stonyhurst, before taking a degree in medicine at Edinburgh. He helped to pay for his degree by signing on as a ship's surgeon on board a Greenland whaler, and after graduation worked on an African steamer, before practising medicine in first Bristol, and then Southsea. He married Louisa Hawkins in 1885. In his spare time the young doctor wrote magazine stories, with some degree of success, but he struggled to place his first attempt at a detective novel, *A Study in Scarlet*, which was published in *Beeton's Christmas Annual* for 1887 to a lukewarm reception. However, after his 'consulting detective', Sherlock Holmes, and his sidekick, John Watson, MD, appeared again in *The Sign of the Four* (1890), and in a series of *Strand* magazine stories, they became a publishing phenomenon. Conan Doyle quit medicine for a career as a full-time writer, in which he achieved extraordinary international success. He went on to write two more Holmes novels, and fifty-six short stories, as well as the historical novels he regarded as his best work, his 'Professor Challenger' novels, and tales of the supernatural. In 1902, following the publication of his defence of Britain's role in the Anglo-Boer war, he was knighted. Louisa died in 1906, and the following year Conan Doyle married Jean Leckie, whom he had known for some years. Having devoted much of the time and energy of his later years to the cause of Spiritualism, he died in 1930. But it is for his contribution to detective fiction, and international popular culture more generally, that he is remembered. His widely translated work has inspired radio, stage, film and television treatments, countless commercial spin-offs, and been the subject of academic books and articles. Many international societies celebrate the Holmes stories, including the Baker Street Irregulars, who publish the *Baker Street Journal*.

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THE OXFORD SHERLOCK HOLMES

A Study in Scarlet
The Sign of the Four
The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes
The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes
The Hound of the Baskervilles
The Valley of Fear
The Return of Sherlock Holmes
His Last Bow
The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes

OXFORD WORLD'S CLASSICS

ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE

A Study in Scarlet

Edited with an Introduction and Notes by
NICHOLAS DALY

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THE SERIES

As Arthur Conan Doyle knew better than anyone, death is never the end. Sherlock Holmes did not die when he and Professor Moriarty plunged over the Reichenbach Falls at the end of 'The Adventure of the Final Problem' in 1893, nor did he die after being put out to pasture by Conan Doyle in what is chronologically the latest of his adventures, 'His Last Bow' (published in 1917, but set in 1914), which left him in retirement on the Sussex Downs, keeping bees. Not even the death of his creator on 7 July 1930 would spell the end of Holmes, who has continued to live an increasingly vivid and complex afterlife, in stage, cinema, and television adaptations, in print and online in fictional sequels, spin-offs, and continuations, and fan fictions, and in a rich repository of academic scholarship and 'Sherlockian' research.

Between them, Arthur Conan Doyle and Sherlock Holmes changed the face of literature. The modern history of genre fiction is almost inconceivable without them, and Holmes himself is certainly the most celebrated literary detective, and perhaps the most famous literary character, ever created. The twenty-first century has been a time of volcanic activity in the worlds of Sherlock Holmes and Conan Doyle. Important critical works such as Catherine Wynne's *The Colonial Conan Doyle* (2002), Douglas Kerr's *Conan Doyle: Writing, Profession, and Practice* (2013), and Clare Clarke's *Late Victorian Crime Fiction in the Shadows of Sherlock* (2014), are just a few of the books to have changed the way we think about Holmes. In addition, Lellenberg, Stashower, and Foley's *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters* (2007) and Andrew Lycett's biography *Conan Doyle: The Man who Created Sherlock Holmes* (2007) have greatly enriched the store of our knowledge. Across a variety of media, Holmes has found new lives, and ever larger audiences.

These new editions of the collected Sherlock Holmes bring to bear the best of modern criticism and scholarship on the residents of 221B Baker Street and their many adventures and problems. The editors of each of the volumes are themselves the latest in a long line of often extraordinary textual and literary scholarship, to which we are all greatly indebted, and which our work continues and develops. These

editions comprise scrupulously edited texts, full textual annotations, and readable, informative, and provocative introductions. Once again, the game is afoot!

Darryl Jones
Trinity College Dublin

INTRODUCTION

Those who do not wish to know the details of the plot may prefer to read this Introduction as an Afterword.

Back from military service in the Sudan, Ormond Sacker shares rooms at 221B Upper Baker Street with a Mr J. Sherrinford Holmes, a sleepy-eyed young consulting detective, who is also an amateur chemist, and collector of rare violins. This is how Arthur Conan Doyle first pictures his famous crime-solving pair in his 'Southsea Notebooks'. After further thought, he transforms Sacker into Dr John H. Watson, recently returned from Afghanistan, and his detective flatmate becomes Sherlock Holmes. 'A Tangled Skein', Conan Doyle's original title, is crossed out, and replaced with the far more resonant *A Study in Scarlet*.[1] From this modest and even shaky start emerged the novel before us, the first outing for two of the most successful characters in modern publishing history.

Sherlock Holmes today evokes not just a collection of novels and short stories, but a thriving branch of the culture industry, comprising multiple stage, film, radio, and television adaptations, as well as countless parodies, derivatives, and scholarly accounts. You can visit the Sherlock Holmes Museum in London, drink in quite a few Sherlock Holmes pubs, and buy a whole array of ephemeral merchandise, from Holmes-themed tea, to board games, to underwear.[2] Such items trade on the familiarity of the great detective, even if they often use an iconography that descends less from Conan Doyle than from Sidney Paget's illustrations to the *Strand* magazine Holmes stories (the deerstalker), or from William Gillette's early stage and screen performances as the famous detective (the curved pipe). The *OED* offers us the adjective 'Holmesian'. While Watson cannot claim quite the same level of

[1] These three notebooks, from 1885 to 1889, were sold by the Conan Doyle family at Christie's in 2004, and are now in an American private collection. The notebooks were exhibited alongside other rare Sherlockian material by the Museum of London in 2014.

[2] For a detailed account of Holmes products see Amanda J. Field, 'The Case of the Multiplying Millions: Sherlock Holmes in Advertising', in Sabine Vanacker and Catherine Wynne (eds), *Sherlock Holmes and Conan Doyle: Multi-Media Afterlives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 19–35.

recognition, it is almost impossible to imagine the Holmes world without him. He too has passed into the language: for the *OED*, a Watson is 'a person acting as a foil or an assistant, esp. to a detective'.

When he was writing *A Study in Scarlet* in 1886, Conan Doyle could not have envisaged the fictional pair's extraordinary cultural and commercial future, or indeed his own as the world's best-paid writer. Quite apart from *A Study*'s many merits as a gripping tale of detection, then, their first adventure allows us to see Holmes and Watson before they became a phenomenon. It enables us to consider the construction of the fictional world centred on 221B Baker Street, and to recapture some of its original freshness. Despite its originality, the Holmes world was already somewhat familiar to even its first readers, since as we shall see, the author borrowed judiciously from earlier crime stories. But since he also put much that was personal into his creation, let us begin with Conan Doyle himself.

In 1886 Conan Doyle was a modestly successful Portsmouth doctor who wrote in his spare time.[3] This sideline should not surprise us, because the Doyles were a creative family, though they had pursued the visual arts rather than the literary. His Irish-born grandfather, John Doyle, was known as 'H.B.', one of the most popular political cartoonists of the first half of the nineteenth century, and several of his sons followed in his footsteps. The author's uncle Richard 'Dicky' Doyle was a successful illustrator, contributing to *Punch*, illustrating novels by Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Thackeray, and producing the beautiful *In Fairyland* (1870) and other fantasy work; his uncle James was an artist and illustrator, devoting most of his time to producing antiquarian volumes; and his uncle Henry was an expert on Old Masters, and became the first director of the National Gallery of Ireland. Conan Doyle's own father, Charles Altamont Doyle, was also a talented artist who, like Richard, was drawn to fantastic subjects, though his paintings sometimes resemble more the disturbing work of the French satirist J. J. Grandville (1803–47) than his brother's whimsical fairy pictures. Born in Edinburgh in 1859 young

[3] There are many biographical accounts of Conan Doyle. Here I have for the most part drawn on Conan Doyle's own 1924 *Memories and Adventures* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1924); Andrew Lycett's *Conan Doyle: The Man Who Created Sherlock Holmes* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007); Owen Dudley Edwards, *The Quest for Sherlock Holmes* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1983); and Pierre Nordon, Conan Doyle, *Conan Doyle: A Biography* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1967).

Arthur grew up in an artistic milieu, but also an unstable one, his early years marked by his father's alcoholism and mental illness; Charles was eventually institutionalized. Arthur's Irish-born mother, Mary, kept the family on an even keel, sometimes with financial help from her brothers-in-law, and family friend Bryan Waller. The Doyle uncles were Catholic, and they paid for young Arthur to go to Stonyhurst College, the highly regarded Jesuit school in Lancashire; after his time there, the Jesuits enabled him to spend a few months at Feldkirch in the Austrian alps, where he improved his German. Despite, or possibly because of, this early immersion, Arthur drifted away from Catholicism. Five years of medical training at Edinburgh University followed, interspersed with spells as a locum, and, more exotically, as surgeon aboard the SS *Hope*, hunting seals and whales off Greenland; he seems to have enjoyed this arduous and dangerous work enormously. After graduation he enlisted again as a ship's surgeon, this time on the African Steamship Company's SS *Mayumba*, before settling down as a general practitioner first in Plymouth, and then at Southsea, Portsmouth.

While working as a locum he had begun to write magazine stories, and his first published story, 'The Mystery of Sasassa Valley', a lively tale of South African diamond prospecting, appeared in *Chambers's Journal* in September 1879. His first novel was lost in the post, though he later reconstructed some of it: a discursive tale that follows the thoughts of a man laid up with gout, *The Narrative of John Smith* is a rather unlikely precursor to his crime fiction.[4] After his marriage to Louisa Hawkins in August 1885 Conan Doyle completed a second and more plot-driven novel, *The Firm of Girdlestone*, but this melodramatic yarn of unscrupulous city merchants and true lovers initially failed to find a publisher, appearing only after its author had become better known.

Having read a few recent detective stories, Conan Doyle began to wonder what he himself might do in this line, and the result was the short novel before us, *A Study in Scarlet*, completed in 1886. It very nearly followed *The Firm of Girdlestone* into obscurity: the *Cornhill* rejected it, as did two other publishers, before the young author

[4] In 2011 the British Library published the fragmentary manuscript, which they acquired along with other material in the 2004 auction of the Conan Doyle archive that had descended to the author's daughter-in-law, Anna.

placed it with the downmarket Ward, Lock and Co. They used it the following year in one of their shilling Christmas books, *Beeton's Christmas Annual*, where it appeared anonymously, with illustrations by D. H. Friston. Their offer of £25 for the copyright was a poor one, since not only was it less than the author had been paid by the *Cornhill* magazine for his 1884 maritime short story, 'J. Habakuk Jephson's Statement', but the publisher's outright purchase of the rights meant that Conan Doyle never made another penny from the book.[5] This still rankled some thirty-eight years later when he recalled it in his *Memories and Adventures*. Ward, Lock's advertisements promised booksellers that *A Study* would be 'the talk of every Christmas gathering throughout the land', somewhat of an overstatement as it turned out. There were a few warm reviews in the *Glasgow Herald*, *The Scotsman*, and the *Bristol Mercury*, but the *Graphic* opined that while the story 'hangs together well, and finishes ingeniously', it was nonetheless an 'imitation', and 'would never have been written but for Poe, Gaboriau and Mr. R.L. Stevenson'.[6] *A Study* failed to attract the interest of the more influential papers and journals; replete with goose and plum pudding it is possible that critics were a little slow to realize that in Holmes and Watson they had encountered something new. However, when Ward, Lock republished it as a shilling volume the following July, with illustrations by Charles Altamont Doyle, the story began to garner more attention. The august *Morning Post* recognized it as a 'a tale of passion and crime, with more "back-bone" than usually enters into the composition of stories of the same class', while the influential Andrew Lang praised it in *Longman's Magazine* as a 'clever narrative, rich in surprises'. In Conan Doyle he recognized a successor to the late Hugh Conway, author of a bestselling shilling shocker of four years earlier, *Called Back*. Even the previously captious *Graphic* changed its tune, suggesting that the author had 'equalled the best of his predecessors'.[7]

When commissioned to write a story for *Lippincott's Magazine*, Conan Doyle decided to 'give Sherlock Holmes of *A Study in Scarlet*

[5] For a detailed account of his dealings with Ward, Lock, see Michael Sims, *Arthur & Sherlock: Conan Doyle and the Creation of Holmes* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

[6] 'The Last Christmas Numbers', the *Graphic*, 10 December 1887, 639.

[7] Andrew Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship', *Longman's Magazine*, January 1890. Conway was the pen name of Frederick John Fargus (1847–85). 'New Novels', the *Graphic*, 1 September 1888, 250.

something else to unravel . . . everyone who has read the book wants to know more of that young man'.[8] The result, *The Sign of the Four* (1890), added further depth and colour to his crime-solving couple, and with the appearance of the first short stories in the *Strand* magazine in 1891, Holmes and Watson became a publishing phenomenon, allowing Conan Doyle to become a full-time writer. Between then and his death in 1930 he was to produce two more Holmes novels and fifty-six short stories, winning extraordinary commercial success and esteem as a popular writer. Although in later years he became more interested in Spiritualism than in the literary world, it is for his invention of a great scientific detective and his stalwart medical companion that he is remembered.

A Study in Scarlet

In his first outing as a 'consulting detective' Holmes solves two linked murder mysteries, that of Enoch J. Drebber, a rich American visitor to London, and his secretary, Joseph Stangerson. In the end the killer is revealed to be another American, Jefferson Hope, who has dogged his victims across the globe to avenge the death of his true love and her adoptive father. These are the bare facts of the case, but they give us very little sense of the appeal of the novel, which holds us in its grip from our first introduction to Holmes' peculiar world, to the vivid account of the American background to the murders, to the denouement back in London. As with almost all subsequent Holmes stories, the facts of the case are related to us by Watson. The seven chapters of Part 1 are set in London, and deal with Watson's meeting with Holmes, and the investigation; Part 2 whisks us off to Utah to trace the roots of Jefferson's vengefulness, before we return just as abruptly to London for 'A Continuation of the Reminiscences of John Watson, MD' and the conclusion of the story.

Like Hope and his victims, our narrator has also travelled the world. Watson has recently returned to England from Afghanistan, where he was wounded in action, his recovery impeded by a subsequent bout of typhoid fever; in this story, then, he is a semi-invalid, not the stalwart figure we meet in later adventures. What else can we deduce about the doctor? Assuming that like his creator he was around

[8] Lycett, *Conan Doyle*, 150.

26 when he obtained his MD, he is in his late 20s. He is not wealthy: his pension of eleven shillings and sixpence a day gives him a comfortable enough middle-class income, but he needs to find a roommate to make living in London more affordable. He does not claim to be a literary man, but familiar with the English, American, and French writers of his own day, he is also able to quote aptly from Horace's satires. Making Watson a medic allowed the author to draw upon his own experience, but for the reader it also allows for a buffer between us and the mind of the brilliant but eccentric detective; Watson is not quite an everyman, but he is a good deal closer to the average than the forensic genius that is Holmes. Then as now, doctors were trusted figures, and we tend to assume that our guide is a reliable source of information about the world we are entering; the level-headed Watson is thus almost as important to the novel as the great detective.

Holmes as he appears here is very much the spare figure later brought to life on screen by such actors as Basil Rathbone and Peter Cushing: 'over six feet, and so excessively lean that he seemed to be considerable taller', he has piercing eyes and a 'thin, hawk-like nose'. He thus recalls earlier fictional and stage detectives, in whom such features connote the raptor-like pursuit of criminal prey, as well as an essentially cerebral character—the detective's pleasures are of the mind rather than the flesh. At first Holmes is a mystery to Watson, but as our narrator learns more about his new acquaintance so do we, and the list of Holmes' peculiar limitations that Watson compiles in Chapter 2, also delineates his unusual strengths. Holmes has no knowledge of literature, except for sensational literature, of which his knowledge is 'immense'; if he seems ignorant of philosophy and astronomy, he is an expert chemist; and for all his leanness he excels at boxing as well as fencing. We should note, though, that the young sleuth does not yet appear in all the detail that we take for granted: there is, for instance, none of the cocaine use of *The Sign of the Four*, no mention of his brother Mycroft, who first enters the Holmes world in 1893 in 'The Greek Interpreter' (1893), no foil in the form of Professor Moriarty, who also first appears that year in 'The Final Problem'. Nor is Holmes famous at this point; he tells us that the credit for his work is often taken by the police, and this is indeed what happens, as the newspapers hymn the praises of Scotland Yard's Lestrade and Gregson when the killer is apprehended.

What is already firmly in place, though, is the Holmesian method. We get an inkling of his deductive powers when he meets his prospective roommate and correctly guesses that he is an army doctor returned from Afghanistan. As Holmes reveals later, he accomplishes this curious feat by noting Watson's combined medical and military aspect, his state of health, and his tan, and asking himself: 'Where in the tropics could an English army doctor have seen much hardship and got his arm wounded'. But he really shows his powers when Gregson of Scotland Yard invites him to visit a puzzling crime scene where Enoch Drebber has been found dead, his identity established by the contents of his pockets. When they arrive at 3 Lauriston Gardens Holmes minutely examines the body and the room, going over the room with a 'large round magnifying glass' and a tape measure, and sealing away some dust from the floor in an envelope. To Watson the detective recalls a 'well-trained foxhound' looking for a lost scent, but the detective's deductions are startling:

> There has been murder done, and the murderer was a man. He was more than six feet high, was in the prime of life, had small feet for his height, wore coarse, square-toed boots and smoked a Trichinopoly cigar. He came here with his victim in a four-wheeled cab, which was drawn by a horse with three old shoes and one new one on his off fore-leg. In all probability the murderer had a florid face, and the fingernails of his right hand were remarkably long. These are only a few indications, but they may assist you.

It is a Holmesian tour-de-force. In such passages he is not so much a detective as a superhero, someone who can dispel the mysteries of city life, and give the object world speech: mud and cigar ash are among the mute witnesses to what has happened at Lauriston Gardens, revealing the culprit's age, sex, height, and even complexion, and suggesting a personal rather than a political motive. By the end of Chapter 3, then, the detective has most of the information he needs, and a telegram to the American police elicits the final piece of the puzzle: that Drebber had once sought police protection against a man called Jefferson Hope. When Hope is eventually captured, with the help of Holmes' team of 'street Arabs', all he will say of his motive is that the men were responsible for the deaths of 'a father and a daughter', and thus deserved their fate.

Before we hear Hope's confession the narrative breaks off, and in Part 2 we are taken across the Atlantic, and over the plains of the

American Midwest to the Utah Territory, 'the Country of the Saints'. Five chapters of third-person narrative tell the story of John Ferrier and his adopted daughter, Lucy, and their fate among the Mormon pioneers who rescue them in the desert. The community the Saints establish in Utah is a fiercely patriarchal one in which Lucy's love for the outsider Jefferson Hope is doomed when she catches the eye of two of the Mormon elite, Stangerson and Drebber, who also covet her likely inheritance. Whatever the crimes of London, Utah, it seems, is worse, and Conan Doyle's Mormons do not scruple at murder and forced marriage—legalized rape, in effect. Mormonism as it is represented here resembles more a secret society than a religion, one in which any signs of resistance are quickly scented and ruthlessly punished, and in which the elect behave with impunity. The narrative moves into a species of frontier Gothic at this point, the omniscience of the 'Danites' appearing almost uncanny:

> The victims of persecution had now turned persecutors on their own account, and persecutors of the most terrible description. Not the Inquisition of Seville, nor the German Vehmgericht, nor the Secret Societies of Italy, were ever able to put a more formidable machinery in motion than that which cast a cloud over the State of Utah . . . It appeared to be omniscient and omnipotent, and yet was neither seen nor heard.

The Ferriers refuse to be cowed by these awesome powers: they are free-spirited Western folk of a kind that would have been familiar to contemporary readers from the literature of the day, including the work of writers like Thomas Mayne Reid (1818–83) and Bret Harte (1836–1902). Jefferson Hope comes from this same literary lineage: 'He had been a pioneer in California . . . He had been a scout, too, and a trapper, a silver explorer, and a ranchman. Wherever stirring adventures were to be had, Jefferson Hope had been there.' Thus the scene is set for a violent confrontation between 'love and Mormonism', as the London newspapers describe it in Chapter 7, one that ends tragically for Lucy and her adoptive father.

And yet for all their narrative power, these five chapters are a somewhat awkward interpolation in the main story. Watson's first-person narration has by this point created an intimate bond with the reader, and built up the verisimilitude of the events described, but here Conan Doyle breaks that intimacy to give us his highly coloured Western tale, which concludes with Hope's tracking of Drebber and

Stangerson to London to seek revenge. We then return to Baker Street, and Watson's voice, which relays Hope's brief confession, with no further mention of the Utah events. At a structural level, this is fast but clumsy footwork. One early reviewer praised the novel as 'daringly constructed', arguing that 'this unconventional departure is justified by success'.[9] But many subsequent readers have found the break to be confusing. Changes of perspective can be very effective in a crime novel, as with Wilkie Collins's great sensation novel, *The Moonstone* (1868), and even shifts between third and first person narration can be successful, as we see in, for example, R. L. Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886). A change from first to third-person narration of the kind we find here is harder to pull off, especially when it also marks a generic jump from crime fiction to Western. It is a tribute to Conan Doyle's powers as a storyteller that the novel continues to grip us, despite this narrative dissonance.

The Rise of Detective Fiction

For all its originality, Conan Doyle's first detective novel has its models, and as Holmes's comprehensive knowledge of 'Sensational Literature' makes clear, by the 1880s the author had a long line of real and fictional sleuths to draw upon.[10] France had pioneered the use of detective police, and Eugène-Francois Vidocq (1775–1857), the criminal turned police agent and private detective, had delighted an earlier generation with his ghost-written 1828 *Mémoires*, which were quickly adapted for the stage in France and Britain.[11] Anticipating Holmes, Vidocq was a master of disguise, as he demonstrated during his 1845 London visit, when he entertained the crowds with his quick-change skills at the exhibition of his crime museum at London's Regent Street Cosmorama. Despite public hostility to what were perceived to be underhand continental measures, Britain's own detective police force had been formed three years earlier, perhaps in part as a response

[9] 'New Novels', the *Graphic*. See also Lindsay Dearinger, 'Mormonism in *A Study in Scarlet*: Colonization on the Frontiers (of Sherlockian Logic)', *CEA Critic*, 76:1 (March 2014), 52–71.

[10] For a highly readable history of the rise of detective fiction, see Ian Ousby, *Bloodhounds of Heaven* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).

[11] Ousby identifies the ghost writers as Emile Morice and Louis-Francois L'Héritier (*Bloodhounds of Heaven*, 46).

to the attempted assassination of Queen Victoria. The new force was soon taken up by writers as a source of narrative interest: Joseph Stirling Coyne introduces a laundress who pretends to be a police detective in his 1847 farce, *How to Settle Accounts with your Laundress*, and the detective police are described as 'gran' necromancers an' canny in their way' by an awed character in Charles Kingsley's *Alton Locke* (1850). An anonymous pamphlet, *Confessions of a Detective Policeman*, appeared in 1852 and with rather more impact, 'Waters' (sc. William Russell) published a series of stories presented as the 'Recollections of a Police Officer' in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* between 1849 and 1852; these appeared in volume form in 1856 as *Recollections of a Detective Police Officer*.[12] If Conan Doyle had somehow missed 'Waters', he would have been familiar with Charles Dickens' Inspector Bucket in *Bleak House* (1852–3), and by the 1860s there were fictional detectives everywhere, such as Jinks and Peters in M. E. Braddon's *The Trail of the Serpent* (1860); Andrew Forrester's 'Miss Gladden', in *The Female Detective* (1864); and, most famously, Sergeant Cuff in Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone*.[13] Nor were juvenile readers left behind, thanks to such weekly 'penny dreadfuls' as *The Boy Detective, or, The Crimes of London* (1866). Sleuths continued to prowl through the pages of British fiction in the 1870s and 1880s, in the work of writers like Arthur Griffiths and 'Dick Donovan'.[14] These stories were fuelled by the fact that by then the real-life police detectives had become a larger and more formidable force: the Criminal Investigations Department was founded in 1877, and the Special Branch was formed in 1883 as the Special Irish Branch, introduced to deal with the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a rather different secret society to the novel's 'Danites'.

France continued to shape detective fiction. When H. L. Williams wrote his 'The Germ of the Detective Novel' for the *Book-Buyer* in 1900, he took it for granted that the rise of the form had been due to

[12] Little is known of William Russell, who also published under the pseudonym Lieutenant Warneford, R.N. See Laurence Worms' 'Mysterious Waters', on his blog, *The Bookhunter on Safari*, https://ashrarebooks.wordpress.com/2015/06/04/mysterious-waters/.

[13] Andrew Forrester was the pseudonym of the prolific James Redding Ware.

[14] Griffiths, an inspector of prisons, was the author of such crime novels as *Fast and Loose* (1885) and *No. 99* (1885), and several sensational non-fiction accounts of criminal life. 'Dick Donovan' was the detective invented by J. E. Preston Muddock, and the name under which his crime novels appeared.

the work of Émile Gaboriau (1832–73). Now not nearly as well known in the Anglophone world, Gaboriau's crime novels enjoyed tremendous success in the later nineteenth century; widely read in English translation as well as in French, they were also the source of popular stage versions. His bestsellers featured the police detective Lecoq, an echo of Vidocq, and his elderly amateur mentor, Tabaret. So popular were these stories that the further adventures of Lecoq appeared from the pens of a number of other writers, e.g. Fortuné du Boisgobey's *Le Vieillesse de Monsieur Lecoq* (1878).[15] Gaboriau's work was sometimes plagiarized in Britain and the United States, though a number of popular crime writers, including Fergus Hume and Arthur Griffiths, openly acknowledged their debt to the Frenchman.[16] Other French writers who tried their hand at detective fiction in this period included Paul Féval (at one time Gaboriau's employer), Adolphe Belot, and, more arguably, Victor Hugo, who showed a less sympathetic version of the policeman in the relentless Javert of *Les Misérables* (1862).[17] France also popularized the figure of the stage detective: Tom Taylor's famous Hawkshaw, in *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* (1863), is based on Marcol ('Le Lynx') in the previous year's Paris hit, *Léonard*, by Édouard Brisebarre and Eugène Nus.

On the other side of the Atlantic the pioneering detective stories of Edgar Allan Poe (1809–49) introduced M. Dupin, who is dismissed by Holmes in Chapter 2 as 'a very inferior fellow', but who was one of Conan Doyle's boyhood heroes.[18] Anticipating Holmes, Poe's Dupin is not a police detective, but an eccentric genius whose adventures are relayed to us by a first-person narrator; he is an urban figure, an amateur who nonetheless has close ties to the police, and who trawls the newspapers for insights into the mysteries of the city. The diverse American detective fiction that followed Poe's lead included action-driven dime novels like 'Judson R. Taylor's' *Gipsy Blair, the Western Detective* and *Clarice Dyke, the Female Detective* (*c*.1883), and more

[15] A. E. W. Mason's *At the Villa Rose* (1910), and his other detective novels featuring Monsieur Hanaud of the Sûreté, are also partly derived from Gaboriau.

[16] Terry Hale, 'Popular Fiction', in Peter France and Kenneth Haynes (eds), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, Vol. 4, *1790–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 371–82 (377–8).

[17] Javert is a policeman, but his pursuit of Jean Valjean seems more in keeping with the emerging image of the police detective.

[18] Poe's three Dupin tales are 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue' (1841), 'The Mystery of Marie Rogêt' (1842–3), and 'The Purloined Letter' (1844); *Memories and Adventures*, 69.