Undercover Reporting in the Victorian Newspaper

by

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Abstract

This dissertation studies the rise of undercover journalism in the Victorian period. Beginning in the 1860s, British journalists donned disguises to investigate the urban poor, and published their reports in a variety of newspapers. Scholars have traditionally studied incognito investigations by journalists within the context of sociological inquiries, carried out by Royal Commissioners, government inspectors, and ethnographers in the period. Yet, this dissertation examines undercover reports not as social documents, but rather, as part of an emerging textual genre, shaped by the shifting conventions of the Victorian newspaper.

Drawing on the approaches of print-culture scholarship, each chapter investigates how undercover reports by James Greenwood, Thomas Carlisle, and Margaret Harkness were published and circulated in the period. Newspapers like the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Globe and Traveller*, and the *British Weekly* variously positioned these reports alongside the works of prominent reform institutions, including the Poor Law Board, the Charity Organization Society, and the Salvation Army. Yet, amid the rise of mass literacy and popular print culture, newspapers equally positioned undercover reports within the context of music-hall performance, New Journalism, yellow-back publishing, and serial fiction. These case studies thus work to illustrate how undercover reporting in the newspaper engaged not only with the study of the urban poor, but also with the shifting landscape of Victorian print and popular culture. While historians remain preoccupied with the dynamics between middle-class investigators and working-class subjects in undercover reports, this dissertation explores the variety of ways in which

publication and circulation reconfigured class, cultural, gender, and discursive relations through print. This study's attention to an under-examined genre of Victorian journalism contributes to the expanding field of print culture scholarship, while also raising questions about how print genres give shape to the narratives of social history.

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Figure 1. "The Delights of Literature," *Fun* (10 Feb 1866): 218.

Introduction

Undercover Reporting and Victorian Studies

In a cartoon called "The Delights of Literature" (figure 1), the Victorian humour magazine, *Fun*, jested at the recent trend for undercover reporting, inspired by the journalist James Greenwood. In January of 1866, Greenwood disguised himself as a poor man, and spent the night in a local workhouse, to see what this notorious institution of the British Poor Law was really like. He observed its officials, inmates, and overall conditions, reporting his findings in a three-part series called "A Night in a Workhouse," published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (*PMG*). Greenwood's articles became an instant "hit": newspapers and journals across the United Kingdom, Ireland, France, and North America reprinted the articles, and "A Night" soon obtained a mass international readership. The cartoon in *Fun* parodies the many editors inspired to send their reporters on similar undercover missions, carried out in workhouses, on street corners, and in local prisons.[1] The Victorian

[1] While Greenwood's approach undoubtedly has precedents in Henry Mayhew's and Charles Dickens' investigative journalism of the 1840s and 50s, scholars consistently identify Greenwood as the initiator of an undercover tradition in the 1860s. Two anthologies of Victorian incognito reporting accordingly begin with Greenwood's report: P.J. Keating's *Into Unknown England 1866-1913: Selections from the Social Explorers* (1976) and Freeman and Nelson's *Vicarious Vagrants: Incognito Social Explorers and the Homeless in England, 1860-1910* (2008). Keating claims to begin his anthology at an "important turning point, with the older tradition of personal exploration blending into the newer techniques of sociological analysis" (10). Freeman and Nelson associate Greenwood with the beginning of "the period 1860-1910," which they delineate as "the heyday of the undercover social investigator" (8). A third anthology, Stephen Donovan and Matthew Rubery's *Secret Commissions: An Anthology of Victorian Investigative Journalism* (2012), does not begin with Greenwood, but definitively refers to a "tradition of incognito investigations pioneered by [him]" (17). Critical scholarship closely follows this trend. Seth Koven's study of Victorian cross-class investigations, *Slumming* (2004), sees the year 1866 as a significant departure from earlier decades, remarking that "Charles Dickens and Henry Mayhew […] had remained sympathetic outsiders and observers of life among the poor" whereas Greenwood "had undertaken a more daring assignment" (26). These critics collectively identify 1866 as the specific origin of a shift propelled by Greenwood's report.

vogue for incognito reporting continued throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, and laid the groundwork for modern-day undercover journalism.[2]

My dissertation explores the rise of undercover reporting in Britain, from the 1860s to the 1890s—not as a social investigative practice, but instead, as a distinctive newspaper genre. I examine a selection of undercover reports, beginning with James Greenwood's formative "A Night in a Workhouse" (*PMG*, 1866). Subsequent chapters examine Thomas Carlisle's "The Unprofessional Vagabond" (*The Globe and Traveller*, 1873) and Margaret Harkness's *Captain Lobe* and "Tempted London" (*British Weekly*, 1888) to consider how these reports adapted and refined the undercover tradition within a transitioning newspaper culture. My focus on how these undercover reports developed within and through the conventions of the newspaper works to deepen scholars' understanding of Victorian periodical genres, and to strengthen the foundations of an emerging body of undercover scholarship at the intersections of social history, literature, and print culture.

The undercover genre initiated by Greenwood continues to impress modern scholars, attuned to the class proprieties of Victorian London. In recent years, social historians have turned increasingly to undercover reports for insight into the complexity of Victorian social dynamics, as they play out through middle-class investigators both impersonating and surveying members of the lower class. In the

[2] It is difficult to mark the decline of Greenwood's influence on modern undercover journalism, and of the particular style he pioneered in "A Night in a Workhouse." See Koven 82-84, for instance, regarding Greenwood's influence on George Orwell's essay on the workhouse casual ward, "The Spike" (*New Adelphi*,1931), and on his account of London lodging houses, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933).

last ten years, nearly a dozen scholarly books, articles, and anthologies examining Victorian incognito investigations have been published.[3] These studies recover a number of fascinating journalists, articles, and social contexts. Yet the majority of these studies address incognito journalism as part of the broader nineteenth-century practice of surveying the poor. As a result, they tend to treat undercover reports as historical records of period social investigations—rather than as a distinctive genre of Victorian journalism.[4] Historical treatments of undercover reports necessarily stand on shaky ground, however, when they fail to engage with the periodical genre conventions that defined their contemporary publication. Even more problematic for the study of undercover reports is the fact that print culture scholars have yet to describe and define even the most fundamental of Victorian newspaper genres. Indeed, they have yet to form a consensus on the very nomenclature for undercover reporting, not to mention its key practical, formal, or literary criteria. Current scholars use the terms "social explorers," "vicarious vagabonds," "slummers," or "investigative journalists" interchangeably when describing incognito journalism. As such, scholars remain as varied in their

[3] Books that feature material on undercover reporting include: Deborah Epstein Nord's *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation and the City* (1995); Simon Joyce's *Capital Offences Geographies of Class and Crime in Victorian London* (2003); Seth Koven's *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (2004); Dan Bivona and Roger B. Henkle *The Imagination of Class* (2006). Scholarly articles include: Mark Freeman's "Journeys into Poverty Kingdom: Complete Participation and the British Vagrant, 1866-1914" (2001); Lucy Delap's "Campaigns of Curiosity: Class Crossing and Role Reversal in British Domestic Service, 1890-1950" (2007). Three anthologies include: Peter Keating's *Into Unknown England, 1866 -1913: Selections from the Social Explorers* (1976); Ellen Ross's anthology, *Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860-1920* (2007); Mark Freeman and Gillian Nelson's *Vicarious Vagrants: Incognito Social Explorers and the Homeless in England, 1860-1910* (2008).

[4] Three studies of undercover reporting as journalism have come out since this project began: Laura Vorachek's articles "Playing Italian: Cross-Cultural Dress and Investigative Journalism at the Fin de Siècle" (*VPR*, 2012) and "'How little I cared for fame': T. Sparrow and Women's Investigative Journalism at the Fin de Siècle" (*VPR* 2016), and Stephen Donovan and Matthew Rubery's anthology, *Secret Commissions: An Anthology of Victorian Investigative Journalism* (Broadview, 2012).

nomenclature for undercover journalism as Victorians were in describing the emerging genre in their own time.

Victorians did not yet use the term "undercover reporting" to describe journalists donning disguises to conduct investigations for the newspaper. Instead, many commentators perceived undercover journalists as "special correspondents," who were known for their exaggerated narratives of adventure—in the lion's den, up snowy mountains, ship-wrecked at sea, or launched from a hot-air balloon—all in the pursuit of "copy" (figure 2). In this case, the use of disguise was deemed just one of the intrepid approaches that the "special" used to acquire a sensational news story. Some commentators referred to incognito journalists far more derisively, however, as commercial "stunt reporters," whose attempt to avoid detection while posing as someone else actually was the story, a publicity stunt widely used to sell newspapers. Others dubbed undercover reporters "detective journalists," sometimes to denote their serious contribution to police work, and at other times, satirizing the very notion that posing in disguise on street corners could really illuminate serious questions (figure 3). Victorian terminology for the literary products of these investigations also varied; undercover reports could be called descriptive or realistic reports, exposés, secret or special commissions, and social inquiries. They were often referred to more simply within a long tradition of journalistic "sketches" of London life.[5]

[5] On undercover reporting and historical nomenclature, see the entry on "Investigative Journalism" in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor's *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, 309, as well as Stephen Donovan and Matthew Rubery's "Introduction" to *Secret Commissions: An Anthology of Victorian Investigative Journalism*, 9-24.

THE 'SPECIAL'S' EXTRA-SPECIAL LUCK.

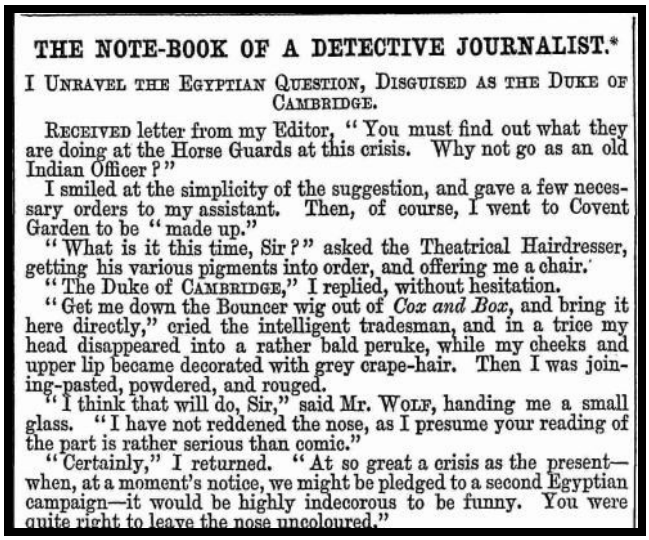
1. "Now this is indeed most fortunate," said the special descriptive reporter. "I scarcely dared hope for a personal interview. Might I first inquire, gentlemen, what is your usual mode of attack? Will you also kindly give me the exact length of your claws, and enumerate your teeth, stating full size of jaws when open?"

2. "Another marvellous stroke of luck! Lost my way on the highest mountain in Europe, and got buried in the biggest avalanche that ever was seen. Shall get a leading article out of this job to a certainty."

3. "This is really splendid! Wrecked under exceptional circumstances a thousand miles from anywhere. Escaped by the skin of my teeth. Now if only I can keep my notebook dry, I'll be able to make a couple of columns out of this."

4. "Well, I *am* a lucky chap! Nothing could have possibly been better than this. Pitched out of a balloon before the eyes of two thousand spectators. Why, it will send up our circulation several millions before next week. Mustn't drop my notebook upon any account."

Figure 2. "The 'Special's' Extra-Special Luck," from *Illustrated Chips*, parodies the special reporter's daring on-site investigations in the pursuit of copy. Here, the special interviews two lions from inside their den, and climbs a mountain to report on an avalanche (24 Nov 1894, 8).



THE NOTE-BOOK OF A DETECTIVE JOURNALIST.*

I UNRAVEL THE EGYPTIAN QUESTION, DISGUISED AS THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.

RECEIVED letter from my Editor, "You must find out what they are doing at the Horse Guards at this crisis. Why not go as an old Indian Officer?"

I smiled at the simplicity of the suggestion, and gave a few necessary orders to my assistant. Then, of course, I went to Covent Garden to be "made up."

"What is it this time, Sir?" asked the Theatrical Hairdresser, getting his various pigments into order, and offering me a chair.

"The Duke of CAMBRIDGE," I replied, without hesitation.

"Get me down the Bouncer wig out of *Cox and Box*, and bring it here directly," cried the intelligent tradesman, and in a trice my head disappeared into a rather bald peruke, while my cheeks and upper lip became decorated with grey crape-hair. Then I was joining-pasted, powdered, and rouged.

"I think that will do, Sir," said Mr. WOLF, handing me a small glass. "I have not reddened the nose, as I presume your reading of the part is rather serious than comic."

"Certainly," I returned. "At so great a crisis as the present—when, at a moment's notice, we might be pledged to a second Egyptian campaign—it would be highly indecorous to be funny. You were quite right to leave the nose uncoloured."

Figure 3. An excerpt from "The Notebook of Detective Journalist" in *Punch* describes a reporter disguising himself "as the Duke of Cambridge" to "unravel the Egyptian question" (19 Jan 1884, 29).

Historical and present-day commentators thus share in common with the Victorians a terminology as varied as are their critical approaches to undercover reporting in the press.

Yet present-day scholars also differ markedly from their Victorian precedents in that their studies emphasize the social practices of investigation—whether cross-class exploration, impersonation, or social tourism—whereas Victorians clearly identified the practice with newspaper journalism. Indeed, Victorians' use of the terms "special correspondent," "stunt reporter" and "detective journalist" indicates their sense of this practice as a textual and journalistic one, rather than as purely sociological. Moreover, Victorian journalists had even begun to define undercover reporting in journalism handbooks beginning in the 1880s. In his 1885 *Practical Journalism, How to Enter Thereon and Succeed: A Manual for Beginners and Amateurs*,[6] for instance, John Dawson describes incognito "descriptive reporting" as an established genre of the "modern journalism" (76). Dawson explains that, since going undercover in the workhouse in 1866, "Mr. Greenwood has had many imitators" (76). Dawson lists several examples of writers in the Greenwoodian tradition, including a "writer connected with the *Echo* [who] recently essayed to study life as an amateur street beggar" (Dawson 76). He recalls that "the *Pall Mall Gazette* has given us […] the experiences of an amateur driver of a Hansom cab; and there recently appeared in *St. Stephen's Review* some 'Notes in a Debtor's Dungeon' […] written and illustrated by Mr. Wallis Mackay" (Dawson 76). It has become a custom of the press, Dawson claims, to spend "A Sunday Morning Among

[6] Dawson's book reprints a series of articles he contributed to *The Bazaar* in 1884.

the Ragged" in order to write from the perspective of "One of the Mob" (75), or to get "[one]self up in costume" and report on the Lord Mayor's Show from the back of an elephant, as a reporter had recently done for the *Standard* (Dawson 76). Thus, the current scholarly preoccupation with social investigative practice crucially overlooks the role of undercover reporting as both a defining genre of, and indeed, a genre defined by, Victorian journalism.

My study aims to reconcile the inconsistencies between modern and historical approaches by adopting the term "undercover reporting." Although this modern term was not used in the Victorian period, it aptly encompasses the journalist's use of disguise to investigate, and the written, published account of this experience in the newspaper. The term undercover "genre" is also a useful one for describing the works of journalism treated in this study—all of which conventionalize many of the key narrative and formal features pioneered by Greenwood in the newspaper. Yet, this study insists that the discursive genre of undercover reporting was also defined by the conventions of Victorian periodical publishing. That is, the particular conventions which distinguished Victorian newspapers necessarily shaped the undercover reports that appeared in their pages. As John Frow explains, the very conventions that determine what a literary genre is work to guide readers towards particular meanings. Genre "guides interpretation," he explains,

> because it is a constraint on semiosis, the production of meaning; it specifies which types of meaning are relevant or appropriate in a particular context, and so makes certain senses of utterance more probable, in the circumstances, than others. (Frow 101)

In the case of the discursive genre of undercover reporting, a set of textual conventions situate the text within the Greenwoodian incognito tradition. Yet, the genre conventions of the Victorian newspapers that publish these reports also work to constrain these texts' meanings, guiding audiences towards a specific reading or framework of interpretation. As such, the study of newspaper genres like undercover reporting necessitates an examination of the report's literary or textual qualities, against the guiding framework of distinctive periodical publishing genres. My study thus employs a print-culture methodology throughout to account for the ways in which newspaper publishing genres frame and reframe the textual conventions of undercover journalism. This approach inevitably broadens the scholarly preoccupation with socio-political investigative practices by illustrating how diverse newspaper publishing genres, rather than a single social investigative practice, framed undercover reporting's textual meanings in the Victorian period.

In fact, my study moves beyond the current scholarly preoccupation with social-investigative practice—which centered largely on Victorian middle-class interests—to reveal how undercover reports were actually shaped by the popularization of British print and its readerships. By taking into account how the undercover genre developed across the prescriptive conventions of the established press, and the less restrictive conventions of commercial journalism, my dissertation necessarily expands the current canon of undercover reporting associated with Greenwood's work for the upper-middle-class *PMG*. I introduce the important work of previously unexamined journalists, like Thomas Carlisle, Mary Warren, and Mrs. Williamson. I also extend the title of incognito journalist to the

novelist, Margaret Harkness, whose investigations were published at cross-purposes in journalism and in fiction. In addition to enhancing the descriptive and methodological approaches to undercover reporting, then, my project contributes more broadly to studies of the relationship between newspapers, periodicals, and fiction, and recuperates women as important participants in the undercover tradition.

Before embarking on individual case studies of the complex ways in which undercover reports were shaped by developments in the newspaper, subsequent sections of this introduction survey the critical treatment of these texts as documents of Victorian social history. This dissertation builds on the foundations of social historians' rigorous research and analyses, but also provides a critique of their approaches from the perspective of Victorian periodical studies. The introduction concludes with a breakdown of the print-culture methodologies that will be employed in this dissertation's individual chapters, and with projected contributions to emerging scholarship.

Undercover Reporting and Social History

Descriptions of journalists, authors, and everyday individuals donning disguises and going undercover appear throughout social and literary history—in Blue books, newspapers, and in diaries, as well as in a range of fictional genres. One early example is found in the pages of *The Thousand and One Nights*—or, as it was known in the Victorian period, *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*. Several of the

Arabian Nights' stories mythologize Harun al-Rashid,[7] the Caliph of Bagdad from 786-809 A.D., shedding his royal garments and donning common clothing to access the inner workings of his kingdom. Mark Freeman and Gillian Nelson note that "James V of Scotland […] and, in modern times, Kings Hussein and Abdullah of Jordan were reported to have gone among their people *incognito*," in the fashion of Harun al-Raschid (8). Historically, many women also used disguise and impersonation to investigate outside their traditional gender roles, where they were constrained by notions of domesticity, class, and cultural propriety. Deborah Epstein Nord notes that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's eighteenth-century letters describe her donning the veil in her travels throughout Turkey (Nord 240). Flora Annie Tristan's nineteenth-century Parisian travelogues similarly recount wearing a turban and travelling as a Turkish man to gain an alternative cultural and gender experience (Nord 120).[8]

In Victorian England, state-commissioned social investigators also described using incognito tactics in their inspections of the poor. These commissions were prompted by several social and health crises in the period: war, social unrest, industrial accidents, cholera epidemics, and natural disasters (Frankel 6). Several branches of the British government responded by assessing public health and

[7] Alternative spellings for "Harun al-Rashid" include: Haroun Alraschid and Harun/Haroun al-Raschid. Thomas Carlisle's "The Unprofessional Vagabond," examined in chapter two, uses the spelling "Haroun Alraschid."

[8] Nord also observes incognito strategies as a common trope in Victorian literature, such as Disraeli's *Sybil* (1845), Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848), and Dickens's *Bleak House* (1853) (Nord 239). In conversation, James Mulvihill pointed out to me that Victorian "undercover" narratives also have much in common with the "secret histories" or "fly-on-the-wall confessions" of the earlier century, which featured servants reporting on their masters, or pamphleteers reporting on the secret lives of the rich and famous. See Mulvihill's *Notorious Facts: Publicity in Romantic England, 1780-1830* (2011).

sanitation, labour and wages in areas where the effects of crises were most concentrated and visible—namely, among the poor. They compiled statistics on fresh air and population density in private dwellings, examined the physical conditions of individual residents, and conducted interviews with employers and clergymen, in the form of "Royal commissions of inquiry, inspectorates, and parliamentary committees" (Frankel 1). Commissioners reported their findings in Blue Books, pamphlets, and newspapers that were both devised and mobilized to achieve legislative reforms among the poor.[9] In their reports, state commissioners occasionally described using incognito tactics—particularly when their subjects refused to cooperate, or when public officials in factories, prisons, and workhouses interfered with employee testimony on living and working conditions.[10] In the *Royal Commission on the Employment of Children* (1842), for instance, one sub-commissioner described wearing "the apparel of a miner—a flannel dress, clogs, and knee-caps—and descend[ing] into the pits himself. He felt that taking the depositions of children on the spot was the only viable method to arrive at their true condition" (Frankel 156). State commissions like this one were widespread throughout the period, and their investigative methods[11] influenced amateur

[9] Frankel argues that the widespread circulation of state-published reports functioned not only to bolster legislative bills, but also to advance the state's overall investigative authority over the poor—a function that he terms "Print Statism" (8).

[10] Frankel notes that during factory inspections, for instance, many employers "sat side by side with one or two of their employees and squires with their servants" in order to moderate employee disclosures and favourable conduct (151).

[11]The use of disguise was just one among many investigative tactics used by state commissioners. They typically gathered data and physical descriptions, measuring the spatial dimensions of homes or factories, for instance, and tallying the number of residents in relation to fresh air. They also examined medical records, documented wages, meal size and meal regularity, and recorded physical descriptions of families, homes, and domestic conduct. They compiled information on individual subjects and families by interviewing rent collectors and Poor Law officials, as well as employers, neighbours, and religious clergy.

reformers, including journalists, who descended into the slums in pursuit of an authentic social reality.

Many Victorian scholars have identified undercover journalism with the historical practice of social investigation, and consequently, with its conventional motivations and methods. This critical trajectory begins with Peter Keating's anthology, *Into Unknown England, 1866 -1913: Selections from the Social Explorers* (1976), which links Greenwood's undercover journalism with Charles Booth's social-investigative surveys, with religious reformer Andrew Mearns's investigative pamphlets, and with Salvation Army founder William Booth's investigations among the poor. Keating groups together all of these texts under the rubric of "social exploration" writing. Keating's collection ushered Greenwood's "A Night" into modern scholarship, and provides the basis for later studies of undercover reporting as an historical social-investigative practice. Historian Rachel Vorspan's "Vagrancy and the New Poor Law in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England" (1977) subsequently turns to undercover reports by journalists, amateur writers, doctors, and reformers for insight into historical definitions of poverty, and into period reforms of the British Poor Laws. Historian Mark Freeman's "Journeys into Poverty Kingdom: Complete Participation and the British Vagrant, 1866-1914" (2001) considers undercover reporting as an amateur form of sociology, and Freeman and Nelson's anthology, *Vicarious Vagrants: Incognito Social Explorers and the Homeless in England, 1860-1910* (2008), frames these texts as social investigation narratives. Ellen Ross's anthology, *Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860-1920* (2007), follows in this tradition, collecting women's incognito writing within a

broader sociological and charitable framework that sanctioned their participation in the masculine profession of undercover journalism.[12] These studies within the field of social history thus treat undercover reports as part of an historical investigative tradition, without accounting for the textual and publishing conventions that shaped their meanings in the period.

Literary scholars have also examined undercover reports' contributions to social history. Deborah Epstein Nord's *Walking the Victorian Streets* (1995) examines women's undercover newspaper reports, alongside accounts in Victorian fiction, travel narratives, and personal diaries, for insight into women's urban experiences. Dan Bivona and Roger B. Henkle's *The Imagination of Class* (2006) considers undercover reporting alongside works of fiction for insight into middle-class Victorian men's self- definitions through their encounters with the poor. Simon Joyce's *Capital Offences: Geographies of Class and Crime in Victorian London* (2003) also examines undercover reporting alongside fiction to investigate the broader narrative treatment of historical cross-class encounters in nineteenth-century Britain. These literary and historical studies add to the socio-historical contexts from which to study undercover reporting. Yet, together, they treat undercover reports as source material for studying an historical practice, a social reality, and a literary tradition, rather than as part of a distinctive newspaper genre, defined as it was by periodical publishing conventions.

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[12]Additional studies related to the subject of Victorian undercover reporting include Anthony Wohl's "Social Explorations Among the London Poor: Theatre or Laboratory?" (1991); Sharon Winn and Lynn Alexander's *The Slaughterhouse of Mammon: An Anthology of Victorian Social Protest Literature* (1992), which includes James Greenwood's "A Night in a Workhouse"; and Judith Walkowitz's essay, "The Indian Woman, the Flower Girl, and the Jew: Photojournalism in Edwardian London" (1998), which considers Olive Christian Malvery's early-twentieth-century reports within the context of imperial exploration.

Undercover Reporting in Victorian Newspapers

Theorists of the periodical publishing genre, however, highlight fundamental issues related to the study of newspaper texts as documents of social, personal, or literary history. Dallas Liddle addresses several of these issues in relation to periodical studies in general, but which can be seen to correspond with the critical trends in studying undercover journalism in particular. The first issue he addresses is the problem of "description" (3); that is, we have yet to identify "what we are reading, exactly, when we read a periodical text" (*Dynamics of Genre* 3). Indeed, scholars have yet to distinguish undercover newspaper reports from state-commissioned social investigations, social-scientific inquiries, philanthropic pamphlets, and works of fiction.[13] The "second problem of methodology," Liddle suggests, is "more epistemological" (*Dynamics of Genre* 3). Like other Victorian newspaper texts, undercover reports were published "in a periodical's mostly non-literary genre forms—often in the expectation of anonymity, and altered to an unknowable extent by an editor" (*Dynamics of Genre* 4). Furthermore, newspaper texts were characteristically used "to influence or manipulate its readers' opinions" (*Dynamics of Genre* 3-4), and therefore cannot be taken strictly as evidence of the journalist's personal opinions or literary career, or of readers' opinions either. Liddle urges that studies which use periodical texts as "primary sources"—whether for studying the "general life of Victorian England" or for "literary or book study"—

[13] Barbara Onslow offers one description of the Dickensian investigative genre as "Inside Stories," for which "Common formulae were the journalist's guided tour by friendly police officers, pioneered by Charles Dickens, or the confessional tale where the narrator is exonerated from obloquy, having been mistakenly charged or convicted" (106). Her study loosely links texts by a common practice, and by their use of aspects of New Journalism: "human interest, dramatic narrative structures, and the interview formula, with its gossipy tone" (Onslow 106).

necessarily engage with these descriptive and epistemological issues, or else "compromise the validity of their own conclusions" (*Dynamics of Genre* 4). Indeed, while two works, Seth Koven's *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (2004), and Laura Vorachek's essay, "Playing Italian: Cross-Cultural Dress and Investigative Journalism at the Fin de Siècle" (2012), begin to attend to undercover reporting within the periodical, these studies' failure to engage with the shaping mechanisms of the serial newspaper genre potentially compromise their historical insights into Victorians' anxieties about class, gender, and sexuality.

My dissertation thus takes up some of the descriptive and methodological challenges that Liddle highlights, to study the conventions of undercover reporting as a Victorian newspaper genre. Building from an initial description of Greenwood's undercover report, and from an analysis of its periodical publishing conventions, the following chapters examine how shifting conventions of authority and authorship, genre and gender shaped the report in later newspapers. These case studies focus on three different decades—the 1860s, 1870s, and the 1880s—but material included in these studies spans roughly from 1860 to the turn of the century. These studies appear chronologically, so that each subsequent chapter implicitly highlights the particular generic features that inhere from an earlier decade, along with the addition or rejection of others.

Since my study focuses on the development of undercover reporting in the Victorian newspaper, I do not consider first-hand accounts of undercover disguise

and role-reversal in diaries or letters, medical books, [14] or detective novels, which are often included in studies of undercover reporting.[15] Similarly, since my study focuses on a distinctive genre of undercover reporting rooted in Greenwood's approach of the 1860s, I do not examine incognitos that are merely rhetorical[16] or situational[17]—that is, which do not explicitly describe using a disguise to go undercover. I do not consider examples in which reporters may have used incognito methods to gain insider knowledge, but did not reconstruct the incognito encounter for their readers.[18] My main objective here is to provide in each chapter a case study of a single undercover report in the Greenwoodian tradition, and specifically, a report which was initially published within the newspaper. Many undercover reports had afterlives in pamphlets and yellow-backs, in novels, and in magazines,

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[14] The medical reformer, J.H. Stallard, for instance, published his 1866 *The Female Casual and Her Lodging* in response to Greenwood's undercover investigation of the male casual ward in "A Night in a Workhouse." Stallard allegedly dispatched a working-class woman to investigate the female ward under the names of "Ellen Stanley" and "Jane Wood," and transcribed the verbal account of her testimony in his book, framed by his own commentary and medical recommendation. Stallard's book is often mentioned alongside Greenwood's in studies of his work as social investigation, but does not constitute an example of the undercover report as defined by the conventions of the newspaper.

[15] The exclusion of fiction genres is not to suggest that all undercover reports were works of nonfiction. As this study shows, undercover reports were often closely linked to the discourses and formats of fiction. My project does not engage with the veracity of these reports, but instead, with the effects these reports aimed to produce for their readers.

[16] W.T. Stead's *PMG* series on London prostitution, "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" (1885), for example, was largely a rhetorical impersonation, as his persona was constructed primarily through letters and advertisements. Stead's subsequent imprisonment centred on the very issue of the court's inability to distinguish his role-playing from reality when he arranged to purchase a young prostitute as part of his investigation. This study does not include Stead's as a clear example of "undercover" reporting as defined here.

[17] Although scholars of the Victorian settlement movement have illustrated how a middle-class philanthropist's immersion in a working-class location or landscape could produce an impression of role reversal, these are not the subject of my dissertation. For example, when Charles Booth moved to the East End to collect data for his *Life and Labour of the People of London* (1885-1905), Booth felt he had concealed his true identity from his landlords, and gained an impression of what it was like to be a working-class man (see Delap 39). This dissertation characterizes these accounts of non-incognito accounts as first-person accounts or testimonies, rather than as undercover reports.

[18] For example, as he reported in his articles for the *Daily News* (republished in *How the Poor Live*, 1883), George Sims gained access to the homes of the poor by conducting interviews as though he were a school-board visitor. Yet, the element of disguise and impersonation are not a central component of his reports, and possible undercover tactics are mostly suppressed altogether.

and these reprints form a crucial part of my study. Yet my primary interest remains the genre's development within and through the conventions of the newspaper. The newspaper publishing genre also serves to anchor the often-complex chronologies of undercover reports' circulation histories by marking specific dates and places of publication—in this case, in the city of London.

In the first chapter of my dissertation, I examine some origins of the undercover trend in Greenwood's 1866 report, "A Night in a Workhouse." Whereas current studies treat undercover reporting as social investigation, I demonstrate how these studies largely hinge on Greenwood's publication within the *Pall Mall Gazette* (*PMG*), a newspaper which positioned the report amid upper-middle-class, professional, political, and reform-minded discourses (Escott, Stead, Greenwood, Koven). I intervene in this critical trajectory by revealing the report's lesser-known origins in popular, commercial journalism. I introduce new evidence to illustrate how the *PMG* adapted Greenwood's undercover approach not from middle-class social investigation, but rather, from popular journalism. The political and social-reform motives that scholars link with Greenwood's reporting, I argue, should thus be identified as a feature of the *PMG*'s middle-class publishing conventions, rather than as fundamental to the undercover genre that Greenwood helped to pioneer. "A Night in a Workhouse" should instead be recognized as an instance of the established press's efforts to capitalize on the shifting market for British newspapers (Curtis, Anderson, and Daly). Building from this alternative perspective, I trace how publishers used "A Night" to engage with a shifting print culture in 1860s. I draw on Margaret Beetham's notion of how the periodical genre

"opened" itself to a variety of readings, but used its tone, price, and position to "close" or frame these readings within certain parameters, defined by class, gender, political or religious values. The *PMG*'s middle-class Conservative publishing conventions, I suggest, merely offered one framework for "A Night in a Workhouse," and this framework was not singularly definitive. In fact, I conclude by examining the *PMG* report alongside more popular periodical reviews, working-class testimonies, and anonymous reprints that framed the undercover report very differently, but which contributed equally to the tradition that grew around Greenwoodian undercover reporting in the period.

My second chapter examines the adaption of Greenwood's approach to Thomas Carlisle's "The Unprofessional Vagabond," an undercover series on working-class street labourers published in the *Globe and Traveller* newspaper in 1873. This chapter examines how the *Globe*'s series begins to solidify some of Greenwood's earlier conventions, but adapts them to increasingly "open" (Beetham) commercial publishing conventions under the New Journalism (Weiner, Lee). I argue that the *Globe*'s New Journalism conventions necessitate the more personal emphasis in Carlisle's reporting, displacing the political authority of 1860s middle-class newspapers with the personal authority of the qualified journalist (Hampton, Liddle, Rubery). This chapter thus extends the work of chapter one, by arguing that periodical publishing, rather than investigative practices, work to shape the conventions of undercover reports in the period. Yet I also demonstrate how, at the same time as changes to journalism gave rise to more personal undercover reporting in the newspaper, these elements inspired a parallel tradition of celebrity

reporting in popular publishing, allowing reporters to bolster their personal credibility through signature and illustration. I draw from Michael Sadleir's scholarship to analyze the re-publication of Carlisle's series in the format of a yellow-back book, where his highly-visible celebrity identity becomes fundamentally incompatible with anonymous, incognito journalism. Thus, while extending the work of chapter one, this chapter ultimately complicates my notion that popular newspapers fuelled undercover reporting, by demonstrating their contribution to celebrity stunt reporting (Lutes) outside the restrictive conventions of anonymous, socio-political undercover journalism.

The third chapter extends my focus on the popularization of British periodical publishing to the work of a female journalist, Margaret Harkness. While Harkness is mainly known for her social-realist novels (Goode, Von Rosenburg, Sypher, Ross, Koven), I introduce new historical evidence for her work as an investigative journalist for the *British Weekly* journal. Unlike Greenwood and Carlisle, whose reports explicitly narrate the undercover approach, Harkness's investigations appear in two different publishing genres, an anonymous investigative series called "Tempted London" (1889), and a pseudonymous serial novel, *Captain Lobe* (1889). Drawing on the print-culture approach initiated by earlier chapters, however, I demonstrate how the gendered conventions of periodical publishing (Lee, Easley, Beasley and Gibbons), rather than Harkness's personal approach or strategies, constrained her investigations to the genres of anonymous interviewing and pseudonymous fiction. In fact, I argue that, just as publishing framed the meanings of Greenwood's and Carlisle's undercover

reporting, the *BW*'s conventions positioned both Harkness's interviewing and fiction within a tradition of women's incognito reporting in the newspaper. This chapter thus continues the work of earlier chapters in its investigation of how periodical publishing shaped women's undercover reporting in the period. Yet, this chapter also moves beyond my earlier examination of male reporters advantaged by popularization, reprinting, and celebrity to suggest that public visibility conversely jeopardized the authority of women investigators like Harkness. I conclude by interrogating how the *BW* maneuvered the constraints on women's journalism by republishing "Tempted London" as anonymous Greenwoodian undercover reporting, and *Captain Lobe* as celebrity journalism. Working against a scholarly tradition preoccupied with women's signed or illustrated undercover reporting (Koven, Donovan and Rubery, Voracheck), Harkness exemplifies how women incognito reporters more-often published across the lines of journalism and fiction, anonymity and signature.

While this study undertakes the somewhat rudimentary project of defining some methodological approaches to undercover reporting, it holds significant import for emerging periodical scholarship, which aims to organize and categorize the vast digital archive of Victorian newspapers. By bringing together under the rubric of undercover reporting a series of texts that currently span the existing fields of British social investigation, American celebrity stunt journalism, women's anonymous interviewing and serial fiction, this dissertation proposes new directions for the study of journalism across genres, geographies, and genders.

Chapter I

Undercover Reporting and Popular Print Culture: James Greenwood's "A Night in a Workhouse"

This chapter examines James Greenwood's "A Night in a Workhouse," which has become foundational to studies of undercover reporting. In "A Night in a Workhouse," Greenwood describes impersonating a working-class engraver named Joshua Mason, and spending the night undercover in a workhouse casual ward.[19] The *Pall Mall Gazette* published Greenwood's account on January 12, 13, and 15, 1866 to great acclaim. "A Night" initiated a trend for undercover reporting in the British press, and established Greenwood's reputation as an expert investigator of London's underworld. "A Night in a Workhouse" also raised the fledgling newspaper's status significantly, as well as that of its enterprising editor—James's own brother, Frederick Greenwood. While scholars typically credit the report's contemporary success to the influence of the *Pall Mall Gazette* (*PMG*), this chapter traces the impact of James Greenwood's personal career as a commercial journalist, and particularly, of popular publishing, on the development of undercover reporting in the Victorian newspaper.

Since the 1880s, commentators have tended to focus on Frederick Greenwood's effect on the report's genesis and legacy. Frederick's reputation as a respected journalist and man of letters was well-established prior to his brother, James's. He had already contributed to and edited the reputable literary magazine,

[19] The workhouse "casual ward" offered temporary relief for individuals who "lacked both a permanent residence and a place of settlement" (Vorspan 60). Vorspan explains that individuals who used the casual ward were comprised of two main "classes": "unskilled labourers travelling in search of employment—primarily navvies, sailors, and agricultural workers—and professional tramps and beggars" (60). While women, children, and the elderly also frequented these wards, the majority of casuals were men under the age of sixty five (Vorspan 60).

The Cornhill, in the early 1860s, and had been the founding editor of the *PMG* since 1865. James Greenwood, unlike his brother, was considered to be something of a hack journalist prior to publishing in the *PMG*, and known only for the smattering of boys' adventure stories that he wrote for popular periodicals.[20] It was only following his work for the *PMG* that James became a recognized reporter. He went on to publish undercover reports in the vein of "A Night" for popular newspapers like the *Evening Star* and the *Daily Telegraph*, many of which were collected in volume format. While James's publication in his brother's newspaper appears to have launched his career in journalism, Frederick merely expanded on his earlier work as an editor, and went on to found two subsequent evening reviews, the *St James's Gazette* in 1880, and the *Anti-Jacobin* in 1891. Considering the brothers' different career trajectories, it is not surprising that scholars often underscore Frederick's influence over James's skill or ingenuity in their studies of "A Night in a Workhouse."

Modern scholars have been especially keen to emphasize Frederick's and the *PMG*'s defining influence on the undercover genre since Frederick later claimed that he came up with the idea of an incognito investigation himself, during his early days at the newspaper. In an 1897 article on the "Birth and Infancy of the 'Pall Mall Gazette'," Frederick recounted how, after reading some alarming reports on London's workhouse infirmaries, he hired his brother to spend the night undercover at Lambeth workhouse. While Frederick's reflections in "Birth and Infancy" provide

[20] These include an 1866 illustrated novel, *The True History of a Little Ragamuffin*, published in both a single, and in shilling-monthly installments, by Samuel Beeton. This story briefly touches on a young boy's stint in a workhouse, and is often cited for its timely preoccupation with the subject of "A Night."

a valuable historical context for Greenwood's timely visit to a workhouse, this chapter demonstrates how the scholarly focus on this alone overshadows the journalistic qualities of undercover reporting that emerged not only from the *PMG*'s upper-middle class discourse, but also from popular print culture.

This chapter intervenes in critical studies of undercover reporting that remain preoccupied with Frederick Greenwood and the *PMG*. I revisit James Greenwood's early journalism career to demonstrate the role that popular journalism played in defining the undercover features of "A Night in a Workhouse." I also consider how both established and popular periodicals recirculated "A Night" for different readerships. Whereas scholars typically link "A Night"—and hence, the origins of the Greenwoodian tradition—with the *PMG*'s upper-middle-class reform discourses, I argue that the report's publication in the *PMG* marks an early instance in the popularization of the established press. This chapter thus reconsiders the Greenwoodian foundations of undercover reporting not as the product of a single, middle-class periodical, but as "an eruption" across the lines of the established and the popular press, through which, in Laurel Brake's terms, the "constituent elements" of a transitioning print culture become "momentarily hyper-visible and palpable" (*Subjugated Knowledges* 51).

This chapter's first section seeks to expand the critical framework for undercover reporting, beyond the social reform discourses of the *PMG*, by connecting "A Night" with Greenwood's earlier incognito experiments in popular journalism. I introduce and examine a selection of Greenwood's reports for the *Illustrated Times* (*IT*), the *Penny Illustrated Press* (*PIP*), and the *Englishwoman's*

Domestic Magazine (*EDM*) to illustrate the key features that they share in common with "A Night in a Workhouse." In light of Greenwood's earlier trajectory, I suggest that Frederick can be seen to adapt his brother's journalism as much to popularize the *PMG* as to engage in a social debate about the workhouse. In fact, as I argue in section two, the report's presumed links to social reform should be recognized as a feature of the *PMG*'s publishing conventions, rather than being fundamental to the undercover report.

In section two, I examine how periodical publishing conventions, rather than Greenwood's investigative approach alone, shaped each of his reports' meanings. I draw on Margaret Beetham's theories of the periodical publishing genre to show how the *PIP*, the *EDM*, and the *PMG* each used undercover reports to popularize or "open" their pages to new readers. Yet, these formats also "closed" the reports according to distinctive periodical genre conventions. The *PIP*'s conventions, for instance, framed incognito reports as rational recreation, the *EDM*'s, as melodrama, and the *PMG*'s, as social and political reform discourse. Indeed, the *PMG* represents just one among many frameworks that defined "A Night in a Workhouse" in the Victorian period. This report was subsequently recirculated in other periodicals (*East London Observer*, *Times*) which reconfigured the *PMG*'s social-reform framework. By tracing moments in the undercover report's broad circulation in Victorian print culture, I demonstrate the limitations of attending to "A Night" within a single periodical targeting upper-middle class readers. More importantly, I indicate the narrow readership for the *PMG*'s framework, relative to the reach of other periodical frameworks.

My third section focuses on the under-examined circulation history of "A Night" in popular print culture. I examine one popular reprint in particular, a pamphlet version of "A Night" which sold on London street corners for a penny. This unauthorized pamphlet version re-casts Greenwood's investigation as a comedic music-hall performance. The music-hall framework is significant, I argue, because it implicitly parodies the notion of cross-class performance itself—that is, the notion that upper-middle-class gentlemen, whether social investigators, newspaper reporters, or otherwise, can truly shift into the roles of working-class casuals. This popular edition is important not only because it subverts the hierarchies reinforced by middle-class newspaper reporting, but also because it appears to have been the most-widely circulated version of "A Night in a Workhouse." Moreover, popular publishing history shaped the tradition surrounding Greenwood and his report as much as established periodicals did.

In a concluding section, I reflect on the emerging tensions that came to define Greenwoodian reporting within a transitioning Victorian print culture, amid a host of amateur and professional imitators. While diverse periodicals and pamphlets variably upheld or contested Greenwood's authority as a legitimate social investigator, I survey a selection of other periodical reviews, renditions, and reprints of "A Night" that corroborated his findings through working-class testimony. Together with socio-political periodicals and popular parodies, these working-class testimonies (*Church of England Temperance Magazine, Irish Temperance League Journal*, *Temple Bar*, *Working Man, Evening Star*) worked to

constitute the key features that would come to define Greenwoodian reporting, indicating the crucial role of periodical publishing in shaping the undercover genre.

Re-Orienting Greenwood Scholarship

Since the report's outset, critics have presumed Frederick Greenwood's influence on both the conception and the writing of "A Night in a Workhouse." T.H.S. Escott, Victorian journalist and editor of the *Fortnightly Review* (1882-86), suggested that:

> James Greenwood's experiences were given in his own strong, simple words. The effects, due to a clever arrangement of light and shade that made the piece a really artistic composition, were entirely the adroit contrivances of his brother Frederick [….] and often enabled him to improve the general impression which an article gave by a few syllables of felicitous and forcible finish. ("Masters of English Journalism" 246)

W.T. Stead similarly insisted, in an 1893 "Sketch" of the *PMG*, that Frederick had "retouched" the report "by the light of what he had heard of the visit, as well as what had been written about it; and always with intent to avoid suspicion of exaggeration" (*Review of Reviews* 144). Modern scholars of "A Night in a Workhouse" also presuppose Frederick's influence on his brother's journalism, based explicitly on Frederick's claims in an 1897 article recalling the *PMG*'s "Birth and Infancy." Frederick published the article, "Birth and Infancy of the 'Pall Mall Gazette'," in the April 14, 1897 edition of the *PMG* (1-2), to celebrate its ten-thousandth issue.

In the article, Frederick situates "A Night in a Workhouse" within the paper's history as an upper-middle-class periodical. Frederick recalls that, from the beginning, the paper was intended for upper-middle-class readers. Its title was

meant to conjure the fictional *Pall Mall Gazette* in Thackeray's novel, *Pendennis*,[21] which positioned the newspaper as "written by gentlemen for gentlemen" readers ("Birth and Infancy" 1). The newspaper's title also alludes to the fashionable Pall Mall Street in Westminster. Although the actual paper was quite modestly priced at two pence, its format nonetheless gestures towards the higher class of reader imagined in Thackeray's novel. The *PMG* was a large, eight-page folio, set in an old-fashioned style, double-columned, and printed on expensive-looking "creamy paper," which was then "used only for books" ("Birth and Infancy" 1). Subtitled *An Evening Newspaper and Review*, the *PMG* positioned itself primarily in relation to educated men and women of the upper and upper-middle classes. Published in the late afternoon, the "evening" newspaper's objective was to comment on the events of the morning papers, on some public affairs, as well as to include some reviews on literature and on entertainment. In Frederick's article, he insists that the paper refused to adopt a political stance, with a view to remaining critical of any ruling party. Yet an article next to his own clarifies that the *PMG* was actually recognized as a Conservative newspaper while under Frederick's editorship ("1865-1897," 14 April 1897, 1).

Frederick also situates "A Night" within the framework of his founding editorship. He recalls that the *PMG* failed to take off in its initial year of publication, 1865, but that "A Night" would eventually make the paper's name. In those early days, he muses, the *PMG* was "like a captive balloon, ready to soar, and restive

[21] Frederick Greenwood found the *Pall Mall Gazette* to be a "trivial" title and feared the paper would be "chaffed" because of it (qtd. in Robertson Scott 125). He insisted on the subtitle of the *Evening Review*, envisioning simply "an honest and courageous daily journal," written in "plain language" (qtd. in Robertson Scott 125).

against the rope that held it down" ("Birth and Infancy" 2). Considering that Frederick disliked the title of the paper, feeling that "a meaning of snobbishness clung" to it (Robertson Scott 125), the "rope" holding the paper down may have been its narrow, high-brow appeal. As its editor, Frederick "set about looking for the knife," that might 'cut the rope,' so to speak, and found it in "some dreadful reports of investigation into certain infirmaries" published in a medical journal ("Birth and Infancy" 2). These reports were published by the *Lancet*, and Frederick claims that they "excited no public attention whatever, being printed in a medical journal" ("Birth and Infancy" 2). But, they did give Frederick the idea of "a night in the casual ward of a London workhouse as a sort of knife that might accomplish several beneficent bits of business at one stroke" ("Birth and Infancy" 2). That is, they presented an opportunity for the *PMG* to engage in a public controversy and, being a newspaper format, to appeal more broadly than a professional medical journal would. Frederick claims that he already knew of a man he could hire to conduct the workhouse investigation. This man, he recalled, "could do it as well as any known man in England, Mr. Dickens excepted. Who that was need not be told" ("Birth and Infancy" 2). The man, of course, was later revealed to be James Greenwood, whom Frederick claimed to have commissioned to spend the night, undercover, in the Lambeth workhouse.[22] The *PMG*, he recalls, published James's report on his experience shortly afterwards, in the form of "three descriptive papers" ("Birth and Infancy" 2), known as "A Night in a Workhouse." As Frederick

[22] W.T. Stead later writes, in an 1893 historical sketch of the "Pall Mall Gazette" in the *Review of Reviews*, that Frederick paid James thirty pounds to carry out the investigation, and that James's friend, a young stockbroker named "Bittlestone," accompanied him on the investigation (144).

suggests, the *PMG* initially failed to reveal James's name, but contemporary commentators soon dubbed the author the "Amateur Casual." The report's success supplied both "a good stroke for poor-house reform" and the "knife […] to that tethering rope" ("Birth and Infancy" 2). Frederick's article, recalling his formative role on the early *PMG*, thus implicitly frames "A Night" within a career of enterprising editorship. The article also frames the report within the *PMG*'s social climate and financial circumstances, as an emerging publication seeking new ways to address an upper-middle class, reform-minded readership.

Modern critics have often relied on "Birth and Infancy" as a primary history of "A Night in a Workhouse." Robertson Scott's *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette* (1950), which contains a section on "A Night," draws almost verbatim from Frederick's 1897 account in the *PMG* (166-8). Peter Keating's *Unknown England* (1976), which offers the first anthologized publication of "A Night" for modern readers, likewise presumes that the idea for "A Night" "came from Greenwood's brother, Frederick" (16), and that the *PMG* was where James "worked first" (33). Seth Koven, who has published the most detailed history of "A Night in a Workhouse" to-date, similarly focuses on the role of Frederick and the *PMG* in developing the foundations of Victorian undercover journalism.

Koven in particular has been instrumental in perpetuating the report's ties to the *PMG*, and to the paper's preoccupations with upper-middle class and professional reform discourses. Koven's study[23] expounds on Frederick's claims

[23] Koven's chapter on Greenwood in *Slumming* focuses primarily on how the report captured upper-middle-class attention through its sensational use of disguise, shocking transgression across class boundaries, and especially, through its veiled allusions to homosexuality among the poor.

about the undercover report's origins in the *Lancet* medical journal, which published an "Inquiry into the Conditions of Workhouse Infirmaries" throughout 1865 and 1866. Koven adds that the *Lancet* investigations were not only focused on medical issues, but were also highly political: they directly responded to the deaths of two respectable, working-class men in London workhouses, Timothy Daly and Richard Gibson. The British press alleged that these men had died untimely deaths due to mismanagement and neglect in public workhouses.[24] The coroner ordered an investigation, and the Poor Law Board dispatched its Metropolitan District Inspector, H.B. Farnall, to examine workhouse conditions. But, Farnall's official bias, and his ultimate dismissal of these allegations, only inflamed the controversy. *The Lancet* therefore commissioned three of its own doctors, led by Ernest Hart, to counter investigate the environment, residents, and staff of some forty metropolitan workhouse infirmaries, publishing its findings in twenty-seven-installments. Koven notes that "many of Britain's most influential poor-law and sanitary reformers threw their weight behind the *Lancet*'s campaign" (25).[25] His reading accentuates the report's political dimensions by showing how Frederick positioned his "captive" *PMG* within a high-profile debate over reforming the workhouse.

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[24] Timothy Daly was reportedly a healthy, young Irish labourer before dying of bedsores he sustained during a brief stay at the Holborn workhouse infirmary in December of 1864. At the time, workhouses provided the destitute not only with food and shelter, in exchange for hard labour, but also with subsidized medical services. Daly had come to Holborn for treatment of influenza-like symptoms, but left the workhouse in far worse condition. His death was followed by that of Richard Gibson, in the St. Giles and St. George Workhouse in Bloomsbury, in 1865. This and other similar incidents kept the issue of workhouse neglect and mistreatment visible in the public eye in the months leading up to Greenwood's own investigation (see Koven 25).

[25] See David McKitterick's"Publishing for Trades and Professions" in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Vol. 6*: *1830-1914*, on the *Lancet*'s appeal to medical professionals as well as to more-broadly reform-minded readers (506-7).

Koven remarks that this debate reverberated across other political lines, too, mobilizing timely middle-class apprehensions not only about social welfare, but also about the impending Second Reform Act. Koven suggests that the *PMG* explicitly used "A Night" to advocate for social welfare through the Metropolitan Poor Bill of 1867, which imposed a physical separation between the healthy and the infirm in British workhouses (Koven 63). The *PMG* also invoked "A Night" as an argument for extending the franchise to "the hardworking and intelligent artisan" (60),[26] contrary to William Gladstone's recent proposal to enfranchise men with a seven-pound household income.[27] "A Night" caught the attention of some high-profile reformers, including Gladstone himself, who wrote a diary entry on his reading it in the winter of 1866.[28] Gladstone's bill was introduced in March of 1866, but was ultimately struck down, and the Liberals, under Russell, resigned in June of 1866. The *PMG*'s anti-Liberal position was ultimately satisfied by Disraeli's Conservative government, which extended the vote to one million working-class citizens, excluding the feckless poor, under the Second Reform Act of 1867. According to Koven, later "commentators explicitly linked 'A Night' to the Reform Bill" (60), which was passed under Disraeli in 1867.[29]

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[26] The *PMG* saw the artisan class as one whose "socioeconomic proximity to the poor and disdain for the indolence and 'scoundrelism' of parochial officials and paupers alike promised to sweep away the incompetent 'reign of Bumbledom' among poorhouse officials" (Koven 60). Through this lens, Greenwood's embodiment of the respectable artisan engraver distinguishes him from the convicts and villains in the workhouse, as a more "deserving" member of the working-class, in spite of their equal treatment under the British legal system. See n.19 on classes of inmates in the workhouse.
[27] At the time, Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord John Russell was Prime Minister.
[28] Koven notes that William Gladstone recorded this detail in a February 1866 diary entry, and remarks that: "In the midst of his first week as leader of the House of Commons […] Gladstone took time out from his worries about the fate of parliamentary reform to read 'A Night'" (26).
[29] See n.9 on the connections between government-commissioned investigations and legislation.

Koven's emphasis on the report's engagement with the issues preoccupying the *PMG*'s gentlemanly, reform-minded public[30] is shared by three anthologies that include Greenwood's report. These anthologies—*The Slaughterhouse of Mammon: An Anthology of Victorian Social Protest Literature* (Winn and Alexander, 1992), *Vicarious Vagrants: Incognito Social Explorers and the Homeless in England, 1860-1901* (Freeman and Nelson, 2008), and *Secret Commissions* (Donovan and Rubery, 2012)—similarly frame "A Night" for modern readers, within upper-middle-class debates on social reform in the Victorian period. These studies reconstruct the important sociological and political contexts that situate Greenwood's workhouse investigation. Yet their emphasis on the upper-middle-class reform debates, associated with Frederick's *PMG*, overshadows the report's links to the popular, lower-middle-, and working-class contexts more-often courted by James Greenwood's journalism.

While scholars have emphasized Frederick's ingenuity at the *PMG*, and have paid comparatively less attention to James Greenwood's influence on the developing undercover genre, my own research suggests that he was producing investigative reports for the popular press long before the upper-middle-class *PMG* appeared in print. Some of Greenwood's earliest investigations appear to have been conducted for the *Illustrated Times* (*IT*) in 1861, for a series called "London Sketches."[31] These reports initially appeared anonymously, but Greenwood was eventually identified as

[30] Koven notes that Greenwood's article also appeared amid the Jamaican insurrection (see Koven 60-63), providing "ample fodder for commentary about the relationship between domestic and imperial affairs as well as between race and class anxieties" (60).
[31] In a letter to Edmund Yates, George Augustus Sala mentions that Greenwood began working for the *IT* in 1860. See Judy McKenzie, ed. *Letters of George Augustus Sala to Edmund Yates* (n.3, 75).

their author after the *Penny Illustrated Paper* (*PIP*) reprinted some of them. Wolff and Fox note that both the *IT* and the *PIP*, as well as the *ILN*, were owned by the Ingram family,[32] and these titles often reprinted articles in common, though with altered captions (563). Indeed, the *PIP* reprinted selections from the *IT*'s 1861 "London Sketches" series in its 1865 "London Life" series,[33] and hinted that Greenwood was their author following his success with "A Night in a Workhouse":

> We all learnt Mr. James Greenwood's extraordinary skill in writing through the lifelike workhouse revelations of his in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, but long before those appeared he had won his spurs by numerous contributions to periodical literature. If I mistake not, the clever sketches of 'London Life' in this Journal are from his pen. ("Our Gossiper," 17 March 1866, 167)

Greenwood himself confirmed his authorship of these early reports by including selections from the *IT* and the *PIP* series, such as "Squalors' Market" and "Leather Market," in a signed collection of his reporting, called *Unsentimental Journeys; or Byways of the Modern Babylon*, in 1867. These reports are significant because they reveal some of Greenwood's early experiments with the covert tactics that he describes in "A Night in a Workhouse." He also published at least one explicitly "undercover" investigation, for the monthly *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine: An Illustrated Journal, Combining Practical Information, Instruction & Amusement* (*EDM*), eleven days prior to publishing "A Night in a Workhouse."

Some of Greenwood's early reports exhibit key features of the furtive methods he later describes in "A Night in a Workhouse," demonstrating his own

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[32] The Ingrams owned the six-penny weekly *Illustrated London News* from 1842-1963, the two-penny weekly *IT* from 1855-1870, and the one-penny *PIP* from 1861-1870.

[33] Greenwood's anonymous article on the "Squalors Market," for instance, appeared as the fourth installment in the *IT*'s "London Sketches" series on Feb. 23, 1861 (124), and was reprinted in the *PIP*'s "London Life" series on Sat. Dec. 9, 1865 (447).

influence on the report's development. For instance, Greenwood uses covert strategies in the seventh installment of the *PIP*'s "London Life" series (7 Oct 1865), for which he conducts an investigation of "The Leather Market" in Bermondsey.[34] This report explicitly sets out to explore an unknown territory, to investigate outside of established investigative traditions, and to reveal otherwise unknowable details about his underworld subjects. In "Leather Market" (7 Oct 1865), Greenwood claims to be "pursuing [his] way boldly" (297) through a restricted territory, where middle-class men like himself are often greeted with suspicion. He suggests that respectable men can rarely enter this market without being "asked [their] business there" (297), and without being made to feel like they are "trespassing" (297). While he makes a courageous foray into unknown territory, however, the limitations of traditional journalistic practice force him to take a less common approach to reporting. Reporters investigating for the illustrated press,[35] like the *PIP*, typically entered the slums with an artist, and Greenwood notes that the conspicuous presence of his illustrator makes it difficult to glean information.

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[34] The "London Life," series began on June 3, 1865, with each of its reports investigating a single venue of London poverty, such as "The Leather Market" (7 October 1865, 292) and the "Squalors' Market" (9 December 1865, 444). Each report was accompanied by a full-page sketch, drawn from observation by the paper's illustrator. Interestingly, the *PIP* would be absorbed into a paper called *London Life* (the former name of its investigative series) in April of 1913, as *London Life: P.I.P*, and discontinued in May of 1913.

[35] As Gerry Beegan observes, sketches were often used to provide the semblance of immediate, on-the-spot observation, and were "characterized as an immediate, subjective impression" (131). "Rapid minimal sketches were deployed in the press" as a contrast to more detailed illustrations and later photographs (Beegan 131), which were typically staged, produced more slowly, and often in the studio. This mode is memorialized in Jerrold and Doré's illustrated *London: A Pilgrimage* in 1872, and differs from Mayhew's illustrations in *London Labour and the London Poor* series, which "purport to be taken from daguerrotypes" (Johnson, "Victorian Artists and the Urban Milieu," 459-60. Celina Fox's article, "The Development of Social Reportage in English Periodical Illustration During the 1840s and Early 1850s" (1977) provides an excellent history of the practice. While these drawings were referred to as "sketches" in the 1860s and 70s, the drawing style would become increasingly rough and rapid in appearance by the 80s and 90s. See, for example, the Carlisle sketches on p. 119 and Mrs. Williamson sketches on p. 185.

After the artist completes a sketch of the Leather Market in his sketchbook, Greenwood remains "ill satisfied" (297); he decides to make a second, clandestine visit to the market alone the following morning. He insists that, without the presence of the artist and his unwieldy sketch book, the market's "aspect was marvellously [sic.] different from that of yesterday" ("The Leather Market" 297). He easily secures a confidential "informant" ("The Leather Market" 298), and unearths an underground market for the tannery's unwanted "ears and bits," sold to the poor in penny, two-penny, or three-penny lots ("The Leather Market" 298). Greenwood's inquiry into the unknown leather market, apart from the conspicuous presence of his illustrator, gives him access to privileged information. His insider's perspective at once exposes the market's secret underbelly and lends credibility to his findings. Yet Greenwood remarks that his surreptitious approach is still met with limitations, to which his later use of disguise seems to respond.

Greenwood also penned the first installment of an investigative series, called "The Depths of Poverty: A London Exploration," for the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1 Jan 1866). In this report, on "The Leaving-Shop Keeper," Greenwood similarly explores unknown territory and resists traditional modes of investigation; however, unlike in "The Leather Market," he explicitly uses a disguise, rather than solitude, as a means of escaping detection as an investigative reporter. In the long "Introductory" to "The Leaving-Shop Keeper," Greenwood points out that many of London's netherworlds remain restricted to outside observers, because the poor can easily recognize the many temperance workers, philanthropists, social investigators, and slummers who investigate them. The poor quickly identify these privileged

observers, and proceed to feed them a contrived performance of poverty. Greenwood warns:

> Indeed, be he who is content to glean his information at the verge of poverty's depths teetotaller, pamphleteer, story-wright *[sic]*, or general newsmonger, the shark and the pike are prepared for his reception, and in due course the fictitious, or at best highly-coloured and exaggerated "revelations" are spouted from platforms and disseminated in print. ("Introductory" 24)

As a response to this constraint, Greenwood sets out, as he does in "Leather Market," to investigate the unknown business of a London leaving shop[36] outside of middle-class social-investigative and journalistic customs. For this report, he foregoes the company of an artist, but nonetheless travels with the usual companion. In this instance, however, the two disguise themselves as paupers, in order to avoid detection. He explains that,

> The better to afford us opportunity for leisurely inspection we had adopted the artful design of attiring ourselves seedily, and carrying with us a pair of old razors in their case to be *left* in the customary manner with the leaving-shop man as a security for the loan of sixpence. ("The Leaving-Shop Keeper" 28)

Thus, while retaining the usual partner, he dons a "seedy" disguise to inquire outside the parameters of traditional investigation. Again as "trespassers" ("The Leaving-Shop Keeper" 29), Greenwood and his companion learn the secrets of the leaving-shop keeper's customers, and of how his services entrap the destitute poor. Greenwood's covert approaches to investigating London's underworlds were thus

[36] Greenwood describes the "leaving shop" as an unlicensed pawnshop. The leaving-shop keeper deals with more common goods like razors and clothing—not with jewelry or valuables like the pawnbroker does. Greenwood notes that the leaving-shop keeper does not give pawn tickets, decides on the term of the pawn at will, and can sell the goods or charge interest as he pleases ("The Leaving-Shop Keeper" 26-27).

already established before publishing "A Night in a Workhouse" (12-15 Jan 1866) in Frederick's *PMG*.

Greenwood's later, more famous report, "A Night in Workhouse," replicates many of the features apparent in his earlier reporting, including exploring an unknown territory, with a companion, yet outside of the usual, more-conspicuous investigative customs. In "A Night," he similarly suggests that the site of Lambeth workhouse is impermeable to typical investigators. Greenwood comments that

> [m]uch has been said on the subject—on behalf of paupers—on behalf of the officials; but nothing by anyone who, with no motive but to learn and make known the truth, had ventured the experiment of passing a night in a workhouse, and trying what it actually is to be a "casual." (12 Jan 1866, 10)

His operation at "night," outside of the usual daylight hours, professes to be a more accurate depiction than that of typical investigators. He explicitly aims to

> learn by actual experience how casual paupers were lodged and fed, and what the "casual" is like, and what the porter who admits him, and the master who rules over him and how the night passes with the outcasts whom we have all seen crowding about workhouse doors on cold and rainy nights. (12 Jan 1866, 9)

By impersonating a real workhouse casual, he hopes to evade the detecting eye of the working-class "shark" and "pike" he conjures in "The Depths of Poverty," and to conceal his motives as an investigator. Greenwood's description in "A Night" of venturing into the unknown, to gain a perspective more intimate than that of traditional investigators, also shares in common with earlier reports the travelling companion. While this detail was suppressed from the final version of the *PMG* report, W.T. Stead supplies it in his "Sketch" of the *PMG*. Stead notes that Greenwood had visited Lambeth with a friend, a young stockbroker named

"Bittlestone," for protection ("Sketch," *Review of Reviews*, 144). While Greenwood omits the presence of his companion from the published version of "A Night," he implies by his description of his own disguise that the two likely both travelled incognito, as he and his companion did in their visit to the leaving shop. Greenwood describes resisting the investigator's usual visibility by disguising himself as a poor man, in an ill-fitting coat and "battered billy-cock hat" (12 Jan 1866, 9) to escape detection. Thus, Greenwood's ground-breaking report for the *PMG* reproduces many of the same strategies that he employed earlier, in his incognito reports for popular periodicals.

Considering that Greenwood worked as an investigative reporter for popular periodicals for at least five years prior to "A Night in a Workhouse," and that he had even documented experiments with incognito tactics in his writing, Frederick's claims about the report's origins in the *Lancet* are perhaps worth reconsidering. Frederick's recollections about the influential *Lancet* reports may simply have recalled the timeliness of his brother's visit to a workhouse. Furthermore, Frederick's recollections of the *PMG*'s discourses and readership should be understood as contributing to the *PMG*'s anniversary edition, for its ten-thousandth number, and should not necessarily be taken to represent the origins of Greenwood's undercover reporting. In fact, while scholars have focused primarily on the report's engagement with upper-middle-class discourses, this consideration of James's history suggests that Frederick may actually have had more popular designs for the fledgling *PMG*.

Like the editors of many other established newspapers, Frederick can be seen to have deliberately capitalized on the rise of popular print culture after the 1850s. In other words, Frederick appears to have found the "knife" to set the "snobbish" *PMG* afloat within the pages of popular periodicals. L. Perry Curtis notes that following the rise of the telegraph in the 1830s and 1840s, the removal of the stamp duty in 1855, and the paper duty in 1861, combined with improved printing technology, gave way to the rise of popular newspapers like the *IT* and *PIP*, and to a concurrent expansion in working-class literacy (57).[37] Richard Altick explains that "popular" periodicals shared in common a cheap "price of 6*d*. or lower; plenty of light fiction and amusing non-fiction; and as many illustrations as possible" (Altick 363). They also appealed to broad subsections of readers. While less-educated working-class readers could afford to purchase, and could easily read, popular periodicals, this is not to say that the working class wholly defined popular readership. Instead, as Patricia Anderson explains, far from being defined by the less-educated poor, popular readership encompasses a wide variety of social classes, including "diverse groups of workers as artisans and small tradesmen, street hawkers and entertainers, farm-labourers, servants, and factory operatives" (6), as well as many middle-class readers, too. Furthermore, while popular taste may derive from the symbols of working-class or "popular" culture, this taste "embodie[s] aesthetic, social, and moral diversity: for instance, high and low taste in reading, pictures, and theatrical entertainments; oppositional and conformist social

[37] Curtis remarks that middle class and skilled workers previously formed the majority of newspaper readers, but that newspaper demographics expanded to over six million readers by the early 1860s (56).

and political values; religious faith, respectability, and rowdy tendencies" (Anderson 7). The notion of popular appeal is perhaps more aptly described as broader appeal, to which aspects of illustration, simple writing, and entertainment certainly catered. Thus, while Frederick imported his brother's approach from more popular periodicals, this is not to say that he aimed to court working-class readers. Instead, he may only have hoped to broaden the *PMG*'s appeal to the growing number of middle-class readers who shared the tastes of mass market periodicals.

Many established newspapers like the *PMG*, which maintained its position towards a higher class of educated readers, began in the 1860s to experiment with the commercial possibilities of popularization. Some newspapers began introducing more visual elements such as broad headlines and sub-heads, for instance, or larger typeface that made contents easier to read. Established newspapers also increasingly integrated entertainment and personal-interest stories with more serious contents, to cut across larger social subsections of tastes and readers. Frederick's adaptation of undercover reporting from popular print culture to the *PMG* signals an early example of what Matthew Arnold would later term the "New Journalism" (1888). Dillane describes New Journalism as a catch-all and "capacious term" for innovations to traditional contents and tone, to forms, formats, and printing technologies, which "led to the emergence of new narrative formats such as the embedded or undercover report and the interview" within conventional journalism (149-50). Thus, while historians have focused on the undercover report's ties to the social-reform interests of the *PMG*'s readers, the report also

appealed to the increasingly popular tastes embraced by upper-middle-class readers.

In fact, upon returning to "Birth and Infancy" it appears that Frederick himself alludes to some popular aims for "A Night in a Workhouse." As he remarks in "Birth and Infancy," "A Night" offered a "good stroke" not only for the British Poor Laws, but also for the *PMG*'s finances ("Birth and Infancy" 2). While Frederick was clearly aware of his brother's associations with more "popular" periodicals, in Anderson's sense of the term, he mentions that his brother's identity "need not be told" to the *PMG*'s upper-middle-class readers ("Birth and Infancy" 2).[38] Accordingly, the *PMG* fails to mention the presence of Greenwood's investigative companion—a conspicuous feature of more popular periodical investigations. This is not to say, however, that Frederick merely suppressed the report's popular links out of duplicity or embarrassment. As Frederick noted, the complete details of his brother's investigation need not be revealed "in a public print at that insufficiently advanced period of the century" ("Birth and Infancy" 2). Instead, as the following section sets out to demonstrate, the conventions of upper-middle-class periodical titles demanded the maintenance of certain generic frameworks, which were defined as much by the publishing format as they were by their readers.

[38] Frederick himself also reportedly contributed, in his early years, to more popular periodicals—including the *IT*, which published James's early reports. The brothers' lesser-known experience may have influenced their role in the popularization of established newspaper journalism. Joel Wiener notes that Frederick Greenwood, along with George Augustus Sala and Edmund Yates, had worked on the *IT* "during its formative years," and all of these men went on to influence the development of New Journalism (Wiener, "How New Was the New Journalism?" 62). Both Frederick and James had also contributed short fiction early in their careers to the penny journal, *The Welcome Guest*, an illustrated weekly for the recreation of the masses.

Undercover Reporting and Periodical Publishing Conventions

Some of the key variations across Greenwood's early reporting can be seen as features of periodical publishing conventions. That is, Greenwood's undercover reports were shaped by the "open" and "closed" conventions of the *PIP*, the *EDM*, and the *PMG* respectively. As Margaret Beetham explains, the periodical itself is an "open" publishing genre in that it is inherently multidisciplinary, containing articles in different forms, and on different subjects. These articles are also written by various authors, and in heterogeneous voices, all of which "open" the periodical to a variety of tastes and readers. Beetham explains that the periodical format is open in that it houses diverse shorter articles, which offer "readers scope to construct their own version of the text by selective reading" (Beetham 99). Yet "against that flexibility," she explains, periodicals are also "closed" in that they restrict or close off unwanted readings, achieved by creating a "dominant position which is maintained with more or less consistency across the single number and between numbers" (Beetham 99). All aspects of the periodical's conventions, including its "price, content, form and tone" (Beetham 99), work to create a "recognizable" position or brand, and to engage a consistent cross-section of readers defined by "class, gender, region, age, political persuasion or religious denomination" (Beetham 99). Beetham makes clear that this position is communicated by the periodical's material, formal, and discursive conventions, all of which work to "close" its contents to undesired interpretations.

Undercover reports can be seen to function as a feature of the "open" and "closed" conventions of periodical publishing genres. Commercial newspapers, like

the *PIP,* for instance, implicitly worked to "open" their pages to a broad group of readers. The *PIP*'s price at one penny, its publication on thin, inexpensive newsprint, and its inclusion of many illustrations, made the paper accessible to large groups of working-class readers, with varying levels of literacy. As Anderson suggests, the editors of popular newspapers like this one were "businessmen," making money by peddling entertainment (11). Within the open, commercial genre of the *PIP*, Greenwood's report on "The Leather Market" appears with an illustration (figure 4). A publishing convention of the illustrated press, this feature offers a broadly-appealing visual shorthand for the article's focus on the leather market. Readers are invited to engage with "Leather Market" through selective reading, as an entertaining exploration of local East-End businesses.

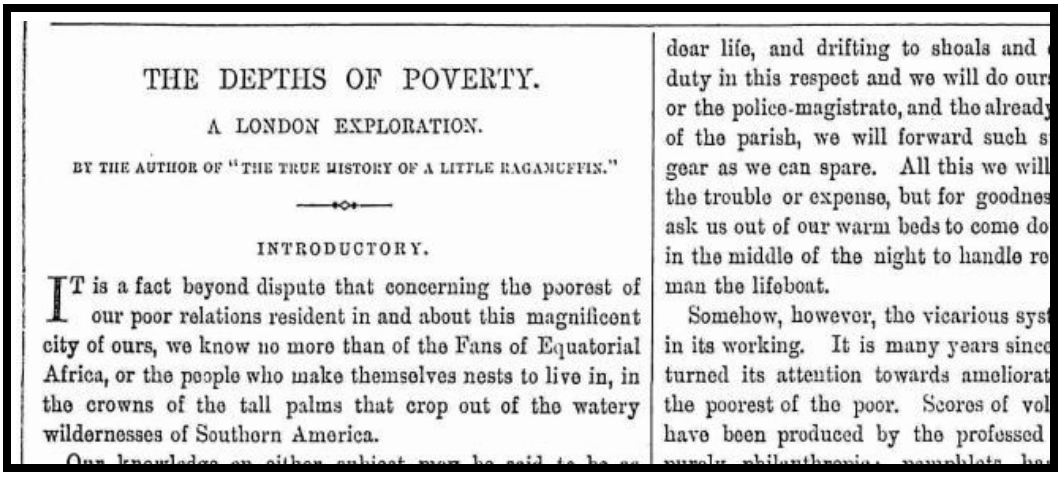
Figure 4. The illustration, "London Life, No. 7—The Skin-Market, Bermondsey" which accompanies Greenwood's investigation of the "The Leather Market" for the *Penny Illustrated Paper* (7 Oct 1865): 292.

The report itself invokes a general feeling of frisson or "sensation," as the middle-class reporter ventures, unaccompanied, into unfamiliar territory.[39] Yet, Anderson explains that the editors of popular newspapers also saw themselves "as humanitarians or reformers" (Anderson 11), who used the newspaper to socially elevate readers, and these features of the *PIP* simultaneously framed or "closed" the report's entertaining qualities as a rational and elevating form of recreation. Michele Martin remarks that the *PIP*'s publishing mandate was to give hope to the poor; to heighten the respectable working-class's moral responsibility to its lower-class neighbours; and to engage these groups cooperatively in "revolutioniz[ing] many branches of Industry" (qtd. in 24). The image itself solidifies this convention in depicting diverse classes of men conducting business in the leather market. In their buying and selling of scraps, these men are shown to work together, promoting an image of cooperation across classes, to improve the conditions of trades like the leather industry. Far from using the report as a mobilizing text intended to foment political change, the *PIP* frames the investigation in terms of working-class propriety and cooperation.

Greenwood's undercover report on "The Leaving-Shop Keeper" is similarly framed by the *EDM*'s open and closed periodical publishing conventions. This periodical, like the *PIP*, engaged a mass audience of some fifty-thousand readers. The *EDM* includes a broad array of personal-interest stories, poetry, serial fiction,

[39] See Nicholas Daly on how sensation was used to arrest readers' attention (9). On the newspaper's legacy to sensation fiction see Thomas Boyle's *Black Swine in the Sewers of Hampstead: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Sensationalism* (1989), and on how the sensation novel itself embodied anxieties about Britain's growing literate population see Patrick Brantlinger's *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (1998).

and illustrations, all of which are readable independently. Yet the *EDM*'s conventions also work against this flexibility, to position these articles towards a distinctly middle-class, female readership. The sixpenny monthly *EDM* is printed on good-quality paper, with numerous high-quality illustrations, including colour fashion plates modelling appropriate modes of dress for middle-class women. It also contains reputable women's biographies, as well as articles on domestic management. While included amid attractively-illustrated articles, Greenwood's article appears without an illustration, but its titular framework adopts the open and closed conventions of melodramatic fiction. Appearing just below the title, "The Depths of Poverty: A London Exploration," the *EDM* identifies Greenwood as the author of a well-known fiction, *The True History of a Little Ragamuffin* (figure 5).



THE DEPTHS OF POVERTY.

A LONDON EXPLORATION.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE TRUE HISTORY OF A LITTLE RAGAMUFFIN."

INTRODUCTORY.

IT is a fact beyond dispute that concerning the poorest of our poor relations resident in and about this magnificent city of ours, we know no more than of the Fans of Equatorial Africa, or the people who make themselves nests to live in, in the crowns of the tall palms that crop out of the watery wildernesses of Southern America.

dear life, and drifting to shoals and
duty in this respect and we will do our
or the police-magistrate, and the already
of the parish, we will forward such s
gear as we can spare. All this we will
the trouble or expense, but for goodnes
ask us out of our warm beds to come do
in the middle of the night to handle re
man the lifeboat.

Somehow, however, the vicarious syst
in its working. It is many years since
turned its attention towards ameliorat
the poorest of the poor. Scores of vol
have been produced by the professed

Figure 5. Header of "The Depths of Poverty: A London Exploration" in the *EDM* (1 Jan 1866): 24.

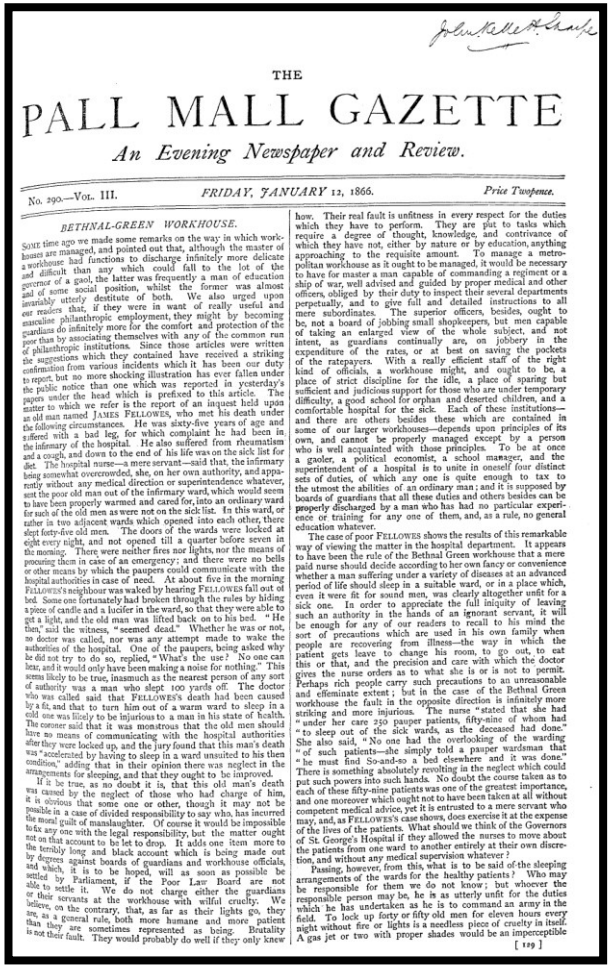
Greenwood's serial novel appeared in 1865, in the *EDM*'s sister publication, *The Young Englishwoman: A Magazine of Fiction, Fashion, Music, etc.*,[40] and was republished in volume form by Samuel Beeton in 1866. This melodramatic novel tells of a poor, young orphan boy who escapes his circumstances for a series of adventures across London. This novel frames Greenwood's "Leaving-Shop Keeper" as yet another adventure across the socio-geographic boundaries of London. The novel's tone of sympathy and pathos also invites middle-class women readers, many of whom would have been familiar with Greenwood's *Ragamuffin*, to view Greenwood's journalistic subjects with pity, and as worthy of women's sympathy and domestic charity for arriving at poverty through no fault of their own.

Greenwood's report for the *PMG* is similarly framed by the open and closed conventions of the newspaper as a periodical genre. The report's flexible or "open" qualities are apparent in the fact that Greenwood's first installment appears on Friday, January 12, 1866 under the simple heading of "A Night in a Workhouse," and without any clear indications of how to read it (figure 7). The report bears no signature, and no section heading ascribing it to the paper's usual articles on public affairs, literature and the arts, or entertainment. Whereas news and political stories typically appear on the front cover of this paper, "A Night" is situated near the very end, on the ninth and tenth pages, roughly indicating its affiliation with entertainment content. Indeed, the article's first installment fails to engage discursively with the subjects of social or political reform, or with the *Lancet*'s

[40] The *YE* was a penny-weekly magazine for girls, published by Samuel Beeton starting in January of 1865. The first installment of Greenwood's *Ragamuffin* appears in its third issue. This novel is filled with pathos and humour in its description of the adventures and perils of a poor child, who runs away from his home in "Fryingpan Alley," and spends time briefly in a workhouse.

concurrent social investigations. The specific site of Lambeth workhouse also appears to have been chosen at random. The report's undistinguished placement and title seem to invite readers to construct their own reading of the reporter's risky foray into unknown territory—features that similarly "opened" Greenwood's reports to the readers of popular journalism.

Just as the distinctive publishing conventions of the *PIP* and the *EDM* worked to close Greenwood's investigations as rational recreation and as sympathetic melodrama respectively, the *PMG*'s conventions close "A Night" within an upper-middle-class, social-reform agenda. While the first installment of "A Night" makes no explicit references to the debate over workhouse infirmary reform, the *PMG*'s conventions work to establish this framework. As mentioned earlier, the *PMG*'s title and expensive-looking format generally invoke a gentlemanly audience. More importantly, though, its January 12 cover story implicitly works to close "A Night" within the paper's political position on the recent workhouse controversy. The leading article, "Bethnal-Green Workhouse" (12 Jan 1866, 1-2), which begins in the left-hand column of its cover page, describes another death from neglect in the workhouse infirmary, that of a sixty-five-year-old man named James Fellowes (figure 6). The article upbraids the Poor Law Board for inadequate facilities, unqualified nursing staff, and for blending sick, aged, and infirm tenants with healthy ones, urging the current Liberal government to consider reform. This leading article communicates the *PMG*'s position regarding the "unfitness" of "guardians and workhouse officials" (12 Jan 1866, 1), and works to close Greenwood's first installment as a topical critique of the Poor Laws for upper-



THE

PALL MALL GAZETTE

An Evening Newspaper and Review.

No. 290.—Vol. III. FRIDAY, JANUARY 12, 1866. Price Twopence.

BETHNAL-GREEN WORKHOUSE.

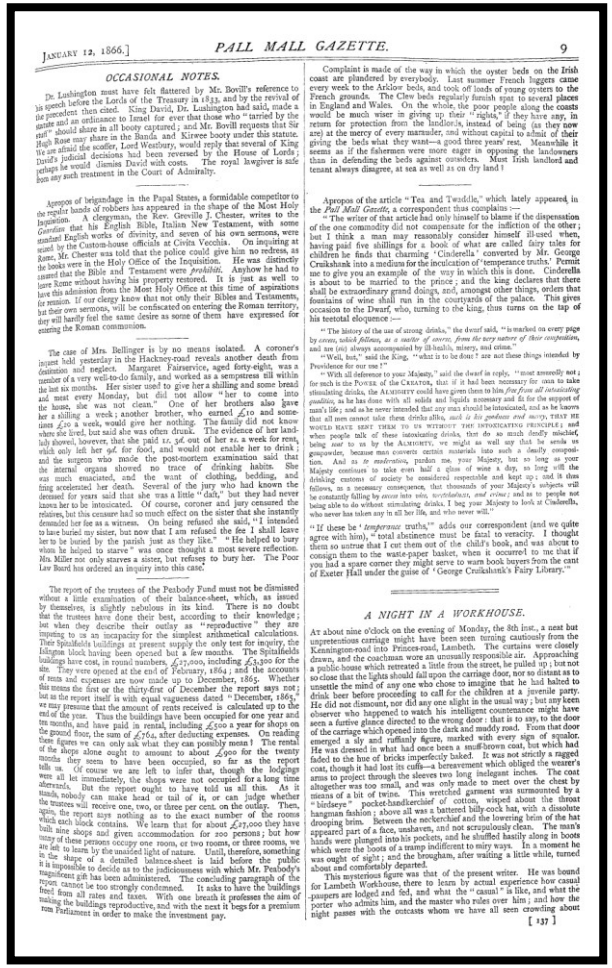
SOME time ago we made some remarks on the way in which workhouses are managed, and pointed out that, although the master of a workhouse had functions to discharge infinitely more delicate and difficult than any which could fall to the lot of the governor of a gaol, the latter was frequently a man of education and of some social position, whilst the former was almost invariably utterly destitute of both. We also urged upon our readers that, if they were in want of really useful and masculine philanthropic employment, they might by becoming guardians do infinitely more for the comfort and protection of the poor than by associating themselves with any of the common run of philanthropic institutions. Since those articles were written the suggestions which they contained have received a striking confirmation from various incidents which it has been our duty to report, but no more shocking illustration has ever fallen under the public notice than one which was reported in yesterday's papers under the head which is prefixed to this article. The matter to which we refer is the report of an inquest held upon an old man named JAMES FELLOWES, who met his death under the following circumstances. He was sixty-five years of age and suffered with a bad leg, for which complaint he had been in the infirmary of the hospital. He also suffered from rheumatism and a cough, and down to the end of his life was on the sick list for diet. The hospital nurse—a mere servant—said that, the infirmary being somewhat overcrowded, she, on her own authority, and apparently without any medical direction or superintendence whatever, sent the poor old man out over the infirmary ward, which would seem to have been properly warmed and cared for, into an ordinary ward for such of the old men as were not on the sick list. In this ward, or rather in two adjacent wards which opened into each other, there slept forty-five old men. The doors of the wards were locked at eight every night, and not opened till a quarter before seven in the morning. There were neither fires nor lights, nor the means of procuring them in case of an emergency; and there were no bells or other means by which the paupers could communicate with the hospital authorities in case of need. At about five in the morning FELLOWES'S neighbour was waked by hearing FELLOWES fall out of bed. Some one fortunately had broken through the rules by hiding a piece of candle and a lucifer in the ward, so that they were able to get a light, and the old man was lifted back on to his bed. "He then," said the witness, "seemed dead." Whether he was or not, no doctor was called, nor was any attempt made to wake the authorities of the hospital. One of the paupers, being asked why he did not try to do so, replied, "What's the use? No one can hear, and it would only have been making a noise for nothing." This seems likely to be true, inasmuch as the nearest person of any sort of authority was a man who slept 100 yards off. The doctor who was called said that FELLOWES's death had been caused by a fit, and that to turn him out of a warm ward to sleep in a cold one was likely to be injurious to a man in his state of health. The coroner said that it was monstrous that the old men should have no means of communicating with the hospital authorities after they were locked up, and the jury found that this man's death was "accelerated by having to sleep in a ward unsuited to his then condition," adding that in their opinion there was neglect in the arrangements for sleeping, and that they ought to be improved.

If it be true, as no doubt it is, that this old man's death was caused by the neglect of those who had charge of him, it is obvious that some one or other, though it may not be possible in a case of divided responsibility to say who, has incurred the moral guilt of manslaughter. Of course it would be impossible to fix any one with the legal responsibility, but the matter ought not on that account to be let to drop. It adds one item more to the terribly long and black account which is being made out by degrees against boards of guardians and workhouse officials, and which, it is to be hoped, will as soon as possible be settled by Parliament, if the Poor Law Board are not able to settle it. We do not charge either the guardians or their servants at the workhouse with wilful cruelty. We believe, on the contrary, that, as far as their lights go, they are, as a general rule, both more humane and more patient than they are sometimes represented as being. Brutality is not their fault. They would probably do well if they only knew how. Their real fault is unfitness in every respect for the duties which they have to perform. They are put to tasks which require a degree of thought, knowledge, and contrivance of which they have not, either by nature or by education, anything approaching to the requisite amount. To manage a metropolitan workhouse as it ought to be managed, it would be necessary to have for master a man capable of commanding a regiment or a ship of war, well advised and guided by proper medical and other officers, obliged by their duty to inspect their several departments perpetually, and to give full and detailed instructions to all mere subordinates. The superior officers, besides, ought to be, not a board of jobbing small shopkeepers, but men capable of taking an enlarged view of the whole subject, and not intent, as guardians continually are, on jobbery in the expenditure of the rates, or at best on saving the pockets of the ratepayers. With a really efficient staff of the right kind of officials, a workhouse might, and ought to be, a place of strict discipline for the idle, a place of sparing but sufficient and judicious support for those who are under temporary difficulty, a good school for orphan and deserted children, and a comfortable hospital for the sick. Each of these institutions—and there are others besides these which are contained in some of our larger workhouses—depends upon principles of its own, and cannot be properly managed except by a person who is well acquainted with those principles. To be at once a gaoler, a political economist, a school manager, and the superintendent of a hospital is to unite in oneself four distinct sets of duties, of which any one is quite enough to tax to the utmost the abilities of an ordinary man; and it is supposed by boards of guardians that all these duties and others besides can be properly discharged by a man who has had no particular experience or training for any one of them, and, as a rule, no general education whatever.

The case of poor FELLOWES shows the results of this remarkable way of viewing the matter in the hospital department. It appears to have been the rule of the Bethnal Green workhouse that a mere paid nurse should decide according to her own fancy or convenience whether a man suffering under a variety of diseases at an advanced period of life should sleep in a suitable ward, or in a place which, even it were fit for sound men, was clearly altogether unfit for a sick one. In order to appreciate the full iniquity of leaving such an authority in the hands of an ignorant servant, it will be enough for any of our readers to recall to his mind the sort of precautions which are used in his own family when people are recovering from illness—the way in which the patient gets leave to change his room, to go out, to eat this or that, and the precision and care with which the doctor gives the nurse orders as to what she is or is not to permit. Perhaps rich people carry such precautions to an unreasonable and effeminate extent; but in the case of the Bethnal Green workhouse the fault in the opposite direction is infinitely more striking and more injurious. The nurse "stated that she had under her care 250 pauper patients, fifty-nine of whom had to sleep out of the sick wards, as the deceased had done." She also said, "No one had the overlooking of the warding of such patients—she simply told a pauper wardsman that he must find So-and-so a bed elsewhere and it was done." There is something absolutely revolting in the neglect which could put such powers into such hands. No doubt the course taken as to each of these fifty-nine patients was one of the greatest importance, and one moreover which ought not to have been taken at all without competent medical advice, yet it is entrusted to a mere servant who may, and, as FELLOWES'S case shows, does exercise it at the expense of the lives of the patients. What should we think of the Governors of St. George's Hospital if they allowed the nurses to move about the patients from one ward to another entirely at their own discretion, and without any medical supervision whatever?

Passing, however, from this, what is to be said of the sleeping arrangements of the wards for the healthy patients? Who may be responsible for them we do not know; but whoever the responsible person may be, he is as utterly unfit for the duties which he has undertaken as he is to command an army in the field. To lock up forty or fifty old men for eleven hours every night without fire or lights is a needless piece of cruelty in itself. A gas jet or two with proper shades would be an imperceptible

Figure 6. "Bethnal-Green Workhouse" leader, *PMG* (12 Jan 1866): 1.



OCCASIONAL NOTES.

Dr. Lushington must have felt flattered by Mr. Bovill's reference to his speech before the Lords of the Treasury in 1833, and by the revival of the precedent then cited. King David, Dr. Lushington had said, made a statute and an ordinance to Israel for ever that those who "tarried by the stuff" should share in all booty captured; and Mr. Bovill requests that Sir Hugh Rose may share in the Bands and Kirwee booty under this statute. We are afraid the scoffer, Lord Westbury, would reply that several of King David's judicial decisions had been reversed by the House of Lords; perhaps he would dismiss David with costs. The royal lawgiver is safe from any such treatment in the Court of Admiralty.

Apropos of brigandage in the Papal States, a formidable competitor to the regular bands of robbers has appeared in the shape of the Most Holy Inquisition. A clergyman, the Rev. Greville J. Chester, writes to the *Guardian* that his English Bible, Italian New Testament, with some standard English works of divinity, and seven of his own sermons, were seized by the Custom-house officials at Civita Vecchia. On inquiring at Rome, Mr. Chester was told that the police could give him no redress, as the books were in the Holy Office of the Inquisition. He was distinctly assured that the Bible and Testament were *prohibited*. Anyhow he had to leave Rome without having his property restored. It is just as well to have this admission from the Most Holy Office at this time of aspirations for reunion. If our clergy know that not only their Bibles and Testaments, but their own sermons, will be confiscated on entering the Roman territory, they will hardly feel the same desire as some of them have expressed for entering the Roman communion.

The case of Mrs. Bellinger is by no means isolated. A coroner's inquest held yesterday in the Hackney-road reveals another death from destitution and neglect. Margaret Fairservice, aged forty-eight, was a member of a very well-to-do family, and worked as a sempstress till within the last six months. Her sister used to give her a shilling and some bread and meat every Monday, but did not allow "her to come into the house, she was not clean." One of her brothers also gave her a shilling a week; another brother, who earned £70 and sometimes £90 a week, would give her nothing. The family did not know where she lived, but said she was often drunk. The evidence of her landlady showed, however, that she paid 1*s.* 3*d.* out of her 2*s.* a week for rent, which only left her 9*d.* for food, and would not enable her to drink; and the surgeon who made the post-mortem examination said that the internal organs showed no trace of drinking habits. She was much emaciated, and the want of clothing, bedding, and fire accelerated her death. Several of the jury who had known the deceased for years said that she was a little "daft," but they had never known her to be intoxicated. Of course, coroner and jury censured the relatives, but this censure had so much effect on the sister that she instantly demanded her fee as a witness. On being refused she said, "I intended to have buried my sister, but now that I am refused the fee I shall leave her to be buried by the parish just as they like." "He helped to bury whom he helped to starve" was once thought a most severe selection. Mrs. Miller not only starves a sister, but refuses to bury her. The Poor Law Board has ordered an inquiry into this case.

The report of the trustees of the Peabody Fund must not be dismissed without a little examination of their balance-sheet, which, as issued by themselves, is slightly nebulous in its kind. There is no doubt that the trustees have done their best, according to their knowledge; but when they describe their outlay as "reproductive" they are imputing to us an incapacity for the simplest arithmetical calculations. Their Spitalfields buildings at present supply the only test for inquiry, the Islington block having been opened but a few months. The Spitalfields buildings have cost, in round numbers, £71,000, including £3,400 for the site. They were opened at the end of February, 1864; and the accounts of rents and expenses are now made up to December, 1865. Whether this means the first or the thirty-first of December the report says not; but as the report itself is with equal vagueness dated "December, 1865," we may presume that the amount of rents received is calculated up to the end of the year. Thus the buildings have been occupied for one year and ten months, and have paid in rental, including £500 a year for shops on the ground floor, the sum of £7604, after deducting expenses. On reading these figures we can only ask what they can possibly mean? The rental of the shops alone ought to amount to about £900 for the twenty months they seem to have been occupied, so far as the report tells us. Of course we are left to infer that, though the lodgings were all let immediately, the shops were not occupied for a long time afterwards. But the report ought to have told us all this. As it stands, nobody can make head or tail of it, or can judge whether the trustees will receive one, two, or three per cent. on the outlay. Then, again, the report says nothing as to the exact number of the rooms which each block contains. We learn that for about £27,000 they have built nine shops and given accommodation for 200 persons; but how many of these persons occupy one room, or two rooms, or three rooms, we are left to learn by the unaided light of nature. Until, therefore, something to the shape of a detailed balance-sheet is laid before the public it is impossible to decide as to the judiciousness with which Mr. Peabody's magnificent gift has been administered. The concluding paragraph of the report cannot be too strongly condemned. It asks to have the buildings freed from all rates and taxes. With one breath it professes the aim of making the buildings reproductive, and with the next it begs for a premium from Parliament in order to make the investment pay.

Complaint is made of the way in which the oyster beds on the Irish coast are plundered by everybody. Last summer French luggers came every week to the Arklow beds, and took off loads of young oysters to the French grounds. The Clew beds regularly furnish spat to several places in England and Wales. On the whole, the poor people along the coasts would be much wiser in giving up their "rights," if they have any, in return for protection from the landlords, instead of being (as they now are) at the mercy of every marauder, and without capital to admit of their giving the beds what they want—a good three years' rest. Meanwhile it seems as if the fishermen were more eager in opposing the landowners than in defending the beds against outsiders. Most Irish landlord and tenant always disagree, at sea as well as on dry land!

Apropos of the article "Tea and Twaddle," which lately appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a correspondent thus complains:—

"The writer of that article had only himself to blame if the dispensation of the one commodity did not compensate for the infliction of the other; but I think a man may reasonably consider himself ill-used when, having paid five shillings for a book of what are called fairy tales for children he finds that charming 'Cinderella' converted by Mr. George Cruikshank into a medium for the inculcation of 'temperance truths.' Permit me to give you an example of the way in which this is done. Cinderella is about to be married to the prince; and the king declares that there shall be extraordinary grand doings, and, amongst other things, orders that fountains of wine shall run in the courtyards of the palace. This gives occasion to the Dwarf, who, turning to the king, thus turns on the tap of his teetotal eloquence:—

"'The history of the use of strong drinks,' the dwarf said, 'is marked on every page by *crimes, which follow, as a matter of course, from the very nature of their composition*, and are (*sic*) always accompanied by ill-health, misery, and crime.'

"'Well, but,' said the King, 'what is to be done? are not these things intended by Providence for our use?'

"'With all deference to your Majesty,' said the dwarf in reply, 'most assuredly not; for such is the POWER OF the CREATOR, that if it had been necessary for man to take stimulating drinks, the ALMIGHTY could have given them to him *free from all intoxicating qualities*, as he has done with all solids and liquids necessary and fit for the support of man's life; and as he never intended that any man should be intoxicated, and as he knows that all men cannot take them drinks alike, *such is his goodness and mercy*, THAT HE WOULD HAVE SENT THEM TO US WITHOUT THE INTOXICATING PRINCIPLE; and when people talk of these intoxicating drinks, that do so much deadly mischief, being *sent* to us by the ALMIGHTY, we might as well say that he sends us gunpowder, because man converts certain materials into such a deadly composition. And as *to moderation*, pardon me, your Majesty, but so long as your Majesty continues to take even half a glass of wine a day, so long will the drinking customs of society be considered respectable and kept up; and it thus follows, as a necessary consequence, that thousands of your Majesty's subjects will be constantly falling by excess into *vice, wretchedness, and crime*; and as to people not being able to do without stimulating drinks, I beg your Majesty to look at Cinderella, who never has taken any in all her life, and who never will.'

"If these be '*temperance* truths,'" adds our correspondent (and we quite agree with him), "total abstinence must be fatal to veracity. I thought them so untrue that I cut them out of the child's book, and was about to consign them to the waste-paper basket, when it occurred to me that if you had a spare corner they might serve to warn back buyers from the cant of Exeter Hall under the guise of 'George Cruikshank's Fairy Library.'"

A NIGHT IN A WORKHOUSE.

At about nine o'clock on the evening of Monday, the 8th inst., a neat but unpretentious carriage might have been seen turning cautiously from the Kennington-road into Princes-road, Lambeth. The curtains were closely drawn, and the coachman wore an unusually responsible air. Approaching a public house which retreated a little from the street, he pulled up; but not so close that the lights should fall upon the carriage door, nor so distant as to unsettle the mind of any one who chose to imagine that he had halted to refresh. Before proceeding to call for the children at a juvenile party, drink beer before proceeding to call for the children at a juvenile party. He did not dismount, nor did any one alight in the usual way; but any keen observer who happened to watch his intelligent countenance might have seen a furtive glance directed to the wrong door; that is to say, to the door of the carriage which opened into the dark and muddy road. From that door emerged a sly and ruffianly figure, marked with every sign of squalor. He was dressed in what had once been a smuff-brown coat, but which had faded to the line of bricks imperfectly baked. It was not strictly a ragged coat, though it had lost its cuffs—a bereavement which obliged the wearer's arms to project through the sleeves two long inelegant inches. The coat was of short skirt; and the brougham, after waiting a little while, turned about and comfortably departed.

This mysterious figure was that of the present writer. He was bound for Lambeth Workhouse, there to learn by actual experience how casual paupers are lodged and fed, and what the "casual" is like, and what the porter who admits him, and the master who rules over him; and how the night passes with the outcasts whom we have all seen crowding about

Figure 7. First installment of "A Night in a Workhouse" in lower-right corner, *PMG* (12 Jan 1866): 9.

middle-class and reform-minded readers. Thus, while scholars have tended to read "A Night" in terms of its socio-political function, this derives in Greenwood's first installment purely from the conventions of the newspaper, rather than being implicit in the reporter's undercover strategy or narration.

This is not to say, however, that the *PMG*'s upper-middle-class conventions wholly defined the political position associated with "A Night in a Workhouse." In fact, it is the *East London Observer* (*ELO*) which solidifies the link between Greenwood's first installment and the recent investigations of the Metropolitan District Poor Law Inspector. Yet the *ELO* does so in a way that undermines Greenwood's investigative authority, rather than bolstering it. On Sunday, January 14, 1866, the *ELO* reports that H.B. Farnall, the Poor Law Board's Metropolitan District Inspector, had read "A Night in a Workhouse," and decided to counteract Greenwood's findings by conducting his own inspection of Lambeth workhouse on the Saturday morning following Greenwood's Friday installment (13 Jan 1866).[41] Greenwood had reported on Friday that he was forced to sleep in an outdoor shed due to overcrowding (12 Jan 1866, 1). On Saturday morning (13 Jan 1866), Farnall allegedly queried the workhouse porters at Lambeth, learned that the outdoor shed was only used in exceptional circumstances, instructed officials to prohibit the practice going forward. Farnall recorded his visit to Lambeth in the workhouse log book, and had the *ELO* publish his findings on Sunday morning (14 Jan 1866). Curtis remarks that the penny-weekly *ELO* "provided political, social, and commercial news," and "reported local education, housing, sanitation, elections, social events,

[41] Koven notes that the *Observer* later conducted its own night-time visits to workhouse casual wards (see Koven 310, n.88-91).

commerce, and crime" (114) for middle- and lower-middle-class readers of East London. East London papers, he notes, were typically proud of their working-class communities (114), so it is not surprising that the *ELO* "condemned" Greenwood's report as "pretentious sensationalism" (Koven 51) in relation to Farnall's more favourable perception of Lambeth. This paper's very brief mention of Greenwood's article is quite emblematically overshadowed by the extensive attention it pays to the Poor Law's own investigation.

Several other periodicals followed from the *ELO* in emphasizing Farnall's official authority to challenge the findings of Greenwood's investigation. A number of established papers like the *Times* and the *Daily News* reprinted the first two installments of Greenwood's reports, from Friday and Saturday (12,13 Jan 1866), in their Monday morning editions on January 15, 1866. They also printed Farnall's log-book entry from Lambeth workhouse immediately below Greenwood's, as though to give Farnall the last word on the debate over workhouse conditions. The *Times*, for instance, explains that

> A rather pretentious and lively amateur description of the sort of refuges provided for the houseless poor having appeared in the columns of a contemporary on Friday, Mr. Farnall, the Poor Law Inspector, visited the place on Saturday, and wrote the minute which is subjoined, and which explains better than we could be enabled to do the real facts of the case. The narrative was continued on Saturday, but the explanation of the Poor Law inspector is no less necessary, and, in fact, seems all the more so to set things right. (15 Jan 1866, 12)

These periodicals thus contribute to yoking the figure of the middle-class journalist with that of the Poor Law's investigator, but close Greenwood's report as a "pretentious" imitation contrary to "the real facts of the case," rather than as the legitimate "stroke" for Poor Law reform that Frederick conjured in his celebratory

article. These newspapers demonstrate the limitations of attending to "A Night" in the *PMG*—not simply because they reconfigure the report's first installment, but especially, because their publishing conventions clearly influence Greenwood's final installment.

These alternative publishing frameworks, which counter the *PMG*'s original Conservative position, clearly impact the increasingly closed parameters apparent in the *PMG*'s final installment of "A Night in a Workhouse." Greenwood's third installment appears in the Monday evening edition of the *PMG* (15 Jan 1866), following the publication of Farnall's and Greenwood's reports together in several Monday morning papers. This final *PMG* installment of "A Night" directly addresses Farnall, insisting that:

> It seems necessary to say something about […] the report which Mr. Farnall made after visiting Lambeth Workhouse on Saturday [….] Mr. Farnall was in ignorance of what was done at Lambeth in this way, and I selected it for a visit quite at random. Does he know what goes on in other workhouses? [....] One word in conclusion. I have some horrors for Mr. Farnall's private ear (should he like to learn about them) infinitely more revolting than anything that appears in these papers. (15 Jan 1866, 10)

Greenwood's direct address to Farnall thus aims to counter his findings and investigative authority. Yet the framing of this narrative within the *PMG*'s evening periodicity also offers a tacit reminder to readers that, even after Farnall's visit to Lambeth on Saturday morning, he failed to silence Greenwood's subsequent reports, which continued to appear on Saturday evening, and in this installment, on Monday morning. By the time the results of Farnall's Saturday report made their way from the Sunday *ELO* to the major daily newspapers—newspapers which only resume their weekly schedule on Monday mornings—the *PMG* had already revealed two

more installments demonstrating Farnall's "ignorance." Even though the Monday morning papers attempted to solidify Farnall's superior authority by printing his Saturday report first, Greenwood's night-time investigations, reporting in the evening *PMG,* had already outpaced Farnall's. This final installment of "A Night" thus illustrates not only how periodicals reframed the report's authority through reprinting, but also how they influenced the emerging trajectory of Greenwood's undercover reporting.

The *PMG* continued to compete with other genres, genres which threatened to undermine its undercover authority, by reproducing "A Night" in pamphlet format. The *PMG* began advertising its pamphlet on Tuesday, January 16, 1866, the day following the report's reprinting in the *Times* and in the *Daily News*. The pamphlet version of "A Night" (figure 8) also offered a means of counteracting the competition between Farnall's and Greenwood's investigations in that it does not reprint "A Night" alongside Farnall's letter, and utterly suppresses the direct addresses that Greenwood made to him in the third installment of the *PMG* version. The pamphlet version does retain the stamp of its original publisher, however, claiming to be "*Reprinted from the* 'Pall Mall Gazette'." This attribution, combined with its staid lettering, reminds readers of the report's ties to the *PMG*'s gentlemanly, Conservative conventions, and at the same time, of its ability to stand alone as an authoritative investigative report, apart from the words of Farnall. Yet, at the same time, the pamphlet's lengthy forty-eight-page format and one-shilling price should remind modern critics of its limited reach—to a wealthier class of educated readers who could afford to purchase this version.

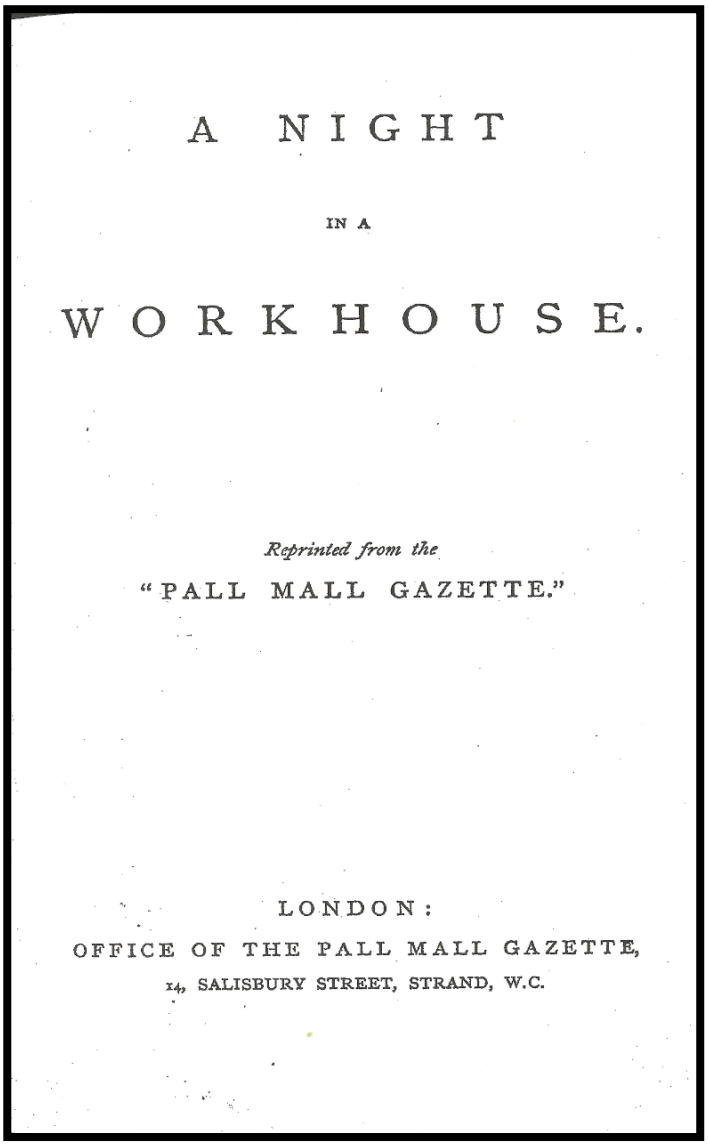


Figure 8. Wrapper of 1866 pamphlet version of "A Night in a Workhouse" published by the Office of the *Pall Mall Gazette.*

In the meantime, popular printers were well-positioned to offset the financial constraints of the established press. Edmund Yates observed, in the January 21, 1866 edition of the *Morning Star,* that throughout the past week, he had seen an unauthorized penny version of "A Night," selling "like wildfire in the streets" among the masses (Yates, qtd. in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 3). Published jointly by popular printers F. Bowering and Mansell & Son, this version appeared on lower-quality

paper, and at the low price of one penny, poised to reach even more readers than did the daily newspapers. As the following section sets out to demonstrate, just as the conventions of established periodicals like the *PMG*, the *ELO*, and the *Times* gave shape to Greenwood's undercover reporting, this popular format likewise influenced the growing tradition surrounding "A Night in a Workhouse."

"A Night" in Popular Print Culture

While the *Times*'s and the *ELO*'s closure of Farnall's investigation as a rebuke to "A Night" may have reached further than both the *PMG*'s Conservative newspaper and political pamphlet combined,[42] it appears that popular publishing genres dominated the market, as did their popular frameworks for Greenwood's undercover reporting. The impact of popular publishing on the tradition surrounding "A Night in a Workhouse" is perhaps most evident in the case of the unlicensed reprint of the report, which my research suggests was sold as a cheap penny pamphlet on London street corners. This pamphlet appears to have been released concurrent with the report's republication in established newspapers, and was allegedly the most broadly circulated of all the reprinted versions. On January 21, 1866, Yates, writing under the signature of "The Flaneur," observed that "the description of the night passed by the gentleman-casual contributor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the shed attached to the Lambeth Workhouse has been one of the principal town topics of the past week" (*Morning Star*, qtd. in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 3). Yates notes that the report has already "been re-published in a neatly

[42] The *Times* alone had a circulation of over 60,000 in the mid-1860s, compared with the *PMG*'s roughly 4,000 during the week when it published "A Night in Workhouse."

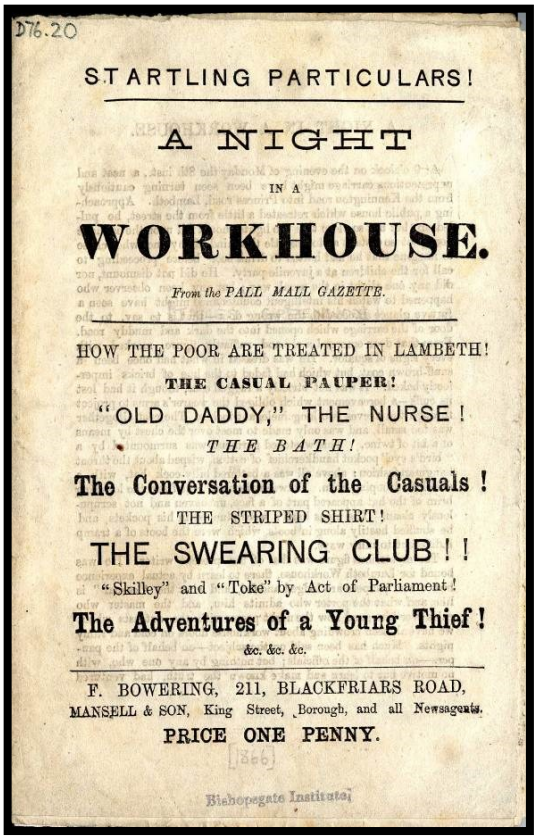
printed form by the *Pall Mall* proprietary at the cost of a shilling," but that "it is from an unlicensed edition, price one penny, which is selling like wildfire in the streets, that it will obtain its circulation amongst the many-headed" (*Morning Star*, qtd. in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 3). Yates himself had already "been questioned about it by omnibus-drivers," and had even heard "a knot of undoubted 'casuals' at the corner of Blackfriars' Bridge" discussing it (*Morning Star*, qtd. in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 3). He remarks in particular the "intense interest lighting up the faces of the crowd perusing the placards of the penny edition—with the principal facts duly brought out in sensation headings—round the small newspaper shops" (*Morning Star*, qtd. in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 3). This penny edition is only slightly abridged from the *PMG*'s newspaper version,[43] but as Yates mentions, is suggestively bound in sensational "placards" (figure 9), which lend this version of "A Night" some very peculiar attributes.

While not defined by the conventions of periodical publishing, the pamphlet is defined by the visual format of its cover, which closes "A Night" as a work of popular performance. Yates's sense of the pamphlet as being bound by "placards" indicates the cover's semblance to a theatre placard, and in particular, to a music-hall handbill. Although the cover retains the name of the original publishing venue, the *PMG*, in small letters below the title, larger headings in bold type emphasize the report's major characters and scenes. The cover describes "Old Daddy, the Nurse!"

[43] The unlicensed pamphlet version is only slightly abridged. For example, the pamphlet removes Greenwood's mention of a coachman in his description of arriving at the workhouse in a carriage. The original reads: "The curtains were closely drawn and the coachman wore an unusually responsible air" (12 Jan 1866), while the abridged version says simply that "he pulled up" (1), painting Greenwood as the driver of the carriage.

for instance, and the scene involving the "Swearing Club!" The ephemeral nature of most pamphlets makes it difficult to compare this one with others from the period. Yet this cover's visual similarities to playbills—such as an 1866 playbill from the Canterbury Music Hall (figure 10)—are striking, with their similar lists of characters and scenes, and use of exclamation points for dramatic emphasis.

The pamphlet's visual characteristics thus place Greenwood's report within a framework of Victorian music hall, and thus within a more popular, accessible genre. The Victorian music hall featured a range of dramatic performers, including acrobats and magicians, as well as comic singers, who capitalized on satiric impersonations of social types. Some of these social types included public officials—like policemen, for example—as well as figures of derision in Victorian society like social climbers or "swells," a type distinguished by cross-dressing above their social class. The swell performance parodied the social type of the male dandy or "toff"—a man who was not born a gentleman, but who embodied the fantasy of class escape by drinking champagne and acting a rake. Music-hall "swell" acts, Peter Bailey explains, involved the performer appearing on stage in exaggerated costumes that parodied not the real gentleman, but only the sham one (Bailey 108-109). Female performers also impersonated swells in costume and in character. Whereas male actors typically played upon false images of class and wealth, female actors portrayed the dandy as emasculated and effeminate, both implicitly with their bodies, and explicitly, through their exaggerated performances (Bailey 120).



D76.20

STARTLING PARTICULARS!

A NIGHT

IN A

WORKHOUSE.

From the PALL MALL GAZETTE.

HOW THE POOR ARE TREATED IN LAMBETH!

THE CASUAL PAUPER!

"OLD DADDY," THE NURSE!

THE BATH!

The Conversation of the Casuals!

THE STRIPED SHIRT!

THE SWEARING CLUB!!

"Skilley" and "Toke" by Act of Parliament!

The Adventures of a Young Thief!

&c. &c. &c.

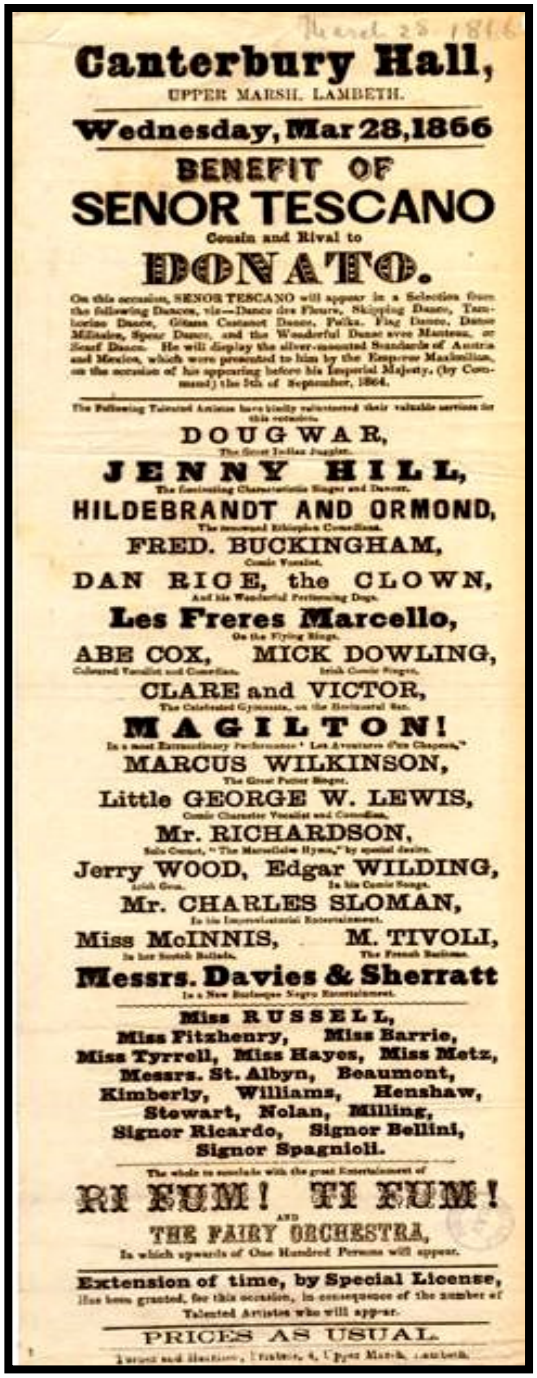
F. BOWERING, 211, BLACKFRIARS ROAD,
MANSELL & SON, King Street, Borough, and all Newsagents.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

[366]

Bishopsgate Institute

Figure 9. Wrapper of the unlicensed pamphlet, "A Night in a Workhouse," by F. Bowering and Mansell & Son, 1866.



March 28 1866

Canterbury Hall,

UPPER MARSH, LAMBETH.

Wednesday, Mar 28, 1866

BENEFIT OF

SENOR TESCANO

Cousin and Rival to

DONATO.

On this occasion, SENOR TESCANO will appear in a Selection from the following Dances, viz.—Dance des Fleurs, Skipping Dance, Tamborine Dance, Gitana Castanet Dance, Polka, Flag Dance, Dance Militaire, Spear Dance, and the Wonderful Dance avec Manteau, or Scarf Dance. He will display the silver-mounted Standards of Austria and Mexico, which were presented to him by the Emperor Maximilian, on the occasion of his appearing before his Imperial Majesty, (by Command) the 7th of September, 1864.

The Following Talented Artistes have kindly volunteered their valuable services for this occasion.

DOUGWAR,

The Great Indian Juggler.

JENNY HILL,

The fascinating Characteristic Singer and Dancer.

HILDEBRANDT AND ORMOND,

The renowned Ethiopian Comedians.

FRED. BUCKINGHAM,

Comic Vocalist.

DAN RICE, the CLOWN,

And his Wonderful Performing Dogs.

Les Freres Marcello,

On the Flying Rings.

ABE COX, Celebrated Vocalist and Comedian. MICK DOWLING, Irish Comic Singer.

CLARE and VICTOR,

The Celebrated Gymnasts, on the Horizontal Bar.

MAGILTON!

In a most Extraordinary Performance "Les Aventures d'un Chapeau."

MARCUS WILKINSON,

The Great Patter Singer.

Little GEORGE W. LEWIS,

Comic Character Vocalist and Comedian.

Mr. RICHARDSON,

Solo Cornet, "The Marseillaise Hymn," by special desire.

Jerry WOOD, Edgar WILDING,

Irish Gent. In his Comic Songs.

Mr. CHARLES SLOMAN,

In his Impromptu Entertainment.

Miss McINNIS, In her Scotch Ballads. M. TIVOLI, The French Baritone.

Messrs. Davies & Sherratt

In a New Burlesque Negro Entertainment.

Miss RUSSELL,
Miss Fitzhenry, Miss Barrie,
Miss Tyrrell, Miss Hayes, Miss Metz,
Messrs. St. Albyn, Beaumont,
Kimberly, Williams, Henshaw,
Stewart, Nolan, Milling,
Signor Ricardo, Signor Bellini,
Signor Spagnioli.

The whole to conclude with the great Entertainment of

RI FUM! TI FUM!

AND

THE FAIRY ORCHESTRA,

In which upwards of One Hundred Persons will appear.

Extension of time, by Special License, has been granted, for this occasion, in consequence of the number of Talented Artistes who will appear.

PRICES AS USUAL

Figure 10. Playbill from the Canterbury Music Hall, 28 March 1866.

Music-hall artistes who performed the swell were increasingly iconic in the latter half of the nineteenth century for the way they inhabited their characters. Many arrived at the halls in horse-drawn broughams, where they could be seen waving diamond-ringed fingers and drinking champagne. Conversely, music-hall comedians also masqueraded as Cockney labourers, ranging from costermongers to rat-catchers, and wearing the bedraggled, torn, and ill-fitting clothing Greenwood described in his own "ruffian" performance in "A Night in a Workhouse."

In fact, the popular circulation of "A Night" under music-hall placards importantly coincides with at least one Cockney performance at the local halls: George Leybourne's "Mousetrap Man." For this act, first performed on December 3, 1865, Leybourne appeared in tattered hat and clothing, with pockets out-turned. His caricature is captured in the lithographed sheet music for "The Mousetrap Man Waltz," which sold at local newsstands that winter ("Leybourne, The Lion Comique," *The Era*, 8) (figure 11).[44] The Great Vance's "The Chickerleary [*sic*] Cove"—a slang term for coster—was also a contemporary of Leybourne's, and similarly featured the performer masquerading in ragged clothes. Greenwood himself referred to this kind of performance, in a later article about the music halls, as a kind of "Popular Podgers," who goes "in for vocal exemplifications of low life—the lowest of all [....] renderings of a Whitechapel ruffian, half costermonger half thief, filled the Oxbridge nightly for more than a month" ("Music Hall Morality" 490).

[44] A description of "Popular Songs" in *Every Saturday* describes the sheet-music version of "The Mousetrap Man Waltz" as "very pretty," and played in many "drawing-rooms" (302). "If a young lady wants the piece," the article explains, "she must ask for it by the name of the Mousetrap Man; and on perusing it, she will learn how miss Scratchem from Itchin kicked out her young man, slammed the door in his face, sent him adrift with a flea in his ear, 'guv him turnips,' whatever that may mean, and bolted with the mousetrap man, singing 'Mousetraps! mousetraps, who'll buy?'" (302).

Figure 11. Illustrated sheet music for "The Mouse-Trap Man Waltz" by W.H. Montgomery, circa 1865.

In addition to achieving popularity on the music-hall stage, this character appeared, "arrayed in the ruffian's rags [...] on a music-sheet in the windows of the music-shops" ("Music Hall Morality" 490).[45] The archive of illustrated music-hall sheet music attests to a wealth of similar Cockney caricatures, performed in the ragged

[45] Although Greenwood critiques these performances in his review, he admits that he himself "looked through a vast amount of this trash, (there are at least five and twenty song books containing it on sale at every news vender's [*sic*])" ("Music for the Million" 297). Greenwood's review suggests that, in addition to being familiar with Cockney acts like the "Mousetrap Man," and having perused working-class characters in sheet music, he regularly visited music halls himself "[t]wo years ago" [1866], including a "low public house to which there was a two-penny concert room attached" ("Music for the Million 296). Together, these articles illustrate a significant preoccupation with the music hall concurrent with his undercover experiments in January of 1866, although it is unclear whether they directly impacted his own ruffian performance for the press.

garments of the working poor throughout the 1860s. Some of these may even have been on display in the "small newspaper shops," where Yates had seen "the crowd perusing the placards of the penny edition" of "A Night in a Workhouse" (Yates, qtd. in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 3). The music-hall placards of the penny edition thus close "A Night"—far from the social and political conventions of the upper-middle-class press—as a masquerade from popular music-hall performance.

The characters that Greenwood encounters in the workhouse take on aspects of variety-show performers. He relays to readers how he was escorted into the shed-like structure of the vagrants' ward by a pauper called "Old Daddy," a name that has the ring of a stage name. Greenwood encounters a fellow referred to only as "Punch," a figure familiar to Victorians as one half of the popular puppet performance, "Punch-and-Judy." Greenwood also describes a young man by the name of "Kay," an androgynous name for a character who captures the gender-bending qualities of the female music-hall swell. Greenwood observes that Kay is "A lanky boy of about fifteen" with "large blue eyes, set wide apart, and a mouth that would have been faultless but for its great width" (13 Jan 1866, 10). Kay's voice, Greenwood says, sounds "as soft and sweet as any woman's," and he breaks "into a 'rummy song' with a roaring chorus" (13 Jan 1866, 10). Kay, he says, "sang on till he and his admirers were tired of the entertainment" (13 Jan 1866, 10). Greenwood's description of Kay mimics this character's gendered performances that charmed both audiences and "admirers." Greenwood also frequently refers to the working-class men as "gentlemen"—not as real ones, of course, but as sham gentlemen like the music-hall swells.

The pamphlet's placards also frame Greenwood's own performance of a working-class character as a music-hall act. "[O]ne of the more distinctive marks of the emerging music hall mode," Bailey observes, "was the growing practice of appearing 'in character'." By this convention, the singer impersonated the (increasingly first person) subject of the song more fully by assuming his or her typical dress and manner" (131). Indeed, Greenwood's report initially draws attention to his gentlemanly qualities by describing his arrival at the workhouse in a horse-drawn brougham, like the decadent swells of the music-halls. Yet he goes on to narrate his masquerade as a "ruffian" character: "dressed in what had once been a snuff-brown coat, but which had faded to the hue of bricks imperfectly baked" (12 Jan 1866, 9). He also wears a "'birdseye' pocket-handkerchief of cotton, wisped about the throat hangman fashion" and "battered billy-cock hat, with a dissolute drooping brim" (12 Jan 1866, 9). In his role as an engraver named Joshua Mason, the narrator embraces one of the many working-class characters of the halls, which included "bus-drivers, milkmen, domestic servants and newspaper boys, and in the regions carters and miners" (Kift 39). Gus Elen's Cockney coster performances later in the nineteenth century similarly embodied this parody of labour. Elen dressed in rustic clothing and "describe[d] the living conditions of the London working-class from their point of view" (Kift 38), acknowledging, for instance, "the delicate relationships between landlords and their tenants, and between tenants" or "broader themes of urban living, such as the benefits of public transport or the drawbacks of officialdom" (Kift 38). In this case, Greenwood could be seen to reveal

the relationship between workhouse casuals and officials, from the perspective of a working-class casual.

At the same time as Greenwood refers to himself as a gentleman and as a poor man, however, Greenwood also identifies himself as a "writer" (12 Jan 1866, 9). In this instance, the figures of the swell and the slummer come together in the character of the investigative reporter, who slips between class identities and roles to gather material for his newspaper story. In this moment, the writer is potentially parodied not simply as a figure of authority, but as an "upward climber" seeking the job of Poor-Law Investigator, an official figure among those whom Kift suggests were frequently the subject of music-hall comedies:

> Songs about officials and civil servants offered a common opportunity to mock those in authority, figures against which an individual was generally powerless. The favourite scapegoat here was the policeman who [....] was not simply the representative of authority. He also typified any form of upward-climber who was trying to escape his proletarian background by taking a job, however mean, in public service. (Kift 38-9)[46]

Indeed, through the lens of music hall, which re-writes the reporter's act as parody, the writer personifies a similar desire for upward mobility in his experiment with the Poor Law's jurisdiction over workhouse investigation.

While the complex social dynamics that Greenwood enacts are beyond the scope of this study, the very shifts between roles that he performs become an act of comedy and parody in and of themselves. Kift notes that "[p]eople who attempted to disguise or deny their social background" were particular figures of fun in the halls" (39). In other words, through the lens of music hall, Greenwood's

[46] Kift takes up Jacqueline Bratton's 1975 argument from *Victorian Popular Ballad* (167 and 189).

masquerade between the roles of gentleman, writer, and working man are necessarily comedic, because they are artificial, and his narrative invites the audience into the artifice of his own performance. The performer's "shifts in and out of role and of self, artifice and autobiography," Bailey explains,

> allowed the audience to see, as it were, the joins in the performance. In the hands of the inept this was no doubt disastrous, but properly executed it secured a distinctive relationship with the audience by initiating them into the mysteries of the performer's craft and giving them a consequent sense of select inclusion. (132)

Greenwood similarly slips between describing himself in the third-person voice of his character and his first-person self. He refers to himself as "the ruffian" and "the tramp" when he performs the role of an engraver named "Joshua Mason" (12 Jan 1866, 10), yet reminds readers in subtle asides that he is really "the present writer." He uses the space of his report to remind readers that he is neither a poor man nor an official, but a writer merely parodying them in practice, in costume, and in print. He brings readers into the open secret of his performance through a form of familiarity that Bailey identifies in the music hall as "knowingness" (128).

In concocting this sense of knowingness, Greenwood can be seen to exaggerate the artifice of his character shifts through narrative asides to his audience, inviting them into the very comedy of cross-class and cross-profession transitions. He brings readers into his deception when workhouse officials ask him:

> "What's your name?"
> "Joshua Mason, sir."
> "What are you?"
> "An engraver." (This taradiddle I invented to account for the look of my hands.)
> "Where did you sleep last night?"
> "Hammersmith," I answered—as I hope to be forgiven!
>
> (12 Dec 1866, 10)

Greenwood can be seen to employ here the music-hall's modes of "suggestion," its "hints and half spoken confidences" (Bailey 143) to subtly mobilize the audience's shared "knowingness" (Bailey 128)—that is, its "inside" knowledge—of working-class topographies like Hammersmith.[47] He also describes his dialogue as a musical-sounding "taradiddle," and uses bracketed asides to audiences as a form of music-hall "patter," a spoken, direct form of address performers made to audiences between their verses to highlight the artifice of the role (Bailey 132). In these asides, he reminds audiences of his ruse—that he is 'inventing,' being duplicitous.

Towards the end of his performance, Greenwood can be seen parodying the very role that the journalist originally attempted to impersonate: that of the social investigator. Greenwood insists that "No language with which I am acquainted is capable of conveying an adequate conception of the *spectacle* I encountered" (12 Jan 1866, 9, my italics), underscoring the fact that he himself is part of a show, a performance, without the "language" to access an authentic "conception." His words here seem to invoke his claims in "The Depths of Poverty" that investigators are played upon by "sharks" who are "suspicious of all pryers, and resentful against 'investigation'" ("Introductory" 24). Greenwood's performance concludes with further echoes of the music-hall performer's exaggerated delivery, replete with "winks and gesticulations" (Bailey 131) to signal the inside meaning or innuendo of his exaggerated performance. He recalls his challenges in a swooning "(ah! woeful when!)" (15 Jan 1866, 10), but once he "had seen the *show* (italics mine)—[he]

[47] For a detailed discussion of the working-class resonances of place names in music-hall songs see Keith Wilson's "Music-Hall London: The Topography of Class Sentiment," *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 1996.

gladly escaped into the open streets" (15 Jan 1866, 10). Under the closed cover of music-hall, audiences find Greenwood escaping to his carriage, where his Editor awaits him with a glass of sherry (15 Jan 1866, 10). Though he returns to being a journalist, the sherry continues to invoke the figure of the swell. By drawing attention to the artifice of his role-shifting—that is, of a middle-class reporter, playing at professional social investigation, by feigning working-class experience—the music-hall lens ultimately reconfigures Greenwood's undercover experience as satire.

The comedic nature of Greenwood's own cross-class and cross-professional performance is reflected in the response workhouse inmates have to a swell performer in their midst. In Greenwood's third installment he describes the last man entering the workhouse that night at one o'clock in the morning after a recent show. The man throws his blanket over his shoulders and spins around whilst singing, and Greenwood transcribes this song's lyrics for his readers:

> I like to be a swell, a-roaming down Pall Mall,
> Or anywhere, — I don't much care, so I can be a swell. (15 Jan 1866, 9)

This "couplet" Greenwood explains, "had an intensely comic effect" (15 Jan 1866, 9). In his text, Greenwood glosses over the song as a remnant from the "pantomime" (15 Jan 1866, 9), but these lyrics actually belonged to a comedic song being performed in the London music halls that very winter. "I Like to be a Swell," written by Gaston Murray and performed by Arthur Lloyd, was one of the feature performances at the Canterbury Hall and at the London Pavilion during the winter

of 1865-66, when Greenwood's report first appeared in the *PMG*.[48] Lloyd's swell song offers a sardonic foil to Greenwood's: the figure of the counterfeit swell, impersonating richness as he 'strolls down *Pall Mall*,' against the figure of the counterfeit poor man, a middle-class reporter parodying poverty for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Lloyd's music-hall performance is said to have inspired a similar response to the one that Greenwood reports of his companions[49]: "its bestial chorus shouted from a dozen throats" (15 Jan 1866, 9), with amusement and laughter. This timely reference to Lloyd, and indeed, to the humour of Greenwood's own performance, was unlikely to be lost on readers of the popular pamphlet.

Just as established newspapers shaped the tradition surrounding Greenwood's "A Night in a Workhouse," the circulation of the report as music-hall parody appears to have greatly influenced the reporter's legacy. Historians have already noted that "A Night" inspired theatrical productions arranged by the theatre manager, Joseph Cave. Jim Davis's "A Night In The Workhouse, or The Poor Laws as Sensation Drama" recreates the fascinating history of the report's circulation on the stage, for which Cave hired the real-life workhouse pauper, known as "Old Daddy," to perform in *The Casual Ward*, an adaptation performed in three of his East-End theatres (Davis 116). Not surprisingly, these theatrical performances erase many

[48] See *The Era*'s reviews of "London Music Halls," on 7 Jan 1866 (5) and 21 Jan 1866 (6), as well as its advertisements for the "London Pavilion" on 24 Dec 1865 (16) and for the "Canterbury Hall" on 10 Dec 1865 (16) and 14 Jan 1866 (16). "I Like to be a Swell" was already an established feature of Lloyd's performance by this time, and was increasingly appropriated by other musicians and performers. *The Era* had also recently advertised the publication of illustrated sheet-music for the song on 26 Nov 1865 (14).

[49] *The Era* notes in its brief description of "I Like to be a Swell" that Lloyd's performance "never fails to secure a vociferous encore" (26 Nov 1865, 14).

references to the music hall, including the androgynous swell qualities of Kay,[50] in favour of mounting an "invective against the administration of the poor laws" (Davis 119). Yet, there appears as well to be a distinctly music-hall tradition surrounding Greenwood's undercover reporting. In H.C. Newton's memoir, *Idols of the Halls*, he recalls of the artists Nat Ogden and Tom Kirby that their "'material' was not particularly noteworthy until suddenly they both broke out with a song apiece all about a workhouse casual ward, and particularly about Old Daddy."[51] These songs that Newton refers to as "Daddy Ditties" may have been inspired by the celebrity status that Old Daddy achieved on the theatrical stage.

Other music-hall ballads seem to emphasize explicitly Greenwood's own qualities as a music-hall performer. Two lesser-known popular ballads that directly reference Greenwood's report have survived in broadside form; the first, called "A Night in a London Workhouse," presents "a song to enlighten and amuse you" of the "Strange scenes they do enact" in the Lambeth workhouse.[52] The latter, called "A Night's Repose in Lambeth Workhouse," parodies Greenwood's foray in the workhouse quite precisely, and is called "About the swell in the workhouse." It goes,

> Come listen to me one and all,
> Little, big, short, and tall,
> While I tell you such a ball
> About the swell in the workhouse.[53]

[50] Koven notes in *Slumming*, via Davis's "A Night In The Workhouse, or The Poor Laws as Sensation Drama," that Kay's androgynous qualities were omitted in the theatrical version, which cast a more "masculine " actor in the role of Kay (52).
[51] Newton, *Idols of the Halls: Being My Music Hall Memories,* 105.
[52] "A Night in a London Workhouse," *Harding Collection* B13 (154), Bodleian Library.
[53] "A Night's Repose in the Lambeth Workhouse." *Harding Collection* B13 (155), Bodleian Library.

This quotation not only blurs the boundaries between the music-hall performance and the report, but also further emphasizes the positioning of the undercover investigator as a cross-class impersonator with ambitious pretensions.

Numerous literary recollections of "A Night in a Workhouse" clearly paint Greenwood as a sham swell figure involved in the music-hall charade. *Tomahawk: A Saturday Journal of Satire* quipped in 1868 that its special reporters, reporting on the "Christmas Entertainments," were not sufficiently remunerated to allow them, like the "Great Vance or the Amateur Casual, a private brougham to convey [them] from one door to another."[54] This anecdote undoubtedly parodies Greenwood's retreat from his "night in the workhouse," whence he returns to his carriage to find his editor, "with a draught of sherry [...] a welcome refreshment after so many weary waking hours of fasting" (15 Jan 1866, 10). Although Greenwood did achieve some renown for his "Amateur Casual" investigations (figure 12), he did not attain quite the celebrity of the Lion Comiques like the Great Vance, known for a sketch that rivalled "Champagne Charlie," called "Cliquot, Cliquot! That's the Wine For Me" (Bailey 105). Nor was Greenwood found, like the music-hall idols, commuting between the halls in a brougham, adorned in furs and drinking champagne. Of his ability to accurately capture nineteenth-century "costermongers and cockneys," however, his friend, J. Hall Richardson, recalled that if Greenwood's renderings "were ever true to life," then the music-hall artist "[Albert] Chevalier and all the other impersonators of the coster were poor artists" (169).

[54] "The Christmas Entertainments, By Our Special," 3.

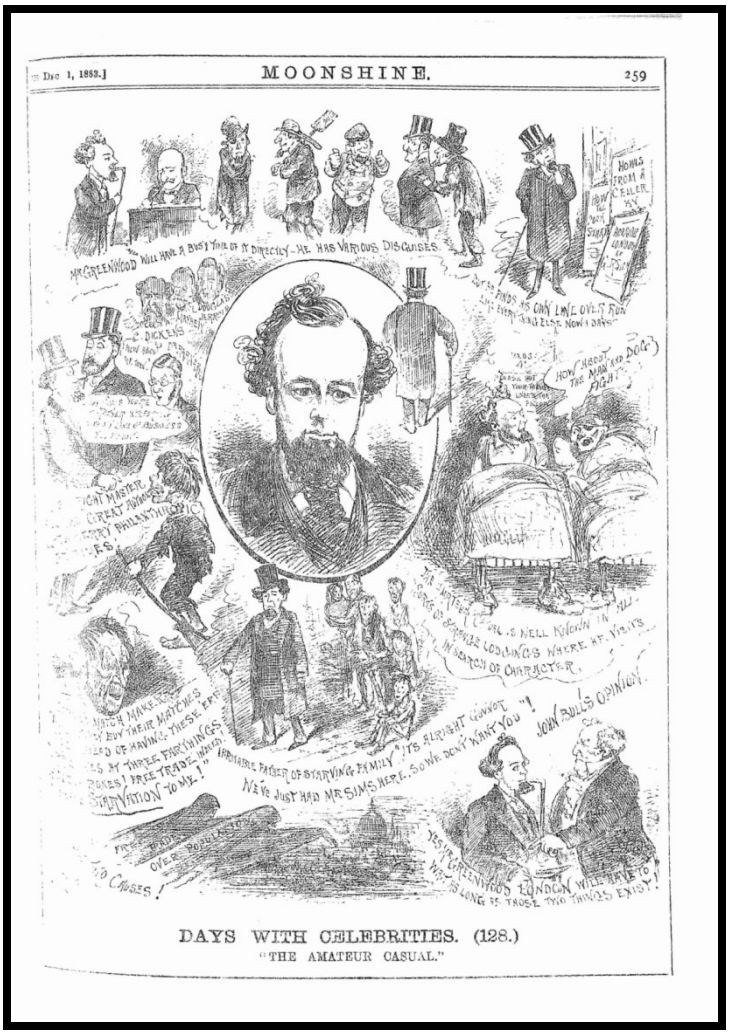


Figure 12. Greenwood is pictured above, for instance, in the popular conservative weekly magazine, *Moonshine*, as part of its satirical cartoon series called "Days with Celebrities," No. 128." *Moonshine* (1 Dec 1883): 259.

Thus, Richardson conjures an image of Greenwood not as a political representative of London's social classes—a legacy attributed to him by modern scholarship—but rather as a stand-in for the popular performer.

While critics have focused primarily on the serious, middle-class, and socio-political frameworks for Greenwood's undercover reporting, the report's circulation as popular performance also forms an important part of his work's history. This is

not to say that middle-class frameworks were necessarily more serious, however, nor that reports accessible to working- class readers were purely intended for entertainment. Rather, as the concluding section sets out to demonstrate, various equally-accessible print forms appropriated Greenwood's "A Night in a Workhouse" strategically, in a contest for authority over the inside stories of the poor.

Defining Greenwood's Reporting in Victorian Print Culture

While periodicals like the *ELO* and the *Times* questioned Greenwood's credibility as a social investigator, and some popular reprints parodied the very notion of middle-class access to the poor, other periodical sources worked to corroborate and close the undercover reporter's legitimacy. Many temperance journals, for instance, which appealed to working-and middle-class readers alike, appropriated the undercover reporter as an example of Christian asceticism. The three-penny monthly *Church of England Temperance Magazine* (*CETM*)[55] for instance, refers to "A Night" in its February 1, 1866 issue within the framework of "Practical Self-Denial." This article invites readers to view the Amateur Casual as a model of Christian "suffering" and "self-denial" for the "drunkards of our land" (49). The one-penny monthly *Irish Temperance League Journal* (*ITLJ*) similarly reconfigures the report within temperance discourse in its January 1866 issue (vol. 1 no.4). This periodical reimagines the Amateur Casual's descent into the workhouse in the context of the British public house (49). Popular readers of these temperance journals were thus encouraged to read "A Night" not

[55]The *Church of England Temperance Magazine* takes up "A Night" in "Practical Self-Denial; The *Pall Mall Gazette* in the Casual Ward" (1 Feb 1866, 48-49).

just as a crusade for political reform, or as a popular music-hall parody, but as an altruistic gesture to rescue the poor from their vices.

One popular magazine in particular, the shilling-monthly *Temple Bar,*[56] openly worked to promote Greenwood's undercover authority by publishing a working-class testimony to corroborate his report. On March 16, 1866, J.C. Parkinson of *Temple Bar* (*TB*) claimed to have located a real, respectable workhouse casual, who had spent the night in Lambeth during Greenwood's actual visit, and who could confirm many of the details originally supplied by Greenwood. The magazine published the man's alleged testimony in three letters, beginning on March 16, 1866 with "A Real Casual on Casual Wards."[57] The Real Casual's story offers an intermediary between Greenwood's supporters and deniers, by introducing the condition of working-class testimony. Greenwood's abilities as a class-crossing amateur investigator achieved authority if they could be confirmed by a respectable man, who was able to speak first-hand about his own class experience.

At the same time as *TB* employed working-class testimony to legitimize "A Night in a Workhouse," some distinctly working-class periodicals published their own reports on local workhouses to remind audiences of their superior ability to speak on their own behalf. An unnamed journalist for the penny-weekly newspaper, the *Working Man* (*WM*),[58] for instance, reported learning of Greenwood's report by way of *TB*'s "Real Casual." The *WM* characteristically published articles for working-

[56] *Temple Bar* published a variety of apolitical articles, serial novels, and poetry for a middle-class family readership of approximately thirty thousand.
[57] *All the Year Round* published a similar story, "Told by a Tramp," on April 28, 1866 (371-374).
[58] The *Working Man* makes several references to Greenwood's articles. See, for example, "Things Talked About" in *The Working Man* (17 March 1866, 172).

class men, including examinations of individual trades, related labour issues, and especially, issues related to the impending reform bill. The *WM* commissioned its own working-class correspondent, "The Lancashire Lad," to report on a workhouse with which he was himself familiar, and published his testimonial "In and About a Workhouse," on March 3, 1866. Within the framework of this periodical, the Lancaster Lad encourages respectable men to take initiative in reporting on the conditions of workhouses, and to advocate for reform on behalf of their lower-class peers. According to Lloyd and Thomas,

> That the correspondent to *The Working Man* on self-education goes under the name of a 'Lancashire Lad' is not merely coincidental. Throughout both the debates on education and those of the extension of the franchise, appeal is constantly made by advocates of the working classes to the exemplary docility of the Lancashire cotton workers during the economic crisis in their industry occasioned by the American Civil War and the Northern blockade of Southern cotton. (133)

By adopting the name, "Lancashire Lad," the correspondent appeals to an image of working-class respectability here, to the kind of "moral self-discipline" (Lloyd and Thomas 133) typically invoked by advocates of the Reform Act. While critics identify the undercover report's links with the *PMG*'s political perspective on reform, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to extricate this thread from more popular paratextual frameworks like the Real Casual and the Lancashire Lad, which became increasingly visible within Britain's transitioning print culture. Indeed, as I have shown throughout this chapter, newspaper publishing genres did not simply frame the undercover report's meanings in context, but became imbricated with the interpretive tradition surrounding the genre.

Yet the varied, and often contradictory, periodical frameworks that shaped "A Night in a Workhouse" also led to conflicting views about the status of undercover reporting as an emerging newspaper genre. Comic periodicals like *Fun* ridiculed the lowness of the undercover reporter and his writing, by jesting that workhouse casuals themselves were in danger of being mistaken for 'Pall Mall Contributors' (figure 13). This idea remained a running joke in *Fun* for weeks before the *TB* or *WM* reports, and it published comedic articles like "A Night in a Workhouse: By Our Own Casual Poor" (3 Feb 1866, 203), and "Fragment of a Scene from 'The Tempest,' as performed in the Casual Ward of Lambeth Workhouse" (10 Feb 1866, 213). As much as cross-class, and cross-genre circulation contributed to an intricate tradition of "a Night in a Workhouse," the publication history of this text can also be seen to highlight the many genre tensions and conflicts that gave shape to undercover reporting in the period.

In fact, while undercover reporting appears to have emerged amid the established press's efforts to "open" its pages to additional readers, it seems likely that the "closed" or restrictive conventions of these papers ultimately fuelled the genre's development in less restrictive spheres, like popular magazines and newspapers, rather than in upper-middle-class newspapers. A feature made explicitly apparent in the *PMG*'s lengthy one-shilling pamphlet of "A Night in a Workhouse," upper-middle-class discursive frameworks were restricted by expensive upper-middle-class formats and ultimately, by high prices.

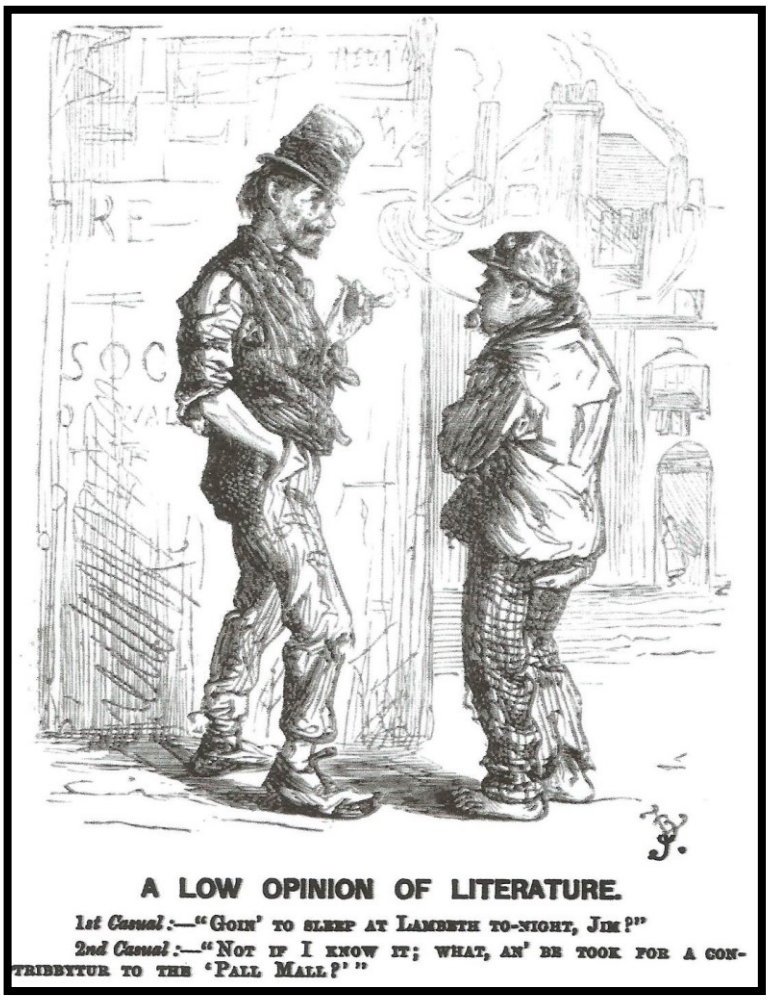


Figure 13. "A Low Opinion of Literature," *Fun* (17 Feb1866): 228.

Frederick himself comments in "Birth and Infancy" that critics have often mistakenly assumed that "A Night" dramatically increased the *PMG*'s circulation (2), but this was not, and could not, have been the case for this established newspaper. Mr. Richard Lambert, who was the *PMG*'s foreman printer during the run on "A Night in a Workhouse," remarked that the paper's printing technology was not even equipped for the broader readership that Frederick envisioned, noting that:

> The demand for the paper now became so great that the machinery was incompetent to produce a sufficient number of copies, extra plates being taken and sent on to Saville and Edwards, in Chandos street, to help us out of the fix. Four machines going, perfecting flat machines, producing about 1,000 per hour only. ("Sketch," *Review of Reviews*, 145)

Not only the publishing conventions, but also the printing conventions of the *PMG*, closed the report to a particular readership. Thus, although established papers like the *PMG* or even the *Times* brought undercover reporting to larger numbers of upper-middle-class readers, these papers' inherent technological restrictions meant that the demand for "A Night" could only be met by the rapid, low-cost technologies exploited by popular publishers. Stead remarks that the paper's circulation did double within two days, but this was a doubling of a rather small circulation that was then "under two thousand a day" ("Sketch" 144)—nothing like the tens of thousands made possible by popular printing technologies. Stead notes that following the success of "A Night" in the *PMG*, however, "the paper made rapid strides. It was increased to twelve pages, and a four-feeder rotary ordered of Hoe and Co. of New York" ("Sketch," *Review of Reviews* 145). The rotary press was "a wonder at that time," and Frederick was heard to remark how it threw "off the sheets like flakes of snow" (Stead 145). It seems fair to say that "A Night" alone failed to make the *PMG* popular, but that its circulation history demonstrated to the paper's editor the importance of popular printing and publishing technologies to increasing its readership.

By 1868, the *PMG* extended its experiments with popular print even further by establishing a companion weekly digest, known as *The Pall Mall Budget* (*PMB*). The forty-page, sixpenny magazine, which first appeared on October 3, 1868,

reproduced a selection of articles from the daily *PMG*, along with a summary and digest of the week's news. Unlike the daily, evening *PMG*, its popular companion, the *PMB*, was printed weekly on Saturdays, to appeal to a broader popular audience, and "despatch[ed] by the early morning mails" to "persons resident in the remoter districts of Great Britain, on the Continent, in America, India, Australia, and other distant places" (*The Spectator*, 26 Sept 1868, 1144). The *PMG* thus saw the benefits not only of popular printing technologies, but of the popular, weekly, Saturday schedule to reach more readers. By July of 1869, the *PMG*'s popularization was nearly complete; although it continued to address a broadly middle-class audience, its price was lowered to a penny, making it affordable to many more readers.

The following chapter extends my examination of how undercover reporting both emerged from and was shaped by the popularization of the British press. I examine how Thomas Carlisle's undercover series, "The Unprofessional Vagabond," begins to solidify some key features of Greenwood's reporting within the open and closed conventions of the *Globe and Traveller* newspaper. Yet, this newspaper's embrace of many New Journalism conventions necessitated the undercover reporter's increased emphasis on personal narration, to claim authority as an amateur journalist. This publishing convention works to extend my central claim in this chapter, that the reporter's publishing genre, rather than his personal motives or practices, necessitates particular adaptations or frameworks for the undercover genre. At the same time as New Journalism conventions shape the rise of personal undercover reporting in Carlisle's work, however, I argue that this aspect gradually undermines Carlisle's authority as an undercover reporter. Thus, whereas this

chapter explores how the popularization of the press worked to legitimize undercover reporting in established newspapers, the following chapter shows how the personalization of the press delegitimized the genre's inherently incognito and anonymous features.

Chapter II

Personal Undercover Reporting and New Journalism: Thomas Carlisle's "The Unprofessional Vagabond"

This chapter examines Thomas Carlisle's contribution to Victorian undercover reporting in "An Unprofessional Vagabond." For this seven-part series investigating London street beggars, Carlisle impersonated a crossing-sweeper, a fern vendor, a tom-tom wallah, a street-huckster, a match seller, and an Ethiopian Serenader. The series appeared in the *Globe and Traveller* (*Globe*) newspaper from May 3 to July 19, 1873.[59] Like "A Night in a Workhouse," these reports were also critiqued, parodied and reprinted in multiple other print genres and formats (figure 14). Prior to publishing in the *Globe*, Carlisle was, like Greenwood, a commercial journalist. He began his career by writing occasional stories and sketches for Anglo-Indian literary periodicals, while serving as a military officer in India from approximately 1854-1868.[60] The publication of "An Unprofessional Vagabond" in the *Globe* launched Carlisle's career in British newspaper journalism.[61] Like Greenwood, who built a reputation as the Amateur Casual, Carlisle became known as the Unprofessional Vagabond, and continued to publish reports under this

[59]The first report appeared on May 3rd, 1873; the next three installments appeared weekly (May 10th, 1873, May 17th, 1873, and May 24th, 1873); the fifth installment appeared three weeks later (June 14th, 1873); the sixth one, a month later (July 12th, 1873); the seventh, a week after that on July 19th, 1873; Carlisle concluded his findings in a summary article published two weeks later, on August 2nd, 1873.

[60] Carlisle's biography in the *Supplement to the Hampshire Telegraph & Sussex Chronicle* (*HTSC*) explains that:

> Captain Carlisle spent some fourteen years of his life in India with his regiment, and though a hardworking soldier, he found time to lighten such Indian periodicals as *Calcutta Englishman* and the *Pioneer* with his sketches and letters. It is reported that even when the regiment had been exiled to something like a wilderness he contrived to people it from his imagination, and week by week, sketches of an imaginary society, with imaginary personalities and imaginary idiosyncracies [sic.] delighted the Anglo-Indians. (18 Jan 1890, 11)

[61] According to the *HTSC,* Carlisle's "The Unprofessional Vagabond" allowed him to "pierce the inner ring" of British journalism (18 Jan 1890, 11).

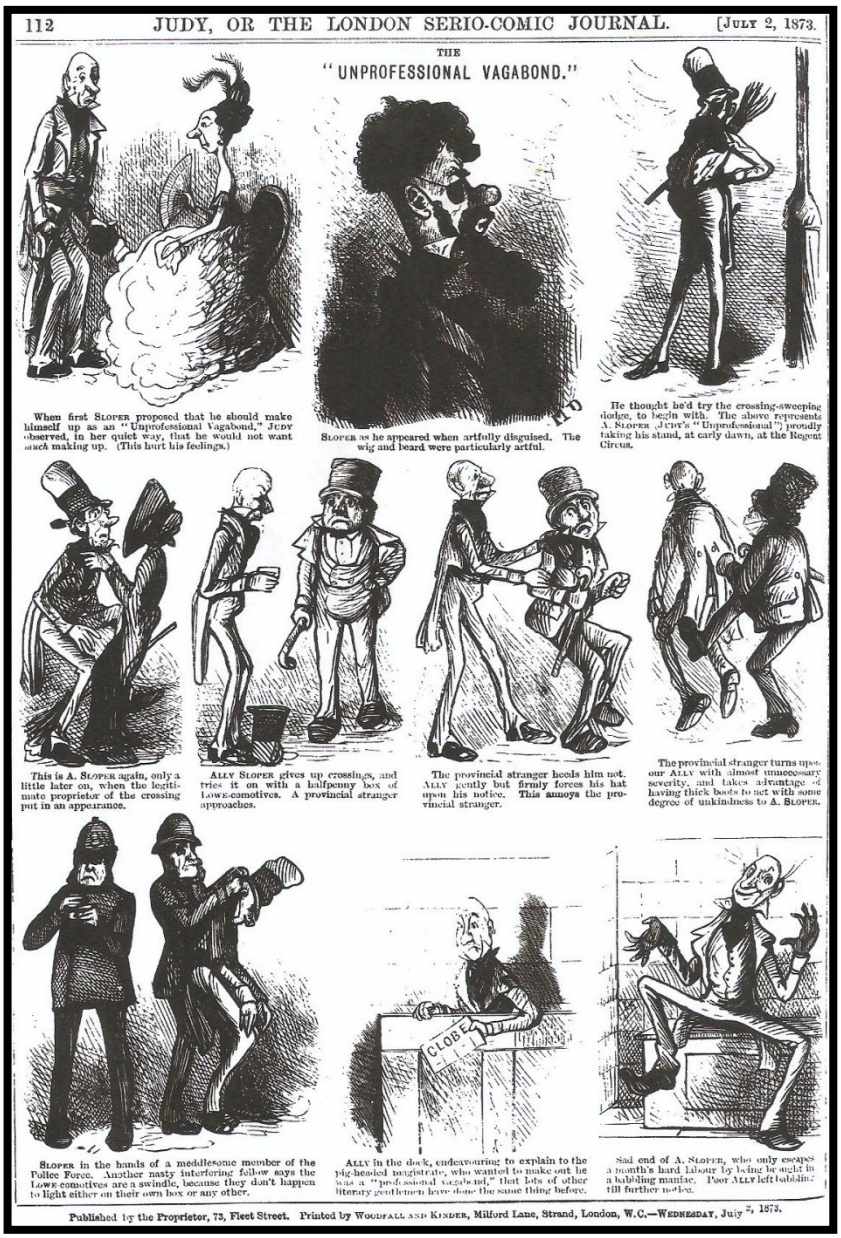


Figure 14. In *Judy, Or The London Serio-Comic Journal*, Ally Sloper parodied Carlisle's undercover investigation. Sloper "makes himself up as An Unprofessional Vagabond" (Vol. 13 on July 2, 1873: 112) to investigate London street sweepers. Sloper parodies the first installment of "An Unprofessional Vagabond" on "The Crossing Sweeper," which appeared in the *Globe* on May 3, 1873.

moniker for at least twenty years.[62] Carlisle also garnered some of the prestige associated with Frederick Greenwood's editorial influence in that he became the assistant editor at the *Globe*, a position which he retained for "nearly forty years" (Francis 182).[63] In spite of Carlisle's longstanding career as the Unprofessional Vagabond, however, his undercover reports have yet to be acknowledged in scholarly studies of the genre. Nor has Carlisle been recognized for his contributions to the emerging subgenre of celebrity stunt reporting.

This chapter turns to Carlisle's "An Unprofessional Vagabond" to examine how the *Globe* engages with the undercover genre amid the rise of New Journalism in the 1870s. I begin by demonstrating how the *Globe*'s series followed from the *PMG* in mobilizing both press innovations and political controversy to open its conventions. The *Globe*'s reports explicitly replicate many of Greenwood's narrative trademarks, including metanarrative asides to the reader to differentiate between his authentic and his feigned personas. Yet, the *Globe*'s series also adapts personal elements to undercover reporting as a response to its increasingly open publishing conventions under the New Journalism. This chapter follows from chapter one in

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[62] Carlisle's "Homeless in London for 50 Days: An Unprofessional Vagabond's Adventures in the Great City," for instance, appeared in *Cassell's Saturday Journal* in 1895. Barbara Onslow notes that *Cassell's* published a number of "inside story" articles about prison life in the 1890s, "in which the documentary was fused with the sensational, the factual with the anecdotal and entertaining" (106). Articles like the anonymous "How Gaol-Birds Employ their Time: Work Done Behind Prison Walls" (6 March 1895, 486) (cited in Onslow 115, n. 4) "enlightened and amused those who enjoyed reading about prison life" (Onslow 106). Carlisle's undercover report can be seen as part of the journal's broader interest in investigative or "inside stories."

[63] In addition to editing the *Globe*, Carlisle was also the chief editor of the working-class newspaper, the *People*, for sixteen years, until his death in 1907 (Francis 182). The *Supplement to the Hampshire Telegraph & Sussex Chronicle* details how Carlisle's editorial approach verged on the "popular"; he "found the *People* overloaded with politics, but he soon turned the tide by cutting down politics, by giving a light and gossipy turn to the paper, and by working up the correspondence column till he had made himself a sort of father-confessor and general advisor to thousands" (18 January 1890, 11).

arguing that the *Globe*'s publishing conventions, rather than the journalist's motivation or investigative practice, shaped his personal approach to undercover reporting. In fact, personal reporting offered a crucial means of establishing credibility within the commercial framework of the New Journalism. While a key publishing convention of the *Globe*, however, personal reporting can ultimately be seen to undermine the series' credibility as socio-political journalism. Carlisle's series thus offers important insight into the emerging conflict between anonymous, amateur reporting and personal, professional authority amid the rise of New Journalism in Britain. The "constituent elements" of this conflict, I suggest, become apparent over the course of Carlisle's series, and speak to emerging divisions in the genre by the 1870s: between anonymous socio-political reporting and celebrity stunt journalism.

This chapter's first section works to connect Thomas Carlisle's "An Unprofessional Vagabond" with the tradition of undercover reporting associated with the *PMG*. I examine how the *Globe* adapts many of the Greenwoodian narrative strategies solidified in "A Night in a Workhouse" to the first installment of "An Unprofessional Vagabond": the "Crossing Sweeper." I ultimately draw on the print culture methodology introduced in chapter one to examine how the *Globe* followed from the *PMG* in using the undercover report to open its pages to new readers, yet closed the report within distinctive publishing conventions that necessitated new adaptations to the genre. Like the *PMG*, the *Globe* similarly used Carlisle's report to open its pages to new readers amid commercial changes to the newspaper's conventions. The *Globe* also used Carlisle's first installment on London street

sweepers to capitalize on a popular media sensation, and to enter a political debate over professional begging. Yet, whereas the *PMG*'s publishing conventions closed the earlier report's class and political position within a social controversy, I argue that the *Globe*'s increasingly open, commercial conventions elevate the role of the personal narrative in closing the undercover report's position.

The second section turns to the *Globe*'s second installment on the "Fern Seller" to examine how Carlisle's personal narrative not only closes his report's position, but also establishes his personal authority within the commercial conventions of New Journalism. I draw on the scholarship of Mark Hampton to illustrate how the report's emphasis on Carlisle's military background in particular works to solidify his authority within a debate over personal signatures in journalism (Liddle). More importantly, I complicate the notion that writers took up personal narration as a response to the rising authority of anonymous journalism (Rubery), by suggesting that Carlisle's personal voice emerges instead with the decline of the *Globe*'s anonymous authority, brought about by a more open, commercial New Journalism.

While Carlisle's personal narrative works to establish authority within the *Globe*'s commercial conventions, my third section considers the ways in which this approach depends on establishing personal credibility, too. Yet the rise of the personal is not without its perils, and in Carlisle's fourth installment on the "Tom-Tom Wallah," his personal narrative increasingly counteracts the conventions of incognito reporting shaped by established journalism. Framed by a response from a Conservative daily newspaper, Carlisle's fourth installment embraces a personal

adventure narrative at the expense of communicating a socio-political position, and indeed, at the expense of being truly under cover. While personal features profess to authorize Carlisle's reporting within the conventions of New Journalism, they necessarily undermine his credibility as an incognito journalist. At this mid-point in Carlisle's series, New Journalism's demands for both personal authority and personal credibility come into conflict with the anonymous conventions of incognito reporting.

In a fourth section, I consider how Carlisle goes beyond the pages of the press to establish not simply journalistic authority, but also personal credibility for his investigations. Carlisle republishes his first four installments outside the restrictive conventions of the anonymous newspaper, in the commercial format of the signed, illustrated yellow-back book.[64] This move to achieve credibility through personal signature, however, compromises Carlisle's final incognito installment, which had yet to appear in the anonymous *Globe* newspaper. His final installment, on the "Ethiopian Serenader"—another term for blackface minstrel— appears in the *Globe* as a sham impersonation, akin to the parodic music-hall framework of Greenwood's popular pamphlet. In conclusion, I suggest that examining personal undercover reporting as a feature of New Journalism's publishing conventions potentially bridges the existing rift between two scholarly fields: one which treats British

[64] Please note that this chapter does not examine the variations between Carlisle's newspaper articles in the *Globe* and the yellow-back version of *The Unprofessional Vagabond*. Furthermore, limited access to the *Globe*—which was acquired through interlibrary loan, viewed on microfilm, and contained many illegible or damaged pages—necessitated an occasional reliance on text from the book version, in lieu of the original newspaper text. Future studies of Carlisle's work would benefit from a deeper exploration of the differences between the newspaper and the book versions (see, for example, n.76, p.101).

undercover reporting as anonymous, political journalism, and the other, American undercover reporting as celebrity stunt journalism.

Opening and Closing the Undercover Report in the *Globe* Newspaper

In its engagement with undercover reporting in the 1870s, the *Globe* adapted many of the key conventions that defined the *PMG*'s landmark report of the 1860s. The *Globe*'s self-conscious adaptation is apparent from the very title that frames the first installment of "An Unprofessional Vagabond" on Saturday, May 3, 1873. Just as Greenwood became known as the "Amateur Casual," for his foray among the workhouse casual ward's habitual tenants, the *Globe* dubbed its reporter an "Unprofessional" among professional "Vagabonds," who earned their living by begging. Similar to the Amateur Casual, the Unprofessional Vagabond uses his first installment to distinguish himself from traditional investigators, who "photograph[ed] for our amusement" the "doings, sayings, and habits" of the poor (3 May 1873, 1). He claims to "cast aside" investigative dabbling to provide a more intimate, authentic approach (3 May 1873, 1). Like Greenwood, Carlisle uses a disguise to escape the detectable features of traditional investigation. He describes disguising himself as "an aged man and very lame," leaning on a "pomegranate stick" for support (3 May 1873, 1). He uses his disguise to provide an interior perspective on an unknown population of working-class beggars—London's mostly-aged crossing sweepers who depend on alms for their living. Throughout his investigations, Carlisle narrates his undercover performance via Greenwood's characteristic metanarrative patter. When he describes almost being recognized by a passing gentleman, for instance, he uses their exchange to engage readers in the

secret knowledge of his performance. The gentleman begins to offer the Unprofessional a 'subdued military salute', and asks "Have you not served under me?" (3 May 1873, 1). Carlisle "looked up into his eyes, and shook [his] head, sorrowfully," replying "Not my luck, sir; but I have served" (3 May 1873, 1). Carlisle thereby reveals to readers his personal identity as a former soldier. Yet he also conveys how, in his current performance, he masquerades as a disreputable former-soldier, who has fallen on hard times and turned to sweeping crossings:

> "What's your name?" Sadly I answered. "Baddeley, sir"—mentioning one of the worst characters in my first-regiment. "And your regiment?" I gave a number—the truth this time. "Ah! then I've made a mistake! I thought I knew your face! However; never mind"—this on seeing my woful [sic.] look of disappointment—for I was very faint. (3 May 1873, 1)

Like Greenwood, who gives a false name to the workhouse porter, Carlisle provides the false name, Baddeley, all the while reminding readers of his ruse. He uses dashes throughout their exchange to indicate the difference between his authentic voice and that of his false character. He even adopts Greenwood's term "woeful" in narrating his encounter, following not only Greenwood's undercover approach, but also his metanarrative and discursive trademarks that appeared in the *PMG*.

The *Globe* aligns the series not only with Greenwood's narrative approach, but also with the *PMG's* commercial and political strategy, to open its pages to more readers amid the popularization of British newspapers. Similar to the *PMG*, the *Globe* was established as an evening daily newspaper for upper-middle-class readers,[65] and published articles on a range of topics,[66] including news and foreign

[65] Brake and Demoor notes that the *Globe*'s readers were "generally of the middle to upper educated classes" (253).

intelligence, legal sketches and "Parliamentary Notes." Like the *PMG*, the *Globe* also featured reviews, entertainment articles, and "Notes of the Day" (Atlay 26-27).[67] In the years leading up to the publication of "An Unprofessional Vagabond," the *Globe*'s circulation numbers had also been waning. By the late 1860s, publishers were looking for new ways to engage a broader readership. At the time, there were already a number of Liberal daily newspapers on the market, so one approach was to change the *Globe*'s political stance in 1868, from Liberal to Conservative (Atlay 22-23). Following its political transformation, the *Globe*'s price was also reduced to compete with cheaper dailies. Its 6d price dropped to 2d in 1868, and then to 1d in 1869 (Atlay 22-23). Just as the *PMG* modified its printing equipment to keep up with the changing market after 1866, the *Globe* acquired two new rotary presses, the first in 1870 and the second in 1873 (Atlay 31). In 1871, Captain George Armstrong, was appointed as the new editor, to oversee the paper's many changes.[68]

Like Frederick Greenwood, Armstrong was searching for a way to open the *Globe* to more readers when he featured Carlisle's undercover series in its pages. Just as the *PMG*'s editor capitalized on an approach linked to more popular papers, the *Globe*'s editor established a timely link between its incognito series and a

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[66]Brake and Demoor note that the *Globe* was first established in 1802 and integrated with the *Traveller* in 1824 to form the *Globe and Traveller.* The paper also had a number of notable contributors, including Henry Mayhew, Eliza Lynn Linton, T.H.S. Escott, as well as James Greenwood (Atlay 26-27).

[67] The *Globe*'s "Notes of the Day" bear a marked resemblance to the *PMG*'s "Occasional Notes."

[68] Captain (later Sir) George Armstrong became the *Globe*'s sole proprietor and editor in 1874 (Atlay 25). According to Armstrong's obituary in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (26 April 1907), "Sir George Carlyon Hughes Armstrong [....] was formerly a captain in the Army, and served in the Indian Mutiny in 1857-8, and was severely wounded. In addition to being the proprietor of the 'Globe,' he was part proprietor of 'The People,' which he founded in 1881" (8). Armstrong and Carlisle's common experience as Anglo-Indian military officers—that is, as English officers stationed in India—may explain how Carlisle came to work for the *Globe* newspaper. Carlisle also went on to edit Armstrong's newspaper, *The People*, from the late 1880s to the early 1890s.

popular work of literature. The *Globe* published each installment of "An Unprofessional Vagabond" under the signature of "Haroun Alraschid," a figure from *The Arabian Nights Entertainment* who mythologizes the historical Caliph of Baghdad. The actual Caliph is known to have disguised himself in common clothing and wandered among his people in 700 A.D. The *Globe*'s use of this pseudonym below each installment of "An Unprofessional" linked Carlisle's report not only with a widely-popular literary work, but also with a timely British fascination with the Shah of Persia. The King of Iran, Naser al-Din Shah Qajar, known as the "Shah of Persia," had recently begun touring Western Europe, and Gladstone invited him to spend eighteen days in London, from June 19th to July 12th, 1873, in an effort to build British relations with Persia. For many Victorians, *Arabian Nights* encapsulated their vision of the "Orient," and "[o]bservers likened the Shah's presence to scenes from the 'Arabian Nights Entertainments'" (Marashi 145, n. 33). Throughout Victorian popular and print culture, the Shah was portrayed as a kind of Haroun Alraschid, wandering among the people of Europe.[69] The *Globe* thus appropriates this pseudonym to open its pages not only to readers of literature, but also to a British public fascinated by the mythic qualities of the Shah's visit to Europe.

Like the *PMG*'s "A Night," which pivoted on the recent inspections of workhouse infirmaries, the *Globe* similarly positioned "An Unprofessional" amid a

[69] The Shah's stops in major European "metropolises like Berlin, London and Paris," Motadel explains, attracted "many thousands of onlookers" (563). This "[p]opular fascination with the Shah," he observes, "was reflected in newspapers articles, illustrations, caricatures, in cheap books and novels, and even in theater and operettas, which drew on all kinds of Orientalist stereotypes and fantasies of seductive harems, decadence and ruthless despots" (Motadel 563-564).

politicized investigation of London street beggars. The *Globe*'s first installment in particular follows from a recent discussion over whether local street sweepers should be permitted to beg for alms. In March of 1873, less than two months prior to Carlisle's first installment, the Charity Organization Society (COS) had investigated the conditions of London crossing sweepers, who maintained local sidewalks in hopes of receiving charity from pedestrians. The COS was not a disinterested body. The Liberal government had established the COS in 1869, as a centralized body to mediate indiscriminate private charity.[70] The COS sent caseworkers to assess the actual needs and moral worthiness of individuals requesting financial help from charities, amid perpetual fraud and redundant appeals. The COS workers then worked to guide those deemed truly destitute and deserving to the appropriate charities (Fido 208).[71] The crossing sweeper was among one class of "professional beggars" that the COS investigated—a group of beggars who depended on the charity of others—whether individuals, philanthropic organizations, or religious bodies—for their living. The *Globe*'s report thus coincided with a topical discussion of the very subject that its reporter investigated.

In fact, the COS had recently produced an investigative report on street sweepers, which was described in the *Spectator* on March 1, 1873, mere weeks prior to the *Globe*'s first installment. The COS report claimed that, by failing to hire men

[70]The COS was initially known as the "Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicancy."

[71] By 1872, the year prior to Carlisle's investigations, the COS had established "district offices […] in thirty-six poor law districts" (Fido 213) to conduct assessments. Caseworkers were both salaried or volunteers, and visited applicants' homes to conduct interviews on household income, living conditions, and outstanding debts. Fido notes that casework was not initially part of the COS's organization in 1869, but became increasingly important with the resistance the society faced from outside bodies. Casework, Fido suggests, would come to play a central role in the COS, and was largely responsible for its growth (216).

to sweep the crossings, parishes were actually enabling and encouraging the practice of begging among men who might otherwise look for legitimate work. COS investigators observed that while local parishes were responsible for cleaning all main roads, and the "footways" in front of houses were swept by residents, "volunteers" swept the "crossings" in hopes of donations (*Spectator*, 1 March 1873, 12). The "hottest competition for the right to sweep," they claimed, was "at the top of St. James's Street, or that at the foot of Waterloo Place," an area frequented by many pedestrians (1 March 1873, 12).[72] The COS urged local parishes to hire men to sweep the crossings as well as the main roads, in order to discourage the problem of begging. These men, the COS urged, should be from:

> the same class as the ordinary parish 'road-men' on the crossings,—that is, old men who are not able to do a full day's work, and who if not thus employed would almost inevitably become either professional beggars or would be thrown upon the poor-rate. (*Spectator*, 1 March 1873, 12)

By hiring these men as actual employees, the crossings would not only be swept more regularly, they argued, but old men, for whom begging was an attractive option, would find a suitable source of employment. The COS and its investigations were controversial for a number of reasons. Philanthropic organizations and individuals alike felt that they should be permitted the freedom to distribute alms as they chose, and to whomever they chose. Indeed, religious groups were vexed when families they desired to help were turned down by the COS investigators. Furthermore, charity was perceived by many to be an act of Christian benevolence,

[72] The COS's committee found, on investigating Kensington, that "for one sweeper seen on an ordinary day, at least five are to be seen on Sunday," because "there is less foot and carriage traffic," and because pedestrians might be more inclined towards "benevolences" on Sundays (1 March 1873, 12).

both a carrying out of religious duty, and a duty which, enacted, bolstered Christian sentiments of compassion, altruism, and kindness. The COS's attempt to regulate begging, they alleged, threatened to thwart the good efforts not only of those who worked for their alms, like local street sweepers, but also of those who distributed them as charity. That the *Globe* specifically intended to align its report with the COS's investigation of street sweeping is apparent from the reporter's investigation of East-End street sweepers. Furthermore, in Carlisle's first installment, he describes impersonating an old man, like one of the COS's aged road men. He even describes stationing himself at the very intersection that the COS had identified with the sweepers: "where Charles-street debouches into Waterloo-place, under the windows of the Junior United Service Club" (3 May 1873, 1). The *Globe* thus also follows from the *PMG* in positioning its first installment not simply amid a recent discussion over poverty, but particularly, amid a topical debate over the institutions providing charity.

Whereas the *PMG*'s conventions closed Greenwood's report to a predominantly upper-middle-class readership, however, the *Globe*'s commercial conventions instead opened Carlisle's reports on professional begging to multiple classes of readers. As the previous chapter demonstrated, the *PMG*'s conventions as a two-penny, folio format, printed on heavy paper, and with an evening schedule, solidified its appeal to a higher class of gentlemen readers. The *PMG*'s evening schedule also closed Greenwood's article for upper-middle-class readers. The *Globe*, however, had recently altered its "gentlemanly" publishing schedule from "three o'clock to 1.30 p.m" (Atlay 24), becoming an afternoon paper. The *Globe* had also

recently become a penny newspaper and, since 1869, was printed on paper of a distinctive "light pink tone" (Atlay 24), making the paper more affordable and attractive to a broader audience. It was also printed on larger-sized sheets, but with fewer columns—four instead of six —making it more easily legible (Atlay 24).[73] The commercialization signalled by the *Globe*'s altered publishing schedule, visual format, and cheaper price, ultimately opened the newspaper's contents to more common readers, rather than restricting them to the popular tastes of upper-middle-class audiences.

In fact, the *Globe*'s commercial conventions also opened the report's political position, by downplaying the framing influence of political contents on its cover. The *PMG*'s politically-Conservative leading article, spanning its entire cover page, and denouncing the recent deaths in Bethnal Green Workhouse, had worked to close Greenwood's ninth-page article as a counter-investigation of Liberal Poor Law authorities. Yet, as Wiener notes, the rise of commercial forms in British papers like the *Globe* necessarily displaced several political conventions that formerly closed the newspaper's position in earlier decades ("How New" 61). Indeed, far from allotting an entire cover page to advocating its political position, the *Globe*'s three left-hand columns feature seven shorter "Notes of the Day, in place of a lengthy political leader."[74] One of these notes includes a brief mention of the Shah's upcoming visit to the Vienna Exhibition, and on his likely disappointment with the

[73] The reduction in columns did not reduce the *Globe*'s contents, however, as the number of pages was extended from four to eight to accommodate the change (Atlay 24).
[74] The *Globe*'s "Notes of the Day" address various subjects, including political matters and foreign affairs. These short articles cover a range of topics, from the German military, to the Vienna Exhibition, an American military biography, and the Editors of American newspapers.

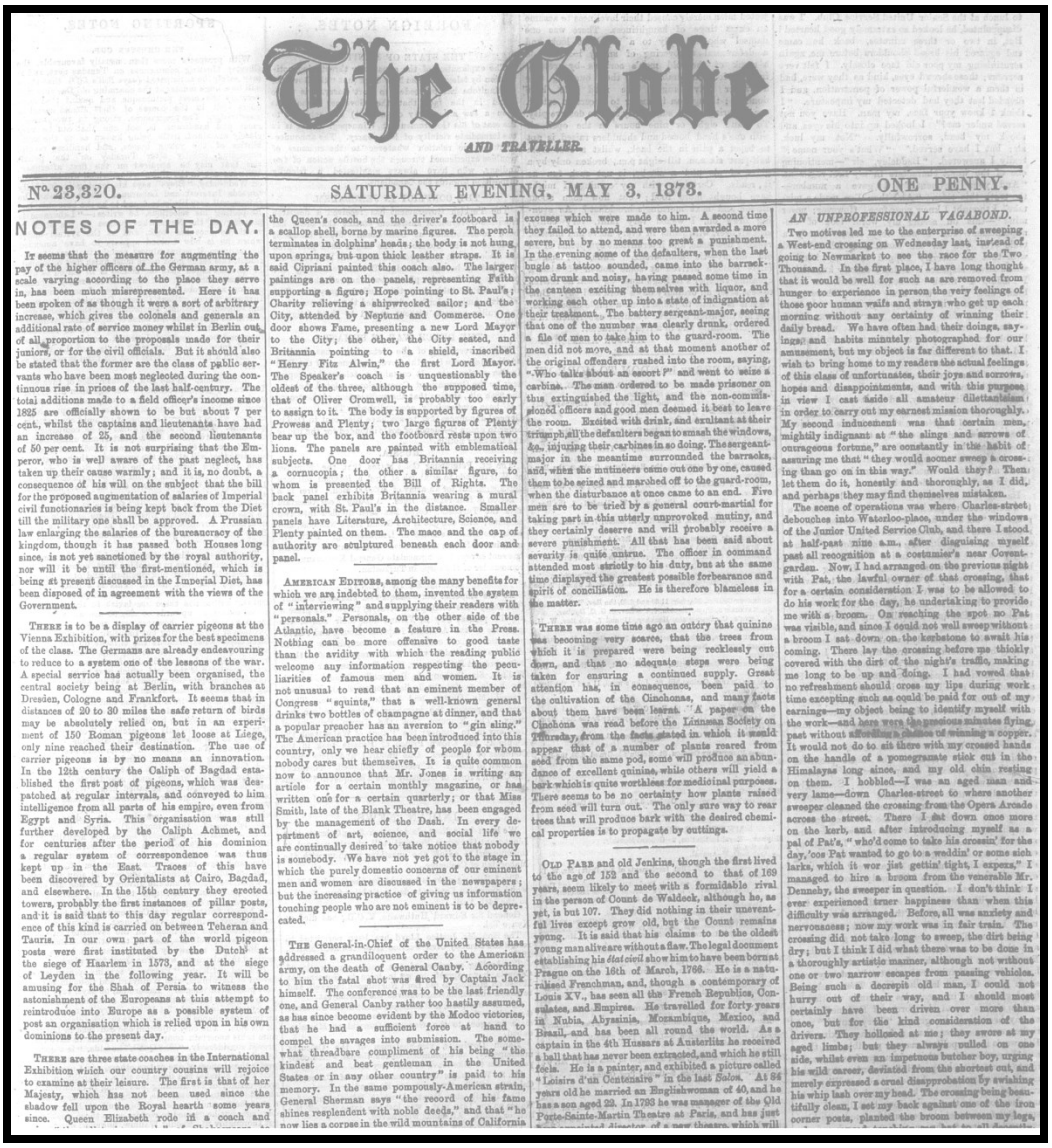
Exhibition's display on carrier pigeons. Yet, unlike the *PMG*'s political article, this brief sketch fails to articulate any political position, and to politically close the first installment of "An Unprofessional," appearing to the immediate right of these "Notes" on the cover.

In fact, the *Globe* not only foregoes the political leader as a means of closing Carlisle's story, but also publishes the report as a commercial "turnover" story, positioned explicitly as the opening story of the newspaper. "This tactical placement," Wiener explains,

> had a dual purpose: it made it easier to continue to read a lengthy news story, which could then be carried over into the left hand column of the second page, and it increased the likelihood that the story would visually attract passersby. (*The Americanization of the British Press* 168)

Indeed, the *Globe*'s "An Unprofessional Vagabond" appears not in the ninth-page position of the *PMG*'s series, but instead, in the commercial turnover position (figure 15). In fact, the series appears not over the course of a single weekend, but instead, like the more popular newspapers—the *PIP* for instance, and the *PMB*—on a weekly, Saturday schedule, to court a more popular readership. The *Globe*'s embrace of commercial conventions—a penny price, more legible format and attractive periodicity, and omitting the political leader in favour of shorter sketches—thus position "An Unprofessional" within an increasingly open framework, rather than closed within the *PMG*'s upper-middle-class and political conventions.

The *Globe*'s commercial conventions explicitly frame Carlisle's report not as political reform writing, but as an example of the American-inspired New Journalism. Wiener notes that the stylistic and physical changes to British



The Globe

AND TRAVELLER.

N° 23,320. SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 3, 1873. ONE PENNY.

NOTES OF THE DAY.

It seems that the measure for augmenting the pay of the higher officers of the German army, at a scale varying according to the place they serve in, has been much misrepresented. Here it has been spoken of as though it were a sort of arbitrary increase, which gives the colonels and generals an additional rate of service money whilst in Berlin out of all proportion to the proposals made for their juniors, or for the civil officials. But it should also be stated that the former are the class of public servants who have been most neglected during the continuous rise in prices of the last half-century. The total additions made to a field officer's income since 1825 are officially shown to be but about 7 per cent., whilst the captains and lieutenants have had an increase of 25, and the second lieutenants of 50 per cent. It is not surprising that the Emperor, who is well aware of the past neglect, has taken up their cause warmly; and it is, no doubt, a consequence of his will on the subject that the bill for the proposed augmentation of salaries of Imperial civil functionaries is being kept back from the Diet till the military one shall be approved. A Prussian law enlarging the salaries of the bureaucracy of the kingdom, though it has passed both Houses long since, is not yet sanctioned by the royal authority, nor will it be until the first-mentioned, which is being at present discussed in the Imperial Diet, has been disposed of in agreement with the views of the Government.

There is to be a display of carrier pigeons at the Vienna Exhibition, with prizes for the best specimens of the class. The Germans are already endeavouring to reduce to a system one of the lessons of the war. A special service has actually been organised, the central society being at Berlin, with branches at Dresden, Cologne and Frankfort. It seems that in distances of 20 to 30 miles the safe return of birds may be absolutely relied on, but in an experiment of 150 Roman pigeons let loose at Liege, only nine reached their destination. The use of carrier pigeons is by no means an innovation. In the 12th century the Caliph of Bagdad established the first post of pigeons, which was despatched at regular intervals, and conveyed to him intelligence from all parts of his empire, even from Egypt and Syria. This organisation was still further developed by the Caliph Achmet, and for centuries after the period of his dominion a regular system of correspondence was thus kept up in the East. Traces of this have been discovered by Orientalists at Cairo, Bagdad, and elsewhere. In the 15th century they erected towers, probably the first instances of pillar posts, and it is said that to this day regular correspondence of this kind is carried on between Teheran and Tauris. In our own part of the world pigeon posts were first instituted by the Dutch at the siege of Haarlem in 1573, and at the siege of Leyden in the following year. It will be amusing for the Shah of Persia to witness the astonishment of the Europeans at this attempt to reintroduce into Europe as a possible system of post an organisation which is relied upon in his own dominions to the present day.

There are three state coaches in the International Exhibition which our country cousins will rejoice to examine at their leisure. The first is that of her Majesty, which has not been used since the shadow fell upon the Royal hearth some years since. Queen Elizabeth rode in a coach and the Queen's coach, and the driver's footboard is a scallop shell, borne by marine figures. The perch terminates in dolphins' heads; the body is not hung upon springs, but upon thick leather straps. It is said Cipriani painted this coach also. The larger paintings are on the panels, representing Faith supporting a figure; Hope pointing to St. Paul's; Charity relieving a shipwrecked sailor; and the City, attended by Neptune and Commerce. One door shows Fame, presenting a new Lord Mayor to the City; the other, the City seated, and Britannia pointing to a shield, inscribed "Henry Fitz Alwin," the first Lord Mayor. The Speaker's coach is unquestionably the oldest of the three, although the supposed time, that of Oliver Cromwell, is probably too early to assign to it. The body is supported by figures of Prowess and Plenty; two large figures of Plenty bear up the box, and the footboard rests upon two lions. The panels are painted with emblematical subjects. One door has Britannia receiving a cornucopia; the other a similar figure, to whom is presented the Bill of Rights. The back panel exhibits Britannia wearing a mural crown, with St. Paul's in the distance. Smaller panels have Literature, Architecture, Science, and Plenty painted on them. The mace and the cap of authority are sculptured beneath each door and panel.

American Editors, among the many benefits for which we are indebted to them, invented the system of "interviewing" and supplying their readers with "personals." Personals, on the other side of the Atlantic, have become a feature in the Press. Nothing can be more offensive to good taste than the avidity with which the reading public welcome any information respecting the peculiarities of famous men and women. It is not unusual to read that an eminent member of Congress "squints," that a well-known general drinks two bottles of champagne at dinner, and that a popular preacher has an aversion to "gin sling." The American practice has been introduced into this country, only we hear chiefly of people for whom nobody cares but themselves. It is quite common now to announce that Mr. Jones is writing an article for a certain monthly magazine, or has written one for a certain quarterly; or that Miss Smith, late of the Blank Theatre, has been engaged by the management of the Dash. In every department of art, science, and social life we are continually desired to take notice that nobody is somebody. We have not yet got to the stage in which the purely domestic concerns of our eminent men and women are discussed in the newspapers; but the increasing practice of giving us information touching people who are not eminent is to be deprecated.

The General-in-Chief of the United States has addressed a grandiloquent order to the American army, on the death of General Canby. According to him the fatal shot was fired by Captain Jack himself. The conference was to be the last friendly one, and General Canby rather too hastily assumed, as has since become evident by the Modoc victories, that he had a sufficient force at hand to compel the savages into submission. The somewhat threadbare compliment of his being "the kindest and best gentleman in the United States or in any other country" is paid to his memory. In the same pompously-American strain, General Sherman says "the record of his fame shines resplendent with noble deeds," and that "he now lies a corpse in the wild mountains of California excuses which were made to him. A second time they failed to attend, and were then awarded a more severe, but by no means too great a punishment. In the evening some of the defaulters, when the last bugle at tattoo sounded, came into the barrack-room drunk and noisy, having passed some time in the canteen exciting themselves with liquor, and working each other up into a state of indignation at their treatment. The battery sergeant-major, seeing that one of the number was clearly drunk, ordered a file of men to take him to the guard-room. The men did not move, and at that moment another of the original offenders rushed into the room, saying, "Who talks about an escort?" and went to seize a carbine. The man ordered to be made prisoner on this extinguished the light, and the non-commissioned officers and good men deemed it best to leave the room. Excited with drink, and exultant at their triumph, all the defaulters began to smash the windows, &c., injuring their carbines in so doing. The sergeant-major in the meantime surrounded the barracks, and, when the mutineers came out one by one, caused them to be seized and marched off to the guard-room, when the disturbance at once came to an end. Five men are to be tried by a general court-martial for taking part in this utterly unprovoked mutiny, and they certainly deserve and will probably receive a severe punishment. All that has been said about severity is quite untrue. The officer in command attended most strictly to his duty, but at the same time displayed the greatest possible forbearance and spirit of conciliation. He is therefore blameless in the matter.

There was some time ago an outcry that quinine was becoming very scarce, that the trees from which it is prepared were being recklessly cut down, and that no adequate steps were being taken for ensuring a continued supply. Great attention has, in consequence, been paid to the cultivation of the Cinchonæ, and many facts about them have been learnt. A paper on the Cinchonæ was read before the Linnean Society on Thursday, from the facts stated in which it would appear that of a number of plants reared from seed from the same pod, some will produce an abundance of excellent quinine, while others will yield a bark which is quite worthless for medicinal purposes. There seems to be no certainty how plants raised from seed will turn out. The only sure way to rear trees that will produce bark with the desired chemical properties is to propagate by cuttings.

Old Parr and old Jenkins, though the first lived to the age of 152 and the second to that of 169 years, seem likely to meet with a formidable rival in the person of Count de Waldeck, although he, as yet, is but 107. They did nothing in their uneventful lives except grow old, but the Count remains young. It is said that his claims to be the oldest young man alive are without a flaw. The legal document establishing his *état civil* show him to have been born at Prague on the 16th of March, 1766. He is a naturalised Frenchman, and, though a contemporary of Louis XV., has seen all the French Republics, Consulates, and Empires. He travelled for forty years in Nubia, Abyssinia, Mozambique, Mexico, and Brazil, and has been all round the world. As a captain in the 4th Hussars at Austerlitz he received a ball that has never been extracted, and which he still feels. He is a painter, and exhibited a picture called "Loisirs d'un Centenaire" in the last *Salon*. At 86 years old he married an Englishwoman of 40, and he has a son aged 23. In 1793 he was manager of the Old Porte-Saint-Martin Theatre at Paris, and has just

AN UNPROFESSIONAL VAGABOND.

Two motives led me to the enterprise of sweeping a West-end crossing on Wednesday last, instead of going to Newmarket to see the race for the Two Thousand. In the first place, I have long thought that it would be well for such as are removed from hunger to experience in person the very feelings of those poor human waifs and strays who get up each morning without any certainty of winning their daily bread. We have often had their doings, sayings, and habits minutely photographed for our amusement, but my object is far different to that. I wish to bring home to my readers the actual feelings of this class of unfortunates, their joys and sorrows, hopes and disappointments, and with this purpose in view I cast aside all amateur dilettanteism in order to carry out my earnest mission thoroughly. My second inducement was that certain men, mightily indignant at "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," are constantly in the habit of assuring me that "they would sooner sweep a crossing than go on in this way." Would they? Then let them do it, honestly and thoroughly, as I did, and perhaps they may find themselves mistaken.

The scene of operations was where Charles-street debouches into Waterloo-place, under the windows of the Junior United Service Club, and there I stood at half-past nine a.m., after disguising myself past all recognition at a costumier's near Covent-garden. Now, I had arranged on the previous night with Pat, the lawful owner of that crossing, that for a certain consideration I was to be allowed to do his work for the day, he undertaking to provide me with a broom. On reaching the spot no Pat was visible, and since I could not well sweep without a broom I sat down on the kerbstone to await his coming. There lay the crossing before me thickly covered with the dirt of the night's traffic, making me long to be up and doing. I had vowed that no refreshment should cross my lips during work time excepting such as could be paid for out of my earnings—my object being to identify myself with the work—and here were the precious minutes flying past without affording a chance of winning a copper. It would not do to sit there with my crossed hands on the handle of a pomegranate stick cut in the Himalayas long since, and my old chin resting on them. I hobbled—I was an aged man and very lame—down Charles-street to where another sweeper cleaned the crossing from the Opera Arcade across the street. There I sat down once more on the kerb, and after introducing myself as a pal of Pat's, "who'd come to take his crossin' for the day, 'cos Pat wanted to go to a weddin' or some sich larks, which it wor jist gettin' tight, I expects," I managed to hire a broom from the venerable Mr. Dennehy, the sweeper in question. I don't think I ever experienced truer happiness than when this difficulty was arranged. Before, all was anxiety and nervousness; now my work was in fair train. The crossing did not take long to sweep, the dirt being dry; but I think I did what there was to be done in a thoroughly artistic manner, although not without one or two narrow escapes from passing vehicles. Being such a decrepit old man, I could not hurry out of their way, and I should most certainly have been driven over more than once, but for the kind consideration of the drivers. They hollooed at me; they swore at my aged limbs; but they always pulled on one side, whilst even an impetuous butcher boy, urging his wild career, deviated from the shortest cut, and merely expressed a cruel disapprobation by swishing his whip lash over my head. The crossing being beautifully clean, I set my back against one of the iron corner posts, planted the broom between my legs,

Figure 15. The *Globe*'s turnover story, "An Unprofessional Vagabond" (May 3, 1873): 1.

newspapers derived primarily from American journalism, and were signs of the turn to New Journalism in Britain. "[E]lements of the New Journalism," he explains, "were prefigured by mid-Victorian changes in popular journalism" ("How New was the New Journalism?" 60)—changes which fuelled the *PMG*'s earlier experiments with popular journalism. Yet, the New Journalism was specifically characterized by the adaptation of American forms and genres to commercialize British newspapers. Wiener notes that the turnover story, in particular, was not a common feature of British newspapers in the 1870s; rather, it was associated with the formal conventions of American newspaper journalism (*The Americanization of the British Press* 168).[75] The *Globe* thus adapts Greenwood's approach from the upper-middle-class, British, politically-Conservative *PMG* to the American-style commercial conventions of the New Journalism emerging in Britain.

The *Globe*'s turn towards the material and formal innovations of the New Journalism closes the undercover report's position not through its format or political leader, but instead, within the personal conventions of American journalism. Alongside the first installment of "An Unprofessional Vagabond," in one of its "Notes of the Day," the *Globe* remarks that the British press is "indebted" to American journalism for such genres as "interviewing" and "personals" (3 May 1873, 1). These American genres, the *Globe* suggests, have become accepted

[75] Wiener observes that Pulitzer, in the 1880s, was the "first important journalist to run his leading news story in the right hand column of the front page" (*The Americanization of the British Press* 168). Yet, American papers had been positioning key articles in the turnover position since a much earlier period. The *Globe* began publishing turnovers around 1870, signalling its experiment with elements of New Journalism that originated in the American press. Atlay notes that the *Globe*'s "Turnovers" were a well-known feature of the paper. They began in March 1871, and appeared consistently after January of 1872 (Atlay 27).

features of the New Journalism in the British press. The *Globe*'s publication of this article next to Carlisle's thus serves as a reminder of its own indebtedness to the American press for New Journalism. In the *Globe*'s sanction of personal reporting as part of New Journalism, the paper initiates a personal approach to undercover reporting. That is to say that the *Globe* legitimizes a more personal undercover reporting that is not a distinctive approach to the investigative practice, but is rather a feature of its New Journalism publishing conventions.

Personal Undercover Reporting in New Journalism

The *Globe*'s title for Carlisle's series works to close the undercover report within New Journalism's conventions of personal reporting. Unlike the title of Greenwood's "A Night in a Workhouse," which emphasizes his investigation's site and social subject, the title of "An Unprofessional Vagabond" highlights Carlisle's personal role as "An" amateur or "Unprofessional Vagabond" among professional beggars. The *Globe* also closes Carlisle's report within New Journalism's personal conventions through the use of the pseudonym, "Haroun Alraschid," which appears at the bottom of each installment. Whereas the *PMG*'s upper-middle-class conventions framed Greenwood's upper-middle-class, Conservative voice in his anonymous installments, the *Globe*'s conventions necessarily inform the reporter's use of first-person narrative. Carlisle explains that "[t]wo motives led me to the enterprise of sweeping a West-end crossing on Wednesday last" (3 May 1873, 1). The first, he explains, is for "such as are removed from hunger," the better classes, "to experience in person the very feelings of those poor human waifs and strays" (3 May 1873, 1). Here, the journalist's own voice establishes his report as a middle-

class impersonation of the poor. The reporter's class perspective is solidified by his claim to perform the duties of the sweeper without any of the luxuries native to his own class, including food and water (3 May 1873, 1). Unlike Greenwood, Carlisle also adopts a feigned Cockney dialect to distinguish his class performances. When Carlisle arrives at the crossing, he tells another sweeper that he is a "pal of Pat's 'who'd come to take his crossin' for the day, 'cos Pat wanted to go to a weddin' or some sich larks" (3 May 1873, 1). He proceeds to translate this feigned Cockney conversation for a higher class of readers through metanarrative addresses, explaining that he "had arranged on the previous night with Pat, the lawful owner of that crossing […] to be allowed to do his work for the day" (3 May 1873, 1). Here, the journalist's gentlemanly metanarrative makes visible the fiction of his lower-class persona through contrast. Thus, the *Globe* reporter's personal narrative takes on the function of establishing his class distinction from those whom he investigates. Yet this personal aspect should be seen as a fundamental feature of the *Globe*'s self-consciously American-style New-Journalism publishing conventions, rather than as a distinctive authorial choice or investigative practice.

Within the *Globe*'s more open, New Journalism conventions, the journalist's personal narrative also takes on the role of asserting the report's political position as counter to the aims of the COS. He claims that his second motive for the investigation is to counter the notion that, by failing to organize street sweeping, parishes actually encourage professional begging. He asserts that his report will set straight "certain men," who, "mightily indignant" at their misfortune, claim they would rather "sweep a crossing than go on in this way" (3 May 1873, 1). In other

words, he contests the assumption that begging is an attractive alternative for the poor. His narrative instead sympathizes with "those poor human waifs and strays who get up each morning without certainty of winning their daily bread" (3 May 1873, 1). His report upholds the position that street sweeping is not only a difficult, but also an un-remunerative form of begging. He describes how his trying and tiresome work garners not a single penny between the hours of nine and one o'clock (3 May 1873, 1). He notes how little money he actually receives for his hard work, and that few passers-by actually compensate him for his labour. Many more ask him for directions without offering a single penny for this service. Passing drivers never acknowledge his service, instead cursing him for being slow-moving in his old age, and either shooing him out of the way or nearly running him over (3 May 1873, 1). His narrative thus establishes that street sweeping is not only unattractive, but actually dangerous; only the truly destitute turn to this work. When one pedestrian offers him a coin, the journalist describes feeling touched by the man's benevolence, and is encouraged to pay his charity forward. Rather than becoming greedy at his earnings, the Unprofessional demonstrates the benevolent feelings inspired by the free distribution of charity, which the COS's organized system threatens to take away. Whereas the *PMG*'s conventions positioned Greenwood's investigation against the Poor Law Inspectors, the *Globe* increasingly uses the Unprofessional Vagabond's personal narrative to close the report's position.

In fact, in the second installment, the reporter not only narrates his report's political position, but also embodies the paper's capacity for influence. The Unprofessional observes that "my" report has had an effect on readers:

> after reading my experience of the work and its pay, my friends have taken to exercising a large-handed charity, with a fine, indiscriminate liberality, very shocking to such as […] are determined to crush out all almsgiving. (10 May 1873, 1)

Rather than acknowledging the *Globe*'s influential report, Carlisle explicitly emphasizes his personal influence. He speaks in the first person, noting that "I heartily rejoice that such rebellion against the self-elected organizers of alms has sprung from my unvarnished tale" (10 May 1873, 1). He highlights the personal influence of his account, and provides a personal retort against COS officials: "[o]ur would-be guides say, bestow your alms through an organized system of relief [….] Positively, I will not" (10 May 1873, 1). "May it not happen that our charity being perfectly organised, systematized, and drilled," he asks, "our natural feelings will be thwarted till they lose all fresh spontaneity, thus becoming merely the passive means for feeding a huge charity-grinding machine?" (10 May 1873, 1). He takes personal issue with "this danger," and insists that "I join issue with those who would have us bestow alms by proxy, and promise to do all in my power to thwart their good intentions" (10 May 1873, 1). Thus, within the *Globe*'s New Journalism conventions, the reporter's personal narrative not only closes the report as a counter investigation of COS authorities, but also gestures towards the rise of the journalist's personal authority in undercover New Journalism.

Whereas the *PMG*'s, and later, the *ELO*'s and the *Times*' publishing conventions, established the anonymous reporter's authority in relation to the Poor Law Inspector, the *Globe*'s New Journalism conventions underscore the importance of the personal narrative as the source of Carlisle's authority. While Carlisle's first installment revealed that "he has served" as a former military officer (10 May 1873,

1), his second installment focuses on establishing this position as one of authority. Carlisle's first-person narration moves increasingly to the forefront as he recounts how: "I, in my proper person, went to Covent Garden" (10 May 1873, 1). He recounts how, in his own person, he arranges a job selling ferns for a "drunken, broken-down ne'er-do-well, formerly a private in the company I commanded" (10 May 1873, 1). Here, Carlisle accentuates his rank as a former commanding officer in the military, not as a mere private. He also establishes his personal respectability, contrary to the private, a "broken-down ne'er-do-well." Carlisle proceeds to explain, however, that this arrangement is simply a ruse to set up his impersonation for the following day. He recounts how, "[j]ust before nine o'clock on Wednesday morning," he reports to the fern vendor in the person of the "old soldier," the "broken down" former private he arranged work for the previous day (10 May 1873, 1). The "old soldier," Carlisle explains, was "myself, most artfully disguised" (10 May 1873, 1). To carry out his ruse, Carlisle brings a note to the fern vendor, signed by the commanding officer, and asking to "Give this man the ferns I ordered last night" (10 May 1873, 1). While waiting for the man tending the stall to arrive with the requested ferns, he speaks with an "old reprobate" about the "hardness of the rich towards the poor" (10 May 1873, 2). Yet the main focus of their conversation is on Carlisle's military record, not on the treatment of the poor. Having established for readers that the vagabond character he performs was a member of the actual regiment he commanded, Carlisle uses their conversation to construct his personal, military authority. He refers to his "former regiment," which served in India, and was nicknamed the "Bengal Tigers" (10 May 1873, 2). His companion claims to have

been a drummer in the very same regiment, highlighting Carlisle's military background.[76]

Carlisle's emphasis on his position of authority in the military, and particularly, on his military skills, can be seen as a means of also establishing his authority as a journalist within this installment. Mark Hampton notes that, until the end of the century, Victorian journalism remained a largely open profession. Without a formal training program or relevant university accreditation, any amateur could enter the field, which made it difficult to differentiate between qualified and unqualified journalists. In the latter half of the century, however, journalists themselves began to use their own writing to establish their personal aptitudes for the job. Rather than formal education, they emphasized natural writing talent; an ability to write at high speed, on short notice, for long hours and low pay; and an aptitude for memorization (Hampton 147). Moreover, they especially stressed the physical demands of newspaper reporting. Journalists required physical ruggedness, they claimed, as well as courage and a sense of adventure to carry out difficult, and occasionally dangerous, assignments (Hampton 141-142). Journalists recounted experiences of surviving sword injuries, or of smuggling letters out of prison, for instance, to demonstrate their personal aptitudes for reporting, which they saw as both a dangerous and demanding

[76] Carlisle appends new details to this section in his book version of *The Unprofessional Vagabond*. He adds that, while he and the other soldier await the fern hamper, he jokes about the regiment's former "captain," who arranged the job for him. Carlisle remarks to the drummer that the captain will "have me go walking about till I'm ready to drop, and then he'll put all I've seed [sic.] into a book" (27). Here, Carlisle subtly reminds readers of his actual position as both the captain and the undercover reporter, who uses the investigation to write a "book." This detail appears in the book version only, not in the newspaper.

vocation (Hampton 147). One journalist quoted in Hampton's study even insisted that journalists "should learn to box, to ride on horseback, and to use a revolver" in order to practice the trade (Henri de Blowitz 42-43, qtd. in Hampton 147). Like other Victorian journalists, who used their accounts of bravery and daring as testament to their personal aptitudes, Carlisle's military position can be seen as a means of reinforcing his personal authority as an intrepid undercover reporter.

Indeed, framed by his military persona, Carlisle's report on London fern sellers focuses in large part on describing how his military background has fitted him to withstand the physical challenges of undercover reporting, lending him authority as an amateur journalist. He describes climbing down a precarious ladder into a fern vault with his heavy fern hamper, "which weighed considerably more than I expected" (10 May 1873, 2). He finds himself "weary" and his "shoulders ach[e] sorely" as he weaves his way down various boulevards, "footsore and worn" (10 May 1873, 2). Even as he describes the physical pains he personally endures, Carlisle's narrative remains focused on his mission in order to articulate the *Globe's* position. He highlights the unattractive qualities of begging, and the values of liberal, unorganized charity to counter the COS's centralized approach to alms giving. Carlisle's rhetoric of derring-do thus functions not simply to engage readers in a suspenseful publicity stunt, but also, to establish his personal authority as a former military officer, cum journalist. He concludes by noting that a man and a woman each give him a penny without taking his ferns (10 May 1873, 2). Only one woman actually purchases ferns, but takes him to her home for a generous "great glass of sherry and a plate of bread and cheese," demonstrating "that true woman's

charity" (10 May 1873, 2). As in his first installment, her charity inspires Carlisle's own feelings of benevolence, an argument against the COS's call for impersonal, organized charity.

The framing of Carlisle's narrative in this installment indicates his personal authority as a feature not only of the New Journalism, but also of the declining influence of the *Globe*'s conventions in this respect. In a brief introduction to this installment, Carlisle suggests that some readers "doubted whether one who claims to be a gentleman by birth, education, and feeling, really swept a crossing for a whole day; whether in short he does not deal more with imagination than with facts" (10 May 1873, 1). Whereas the conventions of the *PMG* framed Greenwood's report as a 'gentlemanly' investigation of the workhouse, Carlisle remarks that his status as a gentleman is in question; so too, is the veracity of his account. Carlisle insists that he can only "solemnly assert that the narrative in question was a plain, dry account of my own personal experiences" (10 May 1873, 1). In his very need to testify to the veracity of the previous week's report, Carlisle's personal promise points to the *Globe*'s failed capacity to authorize the report on street sweeping at the moment of its publication. He can only insist that "future accounts" will be "set down" with "unvarnished reality, without any attempt at exciting false pity by fictitious pathos" (10 May 1873, 1). By stating that he can "only promise" to be telling the truth (10 May 1873, 1), Carlisle identifies the limited means at his disposal for asserting authority.

Evidence of the *Globe*'s inability to properly authorize the reporter's account is especially apparent in Carlisle's simultaneous call, within this introduction to this

second installment, for the inclusion of his personal signature. Carlisle claims that, because of the "custom of the English Press" to omit "real signatures," he is "debarred from that guarantee of truth" in his articles (10 May 1873, 1). Without signatures, he urges, the newspaper cannot confirm the "truth" of his articles. Dallas Liddle has shown that the rise of New Journalism had begun to usher signatures into the British periodical press as early as 1859, with the embrace of the practice in *Macmillan*'s magazine ("Salesmen, Sportsmen, Mentors" 32). Indeed, the signature offered an important means of establishing the journalist's personal credibility in discussions of political or social issues. Commentators had begun to advocate for the inclusion of signatures in the British newspaper, arguing that the collective editorial "we" behind anonymous publication allowed journalists to shirk individual responsibility for their reporting. Furthermore, anonymity allowed the newspaper to conceal the true value of its contributors as hack reporters or informed citizens (Liddle, "Salesmen, Sportsmen, Mentors" 33). By invoking the credibility afforded by personal signatures, Carlisle responds to contemporary concerns that, within the increasingly open profession of journalism, the newspaper itself may no longer fully legitimize the anonymous reporters included in its pages.

Matthew Rubery has argued that, concurrent with this advocacy for including signatures in the press, novelists began to represent journalists in their proper person, giving voice and identity to the anonymous journalist. This push for identification, he suggests, rises alongside the influence of the leading article under commercialization. Rubery remarks that the "newspaper only became an authoritative, if still controversial, source of information once it was no longer as

limited in circulation, high in price, and infrequently published" as it had been earlier in the century (*The Novelty of Newspapers* 84). Indeed, like the fictional reporters examined in Rubery's study, Carlisle's own narration of his proper person, his personal authority as a military officer, and his call for the inclusion of the signature, appear to contest the anonymous newspaper. Yet Carlisle's personal emphasis importantly coincides not with the rising authority of the anonymous leader, but rather, in the absence of the newspaper's framing front-cover leader under New Journalism. In his very need to confirm the authority of a prior installment in his second article, Carlisle gestures towards the declining impact of the *Globe*'s authority on his personal article. Thus, whereas Rubery perceives the fictional figure of the journalist to be competing with the anonymous newspaper's authority, Carlisle's emphasis on personal authority can be seen to emerge as a substitute for the *Globe*'s inability to authorize his report under commercial journalism.

The rise of the personal journalist in "An Unprofessional Vagabond" can be seen to coincide not with the rise of the anonymous leader in the *Globe*, but instead, alongside the declining influence of established press conventions within the *Globe*'s New Journalism framework. Evidence that the *Globe*'s established conventions are ineffectual in bolstering Carlisle's authority appears in an editorial letter, published in the paper on May 13, three days after Carlisle's second installment. The letter is signed by "Grantley F. Berkeley of Alderney Manor, Poole," and insists that it is not the custom of the press to prohibit signatures, calling for the "writer [to] give his real name" (15 May 1873, 5). Berkeley asserts that since professional begging is a

"public matter," the journalist should not be permitted to hide behind the anonymous newspaper, but to take personal responsibility for his allegations. Berkeley describes himself as a regular reader and as a Conservative, but suggests that the *Globe*'s framework fails to close the political perspective of the reporter. It is unclear, he claims, whether the Unprofessional Vagabond is a "Communist," or a "Conservative" (15 May 1873, 5). Berkeley's letter thus works to solidify the *Globe*'s political conventions as a Conservative paper. Yet the letter also demonstrates the limited authority the paper lends to its reporter's account in the absence of the journalist's personal signature. Berkeley insists on the signature as the only means of establishing the reporter's personal and political authority, without which he has no more "authority" than the fictional "Arabian Nights' Entertainment" (15 May 1873, 5). While Berkeley acknowledges that the *Globe* lends the report "respectability" (15 May 1873, 5), the anonymous editorial "we" neither accounts for the undercover report's position nor for the reporter's authority in a paper that publishes both amateur reporters and commercial journalism. The *Globe*'s publication of Berkeley's letter thus suggests that the *Globe*'s increasingly open conventions fail to close not only the report's political position, but also its reporter's authority.

Personal Authority and Incognito Credibility in New Journalism

The *Globe*'s move to legitimize the journalist's personal authority, amid the shifting influence of its conventions under New Journalism, calls for a parallel assertion of Carlisle's credibility. That is, by making Carlisle its authority on professional vagabondage, the *Globe* is also tasked with demonstrating Carlisle's

personal credibility, without the legitimizing function of the signature. Indeed, the editorial note appended to Berkeley's letter declines to advocate for the inclusion of the signature in its pages. Instead, the *Globe*'s editor uses the genre of the editorial to promote Carlisle's personal credibility. Having not gone along on Carlisle's undercover investigation, the editor can only testify to the reporter's personal reliability. He thus insists that "the series appearing under that title"—the title of "The Unprofessional Vagabond"—stand as "simple and truthful recitals of actual experience" (15 May 1873, 5). The editor attests to Carlisle's 'truthfulness,' and draws on earlier installments as his source of authority. In insisting that all installments appearing under "that" particular title are true, the editor subtly testifies to the authority not of earlier installments of "An" Unprofessional Vagabond, but instead, of future installments as they will appear, under the new title of "The Unprofessional Vagabond." The editor concludes by noting that the Unprofessional Vagabond travelled throughout London yesterday, "in the character of an Indian, and the story he will tell next Saturday is strictly accurate" (15 May 1873, 5). The *Globe's* editor insinuates that the reporter's impersonation of the "character of an Indian" will be true, alluding to the reputation of its intrepid former Anglo-Indian officer. The editor thus relies on the fulfillment of his promise to corroborate his claims.

Yet the framing of Carlisle's third installment attests nonetheless to the declining influence of the *Globe*'s publishing conventions not only in giving his report authority, but also in establishing his personal credibility. Immediately below his installment on the Tom-Tom Wallah there appears a working-class

testimonial corroborating not Carlisle's current article, but instead, his personal credibility. This testimonial is signed by a "Friend of Pat's"—Pat being the street sweeper from whom Carlisle secured his crossing and broom for his first installment. Pat's Friend's letter is dated May 15, 1873, and takes issues with the accusations of Berkeley, whose letter to the editor was published that day. Pat's Friend specifically refers to the *Globe*'s reporter by his pseudonym, and insists that Haroun Alraschid is reliable: "'Haroun Alraschid' did have his crossing for the day, which pledge I can endorse" (17 May 1873, 2). Pat's Friend thus upholds Pat's reliability. His letter adapts the testimonial genre of the "Real Casual," used to externally corroborate Greenwood's findings in "A Night in a Workhouse." Yet here, Pat's Friend corroborates Pat's story of his encounter with Carlisle, rather than Carlisle's actual undercover experience. Indeed, the *Globe* continues to draw on established press conventions beyond the political position and the editorial note—here, the working-class testimonial—to assert the veracity of an installment that ran nearly two weeks earlier, as a way of corroborating the current installment's authority.

The *Globe* also adapts the press convention of reprinting an article from another daily newspaper to establish Carlisle's authority. The *Globe* publishes next to Pat's Friend's letter the commentary of a Conservative morning daily newspaper, the *Hour*, linking "The Unprofessional Vagabond" with the figure of "An Amateur Casual from the *Pall Mall*" (*Globe*, 17 May 1873, 2). The article also links Carlisle's reports with the inspiration for his pseudonym, "the great Caliph," memorialized in *Arabian Nights*, who "wander[ed] through the streets incognito" to learn of his

people (17 May 1873, 2). This article thus connects Carlisle's approach to his historical precedents. The letter also supports the anonymity of the press, insisting that the question of signatures is indeed "pretty well settled in the English press" (17 May 1873, 2). The *Hour* also insists on the anonymity of the journalist as essential criteria to undercover reporting. This call for anonymous incognitos subtly contests the *Globe*'s efforts to establish Carlisle's authority through his reputation as Anglo-Indian former military officer, The Unprofessional Vagabond, and as the author of its previous installments. Since "the so-called 'Haroun Al Raschid' [sic.] intends to pursue his investigations," the *Hour* suggests, "it would be impossible for him to do so if his name were once made public" (17 May 1873, 2). If readers knew the reporter's true identity, his incognito cover would be blown, and his work would cease to be undercover reporting. Followers would jump at the opportunity to "watch in the character of an amateur detective the proceedings of the 'Unprofessional Vagabond.' Public curiosity once aroused [...] it would be useless for him" to pursue further investigations (17 May 1873, 2) of the "actual" people and environs he attempts to infiltrate. The *Hour* notes that "the great Caliph" himself could not "wander through the streets incognito" and "learn what he did" if his subjects anticipated his visits (17 May 1873, 2). The *Hour* asserts that the "real value of these adventures, in a philanthropic sense [....] could not be undertaken at all if the name of the adventurous actor were revealed" (17 May 1873, 2). The *Hour* claims that the social-reform minded, philanthropic undercover reporter must remain not only anonymous, but truly incognito and unpredictable, rather than reputed, advertised, and highly personal. In his attempt to achieve personal

authority, then, Carlisle's visibility threatens to undermine his undercover credibility.

Indeed, the *Hour*'s assertion that socio-political undercover reporting be anonymous, incognito, and unpredictable inevitably conflicts with the terms of authority established throughout Carlisle's series. Carlisle's third installment seems to capture the implications of this condition. Framed by the *Globe*'s New Journalism conventions, which downplay the political conventions of the paper, Carlisle's personal narrative in his third installment supplants the political COS investigation almost entirely. Instead, this installment increasingly embraces the journalist's persona as a source of authority by adopting the new title of "The Unprofessional Vagabond." For this installment, Carlisle mobilizes his reputation as an Anglo-Indian military officer to authorize his impersonation of an Indian "Tom-tom Wallah" or street drummer. This report's dependence on reputation is signified by the fact that Carlisle foregoes the Greenwoodian metanarrative used to explain his dual identity in earlier installments. The absence of metanarrative patter indicates that readers are expected to recognize the features of the Unprofessional Vagabond in its narrator —as an experienced Anglo-Indian military officer. Carlisle describes disguising himself as "an Oriental of rather indefinite type," taking his tom-tom drum to the streets of London East End (17 May 1873, 1). In this installment, he provides an extensive description of disguising himself at a "costumier" in "A grey-plaid puggery [which] wound itself in many folds round my long raven locks" (17 May 1873, 1). He wears "a thick woollen comforter" over his "chest" and clothes his body in a "white tunic reaching nearly to the knees (17 May 1873). Round his waist,

he binds “a crimson and yellow cumberbund; above this was a loosely flowing toga of dirty sage green; beneath, loose pyjamas, brown and white striped” (17 May 1873, 1). He describes crossing a “yellow sash” over his “right shoulder, support[ing] a tom-tom” drum (17 May 1873, 1). Through his detailed description of his elaborate costume, Carlisle demonstrates his familiarity with Indian garments. More importantly, he highlights his own white, English body as the story’s central subject through the many steps involved in concealing cultural difference from his Indian character.

With his own body at the forefront of his narrative, Carlisle’s account is now increasingly preoccupied with the investigation as an end in itself—that is, as a means of asserting his intrepid authority as a journalist at the expense of his undercover credibility. Carlisle mentions his sense of danger as his “escort” has “dropped off” (17 May 1873). In his emphasis on solitude, Carlisle further disassociates himself from the conventions of companionship that might have linked him to Greenwood’s earlier reporting. Carlisle emphasizes his personal vulnerability as he heads into the East End of London. He states that “I not over-confidently started on what I was warned was a perilous pilgrimage; whilst being in ill-health” (17 May 1873, 1). His investigation is not only dangerous, but he is even more vulnerable after a sleepless night of nervousness, punctuated by a bad cold. Already defenceless, he recounts feeling “a painful sense of being secretly hunted like some fierce wild beast” (17 May 1873). He describes a strong odour in the air of the East End, which causes the weak to “feel faint and catch at railings and hold their breath” (17 May 1873, 1). Carlisle highlights the risk he encounters on his

undercover mission. Whereas earlier installments merely mention that Carlisle is a former military officer, this report actually draws on Carlisle's military courage to accentuate his pluck and daring. He insists that, "I would have drawn back at the last moment had not a high sense of my mission's importance compelled me to persevere" (17 May 1873, 1). Carlisle's report thus conveys his personal soldierly courage and abilities in the face of a dangerous investigation. At the same time, his report is utterly absent of references to the COS investigations, and to the political issue of professional vagabond.

In addition to establishing his especial bravery at even embarking on an investigation during his illness, Carlisle highlights his unique abilities in carrying out this particular escapade as an Indian drummer, the Tom-Tom Wallah. He recounts how a troupe of young boys pursues him in the streets, begging for a performance. He agrees to play "Two Hindustanee songs," then "Wurree Wurree," which he "picked up in Cashmere" twenty years ago (17 May 1873, 1). Between the songs, he addresses "the crowd in broken English interspersed with dog Hindustanee" (17 May 1873, 1), demonstrating his familiarity with both Indian songs and language. His qualified performance garners him three half-penny donations from the audience. He also describes being praised by a costermonger spectator, who once worked as a sailor in India. The coster, he recounts, confirmed the high quality of his performance of the Indian character, was "proud at this accurate display of Hindustanee" and at Carlisle's ability to dance a "Werry good nautch" (17 May 1873, 2). Carlisle acknowledges "this critical approval from one who was in a position to judge my merits impartially" (17 May 1873, 2). Carlisle's report, far from working

to advance a political position on professional begging, draws on his reputation as a former inhabitant of India to authorize his portrayal of an Indian drummer. Within the New Journalist conventions of the *Globe*, his narrative attempts to achieve personal authority and to displace the anonymous incognito of socio-political sites like the *PMG*.

Framed by the *Hour*'s insistence that philanthropic undercover reporting be wholly incognito, this installment blatantly does the reverse. Carlisle's attempt to construct personal authority coalesces in this installment in the revelation of his person before the subjects he investigates, marking a significant departure from the *PMG*'s anonymous Greenwoodian reporting. Carlisle describes how one of the young boys who follow him appears to recognize his ruse, and tries to tear off his beard. This detail accentuates Carlisle's personal identity as a white, middle-class Englishman, who merely impersonates an Indian man. Yet it also indicates that Carlisle does not desire to embody his character so completely as to be mistaken for a real Indian man. Carlisle's costume allows even his investigative subjects to see through the joins in his performance, and to recognize him as the *Globe*'s Unprofessional Vagabond. The young boy ultimately tears off his "turban and wig", exposing Carlisle's false identity (17 May 1873, 2). Carlisle proceeds to describe how "two or three hundred tatterdemalions" escorted him "through the slums" as he carried out his investigation, appearing to accompany him as much for his undercover adventure, as for his tom-tom performance (17 May 1873, 2). Like the *Hour* suggests of "the great Caliph," Carlisle cannot legitimately "wander through the streets incognito" when his subjects are aware of his deceit (17 May 1873, 2). He

recounts how not only children see through his disguise, but an elderly woman, too, notices "the tuft of black hair covering the front of my chin" had started to come off (17 May 1873, 2). The woman shakes "her head humorously," and appears to recognize him as a gentleman, saying "You'll do, master" (17 May 1873, 2). "Two working men, extremely in beer" even try to remove his "pyjamas," exclaiming, "yer an Englishman, and I'll see the colour of your legs" (17 May 1873, 2). Carlisle's third installment thus increasingly highlights his persona to establish his authority not only as an intrepid journalist, but also as a white, middle-class Englishman.

More importantly, though, Carlisle's report works to establish his personal recognition by a range of audiences, epitomized in the children, women, and working men who see through his disguise. He constructs the Unprofessional Vagabond not simply as an authority on adventurous pursuits and on Indian impersonation, but as the *Globe*'s celebrity "undercover" whom audiences appear, in his report, to recognize. His suggestion that audiences recognize him as the *Globe*'s "undercover" gives credence to the editorial note that he has made enough investigations of professional beggars to become recognized. At the same time as he solidifies his celebrity identity as the *Globe*'s white, middle-class, Anglo-Indian journalist, however, the framework of the *Hour* serves as a reminder that this celebrity necessarily undermines his incognito authority. By constructing the Unprofessional Vagabond as a visible, and therefore believable, authority in his trade, Carlisle's reporting veers away from the incognito principles of undercover reporting altogether. The gradual trajectory of Carlisle's first three installments thus suggests that, while the popularization of the British press ushered undercover

reporting into established journalism, New Journalism—with its conventional emphasis on personal narrative, personal authority, and celebrity recognition in the absence of signatures—ultimately places the report in conflict with the anonymous, incognito conventions of Greenwoodian undercover journalism.

Celebrity Reporting and Yellow-Back Publishing

The *Globe*'s New Journalism conventions inform Carlisle's rising emphasis on his military persona, and ultimately, on his visible identity, as a means of solidifying his authority and credibility as a journalist—against the anonymous, incognito conventions solidified by Greenwoodian reporting. While personal narrative offered a means of asserting authority and credibility, however, this is not to say that either is fully realized in Carlisle's reporting. Indeed, as Carlisle himself claimed in his introduction to his second installment, without being able to give his "real signature[s]" in the press, he is "debarred from that guarantee of truth" to certify his accounts (10 May 1873, 1). Carlisle's reports were thus published outside of the anonymous newspaper, within a publishing format that sanctioned signed journalism, as a way to solidify their credibility. The yellow-back book, *The Unprofessional Vagabond*, seems to have appeared early in July of 1873. The volume collects Carlisle's first four installments from the *Globe*—the Crossing Sweeper, the Fern Seller, the Tom-Tom Wallah, and the Toy Merchant—in a one-shilling volume bound by illustrated cardboard covers, or "fancyboards." This turn towards book publication suggests that while the *Globe*'s New Journalism conventions offered a means of establishing authority through personal journalism, they provided limited means of establishing personal credibility—apart from established conventions like

the editorial note and the testimonial. As early as Monday, July 14, 1873, the *Morning Post* advertised the book version of *The Unprofessional Vagabond*, and openly attached Carlisle's personal signature to his pseudonym: "By Thomas Carlisle (Haroun Alraschid)" (19). The *Post*'s advertisement indicates that while British newspaper conventions prohibited journalists from signing their columns, they could freely promote works of anonymous journalism that had been adapted to signed formats outside of the newspaper.

The format of the Victorian yellow-back book was attractive to lesser-known authors and journalists for its very ability to widely publicize their signatures outside of the newspaper. Yellow-backs were a cheap, commercial print format named for their usual yellow colour. Michael Sadleir notes that the yellow-back "usually (but not always) cost two shillings; its basic colouring was usually (but not always) yellow," and it was composed of inexpensive cardboard and paper (Sadleir 127). Yellow-backs were recognized as a popular, commercial format not simply for their low price and materials, but also for the colourful wood-block image that typically adorned their cover, with advertisements featured on the back (Sadleir 127).[77] Whereas "authors of standing," whose public reputation was already established, could afford to limit their publications to the most "profitable and dignified" publishers (Sadleir 153), "lesser men—writers who worked for

[77] Sadleir explains that"[t]he physical make-up of the perfect yellow-back […] was in startling contrast to that of the ordinary book of the mid-nineteenth century [….] Over a foundation of strawboard was laid a glazed coloured paper […] this paper was surcharged—on the front with a picture relevant to the contents of the book; on the spine with decorative titling, or another picture, or, as time went on, with a conventional design—all printed in two, three or four colours" (127). Sadleir notes that while books with coloured boards had existed before—sometimes with engravings, decorative labels or coloured pictures—the novelty of yellow backs was that they did all of the above; they included both coloured boards and coloured wood-block images on the cover, in one or more colours (128).

periodicals rather than for publishers" saw the value of yellow-back publishing (Sadleir 153). The format was "designed for cheap and ephemeral issue," marketed as railway reading, and could therefore reach a much broader, popular readership. Yellow-backs, he explains, were popular among "literary journalists" for this very reason. "George Augustus Sala, Edmund Yates, R.B. Brough, Augustus Mayhew and Douglas Jerrold" all published their journalism in yellow-backs (Sadleir 154). Greenwood himself popularized his reputation as an undercover reporter through the signed format of the yellow-back.[78] Since the *Globe* could not draw on the authoritative "guarantee" of Carlisle's signature in the newspaper, the signed conventions of the yellow-back worked to both authenticate his reporting and promote Carlisle's celebrity identity in an alternative publishing venue.

Not only the yellow-back's commercial format and signature, but also its illustrations and sketches work to promote Carlisle's personal credibility. The frontispiece to *The Unprofessional Vagabond* identifies Thomas Carlisle as the series' author, as well as John Carlisle as his documentary illustrator. Carlisle's introduction explains that the book includes a number of sketches "drawn from me in the life," by his brother, John, "when dressed and made-up exactly as I appeared in the several characters" (9). These black-and- white sketches (figure 16) depict Thomas Carlisle in each of the disguises adopted for his first four installments. The illustrations establish Carlisle's link to a longstanding investigative tradition: travelling with a companion sketch-artist. Just as Greenwood travelled with the *PIP* illustrator to the "Leather Market," with a companion to the leaving shop, and with

[78] Both Greenwood's 1883 *On Tramp* and his 1887 *Toilers in London* were issued in yellow-back format by the railway booksellers, Diprose and Bateman.

his friend, Bittlestone, to the workhouse, Carlisle also travels with the customary partner to conduct his investigations for "The Unprofessional Vagabond." Yet, rendered as sketches, rather than as the detailed line drawings produced in Greenwood's "Leather Market" (*PIP*), the images also solidify the accuracy of the reporter's investigations. This "[r]apid" and "minimal" approach, Beegan suggests, was used to convey the impression of an immediate, on-the-spot observation of the event, as it occurred in real time (131). Unlike more elaborate drawings or portraits, which were completed in the studio and often staged, sketches like these ones professed to record the reporter's actual undercover experiences, as they unfolded, on-the-spot, in real time. The images function to establish both the veracity of his investigations and Carlisle's personal authority. Unlike the *PIP*'s sketch for Greenwood's "Leather Market," Carlisle's images depict the journalist alone, without any sense of the working-class subjects that he undertakes to investigate.

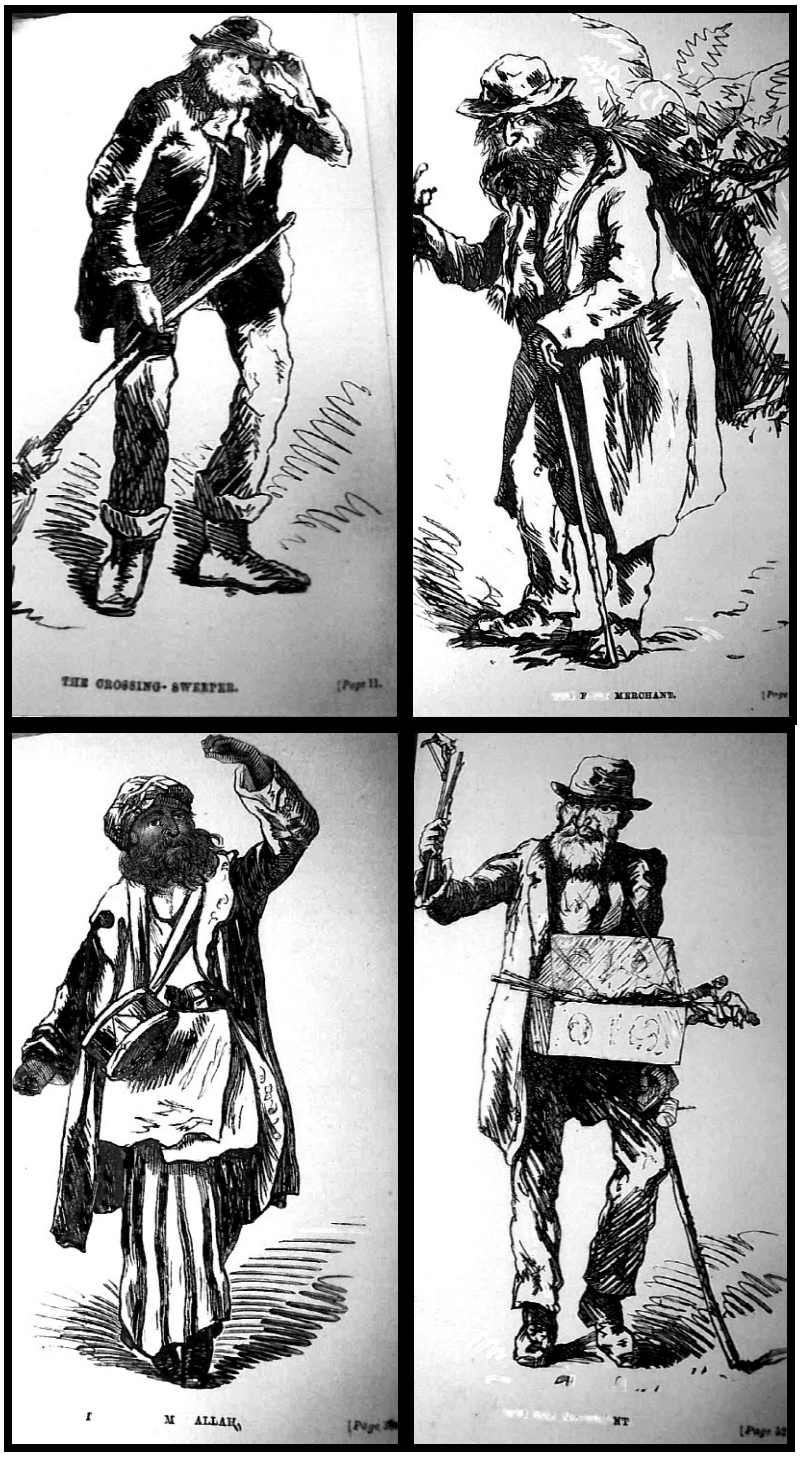


Figure 16. The book version of *The Unprofessional Vagabond* (1873) contains full-page sketches of the journalist in each of his disguises. Shown here, clockwise from the top left, are: "The Crossing Sweeper" (11); "The Fern Merchant" (22); "The Toy Merchant" (32); "The Tom-Tom Wallah" (36).

Thus, the yellow-back's commercial, signed, and illustrated conventions work not only to bolster his personal credibility, but also to publicize Thomas Carlisle's personal authority as a journalist. In their depiction of the journalist with white skin, they also stand apart from the tom-tom wallah's brown skin depicted on the yellow-back's colourful cover.

Carlisle's publishing trajectory suggests that while the coming of New Journalism offered new opportunities for journalists to establish their personal authority amid growing efforts to professionalize the field of journalism, the British newspaper's constraints on signatures ultimately led reporters to establish their public credibility outside of the press. Indeed, the promotion of Carlisle's personal signature in yellow-back format arrives at a crucial moment: prior to the final installment of his series under the pseudonym of "Haroun Alraschid." Although his seventh incognito report had not yet appeared in the *Globe*, the Shah of Persia himself, whose public conflation with the fictional character from *Arabian Nights* inspired Carlisle's pseudonym, had by then arrived in London. In fact, the advertisement of the yellow-back edition coincides precisely with the Shah's visit, before his departure to Paris in mid-July. The yellow-back edition of *The Unprofessional Vagabond* appears to capitalize on the publicity surrounding the Shah, by depicting Carlisle's impersonation of the ethnic Other, the Indian tom-tom wallah, on its colourful cover (figure 17). Yet the frontispiece that frames all of Carlisle's four installments establishes Thomas Carlisle as the signature behind the pseudonym of Haroun Alraschid. The signature importantly distinguishes Carlisle's

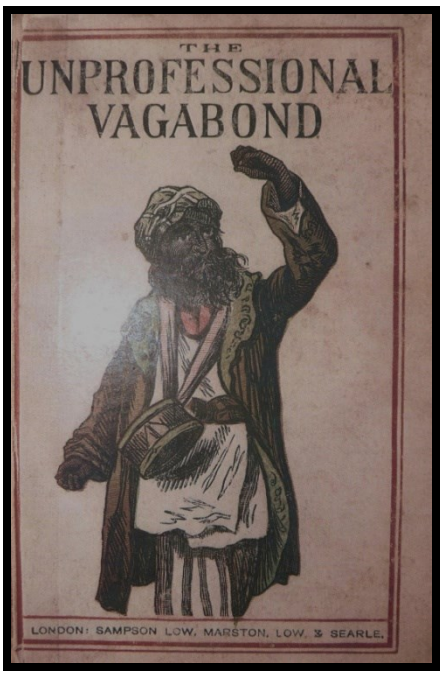


Figure 17. Cover of Thomas Carlisle's *The Unprofessional Vagabond*, published in yellow-back format by Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873.

identity as a white English journalist from that of the visiting Shah of Persia.

At the same time as the yellow-back's personal sketches and signature establish Carlisle's identity as a source of credibility outside of the press, these features solidify the report's status as popular performance, rather than as reforming journalism. Although Carlisle's final installment continues to run in the *Globe* under the title of "The Unprofessional Vagabond," Carlisle establishes from the beginning of the article that this impersonation dramatically deviates from his earlier ones. He reports that he has run out of street professions to investigate, and although he has received many suggestions, feels that these would only be redundant (19 July 1873, 1). To take a new approach, he decides to forgo the

dangers, but also the cover of his earlier missions, which he conducted "alone and unaided" (19 July 1873, 1). Instead, he will perform in the company of others, aware of his ruse, and described as an "associated enterprise" (19 July 1873, 1). He describes arranging with a man named "Jack" to join a group of "Ethiopian Serenaders"—an alternative designation for "Blackface Minstrels."[79] Rather than showing up incognito, Carlisle describes arriving in his own person, with his costume "in a big paper parcel" (19 July 1873, 1). Together, the members of the troupe "colour [their] faces and hands [...] by rubbing in a paste composed of burnt cork and porter" (19 July, 1873, 1). As Derek Scott notes, the "blackface mask denote[s] a certain kind of theatricality" (87). Rather than conducting an undercover investigation, Carlisle participates in a cross-cultural masquerade, the wearing of a disguise as performance, rather than impersonation.

Carlisle's blackface masquerade invokes the music-hall swell that Greenwood's popular pamphlet had framed as a sham investigator. Like the music-hall swells, who travel between theatres of performance in horse-drawn broughams drinking champagne, the troupe travels in a hired cab: "four of us tumbled into the trap whilst one sat on the box, and thus off we went, amidst much chaff and cheering" (19 July 1873, 2). Together, they tour the public houses of London's West End, and stop for a "fourpenny half-and-half" of beer at every turn (19 July 1873, 2). Carlisle remarks that they "hardly ever stop[ed] at a public house without a refreshment" (19 July 1873, 2). Carlisle refers to his companions by nicknames that

[79] "Ethiopian Serenaders" was also the name of a minstrel troupe, like the Christy Minstrels.

resemble music-hall characters, like "Shaky Jack" and "George the Gloomy" (19 July 1873, 2). "[S]prightly Little George," in particular, bears the traces of the swell performer, who, with "a knowing wink of his twinkling eye," includes Carlisle in the secret of his performance, that "publicans stand treat to Ethiopian serenaders, in order to attract customers," keeping him in beer (19 July 1873, 2). Carlisle's personal narrative, rather than publishing conventions, thus frames his final installment as blackface or music-hall performance.

Like Greenwood's, which under the covers of music hall parodied undercover investigation, Carlisle's narration of his blackface provides a comedic mockery of investigation. Where formerly Greenwood's popular framework derived from the format of the pamphlet, Carlisle's popular framework takes shape within the commercial conventions of the *Globe* newspaper itself. In this case, Carlisle's report as Haroun Alraschid parodies the Shah of Persia as a sham gentleman in London, and as a sham investigator of the city. Unlike his fellow minstrels, who wear colourful suits and ties, Carlisle adopts:

> a long flowing robe, bound round the waist with a bright-hued cummerbund, having golden ends, loose pyjamas, white under tunic, a brilliant orange scarf tied in a great bow round the neck, and on the closely cropped head a kuhla of proper shape neatly covered with imitation Astraschan. (19 July, 1873, 1)

Carlisle adopts a "black moustache waxed to rigidity, and a beard plastered to a point" (19 July, 1873, 1). He remarks that, this time, his performance "was to be an acknowledged fiction, there was not the same reason for scrupulous attiring as on previous occasions" (19 July 1873, 1). Carlisle's performance is self-consciously rendered as a stunt rather than as an incognito investigation. Readers are not

expected to believe that he intends to pass for a real ethnic minority, but merely a parody of one, in blackface. When Carlisle emerges in his garb, spectators begin to chant "Ere's the Shar—'ere's the Shar! (19 July 1873, 1). Carlisle performs "the Shah" by "beat[ing] in time with a walking stick, and perform[ing] impromptu dances of a sort supposed to be strictly Persian" (19 July 1873). While it is not clear whether the dance Carlisle describes here makes a specific reference, his description coincides with a number of timely performances inspired by the Shah's visit. Throughout the summer months, for instance, the Globe Theatre featured a comic farce called "Doing the Shah" by Nugent Robinson (Clement Scott 498). Carlisle notes that his own "Shah performance" brings "a show of coppers" (19 July 1873, 2). At the centre of his comedic performance remains the figure of the Shah, and of his own recent investigative tour of London, which Carlisle depicts as mere popular entertainment.

Like music-hall humour, which hinges on parodying social hierarchies, Derek Scott notes that minstrel performances in Britain were not "about a scantily known Afro-American population," but rather about "English social relations" (87). Carlisle's comedic critique appears in his companions' responses to his performance; Jack compliments him on his "artistic merits" rather than on his intrepid qualities accentuated in earlier investigations (19 July 1873, 2). Jack dramatically "slapped me on the back," with the performer's knowing gesture, "declaring that I hadn't a bit of the gentleman about me" (19 July 1873, 2). Here, Carlisle's performance reinforces the impenetrable boundaries between investigation as a white British journalist, and the Shah's tour of London as ethnic

outsider. While Carlisle adopts the pseudonym of Haroun Alraschid, he suggests that the "real" Haroun Alraschid—invoking the myth surrounding the Shah of Persia—is no English "gentleman," but an "acknowledged fiction" like a blackface performance, or like the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*. A "Foreign Note" appearing beneath the second page of Carlisle's final investigation closes this framework with a timely mention that the Shah is now making his way home from Europe, having departed from Paris that very day, July 19, 1873. Carlisle's final, eighth installment reflects on the arc of his series as it has been presented in this chapter. His own words speak to his series' overall reception: "certain friendly critics," he says, have asked about "the serious purpose of a mission, which, on the surface, bore a frolicsome aspect? No frolic, indeed; not by any means was there any amusement in conscientiously carrying out the hard task" (2 August 1873, 1). While the *Globe* set out to frame Carlisle's reports as a "serious" counter investigation of the COS, Carlisle's personal authority as a former military officer framed it as a mission, and his signature, as an amusing celebrity stunt. Not only Carlisle's publication in an American-style New Journalism newspaper, but also the thin veil of his blackface performance as celebrity stunt links this culminating installment with American stunt reporting. In particular, Carlisle's report as an Ethiopian Serenader links him with the famous stunt reports of Nellie Bly. Bly's pseudonym itself highlighted her own theatrical performance in its allusion to a music-hall chorus by the blackface Christy Minstrels.'[80]

[80] "Nelly Bly" was the name of a music-hall chorus, arranged by Foster in 1850, for the Christy Minstrels, and published by Firth, Pond & Co., New York. Bly's pseudonym may have parodied not

Conclusion: Stunt Reporting in the Victorian Newspaper?

At the same time as the *Globe*'s conventions reshaped the anonymous, incognito elements of Greenwood's reporting from the earlier decade, several of these conventions also link Carlisle's report to a tradition of stunt reporting, which rose to prominence in the American press of the 1880s. Commercial stunt reporting is rarely acknowledged within studies of British undercover journalism.[81] However, many of the personal and commercial features of Carlisle's series for the British *Globe* can be seen to link him with a parallel tradition emerging across the Atlantic. American stunt reporters, like undercover journalists in the British tradition, used disguises to enter unknown or restricted social territories. Yet publishers of stunt reports explicitly highlighted the undercover impersonation as the main story, rather than sociological inquiry and reform. The very decision to don a disguise and enter an unknown territory was perceived as a commercially-fruitful tactic, which hinged on the serial suspense of the reporter's attempts at immersion, perpetually haunted by the danger of discovery. Like Carlisle's reports for the British *Globe*, stunt reports were typically featured on the covers of American newspapers, and promoted the figure of the journalist as a kind of celebrity.

American stunt reporting is epitomized in the work of Nellie Bly, the pseudonym of Elizabeth Cochrane, who is often identified as the most famous

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only the social hierarchies and farce of blackface performance, but their gender: the minstrel groups, like the field of undercover reporting, were dominated by men.

81 The term "stunt reporting" is rarely used in studies of British journalism. The term does not appear, for example in Brake and Demoor's 1014-page *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (2009).

practitioner of the genre.[82] Her 1887 investigations demonstrate many of the key features of American-style stunt reporting, which link Carlisle with the tradition. In 1887, Bly published a two-part series[83] investigating a notorious mental institution in the person of a mentally-ill woman named Nellie Brown.[84] Her reports were published in the *New York World* to great acclaim, and from the beginning, were conceived purely as a marketing ploy for the newspaper. Jean Marie Lutes notes that the *World* explicitly framed undercover report as a commercial stunt by "devoting an entire Sunday front page to the first article in Bly's asylum series" (Lutes 17), which spanned ten columns and continued onto the second page.[85] Like Carlisle's earlier article in the *Globe*, Bly's report appears on the front cover. Similar to the publishing conventions of the *Globe*, the *World* also emphasizes her persona

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[82] Bly's name is the most frequently cited in discussions of stunt reporting. See, for example, James Aucoin's *The Evolution of American Investigative Journalism* (2005), which claims that Bly "solidified undercover reporting as a weapon in the investigative reporter's arsenal" (29) and that "[u]ndercover reporting and dramatic escapades were Bly's forte" (30). Mark Pittenger's *Class Unknown: Undercover Investigations of American Work and Poverty from the Progressive Era to the Present* (2012) identifies Bly as the originator of women's stunt reporting in the U.S. (13-14). Beasley and Gibbons's *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (1993) calls Bly's the "the most famous stunt reporter byline of all" (111). Jean Marie Lutes's *Front-Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction, 1880-1930* (2006) begins its study of women journalists' "public embodiment" (120) with Bly; Patricia Bradley's *Women and the Press: The Struggle for Equality* (2005) calls Bly "the most famous of all stunt reporters" (124). See also Brooke Kroeger's biography, *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist* (1994) and her critical study, *Undercover Reporting: The Truth About Deception* (2012). Kroeger's biography points out that Bly's undercover investigation of an insane asylum created a sensation in the pages of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* in 1887, and "launched the decade of the Girl Reporter Derring-Do" (87).

[83] The first installment details how Bly deceived doctors to in order to be committed, and appeared under the title of "Behind Asylum Bars" (9 Oct 1887, 25-26). The second installment, which appeared in the *World* one week later, described her experience as an institutionalized psychiatric in "Inside the Madhouse" (16 Oct 1887, 25-30).

[84] Bly investigated in Blackwell's Island, "home to most of the city's prisons, charity hospitals, and workhouse" (Lutes 12).

[85] The appearance of Bly's article in the turnover position was not exceptional among American undercover reporters. Julius Chambers's "Bloomindale Asylum Exposé," for instance, also appears on the front page of the *New York Tribune* many years earlier. In August and September of 1872, Chambers spent four-days undercover to investigate the "Lunacy Laws" in the Bloomingdale Insane Asylum. It is worth noting that Chambers's report was republished in Britain by Sampson, Marr & Low, the publishers of Carlisle's *The Unprofessional Vagabond* in yellow-back edition.

and personal narrative as key features of her reporting. The summary lead above her first installment pegged her as a "Feminine 'Amateur Casual' (17),[86] and invited readers to focus on how her character, "Nellie Brown Deceived Judges," to gain entry to the asylum. The summary lead crucially highlights the report's focus on the figure of the undercover reporter, and on the element of deceit as the primary focus of her series. The summary lead points to how "She Tells Her Story" (9 Oct 1887, 25), a framework which, Lutes suggests, draws attention to "Bly's personal performance rather than the plight of those whose position she temporarily inhabits" (Lutes 17). The *Globe* employs many similar conventions—not necessarily as a feature of stunt reporting, but rather, as a feature of its engagement with the American origins of New Journalism. Carlisle's report, for instance, is likewise published as a turnover story. In place of the summary lead—a convention of the nineteenth-century American, but not the British press—the *Globe* uses the title of "An" and later "The Unprofessional Vagabond," to emphasize the figure of the undercover reporter. Just as the *World*'s American conventions focus readers' attention on Bly's undercover deceit, the *Globe*'s New Journalism conventions frame Carlisle's report in terms of the undercover performance.

The American press emphasized not only the commercial position of the report, and the centrality of the reporter, but also the undercover mission as its primary focus. The *World*'s sub-heads call attention to Bly's repeated description of her undercover investigation as a dangerous "mission," and of her "stubborn"

[86] Lutes reads the "Amateur Casual" simply as "a sly jab at the experts, who were used to scoffing at amateurs, not having amateurs scoff at them" (18), without making the connection to Greenwood. Bly's account, however, pays tribute to Greenwood in a number of ways, echoing his description in "A Night" of having to douse in a cold bath, for instance, and of being served horrible food.

attempts to "keep up my *role*" (9 Oct 1887, 25). Framed not by sub-heads, but by the *Globe*'s similarly personal conventions, Carlisle can be seen to employ a similar language of danger and courage in his impersonation. He likewise refers to his investigation as a "mission," for instance, and commits "to carry[ing] out my earnest mission thoroughly" (3 May 1873, 1). In fact, both reporters' narratives also draw readers into their suspenseful undercover adventures not simply through language, but also, through the serialized format of the newspaper. Just as Bly concludes her first installment with a promise of more episodes to come—"Of my ten days' experience there I have yet to tell" (9 Oct 1887, 25)—Carlisle concludes his first installment by advertising future accounts of his undercover adventures. "[S]ince it is unfair to judge from a single experience," he suggests, "it is my intention to make a similar experiment in a different locality and in a fresh character" (3 May 1873, 2). Like Bly, who draws readers into the suspense of her escapade with a promise of future weekly installments, Carlisle concludes by advertising future episodes. Thus, while both the American and the British journalist are printed as commercial turnovers, are the personal focus of both of their articles, adopt the language of danger, and advertise future installments, the *Globe*'s series conforms to the conventions of the British press, and indeed, to conventions of authority within the British New Journalism.

Although the history of stunt reporting in British and American journalism is not the primary object of study in this chapter, the material, formal and narrative features shared by Bly's and Carlisle's reports invite a number of speculations about the distinctive histories of undercover reporting in each country. While American

stunt reporting is often distinguished from British undercover journalism by its personal, commercial focus, many of these features appear in Carlisle's reporting for the *Globe*. Yet, as I have argued here, Carlisle's commercial, personal, and intrepid narrative are largely informed by the *Globe*'s New Journalism conventions, many of which were imported from American journalism. Carlisle's engagement with stunt reporting in Britain, rather than being a distinctive approach to undercover investigative practice, works to extend my larger argument that his genre's meaning derives largely from publishing conventions. Thus, Carlisle's series offers a promising example not only of the ways in which New Journalism shaped undercover reporting in 1870s Britain, but potentially also, of how publishing conventions played a major role in framing what are currently recognized as two distinctive traditions of undercover journalism: anonymous socio-political journalism and celebrity stunt reporting.

The key formal differences between Bly's and Carlisle's works potentially also speak to the ways in which undercover reporting developed differently as a result of different publishing conventions in each country. Whereas American newspaper conventions permitted the publication of undercover reports with illustrations (figure 18), and often promoted the celebrity identities of its reporters, the restrictive conventions of British newspapers in the 1870s led to the publication of celebrity illustrations and signatures in less restrictive publishing venues, such as in magazines or yellow-back volumes. More importantly, though, within reports

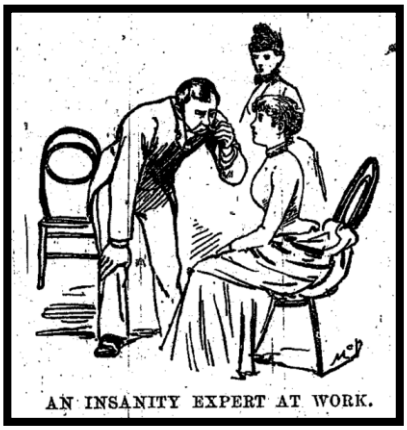

Figure 18. "An Insanity Expert at Work,"
from Bly's "Behind Asylum Bars"
New York World (9 Oct 1887, 1).

which highlight the personal figure of the reporter, the journalist's gender itself takes on distinctive roles in the framing of undercover reporting in the period. Whereas Carlisle's personal narrative and personal signature works to establish authority and credibility within a masculine journalism tradition, women's personal reporting was differently framed by newspapers' more restrictive conventions on women's journalism. As Alexis Easley suggests, in *Literary Celebrity, Gender, and Victorian Authorship*, personal features like signatures could have a "positive effect on men's literary careers because they were expected to construct public identities" (12). As the following chapter sets out to demonstrate, through the work of Margaret Harkness, women's engagement with undercover reporting operated on contrary terms. The creation of public personas threatened to make a public spectacle of women's private bodies and emotions, requiring them to negotiate the pursuit of a masculine and adventurous profession in ways that were sanctioned as more appropriately "feminine." Unlike male journalists who were advantaged by celebrity personas, the *British Weekly* employed Harkness's anonymity, signature,

and celebrity pseudonym strategically, to maneuver the constraints of mainstream journalism on women's undercover journalism.

Chapter III.

Anonymous Interviewers and Undercover Lassies: Margaret Harkness's *Captain Lobe* and "Tempted London"

This chapter investigates women's contributions to undercover reporting through the work of Margaret Harkness. Harkness is best known for authoring several social-realist novels in the 1880s and 90s. In recent years, however, critics have begun to acknowledge Harkness's contribution to investigative journalism, based on a series of reports on women's labour, which she edited in volume format. These investigative reports, "Tempted London: Young Women," were first serialized in *The British Weekly: A Journal of Social and Christian Progress* (*BW*) in 1888, concurrent with Harkness's novel on the Salvation Army, *Captain Lobe*. Both of these texts feature a female investigator; "Tempted London" represents an anonymous interviewer, and *Captain Lobe* portrays an aspiring Salvation Army slum saviour. Scholars have speculated that both of these texts were based on Harkness's own work as a social investigator in the period. However, considering that "Tempted London" was published anonymously, and only *Captain Lobe* appeared with a signature, scholars have tended to focus on the investigative qualities of Harkness's novel instead of on the journalism series. This chapter introduces new historical evidence to recuperate Harkness as an investigative journalist for the *BW*. In fact, I draw on the print culture methodology of earlier chapters to demonstrate how the periodical publishing conventions of the *BW* positioned both "Tempted London" and *Captain Lobe* within a tradition of women's undercover reporting, across the genres of journalism and fiction. Thus, just as the conventions of the

British press defined men's incognito reporting in the period, the *BW* opened and closed Harkness's investigative writing across diverse periodical publishing genres.

The treatment of Harkness's work within a study of undercover reporting in the newspaper is unconventional for a number of reasons. Perhaps foremost among these reasons is that it is unclear whether Harkness actually experimented with undercover or incognito practices in her own investigations for the *BW*. Furthermore, the *BW* was not officially a newspaper, per se, but was a weekly journal with miscellaneous contents that included political articles, illustrations, entertainment columns, and signed celebrity fiction. Yet, I argue that, in spite of these mixed publishing conventions, and regardless of Harkness's personal investigative practices, the *BW* closed Harkness's investigations within a tradition of women's incognito reporting, and even within the publishing conventions of the newspaper. This chapter thus extends the work of earlier chapters by arguing that the opened and closed conventions of periodical publishing defined undercover reporting in the period. This chapter also expands on the earlier chapters' study of anonymous and celebrity male journalists by examining how mixed periodicals like the *BW* redefined the subgenres of women's incognito journalism as anonymous interviewing and celebrity fiction in the period.

This chapter's first section traces, and intervenes in, the scholarly examination of the novel, *Captain Lobe*, for evidence of Harkness's role as an investigative journalist. I add to this scholarly trajectory by introducing a signed investigative report, and an historical interview with Harkness, in which she confirms her role as an investigative journalist for the *BW*. My own study, however,

aims to move beyond these earlier recovery projects, and works to interrogate how the *BW*'s mixed publishing conventions shaped the terms of Harkness's participation in investigative journalism. While scholars have emphasized the similarities between Harkness's novel and the anonymous reports, as a means of recovering her authorship of both, I focus instead on these texts' generic differences. Drawing on the print culture methodology established in earlier chapters, I examine how the *BW*'s mixed conventions—as a newspaper-like magazine for both genders—necessitated the publication of Harkness's investigations in two different publishing genres: celebrity fiction and anonymous interviewing. I argue that, by treating these texts as distinctive investigative genres, shaped by the conventions of periodical publishing, one can begin to identify Harkness not simply as a fiction writer and investigative reporter. More importantly, one can also begin to examine how she engaged with anonymous interviewing and pseudonymous fiction to negotiate the constraints of women's undercover reporting in the period.

Following from the reframing of *Captain Lobe* and "Tempted London" as periodical publishing genres, the second section considers how the conventions of the *BW* both opened and closed these genres' distinctive meanings. I focus in particular on examining how the *BW* differently positioned early installments of each text within a debate over working-class women's labour. More specifically, I argue that the *BW* positioned each text within a contest for investigative authority in reporting on working-class women's labour. I illustrate how the *BW* closes the superior authority of its own anonymous woman interviewer in the "Tempted London" series, against the authority of conventional male investigators. The *BW*'s

conventions also position the fictional undercover investigator in *Captain Lobe* alongside public woman investigators, modelled by Beatrice Potter. Just as the *PMG* and the *Globe* used their undercover reporters to counter prominent authorities, then, so did the *BW* by publishing both its incognito interview and fiction as counter-investigative, but in two different discursive genres. Thus, whereas scholars have tended to focus on *Captain Lobe*'s textual invocations of investigative journalism, I argue that the *BW*'s publishing conventions positioned both Harkness's journalism and fiction as examples of women's investigation in the period. More importantly, though, I highlight the ways in which the *BW*'s publishing conventions aligned *Captain Lobe* with a model of undercover reporting that undermined rather than bolstered women's authority as incognito investigators. The tendency to focus on this text as the example of Harkness's reporting thus overlooks the critical ways in which the novel caricatured or parodied—rather than emulated—women investigators in the period.

This chapter's third section situates within the scholarly tradition of women's undercover journalism the distinctive approaches to investigative journalism, modelled by the *BW*'s anonymous interviewer in "Tempted London," and by the conspicuous incognitos parodied in *Captain Lobe*. Scholars have, in recent years, recuperated a limited number of female undercover reporters in their studies, yet many of these women represent conspicuous celebrities—like the real Beatrice Potter, and the fictional investigator in *Captain Lobe*—constrained by class, gender, and literary conventions in the period. I examine some of these constraints through the publishing history of Potter's undercover report, "Pages from a Work-

Girl's Diary" and Harkness's *Captain Lobe*, the latter of which was issued in two different book versions. Unlike male journalists, who were often advantaged by republication with signatures, the recasting of these women reporters as celebrities constrained their work to strict definitions of women's journalism. In fact, by becoming celebrities, these women were held to account for the femininity of their journalism in the face of accusations of perjury and libel. Thus, while scholars turn towards women's fiction, and towards signed, celebrity journalism, to recover their role in an overwhelmingly male tradition of undercover reporting, this focus elides the important role that anonymous interviewing played in resisting the social and literary constraints of women's incognito journalism.

This chapter ultimately extends the work of earlier chapters in demonstrating the ways in which undercover reporting, by both male and female reporters, was shaped by the Victorian press—by the popular, political, New Journalism, and gender conventions that characterized periodical publishing. Yet, the conclusion of this chapter also points to the ways in which newspapers of the 1890s increasingly published all of these genre conventions together, by a single author, and within the space of a single publication. I provide a brief glimpse into the work of additional female reporters, like "Mrs. Williamson," whom the *PMG* variously framed as a slum saviour, a Greenwoodian reporter, a stunt girl, and an anonymous interviewer. While I have not been able to identify Mrs. Williamson beyond her last name, her work indicates the full variety of undercover subgenres practised by women journalists by the 1890s. Published within a British newspaper on the cusp of Americanization, Mrs. Williamson's work points to new directions for

the study of undercover journalism across genres, across genders, and across the Atlantic.

Reframing Anonymous Interviewing & Pseudonymous Fiction in the *BW*

Critics have often identified the links between Harkness's novel, *Captain Lobe*, and the investigative series on women's labour, "Tempted London: Young Women," which she edited in volume format. The novel, *Captain Lobe*, was published in weekly installments in the *BW* from April 6 to December 14, 1888. The novel tells the story of Ruth Weldon, a young heiress, who is set to inherit her late father's East-End candy factory when she comes of age. In the meantime, Ruth desires to undertake more meaningful work as a "slum saviour" for the Salvation Army. Slum saviours were the name given to the Salvation Army's outreach workers, who worked to rehabilitate the destitute poor, prostitutes, and substance abusers, and to encourage their religious conversion. While building towards a romantic relationship between Ruth and the Salvation Army's captain, Captain Lobe, the story also takes up the subject of women's labour through Ruth's interest in joining the Army. As both a Christian institution and a charitable organization focused on domestic visiting, the Salvation Army offered a respectable source of paid employment for both working- and middle-class women. According to Pamela Walker, "Salvationist women's wages compared favorably with the average wage of 12 shillings and 11 pence paid to woman workers in nontextile industries in this period" (116).[87] The Army employed nearly one thousand women in 1884, and the

[87] The slum saviour, also known as the "slum lassie," made less money than the "London schoolteacher, who made between £93 and £99 per year. But to women who had previously worked

majority of these women were from the working class (Walker 116). The Army also offered one of the few jobs available to middle-class women, who, under the respectability afforded by philanthropic work, could both earn an income and freely maneuver the open streets of London's East End as previously only men, the working-classes, and chaperoned middle-class women did.[88] Readers of the *BW* gained a glimpse into women's work not only through Ruth's tours with the Salvation Army, but also through her occasional visits to her father's candy factory, which employs working-class women of the East End in far more meager conditions.

The investigative series, "Tempted London: Young Women," similarly takes up the subject of women's labour in London. The series began three weeks after the first installment of *Captain Lobe*, and ran almost concurrently with the novel, from April 27 to December 28, 1888.[89] The "Tempted London" series examines a variety of occupations available to young, working-class women in the period, and considers how these occupations impacted their domestic life and leisure activities. Each installment of "Tempted London" focuses on a single trade, including flower selling, factory work, domestic service, and match-box making (see table I, 192-193). Drawing primarily from interviews, but also from observations and letters collected by the *BW*'s anonymous "commissioners," these investigations detail the

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as laundresses, rag sorters, or vegetable hawkers, the Salvation Army offered significantly improved wages" (Walker 116).

[88] Their "superior education and class status" allowed middle-class women, like Ruth, to "rise through the Army's ranks and become supervisors and Captains" (Walker 148). Yet, "many working-class women also assumed positions of authority" (Walker 148), suggesting that the Salvation Army offered something of an equal, and equally respectable, employment opportunity for working- and middle-class women alike.

[89] Table I, appearing at the end of this chapter, provides a detailed breakdown of *Captain Lobe* and "Tempted London"'s overlapping serialization schedule in the *BW*, which will be referenced throughout this chapter (192-193).

working conditions, wages, and financial reach of the various jobs available to women. Considering that both this series and *Captain Lobe* took up the subject of women's labour, and appeared on a nearly-parallel publication cycle in the *BW*, historians suspect that the periodical's regular readers noticed the links between the two texts, which frequently appeared from six to ten pages apart in the periodical (see table I, 192-193).

As a result of these texts' common themes and periodicity, scholars have also begun to speculate that the pseudonymous *Captain Lobe* and the anonymous "Tempted London" may both be tied to Harkness's authorship, testifying to her work as an investigative journalist for the *BW.* Much of this speculation arises from Harkness's clear identification as the author *Captain Lobe*—which was published under her well-known pseudonym, "John Law"—and from her eventual identification as the editor of the book version of "Tempted London." Although the "Tempted London" reports, unlike *Captain Lobe*, were initially published in the *BW* anonymously, the book version, issued under the new title of *Toilers in London: Or, Inquiries Concerning Female Labour in the Metropolis* (1889), claimed on its title page to be "Edited by the Author of 'Out of Work'"—*Out of Work* (1888) being the title of another Harkness novel. Thus, while "Tempted London" appeared in the *BW* anonymously, Harkness was later identified as the editor of the investigative series, which had run concurrently with her novel in the *BW*. Considering that these texts were connected thematically, serialized together, and both connected to Harkness, some critics have suggested that Harkness may have worked as one of the "Tempted London" series' original investigators.

Without confirmation of her actual involvement in compiling the "Tempted London" reports, however, critics have instead focused on the investigative and journalistic qualities of her signed novel, *Captain Lobe*. Literary critic John Goode, for example, refers to *Captain Lobe* not simply as a realistic novel, but as a text with "documentary aim[s]" (62). Ingrid Von Rosenburg describes the novel's individual chapters as "a loose series of unconnected tableaux seen from a distance" (156-157), signalling their resemblance to journalistic sketches rather than to the conventional narrative plotting of novels. Eileen Sypher observes that Harkness's tendency to incorporate real historic details and geographic locations into her socio-realistic narrative (113) seems to "deny she is writing fiction at all" (112), alluding to the documentary qualities described by earlier critics. Seth Koven speculates that Harkness may have served as one of "many commissioners hired to gather social facts and interview men and women" for the "Tempted London: Young Women" series (*Slumming* 166). Ellen Ross seconds Koven's notion that Harkness is "known to have been one of the several 'Commissioners' who gathered material for the series," adding that she may also "have written pieces for it" (90). In her anthology of women's slum writing, *Slum Travellers*, Ross even attaches Harkness's personal signature to one installment of "Tempted London." In spite of signing Harkness's name to the installment on "Barmaids," however, Ross suggests that it is only "likely to have been written by Harkness, but this is not known for certain" (90).[90] Until recently, the majority of this speculation about Harkness's role as an investigative

[90] My own research has uncovered that Harkness not only wrote "Barmaids," but also adapted excerpts from this installment in the *BW*'s "Tempted London" series to a serial novella on London Barmaids, "Roses and Crucifix" (1891-2), which she published in *The Woman's Herald*, a weekly magazine for women readers.

journalist hinged on Harkness's realistic fiction, and on its connection to the "Tempted London" series, which she went on to edit.

More recently, in an article focusing specifically on *Captain Lobe*, Koven revealed new evidence that Harkness had, in fact, been involved in social investigation leading up to her publications in the *BW*. He disclosed that Harkness had conducted first-hand "investigations into the Army's methods" for *Captain Lobe* (Koven, "The Social Question," 51). Her novel, he explains, was named for a real Salvation Army Captain, David Leib, who had guided Harkness on her tour of their East-End facilities (Koven, "The Social Question," 51).[91] Thus, while Harkness is believed to have contributed to some of the investigative work involved in "Tempted London," and possibly, to have authored certain reports for the series, she is now known for certain to have investigated the Salvation Army leading up the 1888 publication of both series in the *BW*. While introducing new evidence that Harkness did conduct investigations in the period, Koven's article nonetheless relies heavily on the textual links between *Captain Lobe* and "Tempted London" to establish Harkness's work on the journalistic series. He observes that she adapted journalistic "data, arguments, images and even some verbatim phrases and sentences" from "Tempted London" to *Captain Lobe* to make her novel seem more realistic ("The Social Question," 44).[92] The effect of this adaptation, he suggests, was

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[91] Leib coordinated the Army's social programs in Whitechapel from 1887 to 1888, and was particularly known for his work with fallen women (Koven, "The Social Question," 51). The Salvation Army published a four-part biographical series on Leib in its *All the World* newspaper, called "David Leib's Two-Fold Inheritance," which "quotes extensively from Harkness's novels"("The Social Question" 52).

[92] My own research has uncovered this tendency in the description of women making match boxes, a subject treated in both texts. For example, Harkness adapts several details from an installment on "Match-Box Makers" in "Tempted London" (18 May 1888) to Ruth's fictional investigation of working

that *BW* readers were encouraged to read *Captain Lobe* and "Tempted London" as part of a "single heterogeneous project of representing the social question in Victorian London" (Koven, "The Social Question," 43). Overall, these scholars have relied heavily on the circumstances surrounding the signed novel, *Captain Lobe*, and on its textual links to the anonymous articles, to interrogate Harkness's personal role in conducting the "Tempted London" investigations.

Complicating Koven's claims, my own research indicates that Harkness actually imported textual details in both directions—that is, she adapted material not only from "Tempted London" to *Captain Lobe*, but also from her fiction novel to the investigative journalism series. Certain data on women's work and wages appeared in *Captain Lobe* before reappearing some weeks later, almost verbatim, in the investigative reports.[93] While this cross-pollination between the texts can be

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women in *Captain Lobe* two months later, on July 20, 1888. The "Tempted London" commissioner describes visiting a young woman from Bow, who makes magenta-coloured match boxes in her home, and observes how: "All the time she was talking her hands were busy with little strips of magenta bordering over which she passed her paste with great rapidity" (18 May 1888, 41). Upon interviewing the woman, the commissioner learns that she "receives, of course, 2¼. per gross; and we must subtract, say, 1d. a day for flour to make paste, and 1½d. per day for hemp to tie up the parcels" (18 May 1888, 41). In an installment of the novel, *Captain Lobe*, appearing in the *BW* two months later, Ruth visits a young girl's home, where she finds the mother's "hands were busy with the match-boxes. Strips of magenta paper and thin pieces of wood came together with the help of a paste-brush tied up with string, and sent back to factories which give 2 ¼d. per gross for match boxes" (20 July 1888, 203). In these examples, Harkness can be seen to adapt to *Captain Lobe* not only the description of the mother's "busy hands," but also the details of how she assembles the boxes with paste and string, and of her usual pay, as originally reported in "Tempted London."

[93] My research suggests that Harkness, in fact, did not publish investigative material uni-directionally. That is, she occasionally published investigative details first in *Captain Lobe* and later in "Tempted London." For instance, Harkness's fictional protagonist, Ruth conducts an investigation of an East-End "Factory" and of its "Factory Girls" in her work as a slum saviour. These chapters appear in the July and August 1888 issues of the *BW*. Several details from this fictional chapter, however, including the factory girls' wages and the much of the descriptive language surrounding their circumstances, reappear in the "Factory Girls" installments of "Tempted London," in September of 1888 (see table I, pp. 192-193). Thus, whereas critics previously assumed that Harkness may have contributed in some way to the "Tempted London" articles, and that she borrowed material from them to heighten the realism of her novel, my own research complicates this notion. Harkness gathered the primary material for both texts through her own investigations, rather than merely adapting the published material from one text into another.

seen to strengthen Koven's and Ross's textual evidence for Harkness's role in investigating women's labour for the *BW*, however, it contests the notion of journalism as a more realistic genre than novel writing and vice versa. More importantly, though, the focus on reading the texts as part of a 'single, heterogeneous investigative project' detracts from the important role that the *BW*'s periodical publishing conditions played in framing these texts' distinctive meanings. In fact, while critics have focused on these texts' connections, the *BW* not only published them as distinctive textual genres—interviewing and fiction—but also positioned them differently within a debate over women's investigative journalism.

Before examining how the *BW*'s publishing conventions shaped the distinctive genres of "Tempted London" and *Captain Lobe*, it is worth introducing new research that confirms Harkness's role as a *BW* investigator. In a signed investigative report, called "Girl Labour in the City," published in *Justice: Organ of the Social Democracy*[94] (3 March 1888), Harkness remarked that she had, for the past six months, been personally investigating women's labour in London. This timeframe places Harkness's labour investigations as beginning roughly in September of 1887, and taking place over the six months leading up to the publication of "Tempted London" and *Captain Lobe* in the *BW*. In this article, Harkness suggests that her investigations were motivated by the fact that there exist "absolutely no figures to go upon if one wishes to learn something about the

[94] *Justice* was the organ of the Social Democratic Federation, the first Marxist organization in English. The penny-weekly journal was established by Henry Hyndman, former war correspondent for the *PMG* in 1866, and was also the first English Socialist periodical. In addition to political articles and cartoons, the journal also published poetry and serial fiction (see Brake and Demoor 328). Harkness published a second article in *Justice*, "Home Industries," on August 25, 1888 (2).

hours and wages of girls who follow certain occupations in the city" ("Girl Labour" 137). She explains that she therefore undertook to examine women's labour herself, and claims to have learned of some two hundred trades employing young women in London. Harkness recounts having looked into these trades' respective wages, work hours, and impact on living conditions ("Girl Labour" 138)—the very kinds of details which would later appear in the "Tempted London: Young Women" articles. Harkness speaks to the many challenges that she encountered in this work, remarking that, "[h]ad I known how difficult the task would be I should probably have never attempted it" ("Girl Labour" 137). She notes that "factory inspectors (admirable men, but very much overworked) come, with the most naïve delight, to visit any person who has information to give" ("Girl Labour" 137). They are "naïve," she suggests, because they expect workers to openly and honestly report on their working conditions, despite the risks this disclosure poses for their employment. Harkness notes that "Clergymen" similarly offer little insight into working girls' conditions; they merely "shake their heads, or refer one to homes and charities" ("Girl Labour" 137). Harkness's statements highlight the difficulties involved in accessing information on a class of working women who protect their privacy from factory inspectors, and who are more intimately known—not by clergymen or by the women's employers—but by charity workers who visit the girls in their homes. Harkness's insistence that "[o]ne has to find out the truth for oneself. Both employers and employees must be visited" ("Girl Labour" 137) points to the likely approach for her own investigations: through private home visits with the girls, rather than via public or institutional inquiries. This report also situates her

investigations into women's labour some six months prior to her article for *Justice*—roughly in the fall of 1887. The article itself, which was published on March 3, 1888, appears just a few weeks before the first installment of *Captain Lobe* on April 6, and of "Tempted London" on April 20, 1888. Combined with Koven's earlier findings on Harkness's visit to the Salvation Army, the details of this article insist that she be seen not only as an author and as an editor, but also as a social investigator of women's labour conditions in London. Like Greenwood and Carlisle before her, Harkness also published the results of her investigations in a variety of textual and publishing genres, including anonymous interviewing and pseudonymous fiction for the *BW* journal.

While historians have viewed *Captain Lobe* and "Tempted London" as products of a "single" investigation into women's labour undertaken for the *BW*, Harkness's work was featured not only in different periodicals, but also in different discursive genres within the same periodical publishing genre. In an 1890 interview with the *London Evening News and Post* (*LENP*), Harkness recalled that the *BW*'s editor, William Robertson Nicoll, had approached her to contribute to the journal on the basis of her successful 1887 novel, *A City Girl*. Since *A City Girl* had been published under Harkness's pseudonym, John Law, Nicoll assumed that Harkness was a male author, and desired him to write a series of investigative reports for the journal. This series would be called "Tempted London: Young Men"—the precursor to the "Young Women" articles—and would appear in the *BW* from October of 1887 to April of 1888 ("A Slum Story Writer," 17 April 1890, 2). Harkness explains in her interview that, upon learning that John Law was not really

a man, but a woman using a pseudonym, Nicoll instead commissioned her to write the "Young Women" articles. Following from the discovery of Harkness's gender, Hodder and Stoughton also commissioned Harkness to write a novel, *Captain Lobe*, for both serial and book publication ("A Slum Story Writer," 17 April 1890, 2). While *Justice*'s publishing conventions had allowed Harkness to publish her investigations under her own signature, the *BW*'s different publishing conventions informed the genres of Harkness's other articles. Indeed, as Harkness's interview in the *LENP* shows, the *BW*'s editor restricted her to covering female subject matter, and published her reports anonymously—apart from the male, celebrity pseudonym that he originally intended. Yet, learning of Harkness's gender, publishers Hodder and Stoughton had also commissioned her to write a serial novel, the genre that would instead capitalize on her celebrity pseudonym.

The decision to commission Harkness for a series of investigations on women's labour, but to publish them as anonymous journalism, was shaped by the *BW*'s publishing conventions as a hybrid or mixed periodical. *The British Weekly: A Journal of Social and Christian Progress* was established in November of 1886, under William Robertson Nicoll's editorship, as a "high-class journal for advocating 'social and religious' progression" (Ives 60). From the founding of the journal in 1886, Nicoll had "agreed to work for nothing until the paper paid its way" (Ives 60). Nicoll recalled that "[f]or a year the fate of the paper hung in the balance" and he wondered "whether any day [he] might be informed that [publishers] Hodder & Stoughton had made up their minds they would close it" (qtd. in Ives 62). Thus, like Frederick Greenwood of the *PMG* in the 1860s, and George Armstrong of the *Globe*

in the 1870s, Nicoll was looking to grow his readership in the 1880s, when he commissioned Harkness's investigation into working-class women's labour. Furthermore, just as the editor of the *PMG* and the *Globe* sought to capitalize on a topical debate surrounding the working classes, the *BW* commissioned *Captain Lobe* and "Tempted London" amid a recent controversy over women's labour that was already highly visible in the papers.

This controversy centred largely on women of the East End of London, whose husbands earned their living through work in the nearby dockyards. In the 1880s, the docks were considered an unstable source of income, due to frequent work shortages that left men with prolonged periods of unemployment. During times of hardship in the area, bread-winning typically fell to the women, who worked in factories or brought home tailoring piece-work, in an effort to make ends meet for their families. These women were faced with a very difficult labour market, exacerbated by a general discrimination against women in the workplace. They faced higher competition for jobs, which were characterized by starvation wages and long work days. As Barbara Harrison has shown, women were vastly underpaid relative to men, largely because "women were not expected to be in paid employment, or thought to need money to support themselves either fully or in part, or to have dependents, but rather to be economically dependent on men" (23). Furthermore, because many women took work into their homes—such as tailoring, constructing match boxes, and other handiwork—these trades were unregulated by the government safety inspections that took place in factories and public businesses. In the mid-1880s, the Conservative investigative journalist, Arnold White, began to

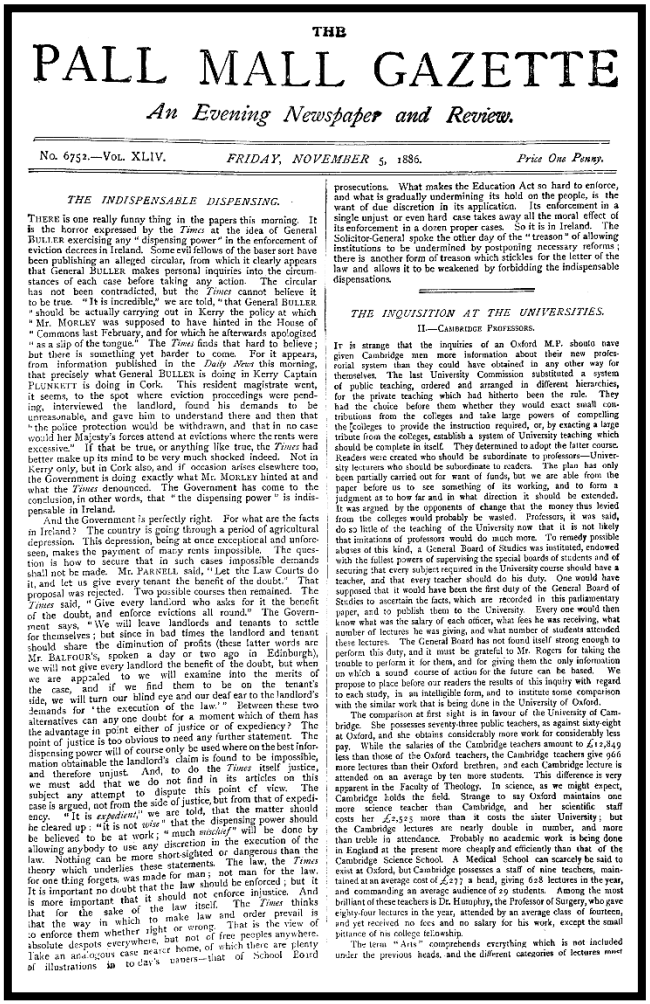
investigate the issue; he "trawled slum streets and alley ways to see for himself how the poor lived and discern the root causes of poverty" (Koven, "The Social Question," 45). White brought to light the high competition and inadequate wages that characterized women's labour in an 1886 book, *The Problems of a Great City*. In this book, White attributed the difficult labour market to Jewish immigrants, who "depressed wages by working exceptionally long hours at low pay in sweat shops. This in turn crowded the English poor out of the labour market" (Koven, "The Social Question," 45). White's conclusions spurred a number of debates surrounding women's labour issues, including, but not limited to: dock work, immigration, and what exactly constituted sweated labour. While a concrete definition of the term sweated labour had yet to be defined, this term would become a catch-all for exploitative employment—that is, for employers who over-worked their employees, in dangerous conditions, and for inadequate pay.

Like the Poor Law Board and the COS of earlier decades, the Board of Trade commissioned an investigation into the conditions of the London poor, in hopes of confirming or disproving the existence of exploitative employment, and of determining who was responsible. A number of organizations undertook to investigate the subject, including the *PMG* newspaper, which, in 1886, published articles examining various occupations available to working-class women. The Board of Trade's labour correspondent, J. Burnett, ultimately produced an official report in 1887: the *Report on the Sweating System at the East End of London*. Burnett's report sparked public debate over the various causes and culprits of the system, with some "deploring the [sweating] 'system' and condemning the

government's persistent neglect," and others deeming the very notion of sweated labour to be an exaggeration (Feltes 442). A more formal inquiry also ensued, with the House of Lords Select Committee resolving to conduct its own investigation into the so-called Sweating System, beginning in early May of 1888. Just as the press had covered the Poor Law Board's investigations of the workhouse, and the COS's inquiry into the issue of street begging, several newspapers covered the Select Committee's public inquiry, which called a number of witnesses, alleged sweaters, and local investigators to testify in public hearings. Thus, when Nicoll commissioned Harkness to conduct a series of investigations into women's labour, he did so amid not only a topical controversy, but also a competition between established investigative authorities—Arnold White, the *PMG*, The Board of Trade, and the House of Lords Select Committee—to investigate the issue.

Like the *PMG* and the *Globe*, the *BW* sought to harness not only the vigour of a political controversy, but also a further opening of periodical journalism and its readership. Nicoll described the *BW* as a "high-class journal," but he also desired for it to have "popular features; so that it will resemble the *Pall Mall Gazette* more than the *Spectator*" (qtd. in Ives 60). Although a journal with a Christian perspective, the *BW* openly aspired to the respectable popularity of the *PMG* newspaper. Since the *PMG*'s initial experiments with popular features in the 1860s, its price was lowered to a penny, and the length of its cover stories was reduced to feature two shorter, easy-to-read articles in place of a lengthy political one. While the *PMG*'s intended audience remained the middle-class, its so-called "popular features" appealed to Nicoll, over the conventions of weekly cultural journals or high-brow reviews like

the *Spectator*. That Nicoll attempted to align the *BW* journal (figure 20) with the *PMG* newspaper is obvious from its visual appearance, which closely mimics the two-column folio format made famous under Frederick Greenwood's editorship (figure 19). In addition to the *PMG*'s layout, the *BW* adapted the paper's typeface, as well as many of its established and "popular" genres. The *BW* similarly published a summary of the daily news, along with longer-form opinion writing, and literature reviews. The *BW*'s "Notes of the Week," for instance, smack of the *PMG*'s more popular features—namely, its "Occasional Notes," which had by then become iconic. Ironically, below the *BW*'s title, there appears a brief note remarking that the journal is "Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper." Thus, for all intents and purposes, the *BW* "journal" was, like the *PMG* and the *Globe,* a "newspaper," but in this case, was a newspaper that merely called itself a journal. As Alan Lee remarks, with the rise of New Journalism features, the newspaper was already "coming to resemble more closely the magazine" (128). While editors and publishers of the '60s drew on the open qualities of the popular newspapers, and in the '70s, on the personal tone of New Journalism, the '80s saw editors like Nicoll experimenting with the possibilities of fusing the anonymous, middle-class, daily newspaper with those of the weekly journal.



THE

PALL MALL GAZETTE

An Evening Newspaper and Review.

No. 6752.—Vol. XLIV. *FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1886.* *Price One Penny.*

THE INDISPENSABLE DISPENSING.

THERE is one really funny thing in the papers this morning. It is the horror expressed by the *Times* at the idea of General BULLER exercising any "dispensing power" in the enforcement of eviction decrees in Ireland. Some evil fellows of the baser sort have been publishing an alleged circular, from which it clearly appears that General BULLER makes personal inquiries into the circumstances of each case before taking any action. The circular has not been contradicted, but the *Times* cannot believe it to be true. "It is incredible," we are told, "that General BULLER "should be actually carrying out in Kerry the policy at which "Mr. MORLEY was supposed to have hinted in the House of "Commons last February, and for which he afterwards apologized "as a slip of the tongue." The *Times* finds that hard to believe; but there is something yet harder to come. For it appears, from information published in the *Daily News* this morning, that precisely what General BULLER is doing in Kerry Captain PLUNKETT is doing in Cork. This resident magistrate went, it seems, to the spot where eviction proceedings were pending, interviewed the landlord, found his demands to be unreasonable, and gave him to understand there and then that "the police protection would be withdrawn, and that in no case would her Majesty's forces attend at evictions where the rents were excessive." If that be true, or anything like true, the *Times* had better make up its mind to be very much shocked indeed. Not in Kerry only, but in Cork also, and if occasion arises elsewhere too, the Government is doing exactly what Mr. MORLEY hinted at and what the *Times* denounced. The Government has come to the conclusion, in other words, that "the dispensing power" is indispensable in Ireland.

And the Government is perfectly right. For what are the facts in Ireland? The country is going through a period of agricultural depression. This depression, being at once exceptional and unforeseen, makes the payment of many rents impossible. The question is how to secure that in such cases impossible demands shall not be made. Mr. PARNELL said, "Let the Law Courts do it, and let us give every tenant the benefit of the doubt." That proposal was rejected. Two possible courses then remained. The *Times* said, "Give every landlord who asks for it the benefit of the doubt, and enforce evictions all round." The Government says, "We will leave landlords and tenants to settle for themselves; but since in bad times the landlord and tenant should share the diminution of profits (these latter words are Mr. BALFOUR'S, spoken a day or two ago in Edinburgh), we will not give every landlord the benefit of the doubt, but when we are appealed to we will examine into the merits of the case, and if we find them to be on the tenant's side, we will turn our blind eye and our deaf ear to the landlord's demands for 'the execution of the law.'" Between these two alternatives can any one doubt for a moment which of them has the advantage in point either of justice or of expediency? The point of justice is too obvious to need any further statement. The dispensing power will of course only be used where on the best information obtainable the landlord's claim is found to be impossible, and therefore unjust. And, to do the *Times* itself justice, we must add that we do not find in its articles on this subject any attempt to dispute this point of view. The case is argued, not from the side of justice, but from that of expediency. "It is *expedient*," we are told, that the matter should be cleared up: "it is not *wise*" that the dispensing power should be believed to be at work; "much *mischief*" will be done by allowing anybody to use any discretion in the execution of the law. Nothing can be more short-sighted or dangerous than the theory which underlies these statements. The law, the *Times* theory which underlies these statements. The law, the *Times* theory which underlies these statements. The law, the *Times* for one thing forgets, was made for man; not man for the law. It is important no doubt that the law should be enforced; but it is more important that it should not enforce injustice. And that is the way in which to make law and order prevail is that the way in which to make law and order prevail is to enforce them whether right or wrong. That is the view of absolute despots everywhere, but not of free peoples anywhere. Take an analogous case nearer home, of which there are plenty of illustrations in to-day's papers—that of School Board prosecutions. What makes the Education Act so hard to enforce, and what is gradually undermining its hold on the people, is the want of due discretion in its application. Its enforcement in a single unjust or even hard case takes away all the moral effect of its enforcement in a dozen proper cases. So it is in Ireland. The Solicitor-General spoke the other day of the "treason" of allowing institutions to be undermined by postponing necessary reforms; there is another form of treason which stickles for the letter of the law and allows it to be weakened by forbidding the indispensable dispensations.

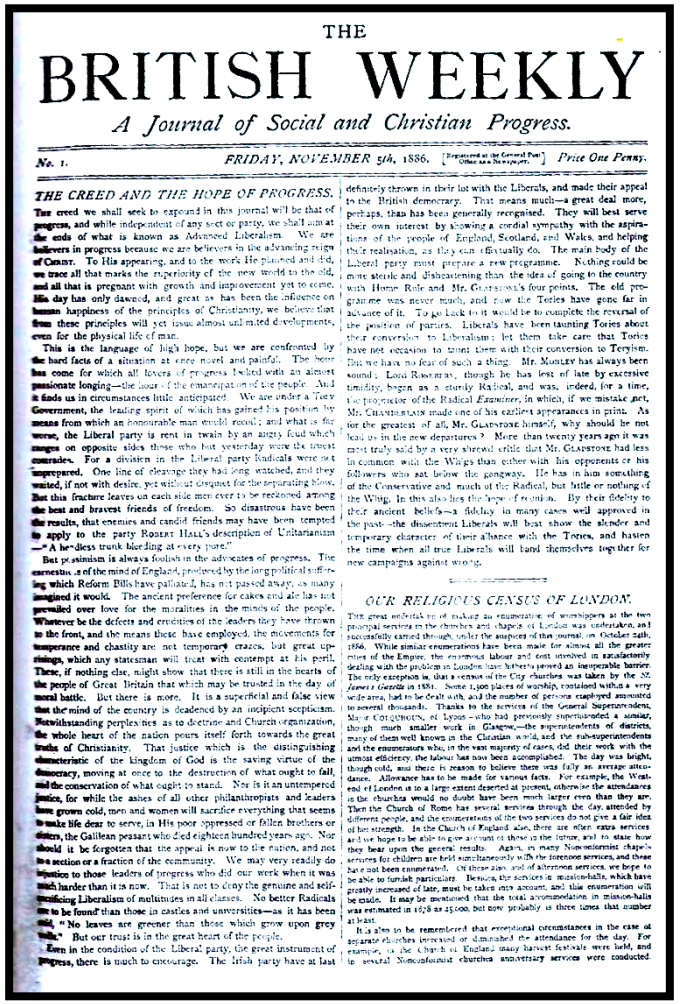
THE INQUISITION AT THE UNIVERSITIES.

II.—CAMBRIDGE PROFESSORS.

IT is strange that the inquiries of an Oxford M.P. should have given Cambridge men more information about their new professorial system than they could have obtained in any other way for themselves. The last University Commission substituted a system of public teaching, ordered and arranged in different hierarchies, for the private teaching which had hitherto been the rule. They had the choice before them whether they would exact small contributions from the colleges and take large powers of compelling the colleges to provide the instruction required, or, by exacting a large tribute from the colleges, establish a system of University teaching which should be complete in itself. They determined to adopt the latter course. Readers were created who should be subordinate to professors—University lecturers who should be subordinate to readers. The plan has only been partially carried out for want of funds, but we are able from the paper before us to see something of its working, and to form a judgment as to how far and in what direction it should be extended. It was argued by the opponents of change that the money thus levied from the colleges would probably be wasted. Professors, it was said, do so little of the teaching of the University now that it is not likely that imitations of professors would do much more. To remedy possible abuses of this kind, a General Board of Studies was instituted, endowed with the fullest powers of supervising the special boards of students and of securing that every subject required in the University course should have a teacher, and that every teacher should do his duty. One would have supposed that it would have been the first duty of the General Board of Studies to ascertain the facts, which are recorded in this parliamentary paper, and to publish them to the University. Every one would then know what was the salary of each officer, what fees he was receiving, what number of lectures he was giving, and what number of students attended these lectures. The General Board has not found itself strong enough to perform this duty, and it must be grateful to Mr. Rogers for taking the trouble to perform it for them, and for giving them the only information on which a sound course of action for the future can be based. We propose to place before our readers the results of this inquiry with regard to each study, in an intelligible form, and to institute some comparison with the similar work that is being done in the University of Oxford.

The comparison at first sight is in favour of the University of Cambridge. She possesses seventy-three public teachers, as against sixty-eight at Oxford, and she obtains considerably more work for considerably less pay. While the salaries of the Cambridge teachers amount to £12,849 less than those of the Oxford teachers, the Cambridge teachers give 966 more lectures than their Oxford brethren, and each Cambridge lecture is attended on an average by ten more students. This difference is very apparent in the Faculty of Theology. In science, as we might expect, Cambridge holds the field. Strange to say Oxford maintains one more science teacher than Cambridge, and her scientific staff costs her £2,525 more than it costs the sister University; but the Cambridge lectures are nearly double in number, and more than treble in attendance. Probably no academic work is being done in England at the present more cheaply and efficiently than that of the Cambridge Science School. A Medical School can scarcely be said to exist at Oxford, but Cambridge possesses a staff of nine teachers, maintained at an average cost of £237 a head, giving 628 lectures in the year, and commanding an average audience of 29 students. Among the most brilliant of these teachers is Dr. Hutchyry, the Professor of Surgery, who gave eighty-four lectures in the year, attended by an average class of fourteen, and yet received no fees and no salary for his work, except the small pittance of his college fellowship.

The term "Arts" comprehends everything which is not included under the previous heads, and the different categories of lectures must



THE

BRITISH WEEKLY

A Journal of Social and Christian Progress.

No. 1. *FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5th, 1886.* [Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.] *Price One Penny.*

THE CREED AND THE HOPE OF PROGRESS.

The creed we shall seek to expound in this journal will be that of progress, and while independent of any sect or party, we shall aim at the ends of what is known as Advanced Liberalism. We are believers in progress because we are believers in the advancing reign of CHRIST. To His appearing, and to the work He planned and did, we trace all that marks the superiority of the new world to the old, and all that is pregnant with growth and improvement yet to come. His day has only dawned, and great as has been the influence on human happiness of the principles of Christianity, we believe that from these principles will yet issue almost unlimited developments, even for the physical life of man.

This is the language of high hope, but we are confronted by the hard facts of a situation at once novel and painful. The hour has come for which all lovers of progress looked with an almost passionate longing—the hour of the emancipation of the people. And it finds us in circumstances little anticipated. We are under a Tory Government, the leading spirit of which has gained his position by means from which an honourable man would recoil; and what is far worse, the Liberal party is rent in twain by an angry feud which singes on opposite sides those who but yesterday were the truest comrades. For a division in the Liberal party Radicals were not unprepared. One line of cleavage they had long watched, and they waited, if not with desire, yet without disquiet for the separating blow. But this fracture leaves on each side men ever to be reckoned among the best and bravest friends of freedom. So disastrous have been the results, that enemies and candid friends may have been tempted to apply to the party ROBERT HALL'S description of Unitarianism —"A headless trunk bleeding at every pore."

But pessimism is almost as foolish in the advocates of progress. The exercise of the mind of England, produced by the long political suffering which Reform Bills have palliated, has not passed away, as many imagined it would. The ancient preference for cakes and ale has not prevailed over love for the moralities in the minds of the people. Whatever be the defects and crudities of the leaders they have thrown to the front, and the means these have employed, the movements for temperance and chastity are not temporary crazes, but great uprisings, which any statesman will treat with contempt at his peril. These, if nothing else, might show that there is still in the hearts of the people of Great Britain that which may be trusted in the day of moral battle. But there is more. It is a superficial and false view that the mind of the country is deadened by an incipient scepticism. Notwithstanding perplexities as to doctrine and Church organization, the whole heart of the nation pours itself forth towards the great truths of Christianity. That justice which is the distinguishing characteristic of the kingdom of God is the saving virtue of the democracy, moving at once to the destruction of what ought to fall, and the conservation of what ought to stand. Nor is it an untempered justice, for while the ashes of all other philanthropists and leaders have grown cold, men and women will sacrifice everything that seems to make life dear to serve, in His poor oppressed or fallen brothers or sisters, the Galilean peasant who died eighteen hundred years ago. Nor should it be forgotten that the appeal is now to the nation, and not to a section or a fraction of the community. We may very readily do injustice to those leaders of progress who did our work when it was much harder than it is now. That is not to deny the genuine and self-sacrificing Liberalism of multitudes in all classes. No better Radicals are to be found than those in castles and universities—as it has been said, "No leaves are greener than those which grow upon grey walls." But our trust is in the great heart of the people.

Even in the condition of the Liberal party, the great instrument of progress, there is much to encourage. The Irish party have at last definitely thrown in their lot with the Liberals, and made their appeal to the British democracy. That means much—a great deal more, perhaps, than has been generally recognised. They will best serve their own interest by showing a cordial sympathy with the aspirations of the people of England, Scotland, and Wales, and helping their realisation, as they can effectually do. The main body of the Liberal party must prepare a new programme. Nothing could be more sterile and disheartening than the idea of going to the country with Home Rule and Mr. GLADSTONE'S four points. The old programme was never much, and now the Tories have gone far in advance of it. To go back to it would be to complete the reversal of the position of parties. Liberals have been taunting Tories about their conversion to Liberalism; let them take care that Tories have not occasion to taunt them with their conversion to Toryism. But we have no fear of such a thing. Mr. MORLEY has always been sound; Lord ROSEBERY, though he has lost of late by excessive timidity, began as a sturdy Radical, and was, indeed, for a time, the proprietor of the Radical *Examiner*, in which, if we mistake not, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN made one of his earliest appearances in print. As for the greatest of all, Mr. GLADSTONE himself, why should he not lead us in the new departures? More than twenty years ago it was most truly said by a very shrewd critic that Mr. GLADSTONE had less in common with the Whigs than either with his opponents or his followers who sat below the gangway. He has in him something of the Conservative and much of the Radical, but little or nothing of the Whig. In this also lies the hope of reunion. By their fidelity to their ancient beliefs—a fidelity in many cases well approved in the past—the dissentient Liberals will best show the slender and temporary character of their alliance with the Tories, and hasten the time when all true Liberals will band themselves together for new campaigns against wrong.

OUR RELIGIOUS CENSUS OF LONDON.

THE great undertaking of making an enumeration of worshippers at the two principal services in the churches and chapels of London was undertaken, and successfully carried through, under the auspices of this journal, on October 24th, 1886. While similar enumerations have been made for almost all the greater cities of the Empire, the enormous labour and cost involved in exhaustively dealing with the problem in London have hitherto proved an insuperable barrier. The only exception is, that a census of the City churches was taken by the *St. James's Gazette* in 1881. Some 1,300 places of worship, contained within a very wide area, had to be dealt with, and the number of persons employed amounted to several thousands. Thanks to the services of the General Superintendent, Major COLQUHOUN, of Lyons—who had previously superintended a similar, though much smaller work in Glasgow,—the superintendents of districts, many of them well known in the Christian world, and the sub-superintendents and the enumerators who, in the vast majority of cases, did their work with the utmost efficiency, the labour has now been accomplished. The day was bright, though cold, and there is reason to believe there was fully an average attendance. Allowance has to be made for various facts. For example, the West-end of London is to a large extent deserted at present, otherwise the attendances in the churches would no doubt have been much larger even than they are. Then the Church of Rome has several services through the day, attended by different people, and the enumerators of the two services do not give a fair idea of her strength. In the Church of England also, there are often extra services at five hope to be able to give an account of these in the future, and to state how they bear upon the general results. Again, in many Nonconformist chapels services for children are held simultaneously with the forenoon services, and these have not been enumerated. Of these also, and of afternoon services, we hope to be able to furnish particulars. Besides, the services in mission-halls, which have greatly increased of late, must be taken into account, and this enumeration will be made. It may be mentioned that the total accommodation in mission-halls was estimated in 1878 as 45,000, but now probably is three times that number at least.

It is also to be remembered that exceptional circumstances in the case of separate churches increased or diminished the attendance for the day. For example, in the Church of England many harvest festivals were held, and in several Nonconformist churches anniversary services were conducted.

Figure 19. Cover of the *PMG*, Nov 5, 1886.

Figure 20. Cover of the *British Weekly*'s first issue, Nov 5 1886.

Whereas the *PMG* popularized its upper-middle-class Conservative conventions in the '60s, and the *Globe* personalized its New Journalism conventions in the '70s, however, the *BW* commercialized the very genre of the anonymous newspaper in the '80s by integrating it with the celebrity fiction conventional to illustrated weekly magazines. The *BW*'s weekly circulation on Fridays, along with its penny price, positioned it to compete more generally with the popular, non-religious papers of the day (Ives 58-59). Indeed, like the popular journals of earlier decades—the *IT*, the *PIP*, and the *EDM* included—the *BW* also published several illustrations. Nicoll desired that his "paper for Christian radicals" also "be equal in literary merit to the best published" (qtd. in Ives 60). Thus, in addition to publishing anonymous news, political articles, and reviews, the *BW* began also to incorporate in 1887 the popular fiction more commonly associated with magazines. Lee notes that "[o]ne aspect" in the conflation between newspapers and magazines after the 1880s was "the emergence of the serialised novel in the ordinary press" (Lee 128-9). The *BW*'s integration of the newspaper and the magazine, and its incorporation of serial fiction, thus reflects a culmination of the New Journalism transpiring in the *PMG* and the *Globe* in earlier decades.

Serial fiction offered a number of commercial advantages to the *BW*'s publishers, Hodder and Stoughton. Namely, the genre held wide popular appeal for all reading tastes, classes, and genders. Yet, publishing serial fiction by known celebrities was even more advantageous. New readers were drawn to particular editions, based on their familiarity with celebrity authors. The serial genre helped to ensure that they remained regular readers, as they followed each subsequent

installment of the novel. The journal also benefited from regular publicity on the celebrity author, including personal biographies, interviews, and related news stories, not to mention literary reviews and commentaries—which alone attracted readers, but also helped to sell related stories. Celebrity fiction offered additional advantages to publishers Hodder and Stoughton, who reissued the *BW*'s celebrity authors' novels in book format, published under its own imprint. Long after the serial had left its pages, the *BW* provided a forum for advertising the book edition, alongside similar works issued by the same publisher, Hodder and Stoughton. Thus, whereas the *PMG* and the *Globe* were confined to the anonymous conventions of newspaper publication, the mixed conventions of the *BW* authorized the publication of fiction associated with magazines, and even fiction with celebrity signatures and pseudonyms—yet still within the conventions of the established "newspaper." At the same time, by incorporating the serial fiction, under the rubric of the weekly journal, the *BW* also capitalized on the broader readership of magazines. Easley notes that the "miscellaneous format" of weekly journals "implied a mixed audience" (*First-Person Anonymous*, 4), thus rendering the *BW* a suitable genre for female readers. By publishing the serial novels associated with journals, then, the *BW* departed from the predominantly male readerships of the *PMG* and the *Globe* by positioning its penny "newspaper" towards various classes of women readers. Indeed, the *BW*'s turn to the subject of women's labour, within its mixed periodical conventions, can be seen as one way in which it endeavoured to open its pages to women readers. The journal's Christian perspective invited middle-class women charity workers and reformers to follow its discussions of women's labour, while

also engaging working-class women, seeking to educate them about their own employment.

Indeed, the *BW*'s decision to engage a female journalist and celebrity author to cover the subject of women's labour appears to have been part of this effort to draw more women readers. Harkness had acquired some celebrity following the publication of her first pseudonymous social-realist novel, *A City Girl,* in 1887.[95] Harkness was also, like Greenwood and Carlisle, a jobbing journalist, who had contributed to a variety of periodical genres on women's issues, many of these under her personal signature.[96] Whereas her earlier articles were all published in journals, however, the *BW*'s mixed publishing genre—as a newspaper modelled on the journal—provided a venue for Harkness to participate in the male-dominated field of general newspaper journalism, that was gradually opening to more women.

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[95] Sypher suggests that Harkness's novels, *A City Girl* (1887), *Out of Work* (1888), and *Captain Lobe* (1889) "were more widely distributed than the earlier novels of Gissing or the majority of the social novels of the 1890s" (106).

[96] Harkness authored at least six magazine or newspaper articles and two nonfiction books, in addition to her seven novels and two travel books on India. While working with the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party (Goode 49), she authored many articles related to socialist issues. She published articles on labour advocacy, such as "Women as Civil Servants" (1881) and "Railway Labour" (1882) for the *Nineteenth Century*, and two articles on "The Municipality of London" (1883) for the *National Review*. She published two articles on socialism for the *New Review*, "A Year of My Life" (1891) and "Children of the Unemployed" (1893), contributed numerous letters to the editor under both her own name and her pen name, John Law, to *Justice,* the weekly paper of the Social Democratic Federation, as well as to the *Star* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* (Kirwan ix-x). She also published a pamphlet, *Imperial Credit* (1899), and several successful social-realist novels dealing with London and Manchester's working and unemployed classes, including *A City Girl* (1887), *Out of Work* (1888), *A Manchester Shirtmaker*, published by the Author's Co-operative Publishing Co. (1890), and *George Eastmont, Wanderer* (1905), as well as two novels on the Salvation Army, *Captain Lobe* (1889) retitled *In Darkest London* (1890), and *A Curate's Promise: a story of Three Weeks* (Sept 14-Oct 5, 1917) (1921). Harkness also reflected on the Salvation Army in selected articles and letters. In her anthology of women's slum writing, Ellen Ross suggests that Harkness may have written "A Sketch of Life in Buildings" on behalf of an anonymous "Lady Resident" for Charles Booth's *Labour and Life of the People in London, Vol. 1, East London* (1889) (see Ross 40). Harkness's last published works appear to be a novel set in India, called *The Horoscope* (1914), and two books about her travels in India in 1907 & 1914 (Sypher 177, n.6), before her death in 1923.

Whereas newspapers began to employ more women journalists, to position themselves towards more women readers, women journalists like Harkness remained constrained nonetheless by the genres in which they could respectably publish their work in newspapers. As Harkness recalled in her interview with the *LENP*, the *BW*'s editor, on learning of her gender, confined her contributions to anonymous reporting on women's issues, and to celebrity serial fiction. As a fully-fledged example of the New Journalism, the *BW*, like the *Globe*, conventionally published personal articles, including a regular gossip column, called "Table Talk" (Ives 69). During this period, personal-interest content, and especially, personal interviews, were considered a suitably feminine genre for women journalists. As Koven suggests, women were thought to "naturally" possess "an abundance of precisely those traits so essential to the successful interviewer: gift for provoking conversation larded with salient gossip, tact, charm, an eye for the details of dress and speech, and personal diplomacy" (152-3). For this reason, they not only gained access to the genre of interviewing, but became established authorities based on historical assumptions about their gender. In addition to women interviewers, the *BW* also used serial fiction, signed by well-known women authors, to open its pages to more women readers. The *BW* had published a novel by celebrity author Annie S. Swan in the fall of 1887, for instance, and would follow *Captain Lobe* with Amy Levy's *Miss Meredith* in the spring of 1889. Within the conventions of the *BW*, then, anonymous interviewing and celebrity fiction were the sanctioned genres for women journalists. Although the *BW* might have attached Harkness's personal signature to her novel, in order to advertise her gender in the vein of Annie Swan,

the *BW* instead adopted her male pseudonym, John Law, in order to tie *Captain Lobe* to the celebrity reputation of her earlier novels. Her anonymous "newspaper" articles, however, periodically alluded to the Commissioner's gender as a woman. While amateur male journalists like Greenwood and Carlisle freely published in a range of genres, and gained authority through masculine discourses like the political state inquiry and intrepid personal reporting, women journalists like Harkness were thus confined to women's and mixed periodicals, and to the more "feminine" genres of anonymous interviewing and serial fiction. Indeed, the *BW* used the anonymous interview and the pseudonymous fiction to open its pages to women readers, while also closing the authority of its anonymous female investigator against more masculine and conspicuous reporting.

Closing *Captain Lobe* and "Tempted London" in the *BW*

While historians have tended to read Harkness's pseudonymous novel and anonymous journalism as part of a single study of women's labour, these texts were not only authored in two textual genres, but were also closed as distinctive periodical publishing genres in the *BW*. Whereas scholars have focused on the series' parallel periodicity, the *BW* actually published the first installment of Harkness's pseudonymous *Captain Lobe* on April 6, 1888, three weeks prior to the anonymous "Young Women" articles (431). In fact, the first chapter of the novel initially appeared not with the "Young Women" articles, but instead, just a few pages after the eighth installment of "Tempted London: Young Men" (422).[97] The April 6, 1888 installment on "Young Men" focuses on "What the Churches are Doing" to help

[97] See table I, p. 192.

working-class men of the East End (422). If this article can be said to provide a framework for the first installment of *Captain Lobe*, which was printed nine pages later, the article highlights the novel's focus not on women's labour, but on the church of the Salvation Army. Indeed, closed by Harkness's male pseudonym, John Law, Harkness's novel can initially be seen as an investigation of a male charity worker, Captain Lobe, rather than of a female slum worker, or of women's labour in London. The *BW* thus closes the first chapter of Harkness's novel within the framework of "Young Men" and religion, prior to even announcing the series on young women.[98] Beginning in the following week's issue, however, on April 13, 1888, the *BW* advertises on its front cover the upcoming series on "Young Women." This advertisement perhaps begins to offer a new framework for *Captain Lobe*, which appears eight pages later in the issue. This second installment of the novel introduces its young female protagonist, Ruth Weldon, who lives in the East End of London. While the advertisement potentially frames the new female focus of *Captain Lobe*, however, the two series remain differently titled, written in different textual genres, are differently signed, and are consistently published eight to nine pages apart throughout the entirety of their print run.

In fact, while historians have seen both "Tempted London" and *Captain Lobe* as engaging with the social conditions of women's labour, the first installment of "Tempted London"—rather than *Captain Lobe*—on April 27, initiates this focus. The first installment of "Tempted London" appears in the *BW*'s front-page turnover

[98] Both the "Tempted London: Young Men" series and *Captain Lobe* are also serialized using the abbreviation for "chapters" (ch.) whereas "Tempted London: Young Women" appears with "numbers" (no.). See table I, pp. 192-193.

position, unframed by a political stance—an orientation which the *Globe* previously used to draw readers into its pages. While the publishing framework of "An Unprofessional Vagabond" tied its turnover article to the genres of personal reporting, to the Amateur Casual, and to the Shah's visit to London, however, the *BW*'s framing of its series under the title of "Tempted London: Young Women" closes the article's focus on gender. That is, by publishing the first installment beneath a title which emphasized its gendered subject, the *BW* closed the articles' engagement with not only the subject of young women, but perhaps also, with a woman readership, and even with its young woman reporter. The first installment, which includes a number in its subtitle, "No. 1 – Flower Girls" (482), provides the article's topic, while also drawing readers into an ongoing series that will continue in each weekly edition. Thus, the *BW* draws on the turnover position and the serial format employed in the *Globe*. Yet, whereas the *Globe*'s personal reporting frames Carlisle's narrative, the *BW*'s mixed publishing genre and title frames the gendered focus of Harkness's narrative.

As a periodical positioned towards all classes and genders of reader, the title of "Young Women" frames the narrative's particular focus on the interests of women. The first installment examines the work, wages, and living conditions of the East End flower girl. In particular, the report describes the anonymous female Commissioner's excursion to Seven Dials, to interview young flower and cress girls living near the Covent Garden Market. Like Greenwood and Carlisle, who narrated self-consciously their crossing of the threshold from middle-class society into the slums, the anonymous Commissioner highlights her entrance into the terra

incognito of working class women. She later describes "[m]ounting a steep, dark staircase," to access the cress girl's home, where "I came to a room the door of which stood open. The room measured eight feet by ten feet, certainly not more. The window was broken, and a dirty yellow apron was stretched across the cracked glass" (4 May 1888, 11). Unlike in Greenwood and Carlisle, the body of the young woman Commissioner is never revealed within the report. Yet, her gender is occasionally apparent in her subjects' responses to her as a "she." Since the report takes the form of an interview, its dual voice departs from the first-person metanarrative of Greenwood and Carlisle. That is, the "Tempted London" Commissioner reports the questions that she asks and quotes her interviewee's response, rather than recording the entire narrative in the first person. Through her interview, the anonymous Commissioner reveals that, with some luck, cress girls can make a decent living:

> Our Commissioner inquired how much Mrs. ---- made in the week by selling flowers with the assistance of her six daughters.
>
> "Depends on the market. If the flowers are good and cheap we get a tidy bit of money." (27 April 1888, 1)

Rather than embodying both class perspectives within the reporter's personal narration, the report articulates two separate voices, the middle-class Commissioner's, and the flower seller's.

Framed not only by the title's focus on attracting women, but also by the *BW*'s position towards all classes of readers, the interview can be seen to target the interests of both working- and middle-class women. The flower seller, in her own voice, speaks to the variability of the profession, informing working women that

they should not expect stability. The Commissioner's own measured, middle-class speech, in contrast to the "tidy bit of money" described by the interviewee, can be seen to address the *BW*'s middle-class women readers, who, like the Commissioner, had begun increasingly to enter the slums in their own investigations of the poor. Prochaska observes that women commissioners like the *BW*'s took up the practice of investigating via "institutional visiting" and philanthropic "rescue work" beginning in the 1850s (Prochaska 188). Beatrice Potter [later Webb], for instance, the reputed social investigator and Harkness's cousin, had begun as a domestic case-worker for the COS in 1883, then as a "Lady Rent Collector" for the East-End's Katherine Buildings in 1885 (Epstein Nord 133). The Katherine Buildings were an early form of social housing for the working poor, and its Lady Rent Collectors acted as social workers, observing both the premises and its inhabitants' well-being at the same time as they collected payments. Margaret Harkness herself lived in the Katherine Buildings in the fall of 1886 (Kirwan viii), reflecting a trend among middle-class women to take up domestic settlement among the lower classes as a means of both investigating and influencing their social conditions.[99] Epstein Nord notes that, by the 1880s, many women had "gain[ed] the right to do officially, publically and professionally what they had been doing in an unacknowledged and unpaid form" earlier in the century (117). Middle-class women investigators, many

[99] In her 1890 interview with the *London Evening News and Post* (*LENP*), Harkness claimed that living there for "several months" offered the "opportunity" of "seeing and studying life there" ("A Slum Writer," 17 April 1890, 2). Epstein Nord notes that Harkness's lived experience in the East End offered her "the unique position of being able to observe both the rent-collectors and the tenants' reactions to them" (Epstein Nord 127). Both Harkness and Webb would ultimately realize that the working-class subjects, on whom rent collectors reported, were wise to the "hypocrites, shams, and detectives" in their midst, and ultimately compromised any real insight into their private lives (Nord 124). The limited access afforded by their middle-class perspective may have spurred both women's experimentation with covert tactics.

of them within a Christian context like the *BW*'s Commissioner, could be "seen at factory gates, dockyard dining halls, and workingmen's canteens, with needlewomen in sweat shops and with navvies at their encampments as charitable workers among the poor" (Prochaska 182). The interview thus positions itself towards working-class women, seeking information on the conditions of various sources of employment. The young woman reporter's gender, and her work as a middle-class commissioner, also positions her narrative in relation to middle-class women like herself, who have begun to enter the slums in large numbers as religious and philanthropic visitors and as social workers.

The *BW*'s conventions position the "Tempted London" interviews in relation to working- and middle-class women readers just days before the Lords Select Committee begins its hearing on women's sweatshop labour during the week of May 7, 1888. In fact, the *BW*'s female investigator can be seen to counter the perspectives of the male authorities who have thus-far entered the debate over women's labour. Like the Amateur Casual and the Unprofessional Vagabond, who emphasize their reporting outside of investigative conventions, the anonymous Commissioner's excursion to the private homes of the flower girls positions her report against the public streets and factories typically targeted by conventional male authorities. In fact, the *BW*'s 'young woman' framework positions the female Commissioner specifically against the perspective of the *PMG*, which had become known for its masculine investigations of working-class issues. The Commissioner frames her interviews with flower girls with direct allusions to the *PMG*'s anonymous male investigator, who conducted an investigation into "Our Flower

Girls" two years earlier (3 March 1886, 6). She suggests that, while the *PMG* had emphasized the flower girl's "vice" and "temptations" for the public house, as well as the fact that 'very few of them ever marry[ing],' her own private interviews in their homes indicate otherwise (4 May 1888). She finds flower girls to be "very faithful" to their so-called "husbands" (4 May 1888). She also remarks that, in spite of being "unmarried" and disinterested in attending church, they behave respectably to one another (4 May 1888). Considering the two-year separation between the Commissioner's interview and the *PMG* reports, the *BW* did not close its female investigator's report within a particular discussion of flower girls. Rather, the *BW* closes against male journalists the gendered authority of its anonymous commissioner, whose very gender provides her access to the private, interior spaces of working women that are prohibited to male reporters.

While scholars often turn to *Captain Lobe* as an investigation into women's labour, this week's installment of the novel, on May 4, 1888, leading up to the Select Committee's hearings, engages with the subject neither of women investigators nor of women's labour. Instead, this chapter of the novel traces Ruth Weldon's family history, and concludes with her decisive statement that she will join the Salvation Army. Indeed, the *BW* even omits its installment of *Captain Lobe* for the following week, May 4, 1888, the last issue prior to the beginning of the Committee's hearing during the week of May 7, 1888. The female Commissioner, however, continues her interviews with London flower girls for the two subsequent weeks. Yet, while the *BW* explicitly distinguished the "Tempted London" report from the fictional subject of *Captain Lobe*, and worked to close the Commissioner's interview as a counter

perspective on male investigations, the *BW*'s publishing conventions increasingly closed the serial novel within the topical debate over women's labour in London.

In fact, during the Select Committee's first week of hearings, the *BW*'s conventions positioned *Captain Lobe*, rather than "Tempted London," against the public testimony of investigators. In particular, the *BW* framed the fictional Ruth Weldon as a middle-class undercover reporter, alongside Beatrice Potter's testimony on May 10, 1888 about her own undercover reporting on women's labour. The Select Committee had already called many male witnesses, including Arnold White, alleged sweaters, tailors and machinists, church ministers, when the social investigator Beatrice Potter appeared. In January of 1888, Potter had published an article, "The Sweating System," in the *Charity Organization Review* in January of 1888, to coincide with Arnold White's "The Invasion of Foreign Paupers" in the *Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* that same month. Potter noted in a May 12, 1888 diary entry that she "gave evidence before the Lords Committee" on May 10, and that "Arnold White was there" (251). Potter had explicitly worked to counter White's authority as a male investigator by conducting her own first-hand investigation of the East End tailoring trade, from the perspective of a woman. Since the exploitation of women's work was the focus of the inquiry, Potter's gender afforded her a unique opportunity to gain an inside view of the subject in question. During the hearing, she professed to have trained as a tailor, donned a disguise, and acquired a job as a shirt hand in the East End tailoring trade. Potter used her incognito approach to learn about the factory workers, how women were treated,

and what they were paid.[100] When *Captain Lobe*'s description of Ruth Weldon's fictional tour of the Salvation Army appeared the following day, on May 11, 1888, the *BW*'s conventions worked to close the tour alongside Potter's as an undercover investigation of the slums.

The *BW* published its May 11, 1888 installment of *Captain Lobe* apart from its regular contents, on the thirty-ninth page of its "Free Supplement." Yet, the newspaper framework of "Tempted London: Young Women," nonetheless framed Ruth's fictional tour of the Salvation Army as an incognito investigation of the East-End slums. Considering that Potter publicly testified to her undercover approach on May 10, 1888, *Captain Lobe*'s fictional incognito aligned as much with the public inquiry as did the anonymous interviews that had weekly been appearing in "Tempted London." In the fictional installment of *Captain Lobe*, Ruth shadows two Salvation Army workers for insight into their mission. She accompanies the slum saviours in their tour around Covent Garden Market on their way to Seven Dials, the same area of the slums examined by the "Tempted London" commissioner. Yet, whereas the "Tempted London" Commissioner visits the girls' private homes, the slum saviours tell Ruth that they "don't mind going to common lodging-houses and public-houses" (*Free Supplement*, 11 May 1888, 39), akin to the public factories and tailor shops frequented by Potter.

[100] Potter had been conducting social investigations as part of a larger study of the East End for Charles Booth's seventeen-volume series, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1889-1903).

While they visit domestic environments as the *BW*'s anonymous Commissioner does, Ruth observes that, under the protection of the Salvation Army uniforms, the girls also freely navigate public spaces.

Ruth also observes that the slum saviours' costumes or disguises play an important role in their ability to travel throughout the slums. They wear "short blue skirts, white aprons, black hats, and vests with 'Salvation' embroidered in red letters on the breast" (*BW Supplement*, 11 May, 1888, 39). Judith Walkowitz explains that the Victorian "Salvationist woman," also known as the slum sister, slum lassie, or slum saviour, was a familiar sight in the East End of London (*City of Dreadful Delight* 75). The slum lassie, she explains,

> cultivated a […] respectable demeanor": dressed in "military" uniform, topped by a "Quaker-like bonnet," she presented herself as an androgynous figure, whose liminality allowed her to travel through a range of social spaces in London. The army uniform enabled her to cross over to the West End; it also marked her off visually from the "dangerous" fallen women of Piccadilly and protected her from "male pests" while serving on midnight patrol. (*City of Dreadful Delight* 75)

Thus, like Potter who used disguise to access the public spaces of the tailoring factories, the slum lassies use their dark-coloured uniform and poke bonnet as a kind of cover, that allows them to freely, but respectably, wander the London slums. Walker notes that, in the 1880s, members of the Salvation Army were beginning to wear even more distinctive uniforms that consisted of a "plain, dark dress and jacket edged with braid was worn with a black straw bonnet trimmed in black ribbon" (Walker 116). Some women also wore red jerseys with mottoes embroidered in yellow and small brooches shaped like a shield or an S" (Walker 116). The identifiable uniform of the slum lassie sanctioned her entry into "dangerous"

territories, frequented by the working and lower classes. Indeed, while not yet a member of the Army herself, Ruth dons the dark clothing of her guides to immerse herself in their work, while maintaining her respectability as middle-class woman. She remarks that her dark clothing stands apart from that of working-class women, who wear more distinctive "decorative" and "colourful" dresses (*BW Supplement* 117). The young women's uniforms carry them through their social and evangelical work, which involves attending meetings, conducting home visits, and working with fallen women, children, and the sick. Their clothing also allows them to traverse the open streets and public houses, where they distribute the Army's *War Cry* newspaper, and preach the Army's Christian message (Walker 114). Like the slum saviours, Ruth adds to her incognito immersion by carrying a stack of the Salvation Army's *War Cry* newspapers as she follows the Lassies through lodging houses, public houses, and penny gaffs, distributing the leaflets as she goes. Here, the newspapers themselves lend her a kind of "cover." Her own impersonation of a slum lassie in these scenes, even though she has not officially become one, affords her the same freedom and respectability as those sanctioned by their work for a religious charity. While the *BW*'s anonymous "Tempted London" Commissioner had been weekly interviewing her subjects in the private spaces of their homes, these articles' focus on young women's labour and the practice of investigation worked to close the fictional Ruth Weldon as an incognito slum saviour alongside Potter's public disclosure about undercover reporting.

Ironically, newspapers reporting on Potter's testimony framed her testimony about undercover investigation as that of slum lassie, akin to Harkness's fictional

portrayal in the Christian *BW* journal. Potter had testified on May 10, Ruth Weldon toured the slums on May 11, and the *PMG* described Potter as a slum lassie in its description of her testimony on May 12, 1888. The *PMG* remarked that "the only witness" that day "was a lady—Miss Potter" who was "dressed in black and wearing a very dainty bonnet, tall, supple, dark, with bright eyes, and quite cool in the witness chair [...] fluent on coats and eloquent on breeches" ("The Peers and the Sweaters" 3). The *PMG* emphasizes Potter's dark clothing, which gave her the appearance of a middle-class slum savour. The paper also reported that Potter had "a voice [that] was a little shrill," and was like what "General Booth would call [...] a slum sister" ("The Peers and the Sweaters" 3). The *PMG*'s description, following Harkness's fictional slum lassie the previous day, not only aligns the slum lassie with incognito reporting, but also highlights the constraints faced by middle-class women conducting undercover investigations. That is, middle-class women not only benefitted from the respectability afforded by the slum saviour's uniform, but their class and gender also limited their participation in a male tradition of undercover investigation to middle-class, gendered, and charitable performances of respectability. Middle-class women could only respectably don the disguises of other respectable, middle-class women, like the salvation lassies.

Thus, while the *BW*'s publishing conventions closed the slum lassie alongside Potter's undercover reporting, theirs is a model of investigation constrained by a necessary assertion of class and gender that inevitably undermines the very notion of incognito. Ellen Ross notes that women, because of their dress, were

> far more conspicuous as classed bodies than were their male counterparts. Men clothed themselves effortlessly for slum expeditions in expensive but dark-hued tweeds. For women, dressing was more involved, for true female gentility was signaled by elaborate costumes, underclothing, and headgear. (16)

Women gradually began to adopt simpler clothing—such as dark-coloured, shorter skirts and blouses—alongside their move into social work (Ross 17). Yet women like Potter, who came from a wealthy family, were still expected to display their "gentility" in order to assert their respectable femininity in public. Dressing as slum saviours was one of the few means by which women could respectably navigate the slums, without risking accusations of impropriety and even mannishness. As the *PMG* report demonstrates, Potter's testimony, too, was constrained by notions of middle-class women's propriety. The *PMG* story emphasized Potter's class and gender as a "young-lady-amateur" ("The Peers and the Sweaters," 12 May 1888, 3). In fact, the *PMG* questions the credulity of Potter's testimony, based on the doubt that a respectable upper-class woman could even pass for a working-class tailor. The *PMG* suggests that, contrary to Potter's claim to have been undetected, she likely had the "connivance […] of the masters" ("The Peers and the Sweaters," 12 May 1888, 3). Even as Potter herself insisted that she had been able to pass for a working-class woman in her investigations, the *PMG* reinforced the impossibility for a high-voiced, "dainty" woman, versed in clothing, to pass through the slums incognito, except in the guise of a "slum sister."

Captain Lobe's fictional portrayal of the slum lassie reinforces the conundrum of the middle-class woman investigator, alongside Potter's public testimony. Ruth notices that, at the same time as the middle-class slum saviour

relies on being visible to achieve authority and respectability while traversing the slums, this visible respectability compromises her authority. As she wanders the streets with the slum saviours, women cry "Holloa, Salvation!" to them from their doorsteps (*BW Supplement*, 11 May, 1888, 39). Ruth herself garners attention for her appearance, which makes her stand out among the poor. A young boy says, "Bless your golden hair [....] If I want saving I'll come to you, miss" (*BW Supplement*, 11 May, 1888, 39). As the lassies preach the Army's message through *War Cry* newspapers which they distribute in public houses, their appearance perpetually attracts attention. Men in the public houses 'laugh and shout,' declaring that "they did not care for sing-songing, and that they knew 'a deal more' than the Salvation Army" (*BW Supplement*, 11 May, 1888, 39). This visibility colours their exchanges with the people they encounter, who "begged them to visit a sick relation" (*BW Supplement*, 11 May, 1888, 39). One man professes that it is "hell to live in a place like this," and in the next breath, asks for food and money, after which he promises to "attend salvation" church (*BW Supplement*, 11 May, 1888, 39). Ruth's description indicates that the slum saviours' investigative work among the poor is framed by their conspicuous identity, which taints the authenticity of the working-class stories they encounter. More importantly, she remarks that her visibility compromises her authority among working-class women, who "pinch us, and throw things at our heads" when they see the lassies coming (*Free Supplement*, 11 May 1888, 39). Unlike the anonymous Commissioner of "Tempted London," who freely interviews her subjects in their private homes, the conspicuous lassies of *Captain Lobe* meet

resistance by the working women they meet as their conspicuous presence likewise exposes working women in public.

Framed not only by the *BW*'s mixed conventions, and by the "Tempted London: Young Women" investigations, but also by the male pseudonym attached to Harkness's fiction, the middle-class undercover lassie points to the constraints of women's undercover reporting in the period. Limited to maintaining her respectability as a slum lassie, the middle-class woman investigator can neither pass for a legitimate incognito, nor access the private lives of her female subjects in public. In this sense, the *BW*'s fictional portrayal echoes the previous chapter's reading of Thomas Carlisle, whose turn to visibility compromises his incognito credibility, even as it lends him authority as a journalist. Yet, whereas becoming visible, conspicuous celebrities by republishing their reports in other genres lent male journalists like Greenwood and Carlisle professional authority, women's public visibility and celebrity instead jeopardized their authority as respectable journalists.

Victorian Women Investigators and the Undercover Tradition

Very few women journalists have been recovered within Victorian studies of undercover reporting. In fact, Beatrice Potter, who published her undercover report on the tailoring trade in the monthly intellectual journal, the *Nineteenth Century* (September 1888), is the only female British undercover reporter that has been identified prior to the 1890s.[101] Due to the limited number of undercover women discovered, many anthologies include twentieth-century reports by Mary Higgs and

[101]Koven's *Slumming*, Donovan and Rubery's *Special Commissions*, and Ross's *Slum Travellers*, for instance, include only one example of incognito disguise in women's journalism prior to the twentieth century, and that is Potter's "Pages."

Olive Christian Malvery among those authored by male Victorian journalists.[102] Mary [Kingsland] Higgs reported on London "tramp wards" for the *Daily News* and the *Contemporary Review* (1903), republishing her work in a signed book, *Glimpses into the Abyss* in 1906.[103] Olive Christian Malvery, an Anglo-Indian woman, investigated London street labourers for "Gilding the Gutter," published in *Pearson's Magazine* in 1905. Anthologies also frequently include the work of American journalist, Elizabeth Banks, among reports by British writers. Banks impersonated a domestic servant in order to investigate women's work in Britain, from the perspective of an American.[104] Her "In Cap and Apron" was published in the *Weekly Sun* (1893), and reprinted in her *Campaigns of Curiosity* (1894). She also contributed several reports to Britain's *English Illustrated Magazine* during the period.

In recent years, scholars have recovered a few additional British women who published undercover reports in the 1890s. For instance, Laura Vorachek[105] has recuperated T. [Anna Mary] Sparrow's reports on "London Street Toilers" for *The*

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[102] Freeman and Nelson's *Vicarious Vagabonds*, Donovan and Rubery's *Special Commissions*, and Ross's *Slum Travelers* all include samples from Higgs; the latter two anthologies also contain examples by Malvery. Again, Beatrice [Potter] Webb's report appears in these collections as the only example of the genre published prior to the twentieth century.

[103] "Five Days and Five Nights as Tramp Among Tramps" appeared in the *Daily News* in 1904; *Three Nights in Women's Lodging's Houses*" (1905) was published in pamphlet format by the Women's Charity of Oldham; "The Tramp Ward" appeared in the monthly *Contemporary Review* in 1904 and was reprinted as a pamphlet. The majority of her reports were published under the pseudonym "Viatrix," but appeared under her own signature in *Glimpses into the Abyss* in 1906.

[104] Koven notes that while Banks "may have been familiar with" Beatrice Potter, "it is much more likely that she modeled herself after the outrageous journalistic campaigns undertaken by female reporters in New York in the 1880s and 90s—the so called stunt girls and sob sisters" (Koven 157). Donovan and Rubery (208), as well as Lutes (13), suggest that Banks pioneered women's stunt reporting in Britain, although there were clearly precedents in the works of Carlisle, Potter, Mary Warren and Mrs. Williamson.

[105] See "Playing Italian: Cross Cultural Dress and Investigative Journalism at the Fin de Siècle" in *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45.4 (Winter 2012).

Newbery House Magazine (1894), Eva Bright's installment on organ grinders for the *English Illustrated Magazine*'s "How the Other Half Lives" series (1894)[106] and Frances Bourne's "A Lady's Experiences as an Organ-Grinder" (1900), also for the *English Illustrated Magazine*. Vorachek's work extends the number of recovered Victorian women undercover reporters to four: Potter, Sparrow, Bright and Bourne, compared with roughly twelve to fifteen examples by male journalists. Yet Vorachek's study, which links these women reporters to the Greenwoodian tradition, seems to take for granted their publication with illustrations and signatures, and within illustrated magazines, as mere advances in technology. Indeed, all of the women's undercover reports treated in current scholarship make visible the reporter's gender through signature and illustration (fig 21-23).[107] While signatures can help to identify women writers, this critical trajectory disregards the importance of anonymity both to undercover reporting in the newspaper, and to women journalists like Harkness in earlier decades.

Alongside the rise of New Journalism, and the opening of the press to all classes and genders of readers, periodicals like the *BW* increased the visible presence of women reporters through images, signatures and women's genres, in order to expand its readership. The rise of serial fiction, interviewing, domestic and women's columns provided many new opportunities for women journalists, and gave women a visible presence in periodical culture. A journalist's gender was

[106] Vorachek notes that the *English Illustrated Magazine*'s "How the Other Half Lives" series, which ran from 1894-1897, also featured contributions from Elizabeth Banks (411). Vorachek's description of these women enacting cross-cultural performances as Italian street musicians appear to follow in the vein of Carlisle's 1873 reports for the *Globe*.

[107] Banks's identity was made publically known in the press immediately following her undercover reports in Britain, for instance. By October 28, 1893, just six days after the first installment of her "In Cap and Apron" series, English critics were already referring to her by name.

Figure 21. Table of Contents from *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* (Sept 1888) showing Beatrice Potter's signed "Pages from a Work-Girl's Diary" (301).

Figure 22. American journalist Elizabeth Banks investigating British domestic servants. Her "In Cap and Apron," was re-published in *Campaigns of Curiosity* (1894).

Figure. 23 Frances Bourne disguised "In the Italian manner" for "A Lady's Experiences as an Organ-Grinder," *English Illustrated Magazine* 21 (Nov 1900): 23.

increasingly viewed as a commodity, which publishers exploited to boost the sales of their papers. Yet, many publishers also highlighted a woman reporter's gender as a site of controversy, within a press that remained overwhelmingly male, and that hinged on masculine discourses of authority like politics and incognito journalism. As Beasley and Gibbons have shown, publishers exploited women's femininity by "assigning them stunts deemed especially daring for women," in anticipation of "tear-jerking accounts" they could use to sell newspapers (111). Periodicals that highlighted a women's gender through her cross-class disguise, whether through headlines, signatures, or visual imagery, framed the very idea of transgressing established class and gender expectations as a controversial stunt in itself. Readers were not expected to believe that the studio portrait of Elizabeth Banks's in her "Cap and Apron" (figure 22), for instance, was really occurring at the site of an investigation (Koven 142).

Many genres which advertised women's gender did so at the expense of their participation in an anonymous, covert tradition of reporting initiated by Greenwood. Alexis Easley has shown that women themselves capitalized on visibility, using "signed publication [...] to make names for themselves" as writers (*First-Person Anonymous* 5). Indeed, as figures 21-23 illustrate, making oneself visible in signature or in portraiture provided a way for women to establish themselves within the field of journalism. Yet women journalists also crucially manoeuvred the constraints on their gender in order to preserve their respectability. By focusing on reports which place women's bodies at the centre of

their reporting, then, scholars potentially misinterpret as undercover investigations of social issues articles that explicitly made a stunt of women's class and gender.

This existing scholarly trajectory is troubling not simply for its limited attention to the ways in which periodicals framed women's undercover reporting in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century. Rather, it is especially problematic for its tendency to disregard the very publishing constraints faced by most women journalists in decades prior to the 1890s and early 1900s. Whereas visibility could advantage male reporters, as seen in the signed republication of anonymous articles by Greenwood and Carlisle, women investigative journalists like Potter and Harkness were constrained by their gender to write, publish, and even perform in genres deemed to be appropriately feminine. Indeed, whereas publicizing one's identity could be advantageous to male journalists, who "were expected to construct public identities" (Easley, "Literary Celebrity," 12), the exposure of journalists as women made them vulnerable to all kinds of public scrutiny. Easley remarks "Famous women authors were often held accountable to confining definitions of 'female authorship', which constrained their choice of subject matter" ("First-Person Anonymous," 1), a claim that holds true for Victorian investigators like Potter and Harkness. Upon learning of Harkness's gender, Nicoll prohibited her from investigating male subjects. Harkness was also restricted from signing her reports, and was instead confined to anonymous interviewing and to portraying slum saviours in pseudonymous fiction.

Not surprisingly, Beatrice Potter, whom scholars have embraced more enthusiastically as an undercover reporter, was equally constrained by her gender

to feminine genres and discourses of investigation. Following from her 1888 testimony, Potter published an account of her undercover tailoring experience in the *Nineteenth Century*, a signed, intellectual journal. While Potter was becoming a recognized social investigator—evident by her publishing genre—her signature, as well the report's title, framed the report within gendered conventions. The title, "Pages from a Work-Girl's Diary" (October 1888), closed her undercover report as a private, autobiographical diary, in contrast to the publicity that framed her original testimony. In fact, while historians identify Potter's description of donning a disguise to enter the factory as Greenwoodian undercover reporting, they have been less attentive to the gender constraints that frame her investigative narrative. Closed by her signature and by the feminine genre of the diary, Potter's undercover report bears traces of the original constraints encountered in her public testimony five months earlier. Echoing the *PMG*'s sexist commentary, and perhaps also, Harkness's slum-lassie discourse, Potter's undercover report draws on the middle-class respectability afforded by the salvation lassie's uniform. She recounts having disguised herself in "buttonless boots," a "short, but already bedraggled skirt," an "ill-fitting coat," and a "tumbled black bonnet" to investigate the East-End tailoring trade undercover ("Pages" 302). Like Ruth and the Salvation Lassies in Harkness's fictional account, Potter alludes to how the dark clothing and bonnet both conceal her class identity and lend her respectability as she enters a working-class area of Whitechapel. She reports that her clothing allows her to seamlessly integrate, while standing out for her respectable associations to the Army. When a young seamstress asks her, "'Do you belong to the army?" Potter reminds readers of her

particular clothing. She recounts how the girl "glanc[ed] at my plain grey dress, and no doubt remember[ed] my close black bonnet" ("Pages" 312). Although Potter replies that she is not a member of the Salvation Army, her clothing, like the fictional Ruth Weldon's, leads her working-class subject to believe that she truly is one. By describing her dark, slum-saviour dress and bonnet, Potter narrates the respectability of her undercover performance. Yet, she also alludes to the constraints placed upon making her disguise covert, by its very identification with the conspicuous Salvation Army. Just as Harkness's gender confines her to incognito interviewing and pseudonymous slum lassie fiction in the *BW*, Potter's gendered signature frames her report as a diary, and as an incognito made conspicuous through her Salvation Army uniform.

Analyzing the ways in which gender conventions informed the publishing of women's reports in the period complicates the very distinctions between journalism and fiction that marginalizes women like Harkness from the canon of investigative reporting. Indeed, Potter herself was constrained to fiction when she testified in the public hearing. When Potter alleged that she continued to work as a tailor for several days, she was accused of perjury, and forced to amend her statements. Potter wrote in her diary that she perceived this event not simply to be a result of her dishonesty, but rather, as a "[d]isagreeable consequence[s] of appearing in public" (16 May 1888, 251). She was compelled to amend her testimony to be less "dramatic" (MacKenzie and MacKenzie 231), suggesting that her public display of

upper-class femininity made her accountable for a less-daring testimony, which took precedent over her credibility as an investigator.[108]

While making public her gender constrained Potter's testimony to fiction, the publicization of Harkness's gender in the *BW*, conversely, constrained her fiction to investigative testimony. On December 7, 1888, the *BW* advertised in its "Table Talk" column a Christmas Souvenir Book, which included portraits of those "most identified with the paper": Claudius Clear, Hector Ogilvy, and "John Law." The inclusion of John Law's "portrait" undoubtedly publicized Harkness's true appearance in the body of a woman.[109] While it does not appear that any copies of this souvenir book survive, its likely publication of Harkness's identity seems to coincide with the demand for Harkness to personally account for the fictional details of *Captain Lobe* as a form of testimony. In her interview with the London Evening News and Post, Harkness recalls that *Captain Lobe* "brought me into great trouble, as I was threatened with action for Libel" (17 April 1890, 2). Indeed, shortly after Hodder and Stoughton released an early book version of *Captain Lobe*, subtitled *A Story of the Salvation Army*, in 1889 (figure 24), the book was pulled from the shelves for its scathing portrayal of the Salvation Army.

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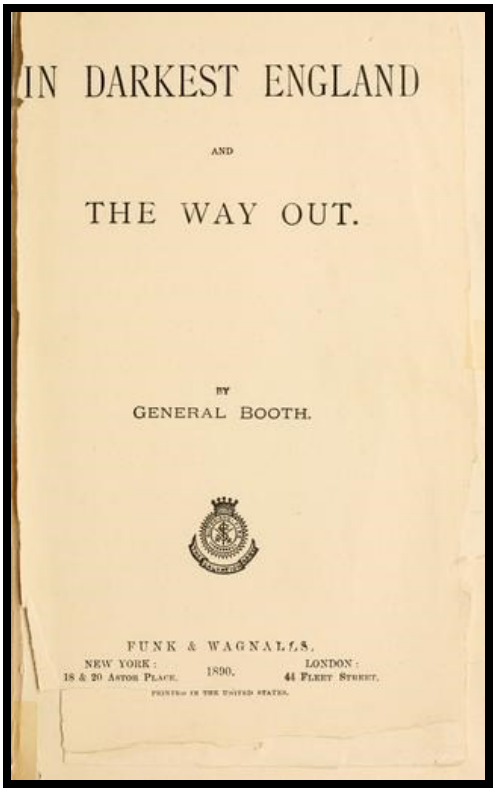
[108] While Potter drew on the male tradition of incognito reporting associated with the Amateur Casual to authorize her public investigation, she would ultimately testify that the true perils of women's labour could be seen not in factories and tailor shops, but in the unregulated and uninspected domestic sphere more conventionally associated with women investigators.

[109] Historians have often remarked that only one portrait of Harkness is known to exist—an illustration, which was published, along with her profile, in the journal, *The Queen* (1890). The portrait appeared under the caption "Miss M.E. Harkness (John Law)," and was reproduced as the frontispiece of her 1890 novel *A Manchester Shirtmaker: A Realistic Portrait of Today*. I t is possible that this illustration may have been reproduced from the *BW's* souvenir book, considering that Harkness's image—whether as an illustration or photograph—does not appear to have been widely published. This detail is perhaps valuable for the insight it may offer into Victorian women journalists' efforts to shield their public visibility from scrutiny.

Figure 24. Cover of the original Hodder & Stoughton shilling version of *Captain Lobe: A Story of the Salvation Army*, 1889.

Even though Hodder and Stoughton published *Captain Lobe* as a work of illustrated fiction, the revelation of Harkness's gender as a woman, rather than the male John Law, encouraged biographical readings of her novel as first-person investigative journalism. As Easley has demonstrated, "literary celebrity was not without its perils" as publicizing women's identities often "exposed their personal lives to public scrutiny" ("First-Person Anonymous," 1). Just as Potter's publicity compelled her to reframe her testimony as fiction, Harkness's celebrity in the *BW* compelled Hodder and Stoughton to re-issue *Captain Lobe* in a new edition, as investigative journalism. *Captain Lobe* was reframed by a cover that excluded the earlier version's playful illustration. It was also re-titled from *A Story of the Salvation Army* to *Into Darkest London: A New and Popular Edition of Captain Lobe*, aligning Harkness's fiction with a work of investigative journalism of the same title, written by William Booth of the Salvation Army. The implications of this re-branding are also patent in the material qualities of the book, which visually replicate General Booth's social investigation; Harkness's title and title page (figure 26) mirrors General Booth's (figure 25). The "new and popular edition" of *Captain Lobe* is also

framed by Booth's new introduction to Harkness's novel, attesting to its authenticity. This version of Harkness's *Captain Lobe* remains in print today, and points to the complexity of ways in which the visibility of women's gender demanded a renegotiation of the very terms of realism that conventionally governed journalism and fiction in the period. While attaching a woman's signature to undercover reporting could construe it as fiction, publicizing her authorship of fiction invited biographical readings, and accusations of libelous journalism.


IN DARKEST ENGLAND

AND

THE WAY OUT.

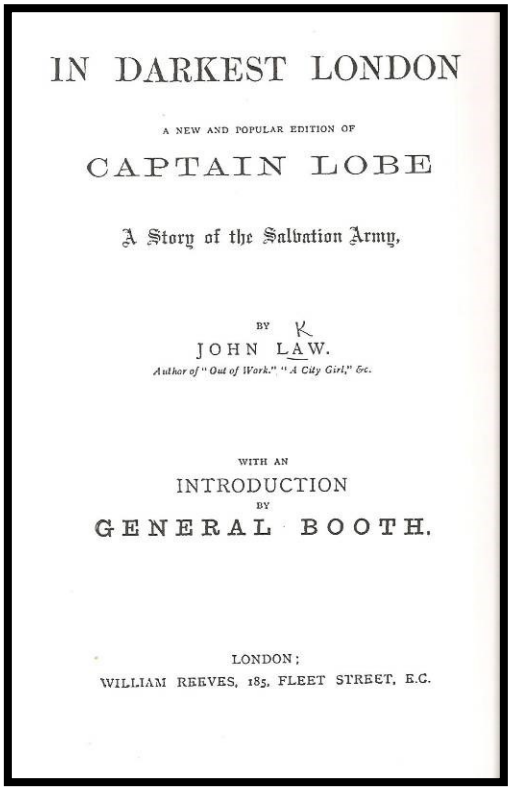
BY

GENERAL BOOTH.

FUNK & WAGNALLS,

NEW YORK: 18 & 20 Astor Place. 1890. LONDON: 44 Fleet Street.

Figure 25. Title page of William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, 1890.


IN DARKEST LONDON

A NEW AND POPULAR EDITION OF

CAPTAIN LOBE

A Story of the Salvation Army.

BY

JOHN LAW.

Author of "Out of Work," "A City Girl," &c.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION

BY

GENERAL BOOTH.

LONDON:

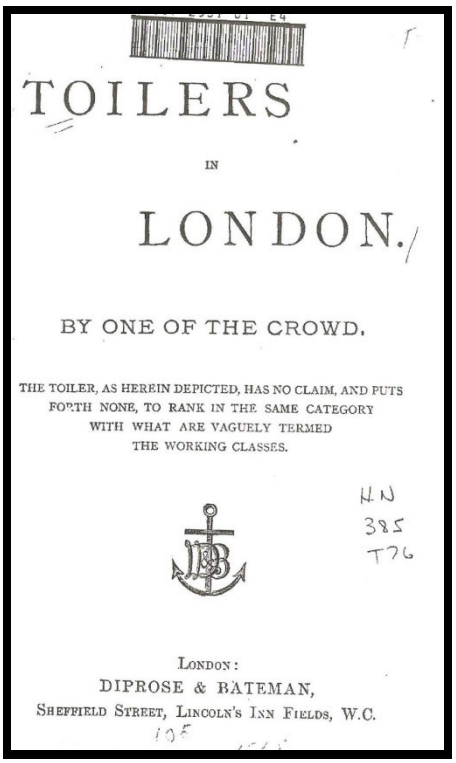
WILLIAM REEVES, 185, FLEET STREET, E.C.

Figure 26. Title page of the reissued version of Margaret Harkness's *Captain Lobe*, published under the title, *In Darkest London*, 1890.

While scholars have focused on women undercover reporters that visibly exposed their gender through signature and portraiture, the publishing history of both Potter's investigative journalism and Harkness's investigative fiction illustrate some of the ways in which public visibility constrained women reporters to genres not only of periodical and book publishing, but of narration, testimony, fiction, and realism. Joel Wiener has suggested that "British journalists have always had a more tenuous relationship to investigative journalism than their American counterparts, in part because of the existence of a more restrictive legal system in that country" (*The Americanization of the British Press* 39). It seems likely that women's undercover reporting may have also developed differently in Britain, as a result of the different ways in which women's speech and clothing were expected to embody class and femininity. Indeed, whereas male undercover reporters used personal voices to narrate their cross-class experiences, the anonymous female interviewer never impersonates or ventriloquizes her subjects, but maintains her own middle-class voice alongside her working-class female subject, who always speaks for herself.

Yet, as this chapter has argued, this is not to say that women's gender, investigative practice, or literary conventions, fully determine the nature of her incognito reporting. Rather, though mirroring social attitudes about gender in the period, distinctive periodical conventions, like the *BW*'s, frame the genres of women's undercover reporting in the period. Indeed, Hodder and Stoughton's publication of a book version of "Tempted London: Young Women," also in 1889, worked to close Harkness's reports not simply as women's anonymous

interviewing, but also as incognito reporting in Britain. While its "Tempted London: Young Men" book collection retained its original title, the "Young Women" series was altered to *Toilers in London* (figure 28), explicitly appropriating the title of a recent collection by James Greenwood, also called *Toilers in London* (1887) (figure 27). Considering that the advertisement of John Law's identity had called Harkness to account for her representations in *Captain Lobe*, it may not have been coincidental that Hodder and Stoughton identified the author of "Out of Work" as the reports' "editor," rather than as their anonymous female Commissioner.


TOILERS

IN

LONDON.

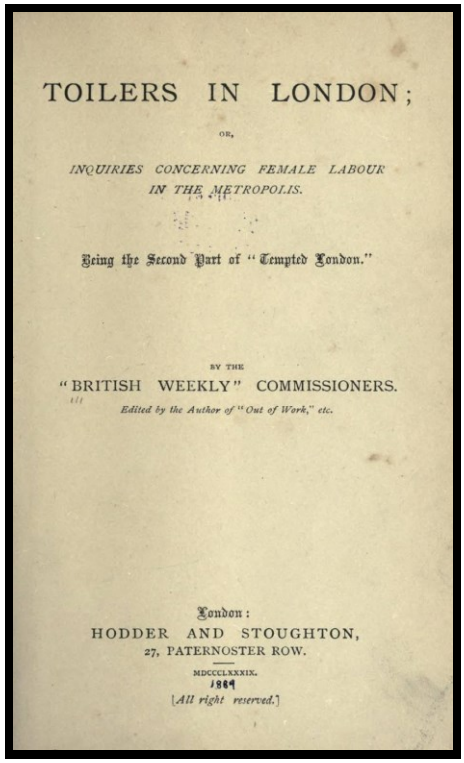
BY ONE OF THE CROWD.

THE TOILER, AS HEREIN DEPICTED, HAS NO CLAIM, AND PUTS FORTH NONE, TO RANK IN THE SAME CATEGORY WITH WHAT ARE VAGUELY TERMED THE WORKING CLASSES.

HN
385
T76

LONDON:
DIPROSE & BATEMAN,
SHEFFIELD STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

Figure 27. Cover page of James Greenwood's *Toilers in London*, "By One of the Crowd" (1887), by Diprose & Bateman, railway book sellers.


TOILERS IN LONDON;

OR,

INQUIRIES CONCERNING FEMALE LABOUR IN THE METROPOLIS.

Being the Second Part of "Tempted London."

BY THE

"BRITISH WEEKLY" COMMISSIONERS.

Edited by the Author of "Out of Work," etc.

London:
HODDER AND STOUGHTON,
27, PATERNOSTER ROW.
MDCCCLXXXIX.
1889
[All right reserved.]

Figure 28. Cover page of *Toilers in London*, "By the 'British Weekly' Commissioners" (1889), which reprints the BW's 1888 "Tempted London: Young Women" series.

While Harkness herself had investigated women's labour for six months prior to the articles' publication, and likely drew on multiple investigative techniques in addition to personal interviewing, she claimed in her interview with the *LENP* to have authored all of the reports which she edited. Signing her reports in the plural, however, by the "British Weekly Commissioners," afforded the *BW*, Hodder and Stoughton, and Harkness herself, the necessary "obscurity [...] to maintain social respectability" (*Literary Celebrity* 12) as a female investigative reporter, outside the constraints associated with both pseudonymous fiction and gendered, celebrity journalism. Whereas scholars focus on visible women reporters, then, Potter's signed investigative journalism, Harkness's pseudonymous fiction, and her anonymous interviewing illustrate the complex ways in which publishing framed women's participation in the Greenwoodian incognito tradition.

Conclusion: Undercover Women of the 1890s

By the 1890s, women were increasingly visible as undercover reporters. Even as women journalists entered the field in larger numbers, however, many of their undercover reports continued to engage with the respectable cross-class disguise of the Salvation Army lassie.[110] The *PMG*, for instance, commissioned its

[110] The *Daily News* also published an investigative report (not explicitly undercover) that described its female "Special Investigator" touring the slums with a Salvation Lass as her guide. See "Distressed London" (2 Jan 1891): 3. Additionally, the American journalist, Elizabeth Banks, recalled in her *Autobiography of a 'Newspaper Girl'* (1902), that she had been commissioned to pose as a slum lassie while reporting in England in 1893. While she ultimately did go through with the report, her chapter on "Why I did not Become a Salvation Army 'Lassie'" details purchasing the relevant attire: "thick boots, such as I thought I should need for 'marching' […] keeping intact an amount that I thought would be sufficient for the purchase of the poke bonnet and dark blue dress" (Banks 107). Banks, however, was advised by another editor to turn down the commission, as she "would ruin" her "whole future literary and social career" because she "would prejudice all the religious people of

female reporter to immerse herself in the organization of the Salvation Army by going undercover. Her report, "A Week as a Salvation Lass: An Inside View of the Salvation Army at Work," was published anonymously as the *PMG*'s turnover story on Wednesday, January 28, 1891.[111] The reporter, who was later revealed to be Mrs. Williamson, described acquiring a Salvation Army uniform, attending meetings, and distributing the Salvation Army's *War Cry* newspapers throughout the slums. Her report was also reprinted in the *PMG*'s companion weekly digest, the three-penny *Pall Mall Budget* (the *PMB*), for all ages, classes, and genders of readers, accompanied by an illustration (figure 29).[112]

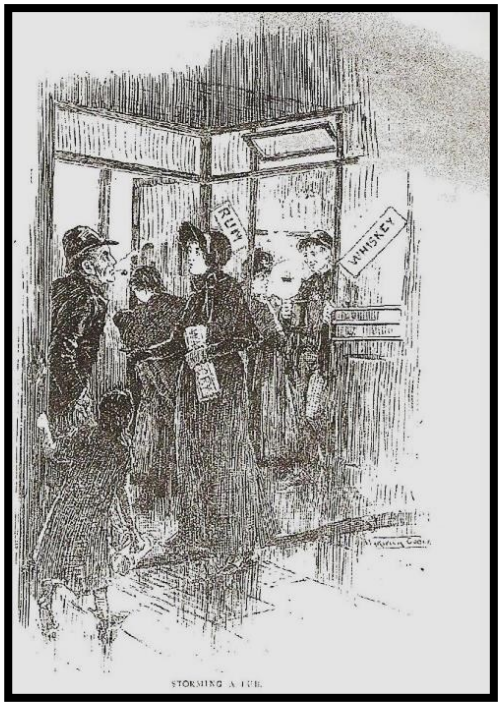


Figure 29. "Storming a Pub" in "A 'Week as a Salvation Lass" by "Our Special Commissioner," *Pall Mall Budget* (29 Jan1891): 5. Reprinted from the *Pall Mall Gazette* (28 Jan 1891): 1.

England and even of [her] own county against [her]" (Banks 109). Perhaps previous representations, like Harkness's, had set an unfavourable precedent.

[111] The *PMG* also published a sequel to this investigation, which involved Mrs. Williamson bringing her Salvation Army uniform to the pawn shop, as a means of reporting on the pawn business at the same time. The article, "The 'Poor Man's Bank'" was published on Friday, February 13, 1891, p.3.

[112] By the early 1890s, the *PMG* itself included some illustrations. The *PMB* reprinted some the *PMG*'s news and opinion articles, adding columns on fashion and music-hall performances, as well as a children's page, a women's page, cartoons, and "over fifty illustrations in each Issue" (*PMG*, Thursday, Jan. 29, 1891).

While her report was published anonymously, the *PMG* reframed her anonymous, un-illustrated article within the illustrated publishing conventions of the *PMB*, to highlight her femininity. Thus, even as women entered the press in larger numbers, their reports continued to replicate many of the gendered publishing constraints of the earlier decade.

While the Salvation Army, it seems, continued to provide a respectable framework for women journalists to enter the slums under cover, this is not to say that women journalists were restricted to the conspicuous guises of slum saviours. In October of 1891, for instance, a journalist by the name of Mary Warren described donning the disguise of an out-of-work domestic servant to investigate a Salvation Army shelter. Warren's "A Salvation 'Doss' House By a Lady Amateur Casual" (February 1891) was published in the high-brow sixpenny monthly *Paternoster Review*, which contained literary, religious, historical, and political articles. Although Warren's report retains the feminine disguise of a domestic servant, her report extends the parameters of Salvation Army investigation to the organization's version of the casual ward, popular with Greenwoodian reporters of the 1860s. While Warren's report appeared in an un-illustrated intellectual journal, however, her report, like Potter's, featured her feminine personal signature. Warren's report replicates many of the features of British women's reporting, including the Salvation Army. Yet, her disguise as a domestic servant out of work connects her to the narrative discourse of Nellie Bly discussed in the previous chapter. Her description of this gendered attire also ties her reporting to Elizabeth Banks's 1893 "In Cap and Apron." Indeed, it is perhaps not surprising that critics have recovered a number of

visible women undercovers publishing in Britain, following the Americanization of the British press signaled by the rise of New Journalism.

Throughout the 1890s, women's reports as Salvation Lassies and domestic servants appeared throughout popular and intellectual periodicals, as well as in the mainstream newspapers. Women undercover reporters were also featured in the photographs and illustrations that accompanied their reports, often framed by personal signatures or pseudonyms. Yet many journalists and publishers continued to navigate the constraints of women's public visibility by publishing their reports anonymously or with signatures, framed by various respectable disguises, and even by diverse approaches to incognito reporting, including interviewing. Mrs. Williamson, for instance, variously posed in the *PMG* as a slum lassie, a Lady "Amateur Casual" positioned against a Haroun Alraschid, and as an anonymous interviewer.[113] Her March 14, 1892 report, "Two Nights in a Workhouse: The Experiences of a Lady 'Amateur Casual'," replicates many of the original features of Greenwoodian undercover reporting solidified in the *PMG*, not the least of which includes her appropriation of Greenwood's famous moniker, "The Amateur Casual." The *PMG* aligns her investigation with the "male "Amateur Casual" [...] an old story

---

[113] The *Supplement to the Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* acknowledged that Mrs. Williamson had already produced a number of undercover reports for the *PMG*. In its 1891column, "Talent and Tin: Celebrities of Both Sexes," the *Chronicle* remarked that:

> The special lady commissioner of the *Pall Gazette*, who has been 'spying' for a week in the Salvation Army ranks, in the regulation bonnet and cloak, is Mrs. Williamson, a smart young lady journalist, who has successfully performed other missions not less delicate [....] Another enterprising thing she did was to get several of Whiteley's young men paraded and to inspect them in the character of a hostess requiring guests at a guinea a head. She has passed as an influenza patient to West End doctors in order to get their cures. She has submitted her bump of curiosity to two phrenological professors in order to afterwards confound them, and she has explored the East End for picturesque copy with an indifference to personal discomfort that of itself proves her quite a plucky woman. (7 Feb 1891, 12)

in the Pall Mall Gazette" ("Two Nights in a Workhouse," 14 March, 1892, 1). Mrs. Williamson even draws, almost verbatim, from Greenwood's "A Night in a Workhouse" in her meta-narration of how she duped the workhouse porter:

> "Where did you sleep last *night*?"
> "Hammersmith," I answered—*as I hope to be forgiven*!
> ("A Night in a Workhouse," 13 January 1866, 10)

> "I gave an address in a back street at London Fields—boldly, as I hope to be forgiven."
> ("Two Nights in a Workhouse," 14 March, 1892, 1)

Her report replicates the long tradition of positioning itself against a public official. In this case, the *PMG* positions her report against the President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Ritchie, who spent the night as a "Haroun Raschid [sic.]" ("*Pall Mall Gazette* Office," 15 March 1892, 6) in the Bermondsey casual ward with a fellow official. Mrs. Williamson's report appears in the turnover position that characterized Carlisle's earlier articles. The *PMG* positions Mrs. Williamson's report against this Haroun Alraschid by highlighting her unconventional foray into the unknown territory of the female casual ward. She claims that "no attempt has yet been made, so far as we are aware, to throw the search-light of experimental journalism upon the condition of the Female Casual" ("Two Nights in a Workhouse," 14 March, 1892, 1). Thus, she also follows from Harkness's anonymous Commissioner in investigating the female spaces to which her gender provides her intimate access. Indeed, the *PMG* solidifies the femininity of female Amateur Casual by integrating a newer convention of women's investigative journalism in the '90s: placing an illustration at the centre of the article, which highlighted Mrs. Williamson's gendered body (figure 30).

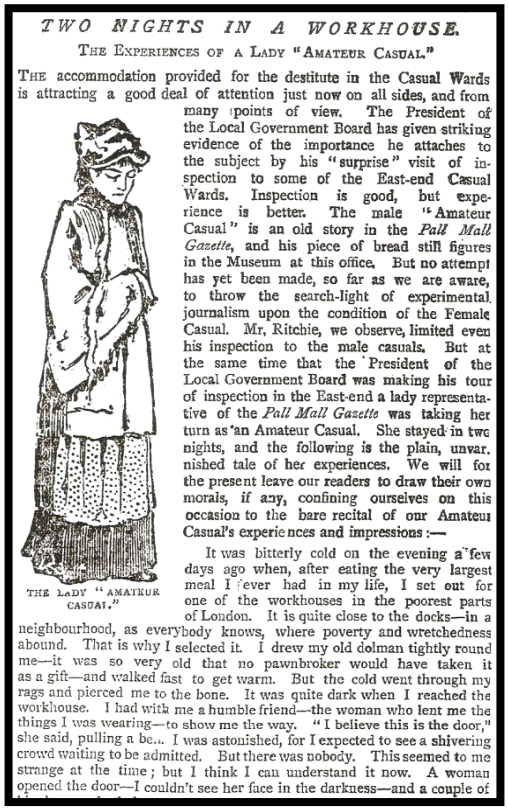
While illustration had become conventional to women's undercover reporting even in the daily newspaper, as a means of reasserting their femininity within a predominantly masculine genre and tradition, this public visibility perpetuated some of the constraints faced by Potter and Harkness in the previous decade. *The National Observer* claimed that the Victorian public was utterly sick of women reporters claiming to be "Amateur Casuals," as Mrs. Williamson had. The paper described women's undercover reporting in the East End as a "middle-class fad" (19 March 1892, 452):

> Regardless of whether it's true, whether she gains any insight, or any knowledge of experience has become irrelevant. The poor 'have not the same emotions as a middle-class lady from Bloomsbury' [....] these are empty stunts but used to advertise copy. (19 March 1892, 452)

Thus, like Potter, whose class and gender prohibited her from being able to testify about going undercover for several days, Mrs. Williamson's status as a middle-class woman "from Bloomsbury" restricted her from being able to pass for working class—whether in body, in speech, or in emotions. The *PMG* responded to the impediments of its female undercover reporter, however, by publishing a second report by Mrs. Williamson, which instead modelled Harkness's approach as a female Commissioner for "Tempted London." The second installment of the Lady Amateur Casual, which appeared almost two months later, took the form of an anonymous interview. This two-part report[114] finds "Our Lady Amateur Casual" posing as an unemployed domestic servant undercover, and spending "A Night in a Salvation Army Shelter." While this report, reprinted in the *PMB*, again adopts the

[114] The first installment was published on Monday, May 2 (1-2), the second on Tuesday, May 3, 1892 (1-2), and re-printed in a single installment in the *PMB* on, Thursday, May 12, 1892 (682-683).

conventions of illustrated women's journalism, however, it is perhaps telling that the sketch acts not as a portrait of the journalist, but rather, as a sketch of her undercover investigation (figure 31). Here, she sits in a bed next to the subjects she interviews. While sitting upwards works to distinguish her from her subjects, her face is darkened by a wide-brimmed hat, making her both inconspicuous and visible as a female undercover journalist.



TWO NIGHTS IN A WORKHOUSE.

THE EXPERIENCES OF A LADY "AMATEUR CASUAL."

THE accommodation provided for the destitute in the Casual Wards is attracting a good deal of attention just now on all sides, and from many points of view. The President of the Local Government Board has given striking evidence of the importance he attaches to the subject by his "surprise" visit of inspection to some of the East-end Casual Wards. Inspection is good, but experience is better. The male "Amateur Casual" is an old story in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and his piece of bread still figures in the Museum at this office. But no attempt has yet been made, so far as we are aware, to throw the search-light of experimental journalism upon the condition of the Female Casual. Mr, Ritchie, we observe, limited even his inspection to the male casuals. But at the same time that the President of the Local Government Board was making his tour of inspection in the East-end a lady representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* was taking her turn as an Amateur Casual. She stayed in two nights, and the following is the plain, unvarnished tale of her experiences. We will for the present leave our readers to draw their own morals, if any, confining ourselves on this occasion to the bare recital of our Amateur Casual's experiences and impressions :—

THE LADY "AMATEUR CASUAL."

It was bitterly cold on the evening a few days ago when, after eating the very largest meal I ever had in my life, I set out for one of the workhouses in the poorest parts of London. It is quite close to the docks—in a neighbourhood, as everybody knows, where poverty and wretchedness abound. That is why I selected it. I drew my old dolman tightly round me—it was so very old that no pawnbroker would have taken it as a gift—and walked fast to get warm. But the cold went through my rags and pierced me to the bone. It was quite dark when I reached the workhouse. I had with me a humble friend—the woman who lent me the things I was wearing—to show me the way. "I believe this is the door," she said, pulling a be... I was astonished, for I expected to see a shivering crowd waiting to be admitted. But there was nobody. This seemed to me strange at the time; but I think I can understand it now. A woman opened the door—I couldn't see her face in the darkness—and a couple of

Figure 30. "The Lady 'Amateur Casual'" from "Two Nights in a Workhouse," *Pall Mall Gazette* (14 March 1892): 1.

"WE TALKED FOR SOME TIME."

Figure 31. "We Talked for Some Time" from "A Night in a Salvation Army Shelter," *Pall Mall Budget* (12 May 1892): 683.

Indeed, Mrs. Williamson's reports can be seen to negotiate not only the continued constraints of middle-class women's undercover reporting, but also the continued conflicts between the genres of British incognito and "American" stunt journalism. At the same time as she follows in the footsteps of British reporters like Greenwood, Carlisle, Potter, Harkness, and Warren, Mrs. Williamson periodically adopts the trademarks of American stunt reporter, Nellie Bly: the disguise of the unemployed domestic servant and the portrait illustration. The *PMG*'s publication of her reports can thus also be seen as an experiment with American-style commercial stunt reporting in Britain, on the cusp of the paper's purchase by American businessman, William Astor, later that year.[115] In the *National Standard*'s critique of Mrs. Williamson's report, one finds traces of this British newspaper holding an American-style stunt reporter to the standards of social-investigative reporting in Britain. Mrs. Williamson's subsequent incognito interview, like Harkness's, can be seen to respond to the emerging constraints between American and British women's undercover journalism. Mrs. Williamson's 1890s reporting points to promising new directions for the study of undercover reporting in print culture scholarship. Her work in diverse disguises, genres, and forms speaks to an "eruption" (Brake, "Subjugated Knowledges," 51) not only between popular and middle-class newspapers, but also between British and American journalism, gathering force in the latter half of the century.

[115] Ironically, the "Americanized" *PMG* would go on to subsume the *Globe* in 1921.

Table I. *British Weekly* Serialization Schedule - April to December, 1888

British Weekly	**"Tempted London"**	**PG#**	**"Captain Lobe"**	**PG#**
April 6	"Young Men" Ch. 8 "What the Churches are Doing"	422	Ch. I - Captain Lobe	431
April 13	"Young Women" advertised (Cover)	443	Ch. II – Ruth	451
April 20	"Young Men" Ch. 8 "What the Churches are Doing" (Free Supplement)	478	Ch. III – Ruth's History	471-472
April 27	" Young Women" No. 1 Flower-Girls (Cover Turnover)	482	Ch. IV – "I Wish to Dedicate Myself to the Army's Service"	491-492
May 4	No. 1 – Flower Girls	11-12	---	
May 11	No. 1 – Flower Girls	22-23	Ch. V - Slumdom (Free Supplement)	39
May 18	No. 4 - Match-box Makers (Cover Turnover)	41	Ch. VI - Slumdom	51
May 25	No. 4 – Box Makers No. 5 – Palm Workers	62	Ch. VI – Slumdom	71
June 1	No. 5 – Palm Workers No. 6 – Brush Makers	78-79	Ch. VII – What it is to be Agnostic Ch. VIII – An East End Doctor	71-72 87
June 8	No. 6 – Brush Makers pp. 94-95		Ch. VIII – An East End Doctor	103
June 13	No. 7 – Fur-Pullers (Turnover)	113-114	Ch. IX – "He Fascinates Me"	123-124
June 22	Domestic Servants No. 1 –Slaveys (Turnover)	129-130	Ch. X – The Factory	139-140
June 29	Domestic Servants No. 2 – Slaveys	146-147	---	
July 6	"We regret... to leave out… the usual installment of 'Tempted London'"	165	Ch. X – The Factory	171
July 13	Domestic Servants No. 3 – A Perfect Servant (Turnover)	177-178	Ch. XI – The Labour Mistress	187-188
July 20	Domestic Servants No. 4	194	Ch. XI – The Labour Mistress Ch. XII – The Factory Girls	203
July 27	Domestic Servants No. 4 - Servants Versus Mistresses	210	Ch. XII – The Factory Girls	219
Aug 3	Domestic Servants No. 5 – Mistresses Versus Servants (Turnover)	225-226	Ch. XIII – The Factory Girls	235-236

Aug 10	---		---	
Aug 17	No. 6 Domestic Servants– Registry Offices (Turnover)	257-258	Ch. XIV – Among the Socialists	267-268
Aug 31	---		Ch. XV – Captain Lobe on "Worldliness"	299-300
Sept 7	No. 8 Letters from Servants (Turnover)	305-307	Ch. XVI – The Police Court	315-316
Sept 14	---		Ch. XVII - The Bastile	331-332
Sept 21	No. 9 Emigration for Servants	338	Ch. XVIII – A Confession	347-348
Sept 28	No. 10 Factory Girls (Turnover)	353-354	---	
Oct 5	No. 11 – City Work Girls Paper enlarged by 1 ¼ of present size	370	Ch. XIX – A Visit to the Docks	374
Oct 12	No. 11 – City Work Girls (Turnover)	385-386	Ch. XIX - With Hop Pickers in Kent	390
Oct 19	No. 12 – The Song of the Shirt	402	---	
Oct 26	---		Ch. XX – Captain Lobe's Dream Ch. XXI. A Letter	422
Nov 2	Barmaids (Turnover)	1-2	Ch. XXI A Letter	6
Nov 9	---		Ch. XXII - Ruth	22
Nov 16	No. 14 – Sweaters and their Victims	34-35	---	
Nov 23	---		Ch. XXIII – Another Letter	54
Nov 30	No. 15 – Laundresses (Turnover)	65-66	Ch. XIV – Jane Hardy	70
Dec 7	---		Ch. XXV – Mr. Pember Ch. XXVI – The Emigrants' Ship	86
Dec 14	No. 16 – Sempstresses (Turnover)	97-98	Ch. XXVI The Emigrants' Ship	102
Dec 21	No. 17 – Boot and Shoe Makers (Free Supplement)	129	---	
Dec 28	Young Women - Conclusion	132	---	

Conclusion

The Undercover Genre and Periodical Studies

This dissertation has undertaken to explore, through its three individual case studies, how the shifting conventions of the Victorian newspaper gave shape to the undercover genre. In particular, each chapter has drawn on the established methodologies of print-culture to examine how periodical time, material qualities, authorship, and form gave shape to the textual genre within the newspaper. More specifically, I have endeavoured to isolate moments of fluidity and stability apparent within the publishing contexts of undercover reporting—that is, moments of "openness" and "closed-ness" within three complex circulation histories. As suggested in this study's introduction, my examination of undercover reporting in the newspaper arrives at a crucial moment in the developing field of undercover scholarship. This project also emerges alongside critical changes in the collection and dissemination of periodical research, which holds significant implications for the future of Victorian studies.

This project coincides with, and was largely possible as a result of, the mounting digital accessibility of Victorian newspapers. Print culture scholarship has always been challenging due to the state of the archive: many newspapers have not survived at all, survive in fragile condition, are stored in repositories in remote locations, or have been preserved only on microfilm, making it difficult to engage with their material qualities: size, weight, thickness, and paper. Yet the British Library's recent digitization of *19th Century British Library Newspapers* and *19th Century UK Periodicals*, which began in the spring of 2010 and is set to continue for

the next decade, has made selected mainstream newspapers and periodicals vastly more accessible. Scholars like Laurel Brake are optimistic that digitization will make possible much broader comparative and contextual analyses, where only "vertical" investigations of single titles and print runs were possible in the past (Brake 127). Kate Boardman notes that digital resources are already inspiring new tools in the fields of book and media history, periodicity, and discourse analysis, which encourage scholars to address "how we read periodicals, how our reading practices differ from those of the Victorians, and how the nature of periodicals as texts and as material products changed within a shifting mass market" (Boardman 510).[116] Yet, as James Mussell cautions in his recent *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age* (2012), researchers still need to familiarize themselves with the material forms and genres of the periodical, in order to comprehend the circumstances of their adaptation to the digital archive. This dissertation, which exploits the digital possibilities for tracing Victorian circulation histories, also addresses the timely need to recapture the material framing mechanisms of the newspaper, essential to the preservation of historical contexts and readerships.

This study of British undercover reporting also follows the creation of a digital database of American undercover reporting, established in 2012. New York University currently hosts an online archive of North American undercover reporting from the 1800s to the present day, called *Undercover Reporting: Deception*

[116] See, for example, the Open University's "Reading Experience Database," established in 2006. The online database compiles readers' diaries, letters, and literary documents recording their "experiences" of reading particular works of literature. The entries represent a broad cross-section of society (1450-1945), are cross-searchable, and provide opportunities for considering the larger role of print genres and forms for shaping reading experience. See: http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED/

for Journalism's Sake: A Database.[117] This ever-expanding digital archive, unmatched in the British context, promotes the importance of undercover reporting to American journalism history, yet fails to track the extent to which the genre developed through mutual transatlantic influence.[118] In fact, scholars of American literature and media history have made considerably more headway in studying undercover reporting within the field of journalism. A handful of book-length monographs on American undercover reporting have appeared in the last decade.[119] This dissertation aims not only to fill a gap in British undercover scholarship, but also to bridge two fields that remain vastly divided over nomenclature, tenor, and gender.

While American scholars focus on undercover reporting as a journalistic genre, British scholars maintain the incognito practice's links to social history—to professional, middle-class, and reform-minded investigations of the working class that occurred throughout the period. In other words, British scholarship ties undercover reporting to a serious-minded professional, political, and implicitly

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[117] Brooke Kroeger established the digital archive, *Undercover Reporting: Deception for Journalism's Sake: A Database* to coincide with her study of the genre's role in modern journalism, *Undercover Reporting: The Truth About Deception* (2012). The extensive archive, which contains a combination of bibliographic entries and complete texts, is hosted by NYU's Arthur L. Carter Journalism Institute and its Division of Libraries. See: <http://dlib.nyu.edu/undercover/>

[118] In his 2012 study of American undercover reporting, *Class Unknown*, Mark Pittenger notes that both British and German journalists influenced the development of the genre overseas (11), but the study of nineteenth-century newspapers in a transatlantic context remains in its infancy. Joel Wiener's *The Americanization of the British Press, 1830-1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism* (2011) claims to be the first book-length study of the relationship between British and American newspaper journalism.

[119] See, for example, Brooke Kroeger's biography of the undercover reporter, *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist* (1994); James Aucoin's study of *The Evolution of American Investigative Journalism (2005)*; Jean Marie Lutes's examination of women stunt reporters in *Front-Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction, 1880-1930* (2006); and Mark Pittenger's *Class Unknown: Undercover Investigations of American Work and Poverty from the Progressive Era to the Present* (2012).

masculine tradition of investigation. Consequently, anthologies of British undercover reporting, published with this limited purview in mind, are almost totally devoid of women.[120] American studies, on the other hand, treat undercover reporting as a less-than-serious commercial genre, which offered many low-brow opportunities for women to enter the field of journalism. Thus, while American studies have recuperated significantly more women undercover reporters, they nonetheless often dismiss the genre for exactly this reason, viewing it "as a fad that quickly subsided [...] an awkward, even embarrassing phase of sensation journalism, out of sync with the professionalization that was transforming news writing in the final decades of the nineteenth century" (Lutes 13-14). Anthologies and digital databases informed by these notions of American stunt reporting versus British social investigation only ensure the continuation of this problematic, and vastly misguided, trend. This discrepancy in nomenclature, and consequently, in focus, masks the timely emergence of undercover reporting amid a period of popularization and indeed, of Americanization, in the British press. The terminological gap between American and British scholarship is a rather troubling one, not simply because it potentially impedes transatlantic studies of nineteenth-century newspaper genres, but especially, because it solidifies and promotes social misconceptions about the undercover genre. As I have argued here, British

[120] The only nineteenth-century British woman that anthologies have explicitly identified as having worked undercover is Beatrice Potter Webb—who was employed as a social investigator by Charles Booth in the 1880s. The American stunt reporter, Elizabeth Banks, is often credited with bringing the undercover tradition to Britain the 1890s, after which British women began to experiment with the practice (on Banks's influence, see Donovan and Rubery 208-9). Ellen Ross recuperates a number of women investigators and investigative journalists in her anthology, *Slum Travellers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860-1920* (2007), but none of the women included, Webb excepted, adopted the Greenwoodian incognito approach prior the twentieth century.

undercover journalists were not necessarily more reform-minded than their American peers were; they did engage with the commercial context signaled by the popularization of the Victorian press. More importantly, this project has shown how a single undercover report could be variously cast and recast as either serious or silly, authoritative or commercial, amateur or professional, and conforming to conventions of political or commercial masculinity and femininity—regardless of the original author or editor's intention. As this project has endeavoured to demonstrate, the very extraction of undercover reports from their publication and circulation contexts—which often occurs through digitization and arrangement into databases—contributes to this trend, by distorting the roles that print genres play in shaping undercover reporting's ideological, literary, gender, and formal parameters.

While this dissertation is concerned primarily with examining a genre, which, I contend, was shaped by Victorian newspapers, it is my hope that the open and closed nature of undercover reporting might complicate some existing notions about the socio-historical dynamics this genre represents. Margaret Beetham's notion of the periodical as an "open" and "closed" publishing genre is not a new one, though it remains fundamental to this field of study.[121] Some critics have come to prefer terms like the "new" or "in flux" (open), versus the "same" or "regulated by the familiar" (closed).[122] Other critics have adopted terms like "chaotic" or

[121] As Laurel Brake has recently suggested, much of print-culture methodology—namely, our attention to periodicity and serialization, illustration, form, format, authorship, and gender—has been "internalized", but scholars continue to attend to the ways in which periodicals embrace both the provocation of and restraint on meaning ("Looking Back" 315).
[122] James Mussell refers to the "in flux" which is "regulated by the familiar" in his 2009 "Cohering Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century" (95), shifting his terms to "flow" and 'sameness' (348) in his 2015 "Repetition: Or, 'In Our Last'."

"unpredictable" (open), and "ordered" or "structured" (closed).[123] Beetham herself echoes her earlier language in a recent article on periodical time, where she alludes to the "uncertain future" of the periodical installment (open), in relation to the "regulating time" structure of the periodical (closed).[124] Ironically, like the critics of Victorian undercover reporting, periodical scholars have yet to form a consensus on their terminology. Yet, they also differ markedly in that, whereas scholars of undercover reporting typically perceive the class, gender, and racial relations in their objects of study as hierarchical and "closed," periodical scholars attend to genres that represent these relations as *both* fluid and stable.

As Greenwood, Carlisle, and Harkness's reports have illustrated, the material conditions of periodical publishing perpetually opened and closed the frames of identity, respectability, and genre. The middle-class political journalist shifts into popular performer, the authoritative British soldier becomes a celebrity stunt reporter in blackface, and the pseudonymous female novelist, an anonymous incognito investigative reporter. Perhaps Beetham's "open" and "closed" offers an apt metaphor not just for reading newspapers, but for reconsidering the slipperiness and stability of the Victorian identities they represent, if only in the eyes of publishers and readers. Dallas Liddle has recently proposed that "the full story of the interplay of genres—their competition and struggle—properly understood, *is* the history of literature" (7). By examining the struggles within the

[123] Linda Hughes adapted these terms from chaos theory in her 1989 essay, "Turbulence in the 'Golden Stream': Chaos Theory and the Study of Periodicals," which appeared alongside Beetham's "Open and Closed." Matthew Philpotts reignites Hughes' terminology in his 2015 "Dimension: Fractal Forms and Periodical Texture."
[124] Beetham's essay, "Time: Periodicals and the Time of Now," was published alongside the above authors in the *Victorian Periodical Review*'s Fall 2015 special issue on theory.

late-nineteenth-century print marketplace, which gave shape to emerging genres like undercover journalism, scholars may gain new insight into the deeper struggles at play within social and literary history.

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